

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

DETERGENT POLLUTION

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, everyone is deeply concerned with the alarming eutrophication of many of our lakes and streams, but it seems to me that the detergent industry is making an all-out effort to develop effective phosphate replacements which will help alleviate this hazard to our environment. In dealing with this problem, however, it is becoming increasingly apparent that some phosphate replacements, if not adequately tested, may actually be more harmful in human terms.

This danger was rather forcefully outlined by the Surgeon General, Dr. Jesse L. Steinfeld, before the Federal Trade Commission on April 26, 1971. Since Dr. Steinfeld's comments are particularly timely, I am taking the liberty of including his statement herewith so that others in the Congress may have an opportunity to read it also. Certainly there is a need for prudence, reason, and careful evaluation of phosphate replacements in detergents if we are not to compound the very problem we seek to eliminate:

STATEMENT BY JESSE L. STEINFELD, M.D.

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to appear before the Federal Trade Commission concerning a proposed rule that would require that all detergent packages display a list of the principal ingredients and a warning if phosphates were used.

The proposed action comes at a time when our society is deeply concerned with the preservation or restoration of the environment and, in this particular case, protection of the environment from dangerous and harmful rates of eutrophication of many of our lakes and streams. I am concerned not only with this danger but also with another danger which deserves our attention, danger that the national outcry over the levels of phosphates in detergents will become so great as to obscure the health or environmental impact of alternatives to phosphates.

Although the rate of eutrophication of our surface waters is affected by varying factors, and varies widely from one geographical location to another, it is generally agreed that a strong factor contributing to eutrophication is an excess of phosphates entering the waters by various routes. It has also been generally agreed that the principal controllable source of those phosphates is sewage and that the principal source of phosphates in sewage is detergents.

The number of possibilities for greatly decreasing the flow of phosphates into surface waters is relatively limited. These possibilities are (1) controlling the source of phosphates, which largely involves controlling the phosphate content of detergents, and (2) removing phosphates from sewage by advance sewage treatment processes before it is discharged into the lakes and streams. A cost-effective approach to the phosphate problem probably will involve a combination of both approaches so as to achieve the desired levels of control.

Certainly, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare fully supports the effort

to retard eutrophication of our surface waters. We do urge, however, that this important and highly commendable goal be achieved by means which are not hazardous to human health and welfare.

In respect to efforts to displace phosphates from detergents, it should be realized that tests conducted thus far indicate that some of the currently used substitutes for phosphates are clearly toxic or caustic and pose serious accident hazards, especially to children. Other substitutes not yet fully tested may also be toxic and/or caustic. Intensive research on this problem currently is underway by both Government and industry. Much is unknown, particularly of the long term biological effects of components of detergents. Of course, some of the substitutes may not be harmful, but we must be certain of this before large scale exposure of society to them is permitted.

Let me amplify my concern with respect to caustic materials. Such materials, particularly in pellet or granular form, measured in quantities as little as a fraction of a teaspoon, may cause severe damage to the skin, eye, mouth, throat, larynx, esophagus or stomach upon contact. Caustic materials quickly take up the available moisture on these membranes, setting off a chemical reaction leading almost immediately to destruction of tissues at the site. Anyone who has gotten lye on his skin will remember that the reaction is virtually immediate and that removal of the offending material requires prompt and vigorous action, either by flooding with water or application of a weakly acidic material.

Everyone here knows that youngsters explore their environment vigorously long before they are able to read and comprehend fully either written or spoken warnings. Those of us who have raised children are fully aware of the difficulties of adequately protecting the toddler on his forays into the kitchen and laundry storage areas and yet failure to do so when those areas contain highly caustic materials exposes the child to serious risk of irreversible loss of sight, loss of voice, ulcerations and blockage of the esophagus, severe skin "burns" and even death. The mother who is called to the telephone or to the door may be unaware that her child has had an accident with such a material and lose critically important time in attempting to prevent serious injury. Even where the mother discovers the accident promptly, precious time may be lost in attempts to gain medical advice or assistance.

To suggest that a frequently used household item that is bulky can be stored assuredly out of reach of youngsters is to be unrealistic. Statistics on accidental exposure to dangerous substances in the household lead me to believe that any action which results in widespread incorporation of caustic materials in detergents may also be expected to result in many additional serious injuries to children. The Hazardous Substances Act requires that packages containing such materials bear appropriate warning labels, but warning labels place the entire burden of protection on the shoulders of the parents. Where it is believed that the warning label does not provide sufficient protection, the Hazardous Substances Act permits the material to be banned entirely from interstate commerce. If our experience in the months ahead bears out the concerns which I have expressed, it may be necessary for us to take drastic action against those detergents which are found to have extremely caustic properties.

Several years ago the detergent industry began seeking alternatives to phosphates which would be safe for both man and his

environment. Nitrilotriacetic acid (NTA) was introduced and found to be highly satisfactory as a laundry agent, and not harmful to the environment. However, tests conducted within the past year raised a danger signal with respect to human health hazard. Use of NTA was discontinued voluntarily by the industry after discussions with us in December 1970, and I want to commend the industry for this prompt action in the face of a potential health threat. Since that time industry and government have collaborated in efforts to clarify the health aspects of NTA. In the months ahead we shall try to reach a definitive conclusion on this matter.

In summary, I believe that we must pursue a balanced public policy and an ordered approach to the solution of these problems.

In responding to one environmental problem great care must be exercised to assure that the alternative does not create equal or greater hazards to the environment or to human health. This is certainly the case with detergents in view of the massive quantities produced and ubiquitous nature of their distribution.

Because of the real and not only potential health hazards of some of the identified phosphate substitutions, environmental protective regulatory efforts by Federal, State and local officials must be conducted carefully and intelligently, with full awareness of secondary health and biological effects of those efforts.

Finally, because scientifically much is still unknown, we must conduct additional research on phosphate substitutes to ascertain their place and the place of labeling in an effective overall program.

The U.S. Public Health Service therefore urges the Federal Trade Commission to defer making a decision regarding labelling at this time.

INEQUITY TO OUR ELDERLY

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. WALDIE, Mr. Speaker, the following news article is reprinted from the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle of May 9, 1971. It was called to my attention by a concerned citizen in my home district, Mrs. Paul W. Loze, of Moraga, Calif.

The article points out some of the built-in inequities of the present social security system as it applies to the aged:

INEQUITY TO OUR ELDERLY

(By Harriet Van Horne)

A salty old lady of my acquaintance has been casting a wistful eye upon those Ecuadorian villagers who, at age 100 and up, are still capering around the Andes like giddy mountain goats.

"They're better off than old folks in this country," said my aged lady, "because they can work 'till they're 110 and not lose their Social Security."

It was unlikely, I suggested, that Ecuadorian peasants have any Social Security to lose. That, we agreed, was too bad for the sickly ones. "But it's worse to be hale and hearty and 62," said my friend, "and know that the instant you take a decent job you lose 50 percent of the Social Security you've been paying for all your working life."

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE—FISCAL YEAR 1972 APPROPRIATION BILLS

Bill	Full committee	House floor ¹
1. Education.....	Mar. 30.....	Apr. 7.....
JUNE		
2. Legislative.....	Tuesday, June 1.....	Friday, June 4.....
3. Trans.-P.O.-Gen. Govt.....	Thursday, June 17.....	Tuesday, June 22.....
4. Agric-EPA, etc.....	Friday, June 18.....	Wednesday, June 23.....
5. Interior.....	Thursday, June 24.....	Tuesday, June 29.....
6. HUD-Space-Science.....	Wednesday, June 23.....	Monday, June 28.....
7. S.J.C.J.....	Monday, June 21.....	Thursday, June 24.....
Continuing Resolution.....	Thursday, June 24.....	Tuesday, June 29.....
8. Transportation.....	Thursday, July 8.....	Tuesday, July 13.....
9. Public Works-AEC.....	Hearings concluded. Report about mid-July or so. Clear House before August recess.	
10. District of Columbia.....	Hearings conclude end of June. Reporting depends partly on revenue legislation. Clear House before August recess.	
11. Defense.....	Hearings conclude June 10. Reporting depends on authorization developments, but plan to clear House before August recess.	
12. Military Construction.....	Hearings conclude June 23. Reporting depends on authorization bill, but report and clear House before August recess.	
13. Labor-HEW.....	Hearings conclude June 18. Report about mid-July (OEO; health manpower; juvenile delinquency; etc. not yet authorized). Clear House before August recess.	
14. Foreign Aid.....	Hearings conclude end of June. Reporting depends on authorization bill, but report and clear House before August recess.	
15. Supplemental, 1972.....	Latter part of session.	

¹ Exact floor dates to be worked out in cooperation with leadership.

Realists know that virtually every aspect of our social order discriminates against the poor and the aged. But there is a particularly nasty bit of discrimination built into the Social Security laws that ought to be repealed at once.

That is the proviso reducing benefits by 50 percent to any citizen in his 60s who takes a job paying \$1680 a year or over but continues full benefits to citizens whose income is derived not from honest toil but from stocks, bonds, interest or rents.

This clause is cruel above and beyond its explicit terms. It penalizes incentive and ambition. It punishes the aged whose salaries have never permitted them to make long-term investments. And it forces too many of our elderly people to choose between a demanding idleness on a pittance and "getting by" on a salary that barely covers the essentials of life.

Our policy of "early retirement"—a shoddy device for cutting costs in some industries—has greatly worsened the plight of the elderly. A vigorous man (or woman) who is suddenly up-rooted from his job suffers a kind of emotional castration. He feels unwanted, unloved and without status.

All these negative feelings are worsened when he is advised that taking any job more lucrative than Saturday clerk or baby-sitter will cut his Social Security in half. He could be sweetening his retirement years with a \$25,000 income from investments, however, and the government would never diminish his pension by a penny.

This vile inequity should not be allowed to stand. And my hand is outstretched today to one George Rubin, an employment agent, who is launching a nationwide drive to end this discrimination against the senior citizen. He hopes to get one million signatures on a petition to be presented to Congress.

It is also good to know that Rep. Mario Biaggi, Democrat from the Bronx, N.Y., has reintroduced in this Congress a bill to remove Social Security's low ceiling on the earnings of the elderly.

A curious paradox in the present Social Security law suggests that the abhorrent penalty clause was forced upon Congress by a greedy labor lobby. The paradox is that once a citizen reaches the age of 72—and presumably less inclined to invade the labor market—he may work full time and still receive full Social Security benefits.

The consultant to the Treasury Department's pension staff (and author of the definitive work on pensions), Frank L. Griffin, recently set forth his views on retirement pay. "The ultimate goal," said he, "would be to provide a retired worker with about the same sum he was earning, after taxes, on the job. And I am sure that will come about someday."

SCHEDULE OF THE APPROPRIATION BILLS

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, earlier today, during the 1-minute period, I made some remarks about our plans and hopes with respect to consideration of the appropriation bill in the House during June and July.

I include herewith, in more precise form, information concerning the tentative House schedule and the status of the bills:

CAMPING ON PARKLANDS IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—WHY NOT A UNIFORM POLICY?

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 1, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, on April 19, 1971, Congressman WYLLIE and I introduced H.R. 7479—to limit the use of publicly owned or controlled property in the District of Columbia—in an effort to back the position of the National Park Service barring overnight camping on public lands in this city by the thousands of antiwar demonstrators who were to begin to invade the Nation's Capital on April 19 and the following 2 weeks. As we all know, of course, the groups came as planned and camped out on the Mall and in West Potomac Park as they said they would, regardless of any prohibitions.

During the period of these encampments, one of my constituents, who must have been following the news on these events, discovered that the Government had backed down on its policy. Naturally, the idea came to him that he, too, might enjoy the same privilege for a quiet and peaceful vacation sometime during the summer. As a result of my constituent's request for a permit to camp in West Potomac Park, I undertook communications with the Attorney General and the Director of the National Park Service with the feeling that whatever policy existed ought to be applied uniformly. The exchange of correspondence that followed was indeed most interesting.

Despite the absolute fact of 2 weeks of encampments for the period from April 19 through the early morning hours of May 2—when the last of the militant demonstrators were finally routed from West Potomac Park—the policy statements I received from both the Justice Department and the National Park Service would almost lure the casual observer into believing that this entire fiasco never happened.

For example, L. Patrick Gray, III, Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Division of the Justice Department, writes—in reference to the encampment on the Mall sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War:

Thus, even during these difficult events, the Department has maintained its position in opposition to overnight sleeping on the park grounds. Those grounds are for the use of all visitors on an equal basis.

My constituent certainly does not think so whose request for a permit was denied in a letter from Raymond L. Freeman, Deputy Director of the National Park Service, who enclosed a statement with his brief reply noting in part:

At the time the agreement with the People's Coalition was entered into it was concluded that there was not a sufficient showing of an intent to camp to carry the burden imposed upon the National Park Service by the United States District Court of showing that this agreement would be violated by the demonstrators. . . . Thus, the National Park Service policy has remained constant throughout. No permit has been or will be issued for overnight camping on parkland within the District of Columbia.

Of course, my constituent will find it hard to believe that the early negotiations for an estimated 75,000 demonstrators to occupy parts of Rock Creek Park for a 2-week period did not contemplate overnight sleeping, camping, or whatever else it was called. Quite expectedly, as a matter of fact, the sponsors of this group said they would be glad to settle for the Mall area once the veterans who had preceded them won the battle with respect to an encampment on the Mall.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that the Committee on Public Works will not permit this matter to pass by without some very serious consideration of the principles involved. As I stated in my letter to the Director of the National Park Service:

I can hardly believe that the individual or group must first profess to be militant before being given the privilege to stay overnight in the Mall area, or that the cause which motivates such individual or group to come to this City to begin with must be political.

June 2, 1971

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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I have made copies of my complete file in this matter available to the committee and, for the benefit of all the Members, I am inserting the letters that were exchanged with the Justice Department and the National Park Service:

APRIL 22, 1971.

HON. JOHN HUNT,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HUNT: I have always wanted to take the family on a thorough tour of Washington, D.C. (White House, Capitol, Library of Congress etc.) but could not afford to do so.

Now I believe I have found a way to spend a week or two in Washington, relatively cheap.

I would like a permit for a campsite in the vicinity of the Lincoln Memorial, as near the pool as possible, for the last two weeks in August.

We have all of our equipment and will not require any equipment or assistance from any government agency.

Would also like information on campfire, permits required etc.

If you cannot supply the information I have requested, would you please refer this request to the proper authorities, as we are now making our vacation plans, and only have 16 weeks to get everything settled.

Very truly yours,

P.S.—If refused, this will be the second time other persons or groups have been given preferential treatment.

APRIL 26, 1971.

HON. JOHN N. MITCHELL,
The Attorney General,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: The enclosures are in connection with my inquiry of the Director of the National Park Service as to the Government's policy with respect to the use of public lands in the District of Columbia for overnight sleeping, and a request from my constituent for a permit for this purpose.

I need not reiterate what is already expressed in my letter to the Director. However, I am contacting you because it is evident that it was the result of directives from the Justice Department that the parameters of present Park Service policy are obscured.

For the benefit of my constituents and Americans everywhere, this matter should not be lightly dismissed nor should it be allowed to pass by—with groups now resident on the public lands in this City with the apparent sanction of the Justice Department—without some explanation of the policy that is being followed. I expect the Director of the National Park Service to speak for the Government, but I would appreciate your comments as to the position of the Department of Justice without whose backing the Park Service is obviously powerless to carry out its responsibilities to all citizens.

While I am sponsoring a bill that would limit the use of publicly owned or controlled lands in the District of Columbia, the absence of Congressional action and the possible vacuum created thereby should not bar an even and impartial application of whatever policy now exists.

Your immediate attention to my request is respectfully requested.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. HUNT,
Members of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D.C., May 5, 1971.

HON. JOHN E. HUNT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HUNT: This is in response to your letter of April 26, 1971, asking for the position of the Justice Department regarding the use of National Park Service park land in the District of Columbia for overnight sleeping.

As you point out, the issuance of permits for overnight camping on such land is the responsibility of the National Park Service. At no time during the series of demonstrations this past month in the District of Columbia, or in the negotiations preceding them, was a permit issued for overnight camping. In fact, the Justice Department sought from the District Court, and appealed to both the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court to sustain, an injunction against camping, including overnight sleeping, by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Although the District Court issued an injunction, the Court of Appeals refused to support this Department's position, and the Veterans were permitted to camp under that Court's order. By the time the Supreme Court was able to review that decision and reinstate the injunction, considerable time had passed. As the President indicated in his press conference of April 30, the Veterans were scheduled to leave shortly thereafter. Their attorneys advised us on several occasions that the Veterans would comply with the injunction. Indeed, it was only at the last minute, and against the advice of their attorneys, that the Veterans opted to remain overnight.

Thus, even during these difficult events, the Department has maintained its position in opposition to overnight sleeping on the park grounds. Those grounds are for the use of all visitors on an equal basis. The National Park Service has established several campgrounds in the area of the District for the use of visitors, such as Mr. — who wish to camp overnight.

Any illegal acts by the demonstrators do not constitute a deviation by the Department from its position nor an acquiescence in or condoning of such acts.

I hope this explanation is of some help to you.

Sincerely,

L. PATRICK GRAY III,
Assistant Attorney General.

APRIL 26, 1971.

MR. GEORGE B. HARTZOG, JR.,
Director, National Park Service,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HARTZOG: I am enclosing a copy of the letter I received from my constituent, Mr. —, who is requesting a permit to stay overnight in West Potomac Park in the vicinity of the Lincoln Memorial.

Prior to the Resurrection City encampment of 1968, I would have immediately thought that such a request was patently unreasonable and would have directed my constituents to one of the authorized camping sites outside the City. However, with the erection of Resurrection City within eyesight of the Capitol and at the footsteps of the Lincoln Memorial, it was more difficult to justify to those who might inquire that they could not take the same advantage of the convenience of the Mall area for overnight sleeping. In fact, Mr. — had made a similar request for a permit after the Resurrection City encampment and was denied such privilege by the Park Service by way of a roundabout suggestion that other suitable camping sites are maintained outside the

District of Columbia. Copies of my inquiry at that time and Assistant Director Hummel's evasive reply are attached for your convenience.

While I had thought that a lesson was learned—the hard way—from the Resurrection City encampment, and was, therefore, heartened when the Park Service declined to issue permits for encampments to the anti-war protesters whose activities began last week, I am now at a total loss to even begin to piece together the Government's policy with respect to the use of certain lands in the District of Columbia. I can hardly believe that the individual or group must first profess to be militant before being given the privilege to stay overnight in the Mall area, or that the cause which motivates such individual or group to come to this City to begin with must be political. Nor is it an even remotely plausible excuse to say that the permit, pursuant to which the protesters are now staying overnight on these lands, technically does not permit sleeping. Quite obviously, our constituencies have more than sufficient reason to resent this unequal treatment.

You may be aware that on April 19th, Congressman Wylie and I introduced a bill (copy enclosed) to limit the use of publicly owned or controlled lands in the District of Columbia, a bill whose text had been overwhelmingly passed by the House in the 91st Congress in direct response to Resurrection City. The intent of the bill is to promulgate a uniform policy that will insure equal access to such lands by all citizens, and to specifically prohibit certain enumerated uses that would interfere with equal access. In the meantime, however, whatever policy that now exists must also be administered uniformly and I am very serious in my request that a permit be issued to my constituent to allow him and his family to use the area of West Potomac Park for overnight sleeping during the last two weeks in August, 1971. If the issuance of such a permit is declined, then I would request your assurance that my constituents would not be arrested or disturbed by the police for staying overnight on the lands in question. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that Mr. — stay will be peaceful and that he will require no services of any kind from the Government. Furthermore, he will leave the area as he finds it which is certainly more than can be said for the groups that are presently residing on the grounds.

Your immediate attention to my request would be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. HUNT,
Member of Congress.

MAY 17, 1971.

L. PATRICK GRAY III, Esq.,
Assistant Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GRAY: I have received your letter of May 6, 1971 in response to my inquiry of the Attorney General as to the position of the Department of Justice with respect to the use of certain lands within the District of Columbia for overnight sleeping.

Inasmuch as your reply dwells upon the Department's actions only with regard to the demonstrations sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, I would appreciate your confirmation as to whether the Department was involved in the decision to permit the encampment of other demonstrators in West Potomac Park for the week beginning April 25th subsequent to the veterans' activities. If your answer is in the affirmative, I would respectfully request your ad-

vice as to the extent of the Department's involvement as well as its position at that time in light of the prior week's activities on the Mall.

Your continued cooperation in this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. HUNT,
Member of Congress.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D.C., May 25, 1971.

Hon. JOHN E. HUNT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HUNT: This will reply to your letter of April 26 concerning the use of park land for public camping in the National Capital Park areas.

For your convenience, we are enclosing a copy of a statement we have prepared on the above subject. We hope it will provide you with the clarification you desire; we also hope that it will serve to explain the reasons we must deny the request of Mr. ——— for a permit for overnight sleeping in the area of West Potomac Park during the last 2 weeks of August.

We do sympathetically understand your deep personal concern in this instance and greatly appreciate your courtesy in so well stating your thoughts to us.

Sincerely yours,

RAYMOND L. FREEMAN,
Deputy Director.

STATEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
ON PUBLIC CAMPING IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL
PARKS AREAS

The policy of the National Park Service concerning the use of parkland for public camping in the National Capital Parks areas is found in 36 C.F.R., Section 50.27 (1970). In essence this regulation provides that overnight camping will only be permitted in those areas designated as public campgrounds. The Mall area, the West Potomac Park area, and indeed the remainder of the parkland within the District of Columbia under the jurisdiction of National Capital Parks are not areas that have been designated as public campgrounds pursuant to this provision. Further, it is the position of the National Park Service that this provision does not permit the temporary designation of parkland on an individual basis for public camping; and that the parkland within the District of Columbia is totally unsuited for such use.

The "Vietnam Veterans Against the War" challenged both of these positions. In addition, their request to camp on the Mall also presented the issue whether symbolic camping could fall within the protection of the First Amendment; it was this same issue that underlay the Government's decision to permit the Resurrection City encampment.

In the ensuing litigation—necessarily initiated by the Federal Government due to a court injunction of the National Capital Park, National Park Service regulation concerning public gatherings—each of these issues was conclusively determined by the United States Supreme Court to the National Park Service's advantage. A decision was then made by the Department of Justice, that no attempt would be made to enforce the order by the Executive Branch and it was subsequently rescinded. This decision was based upon several factors. First, the legal principle had been established; second, due to the time consuming legal proceedings the Vietnam Veterans had occupied the Mall as a campsite for three nights under color of law and legally; third, only one night remained under their notice; fourth, their numbers at all times were small and substantially less than the 5,000 originally estimated by the Vietnam Veterans; and fifth, they were at all times orderly, neat and peaceful.

The agreement and the subsequent activi-

ties of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice should not be construed as a break in the legal precedent established in litigation against the Vietnam Veterans. At the time the agreement with the People's Coalition was entered into it was concluded that there was not a sufficient showing of an intent to camp to carry the burden imposed upon the National Park Service by the United States District Court of showing that this agreement would be violated by the demonstrators. The events beginning with the massive demonstration by the National Peace Action Coalition on Saturday, April 24, proved conclusively that camping was taking place and would continue to take place; and that the agreement had been entered in bad faith. At this point, however, due to the large numbers of demonstrators in the metropolitan area it was decided that it would be to the Government's advantage and in the best interests of the District as a whole to attempt to achieve compliance with terms of the agreement through non-police tactics. Numerous meetings were held in attempt to force compliance with the terms of the agreement. When later events proved that future cooperation was impossible, the Government then chose the most opportune time from a tactical point of view to close down the camping that was taking place. This was done early Sunday morning, May 2, after the completion of a prior scheduled rock concert, which in itself would have attracted large numbers of people to the city whether or not it was permitted to take place.

Thus, the National Park Service policy has remained constant throughout. No permit has been or will be issued for overnight camping on parkland within the District of Columbia. The National Park Service has gone to the United States Supreme Court to establish this principle. In the event that any group either in violation of an otherwise valid permit or without authority camps on parkland appropriate measures have been and will continue to be taken to insure its removal.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF LT. COL.
EDWARD L. HOLMAN AT CARSON
LONG INSTITUTE, NEW BLOOM-
FIELD, PA.

HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the House the 50th anniversary of Lt. Col. Edward L. Holman's association with the Carson Long Institute, an outstanding military academy for boys in our 12th Congressional District of Pennsylvania.

Colonel Holman began his illustrious career in education as a country schoolteacher in 1912. After serving as a private and officer in World War I, Colonel Holman joined the Carson Long Institute as assistant principal in 1921. This turned out to be an apprenticeship, as he later became headmaster, professor of military science and tactics, and president in 1944. Colonel Holman has served continuously in that capacity since then.

Colonel Holman has been instrumental in maintaining the rigid standards and outstanding reputation of this well-equipped school for boys. Under his guidance, the school has graduated many boys who continued their education at Columbia, West Point, Penn, MIT, Dick-

inson, et cetera, and have made outstanding contributions to our Nation and society.

Too often, the man who devotes his life to educating youngsters is overlooked in the distribution of accolades for outstanding contributions to our society. I think it is important to point out, not only the dedication of men like Colonel Holman, but the vital role they play in our society.

The talents and energies of our young people can be channeled in one of two directions: toward constructive activities or destructive activities. It is through the proper guidance, experience, and talents of educators like Colonel Holman that youthful vitality can be cultivated to harvest flowers rather than weeds.

The life of Colonel Holman should serve as an inspiration to those considering education as a career. Although often a rocky road, the life of an educator can be most rewarding. The satisfaction and peace of mind Colonel Holman must have for molding the lives of so many boys is unique to his profession.

So congratulations, Colonel. Your life and your career have been outstanding in every respect. Your 50 years with the Carson Long Institute is a personal tribute, and your service to humanity is beyond recall. We are proud of your career and your accomplishments, and hope that you have many happy and rewarding years ahead at the institute. Congratulations, again, and good luck in all your endeavors.

INDIVIDUAL VALOR

HON. BILL CHAPPELL, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. CHAPPELL. Mr. Speaker, there is a tendency to believe that the American society is so mechanized and so complex that it smothers the individual's initiative, but the enthusiasm and determination of people such as Capt. Ralph Elliott III, a young friend of mine from Jacksonville, Fla., is a reminder that such statements are wrong.

It is with a sense of gratitude that we salute Captain Elliott, whose personal heroism certainly deserves the highest praise. Shot down in North Vietnam while their helicopter was on a rescue mission, he and his crewmen were surrounded by North Vietnamese troops. Upon contacting his headquarters by radio, he learned from his commander that he had been made a captain. Assuming immediately his new responsibilities, Captain Elliott's main concern was for the safety of his men and to somehow inform his commander exactly where they were. A number of helicopters were sent in an effort to rescue them, but a heavy groundfire drove them off. The whole area was saturated with enemy troops. Finally, at the end of the third day, the small crew was rescued by a South Vietnamese reconnaissance company and safely returned to South Vietnam.

Captain Elliott's experience did much more than bring honor to himself. As so well stated in the Jacksonville Journal editorial of March 8, 1971:

It reminds us that, behind the grim statistics of war, there are individual soldiers, sailors and airmen who daily gamble their lives in support of our national policy. Many are unsung, but they shouldn't be. By helping to remind us of the personal sacrifices that all our servicemen make, Captain Elliott has magnified his own valor.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that Capt. Ralph Elliott III deserves both our commendation and gratitude for his contribution to the safety and freedom of the men in his command, as well as all of us here in America.

CHOWAN NOT IN THE DOLDRUMS

HON. WALTER B. JONES

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, in this day of frustration and problems of the greater universities, we sometimes tend to forget the outstanding service that our junior colleges are rendering the entire higher education system structure.

Located in the First Congressional District of North Carolina, which I have the honor of representing, is Chowan College, Murfreesboro, N.C., which has experienced phenomenal growth, but yet a growth which has placed a strong emphasis on quality education and a strict adherence to values which we all cherish.

A few days ago, the News-Herald, Murfreesboro, N.C., published an editorial which shows the success of Chowan far better than anything I could say. Therefore, I am privileged to place in the RECORD this editorial so that you might see it and can be reassured that there are educational institutions of this type still in existence providing uninterrupted educational service.

The editorial follows:

CHOWAN NOT IN THE DOLDRUMS

There's a real story of local progress in the latest issue of the Chowanian, Chowan College student newspaper. On one of the inside pages under heading "The Chowan Record" is a list of statistics detailing the growth of the college since 1957. When Chowan grows, Murfreesboro—indeed all Hertford County and surrounding area—grows as well.

That this growth factor connected with the college is big locally can be seen in the 1970 census figures. Hertford County was one of the few in the northeast to show an increase over 1960. One change in census rules between the two censuses was the counting of most college students this last time in the locality where they were attending school. The total Hertford County increase was less than the increase in the Chowan student body during the 10-year period.

The item in The Chowanian begins with a quotation from a national junior college publication which states "not all independent junior colleges are in the doldrums or ready to call it quits as some reporters would have you believe." Chowan's figures since 1957, the year Dr. Bruce Whitaker assumed its presidency, certainly put Chowan in this non-quitting group.

Some of the figures which bear out the health of Chowan comparing 1957 with 1970 are: students 293 then, 1,472 in '70; faculty from 21 up to 79; total assets up from \$751,668 to a sizeable \$8,390,538; operating budget up from \$298,200 to \$2,425,000; library increasing from 9,292 volumes to 35,026 and library operating budget from \$12,419 to \$70,090.

Any operation with an annual operating budget in the \$2.5 million range is big business anywhere. It's a particularly significant factor in an economy no larger than that locally. But as the library figures show the growth the past decade or so at Chowan has not been all in raw numbers. The quality of educational experience offered has been enriched equally as much as the growth in numbers. This is a fortunate policy for the long run it is more likely that private education will survive because of its quality than for any other reason.

It is easy sometimes to forget about the contributions of institutions so close at hand as Chowan. But in so many ways its personnel—staff, faculty and students—enrich the quality of life here. With the present school year now ended, it is a good time to pay tribute to Chowan for its many contributions to the area in which it is located.

A BILL TO AMEND THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT TO EXEMPT FARM VEHICLES FROM CERTAIN BURDENSOME LIMITATIONS OF THE ACT

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which amends the Interstate Commerce Act to exempt farm vehicles from certain burdensome limitations of section 204 of the act.

The bill would enact into law exemptions from regulations for farm vehicles which have been granted farmers for many years. While satisfactory arrangements may have been agreed upon between officials of the Department of Transportation and representatives of farm organizations, this bill would give the effect of law to most of the agreements and would prevent the problem from arising in the future.

As near as can be determined some 2,800,000 farm operators maintain some 3,700,000 trucks of all sizes, which are driven regularly or occasionally by at least 4 million persons, mostly members of farm families or hired employees.

A regulatory pattern which may fit the comparatively large operations of common and contract carriers, operating an average of about 50 trucks per company simply does not fit an industry consisting of 2,800,000 small units operating an average 1.3 trucks. It is surprising that the Department of Transportation should attempt to apply the same regulations to such different groups, especially in the face of the existing farm truck safety record.

It is significant to note that during the year and a half the safety revisions were under consideration no representative of the Department of Transportation notified any organization representing farmers by letter, telephone, or other-

wise that a major change affecting farmers was under consideration. It is also my understanding that although the Department of Agriculture has a statutory responsibility to help protect the transportation interests of farmers, the Department was not informed relative to the agriculture changes proposed in the regulation.

For these and other reasons it seems compelling that legislation of the type I am introducing should be considered by Congress and passed at an early date.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD UNRWA: ENFORCEABLE SAFEGUARDS BEFORE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the situation in the Middle East continues to be so critical that new fighting might erupt any day, in spite of the best efforts to get negotiations underway.

In order to understand the problems there, it is necessary to know the background: the things which Israel must have to be secure in her borders, the intransigence of the guerrillas, the Arab violations of the United Nations ceasefire of 1957, the dangerous part which the Soviets play, and the great stake which America has in the peace of the region.

All of these matters are discussed in an editorial appearing in the current issue of the magazine "Prevent World War III," published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, New York.

I include the text of this editorial at this point in my remarks:

[From the Prevent World War III, Winter-Spring Issue, 1971]

THE MIDDLE EAST: BEGINNING OF PEACE—OR QUIET BEFORE THE STORM?

Are Egypt and the Soviets "satellitizing" the North African Arab states and Syria?

Is the Moscow-Cairo Axis succeeding in its drive to take over the hegemony of the Middle East—a process that also involves the destruction of Israel?

Is there a way to compel the guerrillas to abandon their doctrine that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"?

Can the United Nations, dominated on this issue by a built-in power bloc of communist and Moslem states, find a way to act effectively in the world's most crucial struggle?

Can the Free World reestablish a balance of power that will bring at least temporary peace in the region, and prevent an explosion that may herald World War III?

The 90-day truce, once extended, has brought a strangely nightmarish quiet to the Middle East—but Anwar el-Sadat, President of Egypt, declares that his country will not agree to any further truce extension without imposing conditions he knows cannot be accepted by the other side. The "ceasefire," meanwhile, has been interrupted by constant complaints of violations along the Suez, guerrilla actions across Israel's other borders, hijackings of international airliners and a violent civil war that nearly toppled the government of Jordan.

It is obvious that the Moscow-Cairo Axis

has used the interim to strengthen its forces—and the United States has found it necessary to provide additional aid to Israel, in order to prevent Soviet imperialism from taking over the whole region without challenge.

Such a take-over, of course, would spell the end of Israel as a democratic state. It would also make untenable the position of NATO in the Eastern Mediterranean and would jeopardize the Free World orientation of friendly countries like Turkey and Iran.

Egypt has moved, with the Sudan, Libya and more recently Syria, to take the first steps toward forming a new alliance—or perhaps an actual merger of sovereignties—along the lines of a vastly expanded United Arab Republic, dependent upon Russian armament and united mainly by a common bond of hatred toward Israel.

The guerrillas have refused to recognize the cease-fire at all, and declare that they will accept no "political solution" whatsoever, short of the total "liberation" of Palestine—euphemisms which in effect mean the annihilation of Israel as a state. The "liberation forces" have based themselves in large part upon an Arab population heavily dependent upon UNRWA support, and have thereby called into question the credentials of UNRWA as a relief organization. Many of the guerrilla groups are heavily influenced by Communist China (which has also supplied substantial quantities of arms), and the Maoist doctrine that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" has become the motto of most of these terrorist forces.

In short, the outlook is ominous—altogether too much like the moment of seeming quiet that often precedes a violent storm.

Ambassador Gunnar Jarring's mission has often seemed a futile one—but it must be credited with at least keeping the tensions on a "maybe we will talk" basis, rather than in hot war status.

The United Nations has been unable to do anything effective to advance a settlement—basically, because it contains a built-in majority of nations determined to vote along lines of allegiance to power structures, rather than according to juridical principles. Indeed, if the UN had been able to control the problem, the two cease-fire periods engineered by Secretary of State Wm. Rogers would have been unnecessary, for ever since June 9, 1967, a UN cease-fire resolution has been, at least theoretically, in effect throughout the area—but the Egyptians had long since denounced it, and the Syrians (along with the guerrillas) never even formally accepted it.

In the little time that remains to men of peace, before the next eruption occurs, it is urgent that the forces operating in the Middle East be accurately analyzed, and some sensible effort be undertaken to prevent them from blazing into a new stage of fighting which might very possibly become the genesis of World War III.

SADAT PROCLAIMS CONTINUED WAR

Egypt's new President Sadat has made it clear that he intends to continue the war against Israel, speaking in terms no less inflammatory than those used by the late Gamal Abdel Nasser.

In accepting the Egyptian National Assembly's nomination for the Presidency, Sadat said, in a speech carried live over domestic Egyptian radio:

"I will continue to march along the path of Gamal Abdel Nasser, in any circumstances . . . We must first and foremost continue by all means the struggle for the liberation of all Arab territories occupied during the 1967 aggression. These are Arab Jerusalem, Gaza, the West Bank of Jordan, the Syrian heights and the Egyptian Sinai desert . . . Our enemies are Israel, international Zionism and world imperialism."

A week later, receiving a delegation of Arab

lawyers, Sadat waxed even more provocative.

"We will not relinquish one grain of sand or a handful of Arab soil," he said.

If there was any doubt about what he meant by "Arab soil," he cleared it up in his next sentence: "Sinai comes last, after Gaza, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Jerusalem." Clearly, President Sadat had decided to assume Nasser's banner as the "leader of all the Arabs."

Addressing the national congress of the Arab Socialist Union in mid-November, he reiterated the same line, declaring that Egypt would "accept" the UN resolution (supporting an extended ceasefire) only on the condition "that we will not extend the ceasefire period again."

MOSCOW-CAIRO AXIS STRENGTHENED

If some observers were surprised to find Sadat—a comparatively unknown man, following in the shadow of the glamorous Nasser—taking such a confident war-like stance, the explanation was not hard to find.

Sadat was able to proclaim military adventurism, because he felt confident of the continued support of his stronger partner in the Moscow-Cairo Axis. Indeed, one might say that the source of the Middle East's trouble today is to be found primarily in the Sovietization of Egypt.

Just as Nasser had reassured the Assembly that Moscow "had made up for all our losses" not long after the June, 1967, war, now Sadat was able to announce to his people that continued help from a powerful outside source was at hand.

Only a few days after his election, Sadat spoke to a delegation of Al-Azhar University teachers concerning "our special friendship with the USSR." He was firm and specific about continued Soviet arms supplies.

"The Soviet Union," said Sadat, "after the death of the great President (Nasser), continued to provide aid and the latest military devices, and to train our sons in their use."

The whole speech was carried throughout Egypt, on radio, October 12, 1970.

Later the same day, Sadat enlarged upon this theme (also carried on radio). Speaking to a delegation of Egyptian engineers, he said: "An electronic war has been imposed on us . . . We are receiving full training from the Soviet Union to proceed in this direction. . . ." Then he asked the visiting engineers "to stand with him" as an indication of victory to come. "The battle is long and bitter and we must prepare ourselves to be determined for victory," he concluded.

In short, President Sadat was able to boast to the Egyptian Assembly on Nov. 12, "We have greatly benefited from the ceasefire; we will see the effect at the proper time."

Sadat's enmity is not limited to Israel, however. At every opportunity he adds anti-American propaganda. The policy of his Foreign Minister at the United Nations, he told the Assembly, would be to "expose the Israeli and U.S. stand." America was charged with using "bribery, temptation, and threats"—and Sadat warned Secy. Rogers that "we will not extend the ceasefire period again." These are the perils to which the peacemaker is exposed in today's troubled world.

On the Soviet side, Moscow radio was meanwhile busy with propaganda reaffirming total support for the Arab cause, and attacking "Israel and American imperialism."

"Both the economic and military might of the USSR as well as the efforts of Soviet diplomacy, in particular in the United Nations, are promoting success for the just cause of the Arab peoples," declared Radio Moscow in a typical broadcast beamed to Africa on Nov. 1.

"The Soviet Union will support the struggle of the people and leaders of the United Arab Republic under all circumstances," promised Boris Ponomarev, addressing the Arab Socialist Union in Cairo on Dec. 12. Mr. Pono-

marev spoke as a secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR and head of its delegation to the convention of Egypt's only legally permitted political party.

Meanwhile, the number of Russian personnel in Egypt has continued to increase. The participation of Moscow in the Arab cause is not only in terms of supplying arms; it includes large numbers of "advisors," and substantial numbers of actual fighting men. For the first time since World War II Soviet airmen are flying Soviet planes under the flag of another country.

For Moscow, of course, the possible harvest is large—it is nothing less than control of the Middle East, and the realization of a goal which the Czars sought, but were unable to reach.

As if to protect their investment, the Soviets then proceeded to vastly upgrade their representation in Cairo, by naming their Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vladimir Vinogradov, to be permanent Ambassador to Egypt.

From the point of view of the Free World, all this is highly alarming. It means not only political domination over a key part of the world's geography; it also means that the Soviet Navy is able to vastly enlarge its Mediterranean presence. As Admiral Horacio Rivero, Commander in Chief Allied Forces Southern Europe, reported to NATO, "the Soviets continuously use the ports of Alexandria and Port Said for their support and repair."

FEDERATION OR SATELLIZATION?

Although the death of Nasser was loudly mourned throughout the Arab world, in one way it opened the path toward some types of common action which had not been possible before. Nasser had always spoken of himself as "the leader" whose task it must be to unite the Arab peoples (and the whole Islamic world, for that matter). This was the text of his early book, *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, and the central theme of much of his diplomacy.

As Nasser saw the world, "a state must discover living space." This "space" (an idea much like the German "lebensraum") consisted of three "zones"—first, "the Arab zone surrounding us;" second, "the African continent;" and third, "the Islamic world." As to the "Arab zone," he looked for it to become "a single whole" under his leadership. As to Africa, "our responsibility extends to the remotest depths of the jungle," he wrote. And as to the Islamic world, he saw himself master of an area "that stretches across continents and oceans" and whose inhabitants numbered 400 million people.

Unfortunately for Nasser, there were other Arab leaders—of lesser stature in the world, but leaders in their own countries—who did not want to be submerged in a movement that would only serve to further glorify Nasser.

With Sadat, the situation was quite different. There was political uncertainty in Egypt itself, and Sadat is not a charismatic figure. Therefore, the November 8 conference in Cairo, which, brought together the heads of state for Libya and the Sudan, as well as Sadat, unexpectedly agreed to work toward a federation of these three countries. All are "revolutionary socialist" governments, and the Libyan and Sudanese regimes are tight dictatorships, while Egypt is a one-party, monolithic state functioning as a dictatorship.

A fortnight later, following the 21st Damascus coup d'etat since World War II, Syria announced that she would join the group.

Thus far, details of the federation are unannounced, but a supreme planning council has been set up. "The federation is to become the nucleus for unity of the Arab nations," said the official communique.

Moscow, of course, gave an immediate blessing. After all, the Soviets are deeply involved in the Sudan as well as in Egypt—and

the Khartoum regime relies heavily upon Soviet arms—including MIG planes and tanks—to keep itself in power, and to fight its genocidal war against the black Africans who have been striving, in the South Sudan, to rid themselves of an outside Arab dictatorship.

As to Libya, Russia has long wanted to get her hands on that country's oil production—an enormous three-million-barrels a day. The first shipment of Soviet arms arrived in Libya six months ago—and on Nov. 30 it was followed by a Russian mission of "experts," to survey the crude oil reserves of this Arab state. The process of completing the change-over from a relatively benevolent monarchy to a single-party, single-religion state was completed at about the same time, with the conversion of Tripoli's Roman Catholic Cathedral into the Gamal Abdel Nasser Mosque.

Syria, of course, has been a somewhat unruly minor partner of the Moscow-Cairo Axis, and could be counted on to join with the other three. Syrians have always been opposed to the UN ceasefire, so President Ahmed Khatib warned that in joining the proposed federation, his government "would not accept a peaceful solution with Israel"—a rather unnecessary pronouncement since the main political cement uniting the partners was hatred of Israel in the first place.

Therefore, Pravda was ready to greet the federation proposal with a statement that the project would be supported, because all of the countries have "an anti-imperialist foreign policy" and because of "their policy of developing and strengthening cooperation with the Soviet Union."

In short, the Soviets are congratulating themselves that they are now about to succeed—if the federation lives—in entrenching themselves even more firmly in a huge sector of the Arab world which they had long sought to bring within their sphere of influence, but where troublesome internecine squabbles often impeded Moscow's purpose.

From the vantage point of the Moscow-Cairo Axis, Arab Africa is about to be satellitized, not federated.

One wonders how the people of a country like Syria will ultimately react to all this. The first United Arab Republic—consisting of Syria and Egypt alone—lasted from February, 1958, until October, 1961. It began with enormous enthusiasm, but as Syrian leaders were progressively stripped of power, or moved to Egypt, the people of the lesser partner became restive, and a coup d'etat brought a sudden end to "federation."

Whatever the outcome of the new scheme, Moscow will reap the profits. She is already well entrenched in each of the participating states—and in the case of Syria, especially, she controls a bellicose assembly of terrorists, always ready to follow an extremist lead.

UNITED STATES CAN HELP TO BRING PEACE

Dark as these developments may seem, there is still a ceasefire in operation. This means that, provided the right steps are taken, there is hope for the future—although not for an immediate solution.

When tensions and hatreds, and power collisions of such size, exist in any part of the world, it is unrealistic to expect a sudden end to troubles. The statesman should seek a course which, given reasonable time, shows prospect for peace—and then he should pursue that course with all possible firmness.

There are several things that can be done.

First, it is important to keep the Jarring mission alive. Obviously, serious talks on this level cannot be undertaken while one of the contending powers is using the ceasefire period to strengthen its fortifications within the ceasefire area. That Egypt has been using the interim for this purpose is without question. The facts are confirmed both by American and by Israeli intelligence—and the intention to use the ceasefire in this way

has been openly stated by President Sadat.

In order to keep the Jarring talks going, it is therefore absolutely necessary that the United States take all steps needed to guarantee that Israel will be adequately strengthened, and to make it categorically clear to the world that an effective balance of power will be maintained.

Former Ambassador Averell Harriman has made the suggestion that the United States announce—in addition to all of its present commitments to Israel—a policy of extensive lend-lease of military equipment, similar to that which we followed in the early days of World War II, when we extended such assistance to Britain, France and the Soviet Union.

This action would have two advantages: (1), it would provide Israel with assurances necessary to balance the violations of the ceasefire by Egypt, without putting an impossible strain on the Israeli economy; and (2), it would assure all countries that no imbalance could exist, once peace is established, because the conditions of a lend-lease agreement involve the return of the military equipment, after the emergency has passed.

The announcement of such a policy right now would go far to stabilize the situation in the Middle East.

SUPPORT NEEDED IN UN

The United States should also make clear her intention of using every diplomatic means available—including the use of a UN veto if necessary—to make sure that fair treatment is accorded both sides. As noted above, the USSR has already pledged "full diplomatic support" to the Arab cause, and as the situation now stands in the UN, this can only be taken to mean a continuation of the one-sided policy which has so long afflicted the Security Council, which has been in the grip of a Moslem-Communist power bloc able to control all voting on Middle Eastern matters.

With these steps taken, we would be on the road toward some kind of equilibrium, which would at least permit the continuation of talks.

Ambassador Jarring's problem has been badly complicated by President Sadat's declaration that he will not talk until Israel withdraws from the Suez and other areas. Realistically, this means not talking at all, because meaningful negotiation is obviously impossible if either side is first required to give up everything that it has to bargain with. We urgently hope that Egypt's friends, and the efforts of the UN, will soon persuade Mr. Sadat to take a more diplomatic course.

It is also necessary to make clear to the guerrillas that they cannot longer count on using rations and camp sites maintained by UNRWA as training and staging areas for their illegal military operations. Since the United States pays 70% of the budget of UNRWA—a budget that consists only of voluntary contributions—it should be entirely possible to enforce this point of view, once we make up our minds to do so.

The United States should also use every diplomatic device to frustrate the highly improper use to which the Soviets have been putting UNRWA centers, by supplying armament to the guerrillas clustering there. The Soviet actions in this regard—including the most vituperative anti-American propaganda—are particularly reprehensible in view of the fact that Russia has yet to contribute a single penny to UNRWA's budget. American delegates at the UN should press for action to restrain such improper Soviet conduct—even though we realize that Moscow is almost certain to veto any actual resolution on the subject.

In the long run, America should strive to establish a viable balance of power in the Middle East region. But this now means, as we have pointed out before, not merely a balance between Israel and her Arab neighbors, but also a balance sufficient to make

military adventurism by the Moscow-Cairo Axis too risky a project to be attractive.

STRENGTHEN FREE WORLD

To do this, the United States must not only strengthen Israel. We must also extend support in whatever degree is needed to the other friends of the Free World, such as Turkey and Iran, located in the Middle East. And above all, we must make sure that the American naval presence in the Mediterranean is maintained in a visible and effective way. NATO must also be urged to play its full part in the area, because the freedom of Europe is involved.

In all of this, there is no absolute guarantee of the future—but there is at least reasonable hope. As Senator Spessard Holland (D., Fla.) puts it, "The existing balance of power in the Mid-East has prevented further open warfare. . . . I shall hope that this will continue to be the case."

President Richard M. Nixon, in his December 10, 1970, press conference, expressly restated America's national policy. "I trust," he said, "that we get the legislation, so we can keep the balance of power in that part of the world (the Middle East) so that the parties involved on both sides will be willing to negotiate, and that eventually they start talking."

In such a policy—resolutely followed—there is hope; in hesitancy and indecision there is only the prospect of disaster.

MISMANAGEMENT AT UNRWA

Now that the United Nations has once more extended the life of UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East), the Congress of the United States is going to be asked to pay the bill.

In the past 21 years this agency and its predecessor have spent more than \$700 million, of which 70% has been paid by the United States out of tax monies, according to the President's Report to the Congress on U.S. Participation in the United Nations for the year 1969.

It is time for Congress to ask whether we should continue to pay these bills, unless some basic changes are made.

We fully support the granting of humanitarian assistance wherever people lack the means of livelihood.

We are deeply disturbed, however, by the manner in which guerrilla and terrorist groups have been permitted to use refugee camps in a way that has disturbed the peace of the Middle East, imperilled the security of both Israel and Jordan, and directly harmed the interests of the United States.

A relief agency must be divorced from politics—both domestic and international. It is one thing to pay for assistance to people in need. It is quite another thing to have that assistance misused for political or warlike purposes.

The so-called refugee camps continue to be recruiting centers for El Fatah and other brands of terrorists and guerrillas. In many places the control—and even the policing—of camps has been taken over by Palestine "liberation" groups. In Jordan the camps were headquarters for the attempt to unseat King Hussein and to establish a regime committed to a militaristic or "non-political" settlement of Middle Eastern affairs. This purpose had come so near to accomplishment not long ago that a correspondent for The New York Times reported in August that "nobody enters the camps without guerrilla sponsorship."

The press has repeatedly published photographs showing such misuse of UNRWA facilities, and pro-Arab spokesmen have not even bothered to try to conceal the facts. For example, the weekly publication issued by Dr. M. T. Mehdi, head of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations, recently featured a front-page photo captioned "Refugee Camps Become Training

Grounds." When a reporter for Life magazine managed to secure an interview with Dr. George Habash, leader of the guerrilla group that has instigated the hijacking of international jet liners, the meeting place turned out to be a building attached to a refugee camp. "Outside the closed doors, armed fedayeen stood guard," the Life correspondent wrote.

Even the children are involved. As far back as May, 1969, the Arab World (publication of the official Arab Information Center in New York) said:

"In the refugee camps, Palestinian youth aged 8 to 14 receive military, political and athletic training after school as members of Al Ashbal (Lion Cub), the scout movement of the Palestine National Liberation Movement."

In the schools maintained by UNRWA the same abuses are found. Young Jordanian children are asked to analyze the sentence: "The Arab soldiers will lead our enemies to the slaughter." And the Syrian Minister of Education, responding to inquiries from UNESCO (which is supposed to play a part in directing these schools) wrote: "The hatred which we indoctrinate into the minds of our children from birth is sacred."

We do not believe that any of these things should be paid for out of taxes collected from the working people of America.

If anything, the situation was worsened by the actions of the 1970 General Assembly of the United Nations. After approving an extension of UNRWA's operations for another year, the Assembly proceeded to pass, as part of its action concerning refugee aid, a resolution declaring that the "people of Palestine" are entitled to self-determination, without any regard for the sovereign rights of Israel, Jordan or any other state in the area. This was done despite the fact that the governments concerned are members of the United Nations and such infringement on their sovereignty constitutes a violation of the UN Charter.

It is not a proper purpose for a relief agency to engage in trying to promote the "recognition" of a state-within-a-state, in the Middle East or anywhere else.

Although the vote for this strange resolution was only 47 in favor to 22 opposing and 50 abstaining, it nevertheless is part of the record, and constitutes a new burden upon UNRWA.

We believe that every nation in the world has the right to be heard, and the right to vote in the UN.

We do not believe, however, that the United States is bound to pay for the misdeeds of others, or to finance activities which run counter to its own interests, without availing some really paramount humanitarian objective.

NO FUNDS WITHOUT SAFEGUARDS

We therefore suggest that no more funds ought to be allocated to UNRWA until certain rigid safeguards have been established, including the following:

(1). Strict provision must be made to prevent the use of UNRWA camps and rations for recruiting and supporting terrorist or guerrilla organizations. The Director-General of UNRWA, in past annual reports, has admitted his inability to correct this situation, but nothing has been done about it. Meanwhile, UNRWA funds continue to be used not only for relief, but also to give unauthorized support to terroristic movements dangerous to Middle Eastern peace.

(2). Educational facilities provided for UNRWA centers must not continue to be used for the teaching of hatred. It is reasonable to require that UNRWA schools meet technical standards prevailing in the host countries, but we must not allow the continued use of teaching materials that impart hatred against neighboring peoples.

(3). A real effort must be made to resettle the refugees in available open areas in the

Arab world or elsewhere, or to provide jobs for them. In 1948, the number of Jewish refugees moving out of Arab lands was approximately equal to the number of Arabs moving out of the territory that is now Israel. The former group was resettled promptly; the latter group—augmented by uncounted children and grandchildren—continues to subsist in large part upon international assistance, without any planned endeavor for resettlement.

(4). Definitive steps must also be taken to prevent host countries from collecting taxes and other imposts from UNRWA, contrary to the controlling international agreements, and under conditions that amount to collecting an involuntary subsidy from American taxpayers, often for the benefit of countries not friendly to us.

(5). Whatever may be the political future of "the Palestine people," or however strong may be their claim to self-determination, these are not matters about which a relief agency can properly concern itself. The national aspirations of the Palestine Liberation Organization, El Fatah or any other group must not be aided by monies supplied for the most part by the United States as part of a "relief" budget, UN votes to the contrary notwithstanding.

ARABS MUST BE RESPONSIBLE

As a condition for further large American contributions to UNRWA, the Arab governments should agree to be responsible for implementing these proposed safeguards. If they refuse to do so, they should support their own people out of their own funds. They cannot be permitted to misapply relief or resettlement funds for political purposes.

Finally, the burden of supporting UNRWA must be more widely distributed. To date, the Soviet Union has not seen fit to contribute a single dollar for this altruistic purpose. On the other hand, Moscow has supplied the guerrillas with guns and other military equipment, and has constantly propagandized the inhabitants of many of the centers. Certainly, the U.S. taxpayer should not continue to subsidize such misuse of relief facilities.

If the administration of UNRWA can be cleansed, so that it is once more an agency devoted only to the efficient administration of assistance to people who are in need, then the United States stands ready, as always, to pay much more than its fair share of the bill.

We do support further American appropriations for UNRWA. But before these appropriations are made, we believe that certain enforceable safeguards must be established, to prevent the continuation of the abuses that prevail today. American support might well be advanced on a month-to-month basis, contingent upon presentation of evidence that reasonable progress is being made to correct the evils listed above. If this is done, UNRWA may once again become the valuable humanitarian agency that it was supposed to be in the beginning.

ANOTHER GLIMPSE OF SOVIET JEWRY

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, a further look into the plight of Soviet Jewry has been taken by one of the outstanding spiritual leaders in my congressional district, Rabbi Philip Lefkowitz, and I wish to include his remarks in the RECORD at this time:

ANOTHER GLIMPSE OF SOVIET JEWRY

Perhaps the greatest tragedy of the Hitler era was the general apathy on the part of much of humanity to the atrocities being performed by the Third Reich against innocent civilians. An otherwise sensitive and feeling world literally "turned off" the living hell of Nazi Germany.

Today in the Soviet Union there is a well thought out program dedicated to the destruction of Judaism. Over three and one half million Jews have but six Synagogues. There is no formal Jewish education available. Ritual observances on an individual basis are handled severely. The Soviet Union is squeezing every drop of Judaism from its Jewish citizenry in the hope that it will be left with a pliable pulp of humanity which can be fashioned into model citizens of the atheistic, communist state.

Yet Soviet Jewry wants to maintain its Jewishness. Cellars and back alleys are utilized for the study of Jewish history and culture. Young Jewish men perform the sacred rite of circumcision knowing full well that this act is in direct violation of the will of the State. The thinking Jew must place his life in the balance to maintain his Jewish identity.

Many Jews have realized that they can no longer live under such circumstances. Their sole desire is to leave the Soviet Union to emigrate to Israel and there live a life of freedom. This desire for emigration is their right as human beings and has been affirmed by the United Nations. Yet, the Soviet Union maintains a policy of obstructing emigration. The government willfully deters its Jewish citizens from fulfilling their strongest desire. The Soviet Union uses every means at its disposal to coerce its Jewish citizenry.

Let us pray that the collective conscience of the world will not lay dormant as it did during the Nazi Holocaust, but will motivate freedom loving peoples across the globe to rally behind Soviet Jewry in its quest for basic human rights.

EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL PETROLEUM PRICE BOOSTS ON EUROPEAN ENERGY PATTERNS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, an April memorandum on the "Situation of the Community Energy Market" published by the Commission of the European Communities concludes that the recent oil agreements with Mideast and North African states will, insofar as Western Europe is concerned, improve the competitive position of natural gas and favor a resumption of nuclear power-plant construction. There follows a brief review of the memorandum together with two tables illustrating recent price trends of certain petroleum products.

THE SITUATION OF THE COMMUNITY ENERGY MARKET (APRIL 1971)

(Based on a memorandum published by the Commission of the European Communities)

Oil problems, and especially the Teheran and Tripoli negotiations between the oil companies and the producing countries have been the main forms of interest in the energy market during the first three months of 1971. They have led to an increase in certain fac-

tors in the production costs of enterprises which supply the Community with petroleum products. The outcome of these negotiations has modified certain basic data of the world oil market; in particular it has led to the disappearance of the abundant availabilities of cheap oil which characterized the supply position during recent years. On the other hand, the fact that the agreements have been concluded for a period of five years could operate in favour of a certain stability.

This situation, in conjunction with the rise in freight rates in 1970, has led to an upturn

in the prices of the chief petroleum products. By comparison with the end of 1969 the trend is as follows:

(a) As regards heavy fuel oil, the prices to the consumer (tax included) have doubled in Belgium and the Netherlands and have increased by about 60% in France, 40% in West Germany and 20% in Italy. The discounts generally accorded to buyers have practically disappeared elsewhere.

(b) As regards domestic fuel oil, the increases are relatively more moderate, being about one-third of the price to the consumer

in France and Belgium, nearly half in Italy and West Germany, and three-quarters in the Netherlands. The present prices of domestic fuel oil differ less from country to country than those of heavy fuel oil.

(c) As regards petrol, the price increases have come later and are relatively smaller than in the case of fuel oils. For "regular" grade, the increases, tax included, are about 3% in France and Belgium, 7% in West Germany, 13% in the Netherlands and 16% in Italy. For "super", the increases are generally about the same.

FUEL-OIL PRICES IN CERTAIN COMMUNITY CENTERS (NOVEMBER 1969-MARCH 1971)

[Dollar per ton]

	Heavy fuel oils (exrefinery prices)		Domestic fuel oils (deliveries of over 5,000 l) delivered prices			Heavy fuel oils (exrefinery prices)		Domestic fuel oils (deliveries of over 5,000 l) delivered prices	
	Before tax	Tax included	Before tax	Tax included		Before tax	Tax included	Before tax	Tax included
Hamburg:									
November 1969	13.5	20.3	26.7	32.7	November 1969	11	13	26.5 to 27	36.8 to 37.3
November 1970	19.3	26.1	38.9	46.2	November 1970	18 to 19.5	18 to 19.5	36.5 to 37.5	48 to 49.5
March 1971	21.9	28.7	43.1	50.9	March 1971	21.5	21.5	38	49.9
Rotterdam:									
November 1969	9 to 9.5	12.9 to 13.4	21.7	22.6	November 1969	14.5 to 15	19.5 to 20	25.7	36.5 (10)
November 1970	19.1 to 21.1	23 to 25	31.9	33.2	November 1970	16.6	21.6	33.5 to 35	45.5 to 47 (10)
March 1971	20 to 22.2	24.1 to 26.1	38.2	39.7	March 1971	18.2	23.2	33.5 to 35	45.5 to 47 (10)
Antwerp:									
November 1969	9.5 to 10.5	13.5 to 14.5	24.5 to 27.5	37 to 40					
November 1970	22.5	28.4	38 to 41	50 to 54					
March 1971	22.5	24.5	32 to 34	48.9 to 51.2					

TREND OF PETROL PRICES AT THE PUMP IN THE COMMUNITY COUNTRIES (NOVEMBER 1969-MARCH 1971)

[Dollars per 100 litres]

	"Regular" grade		"Super" grade	
	Before tax	Tax included	Before tax	Tax included
West Germany (average price):				
November 1969	4.53	15.12	5.67	16.20
November 1970	4.56	15.68	6.31	17.62
March 1971	5.07	16.23	6.56	17.90
Belgium (sole price):				
November 1969	4.78	17.45	5.66	18.44
November 1970	4.78	17.40	5.67	18.40
March 1971	4.56	18.00	5.82	19.50
France (zone D):				
November 1969	4.79	19.11	5.69	20.79
November 1970	4.98	19.31	5.91	21.04
March 1971	5.28	19.66	6.27	21.44
Italy (sole price):				
November 1969	4.50	20.80	5.72	22.40
November 1970	4.87	24.32	6.02	25.92
March 1971	4.87	24.32	6.02	25.92
Netherlands (zone 1):				
November 1969	3.98	15.64	4.54	15.27
November 1970	4.95	16.74	5.58	17.43
March 1971	5.23	17.68	5.90	18.45

The trend in the prices of petroleum products during the next few months will continue to be affected by the recent oil agreements. Certain compensating factors may, however, come into play, and particularly an easing of the freight market.

The price rises will not be felt equally by all consumers. They will have the heaviest impact on energy-intensive industries (electric power stations, chemical and glass manufacturing, etc.). This increase in the cost of energy should not lead to distortions of competition within the Common Market if it is applied fairly uniformly throughout the Member States. But the competitiveness of certain Community industries could be reduced relative to that of non-Community countries which have their own energy sources and will be less affected by the world rise in crude oil prices (USA, Canada, USSR). Account must, however, be taken of the structural evolution in the prices of indigenous energy sources in these countries, e.g., the tendency towards dearer natural gas in the USA. Furthermore, the recent rises in the price of energy are only one aspect of the general price movement which characterizes the present inflationary period.

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The effects of the rises in the price of petroleum products on competition between energy sources will not all be felt immediately. They will partly depend upon the behaviour of the enterprises in the energy sector and partly upon the measures taken by the Member States as regards energy policy. In this respect, it is particularly important to maintain healthy competition between the enterprises which help to supply the Community with crude oil.

The competitive position of coal mined in the Community will probably remain unchanged, but under certain conditions there could be new prospects for coal for thermal uses imported from non-Community countries. The position of natural gas, which is already favourable, will improve further as a consequence of the increased cost of fuel oil. Lastly, the present trend favours a resumption of the nuclear power-plant construction programmes, the first results of which have already been observed.

while film when the opportunity is presented.

The following descriptive material on the film is taken verbatim from a small brochure prepared by Honeywell, Inc.:

CONFRONTATION: IDEAS CLASH

Attitudes and opinions harden and suspicion smolders under the surface. Anger erupts. Understanding is buried under accusations and self-justification. It's a conflict that nobody wins.

Today, differences of age form a clear-cut ideological front. Young people are vocal and visible. They are united by a high level of agreement on questions of society, politics and morals. And their ideas differ sharply from the philosophies of their elders.

But differences of opinion are not necessarily bad. Our society was founded on the principle that any new view deserves a fair test on its merits. We know the value of good ideas. A society that forecloses on the thinking of its youth runs a grave risk. First there is the angry frustration generated when a lively segment of the population is suppressed. And perhaps an even greater danger is the loss of new ideas and energy we depend on youth to provide.

To help create an atmosphere in which ideas can be examined positively and attentively, Honeywell has presented, on film, a cross section of the opinions of young people. As citizens they have the right to speak. Through their concern, their work and their participation in public affairs they have earned the right to be heard.

COST OVERRUNS

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the following paper from the Rand Corp., concerning cost overruns puts this phenomena into the proper perspective.

Mr. David Novick points out that there is nothing new about cost overruns, citing an historical example from Roman times,

HONEYWELL FILMSTRIP ON YOUTH

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, along with the other congressional Members from Minnesota, I had an opportunity to review a film presentation prepared by Honeywell, Inc., which is headquartered in my district.

The film accurately portrays the concerns and attitudes of young people today. It also identifies the problem the new generation of voters is having in attempting to identify with either major political party.

Honeywell, Inc. has made copies of its film available to the Republican and Democrat Parties and is giving its other limited copies the widest possible distribution.

The film is an eye opener, and I would encourage everyone to view this worth-

and that cost overruns are not confined to the Department of Defense.

The paper follows:

ARE COST OVERRUNS A MILITARY-INDUSTRY COMPLEX SPECIALTY?

(By David Novick, the Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif.)

Recent discussions of cost overruns in military procurement have occasioned loud cries of anguish about the military-industrial complex. These discussions in their current phase refer to remarks by President Eisenhower in his farewell address. The recent recommendation of the General Accounting Office that all defense contractors be required to adopt a set of uniform accounting practices is part of this stream of events. Although these two are clearly separate and separable, they are combined here because the public information media have identified them as cause and effect. Probably the most noteworthy such identification was the New York Times editorial on Tuesday, January 27, 1970.

The idea of uniform accounting practices for defense contractors is not new and at all times has seemed both appropriate and possible. Such bookkeeping is now specified by the Armed Services Procurement Regulations (ASPR), which are deficient in information requirements and really do not require uniformity. This is referred to here simply to eliminate it from a discussion of cost overruns, since uniform accounting procedures (although desirable) can deal only with history.

They can identify past overruns but would be of little or no service in meeting the real problem—future overruns.

The problem of cost overruns is neither new nor peculiar to the military. An early illustration is provided by Roman history shortly after the beginning of the Christian era. At that time, Rome decided to build an aqueduct for the town of Troas in Asia.

Costs started to outrun the estimates as soon as the construction began. According to the historian Edward Gibbon, "... the young magistrate, observing that the town of Troas was indifferently supplied with water, obtained from the munificence of Hadrian three hundred myriads of drachms (about a hundred thousand pounds) for the construction of a new aqueduct. But in the execution of the work the charge amounted to more than double the estimate, and the officers of the revenue began to murmur."¹ The complaint of the revenue collectors was silenced by the Generosity of the wealthy Julius Atticus, who met all of the extra cost out of his pocket. Since no Julius Atticus lives today, the taxpayer and the public treasury foot the bill, be it a civil or a military project.

Two issues are involved in the problem of cost overrun: (1) the formulation of the original estimate of the cost of the item, and (2) the control of cost when the project is under way.

As indicated above, the GAO proposal would not eliminate the first of these difficulties—estimates of future costs. Although it might alleviate the second problem—cost control—it could be expected to accomplish this only at some distant future time.

Substantial effort to deal with the problem of surprise or cost overruns has been expended in both government and industry, and in both the United States and abroad. A significant contribution was the report of Great Britain's Plowden Committee,² which recognized that efficiency of cost control derives from both the quality of the forward estimate and the reliability of the instruments of financial control applied to the

work to be done. Although the Plowden Committee dealt with the problem of procurement by the British Defence Ministry, its findings apply equally to all undertakings that will produce goods to be delivered five or more years in the future, including those in both the United States and private business.

The fact that cost overrun is not exclusive to government or to Defense Department programs is proven by a wide range of experience, starting with the Roman illustration discussed earlier. Let me cite a few fairly recent ones.

In the early 1950s, when nuclear reactor technology first became available for peaceful uses, a major public utility company contracted with an established boilermaker for an atomic core for a power plant. Although the public utility had had long experience with fossil fuel and hydroelectric plants, this was its first entry into the nuclear field. For this reason, even though the boilermaker had had substantial atomic experience through its contribution to the World War II Manhattan Project, the public utility engaged a consulting firm that was an established technical consultant in the nuclear field.

The contract awarded by the public utility called for delivery of the reactor core within four years for \$55 million. On the original delivery date, the boilermaker had run out of money and was not able to make delivery. Delivery was made several years later and the cost overrun was some 200 percent of the original price.

The cost overrun results were the same for one of the nation's largest communications companies when it introduced a new transmission technology after World War II. Here again, in spite of the accumulation of knowledge, the technique selected for introduction was not fully developed and time was an important factor. In this case, the time schedule was met, but with a 300 to 400 percent cost overrun.

Again in the early 1950s, an American auto manufacturer decided to reintroduce an old body-frame concept. Although it had been used previously by the company and was currently being produced by other auto manufacturers in both the United States and Europe, it was new to that company at that time. All went well until the first units were delivered to the company's proving ground, where the front end was found to be entirely unstable and unmanageable when speed was accelerated—it raised off the ground. An addition of several hundred pounds of metal to the front end held it on the ground, but caused cost overruns of about \$200 per unit. In the automobile industry, where budgets are very tight, even a \$10.00 per unit change is considered substantial.

In the public field in recent years, we are all familiar with the cost overruns on the Rayburn Annex to the House Office Building. Most of us have also heard about the enormous additions to the original contract price required for some of Chicago's elevated highways. To this list of overruns for ordinary construction well within the state of the art, one or two items from the 1968 hearings on Atomic Energy Commission appropriations might be added.

The most striking AEC overrun cited at that time was for the modification of reactor facilities at Hanford, Washington, where the original cost estimate was \$12,300,000 and the final figures totaled \$21,728,000. The zero gradient synchrotron at Argonne was originally estimated at \$29,000,000; the final cost was \$51,402,000. AEC's Project Sherwood, initially estimated at \$30,000,000, actually cost \$57,004,000.

Turning again to the nongovernment construction: An office building is a simple structure compared to modern military aircraft and guided missiles. Standard grades of steel are used for beams, reinforcement rods, and mesh. There exist numerous suppliers of

ready-mixed concrete, sheathing materials for the exterior, sash, flooring, roofing materials, and every other part of the structure. Yet we all know of many commercial office buildings that involved substantial cost overruns. Innumerable people who contracted for private homes have experienced the same problem—they wind up paying substantially more than originally bargained for.

These examples are cited simply to demonstrate that cost overrun is not a phenomenon unique to either the Department of Defense or military goods. To be sure, this will always be a fruitful area of study for both military and civilian parts of the economy. But let us not be misled by the current list of horrible examples in the military and assume that this is the product of some evil conspiracy between the government and manufacturers of military goods.

In the design, procurement, and production of future goods, errors will always be made, whether in the purchase of new space vehicles for government use, the introduction of new power plants by privately owned electric companies, or the purchase of new office buildings and homes by private individuals. This has been the case since Roman times and can be expected to continue in the foreseeable future.

KEOKUK BRIDGE SAFE

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, recently some doubts were raised about the structural integrity of the bridge which crosses the Mississippi River at Keokuk.

These allegations are completely unfounded. The reputable firm of consulting engineers, Modjeski & Masters, completed their annual inspection of the bridge last fall. Their report makes clear that the bridge is in very good shape.

The entire report follows so all can see that the charges made about the bridge simply cannot be substantiated:

MODJESKI AND MASTERS REPORT ON THE 1970 INSPECTION OF THE KEOKUK MUNICIPAL BRIDGE

The following report is submitted on the 1970 Annual Inspection of the Keokuk Municipal Bridge crossing the Mississippi River at Keokuk, Iowa. The detailed inspection covered all portions of the superstructure and piers above water, and was made by Mr. Harold Eckhoff on July 25 and 26, 1970.

The bridge is operated under the supervision of Mr. William Bornscheuer, General Superintendent of the Keokuk Municipal Bridge and Treasurer of the Keokuk Bridge Commission. Mr. Bornscheuer participated in the inspection and in discussions of maintenance performance and needs. Operation and maintenance was also discussed with Mr. James Cameron, Commission Member.

GENERAL CONDITIONS

The Keokuk Municipal Bridge was designed for combined railroad and highway traffic and has a capacity of Cooper's E50, at 20 m.p.h., railroad loading and an H20 highway loading.

Revisions to toll canopy and traffic gates allow full vertical clearances for highway traffic. Roadway widths is limited to 17 feet 2 inches within the through trusses and therefore that width is maintained across the bridge except for widening on approach curves.

Maintenance of the structure is excellent,

¹ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, The Modern Library, New York, p. 40.

² *The Control of Public Expenditures*, HMS Stationery Office, London, 1961.

with all requirements for maintaining the capacity of the structure having been met. Diligent efforts of the Maintenance Superintendent to improve operation of the structure and safe use of the crossing are continuing and are supported by the Commission.

MAINTENANCE PERFORMANCE

The interlayered waterproofing of coal tar emulsion and fiberglass cloth mesh is apparently serving in an excellent manner to waterproof the pier tops. The use of this material has been extended somewhat during the year with a considerable increase in its use projected for next year in waterproofing abutments and pedestals.

Additional concrete was placed at the East Railroad Abutment to complete pier protection against scour.

The repainting program is continuing with top chords of the partial through trusses being cleaned down to bare metal with power "needle" cleaning tools prior to repainting.

The sliding arms at each rail lock on the railroad level were replaced and the rail locks readjusted. The need for some additional readjustment of one rail lock was evidenced by difficulty in closing the rail lock during the inspection.

The compressor, controls, and air lines in the control house were replaced and air tanks reduced and relocated for better operation and accessibility. A new compressor and new tools were purchased for cleaning and painting.

Continued maintenance efforts were put forth on the cleaning and adjusting of truss expansion devices, on rewelding of the grid deck, on maintaining paint protection, and on repairing damaged items of bridge railing.

SUBSTRUCTURE

Plans show the stone masonry piers are keyed into solid rock which is without cover in the area of the bridge. Recent soundings have confirmed soundness and stability of the river bottom.

The encasement of the swing pier and the west rest pier in the lock walls a number of years ago completed concrete protection of the underwater portions of the main river piers.

Normal water elevations during the inspection permitted inspection of masonry joints and the joint between the pier and the lower concrete encasement. Masonry joints were tuck-pointed during the past year with mortar including Embecco and these joints remain closed and tight. The joints between the pier and the concrete encasement are generally closed and tight, with some exceptions indicating a need for future maintenance work on this item.

Concrete formed and placed to incorporate riprap protection at the East Railroad Abutment during the past year should complete all required pier protection work presently indicated.

The waterproofing of the pier tops appears fully effective and extension of this work to approach pedestals and some abutment areas is projected and recommended.

Repair of some loose concrete at the Iowa Abutment was completed and pedestals should be individually checked for sound concrete, and if necessary repaired, before waterproofing. Some minor repair work will be needed.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

The bridge superstructure is well maintained and in good condition. No structural deficiencies were noted and the prevention of and the discovery of corrosion losses is being augmented by thorough cleaning during repainting by the maintenance forces.

The thorough cleaning, as is being performed by the maintenance forces, takes a major part of their time but it is very worthwhile in prolonging the effective life of the structure.

The top chords of Spans 2 and 3, where maintenance crews were cleaning to bare metal and repainting, showed structural steel with edges and lines as crisp as newly erected steel illustrating the lack of corrosion generally typical throughout the bridge.

The inspection this year was made at temperatures again approaching 90°. Restricted but adequate truss expansion clearances noted last year and previously have not changed.

During the inspection the swing span was operating satisfactorily and repairs and adjustment of operating equipment had been made. The additional capacity of the new compressor and the replacement of air lines of restrictive sizes with lines of adequate size in the control house has definitely improved air supply to the cylinders operating the rail locks. Air equipment was performing well enough to discuss reduction of air pressures below 160 psi.

The new sliding arms of machined steel stock which were purchased and installed this year improves the operation of the rail locks. Some difficulty was experienced during the inspection in operating the downstream rail lock on the West end due to a bent operating arm. This should be corrected. Continued careful operation and inspection of this equipment is essential.

ROADWAY AND RAILWAY

The grid floor continues to give good service although minor rewelding of grid connections is a regular maintenance item as is the repainting of the guardrails. The rewelding of broken grid welds had been completed. Repainting of the guardrail is scheduled to begin shortly after the time of the inspection.

The filling of grid pockets at expansion dams has been completed. All expansion dams on the roadway are clear and operating well. Some noise in the upper deck is due to the sidewalk grid vibrating against the sidewalk stringers.

Modifications to traffic gates, toll house canopy supports, guardrails and grid deck during recent years has increased horizontal and vertical clearances so that there is no clearance limitation to normal highway loads and some extra clearance loads can be accommodated. This has contributed to continued increase in traffic across the structure.

The railroad deck continues in very good condition although little work has been done on it this year. The TP&W Railroad has approved projected replacement of superelevation blocking on the Iowa Approach which is expected to be carried out during the coming year, along with waterproofing of the top of approach walls.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The inspection verified that the Keokuk Municipal Bridge and associated properties are in very good condition and maintenance work continues to be performed in a very good manner.

The principal recommendation is to complete the work now underway and to accomplish the expanded maintenance work undertaken by the present forces.

A specific listing of recommendations noted in the report, including regular maintenance items and special maintenance items now underway, includes the following:

1. Continue regular inspections, cleaning, and maintenance of and repair to masonry piers, truss expansion rollers, and steel grid deck on a frequent basis.
2. Finish cleaning and repainting of metal work.
3. Continue efforts to reduce highway vehicle speed on the bridge in the interest of traffic safety.
4. Extend waterproofing of pier tops to include top of abutments and approach pedestals.
5. Complete adjustment of downstream rail lock on Iowa end of the swing span.

IRISH IMMIGRATION

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my support for H.R. 165, introduced January 22, 1971, by Congressman WILLIAM RYAN of New York. H.R. 165 would amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to make additional immigrant visas available for countries adversely affected by the 1965 amendments to that act. The principal beneficiaries of this bill would be the countries of Northern Europe, and particularly Ireland.

According to the most recent figures released by the State Department's Visa Office, the number of immigrant visas issued to Ireland has dropped to 1,208 in fiscal 1969 and 1,178 in fiscal 1970. This is since the amendments went into effect at the start of fiscal 1969, and it is in marked contrast with 1961 when 6,497 immigrant visas were issued to the Irish. A total of 41,535 immigrant visas were issued to Ireland during the 10-year period 1961-70. At the present rate, only 11,800 visas will be issued to Irish immigrants during the 10-year period 1971-80.

It is unpardonable that we should virtually close our gates to the Irish, in view of the great debt owed them by our country. It is precisely because Irish immigration to this country was at its peak in the 19th century, when the country was in its formative stage and the living was considerably less easy than it is today, that it is now so difficult for the Irish to obtain immigrant visas. The preference categories under the current law are weighted in favor of reuniting families—children and parents, and brothers and sisters. However, most of the Irish who would like to come to this country do not have parents here. They have great-great grandparents buried here, who with their descendants have served this country in every possible way, from fighting in the Civil War to occupying this Chamber as Members of Congress.

The present legislation is also prejudicial against the Irish in its employment preference categories. The typical Irish immigrant—or would-be immigrant—has been the young man seeking his fortune, without a family and generally without the skills or training now required for labor certification. America's appeal to Ireland has been that of a land of opportunity. We have provided the Irish immigrant with the opportunity to make his fortune, and he has amply repaid the debt in his contribution to this country's greatness.

Prior to the abolishment in 1965 of the national origins quota system, Ireland had an annual allotment of 17,756 immigrant visas, a number derived by calculating one-sixth of 1 percent of the number of inhabitants of the United States in 1920 whose ancestors came from Ireland. I certainly do not advocate a return to that system, which was highly prejudicial and as irrationally re-

strictive for some countries as it was overly generous to others. Great Britain and Northern Ireland, for instance, had an annual allotment of 65,361 immigrant visas which was way beyond their need. The Italian quota, on the other hand, was 5,666; at the beginning of 1964, Italy's waiting list for visas to this country was approximately 250,000.

However, I do not believe that it was the intention of the 89th Congress in enacting the far-reaching amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act to inflict undue hardship on the countries of Northern Europe. Ireland is not alone. Immigrant visas issued to Germany dropped by half in fiscal 1969 compared to the previous year, before the amendments went into full effect, from 16,601 to 8,226. In fiscal 1968, 33,282 immigrant visas were issued to Great Britain and Northern Ireland; 10,201 were issued in fiscal 1969 and 12,639 were issued in fiscal 1970.

H.R. 165 would remedy the unforeseen hardship inflicted on some of our closest allies by establishing a guaranteed annual floor on the number of visas available to any given country. This floor would be based on the average annual number of visas issued to that country during the 10-year period beginning July 1, 1955. Every country would be guaranteed a number of immigrant visas equal to 75 percent of that annual average, or 10,000, whichever is less. Further, so that countries not in need of this safeguard would not be penalized by it in terms of the number of visas available to them, these visas would be provided in addition to the annual overall quota of 170,000 immigrant visas available for Eastern Hemisphere countries.

I believe that this is sound legislation, and I urge that it be enacted into law. Thank you.

SUPPORT FOR A BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF SOVIET JEWS

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague, the Honorable EDWARD KOCH, has submitted a bill for the relief of Soviet Jews, H.R. 5606. I have taken the opportunity to join him in the sponsorship of that bill and urge its early adoption by this House.

The plight of Jews in the Soviet Union is one with which Americans have become increasingly more familiar in the recent months. The fact that Jews in the Soviet Union, or people anywhere for that matter, are prohibited from leaving their country is one which Americans particularly find difficult to accept. Because of our long tradition of personal freedom, Americans may not fully appreciate the great stress felt by those who do not enjoy these freedoms. It is not merely that people living under a prohibition of travel move about less or are less happy. Rather it is the pent-up frustration of not being able to control

one's life or attempt to seek a new life elsewhere which drives many to acts of desperation.

The kind of political atmosphere which denies men their basic rights and propels them to acts of desperation, whether they be Jews in the Soviet Union or Catholics in Northern Ireland, in order to rid themselves of the yoke of oppression is morally untenable. It matters little to the oppressed whether they are ruled by an unyielding totalitarian regime or by an unsympathetic parliamentary system so long as they are oppressed. Whenever the just demands of men are not listened to, whenever they feel that there is no avenue of expression and no mechanism for change open to them, they are likely to resort to acts of an extreme nature.

In light of the conditions in the Soviet Union and of substantive contributions to our society made by Jewish law and custom, it is proper for us to act positively and meaningfully to provide some relief to those who remain in the Soviet Union. In that respect, this legislation to provide 30,000 special refugee visas for Soviet Jews who are permitted to leave the Soviet Union is an appropriate response.

Mr. Speaker, passage of this bill would indicate not only to Soviet Jews but to people everywhere, that the United States is sensitive to human needs everywhere and is willing to act accordingly. I urge the House to consider it and pass it at the earliest possible date.

HEY, HEY, LBJ, HOW MANY FILES DID YOU STACK TODAY?

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, for those Members who were unable to attend the dedication of the Johnson Library, Punch magazine has compiled a brief, if unauthenticated, description of its contents. The article follows:

HEY, HEY, LBJ, HOW MANY FILES DID YOU STACK TODAY?

An eight-story treasure-house has been erected in Texas to house 31 million pieces of paper—"memos, minutiae and top secrets"—accumulated by Ex-President Lyndon Johnson during his term of office. It is the largest presidential collection ever assembled (Roosevelt, 22 million pieces; Eisenhower 15.5 million).

Here is an unauthorised sampling of some of its departments:

The Gall Bladder Memorial Hall: Contains the most magnificent and moving collection of X-rays ever taken of a presidential gut. Shelves upon shelves of Opinions, Second Opinions, Skilled Press Diagnoses and Prognoses, Letters from Fellow Sufferers, with illuminated wall charts showing how the bourses of the world were affected by the ebb and flow of the President's juices. The whole is designed to outshine the well-known Dwight D. Eisenhower Intestorama at Abilene, with its preserved slice of the Blueberry Pie That Shook The World.

The Gallery of Wrath: Here lie ten trainloads of protests, still not fully catalogued, evoked by the photograph of President John-

son picking up his beagles by the ears. The Gallery also contains reproductions of some 5,000 cartoons showing LBJ holding up Harold Wilson by the ears. Mr. Kruschev holding up LBJ by the ears, Chairman Mao holding up the Running Dogs of Capitalism by the ears, and so on.

Catcall Alley: A fascinating section of the archives, where sound recordings are kept of all the abuse hurled at the President during his term of office. From "Hey, Hey, LBJ, How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?" to "Two, Four, Six, Eight, Who Shall We Assassinate?", it is all here, a rich pageant of social history which reflects the growing permissiveness of our times. Many of the later records cannot be played without special authorization.

Staff Memos: Tens of thousands of these are on display. One of them states that the President will no longer accept reversed-charge calls from Harold Wilson.

Handwriting Exhibit: How the presidential handwriting changed under the pressures of the Vietnam war is shown by many items here. A note to Abe Granger, the White House milkman, on April 2, 1967—"Only four pints today"—shows marked angularities indicative of deep-seated stresses, as compared with the rounded flow of a note saying "Your buttons need attention" passed to George Brown at an informal White House luncheon on May 1, 1964. The President's laundry lists from 1966 onwards all show an increasingly sardonic approach; and there are testy complaints about failure to remove stains from suits after paint-throwing incidents.

Speech Archives: These reveal a high degree of indignation on the part of the White House Corps of Speechwriters at the President's failure, or inability, to follow script; his tendency to ruin the balance of sentences by interpolated witticisms; his objection to using words like "de-escalate"; his delivery to the American Legion of a speech intended for the International Monetary Fund; and other actions tending, according to the speechwriters, to reflect on their professional competence, and at the same time widen the President's "credibility gap." The archives show that the President angrily refuted his speechwriters' charges and blamed them for a too-cynical approach to nuclear nonproliferation, Medicare and American motherhood. He also held them responsible for his low ratings in the popularity polls and complained that they exceeded their authority in seeking to script his talks with his baby grandson.

Cranks' Corner: A popular display which shows how the man in the street sought to hold the President personally to blame for a funny buzzing noise at Cape Cod, the continued existence of Harold Robbins, the import of lewd ashtrays from Britain and unchastity in elks.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the following is the language of House Resolution 319, which I introduced on March 17, 1971. I was hoping it might catch the attention of the administration:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

Whereas the President of the United States on March 4, 1971, stated that his policy is that: "as long as there are American POW's in North Vietnam we will have to maintain a residual force in South Vietnam. That is the least we can negotiate for."

Whereas Madam Nguyen Thi Binh, chief delegate of the provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam stated on September 17, 1970, that the policy of her government is "In case the United States Government declares it will withdraw from South Vietnam all its troops and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp, and the parties will engage at once in discussion on:

"—the question of ensuring safety for the total withdrawal from South Vietnam of United States troops and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp.

"—the question of releasing captured military men."

Resolved, That the United States shall forthwith propose at the Paris peace talks that in return for the return of all American prisoners held in Indochina, the United States shall withdraw all its Armed Forces from Vietnam within sixty days following the signing of the agreement: Provided, That the agreement shall contain guarantee by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of safe conduct out of Vietnam for all American prisoners and all American Armed Forces simultaneously.

PRELIMINARY RETURNS ON OPINION POLL FOR THIRD DISTRICT OF TENNESSEE

HON. LAMAR BAKER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, the returns from the opinion poll I have conducted in the Third District of Tennessee are most gratifying. More than 20,000 of my constituents have mailed back ballots to indicate their position on the 10 vital issues I included in the poll.

My staff and I have completed tabulating the first 2,000 ballots, and from these answers we are able to get an idea of where the voters in the district stand on today's issues. These ballots were divided among the counties on the basis of population in order to correctly reflect a districtwide expression.

Based on these preliminary returns, President Nixon gets a high degree of support for the manner in which he is winding down the war in Vietnam. The Third District of Tennessee also supports his plan to share Federal tax revenues with State and local governments, as well as the administration proposal to reorganize the Government by reducing the number of Cabinet-level Departments.

In response to the question,

"Do you support President Nixon's plan for ending hostilities in Southeast Asia and withdrawing our troops, 78 percent voted "yes"; only 15 percent "no"?"

On revenue sharing, 68 percent favor the President's plan, with 20 percent opposed. The reorganization proposal gets 71 percent backing, as compared to 12 percent opposed.

Third District voters favor some system of wage and price controls as a mean of reducing inflation. They voted 63 percent for controls and 26 percent against such a system. On the question of an all-volunteer Army, it was 58 percent against and 31 percent in favor.

The guaranteed annual income aspect of welfare reform loses in the Third Dis-

trict, 62 percent against and 26 percent in favor. On the question of underwriting the cost of fighting pollution, 44 percent for increased prices over increased taxes; 35 percent voted for an increase in taxes.

My constituents feel that social security benefits should be adjusted automatically to reflect the cost of living. They voted 79 percent in favor of such an adjustment. There is a sharp division on the question of national health insurance for everyone, however. The vote was 44 percent against such a system if the Federal Government bears the cost for low-income families; 39 percent voted for this kind of plan.

There is some uncertainty over the proposition of changing the Government's fiscal year to conform to the calendar year. On the basis of the votes tabulated, 48 percent voted "yes," 22 percent "no," and 30 percent "undecided."

These constitute the preliminary returns to the 10 questions in the poll. Tabulation is going ahead on the remaining ballots, and final results will be announced at a later date. In the accompanying figures, I am showing the percentages on a districtwide basis, as well as a breakdown of the percentages of the 10 questions for each of the counties in the district.

REPRESENTATIVE LAMAR BAKER OPINION POLL

[In percent]

1. Do you favor President Nixon's plan to share Federal tax revenues with State and local governments?

	Yes	No	Undecided or no response
District.....	68	20	12
Counties:			
Bledsoe.....	72	20	8
Bradley.....	71	18	11
Hamilton.....	67	20	13
Marion.....	68	23	9
McMinn.....	70	16	14
Meigs.....	55	35	10
Monroe.....	67	28	5
Polk.....	68	25	7
Rhea.....	72	15	13
Sequatchie.....	75	25	0

2. Do you favor a system of wage and price controls as a means of reducing inflation?

	Yes	No	Undecided or no response
District.....	63	26	11
Counties:			
Bledsoe.....	62	27	11
Bradley.....	60	31	9
Hamilton.....	62	26	12
Marion.....	80	15	5
McMinn.....	74	19	7
Meigs.....	65	25	10
Monroe.....	72	16	12
Polk.....	73	13	14
Rhea.....	75	20	5
Sequatchie.....	60	30	10

3. Do you feel the United States should have an all-volunteer army in time of war as well as peace?

[In percent]

	Yes	No	Undecided or no response
District.....	31	58	11
Counties:			
Bledsoe.....	47	40	13
Bradley.....	33	61	6
Hamilton.....	26	61	13

	Yes	No	Undecided or no response
Marion.....	37	52	11
McMinn.....	30	60	10
Meigs.....	20	65	15
Monroe.....	35	55	10
Polk.....	43	47	10
Rhea.....	32	56	12
Sequatchie.....	20	75	5

4. Should welfare reform include a guaranteed annual income for heads of families in need?

	Yes	No	Undecided or no response
District.....	26	62	12
Counties:			
Bledsoe.....	30	57	13
Bradley.....	22	62	16
Hamilton.....	25	65	10
Marion.....	35	55	10
McMinn.....	31	60	9
Meigs.....	15	70	15
Monroe.....	37	52	11
Polk.....	30	55	15
Rhea.....	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	71	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sequatchie.....	20	75	5

5. Do you support President Nixon's plan for ending hostilities in Southeast Asia and withdrawing our troops?

	Yes	No	Undecided or no response
District.....	78	15	7
Counties:			
Bledsoe.....	67	15	18
Bradley.....	82	13	5
Hamilton.....	77	16	7
Marion.....	75	16	9
McMinn.....	80	10	10
Meigs.....	75	0	25
Monroe.....	84	10	6
Polk.....	78	13	9
Rhea.....	77	16	7
Sequatchie.....	60	30	10

6. Would you favor increased prices over increased taxes in order to wage the fight on pollution?

	Yes	No	Undecided or no response
District.....	44	35	21
Counties:			
Bledsoe.....	32	52	16
Bradley.....	42	32	26
Hamilton.....	46	34	20
Marion.....	43	38	19
McMinn.....	40	40	20
Meigs.....	75	5	20
Monroe.....	40	33	26
Polk.....	42	32	26
Rhea.....	41	29	30
Sequatchie.....	30	50	20

7. Do you favor adjustments in social security benefits to reflect cost-of-living increases?

	Yes	No	Undecided or no response
District.....	79	15	6
Counties:			
Bledsoe.....	80	10	10
Bradley.....	76	15	9
Hamilton.....	79	15	6
Marion.....	79	13	8
McMinn.....	80	18	2
Meigs.....	80	5	15
Monroe.....	78	15	7
Polk.....	73	17	10
Rhea.....	81	11	8
Sequatchie.....	60	25	15

8. Would you be in favor of changing the government's fiscal year to conform to the calendar year?

	Yes		No	Undecided or no response
	Yes	No		
District.....	48	22	30	
Counties:				
Bledsoe.....	40	32	28	
Bradley.....	50	18	32	
Hamilton.....	46	23	31	
Marion.....	50	22	28	
McMinn.....	66	15	19	
Meigs.....	50	20	30	
Monroe.....	40	24	36	
Polk.....	50	13	37	
Rhea.....	44	20	36	
Sequatchie.....	30	25	45	

9. Do you support President Nixon's plan to government reorganization which would reduce the number of departments from 12 to 8?

	Yes		No	Undecided or no response
	Yes	No		
District.....	71	12	12	
Counties:				
Bledsoe.....	65	17	18	
Bradley.....	72	12	16	
Hamilton.....	74	11	15	
Marion.....	52	25	23	
McMinn.....	70	11	19	
Meigs.....	70	15	15	
Monroe.....	61	18	21	
Polk.....	71	17	12	
Rhea.....	61	14	25	
Sequatchie.....	75	15	10	

10. Do you support a program of national health insurance for all citizens with the Federal Government underwriting the cost for low income families?

	Yes		No	Undecided or no response
	Yes	No		
District.....	39	44	17	
Counties:				
Bledsoe.....	50	32	18	
Bradley.....	32	53	15	
Hamilton.....	38	51	11	
Marion.....	43	47	10	
McMinn.....	49	43	8	
Meigs.....	35	50	15	
Monroe.....	48	44	8	
Polk.....	45	43	12	
Rhea.....	37	48	15	
Sequatchie.....	40	50	10	

THE YOUNG WILL UNDERSTAND LATER

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, angry challenges are frequently hurled at the older generation by the younger today. We are accused of indifference to, or complicity in, all the evils of the world. War, poverty and racism are laid at our door. Unlike our younger contemporaries, however, the members of my generation rarely take up these challenges publicly. But the answer we could all give was well and movingly expressed in Tom Miller's column in a recent edition of the Cherokee, Iowa, Daily Times. For the benefit of my colleagues and for young people everywhere, I will insert his article in the RECORD:

ONE MAN'S VIEWPOINT

THE YOUNG WILL UNDERSTAND LATER

(By Tom Miller)

Letter to Youth . . .

It is almost trite these days to question whether there is a generation gap or not, much less write about the subject.

But we feel impelled to add some thinking to the flow of expressions already made. Not so much to lend weight to opposing points of view as to interpret adult reasoning which colors our thinking and postures, our actions and reactions.

Youthful antiwar leaders often have puzzled about the in-drawn breaths taken by middle-aged liberals, who oppose the war in Vietnam as being unfair, unjust and opposed to democratic principles, when an American flag is burned in public.

They have not understood why their elders, who stand with them in their denunciation of massive bombing and holocaustal firepower turned against defenseless villagers, avert their eyes when Viet Cong flags are paraded and the stars and stripes are dragged on the ground and subjected to ridicule.

You would have had to live through the past three decades to find the answer to the puzzlement, to understand.

You would have had to live—not just read about—the crucial years of the early 40s, when the Allied forces fought desperately against oppressive dictatorships in a do-or-die struggle to determine whether freedom and the dignity of man would prevail or whether the might of barbarism would bring a return of the dark ages to humankind.

The flag that was hoisted high in the Allied vanguard was that of the United States. Anyone who thrilled then at the sight of the unfurled standard in those times of peril never again can show disrespect for the flag. It is a part of us.

You would have had to live through the post-War II era and into the 50s and the Korean Conflict, to follow the rationale of those older in age who seem instinctively to distrust the promises of communists.

No matter how leftist our tendencies, no matter how forthrightly we proclaim that each nation should have the right of self-determination, there is a haunting reservation about those who espouse a philosophy which reads well in textbooks but which, in practice, always seems to end up in dictatorship.

A flood of memories stands behind logical reasoning: Of the Berlin airlift, made necessary because a communist nation would not live up to signed agreements . . . of the hateful Iron Curtain, imprisoning many who would desire freedom . . . of North Korean treachery . . . of the red espionage system . . . of Fidel Castro's overthrow of a dictatorship in the name of oppressed people and then of his imposition of another form of iron-hand government no better than that replaced.

And, therefore, to one who recently has come upon the scenes and, as a young adult, knows firsthand only of the 60s, it is perhaps perplexing to note that an elder who preaches democracy for all people everywhere clenches his fists when confronted with a large poster of Che, the Cuban and South American terrorist, hanging in sainthood on the wall of a young person's pad.

The reaction does not indicate a conflict in logic, nor does it mean gradation of principles dependent upon color of skin, religious faith or geographic location.

It is a human reaction, a part of the person who has seen more than one generation of history in the making and who knows that words are meaningless unless put to the test of action—and that those who utter liberal catch phrases but act to the contrary do not desire canonization.

Even though an older person agrees with the assessment that materialism has come to dominate our way of life, and that corporate bigness, necessary for mass production of goods and services to supply ever-ascending wants, can strangle freedoms, earlier times of desperation are a part of our fabric.

No one could have gone through the drought and depression of the 30s, even as a child, and not have carried mental scars, never wanting to return to times of hunger, deprivation and mass unemployment . . . and not wanting those younger, who always have known comfort, and security, to experience soul-withering conditions.

No matter our understanding of the beliefs which drive the young to spit upon the military, we can remember proudly wearing the uniform in time of national stress and our eyesight is dimmed by tears. That for which the uniform stood is a part of us.

We cannot get used to sloppy attire and overgrown hairiness, even though we sincerely believe that it is the inner person, not ornamentation and appearance, that counts. For in our era, a person was taught to demonstrate respect for others by first providing an exterior presence which mirrored the inner self and spoke of acceptance of the society around us.

Profane words and obscene gestures directed toward persons of authority, no matter the underlying provocation, bring twinges of disapproval, because the long-ago teaching of democratic process and the rights of the majority are too deeply implanted. They are a part of us.

And you must excuse us if we do not completely accept the premise that vandalism can right an injustice, the proposition that welfare should be a way of life and its own end result, the conclusion that a noisy minority—no matter how strongly it believes in a given cause—should have the right to militantly trample on those who do not agree, the philosophy that because our system contains ills, both major and minor, that it either should be destroyed in its entirety or abandoned for a new start.

You must excuse us because the past is too much a part of our beings.

Perhaps in the years to come, you will understand.

That may be when your offspring turn to you and say, "Mommy and Daddy, how come you have created such a terrible world for us to live in? Why are you still permitting people to kill one another in wars? Why are you polluting the atmosphere? Don't you know that it is a sin to have all of these possessions when others somewhere in the world are starving? It is unfortunate that you do not possess our intelligence to create a superior way of life. . . ."

And then you will attempt to explain that the objectionable conditions were not entirely of your making; that some were inherited from preceding generations . . . that some of the conditions might seem wrong when viewed with black-and-white immaturity, but that with wisdom comes a practical knowledge that progress is taken a step at a time in an atmosphere which has few blacks or whites but many shades of gray. . . .

And you will use your background to document why your thinking is as it is; and you will defend somewhat the evolution of the makeup of your imperfect society because your intentions, though not always proven to be right after a passage of time, were clean and pure in their inception. . . .

And you will search for understanding. Those of us who will not be here when your time comes hope that you are successful.

ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY
PROBLEMS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I was recently privileged to attend a luncheon sponsored by the Western Electronics Manufacturers Association at which their president, Mr. R. C. Mercure, discussed some problems confronting their industry.

I include a copy of his remarks for the interest of my colleagues:

REMARKS BY R. C. MERCURE

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Congress, I am Merc Mercure, President of WEMA.

On behalf of the 54 industry executives who have crossed the country to be here today, I want to welcome you to our Congressional Luncheon. I also want to thank Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington for obtaining the use of this room for us today.

Since this is a once-a-year affair, we like to keep it informal, with most of the talking being done by you with our industry executives during the reception and across the table, rather than by me at the podium. Therefore, I will be brief.

WEMA is a trade association of 580 companies in electronics manufacturing and information technology in the thirteen western states.

Our members range from small firms employing literally a handful of people to very large companies. The bulk of our membership is best defined as small to medium-sized companies serving both government and commercial markets.

Many WEMA companies sell to foreign customers as well as domestically. And, let me assure you that in a year such as the one we have just gone through, the ability of some companies to sell internationally has been the difference between life and death.

In past years, WEMA's government affairs work centered almost exclusively around federal procurement matters, such as the creation of the Commission on Government Procurement, independent research and development, and uniform cost accounting standards.

We're not going to drop our interest in working to take some of the paperwork, waste and frustration out of government procurement. But, we have to do much more than simply focus on procurement issues. We are very concerned about our industries' future survival in a world that is much broader than the United States Government market.

For example, this past year has clearly brought home the catastrophic effects of the cyclic nature of defense and space spending. The high technology companies involved in fulfilling the government's needs—and the people those companies employ—were hit particularly hard by this shift in national priorities. Not that there's anything wrong with shifting priorities, but the immediate impact of the rapid decline in defense and space budgets, without offsetting programs, is of great concern to us all. A large number of people are now stranded with little hope that the normal marketplace will be able to absorb them in the fields for which they were trained.

Many of you have taken the lead in attempting to devise policies and programs to ease the shift in national priorities. We applaud you for the attention you have given this problem. But, the sheer number of proposals you have submitted demonstrates one thing clearly: long-range policy

objectives have not been developed to guide you in your efforts.

Recently, there has been talk in the Congress and the Executive Branch of a need for a complete overhaul of the nation's science and technology policy. Movement in this direction has not yet developed into a cohesive program, but there is one excellent proposal—that a national science and technology policy be stated and maintained as a public law. We think that is an appropriate place to start. Indeed, we believe it should have your immediate attention. If there had been such a policy five years ago, it might have been possible to:

(1) Alleviate or minimize the effects of today's aerospace and defense cutbacks;

(2) Zero in on domestic problem-solving and create a market for new electronic hardware and computer software years before the need became urgent;

(3) Prevent government cutbacks of science and engineering research at colleges and universities throughout the country.

The WEMA Board of Directors this month unanimously approved a resolution that this Association work for the establishment of a national science and technology policy.

As a first step, I will shortly be calling together the leaders of our industries in the West to ask their views on what the objectives of a national science and technology policy should be and how those objectives might be achieved.

You will be hearing more from us on this issue. This is not just industry's problem, nor is it just Government's problem. It is our problem, and Government and industry must work together to cope with it.

The second general matter I want to touch upon today is our industries' involvement and stake in the international marketplace. Like everyone else, our companies face competition from foreign manufacturers. Most of us have been successful in maintaining a technological lead over our foreign competitors. As a result, our companies have been able—so far—to increase their international sales every year.

But we live in a tough competitive world—a world in which the comfortable technological gap that we enjoyed for so long has or is being closed rapidly by other industrial nations. In part, this is a result of a conscious government/industry cooperative effort by our foreign competitors. This internationally-oriented government/industry partnership is best exemplified by the Japanese.

Here's how it looks to us. The available evidence makes it clear that the Japanese Government has as a major policy the shifting of resources towards the production of high technology products, including many items produced by our western companies. Today our computer industry is preparing for the invasion of Japanese computers into the U.S.

The high-technology sector of Japanese industry is especially well protected from U.S. competition. Japan's average duty on higher technology items is almost 10% greater than on low technology products. By contrast, in the United States the average duty on higher technology products is substantially below that on low technology products.

It's the same with non-tariff barriers. Most of Japan's remaining restrictions are on such items as computers and other sophisticated electronic equipment. These are the types of high-technology products in which the United States has been the world leader. There are very few Japanese import restrictions on lower technology manufactured goods. As somebody said in the recent *Time Magazine* article, a United States company can build a factory in Japan to make wooden sandals. But, computers—no way!

On the other hand, U.S. quantitative restrictions and other non-tariff trade barriers give no differential to high technology products.

Japanese industrial development laws give financial aid to industries which promise high growth or which have large research and development expenditures. This help may take a number of forms, including tax incentives and long-term loans at low interest rates. It doesn't happen here, even though our foreign trade has worried the last two administrations.

I raise these points to illustrate the type of government/industry cooperation our companies are competing with internationally. When we compare the Japanese policies—or, for that matter, the policies of any of our other Western European competitors with our own—it becomes clear—at least to those of us in industry—that the United States does not have a coherent trade policy designed to stimulate exports or even to encourage reciprocity in our trading relations with other countries. Rather, our trade policies for too long have evolved from diplomatic meetings, motivated mainly by political policy considerations and wholly divorced from economic realities.

These are tough times. Cutbacks in federal spending and a general softness in the economy have caused severe unemployment and economic problems throughout our country. We in the West have been especially hard hit, as you know. Right now, both Government and industry should be looking for ways to build up our sales in international markets. At the same time, we should be negotiating in a no-nonsense way for reciprocity with our trading partners. Specifically, what can be done? It is our view that our country should move to:

(1) Reduce U.S. unilateral controls over trade in peaceful goods with Eastern Europe to the level applied to our major trading partners;

(2) Insure that the Export-Import Bank, our Government's only commercial financing facility, has the capability flexibility to meet the growing needs of business;

(3) Push U.S. participation in the European Multipartite Accord;

(4) Enact legislation enabling the formation of Domestic International Sales Corporations;

(5) Give the President the authority to conduct aggressive trade negotiations to knock down import barriers of other countries.

Action like this will go a long way to insure that our industries continue to compete internationally and continue to provide jobs at home.

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you very much for your attention. We appreciate your being here with us today. I hope you have found this gathering to be a pleasant one, and we will be looking forward to seeing you again next year.

PRESIDENT NIXON IS KEEPING
HIS WORD

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, last week the President of the United States withdrew an additional 3,600 soldiers from Vietnam.

On January 20, 1969, there were 532,500 Americans enduring the perils of an Asian war. Today, there are 255,700 Americans in Vietnam who are planning to come home.

Mr. Speaker, President Nixon is keeping his word.

REVENUE SHARING THAT WORKS

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, the concept of revenue sharing, and the various proposals which would implement that concept, are certainly among the most important matters to be considered and debated by the 92d Congress. The intricacies and complexities of the problem are well known to all of us. Yet, at the same time, revenue sharing is increasingly being made into one of the most visible and popular political issues of the day, with potentially unfortunate results. For the reformation of our intolerable welfare system will never be accomplished—nor will the crises in our cities be ended, or the survival of our rural areas be insured—through simplistic political slogans or easy, though popular programs. As we have learned so often in the past, our Nation's great problems will only be solved by solid hard work from leaders who are able not only to acknowledge the difficulties of the problems but also to overcome those difficulties with creative and comprehensive programs that will really work.

This week the Ways and Means Committee is beginning its consideration of revenue sharing. At this time, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to the lead article of the May 29 New Republic, entitled "Revenue Sharing That Works." It points once again to the fact that Senator EDMUND MUSKIE of Maine is providing the kind of thorough and creatively positive leadership in domestic affairs that this country so badly needs. I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

REVENUE SHARING THAT WORKS

The Administration has been given too little credit for the political shrewdness of its revenue-sharing plan. It casts the President in the role of rescuer of the states and cities from a dire fate, a modern-day Disraeli effecting fundamental reform and restoring the federal as well as fiscal balance. It allows him to use the phrase "power to the people" with only the faintest blush—and all with minimum budgetary impact, at best \$6 billion in "new" money. Most important, it has great potential for the onrushing presidential campaign. Mr. Nixon has come to realize that the cities, and more recently the large industrial states, are starving. He knows that those who starve do not too closely examine the nutritional content of a crust of bread. He knows also that the Congress is not eager to cede its control over the spending of any federal dollar. Revenue sharing, then, offers the chance to divide the congressional Democrats (including virtually all of the serious 1972 contenders) from their needful brethren in the statehouses and city halls—and to conquer.

In March, this potential seemed to have been realized at the expense of one Democratic challenger. The occasion was a legislative conference of the National League of Cities and US Conference of Mayors. The 800 mayors had arrived in Washington with a well-formulated position. They favored general revenue sharing, with its promise of an initial \$5 billion in stringless aid. This was not surprising, since their two organizations had been "closely consulted" in formulation of the plan; they considered the auto-

matic pass-through of nearly half the amount to localities (with mayors and county officials free to negotiate an even larger cut from their governors) a signal victory. On the other hand, the mayors were suspicious of the President's so-called special revenue-sharing proposals, since they would terminate some urban grant programs and consolidate others in six broad categories, with a net gain to the impoverished cities of only a single billion at most.

The March session was more rally than conference. Walter Heller, a certified Democratic economist and pre-Nixonian parent of revenue sharing, delivered a stump speech, branding anyone opposed to the idea as a foe of federalism and doubter of provincial wisdom. Vice President Agnew attacked those who would play politics with so sacred a subject, singling out Wilbur Mills' proposal for federal assumption of welfare costs as a "red herring." Both drew hearty applause. Senator Edmund Muskie, in a luncheon speech, drew something else.

He began by saying, soberly, "I know many of you support the concept of revenue sharing, and so do I." He pointed out that he had introduced a revenue-sharing bill last year. But he went on to say that he did not support a plan which would "gut essential categorical aid programs," which "fails to allocate funds for the cities which need them most," and which "provides inadequate safeguards against the use of funds to perpetuate discrimination." Therefore, he did not support the Administration plan, which, he noted, would provide rich Beverly Hills with twice as much money per capita as broken-down New York and four times as much as Cleveland. He expressed "serious doubts" that a "meaningful program of revenue sharing" could get through the present Congress and counseled support of a federal welfare takeover. The mayors' reaction was swift and critical. The welfare takeover would benefit only a handful of cities; they all need help, immediately; they don't expect their friends to quibble over its precise form.

Senator Muskie's initial response was to smooth things over at a private meeting with Philadelphia's James Tate, president of the Conference of Mayors. His more substantive response came May 5 when he reintroduced his own revenue-sharing bill with modifications. The bill got less attention than it deserves. For together with other Muskie initiatives in Congress it constitutes not just a solid Democratic alternative to the Administration proposals but the beginnings of an adequate federal program.

The Muskie bill retains the guarantee of automatic aid to states and cities, which is the essence of revenue-sharing's appeal to those who are tired of pleading with one grudging Congress after another. While Nixon would give cities and states 1.3 percent of federal income-tax revenues, Muskie adds to this federal dollars in the amount of 10 percent of aggregate state income-tax collections. This puts another billion into the pot the first year, as well as tying future amounts to how heavily states tax themselves. But Muskie's plan goes on to weight the amount localities would receive on a scale that takes into account both the incidence of poverty and the level of public assistance payments. And it adds a nondiscrimination string in the form of a mechanism for individual or class-action suits against offending jurisdictions.

Muskie's bill is offered as a supplement to categorical aid programs, not a substitute for them. His introductory remarks delineated the functions such programs should serve: "Revenue sharing is needed because the distribution of income and wealth varies so widely throughout the country. There are vast differences in the tax-paying abilities of the various communities across the nation." "At the same time," he went on, "we must continue and expand federal categorical assistance. These programs are di-

rected at critical problems, national in scope, which must be attacked by the federal government because the states and localities alone cannot deal with them or have not dealt with them effectively in the past."

Sen. Muskie still supports a federal welfare takeover, again recognizing that poverty like so many other problems called "urban" is national in scale. It is this fact which makes stringless revenue sharing not just inadequate as the major urban assistance device, but dangerous. For it perpetuates the cities' responsibility for paying a disproportionate share of society's bills, and it makes the remedying of our most critical domestic ills a matter of state and local option, while reducing incentives for remedial action.

The mayors are beset by a battery of conflicting claims upon their attention and resources. The political clout of the urban poor and minorities is rarely powerful enough to compete with that of rival claimants. There are far larger constituencies behind better street paving and larger police forces than behind welfare reform or compensatory education. This competition is getting increasingly bitter. The white working class, especially in the industrial cities of the Northeast, is flexing its muscles and voicing genuine grievances. Its increasingly militant resistance to "singling out" others for attention, combined with the decline in the patience and "reasonableness" of long-deprived minorities is a new fuse on the urban time bomb.

The President would simply throw money into this pit and let the contending groups scramble for it. The effect would be to remove the protective shelter of federal restrictions from those mayors—and there are many—who understand that the plight of the poor and of minorities is the most urgent they confront. With this shelter, of course, come webs of federal administrative strings, which is another reason for the mayors' fondness for general revenue sharing.

The Democratic mayors and governors (and John Lindsay, too) can continue beating what Wilbur Mills has certified to be a dead horse. Or they can try to rally the Democrats behind a comprehensive program of fiscal reform, including: (1) revenue sharing weighted according to both tax effort and need; (2) expansion and consolidation of existing grants-in-aid; and (3) federal assumption of responsibility for welfare and other poverty-related services. The Muskie initiatives offer the structural skeleton for such a program. They will not in themselves, as he acknowledges, "reverse the order of our national priorities." Nor would they use the full leverage of federal revenues to effect state and local reform. But they would, as modestly claimed, provide "a logical and workable beginning toward correcting the fiscal imbalance in our system."

CRITICISM OF RETRAINING PROGRAM UNJUSTIFIED

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, one of our distinguished colleagues, yesterday in a statement entitled "Another Labor Department Failure," made several statements critical of the administration's efforts to help the unemployed aerospace and defense scientists, engineers, and technicians which is deserving of comment.

It was stated that: First, "we are training and educating people for jobs

that do not exist," and second, that the program being set up is too expensive when compared with the Emergency Employment Act. Both of these conclusions reflect an apparent lack of familiarity with the administration's efforts and a lack of understanding of the nature of the problem.

Massive unemployment among professionals, for example, scientists, engineers, and technicians, in certain well-defined areas is a unique and highly complex problem deserving of special attention.

The expense involved in the administration's program—\$42 million to retrain and place about 10,000 engineers and scientists—is very reasonable, especially when compared to that contained in the Emergency Employment Act which calls for close to a billion dollars to create 150,000 federally subsidized public jobs.

By retraining for specific job openings which are available, there is no need for Federal subsidization of public jobs. This has the following results: First, additional private and public funds out of existing revenues are put into circulation; second, the skills of these talented people are used in a productive fashion; and third, Federal tax revenues will increase significantly because the jobs they will fill have to be at a salary of at least \$10,000 per year.

Second, contrary to what was stated yesterday, the program set up by the administration does train for existing jobs. As a matter of fact, the Labor Department does not make a grant under the program unless a specific job opening is found for the trainee, and the jobs exist. Paradoxically, there are surpluses of engineers in some fields while there are shortages of engineers in other fields. As of this month, there are over 5,000 unfilled engineering jobs ranging through 75 occupational classifications around the country. There are just the jobs that we know are unfilled. This does not include the untold thousands of jobs not listed with the State employment services, and does not include the thousands of jobs that are opening up daily in the new fields of highway safety, urban renewal, pollution control in general, water pollution control in particular, and the health services. These are all fields in which the skills and background of these people are needed and can be utilized.

"NO!" TO LOCKHEED

HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. Speaker, in my brief tenure as a Member of this distinguished body I have yet to see any proposal so patently absurd, nor one which has made me more angry than the administration's proposed \$250 million loan guarantee to the Lockheed Aircraft Co. Such a proposal is absolutely indefensible. If the administration really has \$250 million it does not know what to do with, it ought to invest in a few loans to save the farms and small businesses of States like South Dakota.

What kind of free enterprise it is to guarantee loans to companies whose record of consistent failure is their only recommendation? What obligation does the American taxpayer have to rescue Lockheed's \$100,000 salaried executives from the results of their proven incompetence? What does the taxpayer owe Lockheed, when its top executive admits doing business on the borderline of bankruptcy, because, as he put it:

If a corporation is big enough, the Government has to rescue it from financial disaster.

I cannot hope to list all of the many arguments against this proposal, but the most glaring reason for my voting against the proposal is the fact that every time I drive down a county highway or up a main street in South Dakota I see deserted farmhouses, abandoned stores, and once prosperous business establishments lying empty. These sights represent the crushed dreams of thousands of my constituents. They tell the story of the family which lost its home because it could not get a loan. They show what happens to the young farmer who did not have any Federal money standing behind his loan at the local bank. How do you explain to a man why Lockheed should get \$250 million to save it from bankruptcy, when he cannot get even \$2,500 to save his family's home. I cannot explain that, and I intend to oppose any loan guarantee to Lockheed with all the energy at my command.

A COMMENTARY BY HARRY NADLEY

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 5, the Nation will mark the third anniversary of the assassination of a great American, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

One year ago this week a local Philadelphia columnist invoked the memory of the fallen Senator to ask some serious and troubling questions about where we have traveled as a people and a society since the Senator's assassination.

The column appeared in the Northeast Times newspapers in my Philadelphia Congressional District. It was written by Harry Nadley who has conducted his "Scene Around" column for a number of years in community newspapers, most recently in the Times chain with a combined circulation of more than 102,500.

As we mark this third anniversary of Senator Kennedy's assassination, I commend to my colleagues this very thoughtful commentary by Mr. Nadley:

SCENE AROUND

(By Harry Nadley)

We would like to dedicate this column to memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who was cut down by an assassin's bullet 12:16 a.m., June 5, 1968. Two years have passed since the Senator from New York was killed, less than five years after the assassination of his older brother, President John F. Kennedy. As we look back in retrospect we wonder

what type of accomplishments have been made since that time.

We recently read a proverb, "It is wisdom to know others, it is enlightenment to know one's self," and we believe that this is where a great deal of our faults are evolved. We have spoken to many people from all walks of life with the objective of discovering "Where do we go from here?" Many of the answers we have received seem to narrow down to one word that our generation keeps fostering. That word is "hate." It is infectious, inflammatory and will continue to bring on the world's problems and ills. The dictionary describes "hate" as an intense dislike, as an antagonism, or as a repugnance. It does not describe the word as an excuse for killing, burning or fighting against law and order. It seems to us that somewhere along the line to a better modern world of automation we are failing. We are spending billions of dollars trying to discover the mysteries of the moon and the stars, yet we haven't discovered a way of living in peace, and without mystery on earth. Poverty and slums breed violence and crime and is a source of our nation's distress. What have we accomplished about these conditions over the years, and more important, when are we going to do something about them? We think Senator Robert F. Kennedy would have been proud of all of us if he knew his death had not been in vain, but the beginning of a different and brighter America for the future.

Inevitably, this brings us to the subject of our younger generation. What can we expect from them when they are brought up in a society where morality, violence, prejudice and the use of drugs could be a part of their everyday life? For example, there are television shows where shooting, killing and blood are taken in stride by adults as a part of entertainment for their youngsters. There are also motion pictures that are absolutely sickening in their ideas and motives, and are manufactured by producers just to make that almighty "buck". Among them are the so-called films that show nudity and sex in its most degrading and decadent forms. Youngsters must be 18 years of age to be admitted, but aren't these young people our citizen's of tomorrow? Another thorn in our modern way of living is the matter of guns. We have really progressed over the years in our society, where if two individuals have an argument, there is always the chance one of them will pull out a gun and kill the other. Guns seem to be the easiest objects to possess since the wild west days. Holdup men and murderers seem to have them by the dozens. Individuals keep them at home where they can explode any moment especially when their children seeing the shooting on television and movie screens, think they are toys and kill or maim themselves. Why all the controversy about gun laws? They are needed, and people are asking for them especially in the light of so many catastrophic occurrences. There is no immediate cure for many of our problems, but we have to start somewhere, and soon. We know we learn by living and experience, and we hope that the memory of the unfortunate assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy two years ago, will now help us to remember some of the ideals he stood for.

POLITICIAN WATCHING

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, the political scene is becoming more active every day as the presidential elections near. Last week the Democratic aspirants were

joined by Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY. As one who is actively partisan and sincerely concerned about the future of the Democratic Party, I was heartened by this development.

The Senator from Minnesota is a warrior highly qualified to enter the presidential arena. He is battle tested and experienced. As a candidate, he will add much to the campaign for our party's nomination. His knowledge and vast background of public service added to his rare good humor and exceptional ability to express his views will add great zest, initiative, and new ideas to the contest. Clearly, he is a formidable spokesman to challenge the validity of the policies of the present administration. If nominated, he will be an able advocate of our party's program. We cannot forget that in the last presidential election Senator HUMPHREY received 42.7 percent of the popular vote while the winner received 43.4 percent, a difference of less than 1 percent.

An editorial in Monday's Washington Evening Star commented on the sport of "politician watching." I commend the article, which follows, to my colleagues:

THE WATCHING SEASON

There are all kinds of spectator sports.

There's TV-watching, a soporific catch-all that encompasses golf, baseball, game shows, football, horseracing, vintage movies, roller derbies and soap operas—just about every human undertaking. For those who prefer a degree of personal involvement, there is bird-watching. Others, despite the inroads of unisex and women's lib, still practice the ancient art of girl-watching.

But, for ourselves, nothing holds a candle to the sport of politician-watching.

For the politician-watcher, there is nothing to compare with the advent of the presidential hopeful pre-primary maneuvering season. That's when the would-be Presidents of the non-White House party gather at the starting line, jockeying for positions, vying for attention with practice starts and warm-up sprints, floating trial balloons and testing a fascinating variety of political ploys.

That season is now upon us.

There has, to be sure, been some premature strutting going on for a while. George McGovern has been out on the track jogging doggedly around for some time now. But his entry was so unadorned, so devoid of tactical finesse that it has attracted minimal attention. The front-running Democrats, Kennedy and Muskie, have relied solely on the strategy of reluctance (Kennedy really seems to mean it), so that public interest in their activities has been kept well under control.

But now the waiting is over. The long season of fascination has begun, ushered in by the familiar figure of Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

Humphrey chose his 60th birthday to come bounding back, stopping just short of a formal announcement of candidacy, but making it clear that that detail would be taken care of at the most tactically advantageous moment. It was a typical Humphrey performance, exuberant, loquacious, confident and candid.

There are those among the Democrats who are much less than enthusiastic about Humphrey's re-emergence. Some groans have been heard from those who visualize, should Humphrey be nominated, a re-run of the 1968 race. They should spare themselves the anticipatory agony.

Without undertaking to predict nominees, it's safe to say that if it should turn out to be Humphrey and Nixon, neither would be the same man as when they last met. This time, there would be four years of the Nixon

presidency for one to run on and for the other to attack. This time, Humphrey would be clear of the long shadow of Lyndon Johnson. Last time the race was close. This time, it could also be interesting.

But whatever happens, if the Humphrey bid gets no further than the pre-primary push, it's good to have him back. If nothing more, the smiling warrior will shake up the lethargic pack of hopefuls. And he will restore to the sport of politician-watching its traditional and rightful fascination.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, Mary McGrory wrote on May 21, 1971:

Most people outside HISC (House Committee on Internal Security) don't know if the Socialist Workers are socialists or workers first.

Neither does Miss McGrory, judging from the rest of the column from which the above is taken. However, she is correct in stating that there is a general lack of public understanding of the nature and goals of the Socialist Workers Party—SWP.

This lack of public knowledge concerning the SWP is the reason that House Committee on Internal Security warnings that the National Peace Action Coalition—NPAC—the organization responsible for organizing the April 24 demonstrations in Washington, was dominated by the SWP, did not seem to cause much consternation among non-Communists supporting this action. The startling revelation by the committee 2 weeks ago that the only two persons authorized to sign checks for NPAC were SWP members Sydney R. Stapelton and Patricia Grogan, and that the man apparently in charge of the NPAC Headquarters in Washington was Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for president in 1968, made very little impression because most people just do not know what the SWP actually is.

In 1938, Leon Trotsky and his followers founded the "Fourth International." Trotsky had been generally regarded as being second only to Lenin during the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia through the coup of 1917. When Lenin died, a power struggle between Trotsky and Stalin for control of the Soviet Union developed. Although there was virtually no basic difference between Stalin and Trotsky as far as their mutually shared goal of extending Communist domination over the entire planet went, it is a fact of life that in a dictatorship there can be only one dictator. Trotsky lost the battle for control and was expelled from the Soviet Union.

The power struggle between Trotsky and Stalin was reflected in the American branch of the Soviet Communist Party, the Communist Party of the United States. When Trotsky lost out in Russia a group of his followers in the American party was purged. In 1938, some of these former party members along with James

Cannon and others who had been expelled from the CPUSA in 1928 for "Trotskyite leanings," formed the Socialist Workers Party as the American branch of the Fourth International.

Thus the SWP was established by Communists pledged to the overthrow of free government everywhere and its replacement by totalitarian dictatorship. The only substantial difference between SWP Leninists and the Leninists working directly for the Soviet Union was that the former preferred Trotsky to Stalin, like preferring cyanide to arsenic, and had no national base of operations from which to work. Someone once paradoxically characterized SWP members as "foreign agents without a country."

The objective of the American branch of the Fourth International is, as J. Edgar Hoover has pointed out, to communize America. The SWP in the United States supports and works toward the goals periodically set out for the World Communist Movement by Moscow, while at the same time criticizing the Soviet-controlled parties. They hope that they, rather than the Moscow-directed Reds, will be able to seize power when the time comes. To date, they have been notably unsuccessful, ending up on the top of the liquidation list when the Moscow Communists take over.

Ever hopeful, however, the SWP continues to work in support of Communist revolutionary warfare campaigns in the underdeveloped nations and against the main enemy of Communists everywhere—the United States of America. Although cited by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1947 as "subversive and Communist" the SWP has been able to gain control over substantial segments of the "peace" movement because of public ignorance of its real aims and tight organizational discipline.

The "peace" the SWP is actually working for behind facades such as the National Peace Action Coalition, is the hush which falls over the lives of men living under total despotism.

WALDIE REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I recently completed my Newsletter No. 4. I include that newsletter as part of my present remarks:

WALDIE REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS INDOCHINA

I have delayed reporting in detail my recent Indochina trip where I spent 10 days and at private expense in the company of Congressman McCloskey visiting South Vietnam and Laos because I wished to digest the core of that experience and relate it as concisely as possible.

Any observations must be judged as to their validity with full knowledge of preconceived opinions of the observer. I freely admit to a strongly held opinion dating from 1967 that our involvement in Vietnam was a never-ending tragedy for our Country as

well as Vietnam, and I so conveyed that view to my constituents and to President Johnson.

I had a reference point from which to judge "progress" of our effort in Vietnam, namely an 11-day trip I made alone to South Vietnam in 1968, but that reference point was not too clear since it occurred immediately after the 1968 Tet Offensive when the country was hard hit by the Communist forces.

Nonetheless, given those background qualifications, I sought to ascertain two things: (1) The military situation in South Vietnam and the effectiveness of Vietnamization, and (2) What is the nature of the American effort in Laos and how does that affect the South Vietnam war?

THE MILITARY SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM

I asked every American Military man, from the Generals to the Privates, "What, in your opinion, will be the probabilities of the South Vietnamese defending themselves when all American military power is withdrawn?"

Two responses seemed to me to be most penetrating and perceptive. The first was from a young 23-year-old Lt. of Infantry who had been in combat for 7½ months. He said, "Sir, a war can end in only two ways—it can be won or it can be lost. When we leave, the Army of South Vietnam will make that decision. Since they are now the best equipped Army in Indochina, they could decide to win. They might, however, decide it will be easier on them and better for them, individually, to lose. But whatever they decide, it will be their decision, and that will occur whenever we leave—but not until." Further, he said, "Vietnamization seeks to impose an American decision on the South Vietnamese. We won't succeed. They will decide in the last analysis."

The second observation was made by a retired Colonel of the Army in Laos. I asked him, "Why are the North Vietnamese infantry, fighting at the end of a 750-mile supply line, in three countries, Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam, without air-power, artillery or armor, consistently able to defeat the Laotian, Cambodian or South Vietnamese infantry when they meet them in battle?" The Colonel said, "I don't know what there is about North Vietnam but it instills a fierce pride in their men, possibly stemming from their defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu, that is not matched by the Laotian, Cambodian or South Vietnamese armies. Neither do I think our allies will develop a comparable spirit or pride until American support is withdrawn and they have to 'go it alone.' They have become overly dependent on American sophisticated weaponry and American infantry, and the longer we stay the longer we postpone the decision they alone must make—namely, do we fight for our country as strongly as does the enemy." The Colonel was pessimistic that they would so decide.

I agree with both observations.

I noted another interesting fact about the American Military Officer. The Generals, almost to a man, believed the war was proper and was, in fact, a "holy war against Communism." If you believe the nature of the war is that of a "holy war", then any sacrifice, any length of time of conflict, any losses, are justifiable—and the Generals seem to so believe.

But the Colonels, Majors, Captains and Lieutenants viewed the war differently. They saw it as an ugly, impossible military problem with few ideological facets, fighting against a determined enemy under political and military restraints that make a military victory impossible to achieve.

I believe the difference in attitude reflects the era of our Nation's policy toward Communism during which the officers rose in rank. The Generals rose in rank during a time when the Nation believed in a "holy

war against Communism." The lesser officers came into rank when our foreign policy had markedly softened as to Communism, a process that has accelerated under President Nixon.

Finally, one sad observation, I visited Firebase Charlie II, just south of the DMZ, and talked to men who had just returned from Khu San where they had been in support of the South Vietnamese invasion of Laos. That Firebase was recently struck by 100-lb. enemy rockets and 30 Americans were killed and many wounded in one bunker.

THE NATURE OF THE WAR IN LAOS

Laos is a country of only 3 million people and is governed by a coalition of political forces—Right, Neutralist and Left. The Royal Laotian army is of mixed effectiveness but generally considered inferior and has tenuous allegiance to Souvanna Phouma, the Neutralist head of government. The Communist forces consist of the Pathet Lao, backers of the Left, and the North Vietnamese Regulars. A Third semi-government force, the MEO Army of General Vang Pao, is financed and controlled by the C.I.A. of America, and owes its allegiance to the C.I.A. The primary American military objective in Laos is an attack on the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos; the supply line by which North Vietnam maintains its troops in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The American attack on that trail is conducted by the American 7th Air Force, primarily, operating out of Udorn, Thailand.

The unique and disturbing feature of American military involvement in Laos is that it is not directed by American Military Forces. The C.I.A., a covert American intelligence operation, makes all military decisions in Laos, and the 7/13th Air Force planes operate their missions in Laos under directions of the C.I.A. in the person of our Laotian Ambassador, G. McMurtrie Godley. Ambassador Godley has a bombing target room in the Embassy in Vientiane, Laos, where he daily selects the bombing targets for the Air Force.

The MEO army of General Vang Pao, under the control of the C.I.A., has primary responsibility for conducting ground operations in America's interest in Laos—mostly in the Plaine de Jares. Purely a mercenary operation, and one that is not subject to approval by Congress or the American people, because it is financed by the Central Intelligence Agency whose budget or activities are not revealed to either Congress or the American people.

I asked why, if our interest demands an attack on the Ho Chi Minh trail both by air and ground, we do not conduct those operations with American military rather than by hired mercenaries whose activities are concealed from the Congress and the American people by virtue of their CIA financing. I was told we seek to maintain a fiction that American Military is not involved in Laos in order to avoid offending the Russians. That does not seem to me to be an adequate answer.

It is apparent to me that if we succeed in disengaging from South Vietnam, we will continue our military operations "by proxy" in Laos. If that is a correct decision, and I am not convinced it is, it ought to be revealed to Congress and the public for approval.

OBSERVATION ON BOTH LAOS AND SOUTH VIETNAM

One part of the tragedy of Indochina seems now to be abundantly clear. There are almost 1/3 of the populations of these two countries in refugee status. Their homes have been destroyed and their livelihood interrupted. Their families are living in miserably crowded refugee camps and have been in most instances, for years. A comparable situation would be to have 70 million or more Americans whose homes had been destroyed and whose lives had been interrupted and who had been forced to live in refugee camps for

years. No nation can maintain its culture given that massive a dislocation of its people. The culture of Indochina is literally thousands of years old. That culture is now altered. I believe the alteration is to an inferior culture in standards, tradition and morality. Our presence and our weapons of technology have contributed to that deterioration. Whenever the good and evil of the war in Vietnam is balanced out, surely that weight will be most heavy.

CONCLUSION

I have been outspoken in my criticism of both President Johnson and President Nixon for policies in Vietnam that I conceived to be not in the best interest of America. I will cease criticizing Presidents. That criticism has brought little or no change in that policy. Now I will criticize only Congress which has had it within its power to stop this war at any time during its tragic course. Congress could have—and should have—long ago voted to end appropriations to fund this mistaken policy. Congress could have and should have voted to end the necessary manpower to continue the war in Vietnam by ending the Draft. Those options still remain to Congress and its failure to act is a responsibility it alone must now bear.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR OF EVENTS, JUNE 1971

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the calendar of events of the National Gallery of Art for the month of June 1971.

Once again, the National Gallery is to be congratulated on the excellent events scheduled, and I urge all who can visit the National Gallery to do so during the month of June, as follows:

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Monday, May 31, through Sunday, June 6: Painting of the Week¹: John Sloan. The City from Greenwich Village (Gift of Helen Farr Sloan) Gallery 65, Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the Week: Portrait Painting. Rotunda, Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Mon. 11:00, 1:00 & 3:00, Tues. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: Dürer's Narratives, Guest Speaker: Charles Talbot, Professor of Art History, Yale University, New Haven, Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday Concert: Michael Laucke, Classical Guitar, East Garden Court 7:00.

(For reproductions and slides of the collection, books, and other related publications, self-service rooms are open daily near the Constitution Avenue entrance.)

Monday, June 7, through Sunday, June 13: Painting of the Week²: Claude Lorrain. The Judgment of Paris, (Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund) Gallery 52, Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the Week: History Painting. Rotunda, Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

¹ 8" x 10" black-and-white photographs with texts for sales this week—75¢ each.

² 11" x 14" reproductions with texts for sale this week—15¢ each. If mailed, 25¢ each.

Sunday Lecture: The Negro in Greek and Roman Art, Guest Speaker: Frank M. Snowden, Jr., Chairman of the Department of Classics, Howard University, Washington, D.C., Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday Concert: Julianne McLean, Pianist, East Garden Court 7:00.

(All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery Staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).)

Monday, June 14, through Sunday, June 20:

Painting of the Week²: Domenico Veneziano. *Madonna and Child*, (Samuel H. Kress Collection) Gallery 4, Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the Week: *Paintings of Daily Life*. Rotunda, Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: *Forgeries and Fakes on Today's Art Market*, Speaker: H. Lester Cooke, Curator of Painting, National Gallery of Art, Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday Concert: Sheila Marie Allen, *Lyric Soprano*, Gregory Allen, *Pianist*, Mario Falcao, *Harpist*, East Garden Court 7:00.

Films: "Civilisation," I—*The Skin of Our Teeth*, Tues., Thurs. & Sat. 6:00 & 7:15. *Gertrude Stein: When This You See Remember Me*, Mon., Wed. & Fri. 6:00.

Monday, June 21, through Sunday, June 27:

Painting of the week.² Francois Clouet. *"Diane de Poitiers"*, (Samuel H. Kress Collection) Gallery 41, Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the Week: *Still-Life Painting*. Rotunda, Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: *The Reformation and the Visual Arts in Northern Europe*, Guest Speaker: John Hand, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday Concert: Roosevelt Newson, Jr., *Pianist*, East Garden Court 7:00.

Films: "Civilisation," II—*The Great Thaw*, Tues., Thurs. & Sat. 6:00 & 7:15. *Gertrude Stein: When This You See Remember Me*, Mon., Wed. & Fri. 6:00.

East Building design: Groundbreaking ceremonies for the National Gallery of Art's East Building, presided over by the Chairman of the Board of the Gallery, the Chief Justice of the United States, Warren E. Burger, and the President of the Gallery, Paul Mellon, were held on May 6, and the work actually commenced following the ceremonies.

The East Building is being constructed on one of the noblest sites in Washington, where the axes of Pennsylvania and Constitution Avenues merge with the Mall at the foot of the Capitol. The site was reserved by Congress in 1937 for future Gallery use. Construction was authorized in 1968. Funds were given by Mr. Mellon and his sister, the late Mrs. Ailsa Mellon Bruce.

The decision to expand at this time, just thirty years after the Gallery was founded, is based on the following primary needs: to provide space for the display of the Gallery's growing collections and increasing number of special exhibitions; to enable its public services to keep pace with heavier demands; and to establish an international Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. Attendance has grown to nearly two million visitors annually, and the Extension Service, federally supported, reaches three million more people. In thirty years, the collections, all privately donated, have grown from 130 to more than 30,000 works of art. The Gallery has also outgrown its conservation, library, auditorium and cafeteria facilities.

Durer Exhibition extended: In view of the

great interest shown in Durer in America: His Graphic Work, and by courtesy of the lenders, this current exhibition, held on the occasion of the artist's 500th birthday, has been extended beyond June 6 to July 5. The exhibition spans Durer's entire career, and is organized to show his development as a graphic artist. A definitive, 360-page catalogue with extensive treatment of 36 drawings, 80 engravings and 127 woodcuts, all illustrated, is available in the Gallery's Publications Room (\$12.50, paperback).

Summer hours: Beginning June 14 the Gallery will be open Monday through Saturday 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. and Sunday 12 to 9 p.m.

The Gallery's cafeteria will be open Monday through Saturday 10 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. and on Sunday 1 to 7 p.m.

Sunday Lectures in June: The Sunday lectures for June range from "The Negro in Greek and Roman Art" to "Forgeries and Fakes on Today's Art Market" and "The Reformation and the Visual Arts in Northern Europe," with the first lecture, "Durer's Narratives," continuing the special series complementing the Gallery's current major exhibition. For details, see inside.

Summer evening film series: Selected art films are being shown this summer beginning June 14 on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 6:00 p.m. *Gertrude Stein: When This You See Remember Me* will be shown the last two weeks in June.

The BBC film series, "Civilisation," by Kenneth Clark is beginning again June 15 on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays at 6:00 and 7:15 p.m. A different film will be shown each week.

End of concert season: June 27 marks the last concert of the 1970-71 season. Concerts will begin again in the autumn.

ECOCIDE IN INDOCHINA

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to recommend to my colleagues an article written for the April 1971, *Sierra Club Bulletin* describing the ecological destruction brought by the U.S. defoliation practices in South Vietnam.

The authors, Dr. John D. Constable, professor of surgery at Harvard Medical School, and Dr. Matthew S. Meselson, professor of biology at Harvard University and head of the American Association for the Advancement of Science Herbicicide Assessment Commission, were among the distinguished group of scientists who investigated the economic, ecological, and health effects of the military use of herbicides in Vietnam. Drs. Constable and Meselson believe that herbicides in South Vietnam have fundamentally changed the vegetation over very extensive areas and that many years may pass before the complete horror of the deliberate and mass attack upon the ecological system of South Vietnam becomes fully apparent.

Mr. Speaker, I fear that the ecological destruction of vast regions of South Vietnam will endure long after the causes of the current conflict are forgotten. All Americans should be shameful and saddened by this willful destruction of the home environment of another people.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

THE ECOLOGICAL IMPACT OF LARGE SCALE DEFOLIATION IN VIETNAM

(By John Constable and Matthew Meselson)

Although synthetic chemical herbicides have been widely used in certain areas in the United States over the last fifteen years, there has only recently developed a great deal of interest in their possible toxic effects. This interest has resulted, in part, from the increasing awareness of the possible environmental hazards of many agricultural chemicals and pesticides, but more especially from recent laboratory work suggesting that the herbicide 2,4,5-T has teratogenic effects (the tendency to increase congenital deformities from defects in embryonic growth) in rats, mice and hamsters. It must be emphasized that this toxicity has not been proved in man or in any animal at the quite low doses to which man might ordinarily be exposed. In addition to possible unexpected human toxicity the ecological effects of large-scale herbicide treatment have never been well studied.

Herbicides are chemicals intended to kill or reduce vegetation. When they cause leaf fall, with or without killing the plant, they may also be called defoliants. Although extensively used in the United States, herbicides have been used in Vietnam on an unprecedented scale both as to the size and nature of the areas treated and also as to the concentration of chemicals applied. In spite of the inevitable difficulties of conducting a study under unsettled conditions, it seemed that the environmental and toxic effects, if any, of the herbicides should be more grossly apparent in Vietnam than in the United States. In 1969 the American Association for the Advancement of Science appointed Professor Matthew Meselson of Harvard University to head the AAAS Herbicicide Assessment Commission, henceforth referred to as the HAC, to investigate in a preliminary way the economic, ecological and health effects of the military use of herbicides in Vietnam and to develop a plan for more detailed studies in the future. He, in turn, appointed Professor Arthur Westing of Windham College to act as director.

Many months of intense efforts were spent in preparatory study of all known references to the effects of herbicides in the laboratory and in the field. Experts of many countries were consulted—reports both scientific and sensational followed up—and an assessment advisory meeting held at Woods Hole, Massachusetts. In this way, although only about six weeks were spent in Vietnam, we went well prepared and could use the time effectively. The HAC team included Matthew Meselson, Arthur Westing, John Constable, M.D., Professor of Surgery at Harvard Medical School and Robert Cook, Department of Biology, Yale University.

The attitude of the United States Government to the survey was curiously equivocal. Without governmental acquiescence, at least, nothing effective could have been done since access to the areas of defoliation can be easily obtained only through the assistance of the military. From the beginning of the study, the State Department in Washington and the Embassy while in Vietnam offered every assistance. The Department of Defense on the other hand, while cooperating in some ways, withheld from the HAC two types of information that only they could provide. The most important and essential was the precise location of previous defoliation missions, including the identity of the herbicide used. Accurate study requires this information and although details as to a few very recent missions were eventually provided by the DOD, records from previous years' spraying, the effects of which we saw, have never been declassified. Even more surprising, it was known that an Army team headed by Dr. Robert Cutting had completed a major

study of the rates of stillbirths and congenital abnormalities in Vietnam, specifically in relation to possible herbicide effects, but this information was withheld from the HAC while we were in Vietnam.

In spite of these unfortunate obstacles, the HAC was offered every other assistance in Vietnam. Housing and office space were provided in Saigon by USAID and in the field MACV (Military Assistance Command Vietnam) outdid themselves in providing helicopters and other special transport.

Important, too, is the attitude of the Vietnamese themselves. The government of the Republic of Vietnam is deeply concerned with the long-term results of herbicides quite apart from any considerations of current military usefulness. Full cooperation was offered and given by the Prime Minister, Ministry of Health and the Vietnamese military. We were fortunate indeed in being able to enlist the help of a number of very competent Vietnamese scientists, botanists, biologists, and physicians all anxious to help. Most Vietnamese seem agreed on the need for evaluation of the effects of herbicides and offers of help were received from the NLF and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Hanoi).

With this background, our evaluation of the effects of herbicides in Vietnam can be divided roughly into those on the forests (subdivided into mangroves and upland forests), those on human health and those resulting from the crop destruction program.

Herbicides were first used in Vietnam in 1961 on an experimental basis and became operational in 1962. The amounts used were relatively limited until 1966 when about 800,000 acres were sprayed while in 1967, 1968 and 1969, even larger areas were treated (see Table). The total area of Vietnam sprayed is estimated to be about one-seventh of the total area of the country.

The table does not distinguish the specific herbicides used at any period. Three herbicide agents have been commonly used. These are Agent Orange, Agent White and Agent Blue. Agent Orange, the most widely used, until it was suspended in 1969 as possibly being teratogenic, consists of a 50-50 mixture of 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D. Agent White is an 80-20 mixture of 2,4-D and picloram. Although White is more persistent than Orange, they are equally effective as defoliants, but White is considerably more expensive and has been used less widely. Agent Blue is cacodylic acid, an arsenical compound mostly used in crop destruction.

THE MANGROVES

The mangrove forest is a well-localized and specialized feature of the Vietnamese coast. With only a few northern extensions, it starts near Saigon and extends south around the Mekong Delta. This mangrove forest is not merely a swamp with low bushes characteristic of mangroves in some other parts of the world but includes trees up to forty feet high. These mangrove forests grow rapidly and are of great importance as a source of wood and charcoal, Vietnam's principal source of home fuel.

The HAC flew over most of the mangrove forests of Vietnam and estimated that about half had been destroyed, approximately 350,000 acres. The southern tip of Vietnam, the Camau Peninsula, is too insecure for ground studies to be made, but in the Rung-Sat area at the mouth of the Saigon River, we were able to make brief ground surveys at several sites within the sprayed forest. We were deeply impressed by the total destruction of all vegetation even by a single spraying and by the absence of any mangrove seedlings or other evidence of forest regeneration. On the ground only a few specimens of a very few species of weeds were found, and this three years after the spraying. Large numbers of crabs were present and they may be helping to prevent the re-growth of the mangroves by eating any seedlings that might appear. Most of this spraying was probably with Agent Orange and both 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D are

usually inactivated in the soil, lasting only a few months at the most. However, specific studies of their persistence under mangrove conditions have not been done.

In these devastated areas most of the animals and birds must have been driven out or perished as a result of being cut off from a new habitat by excessive distance or waterways.

The HAC looked for the possible effects of erosion. Only small scale changes were visible at this time, but it should be noted that the Delta has had no real typhoon since the time of destruction of the mangrove forests. Although mangroves provide food and shelter for fish and crustaceans, no adequate studies of effects on these organisms could be made. The fate of these "cleared" mangroves is of great interest. Perhaps eventually they will re-forest themselves but possibly the ecological chain characterized by the transformation of front mangroves, subject to tidal flooding, to back mangroves on higher land has been indefinitely interrupted. Deliberate reforestation is likely to be needed if the mangroves are to be restored. Replanting of the denuded tidal areas with mangroves would stabilize the shore line and restore the productive aquatic habitat.

THE UPLAND FOREST

Although precise figures cannot be given it would appear that approximately 4 million acres, more than a fifth, of the relatively mature upland forest of Vietnam has been sprayed. These beautiful forests are made up of a deep luxuriant canopy sheltering a relatively open forest floor. Unlike the mangrove, this forest is not totally destroyed by a single spraying of herbicide. Although the lack of official data precludes certainty, it was our impression that most of the sprayed areas we overflew had been treated only once. However, whether the spraying was in fact single or multiple, it appears to have destroyed most of the larger trees. The larger forest trees being eliminated, sunlight reaches deeper into the forest and extensive invasion with bamboo and coarse grasses, especially *Imperata cylindrica*, occurs. As a result, the relatively open forest floor is replaced by a dense underbrush. In the case of the upland forest, security precluded ground inspection of defoliated areas, although low overflights by helicopter were occasionally possible. Whether this upland forest can ever be restored is uncertain, for the invading bamboo and other species may persist. Even if spontaneous recovery should eventually occur, if man does not further manipulate natural succession, this may take a century or longer. No definite information could be obtained as to the fate of the magnificent animals and birds in these forests which include elephants, tigers, monkeys and several very rare pheasants, but the population must certainly have been very severely changed.

An additional risk from extensive defoliation is so-called nutrient dumping. Many tropical soils are not intrinsically rich in plant nutrients, and as a result a considerable percentage of the total available nutrient supply is in the vegetation at any one time. If all the leaves fall at once and rapidly decompose, much of their nutrient content may be washed into the rivers by the heavy tropical rains and lost to the local ecosystem. Even larger losses could occur if the trees are killed.

The long-term economic effects of the loss of the large trees in this forest will probably be even more severe than in the mangroves. Although in the past Vietnam has not exported much wood, having been in pre-war days basically an agricultural nation with some rubber exports, the presumptive future needs for extensive outside earnings may make the precious woods from her forests (teak, rosewood, ebony, camphor, etc.) one of Vietnam's major assets.

THE CROP DESTRUCTION PROGRAM

The crop destruction program exhibits a different military use of herbicides in that

it does not aim at the improvement of terrain for fighting or the dislodging of the concealed enemy but rather attempt to destroy crops destined for enemy use. For this purpose, Agent Blue (cacodylic acid) is commonly used, although Orange or White have also been used. Blue is sprayed on crops, principally rice, shortly before fruition and they are damaged so that there is no harvest. The program has been carried out principally in the mountainous parts of South Vietnam. A total of about 530,000 acres has been sprayed through 1969, destroying enough rice to feed an estimated 600,000 people for a year. The HAC had the opportunity of studying in some detail the site of a crop destruction mission carried out several weeks before our visit in the Song Re Valley in Quang Ngai Province. This survey was made by helicopter in company with the area chemical warfare officer. We subsequently visited the Montagnard refugee camps in the secure towns outside the valley, which in itself is not secure and is patrolled only very occasionally by United States or South Vietnamese soldiers. We were very much disturbed by the inadequate criteria for the legitimacy of the destruction caused by spraying this valley and presumably for other similar flights. The avowed object of the crop destruction program is to eliminate crops being grown by enemy soldiers for their own use. In fact, the fields in this valley are apparently the traditional home and fields of Montagnards with little or no additional cultivation by NLF or North Vietnamese soldiers.

This conclusion seems inescapable in view of the fact that every indicator of enemy presence relied upon by the chemical staff proved mistaken. We were told there were no dwellings in the valley—but our photographs show hundreds. We were told that extensive new fields had recently been put under cultivation by the enemy—but our photographs show no change from the pattern of land use seen in a 1965 Army aerial survey. We were also told that the terracing of fields seen in the valley was a technique unknown to the Montagnards, giving evidence of North Vietnamese farm units—but we later found from the army's own manuals that the Montagnards of this area had grown rice on terraced land for decades.

The Montagnard refugees who came out of areas previously subject to crop destruction told us that water buffalo are killed by eating sprayed grass. They feel that the land is cursed and poisoned from the air; they think that children, in particular, may die from the effects. Official reassurance that there is no proof of ill effects in animals or humans and that the sprayed soil should have recovered its full fertility by the next sowing is of no avail to these sad, dislocated and helpless people.

Even the most optimistic Army studies confirm that only a limited percentage of the rice in any region can be destroyed, and if this is true it is illogical to expect enemy soldiers to go hungry. They will get such rice as remains and the Montagnards will be the sufferers.

HEALTH EFFECTS

Although in fact comprising a very considerable part of the work of the HAC, only a brief summary of the health evaluation of the herbicides will be given here. Multiple reports of toxicity from cacodylic acid (Blue) among the Montagnards could not be further investigated. Hair samples from exposed individuals have been collected for arsenic analysis, still in progress.

Our principal interest centered on possible changes in the rate of stillbirths and congenital abnormalities in the population exposed to Agents White or Orange. (There is no laboratory evidence of teratogenic effects from Agent Blue.) The exposed group is extraordinarily hard to isolate. The sprayed upland forests, but not the waterways within the mangrove forests, are normally very sparsely inhabited, but signifi-

cant exposure has certainly occurred. Also, there has been spraying along canals in the Delta which are unusually densely populated. The heavy fighting usual in spray areas further dislocates the population, adding to the difficulty in conducting medical surveys.

We found no evidence of the sudden or new appearance of any dramatic congenital abnormalities as have been reported in some newspapers—Vietnamese and American.

We believe that the figures from the army report of Dr. Cutting, unfortunately not available to us while in Vietnam, are so weighted by data from Saigon (unsprayed) as to make it impossible to draw any significant conclusions. The HAC study of one province (Tay Ninh) with severe herbicide exposure did show a higher stillbirth rate than any provincial hospital reported by Cutting. Interestingly, if Cutting's own figures for provincial hospitals are isolated, they do show a recent increase in stillbirth rate, in contrast to Saigon.

Considering that dioxin, a teratogenic contaminant of 2,4,5-T, may accumulate like DDT in the food chain, we collected mothers' milk from those mothers eating fish from rivers draining defoliated forests. Analysis of these samples for dioxin is still in progress.

Unfortunately, any statistical health study in Vietnam is fraught with extreme difficulty, even with maximum local cooperation, and there can be no question but that the population exposed directly to herbicides could, in fact, have suffered a tenfold increase in congenital abnormalities without our having detected it with the methods at our disposal.

The HAC made its field study in August and September 1970 and reported to the AAAS in December. Three days before this report was made, but with our findings having been previously made available to the Administration, the White House announced a phasing out of all herbicide use in Vietnam, although at the time of this writing herbicides are still being used. More recently, the U.S. command in Saigon and the Secretary of State have announced the cessation of the crop destruction program. The military effectiveness of the use of herbicides will be debated for some time to come. Although this was not a subject which we studied, it was of interest to find a wide-range of views among military officers in Vietnam—ranging from enthusiastic support to outright condemnation.

The HAC survey raises more questions than we have even tried to answer: Why have the mangroves not recovered? What has happened to the fish and crustacean population? What will happen to the bamboo in the upland forests? Are animals really poisoned by cacodylic acid? What will happen to the Montagnards made refugees by the crop destruction program? Are there real effects on stillbirths and congenital defects in man?

We believe that herbicides in Vietnam have fundamentally changed the vegetation over very extensive areas and many decades will pass before the full effects of a transient military "necessity" are known. At the scene of Waterloo or Gettysburg almost no trace of the battle remains and even the scars of Verdun or Guadalcanal are hard to find; Vietnam's defoliated forests may be a more permanent memorial.

PRESIDENT OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY DISCUSSES INDOCHINA WAR TOLL

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share the

thoughts of Richard Lyman, president of Stanford University, about the terrible toll America is paying for the seemingly endless war in Southeast Asia. Mr. Lyman's letter, which appeared in the New York Times this February is a concise but precise statement and explanation of the fruits of this horrible war.

Indeed, we can all see the consequences of this war—the secrecy, the denial of right, the surveillance of citizens, and disturbing Government doubletalk. We should all ask ourselves again, what price are we paying for involvement in this conflict? How many of our fine young men have lost their lives or limbs? What are we wreaking on the Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians? What are we doing to the political culture of our own country? Can we ever accept the moral burden and cost of these actions for ourselves, as individuals and as a nation?

The letter follows:

DEMOCRACY: CASUALTY OF WAR

TO THE EDITOR:

If the war in Southeast Asia could be ended by the anguished cries of university presidents it would no doubt have been over long ago.

Most of us are neither Southeast Asia experts nor skilled global strategists nor (what-ever might be wished of us by many of our students and faculty) full-time members of the movement. But we do know something, by hard experience of what this faraway conflict is costing in terms of democratic values and the capacity for rational discourse on the campuses of this country.

In any war, a democratic polity incurs certain inescapable damage. War by its nature requires secrecy; democracy thrives on full disclosure. War causes people in authority not only to withhold the truth upon occasion; it tempts them to twist and distort it.

Democracy requires that disagreements be thrashed out in argument and resolved by voting. War requires that disagreements be minimized or obscured in the face of the enemy at the gates (no matter how far away those gates may be) and encourages appeals to emotion and to brute force.

It is therefore no cause for surprise that eight years of war abroad have produced a marked deterioration in the political life of our own country. This deterioration is nowhere more marked than on the leading campuses, where the argument that only force counts is heard from young people whose cynicism in this regard is a deadly threat to the future of a democratic polity.

In particular, students today are either disgusted by or themselves infected with the disease of prevarication and contempt for honest dealings. Ever since they became old enough for political consciousness, they have experienced an unending spate of misinformation and false prophecy with regard to Vietnam. The tortured elaborations of Pentagonese have brought palpably closer the notorious era of doublethink foreseen by George Orwell in "1984."

This comes about, not because of a unique villainy on the part of the protagonist in this particular war, but because war itself is antithetical to democratic values.

We have survived previous wars with democracy largely intact. But major involvement in war has often been followed by a political aftermath of reaction and repressiveness, from the Alien and Sedition Acts of the 1790's through the Mitchell Palmer raids following World War I, to the era of Joe McCarthy after World War II.

The Vietnam war has doubtless been a limited one, for Americans if not for Vietnamese. But its duration now threatens us in deadly fashion.

If the growth of cynicism and doubt con-

tinues through another period of years, we will suffer further subtle but ineradicable wounds here at home that will make American democracy in the twentieth century as much a casualty of prolonged warfare as was Athenian democracy in the fifth century B.C.

That is part of the reason why slogans like "Vietnamization" mean so little on the campus today, and why hope is so rare a commodity there.

RICHARD W. LYMAN,

President,

Stanford University.

STANFORD, CALIF., February 11, 1971.

ON THE WAGING OF PEACE

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, we all know that America is plagued today with an assortment of peace seekers. The tragedy of this presence is, in so many instances, a lack of realism and direction. Some are sincere, some naive, while others are undoubtedly prompted by ulterior designs. History teaches that the most insidious of war makers have preached the gospel of peace. In bible terms it is "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

In the June 1 issue of the New York Times there appears a remarkably intuitive article on this subject by Henry Paolucci, a professor of political science at St. John's University. It is well worth reading and is here included as a part of my remarks:

ON THE WAGING OF PEACE

THE DANGER IS NOT FROM THE MILITARY BUT FROM PEACE-MONGERS

(By Henry Paolucci)

To the historically trained ear, the most ominous drums of war have always been those pounded in the name of peace.

Those drums are rolling today with a mounting intensity unparalleled in American history. They are telling us (in the rhythms of Adlai Stevenson's eloquence): "We must abolish war to save our collective skins. For so long as this nuclear death-dance continues, tens of millions—perhaps hundreds of millions—are living on borrowed time." Or in the accents of Norman Cousins's frenzied appeal for a world federation of peace-lovers: "At a time when the fingertip of a desperate man can activate a whole switchboard of annihilation, and when defense is represented by retaliatory holocaust, the historical social contract between man and the state has ceased to exist."

The intention of such talk is peace; but its emotional intensity is unquestionably such stuff as wars are made of. When peace is proclaimed as a sovereign value, when its lovers declare themselves disposed to sacrifice all things else for its attainment—even their pledged national allegiance—we can be sure that ignorant armies, terrible with self-righteous banners, are about to clash. For it is not at college teach-ins or on the Op-Ed page of The Times, but in the arena of war that the supreme national sacrifices for peace are ultimately made.

Peace is, like liberty, one of those Janus-faced ideals that looks two ways. The Road to Peace remains a peaceful road only so long as no serious obstacles are encountered. According to some wise men, the fiercest wars have been fought to remove man-made ob-

stacles to peace. Hitler was such an obstacle. While the rest of us were plodding down a depressed stretch of the Road to Peace, he mobilized an entire people for war. Yet, what he was ultimately after with his talk of a "New Order" was surely an arrangement of unenforceable peace—under which the entire world would indeed be living now, had our physicists not outstripped him in that first great arms race of the nuclear age. Those who finally crushed him in war openly acknowledged that his goal was peace in their branding as "appeasers" all who sought to prevent our military intervention against him.

Wars result from the desire to impose one's will upon others and to resist being imposed upon. Peace is the condition of having one's willful way, whether actively or passively. Even a bawling infant knows the difference between being resisted and being pacified.

The maturity of the Western nations has consisted in their mutual recognition that the desire to establish a regime of enforceable peace over a vast multitude is itself the greatest provocation of war. That fact first impressed itself on Western statesmen during the three decades of war that preceded the so-called Peace of Westphalia, in 1648—which was peaceful only in the sense that, by its arrangements, the age-old longing for an enforceable world peace, such as animates so many educated people today, was at least temporarily laid to rest.

Napoleon resurrected that longing. He marched his armies back and forth across the Continent to remove the many national obstacles to its attainment. Later it was the turn of Imperial Germany, whose Kaiser, like Russia's Czar, celebrated in his very name the august aspiration of Imperial Rome to impose its peace everywhere, by uplifting the lowly and putting down the proud.

Vying to establish an enforceable world peace today are the Marxist-Leninists, who are as tough as the toughest old Romans, and that motley band of American social scientists, English teachers, journalists, Sanskrit-reading physicists, existentialist philosophers, playwrights, film-makers, etc., aptly characterized by Joseph Schumpeter as "ethical imperialists." The Marxist-Leninists have an obvious advantage, for they are realists. They can be deterred by a nuclear policy of assured destruction, strictly adhered to by the United States. But, if American policy insists on an enforceable world peace, the tough men of Moscow are not about to let themselves be "Pugwashed" into accepting the petulant rule of a Western intelligentsia that thinks it can gain the world by a "great act of persuasion" conducted on the pattern of a Harvard seminar on international affairs.

The irony is that, with all their drum-beating for "peace now," the men, women, and children who lead today's peace crusade are making it impossible for serious counsels to be heard in the halls of government. Even the Commander in Chief of our armed forces has been reduced to gibbering that he's a "devoted pacifist."

Our great danger today comes not from American military arrogance, which is non-existent, but from the arrogance of our peace-mongering, which intoxicates and must eventually paralyze the will to act prudently.

FLORIDA CANAL NOT "PERMANENTLY" HALTED

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the temporary stoppage of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal is only temporary, halted

by executive news release, and the construction of this important waterway cannot be stopped permanently by unilateral presidential action or court action according to the American law division of the Library of Congress. The proper procedure to cancel a project created by law is obviously to repeal the law if this is desired.

The Council on Environmental Quality and Federal courts have no power to issue permanent injunctions against public works projects authorized by Congress.

The American Law Division of the Library of Congress has furnished me the following memorandum on the law on this subject:

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
Washington, D.C., May 1, 1971.

HON. CHARLES BENNETT,
American Law Division, Permanent Injunctions Against Construction of Public Works Projects Authorized by Congress.

In response to your request, we have examined case law to determine whether public works projects authorized by Congress can be permanently enjoined because of possible harmful effects on the environment. Although there have been a number of preliminary injunctions halting such projects until environmental impact statements have been filed in compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act, 42 U.S.C. 4332(2) (C), that Act creates no "substantive right" which can form the basis for a permanent injunction. The case of *Environmental Defense Fund v. Corps of Engineers*, 2 Env. Rptr. 1260 (E.D. Ark., Feb. 19, 1971) illustrates the effect of the N.E.P.A.

A preliminary injunction was issued to halt construction of a dam, "approximately two-thirds completed," until an environmental impact statement had been filed. However, the federal district court rejected the contention that 42 U.S.C. 4331 creates a "substantive right." "In view of this interpretation of NEPA by the Court, the plaintiffs are relegated to the 'procedural' requirements of the Act." In another case bearing the same name, *Environmental Defense Fund v. Corps of Engineers*, 2 Env. Rptr. 1173 (D.D.C., Jan. 27, 1971), a similar result was reached. A preliminary injunction issued to halt construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. The project was then halted by the President, acting on the recommendation of The Council on Environmental Quality. 3 *Clean Air and Water News* No. 4, Jan. 28, 1971. Neither the Council itself nor a federal court is given the power by the NEPA to permanently halt a project.

GEORGE COSTELLO,
Legislative Attorney.

AUDIE MURPHY

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, I am stunned and deeply sorrowed by the loss of a fine American, Audie Murphy, who perished in a plane crash Friday, May 28, in Virginia.

Audie, as everyone knows, was the most decorated soldier of World War II, receiving 24 citations for his courageous deeds in battle. He received the Medal of Honor for an act of valor that became known nationwide; he climbed a burning tank destroyer and held off an advancing company of German infantry with a .50-

caliber machinegun. The tank on which he stood was filled with explosives, but he succeeded in single-handedly breaking up the attack of 250 German soldiers.

The spirit of Audie Murphy will never die; his valiant efforts in terrible, trying conditions will serve to inspire many generations of Americans to come. He was a major contributing factor to the allied victory and I am grateful to him. My colleagues and I share in this grievous loss with Audie's wife Pamela, and his two sons, Terry and James.

PUBLISHER CHARLES WOODSON IS
MOURNED BY NATION

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, one of America's great newspapermen, Charles C. Woodson of Brownwood, Tex., died on Sunday, May 23, 1971.

Mr. Woodson, for a long time the publisher of some of the finest newspapers in Texas and Oklahoma, is mourned by a host of friends throughout the Nation. One of the finest tributes to him was printed in the Miami News-Record of May 24, 1971, where his longtime friend and associate, Murray Bratcher, is publisher.

The text of the News-Record story follows:

NEWS-RECORD OWNER DIES

Charles C. Woodson of Brownwood, Tex., owner and president of Miami Newspapers, Inc., since Oct. 1, 1951, died about noon Sunday of an apparent heart attack while visiting in the home of a son, Ben Woodson, of Del Rio, Tex.

Mr. and Mrs. Woodson had attended dedication ceremonies Saturday of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library at Austin as guests of the former president. They drove to Del Rio afterward. The newspaper owner and Mrs. Johnson were longtime friends.

Mr. Woodson was a frequent Miami visitor. He was here recently to confer with News-Record Publisher Murray Bratcher about the project, nearing completion, which will double the size of the News-Record plant and convert the newspaper to the most modern method of offset printing. Completion of the project is expected within a few weeks.

Although Mr. Woodson had been owner of many newspapers in his long career in this field, he was actively associated with only three at the time of his death. These were the News-Record and the Alice Echo-News of Gulf Crescent Enterprises, Alice, Tex., which he owned. He was a partner in the El Campo, Tex., Leader. He had been associated with some 40 daily and weekly newspapers during his lifetime.

Mr. Woodson moved from Cleburne, Tex., to Brownwood in Sept., 1940, after acquiring ownership of the Brownwood Bulletin. Later, he purchased Texas newspapers in Del Rio, Lamesa, Brownfield, Port Lavaca, Waxahachie and Alice and for a number of years was a partner in the operation of radio and television stations in Texas and Oklahoma, including a station in Oklahoma City.

Born Aug. 6, 1898, in Searcy, Ark., Mr. Woodson moved to Texas in 1912 and saw brief Army service in World War I. After graduation from Hico high school, he attended Baylor University, Waco. He was business manager of "The Lariat," Baylor student publication. He worked for Waco's two daily newspapers and later for newspapers in Orange, Port Arthur and Houston.

Leaving employment with the Houston Chronicle, he started his publishing career at Kirvin, Tex., followed by Texas publishing stints that included Quanah, Gladewater, Palestine and Cleburne before moving to Brownwood.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Ruth Woodson of 2009 First Avenue, Brownwood; three sons, Craig Woodson, who in March, 1959, succeeded his father as owner and publisher of the Brownwood Bulletin; Ben Woodson, successor to his father as owner and publisher of the Del Rio News, and Jack Woodson of Austin; a brother, the Rev. William Woodson, a Baptist minister in Arkansas, and eight grandchildren.

On Sept. 23, 1969, Woodson was honored at a surprise event attended by 150 Brownwood men, Texas Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes and other prominent Texans.

One of the highlights of the dinner was a vocal tribute from ex-President Johnson. Johnson, in a telephone call that was wired into the public address system, commented:

"If it were not for a long-standing previous commitment (with Walter Cronkite of CBS) I would be there with you tonight. You have always been the type of man who never asked for anything for yourself. But you have always been there when your city, your state, your party or your nation needed you.

"You have always been a bulldozer. You helped build Brownwood, but more important you have helped build America.

"I just wanted to call up and tell you I think you deserve all the tributes you have received tonight. Lady Bird joins me in sending you our love and respect."

Earlier, in 1962, Brownwood honored Mr. Woodson as "key man" of the year in the over-35 age category.

Woodson, a past president of the Brownwood Chamber of Commerce, was instrumental in organizing the Brownwood Industrial Foundation. He was a former director of Citizens National Bank, Brownwood.

Woodson was a delegate to the 1956 and 1960 Democratic National Convention. He was a former state executive Democratic committeeman from his senatorial district.

Funeral services will be held at 3 p.m. Tuesday in the First Baptist church, Brownwood, with the Rev. Logan Cummings officiating. Burial will be in Brownwood's East-lawn cemetery.

POWER COMPLEX IN ARIZONA

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this urgent information that appeared in the form of an advertisement in the Los Angeles Times on Thursday, May 20, 1971:

[From the Los Angeles Times, May 20, 1971]
LIKE RIPPING APART ST. PETER'S, IN ORDER TO
SELL THE MARBLE

So that the world can have still more of Los Angeles, Las Vegas, and Phoenix, six gigantic coal-burning power plants and three huge strip-mines are underway at and around Black Mesa, Arizona. When operative, the complex will spread more deadly smog and soot than currently put out in New York and Los Angeles combined across what is now 100,000 square miles of open country; the last pure air in America.

Affected by the smog will be six national parks, 28 national monuments, the Lake Mead and Lake Powell recreation areas, and Grand Canyon; the places people escape to

are being sacrificed to make more of what they escape from. Also being sacrificed on behalf of urban growth: The sacred religious shrines of the Hopi and Navajo Indians, who had thought that it couldn't happen again.

(1) The clearest air in the United States is to be found in the Four Corners region of the Southwest, an enormous area including parts of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and Nevada. It contains the Grand Canyon National Park, Petrified Forest National Park, Zion National Park, Bryce Canyon, Rainbow Bridge, Monument Valley (see photo above) as well as 39 Indian Reservations and the biggest open sky in the world.

The air here is legendary. It is where your doctor sends you when the city air gets you, or you have asthma. But he won't send you here much longer.

(2) Not to be outdone by the East, where natural beauty is in the realm of nostalgia, real estate speculators are planning expansion: tract houses across California's open spaces; industrial development of the desert; more slurbs around Phoenix; and also in Las Vegas, where they say there is a "need" for more neon.

(3) All of this takes electricity, a lot of it, and so a consortium of 23 power companies together with the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation is building six coal-burning plants to service the urban sprawl. Growth in those already choking cities will do them nothing but harm, of course, but that's not the point of this ad. What those cities wish to do to themselves is one thing; we are speaking about what they are doing to an area that belongs to you and to us, and to 250,000 Indians.

(4) The power plants, you see, are not being put in the cities they service. They produce so much smoke, soot and poison that they are illegal there. The solution: put them elsewhere, where no one will complain. Where there are only parklands and open spaces; where only animals, trees, and farm produce grow; where the population is only hikers, campers, swimmers, climbers, fishermen, boatmen [tourists] and oh yes, some Indians. No "important" opposition.

(5) So here is what's planned: at least six power plants and three strip mines, an 80 mile coal-hauling railroad (across Navajo land), a 273 mile slurry pipeline (across Hopi and Navajo lands), hundreds of miles of work roads and thousands of miles of transmission lines crisscrossing the country's last pristine open space, to carry the power to "civilization."

(6) Two of the plants are already built. They went up so fast and so quietly no one knew it was happening until it was too late. No pre-construction announcements, no public hearings, no impartial studies on resources, or alternatives, no reports to the Federal Power Commission, no statements under the National Environmental Policy Act.

Only when it was too late, and people began perceiving what was going on out there, were there some pitiful attempts by the companies to cover their public bases, but a lot of the damage is done.

(7) To give you an idea of the effect, one of the plants, The Four Corners Plant at Farmington, New Mexico, puts out more fly ash and soot—350 tons per day—than is produced by all sources in Los Angeles and New York combined. And the stuff gets carried hundreds of miles downwind.

Smoke from this plant was photographed by a Gemini satellite not long ago—the only man-made phenomenon on Earth to be visible out there.

The State of New Mexico has finally ordered some emission controls on that plant, which will improve matters a bit, but this is only one plant in six now planned. If the power companies have their way, one of the new plants, Kapairowitz, will be nearly three times the size of Four Corners; the biggest in

the country. And then the total pollution output in this "clearest-air" region will look this way:

	[Tons per day]		
	Sulphur oxides	Nitrogen oxides	Ash, soot, and other particulates
6 plants (after controls on 4 corners).....	2,166	845-1,297	240
Los Angeles Co. (total all sources including cars)...	275	950	110

Source: John Muir Institute for Environmental Studies.

Even New York City puts out less pollution; 140 tons of ash, and only 1,077 tons of sulphur oxides. And while it is true that this region is larger than New York and Los Angeles together, and concentrations may not be as great all the time, remember, this is the last clean air in the country, and the largest recreational region. Even a little pollution here would be an outrage. But this is not a little.

(8) To make matters worse, Kapairowitz will be the second of two plants to be built on the shores of Lake Powell, hailed as one of the great recreational lakes of the country—used by swimmers, water-skiers, sailboats, and so on. If Kapairowitz, or the already begun Navajo Plant, is built, the smoke will pour into the sky and the soot will blacken the sails. Tall ugly smokestacks will be visible from almost everywhere on the lake, and it will take on some of the charm of the Hoboken River.

(9) To run the power plants, coal is needed and the solution to that need may be still more tragic and brutal: strip mining.

The coal for two of the plants is being provided by Peabody Coal Company, which has already begun its digging at Black Mesa, in the heart of the Hopi and Navajo Nations.

(10) Black Mesa is not just another piece of soil with coal in it. It is where the Hopi have lived for a thousand years; the oldest stationary culture in North America.

The religion of both the Navajo and Hopi peoples are intertwined with the soil of Black Mesa.

The Hopi believe that they grew directly up from that soil. It is their Garden of Eden, so to speak, except in their view the soil itself is alive—as alive as they are, and the trees and plants and sheep they herd. They believe the soil itself is sacred, much as you might feel about the Holy Grail, or the Walling Wall. To the traditional Hopi, ripping apart the soil and removing things from it, as Peabody is doing, is, in the words of one young Hopi, "like ripping apart St. Peter's, in order to sell the marble."

(11) Peabody is also removing water from Black Mesa for a coal slurry pipeline, at 3-168,000 gallons per day. No one can be certain what that will do to the farming and grazing in this arid region, but the Hopi fear (and remember, they have lived here, in harmony with the difficult land, for one thousand years) that the water will give out or become poison as it did in Appalachia; that it will destroy their farms and therefore their culture. The Hopi say that if the mining continues, the Hopi Nation will not. All for Las Vegas neon.

(12) Peabody counters that it has a "legal" lease, signed by the Hopi Tribal Council and yes, it has a signed piece of paper. "Legal" is another matter.

Last week, all the traditional Hopi leaders filed the first of a series of lawsuits. The suits say, in effect, that the Tribal Council was pushed onto the Hopi by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and was not legally appointed. They say the Hopi ignore the council almost to a man in favor of their own system of governing, and that it violates the Hopi Constitution, the Hopi religion, and Department of Interior rules. They say the Tribal Council

was created by BIA just so such deals could be made. They say that not more than a handful of Hopi ever heard of the strip mining plans until Peabody moved in and started digging things up.

At some point, we are all going to have to come to grips with one irrefutable fact: There is only so much of this country. Only so much land, water, and air to put to the uses of commerce. We cannot behave as though there is always room for expansion. There is not.

There was a time when helping urban growth seemed a good idea, when the country was young and needed to build its base. But now cities are too big and they are turning greyer before our eyes. Yet the dogma remains: More, more, more, more, more.

California begins to look like one gigantic Levittown; one huge trailer camp. Phoenix and Las Vegas likewise. Still there is the notion at large that we must "use" all of the landscape. If they get away with plants at Four Corners, defiling the last pure air in the country, then more plants will follow those.

In the East, the problem is similar; power plants on mountainsides, in woodlands, on beaches. And now there's a plan to start "using" the oceans; to put enormous plants out at sea. When the parks smell of industry and even the sea offers no escape, then finally, once and for all, we will have become prisoners in a giant world-wide jail.

It is clear that such growth is madness; a cancer feeding on its own living system. And since eventually we will run out of space, hadn't we best plan for that now, rather than later when *all* is gone?

The conclusions are very clear. We should not be accommodating growth anymore unless and until we can do so without doing-in the world. Instead of promoting more use of power, companies should be promoting less use, and offering special rates to those able to ration. Most important, the United States must arrive at a national energy policy which reflects the facts of life—there is only so much land. A limit on power is needed.

The end of the mass-consumption waste-oriented society is in sight. We may all have to make do with less. But this is not necessarily bad. Fewer lights on at once may return us the dusk, and stars. Without electric toothbrushes, we may still brush our teeth. Not all new buildings need be artificially heated and cooled, and those that are could be built with windows that *open*, so some days fresh air could come in. Las Vegas does *not* need more neon, going 24 hours per day. We can all get along with less. The Hopi have done it till now. Until strip-mining started at Black Mesa, pollution was impossible there.

THE PROBLEMS OF WELFARE

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, we have worked for nearly 3 years to write legislation that will turn the tide of welfare in this country. And during these 3 years, we have had the burden of eliminating the myths about welfare that plague us.

In most minds, the idea that somehow most of those receiving welfare could be working instead. The reality is that most of those who receive benefits from welfare are children or elderly or blind.

Yet, we have had to confront the basic fact that our present welfare system does indeed foster more welfare because, in-

stead of providing the kind of welfare to help a man or woman become established and independent, we have an either/or choice in too many cases. A person gives up his benefits under welfare on a dollar-for-dollar replacement basis when he finds work, and the result is that unless the job pays enough to cover the costs of working such as babysitting and transportation and gives some security as well, many find it more feasible or easier just to draw the welfare benefits.

The program we will consider in the near future on the floor of the House does not meet all of the needs or desires concerning welfare, but it does make a very real beginning toward meeting the needs of the country in the welfare field.

Few people in my home State of West Virginia are more cognizant of the many competing policy factors that make up the decisions that confront us than the editor of the Wheeling News-Register. Few people in the country have the benefit of reading newspapers whose editors have been as sensitive and sensible about this problem, and public policy generally.

Because of this, I commend the following editorial to my colleagues as one of the most perceptive that has been written on welfare:

THE PROBLEMS OF WELFARE

One of the difficulties in seeking a sensible and workable solution to the problems of rising welfare costs in this country is that we all have our preconceived ideas about welfare and we are hard pressed to abandon them whether valid or not.

New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller recently joined others who have had to do an "about-face" on their stand that advocated virtual blank checks to about anyone who claimed he had a "right" to be on the government dole. Gov. Rockefeller now has acknowledged that welfare is not a "right" but that the administration of welfare must be catalogued other than a purely social disorder.

What caused the governor's shift in position was the enormous grass roots protest which welled up in New York when he sent his state legislature a whopping \$8.4 billion budget calling for \$1.1 billion in new taxes. He also proposed a \$10 billion community bond issue.

When the public response hit, Gov. Rockefeller did some backtracking. He quickly urged the elimination of able-bodied welfare recipients from the state dole, a cutback from \$4,000 to \$2,400 in dependent child cases and insisted on a one-year residency requirement despite U.S. Supreme Court rulings to the contrary.

Meanwhile, Gov. Rockefeller has proposed legislation to compel welfare recipients to register their social security numbers as a prerequisite to obtaining welfare, therefore helping to thwart the desertion of children which has added greatly to the expense of aid to dependent children category of welfare. Such legislation, we believe, would seem long overdue.

Now that we have said all of this it is time to examine the other side of the coin. The State Department of Social Services in North Carolina recently published a report about the myths and facts regarding welfare in that state. Here are some enlightening excerpts from the report:

Myth: "They're getting rich on welfare."

Fact: The average monthly benefit under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children is \$116.53. The non-farm poverty level for a family of four is \$312 a month.

Myth: Most AFDC families contain men who don't work.

Fact: Of the nearly 145,000 AFDC recipients in North Carolina in December 1970, there were no able-bodied men. About 6,300, or 4 per cent were incapacitated fathers.

Myth: Practically all welfare recipients are black.

Fact: 46.8 per cent of the welfare cases in December 1970 were white. 51.8 per cent were black, and 1.4 per cent were other races.

Myth: AFDC mothers keep having children to get more benefits.

Fact: The number of children per AFDC family has declined from 3.1 in December 1961 to 2.8 in December 1970. The latest Social Service Department statistics indicate that about 3.4 per cent of children in AFDC families were born after the mother went on the rolls.

It would seem apparent that we never will get down to solving the welfare problem in this country until we are ready to face the facts as they are and strip aside the emotional hang-ups that confuse us all.

DRUGS AND MENTAL HEALTH

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the American public is eventually becoming alarmed over the devastating drug menace especially to our youth and Vietnam service veterans.

I hereby submit excerpts from my remarks on mental health before the Tri-City Mental Health Center banquet in East Chicago, Ind., on last Friday May 28:

SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN RAY J. MADDEN

I wish to commend the Tri-City Comprehensive Community Mental Health Center for devoting your time and effort toward aiding the mentally handicapped throughout our community state and nation. The work of organizing public interest and support for institutions and hospitals to establish centers to take care of the mentally disturbed has expanded considerably in the last dozen years. Taking care of the mentally disturbed people in our midst has ceased to be a local problem. It demands the joint cooperation of the state and nation. The number demanding mental care has greatly increased and is increasing as each year passes.

Today it is estimated that over 6 million school-age and one million pre-school age children are suffering from mental handicaps. Only 40 percent of these children receive any special medical service or educational help.

As many as one-haf of them, the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped estimates, could greatly develop in regular educational classrooms if they only had the support of even part-time special education services.

By reason of the special work throughout the nation of organizations similar to your mental health center, the number of handicapped children being given special education has been raised by nearly 3 million throughout the country. It is estimated that 20 million people in the United States are suffering from some sort of mental or emotional illness. These cases range from mild to severe which need psychiatric treatment. This means that about one in every 10 persons is now suffering from some form of mental illness of various degrees of severity. Mental illness and other personality disturbances are usually significant factors in criminal behavior, delinquents, suicide, alcoholism and narcotic conditions. It was

estimated that approximately 500,000 children—many as young as two or three years of age—suffer from serious forms of mental illness. It is also remarkable that more than 20 percent of all men admitted to mental institutions are alcoholics. Over-use of drugs and alcohol over the years has been a great contributor to the large percentage of people who develop ultimately into mentally afflicted victims.

NARCOTIC ADDICTION

During the last dozen years the unfortunate scourge of narcotic addiction, especially among American youth, is slowly bringing about additional victims of mental illness to thousands of drug victims. One of our nationally known doctors has predicted that, if some method of curing and curtailing the drug addiction epidemic among the younger generation is not discovered, mental illness will expand far beyond all past statistics and will add many millions more to the so-called classified mentally disturbed victims throughout the country. Surveys have revealed that about 20 percent of college students have used marihuana one or more times and roughly 8 percent have used LSD or other damaging drugs.

The rapid increase in the use of pills, narcotics and other so-called drugs damage, not only the mental apparatus, but the physical health of millions and is already this country's most pressing mental problem.

DEFORMITY AND MENTAL ILLNESS AMONG CHILDREN

It has been revealed at Congressional hearings on legislation pertaining to mental health that the habitual use of drugs and pills by a parent or parents contribute greatly to the mental and physical deformity of their children. Considering the epidemic of drug expansion in our schools and colleges during the last 10 years should be a warning to our Government and the American public that the number of future cases of mental afflictions will increase many fold in the future years. Steps must be taken by our Government, universities, colleges, high schools and educational institutions of all sorts to instruct the younger generation as to the devastating danger of drug use, not only to themselves, but to their children in the future. The fight against mental afflictions and physical handicaps should be one of the No. 1 problems of the Congress, state legislatures and educational institutions throughout the land.

I was shocked to pick up the Washington Post of Wednesday, May 26, 1971, and find on page one an article which continues for 8 columns in the middle of the paper. This article exposed the lack of mental care, hospitals, doctors and personnel to handle the avalanche of mental cases in the City of Washington, D.C. I am inserting in my remarks but two short paragraphs of this long article which should be printed in every newspaper in the country to awaken the public concerning the nation's neglect and indolence in not inaugurating a practical and workable program on mental health.

"Helen H. Curley, director of nursing, said that in her 31 years at Forest Haven there has always been a problem in keeping staffs. Mrs. Curley said that about 24 hours after the first day of work for a new person, 'I would get a letter saying, 'I couldn't sleep last night,' or 'I really don't think I can work with the mentally retarded.'"

"The American Association on Mental Deficiency recommends one staff member for every five severely retarded patients during the day. Administrators of Forest Haven said this would be an ideal situation. At present there is one nursing assistant for every 20 severely retarded males and 3 assistants for 79 severely retarded females."

Mental disturbances caused by the drug epidemic in all stages has contributed greatly to our crime menace. This situation will bring about further expenses of local, state

and national law-enforcement agencies, administration of justice, as well as the cost of damage inflicted by the offenders which has been estimated at more than \$20 billion a year.

MENTAL HEALTH EXPANSION

It is also estimated that approximately 2 million 500 thousand Americans were treated for mental illness in 1968. In out-patient psychiatric clinics, mental hospitals and other hospital facilities.

Throughout the Nation approximately 473,000 children under 18 years of age received some service at mental facilities in the United States in 1968. Of these children 84 percent were seen on an out-patient basis and 14 percent were hospitalized. About half of these patients were treated in public mental hospitals and the other half in public general hospitals. Government statistics state that 10 percent of all school-age children have emotional problems requiring psychiatric help.

According to the American Hospital Association, public and private mental hospitals in the United States number about 540.

334 are state and local government mental hospitals.

87 are non-profit, non-government psychiatric hospitals.

84 are for profit, non-government.

37 are Federal Government psychiatric hospitals. (Included Veterans Administration and public health hospitals.)

State and county hospitals throughout the Nation accommodate about 366,800 mental patients. It is estimated that the cost of mental illness to the United States in 1968 was approximately \$21 billion. Mental illness is one of the costliest of all diseases and about 43 percent of that cost has been borne by persons or organizations other than the mentally ill and their families.

MENTAL MEDICAL COSTS

The cost of thousands of cases of the mentally ill are taken care of by their families and, including their productivity losses, that sum would total about \$12 billion.

It is also estimated by Government figures that the total maintenance expenditures of state and mental hospitals in the fiscal year of 1969 for in-patient services totaled \$1,739,293.

Mental illnesses presently cost the United States Veterans Administration over one billion 250 million dollars annually. The State of Indiana in 1968 hospitalized 9,374 mental patients in state and county mental institutions.

The estimated operating cost in fiscal 1970 for just Veteran Administration psychiatric hospitals was \$351 million 445 thousand. This does not include the cost of care of mental patients in general hospitals.

Up to two years ago 624,000 veterans were receiving compensation or pension payments whose major disability involved mental and neurologic conditions to the total cost of approximately \$899 million.

The American public for some reason over the years has not been alerted or advised as to the facts concerning the startling problem of our mentally afflicted people throughout the country. In 1969 the National Institute of Mental Health spent \$84,564,000 toward construction and staffing of community health centers for the public and other non-profit rehabilitation programs.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION

Recent legislation enacted by Congress has greatly emphasized the necessity to provide for our American youth who are mentally afflicted.

Congress established a base for Federal support to meet mental health needs of children. The Congress, in spite of all our problems both domestic and international, last year created a foundation on which to build a nation-wide program of mental health services for children. In the past our

Government did not emphasize our mentally disturbed youth, but we are now setting up special medical and mental training for our afflicted young folks. To aid in these efforts the Congress included in the 1970 Community Mental Health Legislation methods to provide grants for construction, staffing, training and evaluation of programs for mental health services for children.

The Congress has been confronted with the problem of setting aside special funds to combat the recent epidemic of drug abuse. In order to combat this unfortunate modern drug epidemic the Congress must appropriate additional funds for research which are earmarked for special treatment of mental illnesses caused by the use of drugs.

The spread of mental afflictions in recent years has alerted our Government and public opinion to the fact that something must be done—some new program devised—more money must be found to confront and solve this major threat to the future of our Nation. We must put forward and successfully solve this problem to improve the health of mentally afflicted, both young and old. The Federal Government, the states, the cities and community governments and the private sector must all share in this charitable undertaking which you are a part thereof by establishing the Tri-City Community Mental Health Center.

These solutions will depend on the use of volunteer manpower, work, sacrifice and commitments of sizeable amounts of money. Therefore, it seems to all of us that we must educate and convince the public of the necessity to help our medical authorities solve the mental health problem. The establishment of mental health services, both for adults and children, is a do-it-yourself program for our generation. The Federal Government, the states, the counties and the neighborhood organizations in local communities must join, and in working together the mental health problem can be greatly curtailed, and possibly solved.

NARCOTICS PROBLEM IN VIETNAM

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, a most laudable article by James Reston entitled "The Hangover of War" appeared in today's New York Times. It focuses attention on the severity of the narcotics problem in Vietnam and on the drastic need for innovative and board action to combat this scourge. I commend this article to all my colleagues in the Congress:

[From the New York Times, June 2, 1971]

THE HANGOVER OF WAR

(By James Reston)

The quickest way for an American soldier to avoid combat in Vietnam and get back home these days is to take to drugs. If he's hooked on heroin, he's finished—finished with fighting, finished with the Army, a casualty of the war, finished with everything but the drug habit.

This is one of those tragic consequences of war where, in Nikita Khrushchev's vivid phrase, the living may envy the dead. Retiring Army Secretary Stanley Resor recently testified that between 10 and 15 percent of the American troops in Vietnam have a serious heroin habit, and this is at best an official guess—at least 20,000 and maybe twice the number in the American Expeditionary force are now in danger of drug addiction.

The facts and military regulations of this

problem are alarmingly vague. President Nixon has conceded that the problem exists. The military authorities have established a rehabilitation program to deal with it. Extreme cases of drug addiction are compelled to join the program, but the easy way in dubious cases is merely to get the man home and out of the service.

Getting them out of the service at least blurs and disperses the problem. If the soldier wants out and does not volunteer for the drug rehabilitation program, the veterans hospitals are not full of addicts, but the soldier is thrown back on his own with an expensive habit he cannot cure or afford.

Divided as the nation is about the war, confused as it is about past and present war objectives, the country ought to be able to agree about rescuing the men who were drafted into the battle, and giving them the health and jobs essential to a decent life. This is not being done now. Rehabilitation and employment centers are being established, the problems of the veteran drug-addict and the veteran unemployed are recognized in Washington, but the sick and unemployed casualties of the war are not really being dealt with effectively.

One of the major drug problems of the American soldier in Vietnam is that heroin in Southeast Asia is strong, easy to get and taken by smoking, rather than by needle, and cheap. It eases the agony of combat, and promises home-leave if it gets beyond control. But hooked on this powerful, cheap stuff in Vietnam, a discharged veteran in any normal American community has the means neither of curing the habit nor of affording the habit, without stealing.

The Nixon Administration has not been indifferent to the menace of drugs in America. It has tried to get at the problem at the source. It has used its political and economic power to cut off the supply of drugs in Turkey, Lebanon and elsewhere in the Middle East. It has worked effectively with the Pompidou Government in Paris to break up the processing of drugs in Marseilles and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. It has trebled the number of agents watching the drug trade across the Mexican border and through customs at the international airports in this country, and it has poured Federal money and manpower into breaking up the drug peddlers in this country.

But in Vietnam, where it has much more control over both the peddlers and the soldiers, the Nixon Administration has not been effective. In Saigon, at least, it has much more authority than it has used to attack the source of drugs, to intervene in the drug corruption, which reaches into the highest levels of the Saigon Government, and to insist that the American soldiers, who are the casualties of the war-drug culture, go into the drug-rehabilitation program.

More than that, the Administration has not cooperated in a serious, private examination of the Vietnam drug problem with the Congress. Nobody on Capitol Hill expects the President to approve public hearings on the question, but serious men in the Congress, both critics and defenders of the President's Vietnam policy, have urged him, without success, to get at the facts of drug addiction among the soldiers, and cooperate in legislation to deal with the drug casualties of the war.

This is so serious a problem that, unlike most political issues in Washington, it is beyond politics. Both parties, all factions for and against the Nixon policy of "winding down the war," agree on the human tragedy of drug addiction among the soldiers in Vietnam, and the dangers of sending them back home before they are cured, but this is what is happening. To save their lives by avoiding combat, many of the Americans in Vietnam are ruining their lives by drugs, and are being sent home to families and communities that have no means to cure or even understand the tragedy of their returning sons.

HALT OPPRESSION OF SOVIET JEWS

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, I certainly applaud the recent announcement of President Nixon to begin discussions with the Soviet Union on the limitation of offensive and defensive missiles. The beginning of these negotiations is a hopeful sign and I certainly hope these discussions will be fruitful.

At the same time, the White Plains Reporter Dispatch points out a very interesting fact about the use of the announcement of this agreement to begin talks, by the Soviets, to overshadow new reports of the continued horrible persecutions of Jews in the Soviet Union.

I would like to insert this editorial in the RECORD at this time in order that it may be brought to the attention of all Members of the House.

[From the White Plains (N.Y.) Reporter Dispatch, May 22, 1971]

TWO STORIES ABOUT RUSSIA

President Nixon obviously attaches high importance to the Soviet Union's agreement to discuss limitations on offensive as well as defensive missiles.

This decision, he said, breaks the SALT (strategic arms limitation talks) deadlock and puts negotiations on a hopeful track. Until now the Soviets have wanted to limit the talks to defensive weapons while the U.S. has contended that any prospective agreement should cover both offensive and defensive nuclear weapons.

Thus, in substance, the Soviets now agree. At face value that's a promising development, but whether it brings a U.S.-Soviet arms limitation accord any closer is another question that can only be answered by future movement, or lack of it, at the SALT talks.

It is one thing for Communist governments to agree to negotiate. For them to negotiate sincerely toward a mutually acceptable goal is something else again.

If a further note of skepticism may be pardoned, it might not have been the merest coincidence that Moscow helped set the timing of this splashy announcement as a means of topping another story that emerged almost simultaneously from the Soviet Union. That was the one about the labor camp sentences dealt to nine more Jews by a kangaroo court in Leningrad.

This was a sequel to last December's conviction of 10 other Jews accused of conspiring to hijack a plane to Sweden and emigrate from there to Israel.

The defendants in the latest so-called trial were variously accused of helping the conspirators of engaging in anti-Soviet slanders. What the trial was really all about may never be known. Western correspondents were barred from attending and had to rely on official reports from the Soviet news agency Tass.

Tass said the defendants had all "confessed" and had openly "repented."

Maybe so, but the real culprit in the putative "crime"—which never reached the point of commission—was the Soviet government. In nearly every instance, the defendants had sought, and been denied, permission to emigrate to Israel.

It is not difficult to imagine the desperation that may have caused them to try to flee the country without permission—a high crime in the Soviet Union, even without the hijacking element.

The same restrictions apply to all Soviet citizens, but the difference is that Jews who cling to their religious and cultural traditions are special targets for harassment and persecution in the homeland so few of them are permitted to leave.

So the real "crime" for which the hapless defendants were convicted in Leningrad was the fact of being Jewish and being proud of it.

Such is the continuing condition of Soviet "justice."

MEMORIAL DAY—OUR HERITAGE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Monday, Memorial Day, was celebrated by Americans who properly observed this day dedicated to the men who died in service. An especially appropriate editorial appeared in the May 27 edition of the Pointer which I am proud to insert into the RECORD as I feel it is an outstanding expression of grassroots public opinion.

The editorial follows:

[From the Riverdale (Ill.) Pointer, May 27, 1971]

OUR PRICELESS HERITAGE

Next Monday, Memorial day, 1971 is the first which we will observe as the last Monday in May rather than the long-standing date of May 30. This has been brought about by Congressional action. But no matter which day it is remembered, we know that our first heroes, at the birth of America nearly two centuries ago, bought the right of freedom for our nation with their sacrifices.

Other heroes, in their own time, caused that freedom to endure with their sacrifices. Each one proved with his precious blood that "freedom" is not free. It never has been and never will be. It is our priceless heritage.

We cannot forget Memorial day, the day set aside to honor our war dead who lie in American cemeteries overseas. Many shrines to the American dead and to freedom are located on or near the sites of critical campaigns.

Each of these sites evokes memories of battles waged by young Americans who paid the highest price that war can extract.

What can we, the living, say on this Memorial day in a still troubled world, in tribute to the great sacrifices of these men and women who have given their lives for their country?

We can say on Memorial day 1971 that no matter how distant the day and place of their sacrifices, the country that these heroes served with such nobility of spirit and purpose must hold them forever in revered memory.

We acknowledge that their deeds, their sacrifices gave our nation the strength and endurance that has preserved our unique place in history—a nation founded on and living in freedom.

There can be no more appropriate time than Memorial day to reaffirm our faith in America, and in her fighting men.

Let us also remember that the responsibility for building a stronger nation is an individual one. It is a responsibility that cannot be delegated to another. Those who have fallen in battle knew this.

So this is the challenge that Memorial day 1971 should hold for us. It is not a remote task we face, but a very personal one. It is one of individual dedication and involvement to preserve our priceless heritage.

J. EDGAR HOOVER TESTIFIES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, so that our colleagues may gain a better understanding of the real J. Edgar Hoover and of what motivates him in his dedicated service to God and country, I insert the text of an exclusive interview of Mr. Hoover by Mr. C. M. Ward as appearing in a small booklet of the Assemblies of God:

J. EDGAR HOOVER TESTIFIES—C. M. WARD ASKS POINTED QUESTIONS; J. EDGAR HOOVER GIVES FRANK ANSWERS

The service of J. Edgar Hoover to his nation and to law enforcement is a matter of record. Both Republican and Democratic administrations have honored him.

This exclusive interview brings into even sharper focus an old-fashioned faith that has sustained Mr. Hoover throughout many years dedicated to government.

He has been tested by war years, depression years, inflationary years, and years when strong syndicates of evil have sought to overthrow the law.

To survive and believe there must be strength!

J. Edgar Hoover is quick to acknowledge the source of such strength. It comes from within.

It is best described in these words:

"God is our refuge and strength,
a very present help in trouble.
Therefore will not we fear,
though the earth be removed,
and though the mountains be carried into
the midst of the sea;
though the waters thereof roar and be
troubled,
though the mountains shake with the
swelling thereof" (Psalm 46:1-3).

Such faith becomes a primary target.

J. Edgar Hoover evaluates the attacks which seek, at this hour, to destroy faith. Here are his own carefully written answers:

Do you see a serious threat from forces planning the violent overthrow of our government?

There is definitely a threat from the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, many of whom take their cue from Moscow, Peking, or Castroist doctrines.

These groups—though not large in numbers—are extremely dedicated and determined to achieve their goal of destroying our system of government. They do not hesitate to bitterly attack American ideals and to undermine our democratic institutions. We definitely need to be alert and concerned about this danger.

How much anti-God and antichurch sentiment is there among contemporary revolutionaries?

These Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries mock religion and laugh at those who worship God. For them the church is antiquated and has no relevance to life.

How massive do you consider to be the disobedience, anarchy, and subversion within our country at the present time?

There are serious problems.

Daily newspapers note incident after incident of violence and terrorist acts by those who feel the "establishment" must be destroyed. In addition, we are faced with the continuing upswing in crime. In 1969 we witnessed another substantial increase—11 percent—over the previous year.

Respect for law and order has taken a dangerous decline in this nation.

How much correlation do you see between disrespect for law and disrespect for parental authority?

Lack of discipline in the home is an important factor.

Young people who have never had to obey parents can hardly be expected to have any respect for the law. If the child is allowed to treat his mother and father impudently, why should we expect the child to treat a police officer differently?

We must recognize that a good measure of disrespect for any kind of authority stems from observing parents who themselves are careless in keeping the law, parents who see nothing wrong in a little cheating if it proves to their advantage.

Parents who fail to realize the deadly harm they do by setting a shoddy standard for their children contribute to lawlessness.

What is the greatest service an individual Christian can render to his nation at this time?

The Christian serves his country best by practicing in daily life what he professes.

A Christian shows compassion and respect for others. A Christian involves himself or herself in building better communities. A Christian refuses to let bigotry and prejudice choke out good will. A Christian upholds honesty and integrity in everything.

By setting an example a Christian provides a salutary influence upon fellow citizens. Society will feel that influence.

The older and younger generations frequently criticize each other. Do we need new values?

No. I believe we need a renewed adherence to the historic values which have sustained this nation.

The principles of justice, freedom, respect for others, dignity of the individual—these are the keystones of the greatness of this nation.

If we stray from these precepts, we invite disaster both for our present and future generations.

What role does the Bible serve in your life and administration?

The Bible is for me a vital guidepost of my life. Micah's words have always been a source of strength for me:

"He has showed you, O man,
what is good;
and what does the Lord
require of you
but to do justice, and
to love kindness,
and to walk humbly with
your God?" (6:8).

What are the contributing causes underlying campus rebellion?

The causes are multiple.

First, we must recognize that a small minority is eager to lead youth to a path of rebellion. These wish to use young people as pawns for ignoble purposes. Unfortunately, they are successful in a number of instances.

Some young people, caught in the excitement of protests, follow the lead of firebrands advocating violence. Reason is displaced by emotion.

In too many families, children are provided every material request but are denied the spiritual training and guidance so essential to constructive living.

We must also admit to corruption and hypocrisy in some areas of our public life. Idealistic youth, revolted by this, are more inclined to lash out indiscriminately at the entire structure of our way of life.

What individual in your family contributed most to your spiritual development? How was this accomplished?

Both Father and Mother provided spiritual training in the home.

They took me to church and Sunday school.

I recall vividly the Sunday evenings when

we sat in a family circle listening to the Word of God. Ours was a family whose strength rested in the Christian faith.

What encouraging signs do you see in the nation?

The worthy heritage of this nation will not easily be destroyed.

There is an upsurge in concern and involvement. Many citizens who previously took little interest in community matters are now committed. This active concern will help assure our survival.

Most important, the overwhelming majority of our youth believe that free government is worth preserving.

Many are troubled, however, that the ideals we espouse are often shunted aside by materialism and lack of compassion for those not so fortunate.

Given guidance, a willingness to listen, and understanding by adult citizens, these young people can be counted on.

What nonfamily individual made the greatest contribution to your faith in God?

There have been many, but one I shall always remember was Dr. Donald MacLeod. He was a young Presbyterian preacher who served my boyhood church. He believed in boys like myself. His concern and compassion for young people made Dr. MacLeod my hero. He found time for us. He didn't think it "unsaintly" to play a little softball with the teen-age boys in the neighborhood. I remember him with gratitude for his example as a true Christian.

Can you share any specific incidents where simple faith in God has directed your own life?

Throughout my career in law enforcement, I have been strengthened and comforted by personal faith in Christ.

This faith has supported me whether I am awaiting word about a desperate criminal fighting it out with FBI agents, hoping for the safe return of a kidnapped child, or making a decision of policy involving the internal security of our country.

This is strong, convicting testimony.

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, believes.

REVENUE SHARING

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the House Ways and Means Committee began a series of hearings today which may well be the most important held during this session of Congress. The fiscal crisis that threatens our States and cities deepens with each passing day. Unless we act soon, we are likely to find our federal system in a state of collapse and disarray from which it may never recover. It is therefore imperative that the Congress be given opportunity to act on the administration's general revenue-sharing proposal in the near future.

Mr. Speaker, there are those who have already consigned revenue sharing to the dust bin, there are those who would make this a partisan issue, there are those who believe that because the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee has announced opposition to the idea, that no legislation is likely to be forthcoming. I would certainly not want to underestimate the obstacles to legislative success. But I am nevertheless confident that the over-

whelming pressure building at the local and State level for revenue sharing will be translated into positive action by this Congress.

I am particularly impressed by the fact that among the diverse bipartisan groups and individuals backing the various revenue-sharing plans, there is a strong determination to remain flexible and openminded about the particular details and formulas. In his testimony this morning, Secretary Connally made it clear that it is the basic concept rather than particular details to which the administration is irrevocably committed. Similarly, Senator BAKER, the administration's spokesman in the Senate, took a conciliatory and accommodating position when he testified before the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations yesterday. Referring to the three major revenue-sharing proposals before the subcommittee, he noted:

The most remarkable thing about the three bills—the Administration bill, the Muskie bill and the Humphrey-Reuss bill—is their striking similarity. Although there are significant and important differences, to be sure, the similarities are so great as to make prospects for ultimate compromise, in my judgment, very bright.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that this conciliatory mood is shared by many of those from the other party who are convinced that the need for revenue sharing is so great that we cannot allow it to flounder over details. In particular, two highly respected economists, Mr. Walter Heller and Mr. Joseph Pechman, who are credited with devising the modern version of revenue sharing in the Johnson administration, both expressed a flexible attitude toward the specifics of any final bill. Mr. Heller said:

Revenue sharing combines the sound conservative principle of preserving the decentralization of power and intellectual diversity that are essential to a workable federalism with the compassionate liberal principle of promoting equality of opportunity among different income groups and regions in the United States. That is why the support has come from both conservatives and liberals, both Democrats and Republicans, both southerners and northerners concerned over the future of Federalism. I hope that this wide-based support will coalesce into a working majority in this Congress.

And Mr. Pechman also expressed the sincere hope that—

Disagreement over details will not prevent supporters of revenue sharing from cooperating in the effort to enact a revenue-sharing bill in this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I believe these bipartisan statements of support for the general concept of revenue sharing, accompanied by expression of flexibility on the details, bode well for the future. I would ask that the entire statements of Secretary Connally, Senator BAKER, and Mr. Heller, and Mr. Pechman be included at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE JOHN B. CONNALLY, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1971

Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished Committee:

We in government all too often respond to problems and issues confronting the nation by piling a new program atop an existing structure—a structure which may well have contributed to creating the problem in the first place.

As a result, there is a plethora of Federal programs which often create confusion which we mistake as a sign of progress.

As a further result, the structure of government has become more centralized, distant and remote from the people who created that government to serve their needs.

Is it any wonder then, that there is uneasiness, dissatisfaction, frustration and concern among the people of this nation? I, for one, know this feeling is not confined to our young people. It is visible, though less flamboyantly, among all other segments of the population: rich and poor; white collar and blue collar; men and women; businessmen and professional men; middle aged and older.

Americans are becoming disenchanted with government.

Too many doubt its capacity to meet our needs.

Everybody thinks it costs too much. Certainly most feel powerless to influence it.

Nearly all doubt its responsiveness. I think that we can all agree that the greater the distance from the target, the more difficult it is to hit.

Government has moved too far from the people to hit the targeted solutions to their problems. Furthermore, the superstructure of program piled upon program is so enormous that even the governors of our states and the mayors of our cities don't have the resources to know where to go in the Federal bureaucracy to find out what programs there are and how to participate in them.

We cannot afford to dismiss this growing disenchantment. I think our very system of government is at stake, because a democracy which does not enjoy the confidence of its people is a democracy in trouble.

We simply have to find ways of making government work better. We have to make it more responsive, more efficient, less costly, and less confusing. We must restore the confidence of our citizens in their government—a confidence lost through years of neglect of basic reforms.

This is the context in which revenue sharing ought to be debated and discussed. General revenue sharing seeks to redress some basic imbalances in our Federal system of government—imbalances between needs and resources, between power and responsibilities, between conception and execution.

This is an age which requires sophisticated management of the highest ability and integrity. We recognize the need for it throughout the private sector: business, medicine, law, science. We see revenue sharing as a way of improving management of government programs by placing more of the decision-making power closer to the problems.

I don't need to explain to you the basic idea of sharing Federal revenues with state and local governments. The Federal Government has been doing that for a very long time and all states have revenue sharing systems of their own. This year, some \$30 billion of Federally raised revenues will be disbursed by state and local governments in the form of categorical grants-in-aid. This system of aid—standing alone—is insufficient to our needs. We need a fundamental change that will make this entire system of Federal aid work more effectively. Revenue sharing is a major step in that direction.

Let me provide just some of the highlights of our general revenue sharing proposal.

It is simple in design, yet bold in concept. It federalizes a portion of our broadly based Federal income tax. The specifics are well known:

1. We propose that modest portion of the Federal income tax base be earmarked for

general aid to state and local governments. These funds will come from the automatic expansion in budget receipts as the economy grows. Contrary to many inaccurate reports, the \$5 billion program of general revenue sharing will neither require a rise in tax rates nor a reduction in any existing government programs.

2. The revenues so shared will be distributed to each state, city and county in as fair and equitable a manner as we have been able to devise. The allocation will be made according to the precise formulas contained in the Federal statute, rather than be subject to the discretion of any Executive Branch official. As the money will be in addition to existing programs, each state, city and county will benefit directly; each will receive revenue sharing money in addition to any benefits, services or money it is now obtaining from the Federal Government.

3. The states, cities and counties receiving the money will make the decisions as to which purposes the funds should be directed. The Federal Government will not second-guess local determination of local priorities. We will not dictate construction of a new library when garbage collection is the overriding local problem—or vice versa.

Financial reporting to the Treasury will be required simply to assure that the money is spent for a lawful governmental purpose and in a nondiscriminatory manner. The local voters, rather than any Federal official, will review the wisdom and effectiveness of the expenditures.

General revenue sharing has many dimensions. It offers much more than just financial assistance. By shifting decision-making authority to states and localities, people can have greater influence over the public decisions which so greatly affect their lives.

For the individual taxpayer—revenue sharing reduces the upward pressure on property and sales taxes. At the same time, the taxpayer acquires a stronger voice in government spending because more decisions are made by officials directly accountable to him.

For our states and localities—revenue sharing represents substantial new assistance in meeting recurring financial crises. But in addition, the delays and rigidities that plague current Federal aid programs will not be present.

For our entire federal system—general revenue sharing offers hope for a new strength through more effective and more responsive government. Revenue sharing reflects a strong Federal commitment to domestic needs in the states, counties and cities. At the same time, it signals a new respect and renewed faith in the capacity and wisdom of local self-government. It restates our belief in the ability of people to govern themselves.

I know that strong views exist regarding the wisdom and advisability of revenue sharing. I am familiar with the many questions which some have raised, and I would like to address the major questions here and now.

First—where do we get the revenues to share?

I say simply that the overall position of the budget must be based on the needs of the economy. Right now, we need a budget which is expansionary—to reinforce the economic recovery underway. Within a given budget plan, each spending program must meet the test of national priorities. Revenue sharing clearly does that. The viability of our Federal system of government is more important than any single program for which we now appropriate money. It ought to be our number one priority. With revenue sharing we establish that fact. The alternative to revenue sharing is not a smaller Federal deficit. The real alternative is a higher level of Federal spending in some other program areas.

Second—doesn't revenue sharing separate the responsibility for taxing from the act of spending?

I don't believe it does. The Congress is making a spending decision—to spend a portion of federally raised revenues for state and local government purposes. Responsibility and accountability for those funds will be decentralized. Only in the revenue sharing case, this delegation of authority will run to elected state and local officials rather than to employees of the Federal government.

And for those who perceive revenue sharing as violating this principle of keeping taxing and spending together at one level of government, I ask whether such transgression is as serious as the existing violations which the Federal Government has perpetrated by appropriating a relatively small portion of the funds, but influencing and controlling a far greater amount of state and local spending.

Third—won't revenue sharing expand Federal influence over state and local governments?

I don't think so. The present system already involves extensive Federal influence. This argument about potential future Federal strings seems to say that revenue sharing might some day become as over-controlled as the present system. I doubt it. But even if it does, let us not forget that revenue sharing starts off on the right foot—with a proper respect for local diversity and ability.

Fourth—isn't the proposed distribution of revenue sharing funds a haphazard allocation of assistance to everyone regardless of need?

We developed the distribution formulas after very considerable consultation and careful analysis. We believe our bill does substantially reflect differences in need. Our proposal doesn't pretend to have all the answers, but it does represent a sound basis for proceeding.

Fifth—some express doubts about the integrity and capacity of state and local officials.

I do not share that belief. The closer officials are to the people the more responsible they are to the people. Furthermore, there will be great competition between the various sections of local government for the revenue sharing dollar. The revenue sharing dollar and those who spend it will be scrutinized very carefully.

I make no claim that our revenue sharing proposal will solve all our problems. I do state that it was very painstakingly developed. Revenue sharing is not the product of one man or one administration. Many, many man-years of time and effort went into its design. Probably no idea put before Congress in recent years has been more thoroughly discussed and analyzed.

The details were carefully worked out with knowledgeable representatives of Federal, state, and local governments, with private citizens, and with Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. In both concept and detail, I believe that you will find it truly a carefully thought through and non-partisan plan offered in good faith.

We surveyed and analyzed many suggested alternatives to revenue sharing.

None of the other approaches match its versatility in achieving so many desirable objectives.

None of them go as directly to the source of our problems.

None of them combine administrative simplicity with a response to financial need so effectively.

Some have suggested that instead of revenue sharing the Federal Government ought to assume more—perhaps even all—of the state and local costs of welfare. Now there is no question about the need for a complete reform of our welfare system. This Committee has been thoroughly immersed in

that issue for several months. But for the Federal Government to simply pick up all of the costs of existing welfare programs would be neither a reform of the system nor a sensible alternative to general revenue sharing. This Committee wisely rejected that course.

Others have suggested that, instead of revenue sharing, we ought to increase further our reliance on Federal categorical grants to states and localities. I personally can't imagine a less productive alternative.

In my judgment, the present system of complete reliance on fragmented and over-controlled programs: —has not worked, —is not working now, and —never will work, unless we reform and restructure our approach.

We do not need more of the same. We need to try something else.

A third alternative suggested is to offer citizens a Federal tax credit for the state and local income taxes they pay. This approach, we believe, is substantially inferior to revenue sharing. Tax credits are, in the first instance, tax relief to taxpayers, not to needy local governments.

Any benefits to state and local governments—which is our concern today—would only occur to the extent that Federal tax credits encourage state and local governments to raise income taxes faster than they otherwise would. States without an income tax would be forced to enact one in order to realize any benefit. High income states would be permanently advantaged due to their larger concentration of high income individuals. City governments would receive little or no benefit, since they depend largely on property—not income taxes.

The major alternatives to general revenue sharing do not meet our needs as effectively or as equitably. The analysis appended to my statement examines each of these optional approaches in more detail. We conclude that revenue sharing is a substantially better approach to strengthening our Federal form of government than any other mechanism available.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished Committee, mine has been a plea for change. Why should we be afraid of change? The present system of Federal aid to states and localities clearly is not meeting our needs; it is not likely to do so in the future in its present form.

Revenue sharing is a new approach that will enable government to respond more effectively to the needs of the people. I urge you to take that positive non-partisan action that can make revenue sharing a reality.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.,
REPUBLICAN OF TENNESSEE, BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL
RELATIONS IN SUPPORT OF GENERAL REVENUE
SHARING, JUNE 1, 1971

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you and to other members of this subcommittee for being given the opportunity to express here this morning my unqualified support for the subject matter of these hearings—the proposed sharing of a portion of federal revenues with state and local governments for their general use.

I want to be very careful at this early point in my testimony to make it clear that what is under consideration in these hearings is general revenue sharing and not so-called special revenue sharing. Nothing in the President's general revenue sharing proposal or in either of the bills before your subcommittee today would in any way whatsoever affect existing categorical grant-in-aid programs. Although the proposals of the President for general revenue sharing and special revenue sharing are somewhat allied in intent and philosophy, they are wholly distinct and separable proposals. Support of general revenue sharing should in no way imply support of special revenue sharing. I am aware, Mr. Chairman, of your own reser-

vations about special revenue sharing, and I know that you are well aware of the distinction.

My own preference is for flexible and creative mix of all three modes of federal aid to states and cities, that is, general revenue sharing, block grants, and categorical grants-in-aid. In my view each mode has its own unique virtues and each is best suited for application in different kinds of circumstances. But these considerations are technically beyond the scope of these hearings.

The two bills, which are the subject of these hearings—S. 241, the State and Local Government Modernization Act of 1971, and S. 1771, the Intergovernmental Revenue Act of 1971—represent two different and thought-provoking approaches to revenue sharing. I will hope to comment on each of them in some detail as I proceed with my testimony.

As you know, I am personally committed for the moment to a third such proposal—S. 680, the General Revenue Sharing Act of 1971, a bill which embodies in legislative form the recommendations of the Nixon Administration.

The Administration bill, which I introduced with thirty-seven other Senators on February 9, was not referred to this committee, but, rather, to the Committee on Finance. However, it is my understanding that any revenue sharing bill which may be reported by this committee would then be referred for subsequent consideration to the Committee on Finance, and I can see no reason why the fact that S. 680 is not formally pending before this subcommittee should prevent a thorough airing and discussion of the Administration's proposal. Indeed, I can think of no better way to come fully to grips with the major issues involved in revenue sharing as a concept than the undertaking of a careful comparison between each of the three major proposals now pending before the Congress.

I sincerely believe, Mr. Chairman, that the series of hearings you have begun today will be among the most important conducted in the 92nd Congress. The fiscal needs of our states and cities are in many cases so acute, and the health of our federal system of government in many aspects so precarious, that the issues to be explored in these hearings should be of primary concern to all Americans and especially to their elected representatives in the national legislature. The needs that revenue sharing seeks to meet are critical, and if we fail to act, I both hope and expect that we will be held accountable.

I am aware of the fact that hearings on the same subject will begin tomorrow before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. Although many of the same witnesses will be heard by that Committee and this subcommittee, there is every evidence, including an explicit assurance by its chairman, that revenue sharing will go before the House Committee much as the murdered Caesar lay before the people of Rome, not to be praised, but buried.

I sincerely regret the fact that Mr. Mills has seen fit to bring his heavy guns to bear on the concept before taking testimony on it. It may be—and I certainly hope this is the case—that his own set of hearings will evoke from him the extraordinary capacity for modification of viewpoint that we have seen from him in the past.

In any event, I regard your hearings and those of the House committee as complementary and highly constructive. I hope that the House will see fit to act in the area of revenue sharing, but if it does not, I am personally unaware of any reason why the Senate should not proceed.

Mr. Chairman, it was once my privilege to serve as a member of the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, under your chairmanship. I have long had an intense interest in the dynamic relationship between the various units of our federal system, and

during the period of my service on this subcommittee I became closely familiar with the long years of meaningful work that you have done in this field. As a state legislator, a governor, a Senator, and a member of the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Relations, you have seen the problems from all sides, except, I suppose, from the Federal Executive, and it is not my place to assess your intention, to seek a remedy for that questionable deficiency.

Before addressing myself to the concept of revenue sharing and to the specific proposals now pending in the Congress, I want to make one particular point as forcefully as I know how, and that has to do with my own flexibility as to specifics and my positive yearning for constructive compromise. I stated at the time I introduced the Administration's bill on February 9 that "no one would be more surprised than the President if this bill were enacted line for line and word for word. If," I went on to say, "during the course of close congressional examination, improvements are indicated, they should and will be made."

Those of us who believe in the need for revenue sharing want a program and not an issue, as some cynics have suggested. Certainly the question of "who gets the credit" should not concern us; if this Congress can enact, as I believe it will, some form of general revenue sharing, there will be more than enough credit to go around for everybody. And the chief beneficiaries of revenue sharing will be the American people.

During the course of my service on this subcommittee and on the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, which you also chair, I have had many opportunities to observe the scrupulous fairness with which you handle proposed legislation. In the pollution subcommittee, in particular, it has become standard operating procedure for us to select from different bills on a given subject the best aspects of each and blend them together into a single committee product which, in our collective judgment, represents the best commingling of available alternatives. Such a blending of your own proposals and those of the Administration in the field of water quality amendments is now underway. It has been, and is, in my judgment, far and away the most constructive way to fashion legislation, and I hope that it is a process that will be observed by this subcommittee in its deliberations on revenue sharing. The revenue sharing legislation that emerges from this Committee might well bear a bill number different from any of the three proposals considered here today.

The basic concept of revenue sharing is extremely simple: it holds that the Federal Government will pay to the states a given amount of money to be used for general governmental purposes rather than for a program, purpose, or function defined by the central government. This simple transfer of funds is the heart of any revenue sharing proposal, however exotic its elaborations may be.

Most serious revenue sharing proposals now include some provision for the mandatory pass-through of some portion of the shared revenues to county, municipal, and other local governments. But the core of the concept remains the unencumbered transfer of funds.

Revenue sharing can be seen as having two principal components, interrelated but distinct. First, it is a fiscal device. But it is also a political device, using that term in its broadest sense, because even when no strings are attached to the use of the funds, the very fact of the sharing represents a redefinition of the relationship between the constituent parts of our federal system.

On one hand, then, we are concerned with the immediate fiscal crises confronting many of our states, counties, cities, school districts,

and so on, the questions are whether it is appropriate for the Federal Government to provide new assistance toward meeting these fiscal crises and, if so, what form such assistance should take.

On the other hand, we are concerned with the political health of our federal system and with the relative responsibilities and resources of the various units that make it up; the questions are, whether it is appropriate for the Federal Government to intrude itself into the operations of state and local governments, and, if so, to what extent it should do so and what tools it should employ.

Mr. Chairman, I would like at this point to briefly describe my perception of how the three major proposals now before the Congress treat these two basic elements of revenue sharing, the fiscal element and the political element. Such a comparison has proved quite revealing for me, and I hope that it will be of some assistance to the subcommittee.

The most remarkable thing about the three bills—the Administration bill, the Muskie bill, and the Humphrey-Reuss bill—is their striking similarity. Although there are significant and important differences, to be sure, the similarities are so great as to make the prospects for ultimate compromise, in my judgment, very bright. I do not for a moment believe that the similarities result from any kind of imitation plagiarism; on the contrary, the similarities between the bills indicate to me that we have all come, quite independently, to roughly the same conclusions, based on an objective perception of the need.

Each of the three bills proceeds from the virtually universal acknowledgement that, as section 2 of your bill puts it, "an imbalance exists between the revenue capacity of the Federal Government and the revenue capacities of state and local governments." Each of the three bills expresses the conclusion on the part of its authors that this imbalance can be righted—at least in some degree—through the device of sharing a part of federally generated revenues with those smaller units of government which find their own revenue sources increasingly inadequate to the needs and demands of their citizens.

It is generally acknowledged that the federal revenue structure is considerably more progressive than the tax structures of most states and of virtually all other taxing entities, this due largely to the graduated federal personal income tax. Therefore, one of the first questions to be addressed in designing a revenue sharing scheme is to determine the extent to which the initial allocation among the states should be "redistributive." The least redistributive approach would be to return to each state that portion of the total revenues to be shared which its citizens paid into the total amount. On the other extreme, any number of formulae could be devised to take various special needs into account, weighting the allocation in favor of those states with certain sorts of perceived needs.

Each of the three bills now pending is virtually identical in its provision for initial allocation among the states, that is, the allocation is made on the basis of population corrected by what is called a revenue factor, which is meant to be an expression of the effort each state is making to meet its own needs in terms of the resources available to it.

I think this is an eminently sensible approach, and I am delighted that we all appear to be in agreement with respect to it.

The three bills are in less precise but still general agreement on the amount that must be passed through by each state to its constituent governments. Both the Nixon bill and the Humphrey-Reuss bill provide that each state must pass through an amount determined by the ratio of state-

raised revenues to all revenues raised within the state. Statistics indicate that, on a nationwide basis, this would result in states passing through 48% of their initial allocations. The Muskie bill provides that each state must pass through 40% of its allocation or an amount determined by the ratio of local revenues to all revenues raised within the state, whichever is greater. The effective result is virtually identical.

The three bills differ significantly, however, when they address themselves to the question of how the share of each local government should be determined. The Humphrey-Reuss bill provides simply that the allocation among local governments shall be by state law. Your bill, Mr. Chairman, S. 1077, includes a somewhat complex formula, which I will not attempt to describe in detail. I hope it is not an unfair generalization to sum up your formula as being one which provides relatively greater payments for large cities and counties with relatively high concentrations of poor persons. Your bill provides that cities or counties with populations of fewer than 25,000 persons would receive such funds as might be determined by state law.

The Administration bill provides that each city and county with a population of 2,500 persons or more will receive a share of the total local share determined by the ratio that its tax collections bears to the total local revenues raised within the state. Although the statistics reveal that under the Administration formula the inner cities would fare far better than some critics have suggested, I am inclined to be receptive to some modification of the formula that would recognize the relative needs of local governments, perhaps by reference to local revenue effort in terms of available resources rather than as compared to the revenue effort of other local governments within a given state.

In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I would like to express my support for that feature of your bill appearing in section 102(b) on page 5. This provision would make available funds for the administration of the act, and I would strongly urge that part of such funds be used to promote the development of statistical data on which more intelligent decisions with respect to intrastate allocations might be based. Data on personal income within smaller jurisdictions is a particularly regrettable gap in our statistical information.

As important as these pass-through formulae are, it must be pointed out that each of the three bills contains what is known as the "local option" feature, which permits each state to adopt a system for the internal distribution of its funds that might more precisely meet its own needs and priorities. The Nixon bill and the Humphrey-Reuss bill provide a bonus or incentive to states which do exercise this option feature. I personally find both bills preferable to your own in this particular respect.

This completes, Mr. Chairman, my brief review of the way in which the three bills would deal with the fiscal relief aspect of revenue sharing. I think it is clear that the bills are quite similar in their approach, and I can see no significant impediment to compromise.

With respect to the political aspect of revenue sharing, the bills are not so similar, and I suspect that it may be in this area that our more significant differences occur.

The Humphrey-Reuss bill makes it quite clear that the *quid pro quo* for the revenues proposed to be shared should be major governmental reforms on the part of state and local governments. Although the bill would not actually require the implementation of any particular governmental reform, section 3 of S. 241 does enumerate a long and detailed list of possible areas of reform that might be included in a plan to be submitted by each state to the President.

On the other extreme, the Administration bill, S. 680, attaches virtually no strings to

the shared funds, other than reporting requirements and a ban against their use for any discriminatory purpose. The political aspect of the Administration bill lies in the fact of the sharing itself, which alters the trend of the last fifty years, during which time the rapid growth of federal revenues has given the Federal Government an increasingly important role in determining the spending priorities of state and local governments.

The chief political aspect of your own bill, Mr. Chairman, is, as I see it, to be found in those provisions which would reward and encourage the wider use by states of personal income taxes. Your bill would do this in two ways: first, it would make available, upon request, the revenue collecting machinery of the Internal Revenue Service for the purpose of collecting state-imposed personal income taxes. Secondly, your bill would provide to each state having a personal income tax an additional revenue sharing support payment equivalent to 10 percentum of its personal income tax collection.

I wish that I was in a position to say that I support such a proposal, Mr. Chairman. I do feel that your device is preferable to the tax credit approach to the same objective, but it is the objective itself that causes me difficulty.

It is certainly desirable that states be encouraged to make every reasonable effort to meet the needs of their own citizens. Your bill and the Administration's each contain provisions that require a maintenance of effort on the part of the various states in their levels of assistance to local governments. It is also a desirable goal to seek state tax structures which are as progressive as possible.

However, explicit encouragement of state personal income taxes through federal incentive seems to me unwise public policy for two basic reasons. Firstly, it represents a direct intrusion into the internal constitutional functions of a state. Although the federal revenue code does, of course, allow a deduction for state and local taxes, and although the interest on state and local borrowings is accorded special treatment, the Federal Government has never intruded itself into the individual tax structures of the various states. I think it would be an unsound precedent were we to do so in this way. The funds to be shared under general revenue sharing are derived from the most progressive income tax in existence; it seems to me that we can accomplish your purpose through revenue sharing itself, that is, by shifting some of the state and local tax burden to the progressive federal income tax.

My second cause for apprehension about this aspect of your proposal has to do with what I fear might be the undesirable result of a system of fifty different state income tax regimes. Such a network of personal taxes would, in my judgment, tend to erect impediments to the free flow of people and jobs between the various states, pressured as they would be to manipulate their tax structures competitively.

But in spite of our disagreement on this important matter, I want to conclude my testimony this morning with a reassertion of my view that our areas of agreement are far greater than our areas of disagreement. The opportunity for compromise and for prompt action is very great. We cannot permit any minor ideological or partisan differences to overcome our mutual devotion to the concept of revenue sharing.

Revenue sharing will provide immediate and urgently needed fiscal relief for our states and local governments. Revenue sharing will contribute measurably to the vitality of our federal system. It will increase the accountability of our elected officials for the way in which a portion of the federal tax dollar is spent. It will permit state and local governments to respond to the urgent priorities of their own, unique jurisdictions. It is, Mr. Chairman, a public policy initiative of the highest priority, and I stand ready

to do whatever I possibly can to work with you and with your subcommittee in your effort to make of this concept a hard reality.

Mr. Chairman, I apologize for the length of this somewhat technical statement. I have not addressed myself directly to the several criticisms that have been mounted by Congressman Mills and others against revenue sharing, and I will be delighted to try to answer any questions that you might have along these or any other lines.

STATEMENT OF WALTER W. HELLER, REGENTS' PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 1, 1971

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: The current controversy over general revenue sharing has reached a stage where much of our attention is diverted from central to peripheral issues and much of the public debate has shifted from the posited virtues to the alleged defects of sharing. In this opening statement, let me return to first principles, to the basic cause for action and the criteria by which we should judge revenue sharing in general and Senator Muskie's proposed "Intergovernmental Revenue Act of 1971" (S. 1770) in particular.

The search in the past decade for a new form of federal assistance to state and local governments grew out of three major concerns:

First, the glaring fiscal mis-match between the tax-cutting Federal government and the tax-boosting state and local units;

Second, the intolerable fiscal disparities among and within the states;

Third, the growing realization that while Federal grants-in-aid must play the central role in our system of Federal transfers to state-local government, they cannot do the job alone.

Each of these concerns calls for comment before turning to an appraisal of the proposal at hand.

On the first, we are all too familiar with the fiscal crunch at the local and state levels. On one hand, under the relentless pressures of prosperity, population growth, and inflation, expenditures have been leaping upward:

From 1955 to 1969, state-local expenditures rose from \$39 billion to \$134 billion, a 244% increase, while GNP was rising about 200%. In the two decades from 1950 to 1970, state-local outlays rose from 7.8% to 13.4% of GNP (while Federal outlays were rising from 13.5% to 18.6%).

Growing economic affluence has magnified demands on the state-local purse much faster than it has enlarged revenues from state-local taxes.

The "tax-eating" segment of the population—notably those under 20 and over 65—has been growing faster than the "tax-paying" segment.

Inflation takes a disproportionately heavy toll. In the 5 years from early 1966 to early 1971 prices paid by state-local government for goods and services have risen 32%, one-third again as fast as the rise in consumer prices. In the 15 years from 1955 to 1969, inflation accounted for 44% of the increase in state-local spending, rising workloads for 26%, and increased scope and quality of services for 30%.

On the other hand, the tax revenues needed to make ends meet have been hard to come by:

For the most part—indeed, to the extent of over 80% of their total tax revenues—state and local governments rely on property, sales, and excise taxes that respond sluggishly to economic growth, i.e., their yields rise either more slowly than, or just barely in step with, GNP.

Of the \$53 billion increase in state-local tax yields from 1955 to 1969, less than two-thirds came from growth. The remaining \$19 billion came from the sweat of the brows of

taxpayers, governors, mayors, and legislators. (These numbers, as well as other figures, for the 1955-69 period are derived from the new Brookings study, *Setting National Priorities: The 1972 Budget*. Its 2/3-1/3 split contrasts with roughly a 50-50 split calculated for the 1950-67 period by the Advisory Commission of Intergovernmental Relations.)

To generate these revenues has required intensive tax-raising efforts at the state and local levels. By 1970, for example, 33 states were imposing both general sales and personal income taxes, as against only 19 a decade earlier. In 1971, governors brought the biggest volume of tax-increase proposals in history—over \$6 billion—before their state legislatures.

All of this is not to say that states and cities are at the end of their collective tax rope. For example, if all 50 states had personal income taxes and all used them as intensively as the top 10 states, their revenue from this source would more than double—to over \$20 billion.

But in the face of interstate competition, limited jurisdiction, and great inequalities in the revenue needs—revenue capacity balance, the case for outside fiscal help is compelling.

While state and local governments have been increasing taxes faster than the GNP, the Federal Government has cut its income tax five times since the Korean War—1954, 1962, 1964, 1969, and 1971.

The latest cut is in the form of a \$4 billion-plus business tax reduction through the liberalized depreciation rules that the President promulgated early this year. If we hadn't had those five income tax cuts, we would be paying about \$35 billion more in Federal income taxes than we actually will pay this year. Five income tax cuts in 17 years versus thousands of property, sales, excise and income tax increases at state and local level in those same years. Does one need any further evidence of the fiscal mismatch in our federalism today?

This brings us to the second major concern, namely, the vastly unequal fiscal abilities of different states and cities relative to their respective needs. The fact that per capita incomes in the five poorest states average only a little more than half of those in the five richest is well known. That the range for major cities is also great (from \$2,172 per capita in San Antonio to \$4,524 in San Francisco-Oakland in 1966-67) may be less well known. If one adjusts not only for capacity, but for need, the disparities grow even wider.

In 1969, the five top tax-collecting states realized well over twice as much revenue, per capita, from their taxes as the bottom five—\$503 to \$233. Yet, as a percentage of income, tax revenue averaged only 30% more in the five highest than in the five lowest states—13% versus 10%. Given a ratio of almost two-to-one between the per capita incomes of top and bottom states, it would be hard to maintain that the actual burdensomeness of taxes is less in the poor than in the wealthy states. Yet, the poor states are getting a far leaner diet of governmental services for their pains. This is a severe indictment of the workings of our fiscal federalism.

The third cause for action lies in certain limitations that are inherent in the nature of categorical grants-in-aid. Such grants, now running at \$30 billion a year, play a unique and vital role in making federalism work. They are the instrument which enables the Federal Government to carry out essential national goals through the agency of state and local governments. They are specifically designed to support state-local services like education, health, and highways in which:

There is a supervening national interest; The benefits of high-quality services and the costs of low-quality services spill over in-

to other jurisdictions in our highly mobile and inter-dependent society;

Only a national government can make a rational cost-benefit calculation taking all benefits and all costs into account.

But to recognize the commanding case for federal aids is not to deny their limitations:

They support specific functions rather than levels or units of government, some 500 specific services rather than the general state-local enterprise. Yet, a general strengthening of that enterprise—in a manner that does not impede governmental reform and reorganization—is important to the health and balance of our federalism.

In financing specific functions, grants necessarily leave little or no discretion to state and local governments, little opportunity to flex their decision-making muscle. Rigorous federal standards have probably improved the quality of state-local government, but not its vitality, its decision-making capacity and independence.

Partly because federal aids are selective in their impact and partly because matching provisions for many federal aids tend to siphon funds away from strictly local functions, federal aids have led to sharp disparities in the "standard of living" in different services, e.g. high in highways but low in garbage collection.

Interrelated with disparities in the levels of different services are the striking inequalities in taxable capacities and needs among different units of government. Contrary to the casual impressions and generalizations of many observers, a careful analysis of the expenditure side of Federal grants led the ACIR to the conclusion that, ("The over-all equalization effect of the grants is not yet significant.") (ACIR, *The Role of Equalization in Federal Grants*, 1964.)

General revenue sharing, especially as embodied in S. 1770, addresses itself directly and effectively to each of these limitations as well as to the underlying fiscal mismatch between federal and state-local governments. How well would revenue sharing measure up to the criteria that are implicit in the foregoing review of the cause for action?

First, any new transfers should provide not only significant immediate relief for state and local treasuries but also tie their future fortunes more closely to economic growth. This, the Nixon plan does well, and the Muskie plan does even better.

Both tap the greatest of all growth taxes, the federal individual income tax. If the federal income tax base expands as briskly in the years ahead as in years past, the initial \$5 billion produced by 1.3 percent of the income tax base next year will double in 9 years and triple in 14.

This trend would be reinforced by the added bonus of 10% that S. 1770 would offer the income tax states—a bonus that would grow steadily in response not only to economic growth but also to the stimulus that would be provided for wider and deeper use of income taxes by the states.

This extra bonus would do much to resolve a dilemma that has plagued many supporters of revenue sharing. On one hand, it strikes many as a bit unseemly to distribute shares of the federal income tax to states that have not yet seen fit to use the income tax themselves, or are taxing income very lightly. On the other hand, to induce greater use of this tax by means of a Federal income tax credit to taxpayers—the traditional form of this proposal—would in considerable part route precious Federal tax monies into the pockets of those taxpayers rather than to the state-local governments which are the real objects of the exercise. S. 1770 neatly side-steps this problem by putting its incentive in the form of a direct payment to the states—a payment that should have a considerable impact in stimulating the adoption of income taxes in the twelve states that are still outside the income tax fold and stepping

up the use of the tax in those states that make only token use of this revenue source.

In giving states the option of having the Federal Internal Revenue Service collect their income taxes, the Muskie bill offers them the advantages of the superior jurisdiction, economies of scale, and low collection costs that characterize the administration of the Federal income tax. So here again, it would facilitate the use of the tax system's best growth instrument.

Second, revenue sharing is the instrument par excellence for strengthening not just the finances but the vitality of the state and local partners in our federalism. It would complement categorical aids in several ways:

It would support and strengthen the state-local enterprise as such rather than as a by-product of Federal support for the specific service in which state and local units are simply serving as agents of Federal Government.

It would leave discretion as to the type and direction of expenditure in the hands of state and local officials, subject only to the usual accounting and civil rights requirements (on which S. 1770 is particularly effective).

It would thus enable the states and especially the localities to strengthen those prosaic services like trash collection, street maintenance and lighting, fire protection, parks and green space that don't qualify for Federal aid, yet mean so much to the quality of every-day existence.

Third, revenue sharing can be a most effective instrument for reducing fiscal disparities among the states:

In and of itself, per-capita distribution—which is the core of the state sharing formula in all of the major plans—has a significant equalizing effect. The Federal individual income tax draws more than twice as much per capita from the 10 richest states as it does from the 10 poorest. Yet, an equal per-capita amount (subject, of course, to the revenue-effort adjustment), would be distributed to each state.

This equalizing effect would be dramatically increased if the original recommendation of the so-called Heller-Pechman plan that 10% of the revenue sharing fund be set aside for distribution to the 17 poorest states were embodied in the distribution formula.

Fourth, revenue sharing—especially with S. 1770's innovative adjustment for high incidence of poverty—responds to the desperate plight of our core cities. Distribution of the local revenue share according to the percentage of state-local revenue raised in each local unit (the Nixon plan formula) has been shown to result in a larger per capita share to the core cities than to other local units. S. 1770 sharply improves intra-state distribution of revenue sharing funds by providing that for communities of over 25,000 population, the local share will be set, not just by population and tax effort, but by need as reflected in a "poverty ratio", i.e., the higher the ratio of low-income families, the larger the per-capita share. This responds directly to a persistent criticism of previous revenue sharing plans, namely, that they did not achieve sufficient intra-state equalization, especially as between the core cities and other local units. It represents an important breakthrough in the revenue-sharing battle.

Fifth, while avoiding the distortions that grow out of matching requirements, the revenue sharing plans now before Congress would stimulate state-local taxing efforts. The standard revenue-effort adjustment (as in the Nixon bill) would adjust the size of per capita grants to the intensity of state-local effort. This adjustment would mean that the per capita allotment to the state would vary from about 80% to 120% of the average per capita share. As already noted, the Muskie bill would offer an added bonus for state use of income taxes.

Sixth, the adoption of revenue sharing

would serve the interests of progressivity in our Federal-state-local tax system. It would put the claims of state-local government on the bounties of the progressive income tax ahead of the claims of taxpayers for further income tax reductions. To forgo reductions in Federal income taxes in the interest of slowing down the rise in regressive, inequitable, and inefficient consumption and property taxes would strike most persons as a good trade-off.

Revenue sharing combines the sound conservative principle of preserving the decentralization of power and intellectual diversity that are essential to a workable federalism with the compassionate liberal principle of promoting equality of opportunity among different income groups and regions of the United States. That is why its support has come from both conservatives and liberals, both Democrats and Republicans, both southerners and northerners concerned over the future of federalism. I hope that this wide-based support will coalesce into a working majority in this Congress. I am convinced that revenue sharing, especially with the improvements embodied in S. 1770 (while still not the last word, as its author recognizes) would provide a strong and balanced launching platform for efforts to strengthen our fiscal federalism.

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION ECONOMIC STUDIES PROGRAM, STATEMENT ON GENERAL REVENUE LEGISLATION BY JOSEPH A. PECHMAN, DIRECTOR OF ECONOMIC STUDIES

I'm pleased to appear before the Subcommittee to discuss the financial problems of our state and local governments and to support the adoption of general revenue sharing to help them solve these problems.

I believe that the discussions and controversy generated by the idea of revenue sharing have been very useful. The fiscal plight of the state and local governments is not a new phenomenon; yet the national government has not, until recently, seriously considered the adoption of a permanent set of solutions to this problem. The recent discussions have uncovered unusual points of view in unforeseen places, sharp disagreements about objectives, and a good deal of misinformation about the nation's financial system. That the nation is beginning to address itself to these issues is suggested by the interest shown in revenue sharing by the Administration, members of Congress, state-local officials, and the public at large. It is hard to predict what the outcome will be, but national debates of this sort often end up in constructive legislation.

While the fiscal plight of states and local governments is not new, the problem has reached a crisis stage in the past few years. In the last ten years, state-local revenues from their own sources rose at an annual rate of 9.4 percent, while the gross national product rose at an annual rate of 6.7 percent. This feat was accomplished with a tax system that is much less responsive to economic growth than the federal tax system. To fill the gap between revenue needs—which have risen faster than the gross national product—and revenue growth, the states and local governments have adopted new taxes and have increased the rates on old taxes. Since state-local taxes are, on balance, regressive, the higher taxes impose unnecessarily harsh burdens on the poor. State-local tax capacity is being used up quickly in many parts of the country, with unfortunate consequences for public services and facilities that are urgently needed almost everywhere.

The basic problem is a fundamental mismatch between revenue needs and revenue sources in this country. The federal government has the best tax sources, while the states and local governments have the biggest domestic problems. It is true that, in recent

years, the federal government has increased its grants-in-aid to states and local governments very substantially. But many of these units of government, including the largest and most densely populated, continue to be in deep trouble.

As federal revenues continue to respond to economic growth, more and more attention is being given to the possibility of sharing by the federal government of its increasing tax receipts with the state and local governments. A number of variants of revenue sharing have been proposed. Most of the plans would set aside a given percentage of the federal individual income tax base (or of actual income tax revenues) for distribution to the states and local governments. Details of the allocation differ, but in general they rely on a per capita distribution to states frequently modified by an index of relative state tax effort and sometimes by the incidence of poverty or low incomes. Various formulas have been developed to require the states to pass a minimum proportion of the funds through to their local governments. State and local officials would be allowed to spend these funds without any strings attached.

The idea of revenue sharing has created a sharp controversy over the merits of conditional and non-conditional federal grants. Both sides agree that the federal government must increase its assistance to state and local governments. The disagreement concerns the form in which the assistance should be given. In my view, unrestricted as well as conditional grants are needed to achieve the objectives of federalism, and the system would be deficient without both types of grants.

Conditional grants are intended to encourage the states and local governments to do certain things which Congress deems to be in the national interest. They are justified on the ground that the benefits of many public services "spill over" from the community in which they are performed to other communities. Each state or community would tend to pay only for the benefits likely to accrue to its own citizens and, as a result, expenditures for such services would be too low if financed entirely by state-local sources. Assistance by the federal government is needed to raise the level of expenditures for such programs closer to the optimum from the national standpoint. To achieve this optimum, a conditional grant should have enough restrictions—minimum standards and matching requirements—to assure Congress that the funds will be used for assigned purposes and that states and local governments will pay for benefits that accrue to their own citizens.

Unconditional or general purpose grants are justified on substantially different grounds. The basic need for unconditional grants arises from the obvious fact that all states and local governments do not have equal capacity to pay for public services. Poorer states and communities are simply unable to match the revenue-raising ability of richer ones. Even if the federal government adopted a negative income tax which lifted all poor persons to the officially defined poverty lines, state and local governments with heavy concentrations of poor people could not afford to support public services at a level that approached adequacy. As a matter of fact, the poor states have been making an average tax effort in recent years (much better than average, if allowance is made for the fact that the first \$500 to \$750 per capita should not be regarded as giving the recipient any capacity to pay taxes), and it is understandable that their fiscal plight has not been alleviated to any substantial degree.

Thus, conditional and general purpose grants have very different objectives and these could not be satisfied if the federal system were limited to one or the other type of grant. Conditional grants are intended to

help *people* either directly through cash assistance or indirectly through the support of government programs that will benefit them. General purpose grants are intended to help *governments* that do not have adequate fiscal capacity because too many poor people reside within their borders. Revenue sharing cannot provide the stimulus to particular programs obtained by the conditional grant approach. Conversely, the existence of a conditional grant program will not provide the fiscal support needed to finance the portion of state-local services that poor people cannot support out of their meager incomes.

The equalization objective is achieved in most revenue sharing plans by basing the allocation of funds among the states and local governments mainly on population. Suppose a poor state collects \$400 per capita from its residents, while another state making the same tax effort collects \$800 per capita. A \$50 per capita grant would increase the fiscal resources of the poor state by 12½ percent and of the rich state by 6¼ percent. An additional equalizing effect could be obtained by setting aside part of the revenue sharing grants, say, 10 percent of the total, for distribution exclusively among the bottom third of the states when ranked by per capita income.

Some critics of revenue sharing argue that the per capita allocation would not take into account fully the special problems of the large cities. Ingenious alternatives have been suggested to meet this problem. One method is to limit the sharing of funds with local governments to those with populations above a certain minimum, say, 25,000 or 50,000. Another is to allocate the grants on the basis of the number of poor persons rather than of the entire population. Still another is to change the per capita grant to a percentage of average per capita state and local expenditures (up to some maximum of, say, \$300), but retain the number of poor persons as the basis of allocation. Such alternatives would give roughly the same results as a per capita distribution weighted by the inverse of per capita incomes. The distinguishing characteristic of revenue sharing is that the funds would be available to state and local governments with no strings attached on how they spend the money. The allocation among units of government cannot be determined on any scientific basis, and therefore must remain a matter of judgment and political acceptability.

Action on revenue sharing has been stalled at least partly because of the heavy—and irrational—distribution of the fiscal burden of the welfare system. Poverty is a national and not a state-local problem, so that the entire cost of the welfare system should be borne by the federal government. Release of state and local fiscal resources now used to pay welfare benefits would provide no-strings-attached funds, with the distribution based on the number of welfare recipients and the benefits currently paid rather than on the basis of total population. The urban states which pay most of the welfare bill have been carrying a fiscal burden which should be the responsibility of the federal government. Correction of this inequity (as well as reform of the welfare system) is the first step that needs to be taken to modernize the system of intergovernmental fiscal relations in this country. But revenue sharing is also needed in such a system to make up for the deficient taxpaying capacity of poor persons to support non-poverty related activities. Without such relief, cities will continue to lose middle- and high-income families who will neither tolerate the inadequate public services that their poor neighbors must accept, nor pay higher taxes to carry the burden for these neighbors.

The core of the original revenue sharing plan, with which Walter Heller and I have been identified, was the regular distribution

of a specified portion of the federal individual income tax to the states primarily on the basis of population, and with no strings attached on the types of expenditures that could be made with these funds. The Administration proposal, S. 241 (the Humphrey-Reuss bill), and S. 1770 (the Muskie bill), follow this original proposal fairly closely. The Administration bill would set aside 1.3 percent of the individual income tax base, which would amount to \$5 billion in the first year and rise to \$10 billion eight or nine years later. The Muskie bill sets aside the same amounts for general revenue sharing and an additional \$1 billion for a 10 percent federal bonus for state income tax collections. The Humphrey-Reuss bill would start with \$3 billion in the first year and rise to \$9 billion in the fourth year. All the proposals would allocate the funds among the states on the basis of population and revenue effort. They differ, however, primarily with regard to the method of apportioning the revenue sharing funds among the local governments within any one state.

The Administration pass-through formula would allocate to each general-purpose local government a share of the total state grant roughly equal to the fraction that a community's general revenues represent of the total revenues raised by the state and all its localities. The Humphrey-Reuss bill, which does not have a mandatory pass-through formula, permits the allocation to local governments to depart from a straight per capita basis in order to favor communities that are populous, or contain relatively large numbers of low income families, or have high local tax burdens. The Muskie bill allocates the funds among the local units of government with populations of more than 25,000 on the basis of the relative revenues of the localities and the proportions of low-income families. The bill also provides that the pass-through to smaller units of government be determined by the state government. The Administration and the Humphrey-Reuss bills provide a bonus of 10 percent for states that are able to come to an agreement on an alternative pass-through formula with the majority of their local governments.

As I indicated earlier, the basic purpose of revenue sharing is to provide supplementary financial assistance to states and local governments with fiscal capacity impaired by low incomes. The Muskie bill has the merit that it divides the revenue sharing funds within a state primarily on the basis of the "poverty ratio," which is an average of the proportion of families in a community with incomes below \$3,000 and the proportion of families on the welfare rolls. This approach, I believe, conforms more closely with the rationale of general revenue sharing than any pass-through yet incorporated in legislation formally introduced in the Congress.

Many have recommended a federal income tax credit for state income taxes as a supplement or substitute for revenue sharing. The major purpose of the tax credit approach is to encourage states to adopt personal income taxes, a laudable objective. But such tax credits have perverse distributional effects between poor and rich states. Since the amount of the credit would be larger as an individual's income increased, the credit would be more helpful to rich states than to poor states. The same objective could be achieved until revenue sharing, without the perverse distributional effects, by requiring states to have income taxes to be eligible to receive the unrestricted grants. The Muskie bill would avoid the pitfalls of a tax credit by providing a 10 percent bonus for state income tax collections, which would be returned to the states in proportion to the amounts of revenue they raise from income taxes. If encouragement of the enactment of state income taxes must take the route of a bonus from the federal government, I believe that the approach in the Muskie bill is

far superior to the traditional tax credit approach.

A unique feature of the Humphrey-Reuss bill is a provision that would help to initiate a national effort to rationalize the state-local government structure and to provide incentives for efficient management. There is no question that the state of affairs is deplorable and some new dramatic device needs to be used to shake state and local officials out of their lethargy. The Humphrey-Reuss bill would require only that the state and local governments prepare a master plan and time table for modernizing and revitalizing their governmental structures to be eligible for the revenue sharing grants. The details would be left to the states themselves. Although the bill does not contain any procedures for enforcing modernization where the state plans turn out to be weak, it seems to me that it would have the desirable effect of focusing attention on an important national problem. The experiment is worth a try since reform is so urgently needed in this area.

In conclusion, there are significant differences among the various revenue sharing bills, and the Congress should examine these differences carefully. But I hope that disagreement over some of the details will not prevent supporters of revenue sharing from cooperating in the effort to enact a revenue sharing bill in this Congress. Revenue Sharing is needed to provide financial assistance to states and local governments in a form which would give them latitude to help solve their own problems. Since the amounts of money are small relative to the total expenditures of state-local governments (2 to 3 percent of their present expenditures), we should expect only a commensurate improvement in the financial capacity of states and local governments if the plan were enacted. But even though revenue sharing is not a panacea for all their ills, it would certainly help to strengthen our federal system of government at a time when it needs to be strengthened. At the very least, revenue sharing should be enacted on a trial basis for an initial period of five years, so that the Congress will have an opportunity to evaluate the proposal in action and modify it, if necessary, before putting it on a permanent basis.

ADMISSION OF SPAIN TO NATO?

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, it has been suggested that Spain should be considered for NATO membership.

Those proposing Spain as a possible party to the North Atlantic Treaty ignore the preamble to the treaty. It says:

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and the preservation of peace and security.

Mr. Speaker, NATO has managed very well without Spain and it will survive and prosper without Spain ruled by General Franco. Already two NATO member nations are ruled by governments making

no pretense of providing their citizens the benefits of "democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law." The Alliance needs no more member states ruled by authoritarian governments. Greece and Portugal are two too many.

WHERE WERE YOU WHEN JERUSALEM CALLED?

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, Rabbi Allan Summers of Anshe Emet Synagogue in my district recently replied to a column by Henry J. Taylor concerning the status of Jerusalem as an integral part of Israel. I would like to include in the RECORD Mr. Taylor's column and Rabbi Summers, excellent reply:

THE CALIFORNIA JEWISH VOICE

WHERE WERE YOU WHEN JERUSALEM CALLED?

I am perturbed by the article "Israel Blamed," by Henry J. Taylor, which appeared on April 19, in the Herald-Examiner. I find it to be void of sound logic and a distortion of historic facts. Mr. Taylor says, "Israel is dead wrong" . . . "Its stand regarding Jerusalem is . . . plain stupid."

This raises the question who is wise and who is stupid? According to the definition of most psychologists he is wise who benefits from his past experiences and does not repeat his previous mistakes.

Think back to 1956 when President Eisenhower assured Mrs. Golda Meir, the then Foreign Minister of Israel, that if Israel withdrew from Sinai Peninsula, the community of nations would guarantee that the Suez Canal would be opened for Israeli shipping. Sinai would be demilitarized. Israel complied with U.N. request and withdrew, but what happened to Eisenhower's promises? In 1967, when Nasser closed the Tiran Strait and ordered the U.N. forces out of the Sinai Peninsula and (threatened to) cast Israel into the sea, no one came to Israel's help. The U.S. State Department declared, "We are neutral in thought, word, and deed." Indeed Israel is not stupid but wise in refusing to surrender her strategic borders and not rely upon broken promises.

Mr. Taylor pleads to internationalize Jerusalem. For 19 years while King Hussein illegally held Jerusalem, during which time he prohibited Jews from praying at the Wailing Wall, he excluded Moslems and Christians alike residing in Israel from visiting their Holy Shrines. The Jordanians destroyed 54 synagogues in Old Jerusalem and desecrated 36,000 Jewish graves. However, no one raised his voice to object, not Mr. Taylor, not the U.N., not even the Pope. Mark the difference.

Under Israel rule Arabs, Jews and Christians are free to worship at their sacred places. Furthermore, each denomination has complete charge over their religious shrines. This state of affairs, Mr. Taylor refers to as "Israel's arrogance and stupidity." Facts prove that Israel's control over the Holy City, Jerusalem, is wise and just to all faiths.

Mr. Taylor further states that "Israel called Tel Aviv her 'forever' capital." I challenge Mr. Taylor to substantiate this biased statement with authentic documentation! It is a known fact that in 1948 when Israel was established, it proclaimed Jerusalem as its capital and moved government offices into that city. Now most foreign legations are not in Tel Aviv but in Jerusalem. Check your facts, Mr. Taylor, before you publicize them.

RABBI ALLAN SUMMERS, M.A.

1490 S. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles.

ISRAEL BLAMED

(By Henry J. Taylor)

United Nations Middle East mediator Gunnar V. Jarring is dead right and the Israeli government dead wrong in regard to internationalizing Israel-held Jerusalem. Moreover, the Israeli government, in repeating its stand, is just being plain stupid.

Dr. Jarring correctly bases his insistence on the UN General Assembly resolutions of November, 1947, April, 1948, and December, 1949, and the UN Trusteeship Council's unanimously adopted Geneva statutes of April, 1950, all of which demand an international Jerusalem.

Israel's aggregate record already vastly weakens her diplomatically. In the 1948 Palestine war Israel increased her territory by 3000 miles more than the UN resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, gave her. Then in the 1956 Suez crisis, when Britain and France lost out, only Israel achieved its objectives. Next, in Israel's 1967 "blitz" victory, she seized (and still holds) the Sharm el Sheik territory above the Tiran Strait, Syria's Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula, much Jordanian territory and, ultimately, Jerusalem itself.

It is one thing, and absolutely essential, for Israel to insist on retaining strategic points like Sharm el Sheik, the Golan Heights, which is not an Israeli defense line instead of a Syrian attack line, etc. But Israel tragically contaminates her entire position by unjustifiable refusals manifestly detached from her basic security needs.

Israel has already alienated worldwide millions by appearing to refuse to take back Arabs she evicted. These now exceed 2½ million. At least an appalling million evictees date from the 1948 Palestine war—23 years ago. And 150,000 more poured into Jordan when Gen. Moshe Dayan's 1967 "blitz" troops mopped up the Jordan River's west bank.

These pitiable wretches, life-sustained in refugee camps mostly by U.S. Government aid, are the victims of three wars and may well be the cause of another. For yesterday's evictees are today's guerrillas. And they will retain their strength as long as they feel Israel deprives them of their birthright. In addition, at the humane level, Israel is widely condemned for refusing to share the Jordan River water.

In Jerusalem the continuum of life and time stretches back, of course, 3000 years or more. The Holy City is equally sacred to Judaism, Christianity and Islam—to cite them in the sequence of their appearance on the world scene. It was the city for David, Solomon, Cyrus, Alexander, Hadrian, Mohammed, the many Sultans. Its undulating story is the story of mankind, full in aspirations, triumph, suspense, tragedy and treachery.

In the nearby Dead Sea area, mother of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Masada fortress' ruins are still visible. Built by Jonathan Maccabees, the fortress was later used by Eleazer and his zealots in their 73 A.D. last stand against Rome's military-industrial-political complex. This tiny band resisted as long as possible. Then the band committed itself to a suicidal holocaust.

Included in the fateful siege, however, was the Procurator of Judea who secretly stimulated political factionalism. And to this day the Arab world asks: When has peril been without some kind of profiteers?

When on May 14, 1948, the Republic of Israel proclaimed itself and the United States officially recognized the new country literally overnight, the Israelis swore up and down to the United States and to the world that the new Jewish state would never encroach on international Jerusalem. To propagate this required promise Israel called Tel Aviv her "forever" capital and helped quiet world alarm that way.

Now Israel confirms all suspicions by many Christian, Islamic and other religious elements throughout the world and alienates

them by an apparent pattern of "what I can take is mine, if it is to my profit."

Surrounded, back-to-the wall, brave little Israel could not conceivably think up a better way to play into the hands of her enemies than by her arrogance and stupidity about Jerusalem.

THE GROWING IMPACT OF PAYROLL TAXES ON MIDDLE INCOMES

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, there is broad agreement that David Broder is one of the most perceptive reporters in Washington. His wide ranging research and thoughtful analysis is demonstrated in an article in the May 27 Washington Post on the growing inequality of payroll taxes. This massive issue has been developed for the last 20 years, but as Mr. Broder points out there has been a deafening silence from the politicians as the payroll tax bite has been increased. Since this Congress will likely be asked to raise payroll taxes still higher it is important that we begin to examine the underlying problems. I commend this important article to the consideration of my colleagues:

THE GROWING IMPACT OF PAYROLL TAXES ON MIDDLE INCOMES

(By David S. Broder)

Among the many publicly unexplored issues buried in H.R. 1, the welfare reform and social security bill devised by Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) and the House Ways and Means Committee, is a tax increase on middle-income families that will almost double the size of the second-biggest bite on their paychecks in the next six years.

Under the bill, the Social Security tax rate will rise in three steps from the present 5.2 per cent to 7.4 per cent in 1977. The wage base for Social Security taxes will increase from the present \$7,800 to \$10,200 next year, with the result that the payroll tax for a man making a bit less than \$200 a week will rise from \$405 to \$755 a year.

By contrast, that same auto worker, supporting a wife and two children and taking only his standard deductions, will have an income tax bill of \$1052 this year, decreasing to \$995 with next year's scheduled income tax reductions.

What this example indicates is that payroll taxes are becoming an increasingly important part of our revenue system—yet one which has largely escaped debate, either in political campaigns or in the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee.

Unbeknownst to most Americans, payroll taxes now constitute the second largest source of federal funds—and the fastest-growing. Payroll taxes provide more income to the treasury than corporate income taxes or any other Federal taxes except the individual income tax. And the 1972 budget estimates that between last year and next, payroll taxes alone will rise \$12.3 billion, while individual and corporate income taxes combined will grow by only \$7.2 billion.

What this means is that we are becoming increasingly dependent for federal finances on the payroll tax, a tax that is not progressive, that has little relationship to ability to pay, and whose burden hits hardest on low- and middle-income wage-earners.

That this can happen without a murmur of debate or political controversy indicates just how insensitive to real pocketbook issues the

Washington politicians have become, particularly those Democrats who control Congress and parade as the champions of the average man.

The impact of payroll taxation has been amply documented in the studies of such Brookings Institution specialists as Alice M. Rivlin and Joseph A. Pechman. It appears also in the report of the administration's advisory council on social security. But it is almost as if there were a conspiracy of silence by politicians to keep the taxpayers and the voters unaware of these issues.

In part, the Brookings studies suggest, the social security tax system has been protected from debate by two carefully cultivated myths. One is the notion that it is a "social insurance" system, in which an individual's contributions (taxes) are held in trust for him and returned, with interest, as retirement benefits.

In fact, it is not. It is, rather, a system of transfer payments to currently retired people, financed almost entirely by taxes on the working generation. There is nothing wrong with this, in principle, but it is not what people think it is.

The second myth is that the employer pays half the social security tax. In a literal sense, he does, but, as the Brookings studies demonstrate, the whole tax really falls on wages and the wage-earner, because the amount the employer pays in social security taxes he would otherwise be putting into the paycheck.

This is worth emphasizing. When the Social Security system began 35 years ago, the tax rate was one per cent each on employee and employer on the first \$3,000 of annual earnings. With the new bill, the combined rate rises to almost 15 per cent of the payroll of wages up to the \$10,000 level.

That tax is levied regardless of the number of dependents or legitimate deductions the earner has. It gives no real consideration to his ability to pay.

This year, as the Brookings analysts have noted, a family with a husband earning \$7,000 and a wife earning \$5,000 will pay \$624 in payroll taxes (5.2 per cent). A family with the identical income from one wage earner would be taxed only \$405.60 (3.4 per cent).

That is one inequity. Another is pointed up in the advisory council study. When the social security system began in the 1930s, the \$3,000 wage base included all the earnings of all but three per cent of the workers. The wage tax, in those days, was, in effect, the same tax on everyone.

But in recent years, Mills and his committee have been reluctant to push the wage-base ceiling up as fast as inflation and earnings have increased. Today, somewhere between 20 and 25 per cent of the wage-earners make more than the wage-base limit. These well-off workers get a real break on social security taxes. A \$23,400-a-year man, for example, gets just as big retirement benefits as a \$7,800-a-year man, but the effective payroll tax rate on his income is just one-third of the lower-salaried man's.

There are ways in which these inequities could be remedied. Proposals have been made for years to shift a portion of social security financing onto the progressive income tax and off the regressive payroll tax.

Without going that far, there could be a system of deductions or income tax credits that would help the low-income wage earner who now is hit hardest by payroll taxes. But Congress, under Democratic control, has done exactly the opposite in recent years, cutting income taxes and raising payroll taxes, and thereby making the whole federal tax system more regressive. According to participants in this year's Ways and Means sessions, the question of social security taxes did not receive any extended discussion. If Mills is successful, as usual, in obtaining a closed rule for the bill, there will be no

meaningful opportunity for presenting amendments to it on the House floor.

This example—and it is only one of many—suggests the price that is being paid for letting vital questions of economic policy be settled in the politically insulated, tightly controlled environment of the Ways and Means Committee's closed sessions. Too many members of Congress have become accustomed to letting Wilbur Mills do their thinking and decision-making on difficult questions.

But it also indicates something else: the peculiar insensitivity of the leading Democratic politicians, including the presidential aspirants, to the economic issues. Discussing the inequities of payroll taxing may not attract as much praise at Georgetown cocktail parties as a ringing denunciation of the bombing in Laos or the tactics of the Washington police. A candidate who took a serious look at our tax system might even suffer a sudden shortage of campaign contributors. But there are issues that can be raised, wrongs that can be righted, and votes that can be earned by the politician who will deign to consider matters that matter to wage-earners.

NORTH VIETNAMESE POW'S PREFER FREEDOM IN PRISON TO LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, 647 North Vietnamese prisoners of war in South Vietnam have cast their vote against the false glories and utopia of communism—they have refused to return home to North Vietnam. Reportedly, only 13 of the 660 Communist POW's have indicated the desire to be repatriated to their homeland.

One must assume they find the barbed wire and prison life in South Vietnam preferable to life under the Communist dictatorship in North Vietnam. It could be that these former Communist soldiers are aware that under Communist discipline there are no Reds taken prisoner. Communist soldiers are expected to fight to the death for the glories of communism. If they do not die as heroes on the fields of battle, the Communist government carries out the sentence of dedication when they are returned from any prison camps.

Recent reports from Saigon are reminiscent of the Korean war when Red Chinese and North Korean POW's—ballyhooed by our communications people as the top fighting Communist soldiers in the world—were given opportunities at Panmunjom to make individual decisions of whether to return to Mainland China or to remain in the Free World. The records of this prisoner exchange showed that 22,000 POW's chose not to return to their homes in Red China and North Korea. Most of these former Communist soldiers live today in Formosa or in South Korea.

January 23 is commemorated each year in Taiwan by the former Communist prisoners with a celebration known as the Freedom Day Rally.

The misguided and confused intellectuals among our people who claim

communism as a wave of the future could learn a practical lesson from the repeated decisions of Communists who refuse to select communism whenever they are offered a chance.

I ask that a news clipping follow:

[From the Washington Evening Star,
May 31, 1971]

**MOST RED POWS REPORTED BALKING AT
RETURN TO NORTH**

SAIGON.—Only 13 of the 660 North Vietnamese prisoners of war tapped for repatriation this week have agreed to go home, official sources said today.

Nevertheless, the sources said, the Saigon government plans to go ahead with the release of prisoners off the coast of the demilitarized zone on Friday. North Vietnam has agreed to the arrangements.

The 647 POWs who have refused to be repatriated have until Thursday, the day before the turnover, to change their minds. One source indicated expectations that this might happen on orders from Hanoi, saying: "The prisoners have their own grapevine, and it's very good. They might get orders to return rather than stay."

HARD TO TELL

The Foreign Ministry canceled a news conference today at which it was to outline arrangements for the transfer of the prisoners. Asked whether the cancellation meant the release of the POWs might also be delayed, a government official said, "It is very hard to tell at this time."

The press briefing was tentatively rescheduled for Wednesday.

U.S. officials have been concerned about any delay in the POW turnover because it marks the first time in the Vietnam war that the North Vietnamese have openly agreed in advance to receive repatriated prisoners. The Americans think this might be a step toward release of some of the 339 American known to be held prisoner in North Vietnam.

For this reason, some sources said, U.S. officials have put considerable pressure on Saigon officials to carry out the POW release according to the plans agreed upon by North and South Vietnam.

ORIGINAL OFFER

The South Vietnamese government originally offered to repatriate 570 prisoners because that was the number of "sick and wounded" North Vietnamese POWs on Phu Quoc Island, the Saigon government's biggest POW camp.

When South Vietnamese officials began to count those willing to return home, however, they found only a few, the sources said.

"When that happened, the call went out to find any and every prisoner who might fit into the category of sick and wounded," said one source. In the process, the number of those eligible was raised to 660.

The International Committee of the Red Cross is supervising the interrogations. To process them as speedily as possible, the POWs are assembled in groups and asked to volunteer to go home. Those who refuse are then questioned individually.

**FIRST CLASS OF GSA FEDERAL
PROTECTIVE OFFICERS GRADUATE**

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, last week I was privileged to attend the graduation of the first class of General Services Administration Federal Protec-

tive Officers who received their diplomas on May 28, 1971, at the Regional Criminal Justice Training Center, Harrisburg Area Community College, Harrisburg, Pa. Mr. James Gerrity, supervisor of the GSA force at the Harrisburg Federal Building, initiated the new training program. Law-enforcement agencies on the local, State, and Federal levels contributed materially to the agenda.

The 160-hour course covered first aid, unarmed defense, court procedures, bomb search, reconnaissance, as well as approaching and the handling of dangerous drugs. This training provides the Federal Protective Officer with some of the expertise required to provide protection in Federal buildings against bombings and demonstrations, in addition to his routine safeguarding duties. With the security problems inherent in the present trial of the Harrisburg Six," the importance of a highly trained guard force is emphasized.

The commencement exercises were highlighted by the presence of Arthur F. Sampson, Commissioner of Public Buildings Services, General Services Administration, who gave the commencement address; and Col. Frank McKetta, chief of the Federal Protective Service Division, General Services Administration.

**CALIFORNIA BLACK LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE STATEMENT TO THE
STOCKHOLDERS OF THE BANK OF
AMERICA**

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to share with my colleagues two statements presented to the stockholders of the Bank of America by Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, chairman of the California Black Leadership Conference and publisher of the San Francisco Sun-Reporter.

Dr. Goodlett, long a leader in the struggle for human dignity and justice, states in the context of the 1970's and within the framework of the world of industry and finance, the timeless aspiration of all minority groups to fully participate on the economic, political, and social life of this Nation.

Dr. Goodlett's statements need no further preface and I commend them to the attention of my colleagues:

**STATEMENT TO THE STOCKHOLDERS OF BANK
OF AMERICA**

GENERAL STATEMENT OF CONCERNS

Mr. Chairman, the United States of America continues to be a polarized country composed of two nations, one white and one black, both separate and becoming daily more unequal. The Black population ranges between 23 and 25 million persons, with an estimated gross product of \$45 billion per year, 4.5 percent of the nation's total \$1 trillion. In many metropolitan areas where a number of our banking branches are located, Blacks comprise from 30 to 40 percent of the population; and upon a cursory survey, contribute from 20 to 30 percent of the gross revenues of our branches.

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

Despite the fact that Blacks have perennially patronized the Bank of America branch offices, the policy of General Management has not been one of reciprocal response to the needs of the Black community for jobs and advertising in its community newspapers, so as to reflect our Corporation's appreciation of its responsibility in a free economy to observe, on one hand, fair and equitable employment policies and, on the other, fair and equitable expenditure of advertising dollars.

State and National Fair Employment Practices laws have assisted racial minorities in our efforts to remove jobs inequities. We note in the Bank of America 1970 Annual Report that during the past six years we more than doubled the minority employment, presently with the total of more than 7,900, approximating 20 percent of the bank's total staff. However, a study of the employment conditions in a number of San Francisco Bay Area branches shows little or no minority representation in top management or supervisory positions; the majority of the Blacks are employed in the lower job categories. Since the Bank of America operates under both State and Federal F.E.P. statutes, our Institution must obey not only the letter of the law but also the spirit of the law. The Fair Employment Practices statutes demand that racial discrimination be eliminated throughout the entire structure of corporate enterprise, from the Board of Directors room all the way down to the janitors' closet. This, I believe, the Bank of America has failed to do. Moreover, the conditions cited for the Black population reflect similar forms of covert institutionalized racism practiced against Chicano Americans and Oriental Americans.

ADVERTISING DISCRIMINATION

For the past quarter of a century, Blacks have patronized the branches of our Institution; the response of Bank of America has not been reciprocal to the Black community's needs, by providing sustained advertising in the Black community newspaper, so as to reflect our awareness of the responsibility to allocate an equitable expenditure of our advertising dollars to the community which contributes to our profits. The Black community can not develop a viable press as long as corporations such as the Bank of America continue to practice a policy of discrimination and insensitivity to the Black community's demands to receive a proportionate share of Bank of America's advertising dollars.

It is the right of every Black depositor to demand that promotional money derived from Black banking power be returned to the Black community, so that the Black nation may maintain a Black-owned communications media which reflects its \$45 billion purchasing power.

No person in this meeting will accept personal responsibility for the discrimination which our bank practices upon Black Americans in job opportunities and the allocation of advertising dollars. However, our continued silence and inaction on these problems represent a silent conspiracy against the constitutional mandate of Freedom, Equality and Justice.

To rectify these wrongs three recommendations are made in the form of motions:

1. That Management be instructed to issue within the next 6 months a full report to our stockholders of its distribution of employees based upon race and sex, delineating policies of promotion, in the main job categories.

2. That stockholders be given a report on the expenditure of advertising dollars in both the white and the black press.

3. That a Stockholders' Fair Employment and Fair Advertising Committee be appointed to assess the data and recommend to Management a remedial program in Fair Employment and Fair Advertising, which will allow our Corporation to lead the banking

institutions in meeting the serious challenges of the crisis-threatening '70's.

STATEMENT TO THE STOCKHOLDERS OF BANK OF AMERICA

DIRECTORS NOMINATIONS

Mr. Chairman, we thoroughly agree with the following quotation from A. W. Clausen, April 2, 1970: "A time for transition and ferment is an opportunity—an opportunity to revitalize the multitude of ways we conduct our affairs, an opportunity to ponder the quality of life, that we may proceed responsibly toward whatever destiny we aspire for ourselves and our children. How our generation confronts the issues of this new decade no doubt will decide—or dictate—the path we travel for the remainder of this century."

A crucial items on our agenda at this annual meeting of the stockholders of the Bank of America is the election of 15 directors. Inspection of the roster of officers and directors of our Institution reveals that those who have selected the 15 nominees to serve as directors until the next annual meeting remain either uninformed or unconcerned about two extremely controversial issues which now threaten the corporate tranquility: (1) the scarcity of women in management and direction of private enterprise, and (2) the lack of management and direction opportunities provided for racial minorities—in the main Black Americans, Chicano Americans and Oriental Americans—that they might participate meaningfully in the process of distillation so necessary for developing the new directional thrust required of corporate enterprise, particularly Banking, in a nation polarized by social revolution.

First, let us consider the question of active participation by women in our operation and management. Despite the fact that Mrs. Claire Gianinni Hoffman, distinguished daughter of the founder of our Institution, is a member of our Board of Directors, women still happen to be one of the most discriminated against groups in our society, and a cursory inspection of Bank of America Corporation's Annual Report for 1970 glaringly reveals this discrimination. Where are the females who are appointed to top executive positions in our Institution? Male chauvinism is the cause of Bank of America's failure to utilize more women in our operation and management.

The majority of stockholders in U.S. business enterprise are female, and I doubt that Bank of America differs from the national pattern. Although I don't have the figures or percentages of our depositors who are female, it can certainly be said that our failure to utilize the great potential of women throughout the entire structure of the Bank of America, including top executive positions and memberships on the Board of Directors, is short-sighted misuse of the great potential of women, and moreover is a flagrant form of sexism.

Now, let us consider the paucity of racial minority representation in management and operation. The Bank of America is a microcosm reflecting our present society which is daily being destroyed by racism. A great obstacle to racial harmony in the nation is the inability or refusal on the part of private enterprise to recognize the genius and skill of the racial minorities, who have a unique contribution to make. The new frontier in the struggle to remove all the inequities of racism in America is now in the area of corporate enterprise. Enough legislation has been passed to end racism; enough verbalization has been spent on treadmills of conversation leading nowhere; now the private enterprise sector of our nation must do more than wear labels of "Equal Opportunity Employer". Women and racial minorities must be integrated throughout the entire structure of our Company, including its Board of Directors.

Adding women and racial minorities to the Board of Directors should not be done as a form of tokenism, but as a means of reducing and eliminating institutional racism and sexism from the mainstream of corporate life, to strengthen the role which the corporation must inevitably play if it would revitalize the private enterprise concept in a world searching profoundly for new approaches to man's relationship to the most important denominator in the societal equation: the human personality.

Bank of America, following the example of Chase National Bank in the East, can assume leadership in this search for a new freedom.

NOMINATION FOR DIRECTORS

As an initial effort to correct the inequities of representation on our Board of Directors, which reflect both male chauvinism and racism, I nominate two additional persons as directors of the Bank of America:

Mrs. Aileen Hernandez, the female nominee, is a free-lance business consultant and lecturer on urban affairs. Mrs. Hernandez is the new President of the National Organization of Women, a civil rights group formed in October, 1966, to bring women into the mainstream of American life "in truly equal partnership with men." Professionally, Mrs. Hernandez has advised business, labor, government and private groups on programs for utilizing the talents of minority groups and women, and assuring these groups full access to education, housing and employment opportunities. Mrs. Hernandez has had a distinguished academic career, receiving her A.B. degree *magna cum laude* in 1947 from Howard University, and holds a master's degree in government. She has served as Deputy Director, California Fair Employment Practices Commission, and as Commissioner, U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Among many civic and political affiliations, she serves in the Urban League, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Steering Committee of the National Urban Coalition, and Board of Directors of San Francisco Mount Zion Hospital.

Willie L. Brown, Jr., Esq., Attorney at Law, State Assemblyman, 18th District, San Francisco, is the second nominee. Mr. Brown is a distinguished Californian who is a member of the San Francisco Black community, a graduate of San Francisco State College, 1966, and the Hastings College of Law, 1958. He is permanent President of the Class of '58, Hastings College of the Law; a member of the Executive Committee of San Francisco State College Alumni Association; and was designated in 1965 the outstanding freshman legislator in California. He presently serves as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the California Assembly. His legislative interests include employment opportunities, civil rights and liberties, conservation and ecological issues, consumer protection and criminal law reform.

Mr. Chairman, in the belief that the election of these two distinguished Americans to a position of importance will be beneficial to our Institution, the two names, Mrs. Aileen Hernandez and Willie L. Brown, Jr., Esq., are submitted as nominees for the Board of Directors.

We are being judge by both women and Blacks, not by our platitudinous statements, but by our deeds.

ILLEGAL OPIUM PRODUCTION

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, at the present time this country is engulfed

in a drug crisis of such severity and magnitude that the peace and security of this Nation are seriously threatened.

For this reason, I urged NATO's North Atlantic Assembly in a report which I submitted last week, to adopt measures to stem the illicit supply of narcotics. In my report, I stressed the urgent need for an international solution to this problem in accordance with the NATO principle of collective security.

Most officials estimate that there are presently about 250,000 heroin addicts in the United States. However, in view of the report recently released by the House Foreign Affairs Committee concerning the number of American soldiers in South Vietnam who are addicted to heroin, it is apparent that this estimate is increasing at an alarming rate.

Although the administration 2 years ago declared an all-out war on the illegal production of opium, they have consistently failed to activate the necessary forces to effectively destroy this insidious enemy.

It is all too apparent that subtle, diplomatic pressures have been totally unavailing. As a result, last December I introduced a floor amendment to the Supplemental Foreign Assistance Authorization Act to suspend foreign aid to any country that failed to take proper measures to curb the illegal production and exportation of opium. This amendment was adopted by the House, but was deleted by the Senate, since there was not sufficient time to consider and debate the amendment.

I have reintroduced this legislation in the present Congress and I have been assured by the Foreign Affairs Committee that hearings will be held shortly on this proposal.

The Wall Street Journal of May 27, contained an excellent article on Turkish opium production and I include at this point in the Record Robert Keatley's penetrating and unbiased analysis of U.S. efforts to halt illegal opium production:

HALTING THE HEROIN: U.S. SEEKS TO STEM TURKISH OPIUM FLOW

(By Robert Keatley)

DEGIRMENDERE, TURKEY.—Faruk Erhan doesn't seem like an enemy of the U.S. A kindly man of advanced years, he is an elder statesman of this poor farm village who spends much time sitting around with his peers, conversing over coffee.

But Mr. Erhan is an enemy of sorts. That's because his main cash crop is opium poppies, grown in a neat patch tended by the village womenfolk when they aren't hauling water or milking sheep.

Like 70,000 other Turkish farmers, Mr. Erhan is an opium producer. As a group, they sell up to 120 tons of opium yearly to the government, which exports it legally to pharmaceutical companies in Europe and North America for anesthetic use. But they also sell perhaps 100 tons a year to quite different customers: narcotics smugglers who channel much of it to heroin-producing labs in southern France. From there the deadly product goes to the U.S.; an estimated 80% of the heroin sold to American addicts originates in Turkish poppy patches like Mr. Erhan's.

Washington wants him, and the 70,000 others, to quit the opium trade. But the Erhans of this nation refuse; growing poppies is more lucrative than any alternative crop, and these poor farmers need cash to buy such

essentials as salt and sugar. "If we can't grow opium, what do you suggest?" he asks.

PRESSING FOR CURES

Answering that question has become a serious U.S. concern. The Nixon administration is trying to get Turkey and other involved countries to curtail the illegal narcotics trade. Among other things, it seeks international cooperation for research on alternative crops such as sunflowers and soybeans, better enforcement of antismuggling laws, and jailing of heroin processors and shippers.

"Narcotics addiction has been spreading with pandemic virulence," Mr. Nixon has warned. "And (international) cooperation is necessary, for the production and manufacture of narcotics and dangerous drugs is immeasurably easier to control than their illegal passage across national frontiers."

In Turkey, control efforts show some signs of retarding illegal production. The government now permits poppy growing in only seven provinces, down from 27 three years ago; the total will drop to four next year. After that, growing may be permitted only here in Afyon Province, the main producer (afyon means opium in Turkish).

More important, restrictions on Turkey's total opium plantings are finally being drafted. Previously, growers expanded their plots as additional provinces were excluded from the business, meaning that no net production loss occurred. In addition, there are some tough new rules against smuggling, and parliament is considering stiffer penalties for illegal production and sale of opium. In another effort to discourage the unlawful traffic, the government has just raised the price it pays farmers for their legal output. And Ankara is finally trying to give its poor farmers alternative cash crops.

POPPY FOR INDEPENDENCE

"Turkish opium growers will be shown a way to earn a better living," the nation's new prime minister, Nihat Erim, promised last month. Previous governments were reluctant to act. Farmers who feared loss of their opium crop voted out politicians who favored such moves. Moreover, American pressure for restrictions backfired; growing poppies became one way of asserting Turkish independence of the U.S. Now the Erim government, put in office by the army, claims it will take strong action for "humanitarian" reasons, not because Washington says so.

But the effect on heroin supplies for sale on U.S. city streets remains to be seen. So far, Turkey hasn't halted opium smuggling. And despite devoting more diplomatic and police manpower to the task, the Nixon administration hasn't made a noticeable dent in the narcotics trade in Turkey or elsewhere. French police haven't arrested a heroin processor for 18 months, and other poppy-growing nations such as Thailand don't even try to control the trade; their police, in fact, are often part of it. The drug flow into the U.S. has risen in recent months, officials concede.

This record earns the administration considerable criticism on Capitol Hill, where doing something about the influx of foreign narcotics is increasingly popular. Many legislators contend that the Nixon team talks a good game but doesn't follow through by getting tough with foreign governments and pushing for broad international controls.

"Our failure to overcome diplomatic inertia and take serious action to stop the drug traffic amounts to a national scandal," charges Democratic Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota.

Another Democrat, Rep. James Scheuer of New York, contends that administration officials "haven't begun to face up to the problem." He has introduced legislation to create a more comprehensive, more costly international drug-control program; about 60 other

Congressmen support him. Other bills pending in both the House and the Senate seek to force bolder action by the Nixon administration.

But administration officials cry foul. They charge that the critics suggest simplistic solutions that won't work. One congressional proposal, for example, would cut off U.S. aid to any country that fails to stop illegal poppy growing; Turkey is a favorite target. But U.S. sources insist this would turn a NATO ally into an enemy without halting poppy production.

Nixon men also contend that they are doing more to curb narcotics smuggling than any previous administration. They insist that major improvements will eventually result.

"We now have the feeling that a substantial effort is being made, though this wasn't the case three years ago," says a senior official of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in Washington.

The present administration is attacking the international drug problem in a variety of ways. The State Department now makes narcotics control a concern for many U.S. embassies, notably in Turkey, Thailand and France. Financial and technical aid is offered when feasible; a \$3 million loan to Turkey is helping improve police forces and is also supposed to finance crop research. And the U.S. is sending more Bureau of Narcotics agents abroad.

But the task is extremely complicated, with additional sources threatening to pour more heroin into the U.S. In Southeast Asia the presence of thousands of bored and disenchanted American youths has given drug dealers a new well-heelled market; perhaps 30,000 GIs in South Vietnam now use heroin. Not only will these users return to the U.S. as addicts, officials fear, but many will get into the distribution business, tapping previously ignored Asian supplies.

"There are people in Southeast Asia who are ingenious, young and experienced who will become major traffickers in the future—and they're called soldiers," warns a ranking Bureau of Narcotics official.

Getting Asian governments to act against opium is difficult. And there's some question, too, about Turkey's determination to choke off opium smuggling. Selling to smugglers is too important a source of income for the poor Turkish farmers.

In Turkey, unlike the opium-growing lands of Southeast Asia, nearly all the production goes to the rich export market. Few Turks ever smoke opium; having a bride to do field work is important to Turkish farmers, and tradition has it that no father will give his daughter to an opium smoker. The only way Mr. Erhan uses opium is by mixing it with vinegar and applying it to the top of his head as a supposed remedy for the common cold.

Otherwise, he says, "Raki is enough for us"—a reference to Turkey's fiery whiskey.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 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?

CHICAGO STATE COLLEGE: AN OASIS OF HOPE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, a number of my constituents from the south side of Chicago and the adjacent suburbs are fortunate to have the opportunity to attend a nearby proud college with a long tradition of training teachers for Chicago's schools. Over the years, Chicago State College has changed the lives of thousands upon thousands of young people—not only those who go to Chicago State but those who are taught by Chicago State graduates.

I recently received a pamphlet containing six accounts of students and alumni of Chicago State College. These brief vignettes capture the story of thousands of similar undergraduates in urban colleges, and dramatically describe in very human terms the impact that a college education can have on first generation students or those who come from underprivileged minority backgrounds.

I am most proud of the work which is being done at Chicago State College, and of the people who are responsible—students, teachers, and administrators.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues the text of the six accounts referred to earlier:

CHICAGO STATE VIGNETTES

MARK THE CALENDAR AND CALL THE MOVERS

1972 is the year when Chicago State College is packing up and leaving its 102-year old campus at 68th and Normal to begin again . . . in a new neighborhood, (Martin Luther King Drive at 95th Street), a new campus, and with an expanded curriculum.

How does a school pack up and prepare for such a move? The Bunsen burners, the books, the geranium cuttings are easy, but how does an institution build for change yet keep intact her integrity, her heritage, her sense of mission?

The challenge is large, but the "old lady of Normal Boulevard" has faced challenges always. Until 1965 when she was adopted by the state system of higher education, Chicago State (erstwhile known as Illinois Teachers College Chicago-South, Chicago Teachers College, and long before that as Chicago Normal School) was the oldest child of the Chicago Board of Education, responsible for training 90% of the city's teachers. A parochial institution indeed, yet even then strangely balanced by, and infused with, a pioneering spirit. For in the beginning "Normal" had been the world-famous institution where Colonel Francis Parker held forth, promulgating and putting into practice ideas which rocked the educational world. Today, although it no longer trains all the city's teachers (and grants many diplomas now to graduates who don't intend to teach) it still manages to balance conflicting philosophies and to serve the community in vital ways.

"We aren't Ivy League," says one of its faculty, "and our concern is not with the elite or the academically talented. Our students come from working class families: second generation kids, not particularly well educated, often poorly motivated. They spend a few years with us, and during this time we hope they begin to think for themselves."

"What we do well," says a member of the administration, "is touch hands with the community. Maybe we care a little more than most schools . . . even dare a little more, but we surely get involved."

Yes, Chicago State is moving. Changing. A new name. A new sponsor. An extended curriculum. An increased enrollment. A larger commitment. A new campus. Yet with it all, it is determined to carry on the best of the past.

And how does one do that? What does the College mean to the people who have used it over the years and to those who are studying now. The measure of any institution's worth is best found in the feelings of the people affected by it. And so we have talked to six. Our six. Chosen because they represent so many more. We have let their stories tell what part Chicago State plays in changing attitudes, in fostering growth, in enlarging horizons. We think their stories tell what we are about and why it is vital for us to go on serving individual students as they . . . and we . . . and this nation . . . face change.

AN OLD TRADITION AMONG MIDDLE CLASS BLACKS

Louise Daugherty's voice is probably a good one to hear first, for hers is a success story. Louise is at the very top of the Board of Education hierarchy where she serves as Assistant Superintendent in charge of Pupil Personnel Services and Special Education. Louise and her family are to Chicago State College what the Adamsons and Saltonstalls have been to Harvard. Louise and her sisters and her aunts have been around Chicago State when it was Chicago South, and back to the beginning when it was Normal. A very old and a very proud tradition among Chicago's third and fourth generation Black families. "We are," says Louise, "a Chicago State family," and as she talks she lists the clan who have become teachers and principals; those like herself who have married Chicago State faculty or taught, as she did, during many summer school sessions. "In a larger sense," she says, "Chicago State has been a family affair too, producing teachers who might not have gotten an education otherwise, preparing them for the realities of urban education, and lengthening the living chain of graduates who have always run the schools. The larger family." Although Chicago State once turned out all the city's elementary teachers, and no longer does, Louise believes that Chicago State still does the best job preparing its teacher-graduates for what they will actually experience in urban education.

I FELT A GREAT DEAL OF SUPPORT HERE AND WITHOUT THAT SUPPORT I WOULD HAVE BEEN LOST

Chicago State was a built-in certainty for Marilyn Rabig. Her brother had gone. So had his friends. Most everyone Marilyn knew intended to be a teacher. What's more, she had grown up in Chicago, been educated at Lindbloom High, was a family girl, and Chicago State had simply been part of her plans. "I never thought of any other school." The big universities were colossal, so impersonal. Chicago State was just the opposite. The buildings were crummy, but the faculty was concerned, dedicated. "I felt a great deal of support here and without that support I would have been lost, just lost."

But far more than Marilyn realized, Chicago State would be a freeing experience, a chance to try new things, meet new people; to "love something other than what I'd always seen and known and done." The freeing really began with a first trip to Colorado, taken alone, during the college years. Then, after graduation, there was the decision not to teach but to try something new. And so Marilyn went off to be an airline stewardess; to live away from home, to find an apartment, to make new friends. The airlines trained her in many ways: to walk tall, to talk easily, to put on make-up as well as a

new air of confidence. A new Marilyn? Yes, but one that could now accept the old Marilyn as well. On days off, the ex-teacher began filling in as a substitute in the public schools of Boston where she was living at the time. The experience was a challenge as she faced large, restless classes. But the Chicago State training paid off. "As I looked out at those kids I remembered the supportive words from my supportive past . . . Move a lot and distract them . . . Write large and keep writing . . . Keep talking. It all worked. Then I realized how well I'd been prepared to pick up suddenly and keep a class going. The inevitable happened again. I called home the next week and told my father I was coming home . . . a teacher. You need to have had good teachers to want to become a good teacher."

IN THE BEGINNING IT WAS CONVENIENT TO WHERE I LIVED

William LeMonnier is a junior. He's twenty-two and married. The war is behind him; his career as a teacher, or a weather man, ahead of him. Bill isn't full of illusions, nor is he particularly scholarly. He didn't come to college out of a deep love of books. Matter of fact, as a kid, school had been a prison for him. He came to college because a degree was good job insurance, because the admission standards at CSC weren't impossible, because the Veterans Administration offered assistance, and because "Chicago State was convenient to where I lived. Easy transportation and all that." With Bill, in the beginning, it was a matter of getting through courses, not being caught up in their content. And then something happened and Bill LeMonnier got involved in spite of himself, in spite of his wife at home, in spite of his job, and all the other pulls of the outside world. Bill got involved because he came from a family of ice hockey players, and as winter approached, he longed for team action. He looked around the campus, deplored the paucity of intercollegiate and intramural sports, and decided to change the situation. He wrote a give-away piece about the wonders of skating, in which he plugged for a team, and even set down a try-out date. On that cold winter morning at 7 a.m., twenty-five hockeyites showed up. That was the beginning . . . beginning blessed by staff and administration who happily gave Bill full support because they realized the way to build a united student body was through student spirit and athletics and teamwork might accomplish both. The hockey team became a new and important campus activity. And then Bill found that the faculty were as eager to support him in his classes after hours. He worked hard, and suddenly the boy who had always thought of school as a prison, a thing to be gotten through, was as involved with his course work as his hockey.

Would he do it again? Probably yes. What changes would he make? Most of them are being made right now as the new campus is being completed on 95th Street . . . new buildings, new parking, expanded curricula, and the lure of more team sports.

THE FIRST COLLEGE GRADUATE IN THE FAMILY

Frieda Merritt is one of 13 children. She's Black. She's gifted. Now she's at Northwestern Law School, working toward a degree in what she describes as "a three-year obstacle course." Her classmates call her the "Black Ann Landers," and they turn to her for large doses of sound judgment and mother wit. Before she's through with school, Frieda may go on and earn for herself a degree in psychology, too, for she feels that she "can't afford just one career."

That ambition wasn't always there. Frieda claims that she was a poor, disinterested student throughout most of her bleak Catholic girls' school education. She slid into CSC out of inertia, largely because the tuition was low enough to handle. Once in college she made the dean's list; then got a job as a student

aide with an assignment that landed her around professors' offices. "My sanctuary," she says, "and in it I began learning from their experiences. One year I had a psychology teacher who had the ability to make me feel like I was high on LSD. Something happened. I began to change inside, to care about the world, to use what I was learning, to ask questions. Questions about my family, about life, about me. Who am I? What am I about? I guess you might say it was the first time I'd begun thinking about myself as somebody. Sure, I was Black, but comfortable with whites, eager to compete with them, excel. It was a heady time for me, and when I graduated, I was the first member in my whole family ever to go to . . . and get out of . . . college. Thirty-six of my relatives came to graduation to celebrate that fact."

I CAME FROM AN ETHNIC FAMILY, UNDERLINE ETHNIC

Renata Allelujka was born red-headed, and totally ambitious. Like Frieda Merritt she would be the first college graduate in her family, but while Frieda's family celebrated the fact, Renata's asked: "Will they teach you to diaper babies or anything useful?" "My folks were ethnics," says Renata, "underline the ethnic, and my education has meant growing out beyond where they were."

Have the four years at Chicago State changed her? Renata is appalled at the questions for she has shed so much of her past . . . ideas held by the family, the neighborhood, the teachers in her small parochial school. There have been so many new friends, not just high school pals like herself, but kids with different experiences, strange new ideas. And people and ideas force change; force one to open one's self, enlarge one's outlook, broaden one's interests. Chicago State isn't really a big school, unless you've been to a tiny parochial school first. But if you have, 6,000 students seem a lot. And the faculty? Informal, friendly, helpful. They seem to want to share with the students, to get to know them, to treat them as people.

That's it, isn't it? How people treat people. And so, gradually, one gets involved in one's education, excited by it. Civil rights, unrest, student protests nations-wide only accentuate the growing gap between oneself and the past. You can understand, with compassion, why the adults from your childhood are so upset and frightened, so curled up in old ethnic beliefs, but you sense the gap widening that separates their ideas and yours. Black student friends make one more aware of all this. They make you see the real gaps in education, and the areas in which we still fail to treat each other as people. "A few minor incidents on the campus (and Chicago State was relatively calm at the peak of student unrest) were actually constructive. To all of us who wanted a united school, confrontation offered a chance to increase understanding, to grow and change. These few incidents pointed up what education and student government are and should be about. They showed me how far I'd come in my thinking. What seemed common sense to me now I hadn't even known three years ago. Coming here introduced me to many different kinds of people and made me take a different look at myself and what kind of a person I wanted to be."

YOU ARE BOMBARDED FROM DIFFERENT ANGLES, DIFFERENT PHILOSOPHIES, DIFFERENT LIFE STYLES

Reuben McClendon is a senior majoring in business. His has been a long learning journey. A journey which began thirty-one years ago in the Black neighborhood at 44th and Vincennes, the outside perimeter of Reuben's world. Until he was grown, graduated from Englewood High and half through Wilson Junior College, Reuben McClendon had never left the city, never had non-Black friends, never had a teacher who really cared

or motivated him. "I had no guidelines to excellence."

There have been drastic changes in Reuben's life since then. Big questions searching for even bigger answers. "To say who I am, I've had to learn to ask what I am. To assess my worth to others, I've had to learn to assess my worth to myself."

The changes started when Reuben went to work at the Chicago Post Office after he dropped out of junior college. There he met older men, Black men, men who had been to college and felt it was important, men who knew Black history and took pride in it. These men served as the male image Reuben had longed for as a child, and became the spur which drove him back to college. "They made me feel left out, alone, different from themselves. They made me want to find answers. I wanted to know what a man is and how one becomes one."

Eventually after several false starts, Reuben wound up at Chicago State. He was, at best, a tentative student. "I was what I now call an 8 to 12 student. I came and went and remained uninvolved." Then came Camp Workshop. Reuben went off to the weekend affair with a high degree of cynicism. Much to his surprise the other students at the Workshop were not stereotypes, but a cross section of young people with serious ideas, deeply committed to causes, determined to make Chicago State a better school. It was a rude awakening for Reuben, but an interesting one. He began to be involved in student activities and student service. He took a new interest in people: how they function, alone and together. For the first time Reuben began thinking about leadership and power, about how people accomplish things. "I was bombarded from different angles with different philosophies, different life styles. Now I'm no longer sure that I'm really interested in business. I'm beginning to think I may switch to counseling."

Yes, Chicago State is moving. Changing. A new name. A new sponsor. An extended curriculum. An increased enrollment. A larger commitment. A new campus. Yet with it all, it is determined to carry into the future the best of its past. That means continuing to be an educational tradition for middle class Black families like Louise Daughtery's, yet offering the big chance to young Blacks like Frieda Merritt, first college graduate in her family.

Chicago State wants to remain the kind of a place where a Renata Allelujka can reach out and grow beyond her ethnic past; where a Reuben McClendon can find out who he is and what he wants to do with his life; where a Bill LeMonnier can become a student by first creating a hockey team; where a Marilyn Rabig gets so much support from her teachers, that later, as a teacher herself, she can look back and say, "it takes good teachers to make good teachers."

Perhaps, to summarize simply what our six said more fully, at least in one respect Chicago State College will remain changeless amidst change: it will continue to be, as it has been since its beginning, a school where students are assessed and judged and treated as individuals.

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, this Saturday, June 5, marks the highlight of the annual conservation program of the Boy Scouts of America entitled "SOAR—Save Our American Resources." SOAR is a year long project designed to motivate

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action programs to improve the environment and create concern for environmental betterment.

On June 5, designated as "Scout Keep America Beautiful Day," there will be a nationwide effort by more than 6 million Scouts across the country to focus public attention on improving the environment. Scouts nationwide will be engaged in antilitter programs in an endeavor to show their concern as a group but more important, to involve others in the great task of cleaning up our environment.

In the Fourth Congressional District of Indiana, which I am proud to represent, more than 10,000 Scouts in the Anthony Wayne Area Council will be collecting litter for reprocessing or disposal. There has been a tremendous response from local conservation groups and city and county officials in assisting with this endeavor. Parking lots have been made available to the Scouts as litter collection points, thousands of litter bags have been contributed by private concerns; trucks and drivers have been made available for transportation purposes. These are just a few examples of local cooperation. The Scouts themselves have planned a detailed and effective organization in order to make this effort as complete as possible. Troops will be designated to work in particular areas such as the inner city, the river bank area, certain sections of highways, and selected industrial sites.

The basic objective of Project SOAR is to create attitudes of concern for the quality of our environment and to motivate action programs that will improve the environment for life and living. The widespread cooperation and support offered the Scouts thus far in their ecological campaign is certainly indicative that that goal has already been achieved in part. And it is my hope that this nationwide effort on June 5 will arouse the public at large to the need for environmental concern and show us what we can do individually to ease our ecological crisis.

I would like to take this opportunity to personally commend the Boy Scouts for their hard work in this vital concern. Nationwide participation is the key to restoring our environment and the Boy Scouts of America are doing all they can in making this a reality. The Scouts are among those leading the way on this long road of improving our world; the next steps are up to all of us. I encourage everyone to support their activities on June 5, "Keep America Beautiful Day," and continue to follow the example they have set. Let us show them their efforts were not in vain.

ROY F. BAILEY

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the State of Kansas lost a giant in the field of journalism last week with the death of Roy F. Bailey. Roy Bailey, a recipient of the William Allen White Award for

excellence in his field, headed the Salina Journal for 38 years. Prior to that, he worked for the Emporia Republican and with William Allen White on the Emporia Gazette. He was one of the organizers of the Kansas Chamber of Commerce, and he served in the Kansas Senate at the same time I was serving in the State House of Representatives. In tribute to his service to our State, I am submitting for the RECORD an editorial from the Hutchinson, Kans., News of May 20, 1971, as follows:

ROY F. BAILEY

One by one, the names that made Kansas journalism go. William Allen White, Jack Harris, Fred Brinkerhoff even back to Arthur Capper, Marc Murdock, Ed Howe, Henry J. Allen.

Now we must write the name of Roy F. Bailey to the list. For 38 years, Mr. Bailey directed The Salina Journal. It is fitting that one memorial to him comes from Whitley Austin, president guiding light of that newspaper, who recalls:

"When U.S. Senator Joseph L. Bristow hired him in 1911, The Journal was a weakling, hard put to meet the payroll. By the time Mr. Bailey retired at the end of 1948, the newspaper was a strong and courageous force in Kansas. It is because of this foundation that we have been able to grow.

"The struggles and triumphs of Roy's long years perhaps have been forgotten by all except the older subscribers. He was Kansas' prime highway booster, he helped found the state chamber of commerce, he was a satrap and sage of the Republican party, but above all he was dedicated to Salina and this far-reaching section of Kansas. He was forceful, tireless and positive. He was a great newspaperman and I was proud to follow him.

"Except as they are pasted in a scrapbook, a newspaper's stories and opinions are ephemeral. New events crowd out the old. Yet the information a newspaper provides, the action it evokes—or provokes—are often the source of community development. The words become deeds, the prophecies become accomplishments, the fragile, quick-yellowing newsprint becomes concrete and steel.

"Roy F. Bailey was buried Tuesday afternoon in Memorial Park but in this manner will his contributions to Salina and to Kansas go on."

THE ANTIDUMPING ACT REJUVENATED

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, in a recent speech before the 50th annual meeting of the American Importers Association, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Eugene T. Rossides, summarized the activities of the Department of the Treasury during the past 2 years in rejuvenating the administration of the Antidumping Act. I have included his excellent speech, herewith, in the RECORD, as I think it will be of considerable interest to my colleagues:

THE ANTIDUMPING ACT, 1921: 2 YEARS OF REJUVENATION

THE ANTIDUMPING ACT—ITS OBJECTIVE

The Antidumping Act, 1921, as amended, is intended to nullify the impact on domestic industry of international price discrimination which injures United States producers. From an affirmative standpoint, the

statute fosters international trade on a fair and equitable basis.

One of the accomplishments of this Administration is the rejuvenation of the administration of the Antidumping Act. As President Nixon stated in his second annual review of United States foreign policy:

"We tightened our administration of the antidumping laws to protect our industries against unfair pricing by their foreign competitors."

In the view of the Treasury, the aim of the Act is clear—to defend American industry against unfair international pricing practices in sales to the United States. It is not designed as a prop for American industry to assist it in meeting fair and open competition from abroad.

As you know, in the context of the Antidumping Act, an "unfair" sale or, if you will international price discrimination, occurs when a foreign company sells a product for less in the United States than in its home market, thereby causing injury to U.S. industry.

IMPACT OF ANTIDUMPING ACT AS OF JANUARY 1969

There may be disagreement as to the interpretation of some of the finer points of the Antidumping Act and its administration in the past. There appears, however, to have been general agreement at the time this Administration took office that the Act had a relatively minor impact not only on international trade matters but, more importantly, in defending American industry from injurious international price discrimination.

An antidumping investigation that takes two years and longer to complete tends to be devoid of economic significance to the domestic industry. Many concerns suffering from unfair international price discrimination had to bear their lot patiently until the Treasury completed an exhaustive investigation ferreting out all of the underlying facts.

Moreover, as you know, import trade may suffer, too, when the spectre of a dumping investigation hovers for an overlong period even if it ends by a determination that the goods have not been sold below fair value. And, delays can cause unfair and inequitable treatment regardless of the ultimate outcome of the investigation.

Acceleration of our dumping investigations without sacrificing reasonable thoroughness introduces a specific element of fairness of its own, which benefits all.

STEPS TAKEN BY TREASURY DEPARTMENT TO RE- JUVENATE ADMINISTRATION OF ANTIDUMPING ACT

Procedural and manpower changes

Treasury Management Survey

In April, 1969, we initiated a Treasury management survey of the administration of the Antidumping Act to determine why it was taking so long to decide these cases and what could be done to improve the situation. It seemed to us that it had to be possible to reduce the investigation period without derogating from the essential fairness of the Treasury's investigation procedures.

Decisions Following Management Survey Increase in manpower

The Commissioner of Customs was directed to increase the manpower assigned to this area. Treasury stressed to him and his senior staff the importance it attached to this field and that antidumping work was now to be upgraded so that Customs officers assigned to antidumping would realize that it offered broad, future opportunities for promotion in the career service.

By November, 1970, the headquarters professionals had been increased from 5 to 21. The additional personnel were transferred to antidumping from other assignments to which the Bureau of Customs had agreed

to give a lower priority pending Treasury's request for supplemental funds.

The President submitted to the Congress his request for supplemental funds for this program. Treasury's Appropriations Committees in the House and Senate (together with the members of the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees) gave full bipartisan support to the request. In December, 1970, the Congress enacted the President's antidumping supplemental appropriation bill which provided funds for 41 professionals for antidumping and related matters. This bill provides the means for making permanent the advances made thus far and for implementing additional procedural and policy reforms. Practically all of the 41 positions will be filled by about June 30, 1971. We are also in the process of increasing our manpower abroad.

At the Treasury level, I restricted my Deputy for Customs to price discrimination cases and other related tariff matters and the Secretary approved an additional two staff members in this area.

Now, at long last, Treasury has the manpower in Customs to administer the Antidumping Act in a manner which Congress and the American people have a right to expect. I might add that proportionate increases are being made in secretarial and clerical personnel who will support the professionals in their assignments—an essential factor in proper management.

Timetable for collection and collation of information

Another decision made was to establish firm timetables for each step in the collection and collation of information by Customs. In the past, it has taken as long as six months to decide whether a "complaint" was sufficiently meritorious to justify the formal initiation of an antidumping investigation. In most cases, such decisions are now being made within one month.

Questionnaires to foreign exporters and letters replying to typical inquiries have been standardized. Firm time periods are being established for replying to such questionnaires. Much of the clerical work involved in the processing of letters and questionnaires is being simplified by the use of modern tape typewriters and calculators with memory capabilities.

Conferences with attorneys are being restricted to set periods when the antidumping case handler is fully prepared to discuss particular aspects of an investigation with interested attorneys. The day when attorneys could drop in on case handlers without prior appointment is a practice of the past.

Most important of all, the case handlers and Customs representatives abroad have been given a renewed sense of the urgency and the importance of their work and impressed by the need for completing their investigations as rapidly as possible.

Establishment of Office of Tariff and Trade Affairs

In order to institutionalize the changes that had been made and to establish a mechanism for adequate Treasury supervision in this area, the Secretary approved the establishment in my office of the Office of Tariff and Trade Affairs. We now have the mechanism to insure that the Treasury Department will have an on-going operation for proper supervision and administration of the international price discrimination statute.

Results in processing cases

Treasury is approaching its initial goal of completing antidumping cases, on the average, within one year from the time that the case is presented, taking less time in simpler cases and possibly more time in complicated cases. Because of our continued emphasis on the essentiality of equity and fairness, it may be occasionally necessary to al-

low somewhat longer than 12 months for extremely complicated cases. The simpler cases, on the other hand, will be completed in less than 12 months.

This achievement is due in large part to the dedicated men and women in the Office of the Secretary and the Bureau of Customs who have devoted long hours and hard work to this effort. Vacations were postponed and one supervisor passed up a year at the Industrial College to spearhead the Customs effort.

Our next goal is to see if we can reduce the average time period to eight months.

Policy Changes

Price assurance policy

In May, 1970, Treasury formally announced a change in the policy with respect to price assurances in antidumping investigations. We took this action after concluding that the previous policy of readily accepting price assurances was actually encouraging sales at less than fair value in the United States. Under that policy, foreign firms seeking to sell their merchandise in the U.S. market had no need to give even a passing consideration to the antidumping implications of the step they were about to take. There was no reason why they should do so under the old rules. Let us discuss for a moment what happened under the earlier price assurance policy.

A foreign concern would price its merchandise in the U.S. market at whatever level it considered necessary to compete effectively. Since its product was normally unknown to the American consumer, it would generally price its merchandise below the level of its American competitors in order to attract customers. If the foreign competition started to make itself felt and resulted in an antidumping complaint being filed with the Treasury Department, the foreign firm still had no cause for undue concern. Treasury's antidumping investigations would, under the former procedures, often take over two years, and occasionally took as long as three years.

Moreover, if the Treasury Department tentatively concluded that the merchandise was being sold at dumping margins, price assurances could be offered and would be almost invariably accepted by the Department. By this time, with the firm's product well known to American consumers, the foreign concern could afford to raise its prices to the level of its American competitors without fear of a drastic drop in sales.

Better yet from the standpoint of the foreign manufacturers, when the Treasury Department accepted price assurances, it would issue a formal determination of No Sales at Less Than Fair Value. To say the least, this determination was misleading, since there had in fact been sales at dumping margins.

Under the new policy, price assurances are accepted only when the dumping margins are minimal in relation to the volume of sales involved. Moreover, in those cases where price assurances are accepted, the case is no longer terminated with a determination of No Sales at Less Than Fair Value as it was under the old price assurance policy. We felt that such a determination after the acceptance of price assurances was a misnomer. Accordingly, the Treasury Department revised its regulations in cases where price assurances are accepted so as to provide for terminations of investigations. This procedure, I feel, realistically expresses exactly what takes place in a price assurance case.

Under the new policy, if price assurances are rejected, the case is then referred to the Tariff Commission for, as you know, before a finding of dumping may be issued and dumping duties assessed, it is necessary under the Antidumping Act that there be a determination of sales at less than fair value by the Treasury Department and a determination of injury by the Tariff Commission.

The objective of the new policy is to induce foreign concerns to take the Antidumping Act into account before they engage in sales to the United States.

The 25 Percent Rule

The Antidumping Act provides that in normal situations fair value shall be determined by comparing the ex factory home market price of the merchandise under investigation with the ex factory price at which the merchandise is sold in the United States. If the price in the United States is less than the home market price, then there are "sales at less than fair value" within the meaning of the statute.

The Act also states that in situations where the quantity of merchandise sold in the home market is so small in relation to the quantity sold for exportation to countries other than the United States as to form an inadequate basis for comparison, then third country price should be used as the basis for comparison.

The Antidumping Regulations provide that generally for purposes of determining what constitutes an "inadequate basis of comparison" for fair value purposes, home market sales will be considered to be inadequate if less than 25 percent of the non-U.S. sales of the merchandise are sold in the home market.

The selection of home market or third country price for fair value comparison can easily be crucial to the results of antidumping investigations, for frequently home market price tends to be higher than third country price. This is particularly true where merchandise is sold in a protected home market and, when sold in third countries, is exposed to the vagaries of world competition.

It has been Treasury's experience that cases arise where sales in the home market are adequate as a basis for fair value comparison, even though less than 25 percent of the non-U.S. sales are sold in the home market. From a technical standpoint, the existing regulations provide for this situation, since the 25 percent rule is introduced by the adverb "Generally." Examination of the precedents, however, revealed that the Treasury has not, in recent years at least, made an exception in applying the 25 percent rule.

This left the Treasury with two alternatives. It could have ignored the previous interpretations of the Antidumping Regulations which had, in effect, applied the regulations as if the word "Generally" were not there, or it could propose a change in the Antidumping Regulations to eliminate the 25 percent rule. We chose the latter course. The proposal was published in the Federal Register of April 27, and is currently open for comment by interested persons. Any comments received will be carefully considered before we take final action on this proposal.

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

In my judgment, we have only come to the end of the beginning of the rejuvenation process. But, I believe we have made a solid start.

Let me take a final brief moment to touch upon what I see happening in the future. We have taken steps to initiate a fresh examination of the Treasury's antidumping procedures and regulations to see what more can be done. The regulations were substantially revised in mid-1968 after a broad review, with the dual objectives of conforming the Treasury's procedures to the requirements of the International Anti-Dumping Code, and also of having the regulations implemented in clear and precise language the objectives of the Antidumping Act. With almost three additional years of experience under the regulations, as then revised, it is now appropriate to stop and take a new look to see whether additional changes may be appropriate. A Notice of Proposed Rule Making to this effect was published in the Federal Register of April 13, 1971.

Sixty days are being allowed for the submission of comments. I would assume that many persons present here today—if you are not already aware of the Treasury's invitation to submit comments—may wish to do so.

Let me emphasize that the Treasury Department continues, as always, to adhere to its policy of equitable administration of the Antidumping Act. With the increased personnel assigned to this field and modernized procedures and policies, we shall speed up antidumping investigations, thereby making administration of the law more effective—all this without sacrificing equity.

Let me also emphasize that the Treasury Department and the Administration are strongly opposed to having the Antidumping Act transformed into an instrument of protectionism. On the other hand, we are equally strongly opposed to allowing foreign firms to injure U.S. industry by unfair price discrimination. It is with the latter objective in mind that the Treasury Department introduced the changes in the administration of the Antidumping law, which I have discussed with you today. To the extent that we succeed in our objective, the Treasury's rejuvenation of the Antidumping Act will become an increasingly important influence in favor of a freer international trade policy.

In conclusion, I would like to repeat a statement made by Secretary Connally on May 17 before the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Senate Committee on Finance:

"The efforts to foster increased competitiveness in our economy must be actively pursued in the context of fair and liberal trading arrangements."

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE MISREPRESENTS ROLE OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY IN FIGHTING AGAINST IMPORTATION OF DANGEROUS DRUGS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, recently Ramparts magazine published an article which, like so many other articles which appear in new left publications, attempted to discredit established agencies of the Government, including the Central Intelligence Agency. Unfortunately, the Stanford Daily, the newspaper published by students at Stanford University, saw fit to lend credibility to this article by reprinting it.

A tearsheet from the Stanford Daily was sent to me by a constituent and I submitted it to the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs with a request for comment. Under date of May 27 I received a reply from Mr. John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. His letter should be brought to the attention of all responsible Members of Congress and the press since it certainly contradicts the implications contained in the Ramparts magazine article. Mr. Ingersoll's response follows:

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GUBSER: This is in response to your letter of May 21, 1971, which enclosed a tearsheet from the "Standard Daily" (a publication of Stanford University) of the article entitled, "The New Opium

War," as reprinted from "Ramparts Magazine."

Charges made in the article appear to be a part of a continuing effort to discredit agencies of the U.S. Government, such as the U.S. Military, the FBI, the CIA, and the Department of State, all of which are, in point of fact, working actively with the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD) in our worldwide effort to curtail international drug traffic.

Actually, CIA has for sometime been this Bureau's strongest partner in identifying foreign sources and routes of illegal trade in narcotics. Their help has included both direct support in intelligence collection, as well as in intelligence analysis and production. Liaison between our two agencies is close and constant in matters of mutual interest. Much of the progress we are now making in identifying overseas narcotics traffic can, in fact, be attributed to CIA cooperation.

In Burma, Laos, and Thailand, opium is produced by tribal peoples, some of whom lead a marginal existence beyond the political reach of their national governments. Since the 1950's, this Southeast Asian area has become a massive producer of illicit opium and is the source of 500 to 700 metric tons annually, which is about half of the world's illegal supply. Up to now, however, less than ten percent of the heroin entering the United States comes from Far Eastern production.

The dimensions of the drug problem and the absence of any strong political base for control purposes has been a dilemma for United Nations opium control bodies operating in Southeast Asia for many years. Drug traffic, use, and addiction appears to have become accepted as a fact of life in this area and, on the whole, public attitudes are not conducive to change.

The U.S. Government has been concerned that Southeast Asia could become the major source of illicit narcotics for U.S. addicts after the Turkish production is brought under control. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, with the help of CIA, DOD, and the Department of State, has been working to define and characterize the problem so that suitable programs to suppress the illicit traffic and eliminate illegal opium production, such as the proposed United Nations pilot project in Thailand, can be implemented.

It is probable that opium production in Southeast Asia will be brought under effective control only with further political development in these countries. Nevertheless, in consideration of U.S. Military personnel in the area, as well as the possibility that opium from this area may become a source for domestic consumption, concerned U.S. Agencies, including CIA, Bureau of Customs, DoD, and State, are cooperating with BNDD to work out programs to meet the immediate problem as well as provide longer term solutions.

Since the subject matter of your letter concerns CIA, I have taken the liberty of furnishing a copy along with my reply to Director Richard Helms.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. INGERSOLL,
Director.

As an enclosure to his letter, Mr. Ingersoll included a paper entitled "Recent Trends in the Illicit Narcotics Market in Southeast Asia." This should also be of interest to every person who is concerned about this problem and I therefore include the text herewith:

RECENT TRENDS IN THE ILLICIT NARCOTICS MARKET IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

1. The reported increasing incidence of heroin addiction among U.S. servicemen in Vietnam and recent intelligence indicating that heroin traffic between Southeast Asia and the United States may also be increas-

ing suggest that Southeast Asia is growing in importance as a producer of heroin. While this phenomenon in part reflects improvement in information available in recent months to the U.S. Government, there are also good indications that production of illicit narcotics in Southeast Asia has indeed risen in 1971.

BACKGROUND

2. The Burma, Laos, Thailand border area, known also as the "Golden Triangle," is considered one of the world's largest opium producing regions. This region normally accounts for about 700 tons of opium annually or about one-half of the world's total illicit output. A substantial proportion is consumed within the region. Burma, by far the largest producer of opium in this region, accounts for about 400 tons annually.

BURMA

3. Production in Burma is concentrated in the Eastern and Northern parts of Shan State and in the Southwestern part of Kachin State. Poppy fields cover the rugged slopes in Eastern Shan State around Keng Tung and in Northern Shan State from Lashio east and north to the China border. The latter territory, comprised of the former Wa and Kokang feudal states, is now a center of insurgency directed against the Burmese government, with much of the area under insurgent control.

4. The growing season varies with the altitude, but the planting season generally falls during the months of August and September, with the harvest some seven months later during February and March. At harvest time the women of the hill tribes slit the poppies and collect the raw opium by hand. The opium plants themselves are ground into a compound for smoking. In Northeast Burma, the raw opium is packed by the growers and traded to itinerant Chinese merchants who transport it to major collection points, particularly around Lashio and Keng Tung. Agents of the major entrepreneurs circulate through the hill country shortly after harvest time arranging for payment and pickup. Payment is often in the form of weapons and ammunition, although gold and silver rupees are also used.

5. The opium harvested in Shan, Wa, and Kokang areas is picked up by caravans that are put together by the major insurgent leaders in these areas. The caravans, which can include up to 600 horses and donkeys and 300 to 400 men, take the opium on the southeasterly journey to the processing plants that lie along the Mekong River in the Tachilek (Burma)-Mae Sai (Thailand)-Ben Houei Sai (Laos) area. Caravans carrying in excess of 16 metric tons have been reported.

THAILAND

6. Opium-growing areas in northern Thailand are located in the upland tracts occupied by various tribal groups. The provinces of Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, and Nan, which have the largest concentration of Meos, produce most Thai opium. Illicit opium production in Thailand is estimated at 200 tons.

LAOS

7. Another, less productive, opium growing area is along the 2,500 to 4,500 foot high mountainsides of Northwest Laos. The opium cultivated by the Meo in this area is of a relatively lower grade and thus less suitable for refinement into morphine base or heroin. In these areas where the tribesmen have been encouraged to grow corn, the poppies are planted among the corn. When the corn is cut, the poppies continue to grow until they too can be harvested.

8. Major producing areas include Phong Saly Province in the North, Houa Phan (Samneua) Province in the Northeast, and the Plaine de Jarres area of Xiang Khoang Province in the East-central part of the

country. However, large areas of production in Phong Saly, Houa Phan, and Xiang Khoang have fallen under the control of the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese.

9. The trade in Northwest Laos is less well structured and organized for significant commercial exploitation. There are no advance purchasing agents or pick-up caravans. The harvested opium and the poppy plants which are ground up for smoking are transported to nearby village markets by the growers themselves. In highland market places the raw opium and its by-product are used openly as currency. Ethnic Chinese merchants are the traditional purchasers of the opium products throughout Laos. The products they collect are transported to population centers and also to processing plants along the Mekong River by travelers, particularly government soldiers, who have the most mobility and access to air travel in the area, and refugees. Opium produced in the Communist-controlled areas also find its way into the regular marketing channels.

DISTRIBUTION AND REFINERIES

10. The KMT irregular "armies" and the Burmese Self Defense Forces (KKY) are the most important trafficking syndicates in Northern Southeast Asia. The KMT irregulars—formerly the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces which retreated across the Chinese border in 1949—now composed largely of recruits from the local population, have a combined strength of between 4,000 and 6,000 well-armed men. The largest force, with an estimated strength of 1,400 to 1,900, is the Fifth Army. The second largest with a troop strength of between 1,200 and 1,700 is the Third Army. The headquarters of both armies are located in a remote part of Northern Thailand between Fang and Mae Sai. It is estimated that these two KMT irregular forces control more than 80 percent of the opium traffic from the Shan State.

11. The KKY have been major competitors of the KMT irregulars in the opium trade. The KKY are comprised of former Shan State insurgents and bandits who have allied themselves with the Burmese government against both the KMT and Chinese Communist-backed insurgents. In return the government of Burma allowed them to pursue their opium trafficking activities.

12. The Shan States Army, an insurgent group, is also heavily involved in the opium business. It maintains several camps in Northern Thailand where opium is marketed for weapons and military supplies.

13. About 140 tons of raw opium is normally transported annually out of Northeast Burma to foreign markets. Most of this opium is stored or processed in the Mekong River tri-border area before transiting Thailand and Laos. Tachilek, Burma is probably the most important transshipment point in the border area. In 1970, out of a total of 123 tons reportedly shipped out of Northeast Burma, 45 tons was received in the Tachilek area. In the first two months of 1971, 58 out of a total of 87 tons had Tachilek as its destination. Other important transshipment points appear to be located in the vicinity of Ban Houei Sai, Laos, and Mae Salong, Thailand.

14. There appear to be at least 21 opium refineries of various sizes and capacities located in the tri-border area, of which about 7 are believed to be able to process to the heroin stage. The most important are located in the areas around Tachilek, Burma, Ban Houei Sai and Nam Keung, Laos, and Mae Salong, Thailand. The best known, if not largest of these refineries is the one at Ban Houei Tap, Laos, near Ban Houei Sai which is believed capable of processing some 100 kilos of raw opium per day. The 14 refineries in the Tachilek area apparently process the largest volume of raw opium in the region. In 1970, about 30 tons was converted by the Tachilek refineries into refined opium, morphine base, and heroin.

15. The typical refinery is on a small tributary of the Mekong River in an isolated area with a military defense perimeter guarding all ground approaches. Most of these refineries operate under the protection of the various military organizations in the region, or are owned or managed by the leaders of these military groups. The KKY units protect and operate most of the refineries in Burma. Leaders of these groups also hold an ownership interest in many of these facilities. In Thailand, the refineries appear to be operated by units of the KMT irregulars, whereas in Laos, most of the refineries operate under the protection of elements of the Royal Laotian Armed Forces (FAR). While the management and ownership of the Laotian refineries appear to be primarily in the hands of a consortium of Chinese, some reports suggest that a senior FAR officer may hold an ownership interest in a few of these facilities.

16. Most of the narcotics buyers in the tri-border area are ethnic Chinese. While many of these buyers pool their purchases, no large syndicate appears to be involved. The opium, morphine base, and heroin purchased in this area eventually finds its way into Bangkok, Vientiane, and Luang Prabang, where additional processing may take place before delivery to Saigon, Hong Kong, and other international markets.

17. Much of the opium and its derivatives transiting Thailand from Burma moves out of such Northern Thai towns as Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Lampang, or Tak by various modes of ground and water transport. These narcotics, along with those produced in Thailand, are smuggled into Bangkok for further refinement into morphine or heroin. A considerable quantity of the raw opium and morphine base is sent by fishing trawler from Bangkok to Hong Kong during a period from about 1 January to 1 May. During this period, approximately one fishing trawler a day—carrying one to three tons of opium and/or quantities of morphine base—leaves Bangkok for Hong Kong. The boats proceed to the vicinity of the Chinese Communist-controlled Lema Islands—15 miles south of Hong Kong—where the goods are loaded into Hong Kong junks.

18. Opium and its derivatives which move through Laos are transferred from the Mekong River refineries by river craft and FAR vehicles to Ban Houei Sai, further downstream on the Mekong in Laos, from where it is transported on Royal Laotian Air Force (RLAF) aircraft to Luang Prabang or Vientiane. From Vientiane narcotics are usually sent via RLAF aircraft, as well as Air Laos, to other cities in Laos such as Savannakhet or Pakse or to international markets. A considerable portion of the Laotian produced narcotics is smuggled into Saigon on military and commercial air flights, particularly on Royal Air Laos and Air Vietnam. Although collusion between crew members and air line agents on one hand and individual narcotics smugglers on the other has been reported, poor handling of commercial cargo and the laxity of Lao customs control in Vientiane and other sur-reptitious loading of narcotics aboard commercial flights.

RECENT CHANGES IN THE AREA

19. There are tentative indications that larger quantities of raw opium may now be moving into the tri-border area for refining and that larger quantities of this raw opium are now being refined into morphine base and heroin in this area. As suggested in paragraph 13 above, data on the first two months of 1971 indicate that the Tachilek transshipment and refining area may be receiving and processing sizably larger amounts of raw opium than was the case in 1970. As for changes in the type of refined narcotics produced, the processing plants at Mae Haw in Thailand and Houei Tap in Laos now appear

to be converting most of their opium into No. 4 or 96 percent pure white heroin. Previously, these refineries tended to produce refined opium, morphine base and No. 3 smoking heroin. An increased demand for No. 4 heroin also appears to be reflected in the steady rise in its price. For example, the mid-April 1971 price in the Tachilek area for a kilo of No. 4 heroin was reported to be U.S. \$1,780 as compared to U.S. \$1,240 in September 1970. Some of this increase may also reflect a tight supply situation in the area because of a shortage of chemicals used in the processing of heroin. Rising prices for opium and its derivatives can also be seen in other areas of Southeast Asia.

20. The establishment of new refineries since 1969 in the tri-border area, many with a capability for producing 96 percent pure heroin, appears to be due to the sudden increase in demand by a large and relatively affluent market in South Vietnam. A recent report pertaining to the production of morphine base in the Northern Shan States would indicate a possible trend toward vertical integrations—producing areas establishing their own refineries—in the production of narcotics. Such a development would significantly facilitate transportation and distribution of refined narcotics to the market places.

HOW FAIR THE FARE?

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, representatives of U.S. transatlantic airlines are going to Montreal later this month to negotiate air fares—actually the word should be to “fix” air fares, for the competing carriers meet in private to decide the rates they all will charge.

The prices are fixed by the International Air Transport Association. Frances Cerra, *Newsday's* consumer writer, has aptly described IATA as “a cartel which operates without the participation of consumers and above the laws of the United States and any international organization.”

The position of the American carriers is thrashed out by the airlines and the Civil Aeronautics Board in secret sessions. The people who must pay the fares will be given no opportunity to participate or express their views; after all, they have little choice: only one or two transatlantic airlines land in the United States that are not IATA members.

The Aviation Consumer Action Project has written to CAB Chairman Secor D. Browne protesting the lack of public participation in these proceedings. That letter said, in part:

Such practices on the part of a federal regulatory agency are hostile to elementary notions of due process and deprive citizens of basic participatory rights assured in the First Amendment.

I would like at this time to join them in urging an end to these secret meetings with the airlines in the course of fare negotiations.

So that all my colleagues may be aware of this situation, I am inserting in the RECORD at this point the Aviation Consumer Action Project's letter to CAB

Chairman Browne, and Miss Cerra's very fine article on the setting of international air fares:

AVIATION CONSUMER ACTION PROJECT,

Washington, D.C., May 25, 1971.

HON. SECOR D. BROWNE,
Chairman,
Civil Aeronautics Board,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN BROWNE: The traffic conference of the International Air Transport Association (IATA) is scheduled to meet at Montreal on June 28, 1971, to negotiate transatlantic air fares. The Presidents of the transatlantic IATA carriers will meet in New York on May 27, 1971, to discuss the Montreal fares conference. And the Board, in accordance with its customary practice, will probably meet with the representatives of the U.S. carriers and discuss with them the various views and positions which they will adopt in the IATA negotiations at Montreal. All these meetings will, as usual, be held in secret. Members of the public and farepayers will not be given an opportunity to present their views and opinions in any of those meetings.

The Aviation Consumer Action Project (ACAP), is writing to express its deep resentment and disapproval of the restrictive price-fixing practices of IATA, and the Board's complicity in those practices.

ACAP is a non-profit consumer organization which has been founded for the purpose of providing an independent voice for the advocacy of consumer and environmental interests in matters and proceedings before the Board and other regulatory agencies.

Whatever may be the underlying reasons for the Board's approval of U.S. carriers' participation in IATA meetings, ACAP is of the opinion that there cannot be any justification for the Board's secret meeting with airline executives on the eve of the IATA conference. The issues raised by such a meeting are rendered all the more serious when the Board, on the exclusive basis of the airlines' *in camera* presentations, formulates policies and opinions with respect to the appropriate and permissible fare levels for various international routes and traffic regions. Such policies and opinions are communicated to the carriers by the Board in the form of “directives.” For all practical purposes these directives are informal decisions of the Board which tentatively set forth the fares that the Board considers reasonable and legal.

The Federal Aviation Act and the regulatory scheme outlined therein do not permit the Board to make *ex parte* decisions after hearing the airlines in closed sessions. Such practices on the part of a federal regulatory agency are hostile to elementary notions of due process and deprive citizens of basic participatory rights assured in the First Amendment. They are wholly inconsistent with the procedural principles embodied in the Administrative Procedure Act.

ACAP urges the Board not to engage in secret or private audiences with the airlines concerning fares or other matters to be negotiated in the IATA conference, except in open proceedings of record, in which all interested and affected parties would have the right to attend and lawfully participate. We urge the Board to abstain from convening any secret meeting with the airlines whether prior to or in the course of IATA fares negotiations.

Sincerely,

K. G. J. PILLAI,
REUBEN B. ROBERTSON III.

INTERNATIONAL FARES: ARE THEY SET FAIRLY? (By Frances Cerra)

Unless you really dig *bazouki* music or care about the color scheme of a plane's interior, it doesn't pay to shop around for the cheapest flight to Athens. Whatever air-

line you choose, the flight will cost you \$555 round trip for a 17- to 28-day stay.

The same is true for Rome or Cairo or any other international destination except Luxembourg. (Icelandic, a maverick airline, flies there.) The prices are fixed by the International Air Transport Association, a cartel which operates without the participation of consumers and above the laws of the U.S. and any international organization. This year the price of international travel increased from eight to 12 per cent as a result of IATA agreements. Next month, the process of fixing the 1972 prices will begin, but a new element may be added: A new consumer group backed by Ralph Nader promises to challenge the IATA system in the courts.

Since its formation in 1929, IATA has been involved in the complicated maneuvers of international politics. Many governments in the world subsidize their own airlines and therefore want to be protected from true competition on air fares. These governments therefore adopt the IATA agreements as law and threaten to prosecute any foreign airline which tries to charge lower fares. Great Britain, which subsidizes BOAC, actually made such a threat against the U.S. airlines in 1963 when the Civil Aeronautics Board opposed a five per cent increase in air fares. Faced with this threat and an international incident, the CAB backed down.

Foreign governments also enforce the IATA agreements by another simple measure: They refuse to allow an airline that is not a member of the cartel to land in their countries. That is why Icelandic Airlines, the only non-member of IATA, can land only in Luxembourg. No other European country will give it landing rights.

A spokesman for Pan American, whose president, Najeeb E. Halaby, is on the executive committee of IATA, said that he would not call IATA agreements “price fixing,” but “an area of cooperation.”

“If there were not an area of cooperation,” he said, “many airlines would not be able to exist. The U.S. airlines in particular would have a hard time because they are not subsidized by the government. IATA makes for fair play, and without it there would be chaos.”

Herb Aswall, the acting chief of the IATA rates and fares section of the Civil Aeronautics Board, which sets domestic air fare rates, echoed Pan American's concern. “With 20 carriers flying the Atlantic alone,” he said, “to not have IATA would result in chaos because we would have to deal with each individual foreign government to establish fares. And because the CAB has no authority to regulate international fares, we might have to accept an uneconomic fare, which would drive an American carrier out of business.”

Dr. K. G. J. Pillai, author of a book on IATA called “Air Net,” and head of the new Aviation Consumer Action Project, calls such arguments illogical. “The private airlines are now at a disadvantage in IATA because they are negotiating as private concerns with government-owned airlines. That is exactly why we say IATA should not exist. If there were competition in air fares I personally don't think it would be very destructive because the efficient airlines would survive. But the alternative is for the U.S. government to directly represent the private airlines in these conferences.”

Pillai said that such negotiations would not be unusual for the government which now makes tariff and excise duty agreements on thousands of products like oil and textiles, and even airmail rates. “I can't understand why air fares should be different,” he said. Pillai said that if the government was involved in fixing the international air fares, the consumer would have a better chance of influencing the negotiations. Right now, he charges, the consumer has no chance of influencing IATA.

Pillai is particularly critical of the role of the CAB in the present system. The CAB has to give the American carriers permission to attend IATA meetings. Aswall, of the CAB, said that this process involves the submission by the airlines to the CAB of their thoughts on how next year's air fares should be set. The CAB, according to Aswall, then makes a public statement of what it believes the proper international air fares should be. The airlines are then supposed to be guided by this statement when they attend the IATA conferences.

Pillai said this process is "illegal." "There are secret meetings between the CAB and the senior vice presidents of the airlines," he charges, "which are completely illegal because the CAB does not have authority to hear the arguments of airlines *ex parte*, that is, without hearing the other side of the case." These meetings, he said, will begin next month, and Pillai plans to write to the CAB asking that these conferences not be held.

Later in the year, he said, the group will challenge the IATA air fares in court. The actual meetings of IATA are held in secret and no one but the airline executives are privy to how the fares are figured. Pillai argues that the CAB could break the cartel by simply not allowing the American carriers to attend the meetings. He says that foreign governments would not really carry out their threats of suits or of preventing an American plane from landing because they depend on American tourists for money. More than half of all international tourists are American.

Pillai believes that under the present system "many millions of dollars have been extracted from consumers in unnecessarily high air fares because of the reluctance of the government to get involved." Pillai said his group was started by Nader but is supported exclusively by contributions from consumers who want to help change the IATA system. The address of the Aviation Consumers Action Project, a nonprofit organization, is P.O. Box 19029, Washington, D.C. 20036.

ELDER CITIZENS DESERVE OUR GRATITUDE

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 1, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the elder citizens of our land have worked and sacrificed to build America. They deserve to be thanked, not ignored. The extra years of life made possible by science must be made secure, productive, and independent. We cannot allow the older citizens of our society to live out their days in poverty, loneliness, and despair.

The Bureau of the Budget in its appropriations request for the Administration on Aging in fiscal year 1972 cut \$7 million from the amount of appropriations voted in fiscal year 1971. This would have forced serious cutbacks in the community programs and other projects. It is estimated that, if these cuts had been maintained, more than 125 senior centers in different sections of the country would have had to be closed. When all the facts came to light, President Nixon and Secretary Richardson of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare make a determination to ask for the restoration of the appropriation request to the fiscal year 1971 level and, indeed, to

increase the request by an additional \$3 million. The following table shows the result of the administration's action:

	Original fiscal year 1972 budget	Revised fiscal year 1972 budget	Net increase
Community programs...	\$5,350	\$9,000	\$3,650
Planning and operation...	4,000	4,000	
Model projects.....	4,000	5,200	1,200
Foster grandparents.....	7,500	10,500	3,000
RSVP.....	5,000	5,000	
Research and demon- stration.....	1,800	2,800	1,000
Training.....	1,850	3,000	1,150
Total.....	29,500	39,500	10,000

It has also come to my attention that during the past year there has been great concern among the senior citizen membership groups and the national organizations engaged in programs affecting the elderly about the gradual downgrading of the Administration on Aging which began with the action of former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur Cohen, who placed it under the jurisdiction of the offices of Social and Rehabilitation Service in HEW. The result has awakened a deep seated fear among interested parties that the Administration on Aging will be unable to fulfill the responsibilities assigned to it by the Older American Act of 1965.

It was in response to this concern that Secretary Richardson on May 6 announced that he had invited Dr. Arthur Flemming, newly appointed chairman of the White House Conference on Aging, to appoint a task force to reexamine the future role and structure of the Administration on Aging.

For the information of the Members of the House, I include at this time Secretary Richardson's statement announcing this special task force:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY RICHARDSON

I have asked Dr. Arthur Flemming, Chairman of the 1971 White House Conference on the Aging, to establish a special task force to review the organization and status of the Administration on Aging.

The task force will be composed of qualified and prominent private citizens and they will give Chairman Flemming and me their recommendations as to the role, function and location of the Administration on Aging within the Executive Branch as a whole.

Dr. Flemming and I want the task force to examine the different alternatives with respect to the future of the Administration on Aging, giving special consideration to recommendations which will issue from the various State White House Conferences on Aging, and giving particular weight to those recommendations which emerge from the White House Conference on Aging next November.

The Administration on Aging is a prominent part, but only one part, of this Administration's comprehensive program to assist older Americans; many Departments and Agencies of the Federal Government have essential roles.

Dr. Flemming and I look forward to a thorough examination and to receiving ideas which are directly representative of the views of senior citizens themselves and their membership organizations.

The members of the task force will be announced by Chairman Flemming within a few weeks.

Mr. Speaker, these actions will help strengthen old-age programs at the grass

roots level and improve communications between older Americans and their Government.

It was a pleasure for me to vote for the 10-percent increase in social security as well as the 10-percent increase for railroad retirees. I also support proposed legislation which includes an additional 5-percent increase in social security and ties social security increases to the cost-of-living index.

The halting of inflationary pressures is perhaps the most important need of our retired citizens, and social security must be made a more equitable and effective instrument of income security through this automatic cost-of-living adjustment.

To give needed assistance to those older Americans who work, I have introduced legislation which would exempt those persons over 65 from social security tax—who are either forced to continue working to supplement social security benefits—or who do not wish to retire.

Assuring the dignity of old age is not the granting of some special privilege. It is sharing America's trillion-dollar economy with the men and women who helped create it.

ITALIAN NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATED

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in marking Italian National Day—because of the bonds and strong alliance between Italy and the United States—because of the incalculable contributions by Italy to Western civilization and not least of all because of my affection for the homeland of my father.

In this occasion I pay tribute to the Italian nation and her people and I express my congratulations and fond sentiments to the Republic of Italy through a trusted friend of the United States and eloquent Ambassador of Italy, His Excellency Egidio Ortona.

Italians are perhaps most noted for their artistic and esthetic sensitivity. The genius of da Vinci, Raphael, Michaelangelo, Bellini, Duccio is immortal. The creative and innovative capacity of the Italian people seems limitless. But their contributions extend far beyond the purely artistic. Men like da Vinci made two fold contributions in the arts and in the sciences. Other accomplished Italians like Livy and Cicero wrote significant historical and philosophical works; the importance of Roman law cannot be overestimated. Indeed, Italians have made their mark in every field of endeavor. Proof of Italy's rich culture is the number of tourists who flock to her shores to share her history and enjoy the warm receptive nature of her people.

Again, I extend my warmest wishes to the Italian people on Italian National Day and express my confidence in the continued friendship of our two peoples.

OPERATION "DRIVER EXCELLENCE"

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 15 I was privileged to attend the fifth annual Driver Excellence National Finals in my home district of Milwaukee sponsored by Partners in Safety, the American Veterans of World War II, Korea, and Vietnam—AMVETS—and the Dodge Division of the Chrysler Corp.

AMVETS and Dodge have worked together on many worthwhile safety programs during years of long association. It must be most satisfying to these organizations to have been part of a highway safety program, prior to its recent rise to national prominence. AMVETS and Dodge recognized the problem and planned an active program in advance of these national pressures—thus, "Operation Driver Excellence" came to be.

The driver excellence program is a constructive, corrective program. Skillful driving does not just happen. Rules of the road must be learned and practice of skills leads to perfection.

The teenage driver is anxious to be a good driver and, through driver education sponsored in the schools, young drivers receive valuable knowledge and training. Therefore, Dodge and AMVETS have created a program which emphasizes the need for skillful drivers and recognizes the most skillful. From high schools throughout the country, students in driver education are selected to participate in State finals. Each State winner, accompanied by a chaperone of his or her choice, is awarded a weekend trip to the city of the national finals. A three-phase program—written test, driving skills, and highway driving—is conducted under strict supervision.

A national winner is selected and receives a new Dodge car, scholarship, and trophy. Two runners-up are awarded trophies and scholarships. Each participant receives a DE jacket, white hat, plaque, and other gifts.

In 1967 David Gulbertson of Illinois was the winner. In 1968, James Baddeley of Ohio received this distinction. In 1969, Michael Rice of Kentucky took top honors and in 1970, Ron Breitwisch of Wisconsin was winner of the national finals held in Detroit, Mich.

As in past years, the 1971 contest brought together in competition the top high school driver education graduates from 27 States. Their automobile handling abilities, traffic driving expertise, and emergency vehicle control and motor law and driving theory were truly tested.

It was an honor for me to participate in the evening dinner program honoring the winners for their safe driving skills. I was particularly impressed, Mr. Speaker, with the abilities and mature responsibility these young people exhibited, particularly when some people are often too quick to type our youth as irresponsible and wreckless.

The effort of AMVETS and Dodge in arranging this program is indeed commendable for it emphasizes the need for skillful and safe drivers. The driver excellence program is constructive because through the driver education courses sponsored in schools, young drivers receive valuable knowledge and learn skillful, safe driving habits.

As I advised those present at the event, it would be my pleasure to share their accomplishments with my colleagues and to congratulate the winners who surely will be future leaders of our communities and our country.

Winner of the 1971 competition was Jay L. Lightcap, 17, of Harrisburg, Pa. He became the Nation's top driver "because he did everything consistently well," according to the judges. The victory won for him a new Dodge Challenger, a \$1,000 scholarship, and a trophy. Finishing in second place was Kenneth D. Morris, 17, of Runnemede, N.J., and third place was won by Frank J. Malczewski, 16, of Buffalo, N.Y. Each won \$1,000 scholarships and a trophy. Each of the other national finalists received trophies and citations. It is my pleasure to list them now in State alphabetical order:

California, Jeanne Fanelli, Long Beach; Connecticut, Jay Prior, Enfield; District of Columbia, Harry M. Bolden, Jr., Washington, D.C.; Florida, Dennis Loy, Winter Park; Georgia, Janet L. Ford, Augusta; Illinois, Bruce A. O'Guinn, Park Forest South; Indiana, William Bayles, Martinsville; Iowa, Jeffrey Haun, Cedar Falls; Kentucky, Roger Honour, Louisville; Louisiana, Lionel Dubeau, Harahan; Maine, Robert Maurais, Sanford; Maryland, Charles Wolf, Smithsburg; Massachusetts, John M. Tresca, Newton Center.

Michigan, Bernard Johnson, Grand Rapids; Missouri, Paul Pohlman, St. Louis; North Carolina, David Owens, Caroleen; Ohio, Thomas Young, Bucyrus; Oregon, Cris Caster, Klamath Falls; Rhode Island, Geoffrey Hall, Barrington; South Carolina, Michael A. Brockington, Charleston Heights; Tennessee, Kathryn Millar, Morristown; Texas, Cindy Gaby, Temple; Washington, Larry Almaas, Tacoma; Wisconsin, Thomas L. Herbstreith, Oshkosh.

Aimed at highlighting the need for better licensing procedures and the importance of improved skills involved in current day driving situations, the contest puts each student through rough competition. To reach the national finals, every student driver had to win his State contest. The final competition consisted of a written examination, a closed-course driving event, driving under actual conditions and two tests involving handling a vehicle in emergency situations as well as the driver's use of the safety equipment present in the car.

I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that all who attended and participated in "Operation Driver Excellence" have received a clearer understanding of safety practices and driving techniques. It is truly a worthwhile project. Therefore the determined goal of AMVETS and Dodge to continue and expand "Operation Driver

Excellence" in order to emphasize "safe driving" and "skillful driving," especially for teenage operators, is most commendable.

EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS FOR CHEMISTS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, below is a copy of a report on the employment picture for chemists and chemical engineers. The report was compiled by the American Chemical Society and brought to my attention by Mr. John F. Suttle, acting head of the Department of Professional Relations and Manpower Studies.

A large population of chemical scientists reside in Contra Costa County, Calif., and work at Sandia Corp., LRL Berkeley and Livermore, Standard Oil of California, Shell Development, Stauffer, Dow. These firms, to name a few, have been and are still processing lay-offs at the present time.

Chemists and chemical engineers have contributed immeasurably to the growth and development of our industrial economy. Present-day economic problems have led to a general decline in the employment of chemists and chemical engineers. In expressing my deep concern with this problem I feel that the resource of chemical and engineering expertise can be utilized in a manner that reflects the real needs of this society. We must ameliorate a situation that allows well-trained professionals to go jobless when there are more than enough critical problems that need to be solved throughout society.

I include the article as follows:

1971 ACS EMPLOYMENT STATUS SURVEY
MAY 1, 1971

The 1971 ACS Employment Status Survey conducted among 44,885 current members shows that 2.7% of 27,325 responding were unemployed as of March 1, 1971.* Another 2.4% indicated that they were employed outside the fields of chemistry or chemical engineering or were working subprofessionally. Other categories were: temporarily employed or change anticipated, 1.2%; employed part-time in field, 1.0%; and academic postdoctoral, 1.6%. The largest group of responding members (88.2%) reported they were employed full time in their field, and 2.6% said they were retired or not seeking employment. Among unemployed members, the median term of unemployment was 3-6 months.

The geographic distribution of unemployed members confirms unofficial impressions that unemployment was highest on the Pacific Coast (principally California) where the rate was 4.4% compared to the

*ACS also conducted a supplemental survey among 5,325 individuals who terminated their membership at the end of 1970. Respondents numbered 1,892, of whom 7% were unemployed. If these responses were applied to the principal survey findings, the net unemployment ratio above would rise from 2.7% to 3.0%.

national average of 2.7%. This was followed by the New England States with 3.6%, the West North Central States with 2.9%, and the West South Central States at 2.8%. The remaining geographical census divisions were below the 2.7% national level, with members in the East South Central States reporting the lowest unemployment, 2.0%. Nationally, the largest proportion of unemployed members were from the Middle Atlantic States, followed by the Pacific States and the East North Central States.

The median age range of all members participating in the survey as well as those who were unemployed was the same, 41-45 years. The age and unemployment distribution otherwise was rather uniform throughout, with the exception of those under age 25. In this group, 7.0% were unemployed; the next highest unemployment was found in the 36-30 years range, 3.1%. Least affected were members over age 60, (2.2%).

Women chemists were considerably more affected by unemployment (6.3%) than were men (2.4%). Unknown, though, is the "normal" balance of unemployment between the sexes, data which ACS plans to obtain in future surveys.

ACS, in its recent survey, also obtained information concerning unemployment as a function of employer classifications, work activity of members, and sources of funding at members' most recent positions. Aside from an "other" category, unemployment was highest among members formerly employed in industry (3.0%) and 2.7% for those who were self-employed. It was least critical for those formerly employed in educational institutions (1.5%) and government (1.5%), and was slightly below average for those in nonprofit institutions (2.3%).

As was expected in some quarters, members employed in research and development, the work activity which involves the most members, suffered the greatest unemployment, (3.1%). Marketing and production, (3.0%), also were hard hit. Conversely, teaching appears to have been considerably less affected with a reported 1.1% unemployment rate.

Employers dependent on government de-

fense supported programs, as anticipated, showed a 4.3% unemployment rate, one of the highest figures in the survey findings. Interestingly, non-defense government funded programs experienced considerably less unemployment, 1.8%. Non-government profit motivated employers (mostly industry) accounted for 49.0% of the full time employed members in the survey. Unemployment in that category was at the national average of 2.7%.

Examination of the unemployed member group by academic degree shows bachelors (3.2%) and masters (3.1%) degree holders were harder hit than were Ph.D.'s (2.1%). Neither chemists (2.7%) nor chemical engineers (2.9%) were disproportionately affected by unemployment.

IMPLICATIONS

Direct extrapolation of the ACS data to the 1970 Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated U.S. population of chemists (136,000) and chemical engineers (50,000) yields a total chemical scientist unemployment of 5,000. But this number of chemists and chemical engineers currently unemployed does not fully reflect the extent of the currently depressed employment situation in the profession. Consideration also must be given to those reporting temporary unemployment in the survey (1.2%), those subprofessionally employed (2.4%), those employed part time in field (1.0%), and those currently holding postdoctoral positions (1.6%). If extrapolated to conform to the 186,000 total chemical population, these groups could account for an additional 12,000 persons. Hence, under the most serious situation, there could be a need for as many as 17,000 new positions now or in the near future. And even if a more conservative view were taken, the total number of jobs needed would approach 11,000.

Further, the 1971 graduating class in the chemical sciences (chemistry, chemical engineering, biochemistry) will significantly add to the seriousness of the problem. In 1970, U.S. colleges and universities produced about 16,000 bachelors, 3,000 masters, and 3,000 Ph.D.'s in the chemical sciences. The number of graduates in 1971 likely will be of

the same magnitude and about half of this number will be actively seeking immediate full time professional employment, based on findings of the Society's annual starting salary surveys. If so, the number of jobs needed for chemical scientists in coming months could rise to as high as 22,000. This is more than twice the number of jobs available in a normal year.

It is clear that if anywhere near this number of new jobs is to be created in the immediate future, the nation's economy will need a marked stimulus and temporary employment support from the Federal Government. In connection with the latter aspect, ACS President Calvin's recent letter to Presidential Science Adviser Edward E. David, Jr. presented two suggestions that encompassed the objective of conserving and improving the national resources represented by our present body of highly trained and motivated scientists and engineers while providing skilled manpower to attack research and development problems of special interest to the nation. Dr. Calvin's suggestions and those of other concerned leaders should be carefully examined and vigorously pursued by all segments of the chemical profession.

Final response: 27,325¹ of 44,885²—60.9 percent.

¹ Approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of U.S. members excluding students and emeritus members.

² Approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ of U.S. members excluding students and emeritus members.

TABLE 1.—EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	ACS survey	Percent	Total chemical population ¹
Full-time employment.....	24,105	88.2	164,000
Unemployed.....	731	2.7	5,000
Temporarily employed.....	326	1.2	2,200
Part-time employment.....	286	1.0	1,900
Subprofessional employment.....	667	2.4	4,500
Postdoctoral.....	442	1.6	3,000
Retired.....	698	2.6	4,800
No report.....	70	.3	600
Total.....	27,325	100.0	186,000

¹ Extrapolated data based on Bureau of Labor statistics estimates (136,000 chemists, 50,000 chemical engineers in the United States in 1970).

ANALYSIS OF UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS

TABLE 2.—GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

	Number in area	Percent in area	Unemployed	Percent of total unemployed	Percent unemployed
Pacific.....	2,869	10.5	127	17.4	4.4
Mountain.....	816	3.0	21	2.9	2.6
West North Central.....	1,486	5.4	43	5.9	2.9
West South Central.....	1,860	6.8	53	7.2	2.8
East North Central.....	5,683	20.8	123	16.8	2.2
East South Central.....	949	3.5	19	2.6	2.0
New England.....	1,895	6.9	69	9.4	3.6
Middle Atlantic.....	7,528	27.6	189	25.9	2.5
South Atlantic.....	4,090	15.0	86	11.8	2.1
No report.....	149	.5	1	.1	.7
Total.....	27,325	100.0	731	100.0	

TABLE 3.—DISTRIBUTION BY AGE

	Total sample	Percent of sample	Unemployed	Percent of total unemployed	Percent unemployed
Under 25.....	546	2.0	38	5.2	7.0
26 to 30.....	3,896	14.3	121	16.6	3.1
31 to 35.....	4,034	14.8	91	12.4	2.3
36 to 40.....	3,581	13.1	83	11.4	2.3
41 to 45 ¹	4,022	14.7	112	15.3	2.8
46 to 50.....	3,982	14.5	115	15.7	2.9
51 to 55.....	3,304	12.1	77	10.5	2.3
56 to 60.....	1,991	7.3	48	6.6	2.4
Over 60.....	1,894	6.9	41	5.6	2.2
No report.....	75	.3	5	.7	6.7
Total.....	27,325	100.0	731	100.0	

TABLE 4.—DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

	Total sample ²	Percent	Unemployed	Percent
Male.....	22,967	84.1	549	2.4
Female.....	1,910	7.0	121	6.3

TABLE 5.—EMPLOYER CLASSIFICATION

	Total sample	Percent of sample	Unemployed	Percent of total unemployed	Percent unemployed
Industry.....	16,725	61.2	506	69.2	3.0
Education.....	6,000	22.0	89	12.2	1.5
Government.....	2,596	9.5	40	5.5	1.5
Nonprofit.....	836	3.1	19	2.6	2.3
Self-employed.....	412	1.5	11	1.5	2.7
Other.....	360	1.3	24	3.3	6.7
No report.....	396	1.4	42	5.7	10.6
Total.....	27,325	100.0	731	100.0	

TABLE 6.—WORK ACTIVITY

	Total sample	Percent of sample	Unemployed	Percent of total unemployed	Percent unemployed
R. & D.	12,665	46.3	398	54.4	3.1
Management	4,793	17.3	88	12.0	1.9
Marketing and production	1,935	7.1	59	8.1	3.0
Teaching	4,391	16.0	47	6.4	1.1
Other	2,067	7.5	67	9.2	3.2
No report	1,596	5.8	72	9.9	4.5
Total	27,325	100.0	731	100.0	

TABLE 7.—FUNDING

	Total sample	Percent of sample	Unemployed	Percent of total unemployed	Percent unemployed
Government defense	1,763	6.5	76	10.5	4.3
Government, nondefense	5,152	18.8	92	12.6	1.8
Non-Government, nonprofit	2,150	7.9	30	4.1	1.4
Non-Government, profit	13,398	49.0	357	48.8	2.7
Other	827	3.0	22	3.0	2.7
No report	4,035	14.8	154	21.1	3.8
Total	27,325	100.0	731	100.0	

TABLE 8.—UNEMPLOYMENT BY FIELD AND DEGREE

	No degree reported	<B.S.	B.S.	M.S.	Ph. D.	Total reports	Total unemployed	Percent unemployed
Chemists	3	1	135	76	171	14,279	386	2.7
Chemical engineers	2	2	97	54	73	7,742	228	2.9
Others	0	3	49	34	31	5,304	117	2.2
Total unemployed	5	6	281	164	275		731	
Total reports	99	332	8,653	5,292	12,949	27,325		
Percent unemployed	5.0	1.8	3.2	3.1	2.1			

1 Median age group

2,448 no reports, not shown.

PUBLIC OPINION NOT SELF-EVIDENT

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, this is a time when some people are seeking simple solutions to the trying and complex problems of the day—including those who report the news. It is, therefore, most gratifying when we find a commentator who's objectivity and perceptivity extends beyond reflex action and emotion.

One such commentator is Steve Rowan of the Buffalo TV station WBEN—a CBS affiliate. His commentary of May 20 is an example of his analytical approach to the difficult, and often, emotional issues confronting the American public.

I include the aforementioned commentary at this point and call this to the attention of my colleagues:

STEVE ROWAN COMMENTARY

Public opinion is not always what it seems. For example, the immediate and seemingly pervasive dislike of the verdict in the case of Lieutenant William Calley obviously did not represent any basic disaffection with the system of laws by which this nation is governed. And, in fact, after sober reflection, most Americans appear to have risen above their initial feelings of shock and revulsion their initial feelings of shock and revulsion Calley to kill, and then punish him for killing, wantonly and unnecessarily . . . and to have accepted the verdict that he was guilty of something if not murder in the first degree. That is why it's a good thing that the mills of Congress . . . like the mills of God in that famous George Herbert quote . . . grind slow . . . but sure.

If the Congress reacted quickly to every enraged outcry of an emotional public, Lieutenant Calley now would be free, and military justice would have been destroyed forever . . .

Our trouble is that we're forever looking for simple solutions to the complex problems of the world. Pollution? Stop industry from pouring its wastes into the lakes and rivers and the air we breathe, even if the death

of industry means the death of the American economy. Poverty?

Give every family a guaranteed income of 65-hundred dollars a year, even if it robs the rest of us of our money . . . and the poor, themselves, of their spirit. Racial problems? Send the blacks back to Africa . . . even though that continent is no more home to them than Scotland is home to me or Poland, Italy or Ireland is home to you.

There are no simple solutions . . . and we do our elected representatives a disservice if we judge their actions by our own simplistic desires.

A MODERN VERSION OF JULIUS CAESAR PLAYING IN THE CAPITOL

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, those fond of Shakespearean drama, but unable to attend the festivals, may find a modern version of Julius Caesar playing in the Capitol, with variations, and even as in Shakespeare's great tragedy, "So are they all, all honourable men," as follows:

CLAIM NIXON FORECAST END OF WAR RIDICULED

Rep. Don Riegle (R-Mich.) said yesterday he was told by Richard M. Nixon during the 1968 presidential campaign that if the Republicans won "we will end this war in six months."

Riegle made this assertion on the ABC radio-television interview program, "Issues and Answers."

An interviewer, Bill Gill of ABC News, said he had checked Riegle's assertion with the White House and been told "That is untrue. It is ridiculous."

Gill explained to a newsman later that, to the best of his knowledge, Riegle had not made this statement in public before but had said it privately. It was on this basis, Gill said, that he asked for White House comment prior to the taping of the program.

While the program was still being broad-

cast, White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler told newsmen at Camp David, Md., where Mr. Nixon is weekending, that after conferring with the President he was authorized to say:

"The statement is untrue and ridiculous."

Riegle, who was not available for additional comment, is an active antiwar leader and is supporting Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr. in the California Republican's plans to challenge Mr. Nixon in the GOP presidential primaries next year.

And in reading this:

"Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up

To such a sudden flood of mutiny. They that have done this deed are honourable:

What private griefs they have, alas! I know not,

That made them do it; they are wise and honourable,

And will no doubt with reasons answer you."

—Julius Caesar, III. ii.

ROBERT U. SKIBINSKI RECEIVES BROTHERHOOD AWARD FOR 1971

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to appreciate Mr. Robert Skibinski, the unanimous choice of the National Conference of Christians and Jews for the Brotherhood Award of 1971. Mr. Skibinski is also receiving a special citation from the council of churches for outstanding service in San Jose.

Since coming to San Jose, Mr. Skibinski has offered his services to the community through many different organizations ranging from the Santa Clara County United Fund, the board of fellows of the University of Santa Clara County to serving on the board of trustees of the O'Connor Hospital Foundation and

being a member of the board of governors of the Bay Area Council.

We should all look to Mr. Skibinski as an example of what a person can do for his community in addition to the every day responsibilities of work and family. In the last analysis, every citizen must begin to make the effort to help his fellow man if this Nation is to progress beyond its present troubled state.

I would like to commend Mr. Skibinski for his fine efforts to be of service to his fellow citizens of the Bay Area and point out that it will only be through such interest and care that the people of our Nation will be brought together and the problems of the country will be solved.

NAVAL JUNIOR RESERVE OFFICERS TRAINING CORPS

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, the Naval Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps has established eight ROTC programs in the Tidewater area. Two Norfolk high schools, Maury and Norview, have programs which have become increasingly successful since their initiation. In the beginning, these programs were affected by student lack of interest and suspicion of the military emphasis. But with further understanding of the program's objectives, a change in attitude took place. The students came to understand that the program develops informed and responsible citizens; promotes an understanding of the need for national security and individual discipline; and instills respect for the laws, authority, and institutions of our democratic government.

The spirit and enthusiasm displayed for the NJROTC has increased steadily, even on the part of the students not involved in the programs. They have come to realize that the cadets not only represent the armed services, but that they represent their school well off campus at parades and at home football and basketball games, and are active in high school functions.

In the Tidewater area, which currently enrolls more than 900 students in the program, support for the NJROTC is heartening, and young people now wait in line to join. When the students observe the results of the training corps, they are forced to alter their previous attitudes. Testimony of the cadets has attested to the success of this venture. The cadets feel that the NJROTC helps them to realize their potential as individuals and citizens of the United States, and that it creates a sense of accomplishment by working hard to meet the units' high standards.

In the Tidewater area, great benefits have resulted from the initiation of these programs. Support for the NJROTC has come not only from adults in the community, but more important, from the students themselves.

I have not read any reports on the

success or failure of the NJROTC in any other area. And I question the lack of response to this program in light of the success in the Tidewater area. That is not to say that the program may not be met with harsh attitudes at the onset of installation due to currently popular antimilitary attitudes. At some of the schools, students denounced the units before they were begun. But with perseverance and understanding, the units can earn support, making a valuable contribution to the school and community.

In these times some people suspect young people are anxious to burn down campuses and destroy the establishment. The NJROTC exists as an example contrary to this opinion, and it deserves support. But mere support is not enough. If the nationwide NJROTC is to be successful and beneficial to all communities in this country, then it is time to begin the programs in more areas. Perhaps we are among the first fish in the pond, so to speak, but we need others to establish a working community. And it is time for each community to assume responsibility to assert the initiation of programs such as the one in Tidewater. Tidewater's NJROTC's are calling out to other communities to meet their success. I challenge each community to answer their call.

HEALTH MANPOWER LEGISLATION

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, the House soon will be considering important legislation dealing with health manpower. This legislation is of critical importance to our Nation's efforts to create a better and a more meaningful life for all Americans—a life less burdened by disease and suffering.

The reason the forthcoming legislation is so crucial is that the health manpower needed to achieve the goal of better and more meaningful lives is in very short supply.

We know, for example, that the United States right now faces a shortage of some 50,000 physicians, a shortage of 57,000 dentists, a shortage of nearly 150,000 nurses and a shortage of more than 250,000 allied health personnel.

Yet the academic medical centers that educate and train health professionals are facing financial crises which prevent them from fulfilling their essential role in providing this manpower.

I firmly believe that national policy in support of medical education should be based on two concepts—that medical education is a function of national importance, and that the medical institutions involved are a national resource.

Only through viewing medical schools as a national resource and providing needed Federal support for their basic operations at substantial levels and in a continuing form can this structure of vital institutions and their indispensable functions be sustained.

Mr. Speaker, I am concerned about the

severity of the financial conditions facing the prestigious University of Iowa College of Medicine, in my own district.

At Iowa, conditions of acute financial distress have adversely affected a number of important programs and plans. Let me cite just a few examples.

The lack of funds has adversely affected plans to revitalize depleted departments of general surgery and pathology, in connection with the appointment recently of new chairmen. Inadequate funds have crippled plans to enhance the departments of internal medicine and pediatrics to accommodate greatly expanded teaching loads under a new curriculum.

Establishment of an operational base and recruitment of faculty for a newly created department of family practice have been set back for financial reasons. Similar financial needs have held back reorganization of the department of preventive medicine and environmental health into a department of community and environmental medicine.

And that is not all, Mr. Speaker.

Inadequate financial resources are hindering development of health care delivery models in selected communities throughout Iowa and are hindering the development of community medical education programs through community hospital affiliation.

Perhaps, most importantly, the growth and development of allied health programs, including establishment of a new physicians assistant program, are being held up because of the school's financial problems.

Mr. Speaker, conditions of extreme financial distress in such a prestigious school as Iowa should be everyone's concern.

Provisions in the forthcoming health manpower legislation for special project assistance and for operating support of medical schools can provide useful approaches for meeting the financial needs of Iowa and of all the Nation's medical schools.

The legislation should be the opportunity for a giant step forward, toward recognizing our medical schools as a national resource. It can be the beginning of a laudable national effort to provide the schools with a fundamental base of support at a substantial level and in a continuing form.

ITALIAN NATIONAL DAY

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, today is a joyous occasion for Italians because it marks the 25th anniversary of the Italian Republic.

Many people did not believe that Italy would ever get back on her feet after World War II, but we can all now look on the splendid accomplishments she has made in such a short time. From an agrarian background, Italy has now become a strong industrial competitor with

the other European nations. She has also come to work very closely with them, however, through NATO and the Common Market.

The history and development of Italy has influenced our own Nation. Whether we think of the heritage of Roman law, Renaissance art, or the discovery of America by Columbus, we owe a lot to the Italians.

Mr. Speaker, I have many constituents of Italian descent in my congressional district, and I want to take this opportunity to extend to them my very best wishes for a wonderful day. I know they join me in paying tribute to the people of Italy on this 25th anniversary of their republic.

WHY THE BARGE CANAL HAD TO BE STOPPED

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, while few would gain by resumption of the now defunct Cross-Florida Barge Canal, the entire Nation will benefit from preservation of this canal area. Evidence pours in almost daily supporting the wisdom of President Nixon's decision calling for a permanent halt to this project to prevent irreparable damage to Florida's ecology.

What was at stake in this controversy? Perhaps it was best explained in the May issue of *Outdoor America*, the official publication of the Izaak Walton League.

A copy of the article follows for the consideration of my fellow Congressmen and lovers of beauty and nature everywhere:

FROM STEAMBOATS TO BARGES: ASSAULT OF THE OKLAWAHA

FAMED FLORIDA RIVER STILL THREATENED BY BARGE CANAL PROJECT

The clouds parted and for a few seconds the massive outline of the Thing was dimly visible by the waning moonlight. It sat there, dirty-brown and silent among the trees, and a chilling damp wind moved through the valley, softly moaning as it tugged at cypress and water oaks and cabbage palms growing in the marshy area.

As the first gray streaks poked outward from the East, an alligator slithered quietly into the water near where a family of racoons made nightly visits to the stream. A heron and several wood ducks took to the air as the eerie early morning light stretched further across the marsh-forest, and several birds began singing.

Wisps of fog filtered through the marsh, curling about the Thing, partially camouflaging it as it squatted there in a sinister sort of way. Smashed and splintered branches dangled, lifeless, from its hulking frame, as did long strands of Spanish moss which added a warlock-like appearance. Its sides and feet were covered with black muck and the pulpy residue of once-living trees.

Then the thing shuddered, belched several times and puffed clouds of black smoke into the sky, its awakening noises shattering the morning quiet and sending bellows echoing through the valley. Badly frightened, two nearby deer started for higher ground and

somewhere else in the forest a panther snarled, more a defensive cry than a warning.

The Thing stood and spewed its ashes into the now reddish dawn for several minutes. Then it emitted a grinding, tooth-gnashing sound and lurched a few feet, groaning and creaking as it moved. It sank deep into the muck as it lumbered heavy-footed forward, its great single horn pushing aside the lesser growth as the Thing crashed toward larger trees, snorting and menacing and dangerous the way a maddened rhinoceros would be when charging through the African bush.

The Thing crawled over several cabbage palms, grinding and smashing them into the ground, then it consumed several tupelos and water locusts standing in its path and crashed head-on into a number of sturdy, ancient cypress trees. It continued its cruel, merciless attack throughout the day, laying to waste a large area of the marsh-forest. And when night came, there were no more alligators there, or deer, or panthers, or birds, and a death-quiet settled heavily over the fallen forest. . . . Charlie Brown had had his revenge against the "kite-eating tree"—The Army Corps of Engineers had spawned a tree-eating monster. . . . A 305-ton creature that crawls along on two huge caterpillar treads, 12 feet wide and 58 feet long, grinding and crushing into the ground hapless, ages-old trees that form the magnificent forest of the Oklawaha Valley in Central Florida.

But this is only part of the sad story of the Oklawaha Valley and its beautiful river. The loss of the river itself, a section of it, that is, is the worst part. Nearly a third of it has been destroyed: flooded and ditched and forever ruined by the insensitive hand of man as he sought to build a barge canal across the State of Florida.

In just a few years, man destroyed a section of the Oklawaha River and its valley that took thousands of years to develop.

PRINCIPAL FLORIDA RIVER

The Oklawaha is one of the principal rivers of Florida. It begins in several large lakes in the central part of the state, including lakes Griffin, Eustis, Harris, Dora and Apopka. It flows northward for about 60 miles and enters the St. Johns River a short distance below Lake George. The great flow of water from Florida's famed Silver Springs joins the Oklawaha after coursing six miles through the swampy lowlands, a beautiful gin-clear run known as Silver River. Twenty miles farther north, where the Oklawaha bends abruptly eastward, it receives the overflow from Orange Lake through Orange Creek.

The Oklawaha is a clean, sand-bottom river, and its waters, though clear, often appear blackish because of tannic acid stains from the bark and leaves of the dense swamp and hydric-hammock systems through which it flows.

During its geological life, the river has carved out a mile-wide valley. During annual rainy seasons, the river overflows, spreading harmlessly into the valley floor. When the water is low, the flow from Silver Springs makes the Oklawaha run crystal clear for miles.

These rich, fluctuating waters harbor a productive sport fishery which includes channel catfish, chain pickerel, panfish and largemouth bass.

The dense stands of hardwoods in the Oklawaha Swamp are adapted to periodic flooding and drying. They consist mainly of deciduous trees, including tupelo, water locust, water ash, swamp red bay, water oak, sweet gum, red maple, loblolly bay, water hickory, cabbage palm and bald cypress.

On higher ground along the edge of the valley, and on many higher islands within the valley, the typical hammock hardwoods

make up the forest—species such as magnolia, blue beech, hophornbeam and laurel oak.

This delicately balanced conglomerate of diverse plant communities provides ideal conditions for the survival of many wildlife species. Wood ducks, herons, limpkins, gallinules and rails feed along the river's edge. Snakes, turtles and alligators sun themselves on downed trees, and still present are white-tailed deer, wild turkeys, raccoons, otters, bobcats, black bears and Florida panthers.

ECOSYSTEM CHANGES

If completed, the Cross-Florida Barge Canal and its attendant development would bring drastic changes to these ecosystems and will affect their ability to function in a normal and dynamic manner for a quality environment in Central Florida. Some of these changes have already taken place as sections of the barge canal have been completed.

Some of the changes which have occurred, or would occur, in this unique system as a result of construction of the barge canal are as follows:

The Oklawaha in its natural state is a cool, highly enriched, densely shaded, fast flowing, neutral pH river. As a river, nutrients in the system do not reach their full potential. However, when flow is obstructed by a dam, full utilization of the available nutrients occurs. The entire natural ecological system is drastically disrupted, producing a warm water, highly enriched, unshaded, shallow, and high pH system with little or no flow.

The ecosystem which formerly supported high quality fishing, hunting and esthetic values is in jeopardy because the new system is a nutrient trap and functions similar to a sewage treatment polishing pond. Soluble nutrients in a polishing pond are utilized exclusively by algae—which are settled out and periodically removed from the pond.

In the barge canal reservoir system, soluble nutrients are utilized by higher aquatic plants or by algae, which die and contribute to the organic buildup, but unlike polishing ponds, they are not removed from the system—which is detrimental to aquatic life.

Another critical problem which must be considered, along with its effect on the fish population, is the consistently low dissolved oxygen levels which have been experienced in the Rodman Pool (near the St. Johns River) since its creation.

Biological oxygen demand (BOD) in a newly flooded impoundment will create an initial dissolved oxygen sag due to oxidation of inundated organic materials such as crushed trees, terrestrial vegetation and humus.

Other factors which would prolong the dissolved oxygen sag in the barge canal reservoirs include the shading effect of large mats of aquatic vegetation, stumping and grubbing, which exposes additional bottom materials to further oxidation and the decomposition of great mats of water hyacinth and aquatic vegetation, which will create a large BOD when destroyed by any means other than mechanical removal.

Problems of low dissolved oxygen conceivably could occur for a number of years, or possibly will always be a threat to the aquatic life within the Rodman and Eureka Pools. It is important to note that the Rodman Pool has not met the state water quality criteria for dissolved oxygen (4 ppm) since its inception.

AN ANACHRONISTIC PROJECT

Construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal is a belated boondoggle, say conservationists. Twenty-nine years ago Congress authorized it to protect war cargoes from German submarines patrolling Florida waters.

Voted through Congress in the fearful,

emotional days of 1942, the proposed 107-mile canal—to connect the Atlantic Ocean with the Gulf of Mexico—was recommended to “promote the national defense.”

The submarines of course are long gone, but support for the barge canal has continued to come from a number of Florida interests, promoting it as a means of saving shippers million of dollars and of promoting the state's industrial development.

For two decades following the wartime authorization, the canal plans remained on the shelf. Then, after new studies proclaimed the project economically feasible, construction was begun by the Corps in 1964.

For years conservationists have damned the barge canal as a “pork barrel outrage” which would—already partially has—destroyed one of the nation's most beautiful river valleys while failing to live up to promises of economic benefit.

The question of economic benefit is an historic one. For more than 150 years, the idea of a canal across Florida was discussed in Washington.

At the turn of the 19th century, it was advocated as an escape route from pirates prowling the Caribbean, to protest coastal shipping in times of war, to speed transportation of mail between Washington and New Orleans, and to “invite immigration to interior Florida.”

As the years went by, these reasons outgrew their validity. The plans were pigeon-holed time after time, only to be continually dusted off again. First examined by order of Congress in 1826, the canal was restudied eight more times between 1830 and 1930. Each time it was found unjustified.

Work on the canal actually started in 1935 after President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an executive order authorizing it. However, a great howl of opposition went up, based on fear that the dredging would drain South Florida's water supplies, and work stopped after men armed with mules and shovels had moved 13-million cubic yards of earth.

SOME POLITICAL OPPOSITION

Conservationists had some political support in their stand against the canal. After construction was started in 1964, the late Congressman Clarence Cannon (D-Mo.), a long-time foe of “pork barrel” projects, listening to Florida Congressmen plug for the canal, quipped that they were “as redoubtable a band of pirates as ever sailed the Spanish Main.”

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) called the canal one of the most glaring examples of “pork barrel” projects ever undertaken by the Army Corps of Engineers. A study of Corps projects, he said, showed that all those with less than a 2-to-1 benefit-cost ratio turned out to be born losers.

About \$50 million has been spent to build one-third of the proposed 107-mile-long canal. Total cost of the completed project was estimated at \$180-to-\$205 million.

In estimating the benefits to be derived over a 50-year period of canal use, the Corps used an interest rate of .02875, which is far less than the .04625 percentage guideline recommended by the Water Resources Council of the Executive Branch of the federal government.

If the current .04625 percent rate were applied to the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, this factor alone would render the project of dubious economic value, note conservationists.

IWLA TOURS CANAL AREA

Further construction of the canal is still a pending threat. Florida Defenders of the Environment (FDE) has been the group most instrumental in bringing canal construction to a halt. Working with the Environmental Defense Fund, FDE brought suit in federal court and was granted a temporary injunction against the canal project on Jan. 15.

Four days later President Nixon, at the urgings of the Council on Environmental Quality, backed the court injunction by ordering a halt to further construction of the controversial canal. Mr. Nixon noted that the “project could endanger the unique wildlife of the area and destroy this region of unusual natural beauty.”

Stopping the canal, the President said, “will prevent a past mistake from causing permanent damage. But more important, we must assure that in the future we take not only full but also timely account of the environmental impact of such projects, so that instead of merely halting damage, we prevent it.”

Since halting the canal Mr. Nixon has been under intense pressure—from those persons with vested interests in its completion—to reverse his decision. Conservationists are equally adamant that the President stick by his order to halt the canal. Following a tour of the canal and Oklawaha River in April by staff and executive board members of the Izaak Walton League of America, IWLA President Roy B. Crockett wrote the President, commending his stop work order and urging that he further enforce it by issuing an executive order to “permanently halt canal construction.”

Crockett also urged that water levels in the Rodman Pool be “lowered immediately to save the remaining forest stand,” a suggestion that has also been made by the U.S. Forest Service. The reservoir is adjacent to the Ocala National Forest. Forest Service Chief Edward P. Cliff said it is important to drain the reservoir quickly to prevent widespread damage to partly submerged trees.

Draining would lower the water to the original level of the Oklawaha River which feeds into the reservoir.

The IWLA group toured the Oklawaha Valley by car, flew over it and floated the river from Silver Springs to Rodman Dam and Pool, a short distance from where the Oklawaha drains into the St. Johns River.

Said Crockett: “The trip affirmed the Izaak Walton League position of the past decade that the Oklawaha River and its valley offer a unique and irreplaceable value to the American people and should be left in natural condition. That portion of the barge canal already constructed has caused irreparable damage and, if completed, would destroy the remaining reaches of the river and its hardwood valley.”

From about 1868 until the early 1920's, a river journey from Palatka (on the St. Johns) to Silver Springs was a favorite steamboat trip with residents and tourists. The steamboats were specially designed, with very narrow beam and a paddle wheel set inboard so as not to scrape against the bank when rounding the sharp bends in the Oklawaha River.

Part of the trip involved an awe-inspiring voyage at night with the jungle lighted fantastically by fatwood fires burning in iron baskets slung out from the boat's fore-castle. The exotic beauty of the cruise called forth extravagant praise from a number of famous people, including Gen. U. S. Grant, Harriet Beecher Stowe, William Cullen Bryant, and Lafcadio Hearn. The voyage moved Sidney Lanier to call the Oklawaha “the sweetest water-lane in the world . . . a lane which is as if God had turned into water and trees the recollection of some meditative stroll through the lonely seclusions of his own soul.”

The name Oklawaha comes from early Indian inhabitants of the Oklawaha Basin. They called the river “Ockli-Waha,” the Great River. Perhaps conservationists are the spiritual kin of those long gone Indians, for they too feel it is a “great river.”

Some strongly suspect that Charlie Brown might even give up kite flying to save the Oklawaha and its beautiful forested valley.

—D.B.C.

PURGE OF THE MILITARY CONTINUES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, last week when General Koster, one of our top fighting commanders, was reprimanded and demoted because Lieutenant Calley served under his command, I commented:

The new casualty list out of Washington will soon begin to exceed the casualty list out of Vietnam. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 20, 1971, page 16149.)

Now we read that another of America's top military commanders, Brig. Gen. John Donaldson, who has had a spotless and superb military record, is to be sacrificed on the altar of political expediency. His career and years of service in the defense of our Constitution are now destroyed regardless of whether or not he prevails in the charges that have been leveled against him.

Some top decisionmakers in our Government are up to no good. It should be obvious by now that there is a definite conspiracy afoot to destroy our armed services by purging the Americans from top command posts.

This is exactly why, when we were considering the draft extension bill, I offered an amendment reading:

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, and except in instances involving other United States military personnel or allied military personnel, no member of the Armed Forces of the United States, including those inducted into the services under the provisions of the Selective Service Act, shall be indicted for murder as a result of combat action.

When the amendment was defeated, it should have been obvious to all that the decisionmakers intended to ridicule and harass our fighting men with more criminal charges. See my remarks of April 1, 1971, page 9021 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Every nation that loses its wars must expect its fighting men to be tried as criminals. The purge continues.

I include a newsclipping at this point:

[From the Evening Star, June 2, 1971]

GENERAL CHARGED IN VIET KILLINGS: SHOT CIVILIANS FROM COPTER, ARMY REPORTS

An Army brigadier general was charged today with murdering six Vietnamese civilians and assaulting two others.

In addition, two charges of murder were filed against a lieutenant colonel who served in the general's division in Vietnam. Army spokesmen said the two cases involved separate incidents.

The charges against Brig. Gen. John W. Donaldson and Lt. Col. William J. McCloskey were filed at 1st Army Headquarters at Ft. Meade, Md.

Donaldson, a 47-year-old West Point graduate, is the first U.S. general charged with a war crime since the Philippine insurrection 70 years ago. He was a colonel at the time of the alleged incidents.

COPTER FIRING ALLEGED

He was accused of firing at Vietnamese civilians from his helicopter, using an M16

rifle, in eight separate incidents over a three-month period.

The incidents allegedly took place between November 1968 and January 1969 in Quang Ngai Province, where the My Lai massacre occurred the previous March.

Donaldson commanded the 11th Infantry Brigade, which he took over from Col. Oran Henderson, who has been accused of covering up the My Lai massacre.

Donaldson took over the brigade in October 1968, more than six months after My Lai, and Army sources said there was no connection between the two incidents.

The charges against McCloskey, 39, who is now at the Army Combat Developments Command at Ft. Belvoir, Va., involve incidents that allegedly took place in March 1969 while he was operations officer of the 11th Infantry Brigade.

Donaldson was transferred to Ft. Meade after allegations against him had been made by a helicopter pilot.

At the time of his transfer, Donaldson was chief of the European division, covering plans and policy, for the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon.

The Army's investigation that led to the filing of charges today began after the allegations were made through Army channels last November by a helicopter pilot who had served in Donaldson's brigade but who was not his personal pilot.

The Army refused to identify the pilot.

The Army's Criminal Investigation Division spent from late November until April looking into the case and then turned its findings over to the First Army.

COMMANDER TO DECIDE

The formal charges against Donaldson were preferred by Col. Roger Ranck, a staff officer assigned by Lt. Gen. Claire Hutchin, commander of the First Army, to look into the case.

Hutchin may now either dismiss some or all of the charges or order an investigation similar to a grand jury hearing in civilian law. Only after the completion of an investigation, if one is held, will it be determined whether a court-martial trial should be held.

Donaldson's military lawyer, Lt. Col. Robert Poydasheff, said that on his advice the general plans no statement.

"We haven't had a chance yet to come forward with our evidence," Poydasheff said. "When all the evidence is in, I feel Gen. Donaldson will be vindicated."

"We have faith in the system. It works."

Donaldson also is represented by a civilian lawyer, Benjamin Dorsey of Washington.

Born at Ft. Oglethorpe, Ga., Feb. 7, 1924, Donaldson graduated from West Point and was commissioned June 6, 1944, the day the allies invaded France in World War II. Late that year he went with the 42nd Infantry Division to France where he spent the remainder of the war.

During the postwar years, Donaldson rose steadily while serving in Germany, Korea, and Washington. Along the way, he attended the Armed Forces Staff College, the Air War College and George Washington University.

In the 1960s, Donaldson served under the joint chiefs of staff, specializing in military aid matters and strategic plans and policy duties. He also was chief of staff for the 7th Infantry Division in Korea.

After a tour on the Army general staff in a planning post, he served more time under the JCS and in October 1968 became commanding officer of the 11th Brigade in Vietnam.

COMPETED IN OLYMPICS

In March 1969, he became chief of staff of the Americal Division and in September 1969 he was made assistant division commander.

Promoted to one-star rank in October that year, Donaldson returned to the Pentagon

to serve again under the joint chiefs in European plans work.

Donaldson was a member of the U.S. pentathlon team in the 1948 Olympics.

Among his medals are the Silver Star, the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Purple Heart, the Bronze Star, the Legion of Merit and the Air Medal.

He is married and has two sons.

McCloskey enlisted in 1949 at his home in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. and served five years before being commissioned a second lieutenant. Much of his career has been with the Army Special Forces, the Green Berets.

He served in Vietnam in 1963, in 1964 and from November 1968 until last June.

He holds the Silver Star with two oak leaf clusters, the Legion of Merit, the Distinguished Flying Cross with one oak leaf cluster and a number of other American, Korean and Vietnamese medals.

Army records show the last general accused of war crimes was Brig. Gen. Jacob H. Smith, a brigade commander in the Philippines in 1901. Smith was tried by a general court-martial for "conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline by giving orders to his subordinates for military operations on the Island of Samar to the effect that no prisoners should be taken, that there should be extensive killing and burning, that Samar was to be made a howling wilderness, and that all persons above the age of 10 years should be killed because they were capable of bearing arms."

Smith was convicted and sentenced to be admonished. President Theodore Roosevelt approved the sentence and ordered Smith retired.

The highest ranking officer charged in the My Lai episode was Maj. Gen. Samuel W. Koster, who commanded the Americal Division at the time.

Koster was not charged with any war crime, but with failing to adequately investigate the My Lai incident.

The charges were dropped, but Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor reduced Koster in rank to brigadier general.

HONESTY IS STILL THE BEST POLICY

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, somewhere in the confusion apparently saturating so many youngsters today, it is to be fervently hoped that there will come understanding that the basic values to which our forefathers adhered are still the strength of this land. Among these and in close to first place is honesty.

It seems as though everybody was mistrusting what anybody says, or does, or writes. Not so, in reality. A majority of the people of the United States are still men and women of integrity, for which we can be profoundly grateful.

Honesty is still the best policy as the following interesting commentary by Richard L. Evans in the magazine ERA of May 1970 so well points out.

The item follows:

IF EVERYONE MUST WATCH EVERYONE

(By Richard L. Evans)

There is a simple, old-fashioned subject that is urgently essential, and that is this: simple honesty. There is no credit, no contract, no transaction, no situation that is

safe without the element of honesty. If no one does what he says he will do, no one could count on anything. If everyone has to worry about every property, every possession—watch it, guard it, almost sit on it in a sense, in trying to hold what he has—the world wouldn't run, and life would approach the impossible. Nobody can watch everybody all the time. Nobody can watch anybody all the time. No one can stay awake all the time. No one has the time, the strength, the ability to protect himself against all forms of deception and deceit. No one can know enough in all things always to make safe decisions. We have to trust the physician for his prescription, the pharmacist who fills it, the person who makes things, who sells things and certifies that they are of a certain kind and quality. Few of us, for example, could buy a diamond and know what it was worth. We have to trust someone. If we can't find a package where we put it; if goods disappear from the shelves; if a car on the street isn't safe; if expense accounts are padded; if we can't leave a piece of equipment with someone to repair, and know he will do only what is needed, and charge only what is fair; if people increasingly deal in deception, there will be less and less peace and progress. Beyond the boldness of robbery, of burglary and embezzlement, any deception is dishonest: overcharging, getting paid for what we haven't done, taking what isn't ours, saying what isn't so, pretending what we aren't, reporting what we haven't done. In short, if everyone must watch everyone, if no one can trust anyone, there is no safety, no assurance. If it isn't true, don't say it. If it isn't right, don't do it. If it isn't yours, don't take it. If it belongs to someone else, return it. Honesty is not only the best policy, but a principle, and an absolute essential for the good and happy living of life.

SHOULD GOVERNMENT GRUBSTAKE SICK BUSINESS?

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, Ken Krehbiel, the fine editor of the McPherson, Kans., Sentinel, has expressed some pertinent thoughts regarding the request for Government loan support for the faltering Lockheed Aircraft Co. As an important contribution to the debate now underway on this issue, I include Mr. Krehbiel's editorial for the RECORD and recommend its reading by all of my colleagues:

SHOULD GOVERNMENT GRUBSTAKE SICK BUSINESS?

The Nixon administration proposes for the government to guarantee a \$250 million loan to Lockheed Aircraft. That much is needed to keep Lockheed from bankruptcy while trying to build a new airplane.

Lockheed has not been noted for efficient production for some time. For example, its huge A-5 transport plane cost far more than the original estimates. It was late being built and had a lot of bugs once airborne. The present plane project repeats the delays, confusion and excessive costs of the A-5.

Is that the kind of management government should help? Should the government lend to any sick business of any kind? If the \$250 million is guaranteed for Lockheed as Nixon asks, where will such loans stop?

If the Lockheed loan is approved, the gate is wide open for government aid for every sick private business.

Who will pay for all this government generosity to sick businesses? You and I will in higher income taxes.

This country will be healthier and you and I less hard hit in taxes if sick businesses are permitted to die the natural death such businesses have done in the past.

THE OFFICE OF NOISE ABATEMENT AND CONTROL: A STATUS REPORT

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that all citizens are entitled to a quiet and peaceful environment, free from the intrusion of excessive noise which may be hazardous to their health and well being. Yet, while the level of noise in the United States has been steadily rising—having doubled since 1955—very little has actually been done either on the local or Federal level to control this widely prevailing and very dangerous pollutant.

One positive step was taken, however, by the Congress in passing title IV of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970, Public Law 91-604. This act mandated the creation of an Office of Noise Abatement and Control within the Environmental Protection Agency and authorized \$30 million for the Office to carry out a full and complete investigation of noise and its effects on the public health and welfare. On April 29 of this year, EPA Administrator William D. Ruckelshaus announced the actual establishment of this Office and the appointment of Alvin F. Meyer to serve as its acting director.

I have long been an advocate for the creation of such an office and am extremely gratified that it is now a reality. As Members of this body will recall, I introduced legislation on behalf of myself and 20 colleagues for just such a purpose in the last Congress. However, I have serious reservations as to whether or not this Office of Noise Abatement and Control will be able to carry out fully the responsibilities delegated to it by the Congress.

We are all painfully aware that without proper funding and administration even the best of laws can end up as little more than meaningless pieces of paper. Thus, it has been with the greatest concern that I have brought to the attention of this body the fact that despite a congressional authorization of \$30 million, not a penny has been appropriated for this office's functionings.

Therefore, on April 16, I wrote to EPA Administrator Ruckelshaus requesting a full explanation of the administration's proposed funding for the Office of Noise Abatement and Control and a status report on the Office's progress. EPA has informed me in a letter dated June 1, that there is now pending in the Congress a request for a supplemental appropriation for the Environmental Protection Agency. This request includes \$300,000 being made available from other sources within the agency, on a reprogramming basis, for the operation of the Office of Noise

Abatement and Control for the remainder of fiscal year 1971; that is, until the supplemental appropriation request is approved by the Congress. Further, EPA has informed me that there is contained in the budget for the next fiscal year 1972 an appropriation request of \$1.15 million for the continued operation of the Office to meet the tasks mandated by the Congress.

Although this is better than no funding at all, I do not believe that the administration's request will be sufficient to meet the many responsibilities delegated to the Office by the Congress. Therefore, I have introduced legislation—H.R. 5043, H.R. 6984 and H.R. 6985—to provide the full \$30 million for this Office, insuring that it is a functioning reality and not just another paper promise.

Thirty-eight Members of Congress have joined with me in sponsoring this legislation. They are as follows:

Bella S. Abzug (N.Y.), Joseph Addabbo (N.Y.), Herman Badillo (N.Y.), Nick Begich (Alaska), Mario Biaggi (N.Y.), Jonathan Bingham (N.Y.), Frank Brasco (N.Y.), Philip Burton (Calif.), James C. Cleveland (N.H.), John Conyers, Mich.)

Ronald Dellums (Calif.), John G. Dow (N.Y.), Don Edwards (Calif.), Ella T. Grasso (Conn.), Seymour Halpern (N.Y.), Michael Harrington (Mass.), William Hathaway (Maine), Ken Hechler (W. Va.), Henry Helstoski (N.J.).

Louise Day Hicks (Mass.), Robert Kastemeier (Wis.), Edward Koch (N.Y.), Robert Leggett (Calif.), Spark Matsunaga (Hawaii), Abner Mikva (Ill.), Parren Mitchell (Md.), William Moorhead (Pa.), Claude Pepper (Fla.), Bertram Podell (N.Y.).

Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.), Thomas M. Rees (Calif.), Robert Roe (N.J.), Benjamin Rosenthal (N.Y.), Edward Roybal (Calif.), James Scheuer (N.Y.), John Selberling (Ohio), Victor Veysey (Calif.), and Lester Wolff (N.Y.).

The Office of Noise Abatement and Control can be the foundation of a desperately needed Federal program to combat the rising menace of noise; its findings and conclusions may well be the basis for all future Government action in this field. Thus, I believe that we have a responsibility to the health and well-being of our citizens to make absolutely sure that this Office has all the tools that it needs to do its job well.

At this point, I am including the Environmental Protection Agency's letter of June 1 to me outlining the financial situation of the Office of Noise Abatement and Control and the Summary Status Report detailing its activities as of May 7, 1971. I commend these documents to the attention of my colleagues:

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY,
Washington, D.C., June 1, 1971.

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RYAN: In response to your recent letter regarding the Office of Noise Abatement and Control, and the Environmental Protection Agency's actions in implementing the Noise Pollution Abatement Act of 1970 (Title IV, PL 91-604), there is attached a "Status Report" describing the actions taken to date and the plans this agency is formulating with regard to possible additional legislative authorities now being considered in Congress. You will note the final report will be presented to Congress not later than December 1971.

With regard to your question concerning appropriations, as you know there is now pending in the Congress a request for a supplemental appropriation for the Environmental Protection Agency. This request includes \$300,000 being made available (from other sources within the Agency, on a reprogramming basis) for the operation of the Office of Noise Abatement and Control for the remainder of FY 1971; i.e., until the supplemental appropriation request is approved by the Congress. There is contained in the budget for the next fiscal year 1972 an appropriation request of \$1.15 million dollars for the continued operation of the Office of Noise Abatement and Control to meet the tasks mandated by Congress. This represents our best estimate of the actual funding needed in the time period ahead for the preparation of the report to Congress, and the undertaking of the various requirements established by Title IV, PL 91-604. This estimate does not reflect needs for the comprehensive noise control program which would be implemented if the additional legislative authorities now being considered by the Congress were to be enacted. These are the subject of a comprehensive planning effort to develop a five-year plan and program to that end. This is currently underway as described in the Status Report. In the event legislation is enacted into law during FY 1972, additional appropriation requests to implement same will be developed, and the long-term plan reflected in future EPA budget documents.

We would appreciate your submitting the attached Status Report and the information outlined above for inclusion into the *Congressional Record*, in order that the legislative history on this matter may include the Status Report as well as your remarks in *The Record* of May 5, 1971.

Please be assured of our desire to provide you with continuing information on this subject of mutual concern and interest.

Sincerely yours,

GRAHAM W. MCGOWAN,
Director of Congressional Affairs.

SUMMARY STATUS REPORT

(As of May 7, 1971)

OFFICE OF NOISE ABATEMENT AND CONTROL
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY
Authority and responsibilities of the Office of Noise Abatement and Control, EPA

The Noise Pollution and Abatement Act of 1970, Title IV, PL 91-604 (copy attached for ready reference), calls for the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to establish an Office of Noise Abatement and Control, and to conduct therein a comprehensive study on noise problems, with the objective of developing and submitting recommendations as to any needed action to the President and the Congress. Included in this requirement also is the undertaking of studies, research, demonstrations, and public hearings. The Act also provides for the Administrator EPA being consulted by other Federal agencies when they are undertaking—or planning to undertake—activities which will create noise determined by the Administrator to be either a nuisance or otherwise objectionable. It may be noted this latter provision is closely connected with the environmental impact-statement-review responsibilities of the Administrator EPA, provided for by PL 91-190 (the National Environmental Policy Act).

Organization of effort

Following enactment of Title IV, PL 91-604, the Office of the Assistant Administrator EPA for Planning and Management was assigned the task of evaluating the requirements of the Act. Also considered was the relationship of these requirements with the planning for implementation of the Administration's proposed Noise Control Act of 1970 (S-1016). A major problem was presented by

the fact that neither were there any defined responsibilities in relation to noise in any of the components transferred to EPA from other agencies by Reorganizational Plan No. 3; nor was there any major capability with regard to noise because of collateral or incidental tasks and responsibilities. Principal responsibility for this planning effort was assigned to an official of EPA who personally had considerable experience in both technical and program management aspects of noise control elsewhere in the Federal Government. This effort was facilitated through consultations, advice, and assistance from experts in the field of noise control in several other Federal agencies (notably the Department of Defense; the Department of Air Force, NASA; and the Department of Commerce—National Bureau of Standards).

Sessions were also held with a number of recognized experts in the civilian community. Several possible modes of undertaking the functions of the Office of Noise Abatement and Control were considered. The concept selected was to establish the Office as a planning and a program management entity under the Office of the Assistant Administrator for Planning and Management during the formative and initial operational stages; and at the same time develop a nucleus which could be built upon to establish the necessary program activities and program management capabilities, assuming either the Administration's legislative proposal or some other legislative enactment on noise was to become a reality in this session of Congress. Hence, it was recognized that a considerable amount of support would be required of virtually every element of EPA in addition to the small staff of the office. Specific action-officials were to be provided in such elements of the Office of the Administrator as Assistant Administrator for Research and Monitoring; Assistant Administrator for Standards and Enforcement (General Counsel); Assistant Administrator for Planning and Management; Deputies for Resource Management and Administration; Office of Public Affairs; and the Office of Congressional Affairs. Such officials have been appointed, and are currently functioning.

In this organizational phase, cost estimates were developed which reflected actual funding and resource requirements to accomplish the specific tasks associated with the implementation of Title IV. These estimates also included those for participation with other elements of the Office of the Administrator in the planning associated with anticipated new authorities.

Preparation of report to Congress

The planning for the report to Congress took into account the existence of the vast amount of research data and other publications relating to noise and noise control. It also took into account the several recent technical studies and reports on noise as a problem which have been prepared by other elements of the Federal Government; notably the Office of Science and Technology report, "Noise, Sound Without Value"; the NASA report, "Transportation Noise"; and the Department of Commerce Technical Advisory Board's "The Noise Around Us." It was decided that the report to the President and Congress should be a meaningful new addition, rather than a repetition or a rephrasing and restating of the information readily available. Instead, an overview of existing knowledge will be presented (with liberal references to the wide variety of reports and data available, with identification of gaps and needs for further research) and a critical assessment of current governmental programs (Federal, State and local), and the state-of-the-art, and assessment of current programs and capabilities to apply the available technology to the control of noises affecting the individual in the variety of environmental situations to which he is ex-

posed. The report will include information on the effects of noise, both from physiological and psychological viewpoints; information on the causes and sources of noise and the impact of these noise-sources on people within their environments; and a detailed assessment of reduction levels which can be anticipated over the next three-to-five years. The report will also present estimated resource requirements for noise control activities of the Federal Government; for assistance to the States; and for broad-gauge comprehensive research.

Not all of the demonstrations, exhibits, and public hearings called for by Title IV, PL 91-604, will be completed by the time the report is submitted; however, information to the extent possible will be included thereon, and appendices containing detailed results will be submitted as soon as possible (see also comments below).

The report is accomplished under the management of the Office of Noise Abatement and Control, utilizing the services of Specialists of the National Bureau of Standards under a transfer-of-funds arrangement; contributions of specialists elsewhere in the Government; contracts with several universities (with particular regard to effects of noise on wildlife and property, and with regard to social, economic, and legal matters); and with the successful bidders from industry sources with knowledge and capability related to environmental noise control and technology. A complete assessment is also being made in conjunction with the office of Science and Technology on the status of all Federal programs relating to noise (not solely the research aspects). Program element monitors have been assigned within the Office of Noise Abatement and Control. Also, a midterm program review of progress on the development of the report will be held in midsummer 1971 at which all participants will be present.

Research, demonstrations, exhibits, and public hearings

As indicated above, a major effort is being undertaken to investigate the current state-of-the-art with regard to noise control technology. In addition, investigations will be conducted and reported on relating to a better means of establishing statements of noise quality in the environment, and for the setting of standards relating to noise control. A critical investigation of the research currently being conducted within the Federal Government will be made in order to structure a comprehensive research program plan. This phase of this activity will be undertaken jointly with the Office of the Assistant Administrator for Research and Monitoring, who has assigned an "Action Official" to support this task.

A series of public hearings dealing with specific issues relating to noise control and the noise problem are scheduled for summer and early fall. These hearings will include those providing an opportunity for State and local officials to present their views regarding a need for uniform legislative approaches, and with regard to standard-setting and other matters of need for Federal, State, and local cooperation; an opportunity for manufacturers and acoustical engineers to describe modern technology relating to noise control and their estimate of both economics and technological requirements; and for the general public to provide information relating to noise nuisances. Additional subjects are currently being considered.

As part of the program for demonstrations and exhibits, a special group of summer college interns is being assigned to the Office of Noise Abatement and Control. These highly-qualified young people will be utilized to structure a program which they will develop themselves after having received a period of indoctrination on the noise problem and the methods of noise control. One full-time Staff Member and a full-time Consult-

ant have been hired to plan for these activities, and supervise the various administrative support requirements necessary for their successful accomplishment.

Review of other Federal agency activities involving noise

Section 402-C, PL 91-604, provides that the Administrator EPA shall be consulted by other Federal agencies when they are planning to undertake actions which will produce noise which the Administrator has determined to be a nuisance or otherwise objectionable. This requirement interrelates with the requirements of PL 91-190 regarding environmental impact statements and the Council on Environmental Quality guidelines requiring that agencies consult with other agencies having expertise or statutory responsibilities well in advance of the preparation and submission of their environmental impact statements. Obviously there is an important relationship between the establishment of requirements for agencies to consult with the Administrator EPA regarding noise nuisances and any further noise standards to be established by EPA under authorities currently being considered in the Congress. In effect, the implementation of this requirement affords the opportunity to develop a model noise control program with noise standards setting within the Federal Government.

A series of consultations have been scheduled with other Federal agencies beginning the 25th of May to establish interim procedures and to develop a cooperative effort on this important assignment. The plan of action is to insure consistency between these requirements and those relating to the environmental impact statements. Specialized bioenvironmental and bioacoustic personnel are currently being selected to accomplish this important task. In the interim, professionals now with the Office of Noise Abatement and Control, supplemented by those on detail from other agencies, including a member of the Biomedical Sciences Corps of the United States Air Force (who is a member of the Faculty of the Air Force Academy) are undertaking this important technical and scientific task. It is anticipated the interim guidelines for Federal agencies with regard to noise will be issued by the Administrator EPA early in June.

Schedule and milestones for the report

Preliminary program plans for the Report to Congress are currently being incorporated into the basic planning and programing system of EPA. The preliminary program plan, as now approved, calls for the first draft of the report to be ready by mid-September, with the final report being delivered in the latter part of December 1971 as required by law.

Personnel status

There are presently eleven full-time positions authorized for the Office of Noise Abatement and Control. This will be increased in the present plan to fifteen, effective at the beginning of FY 1972 (July 1, 1971). In addition to the full-time authorizations, utilization is being made of the EPA Authorities to hire consultants and temporary personnel for providing the necessary professional services and administrative staff capabilities for the preparation of the report, and for other duties required of the office. As indicated elsewhere in this summary report, services of personnel on detail from other Federal departments are also being utilized, and action-officials have been designated by the various elements of the Office of the Administrator EPA to support this program activity.

There is attached, a summary of the present-personnel status (including a brief description of responsibilities), and that scheduled for the period beginning July 1, 1971. It is emphasized this latter staffing requirement assumes that new legislation is in the

process of being enacted but the program requirements are not in effect. Personnel and budget needs to that end are now being developed as described below.

Program development action

A comprehensive planning, programming, and budget development effort is being undertaken at the present time to develop the specific requirements for implementation of the Administration's proposed noise control legislation, and other legislative proposals currently pending in Congress. This activity involves personnel of the Office of Noise Abatement and Control, and those of the Assistant Administrator for Planning and Management and the Assistant Administrator for Research and Monitoring. Specific time schedules to accomplish the various tasks and actions needed for full-scale implementation of legislation (once enacted into law are being prepared along with specific estimates of personnel requirements, and other resource needs.

This action will lead to the production of the necessary program-change proposals for the EPA budget, promptly upon enactment of any new legislative authorities. The present effort is sufficiently flexible that it may be readily modified to fit whatever type of authorities are actually provided by the Congress.

Environmental program activities to be inaugurated in the near future

A number of activities are contemplated under the Environmental Protection Agency's general authorities and responsibilities. Among the more important of these that will be initiated in the near future are—

(a) Preparation and distribution of an information pamphlet on noise and noise control principles.

(b) Bibliography on noise—a comprehensive bibliography of the latest reports and publications relating to noise is being prepared along with data as to sources of free information, as well as those which are available from the Government Printing Office and private sources.

(c) Contact with professional societies and organizations interested in noise. Information is being assembled regarding the various professional societies and citizens' groups who are interested in noise and noise control matters. Information will also be accumulated regarding various training programs, and education activities and opportunities in noise and noise control work.

ALVIN F. MEYER, JR.

Acting Director, Office of Noise Abatement and Control.

"TITLE IV—NOISE POLLUTION

"Sec. 401. This title may be cited as the 'Noise Pollution and Abatement Act of 1970'.

"Sec. 402. (a) The Administrator shall establish within the Environmental Protection Agency an Office of Noise Abatement and Control, and shall carry out through such Office a full and complete investigation and study of noise and its effect on the public health and welfare in order to (1) identify and classify causes and sources of noise, and (2) determine—

"(A) effects at various levels;

"(B) projected growth of noise levels in urban areas through the year 2000;

"(C) the psychological and physiological effect on humans;

"(D) effects of sporadic extreme noise (such as jet noise near airports) as compared with constant noise;

"(E) effect on wildlife and property (including values);

"(F) effect of sonic booms on property (including values); and

"(G) such other matters as may be of interest in the public welfare.

"(b) In conducting such investigation, the Administrator shall hold public hearings,

conduct research, experiments, demonstrations, and studies. The Administrator shall report the results of such investigation and study, together with his recommendations for legislation or other action, to the President and the Congress not later than one year after the date of enactment of this title.

"(c) In any case where any Federal department or agency is carrying out or sponsoring any activity resulting in noise which the Administrator determines amounts to a public nuisance or is otherwise objectionable, such department or agency shall consult with the Administrator to determine possible means of abating such noise.

"Sec. 403. There is authorized to be appropriated such amount, not to exceed \$30,000,000 as may be necessary for the purpose of this title."

OFFICE OF NOISE ABATEMENT AND CONTROL PERSONNEL STATUS, PHASES I AND II (THROUGH JUNE 30, 1971)

Acting Director. Conceives, plans, and manages noise program responsibilities. Directs the professional and administrative staff. Conducts bioenvironmental and bioacoustical studies and projects. Serves as principal advisor and consultant on noise to the Assistant Administrator for Planning and Management, other Assistant Administrators, and the Administrator.

Deputy for Evaluation and Studies. Directs and manages the noise study project. Conducts evaluations of noise problems and noise program activities. Responsible for monitoring contract activities with other agencies, educational institutions, and contractors. Directs and supervises staff personnel assigned to the noise study project. Coordinates work of action-officials on tasks relating thereto.

Deputy for Program Development. Directs and manages the project to establish program requirements for implementation of various new program responsibilities. Participates, along with the Director and the Deputy for Evaluation and Studies, in professional studies and evaluations of noise problems and develops recommendations for their solutions.

Bioacoustical Program Analyst. Provides detailed operations research and analysis functions. Responsible for interface with action offices of Deputy Assistant Administrator for Resource Management on EPA plan, program, and budget system on development and analysis of noise program. Provides scientific and engineering services.

Resource Management Specialist. With the Bioacoustical Program Analyst, performs resource management studies. Responsible for the planning and administrative management of public hearings, exhibits, demonstrations, and related activities. Assists the Director and Deputies in management of available resources to meet current program requirements.

Environmental Technical Data Editor. Prepares technical data and reports; monitors and manages work of consultants and contractors preparing data and reports. Develops material for use in demonstrations and exhibits. Reviews and approves for accuracy and completeness, technical materials in office. Provides editorial services for office staff.

Research Assistant. Provides a variety of technical services to include literature reviews and research. Prepares information on scientific and technical subjects for staff use. Develops data, based on general guidance from professional staff, for use in analysis of noise problems and projects. Assists in preparation and assembly of data to be used in reports and publications.

Secretary/Staff Assistant; Secretaries, and Clerk-Typists. Provide administrative staff support and services, including preparation of correspondence, reports and technical data. Perform a wide variety of administra-

tive services, such as referral of requests for assistance or information, response to routine inquiries, etc.

DETAIL PERSONNEL—FROM OTHER AGENCIES

Bioenvironmental Engineer (NASA). Review of environmental impact statements and noise problems of other Federal agencies.

Environmental Scientist — Biophysicist (USAF). Assists in research studies. Provides scientific services in relation to audiology and biophysics.

CONSULTANTS AND TEMPORARY HIRE

Environmental Scientist. Plans and participates in studies and surveys on public attitudes toward noise; assists in plans for public hearings. Provides scientific data for use in reports, and assists in analysis of material developed in course of hearings.

Bioenvironmental Engineer (Acoustics). Assists in review of environmental impact statements, and other noise control requirements.

Hearing Panel Members. Approximately 25 to 50 well-qualified members of various professions to serve as hearing panel members.

Student Interns. Approximately 100 to participate in noise surveys and demonstrations.

ADDITIONAL FOR PHASE III—AFTER JULY 1, 1971—PENDING FURTHER LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITIES

Staff Personnel

Audiologist/Psychologist. Assists in assessment of noise nuisance statements. Prepares information for use in developing noise standards and guidelines. As a member of multi-discipline scientific team, analyzes and evaluates data for reports and recommendations. Participates in surveys and studies. Assists in preparing research plan and in monitoring research program.

Environment Scientist—Noise Control (One per Regional Office). Serves as member of multi-discipline professional team to analyze and evaluate information developed for report, and from hearings; and makes recommendations. Plan, develop, and conduct necessary studies for criteria technology documents. Performs scientific or engineering duties.

DETAIL—NO ADDITIONS—STAYS SAME, WITH EXCEPTIONS OF USAF ACADEMY STAFF MEMBER WHO RETURNS TO AFA ON 1 SEPTEMBER 1971

Consultant and temporary hire additions

Noise Analysis Specialist(s). To conduct noise surveys as part of exhibits and demonstrations.

NOTE.—Student Interns will be used until September/October 1971.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE EDITORIAL PAGE HAS NEW EDITOR

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune, one of the Nation's great metropolitan newspapers, has a new editorial page editor today.

He is John McCutcheon, a member of the Tribune editorial staff since 1940, and a man well recognized in Chicago and throughout the Midwest for his exceptional ability to perceive and to inform.

Mr. McCutcheon assumes the title of editor upon the retirement today of George Morgenstern, a man who began

his highly distinguished newspaper career in 1929 as a rewrite man for the old Chicago Herald-Examiner. Happily for the people of Chicago, however, Mr. Morgenstern will continue to contribute signed articles and some editorials to the Tribune.

Mr. Morgenstern has been writing editorials for the Tribune since 1941. During World War II he served as a captain in the Marine Corps and later wrote a book entitled, "Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War." His long career has been studded with numerous awards and recognition of his reportorial skills. His editorials have contributed markedly to the Tribune's nationwide reputation and he will long be remembered for his wisdom and sense of proportion.

Mr. McCutcheon succeeds one of America's best journalists and commentators. The Tribune is fortunate to have two such outstanding talents on its editorial staff.

Mr. Speaker, my congratulations to Mr. McCutcheon and my warmest regards to Mr. Morgenstern. Each of them exemplifies the best of the American journalistic tradition. Following is a brief article which appeared in today's issue of the Chicago Tribune highlighting the careers of these distinguished journalists:

MCCUTCHEON CHIEF OF EDITORIAL PAGE

John McCutcheon, a member of THE TRIBUNE editorial staff since 1940 and an editorial writer since 1957, has been appointed editorial page editor, effective today.

He succeeds George Morgenstern, who is retiring after 30 years as an editorial writer. Since 1963 Morgenstern has been the head of THE TRIBUNE board of editorial writers. He will continue to contribute some editorials and signed columns of comment.

McCutcheon, 53, is a native Chicagoan. His father was the late John T. McCutcheon, the distinguished cartoonist whose work appeared in THE TRIBUNE for many years.

JOINED TRIBUNE IN 1940

The new editorial page editor was graduated from Harvard in 1939. In his senior year he was editor of the Harvard Crimson.

He started his professional career as a reporter for the Chicago City News Bureau in July, 1939, and joined THE TRIBUNE editorial staff in April, 1940. As an officer in the Naval Reserve, he participated in several major operations in the Western Pacific during World War II.

Returning to THE TRIBUNE, he served as a reporter until he was appointed conductor of a TRIBUNE column, "A Line O' Type or Two," in 1951. He became an editorial writer in September, 1957.

He is president of the Lake Forest Library Board, a director and past president of the Geographical Society of Chicago, and vice president of the Chicago Zoological Society.

GRADUATE OF U. OF C.

McCutcheon and his wife, the former Suzanne M. Dart, live in Lake Forest and have two daughters and a son.

Morgenstern, also a native Chicagoan, was graduated from the University of Chicago in 1930 with high honors, completing his studies there on a part-time basis after starting work as a rewrite man for the old Chicago Herald-Examiner in February, 1929.

At the Herald-Examiner he served also as assignment reporter, columnist, Sunday editor and assistant to the editor before joining THE TRIBUNE news staff as a rewrite man in 1939. He became an editorial writer in 1941.

WAS MARINE CAPTAIN

During World War II he served as a captain in the Marine Corps, assigned to news operations and directing combat correspondents in the field.

He wrote a book, published in 1947, under the title of "Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War." It attracted wide attention. He won THE TRIBUNE's Edward Scott Beck award in 1956 for a series of articles on the 15th anniversary of Pearl Harbor and in 1966 won a second Beck award for his handling of a special section of THE TRIBUNE on the 25th anniversary of Pearl Harbor.

Morgenstern was married to the late Marcia Winn, a TRIBUNE writer, and they had two daughters. His home is in Lake Forest.

DATRAN BUILDING NEW DIGITAL NETWORK

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, last week the Federal Communications Commission, in a landmark decision, opened up competition in the sale of specialized communication services. Datran Corp., which is a subsidiary of our Dallas-based University Computing Corp., was selected as one of these new specialized carriers. The Datran operation, which will offer a switched, all digital network dedicated exclusively to the transmission of computer data, is a revolutionary breakthrough in the field of communications.

Under the leadership of President David H. Foster, Datran has devised a plan for taking full advantage of recent advancements in our computer technology. Computers are capable of storing and processing vast amounts of useful information. In the past we have been unable to utilize these computers fully because of inadequate means for transmitting this information from one computer to another. To send data from a computer in Los Angeles to a computer in New York for processing involved a slow and complex mechanical operation using conventional telephone lines. Telephone lines are designed to carry the human voice by a series of analog signals. Computers send messages by digital signals. Therefore, to transmit computer messages over a telephone line necessitates a complicated conversion of digital signals to analog signals at Los Angeles terminal and then reconversion from analog to digital at the New York terminal. Thus the main problem with current data transmission techniques has been the lack of speed.

Because of interference on conventional telephone lines and the complexity of the conversion process there tends to be a high frequency of error in this kind of transmission. Studies have shown error as high as one in every 10,000 bits of information transmitted.

The Datran system has been designed to improve both speed and accuracy. A coast-to-coast microwave transmission network will be constructed to connect 35 major markets. Since this transmission network will operate solely on digital

signals the problem of signal conversion will not exist. The result will be direct transmission from computer to computer at a speed 10 times greater than is possible with use of conventional telephone lines. The margin of error will be reduced to one error in every 10 million bits of information because there will be no static and noise from other analog messages on the line to disrupt the digital signal.

Consumers and businessmen are going to be the prime beneficiaries of this new communications system. Datran President Foster estimates that the 35 markets established in the initial plan will contain 56 percent of the computers in the banking, insurance, securities, retail trade, manufacturing and processing industries. The December 28, 1970 issue of U.S. News & World Report in an article entitled "Instant Information: Coming Battle for a 10 Billion Dollar Market," outlined the speed and efficiency we can expect in our daily business transactions when the systems of Datran and its competitors go into operation:

Banking and finance. Increasing use of bank credit cards is changing the way individuals make purchases and handle their checking accounts. As this service continues to grow, banks may link their computers together so that institutions in all parts of the country can get up-to-date information on card holders' credit standings.

There is talk of tying all the Federal Reserve Banks together in a single network for transmitting financial data of all kinds. Eventually, transferring funds from one bank to another may be handled by data transmission.

Retailing. Many food and department stores are making a big effort to keep better tabs on daily sales. Several companies are experimenting with methods of linking cash registers to computers located at company warehouses. When inventories of goods at a store slip too low, the computer automatically notifies the warehouse to replace them.

Experts expect this application to catch on not only in stores but at gas stations and other retail outlets. One research firm predicts that by the end of the decade such sales-reporting systems will be installed in 45,000 high-volume gasoline-service stations.

Health care. Hospitals, nursing homes, doctors and insurance companies are expected to be large users of data-transmission services in the years ahead. It may be possible to have insurance claims processed on the spot by direct links between the institution or doctor and insurance companies.

Hospital laboratories, and other medical facilities, may be joined by transmission lines to make complicated research easier.

Manufacturing. Orders and billing between manufacturers and their regular customers may be done one day by computers talking to computers. Supplying customers with estimates on complex orders may involve merely having computers come up with the answers and relay them by phone to the customer. Engineering data and new research will be made available to branch plants simply by dialing the machine where the information is stored."

Mr. Speaker, Datran Corp. has laid the groundwork for the communications of the future. We are grateful to farsighted men like Bernard Strassberg of the Common Carrier Bureau and Chairman Dean Burch, Commissioners Bartley, Johnson, Wells, Houser, H. Rex Lee, and Robert E. Lee of the FCC who have contributed so much to making it a reality.

PENDULUM STARTS ITS RETURN SWING

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Al McIntosh, former publisher of the Rock County Star-Herald in Luverne, Minn., is a man well known for speaking his piece bluntly and well. A recent editorial appearing in his old paper bears the distinct "McIntosh Touch," and I am pleased to share with colleagues this assessment of what may well prove a swing back to sanity on the part of the media of mass communication:

PENDULUM STARTS ITS RETURN SWING

If you'll just be patient, maybe some sanity will be restored to our pattern of living and no longer will filth and slime besmirch every phase of our daily lives.

We see that flicker of hope that sustains us.

Maybe the "squares" were smarter than the "unsquares."

By the "un-squares" we mean those publications who went overboard with the four letter word bit, the drug culture, the exploration editorially of subjects long taboo as belonging only in the bedroom.

Those "with it" publications are feeling it badly at the box office but the squares are doing nicely, financially, thank you.

The New York Times, which proclaims its greatness while never deviating from an extremely liberal "line" had the greatest lineage loss in the roster of the nation's biggest newspapers and magazines.

This at a time when the conservative New York Daily News was setting new lineage and profit records.

The ultra liberals took over the Saturday Evening Post and it went broke. Life and Look publish hosannahs of praise for the hippies and they're in deep trouble. The Columbus Dispatch, the Dallas News, the Fort Lauderdale News are making big money.

The St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, calm and factual, is making money hand over fist while its Minneapolis counterpart, along with other Cowles properties, is in financial discomfort. The Minneapolis Tribune and Star had become the cheerleaders for every far out cause.

There is no doubt in our minds. The news media is going to reap the whirlwind because it has forsaken its traditional role of being an unbiased factual reporter of the moving finger of history.

Commentators and columnists have become cheerleaders of causes from slightly left of center to far out in left field.

Not since the Thanksgiving turkey has such a hatchet job been done of carving up President Nixon.

So—it was a stunning shock the other day when Al Capp, the acid-tongued cartoonist, took off when talking to the National Association of Broadcasters.

When he got through, he received a standing, cheering ovation.

What had he said? That news media has ganged up to make "President Nixon and his cabinet the most despised minority in this country."

Capp said that "if a mob can be inflamed to bomb police stations it can be inflamed to bomb radio and television stations."

Network coverage has been horribly unfair, said Capp.

Some of the leftist darlings of the columnists and the commentators have been getting away with character assassination. The ovation by the broadcasters clearly in-

dicated that the industry doesn't approve of what the hired hands have been doing.

We've nudles galore, and worse, in our moving pictures. There were some men of character who refused to be budged by the dam of public decency "busting." Columbia Pictures never has produced or distributed an X rate film.

"We do not criticize those who have," said Sam Jaffe, president, "but audiences, as a result, are staying away in droves, particularly the family audiences. The whole industry is paying the price."

Only two of the top 30 grossing films in 1970 were rated X.

They may be "art," in the judgment of sick minds who wallow in filth, but they are not profitable.

James Aubrey, president of MGM, said permissive films that might have been successful six months ago aren't profitable any longer.

Sex isn't smashing box office records any more.

Have patience. The pendulum has apparently started to swing back to sanity and decency.

"HEALTH PROBLEMS—WHAT CONGRESS IS THINKING," ADDRESS BY SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a true sense of pride that I today call attention of the Congress to the eloquent address given by my colleague from Rhode Island, CLAIBORNE PELL, at the 40th anniversary of the Emma Pendleton Bradley Hospital. Senator PELL points out the commendable work the hospital has done in attempting to establish a comprehensive mental health program. This work is direly needed both in my State and throughout the Nation.

Senator PELL further makes an appeal for his innovative plan to reform the present health system by providing an adequate health care plan.

I believe that the Senator's remarks will be of interest to the Members of both Houses.

A copy of the statement follows:

HEALTH PROBLEMS—WHAT CONGRESS IS THINKING

Dr. Laufer, members of the Board of Directors, staff and invited guests.

Forty years ago, our country was beginning to bring itself up from the depths of a severe depression.

Forty years ago, our country was on the verge of a new thrust of social humanitarianism.

Forty years ago, the government was beginning to ready itself for many important social reforms, such as public service, jobs, social security, and the new collective bargaining laws.

Forty years ago, foreshadowing the humanitarian spirit that was to move across the country, Mr. and Mrs. George Bradley, parents of Emma Pendleton Bradley, established as a memorial to their daughter this fine nonprofit psychiatric facility to assist emotionally disturbed children.

I think it is altogether proper that we gather here today to commend this fine humanitarian facility.

As in the period forty years ago when Mr. and Mrs. Bradley committed themselves

to the assistance of emotionally disturbed children, today also we are in a period of resurging humanitarian concern.

America is tired of a war that seems to have no end and no justification. America is anxious to begin again a new thrust of social improvement.

There seems to be a yearning to cease spending our moral energies in anti-war exhortations and to begin again the orderly business of improving the lives and well-being of our own people.

I am delighted that, on the verge of this new burst of humanitarianism, Bradley Hospital also is engaged in a new thrust. Under the leadership of Dr. Laufer and his associates, Bradley is undertaking an effort to develop a new comprehensive program of services for the citizens of the East Bay.

I believe Dr. Laufer and his staff deserve commendation for their effort in attempting to establish a comprehensive mental health program for the treatment of children and families of the East Bay communities of East Providence, Barrington, Warren, and Bristol.

If the progress Bradley has made during the last 40 years in serving more than 1500 children as in-patients, in assisting more than 3000 children and members of their families through its guidance clinic, and, in assisting more than 130 children in its pre-school program is any indication of the quality of service which will be provided to East Bay communities, then the citizens of those communities will be particularly well served.

As Chairman of the Senate Education Subcommittee and as a member of the Senate Health Subcommittee, I am particularly sensitive to the importance of the work undertaken here at Bradley Hospital to assist emotionally disturbed children.

The learning processes of young children are very much dependent upon their emotional health. And, the latest statistics tell us there are about 1/2 million children under 18 years of age who are receiving some service in a psychiatric facility in the United States each year. Other statistics tell us that 10 percent of all school-age children have emotional problems that require psychiatric assistance.

This relationship between emotional health and education has long been recognized in legislation considered by my Subcommittees.

As Chairman of the Senate Education Subcommittee, I was particularly proud that Congress enacted into law this past year my bill to extend and improve the elementary and secondary education programs.

Included in my bill is a special Title, Title VI, providing special education programs for handicapped children and training and research programs for personnel concerned with the problems of handicapped children.

This Title includes in its definition of handicapped children the following words: "Seriously emotionally disturbed, crippled, or other health-impaired children who by reason thereof require special education and related services." This definition is designed to insure that some of the funds that are to be made available through state agencies would also be made available to assist children like those who are served here at Bradley Hospital.

Under the authorization of this Title, a total of about three million dollars would be available here in Rhode Island for handicapped children, including the seriously emotionally disturbed. Of the total authorization for this Title, however, the Administration has requested an appropriation of only about 40 percent.

As a member of the Senate Health Subcommittee, I have also been particularly proud of legislation reported by that Subcommittee to provide a program for the construction and operation of community mental health centers.

As many of you know, we have a community mental health center in Newport that is beginning to get off the ground with the assistance of the funds provided by this program.

A second program with which the Senate Health Subcommittee concerns itself is the work of the National Institute of Mental Health. I know many of the members of the staff of this hospital have received excellent training through programs of psychiatric residency and training supported by that Institute. I must note in this regard, that I am particularly shocked by the Administration's decision to cut back funds for the National Institute of Mental Health's psychiatric training program by almost \$7 million. This cutback could eliminate support for about 500 potential resident psychiatrists.

In view of the fact that there are nearly 2,000 unfilled budgeted positions for psychiatrists in our country's mental health facilities, the Administration's proposal to reduce funding this year for this program and possibly to phase the program out next year just doesn't make sense. I will support efforts in the Senate to restore funding for this program.

FULL FUNDING FOR HEALTH PROGRAMS

There has been a good deal of discussion about the need for new health initiatives in this country. I have proposed, and others have proposed, plans to provide health care benefits to all citizens. These plans, while extremely important for the Congress to consider, need to be built upon full funding of present health programs. Unfortunately, psychiatric training is not the only health program which has not been fully funded in past years.

Although the Health Subcommittee of which I am a member has authorized over \$2 billion for programs of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration, the Administration has proposed spending only 35 percent of that authorized amount.

I believe this figure is unacceptable.

I believe the time is long overdue for this country to begin to spend its money on its real national interests—the fulfillment of our domestic needs.

I have been impressed with the fact that programs under the jurisdiction of the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee most always receive close to the amount of funds for which the Committee has asked, while the programs authorized by the Senate Health Subcommittee and Senate Education Subcommittee are almost never fully funded; in fact, sometimes we are lucky if we get half.

I think it is time to correct this imbalance.

It is for this reason that I will be joining with many of my colleagues in supporting efforts for increases in the funding of our educational and health programs in this Congress.

REFORM OF THE STRUCTURE OF HEALTH CARE FINANCING

I have noticed that the operating budget for the Bradley Hospital each year is beginning to exhibit a phenomenon that is becoming an annual occurrence of health institutions in this country—that is, an increasingly large operating deficit.

Of course some of these deficits could be met, in part, through full funding of existing federal health programs. In the long run, however, I believe adequate support for health services will require a restructuring of our present system of health care finance.

As some of you know, more than two years ago, I made the initial recommendation that some form of a universal health-care plan would be necessary to stabilize the finances of our health-care system.

I would like to take a few minutes of your time to talk about my plan and the plans of others. Knowing of your interest in the financing of psychiatric services within the

provisions of these plans, I shall also comment briefly on some of the problems of including coverage for psychiatric services in national health-care plans.

PELL PLAN

First allow me to describe my own plan, which preceded and proved to contain many of the elements of President Nixon's plan. I say this because the Administration adopted the basic structure of the bill I introduced in the last Congress as a basis for its own bill but with somewhat less cost coverage. However, their basic principles are the same as mine, although the Administration's program would be more expensive to the health consumer.

My bill, unlike the traditional social security approach encompassed in the bill supported by Senators Kennedy, Javits and others (and of which I am a co-sponsor, too) is focused on balancing supply and demand in the health care marketplace through a restructuring of our non-system of health care rather than through a system based on a national health insurance tax.

Instead of funneling new money for health into the federal government through a national health insurance tax and pouring it out again to pay for services in the private sector, I have proposed eliminating Uncle Sam as the middleman.

On the demand side, I have suggested payment of health benefits for consumers through a minimum wage approach. I have proposed that employers provide employees and their families a minimum level of health benefits as part of the payment for their labors.

These benefits would emphasize preventive services. There would be no required matching payments by the employees. There would be no long list of deductibles.

Moreover, there would be no giveaway to the private health insurance industry. Private health insurers would be allowed to compete with direct providers of services and among themselves. An employer would have three options as to how he could provide health benefits to his employees. First, he could contract directly with a health maintenance organization, such as a community health care corporation. Or, second, he could buy private health insurance premiums. Or, third, he could provide the services directly himself, as Kaiser Industries does.

That is how the services would be paid for. Now how do we make certain the supply of health services can meet this demand?

On the supply side I provide for the chartering of community health and education corporations. These community corporations are designed to provide health services where they are lacking and to provide for the education of health personnel where there are shortages.

You might try to conceptualize these community corporations as a combination of the health maintenance organizations recommended by the Administration and the area health education centers recommended by the Carnegie Commission.

I put them in a corporate form so there would be a means of attracting private funds, which are sorely needed in the health industry, and to provide a coherent organization of health services under one operational umbrella in a community.

In order to assure a proper balance of supply and demand in a region, and in order to provide a mechanism for the regulation of profits in what is nearly a monopolistic service industry, my bill creates regional planning councils.

In contrast to the Kennedy bill which is in the Senate Finance Committee, my bill does not make changes in the present Medicare program for the aged and the Medicaid program for the poor. This is true partly because my bill is in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee which does not have jurisdiction over those programs.

COVERAGE OF PSYCHIATRIC CARE

A number of psychiatrists, including members of the staff of this hospital, have asked me about provisions for coverage of psychiatric service in my bill and in the Kennedy bill of which I am a co-sponsor.

In my own bill, S. 703, community health care corporations are required to be able to provide services for mental disorders and outpatient psychiatric care. These services could be provided free of charge by the corporation to an individual if the individual declares he does not have adequate income to pay for those services, and if the health care corporation makes the determination that such services are needed. You might think of the health care corporation which I have proposed as being a corporate form of the health maintenance organizations that have been proposed for Bristol and Providence.

As for the benefits that an employer has to provide to an employee and his family, these benefits are as I have described them—minimum benefits. That is to say, they presently would not include coverage of psychiatric service. However, this does not mean I am opposed to the inclusion of such benefits. In fact, I am very sympathetic to the inclusion of psychiatric services in the benefit provisions of national health care bills for many of the same reasons which members of the staff of this hospital have suggested. There is no doubt that an emotional problem can be as serious an impediment to good health as any physical ailment might be. There is no doubt that early treatment of emotional problems in some cases will result in the prevention of more serious and more costly physical health problems at a later stage. However, in Congress we face many difficulties when considering the inclusion of psychiatric benefits in a mandatory health benefits program. These difficulties are similar to the difficulties we face in deciding whether or not to include many other types of health services in national health care plans.

For example, just as it is important that hospital care payments for physical ailments be limited because of the high cost of hospital care, it would also be important that emphasis be placed upon reducing the use of high cost institutional care for mental health problems to that which is absolutely necessary.

Also, just as it is important to encourage preventive health care for physical problems through ambulatory systems, it would be important to encourage the same preventive emphasis in psychiatric services in a national health care plan.

Presently, the key federal program that provides any benefits at all for psychiatric care—the Medicare Program—provides 190 days of in-patient treatment for psychiatric illness.

I hope to see analyzed very closely the experience of coverage of this program in order that standards for the provision of psychiatric benefits might be included within the coverage of my bill or Senator Kennedy's bill.

I recently discussed with Dr. Taussig of this hospital the need for including psychiatric treatment as a benefit under any national health care plan, and I am happy to say that he has agreed to work with my staff in developing amendments which would not be financially prohibitive, yet would provide a minimum level of psychiatric services which any child and adult may require.

PROSPECTS OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON HEALTH CARE PLANS

A number of persons have asked me what the prospects are for the enactment of any of the national health care plans that have been proposed. Predicting the course of action of the 535 members of Congress is a most difficult task, to say the least. However, allow me to venture to suggest some of the goals of a national health care plan on which there seems to exist some consensus.

A complete reform of our health care system;

The provision of adequate health care service to all citizens;

The creation of the means by which fine programs, such as the program here at Bradley Hospital, could receive adequate financial support; and

An overall new commitment of the American people to a readjustment of our real national priorities—the health and education needs of our people.

I appreciate having had this opportunity to talk with you about my views as a member of the Senate Health Subcommittee on improving our nation's health care system. I congratulate again the Board of Directors, the officers and the staff of Bradley Hospital for the fine work they have done in helping emotionally disturbed children. I wish you the best of luck with your new effort to provide comprehensive services to the residents of East Bay, and I would hope that the passage of some of the legislation I have discussed will provide an aid to you in financing these services.

Thank you.

THE NAKED CAPITALIST

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, most Americans define our system of economics as capitalism; and capitalism is the emotional ploy used by Communist propagandists to attack our system and people.

Yet many people are confused as from time to time they are made aware that it is the ultra wealthy and capitalist monopolies who finance and seek to propagate communism around the world.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen, author, lecturer, teacher, former law enforcement officer, and former FBI agent, among other related professions, and author of the best seller, "The Naked Communist," has now written his latest contribution to thinking Americans who want to understand the intricacies of the Communist conspiracy and remain free.

Mr. Skousen calls his newest work "The Naked Capitalist."

I am inserting a review of "The Naked Capitalist" at this point in the RECORD:

THE NAKED CAPITALIST

The Naked Capitalist is the name of a new book by W. Cleon Skousen. It is "must" reading for anyone who has the intellectual curiosity to find out:

Why do some of the richest people in the world support Communism and Socialism? Why would they support what appears to be the pathway to their own destruction?

Is there really such a thing as the Eastern Establishment, and if so, who runs it and how far do its tentacles reach?

Is Communism merely a branch of a much bigger conspiracy?

Who is really running things in America? What is the hidden, powerful force that seems to control U.S. policies no matter who is elected?

Is there any truth to the charge that "there's not a dime's worth of difference between the two major political parties"?

The overwhelming majority of Americans oppose foreign giveaways. What is the hidden force that persuades Congress to vote at least \$10 billion in foreign giveaways year

after year after year, in direct opposition to the wishes of their constituents?

The overwhelming majority of Americans are surely in favor of ferreting out Communist spies and traitors in our Government. What is the hidden force that makes non-Communists protect Communists and keep them in office, and also unleashes a terrible fury against those who want to investigate and expose Communists? One famous example of this is Harry Dexter White, Under Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, during World War II. When the FBI informed the White House that White was a Soviet agent, White was neither fired nor arrested, but instead was promoted to Executive Director of the U.S. Mission to the International Monetary Fund and given a substantial increase in salary. J. Edgar Hoover was amazed. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. stated publicly that President Truman knew White was a Soviet spy when he made the appointment. The question is, WHY did the Establishment protect White?

The Naked Capitalist is the book which has the answers to these and other tantalizing questions.

Where Mr. Skousen obtained his facts for this remarkable book is its most unique feature. He discovered a 1,300-page book written by Dr. Carroll Quigley entitled *Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Times*, published by the Macmillan Company, New York, and by Collier-Macmillan Limited, London, at \$12.50. Dr. Quigley is currently professor of history at the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., formerly taught at Harvard and Princeton, and has done special research in the archives of France, Italy, and England. He is the author of the widely-used college textbook, *Evolution of Civilizations*. He is a liberal professor with full Establishment credentials.

More than that, Dr. Quigley is an authority on the world's secret power structure because he is one of the insiders. He boasts that he has been associated with many of the dynastic families of the super-rich. He writes approvingly of their power, influence, and activities. To assure his readers of his own unique qualifications for the writing of this book, Dr. Quigley states:

THE SECRET NETWORK

"I know of the operations of this network because I have studied it for twenty years and was permitted for two years, in the early 1960s, to examine its papers and secret records. I have no aversion to it or to most of its aims and have, for much of my life, been close to it and to many of its instruments. I have objected, both in the past and recently, to a few of its policies . . . but in general my chief difference of opinion is that it wishes to remain unknown, and I believe its role in history is significant enough to be known."

In other words, Dr. Quigley is one of those on the inside of the "network", and his chief disagreement with his associates is that he wants to tell what the "network" is doing, and the others want to remain secret. Hence the book, *Tragedy and Hope*, in which Dr. Quigley "tells all", thereby exposing one of the best-kept secrets in the world. The "Hope" in the title represents the man-made millennium of a collectivist one-world society which the world will enjoy when the "network" achieves its goal of ruling the world. He says the "network" already has such power and influence that it is now too late for the little people to turn back the tide. All who resist represent the "Tragedy." He urges us not to fight the noose which is already around our necks, because if we do we will only choke ourselves to death.

Dr. Quigley is one of those verbose college professors who never use five words if they can say the same thing in twenty, and who never use a monosyllabic word if a polysyllabic word will do just as well. Hence the

1,300 pages of *Tragedy and Hope*. Hardly anyone has the time to wade through all those words. What Cleon Skousen has done is to extract the significant passages which tell the purposes, personnel, and program of the network of super-rich capitalists who are aiding and abetting Communism and Socialism, and then fill in a few extra historical facts which put the whole picture in proper perspective.

The Naked Capitalist absolutely cannot be refuted because it is based directly on the words of a liberal Establishment historian who for years has been one of the boys. Dr. Quigley names names, dates and places because he believes that the network control is now so complete that the tide cannot be reversed—and probably also because, being privy to so much hitherto unpublished information, he couldn't resist the temptation to write a book and reap the fame and profit of his inside information.

As the baseball ushers cry when you go into a game, "Get your program here! You can't tell who's playing without the name and number of the players!" Here are the Establishment secrets which Dr. Quigley reveals:

1. Who Runs The Establishment:

The greatest value of *Tragedy and Hope* is that it constitutes a bold and boastful admission by one on the inside of the Establishment that there actually exists a relatively small but powerful group which has succeeded in acquiring a choke-hold on the affairs of America and Europe. Dr. Quigley identified this group as the "international bankers," men who are quite "different from ordinary bankers in distinctive ways: they were cosmopolitan and international; they were close to governments and were particularly concerned with questions of government debts . . . they were almost equally devoted to secrecy and the secret use of financial influence in political life. These bankers came to be called 'international bankers' and, more particularly, were known as 'merchant bankers' in England, 'private bankers' in France, and 'investment bankers' in the United States."

Of course, as Mr. Skousen points out, no small group could wield such gigantic power unless people in all walks of life were "in on the take" and willing to knuckle down to the ruthless bosses behind the scenes. The network has succeeded in building its power structure by using tremendous quantities of money to manipulate, intimidate, and influence on a worldwide basis.

Dr. Quigley shows that the core of control is in the financial dynasties of Europe and America who have exercised political control through the formation of international financial combines. These monopoly money dynasties learned the elementary lesson that all governments must have sources of revenue from which to borrow in times of emergency. By providing such funds the international bankers could make both kings and democratic leaders tremendously subservient to their will. Quigley names who they are. He tells how they hid the extent of their immense wealth from the public by keeping their firms unincorporated, usually partnerships, offering no shares, no reports, and usually no advertising.

Dr. Quigley traces the immense power and control exercised by the Rothschilds, the Bank of England, J. P. Morgan, and the Rockefellers. By 1900, according to Dr. Quigley, "the influence of these business leaders was so great that the Morgan and Rockefeller groups acting together, or even Morgan acting alone, could have wrecked the economic system of the country."

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the American economy had become so dynamic that the major banking dynasties found it increasingly difficult to maintain a tight control. Furthermore, their control was being challenged as a major political issue in national elections. So the Morgan

and Rockefeller dynasties decided to follow the pattern of monopoly control over finance established by the Bank of England, that is, a privately controlled institution which had the appearance of an official government institution. The result was the Federal Reserve Act, originally plotted in a secret meeting on Jekyll Island in 1910 attended by representatives of the Morgan and Rockefeller banks. The Federal Reserve bill was introduced into the Senate by Senator Nelson Aldrich, grandfather of Governor Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller. The original bill failed because Aldrich was too closely connected with Morgan and Wall Street.

The Morgan-Rockefeller group then realized they had to have Democratic backing in order to erase the Wall Street taint of the bill. The opportunity presented itself during the election of 1912. Desperate to defeat President William Howard Taft (who opposed the Aldrich bill), Wall Street poured funds into the campaigns of both Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, in order to split the Republicans and assure the election of Wilson.

The operation of the Federal Reserve is one of the most interesting and mysterious combines in the country. Some of it was founded in 1913, it has successfully resisted every attempt to conduct an audit of its affairs. Its most recent political activity was to manipulate the interest rates during 1970 to the highest in 100 years which quickly caused a recession. This was blamed on the Republicans, and insured the election of a Democrat Congress. When David Kennedy, the Nixon Secretary of the Treasury, was asked about the credit-tightening policies of the Federal Reserve, he replied: "It's not my job to approve or disapprove. It is the action of the Federal Reserve."

2. How the Tax-Exempt Foundations are the Base of Operations:

Dr. Quigley tells of the panic the Establishment went into at the formation of the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations in 1953 with Congressman Carroll Reece of Tennessee as chairman. In substance, Dr. Quigley admits the truth of the excellent book by Rene A. Wormser called *Foundations: Their Power and Influence* which detailed the facts about foundations as uncovered by the Reece investigation. Here are some criticisms of tax-exempt foundations given in the Wormser book:

(a) How they interlock into a monolithic monopoly of power to carry out globalist policies.

(b) How they develop an elite corps of social engineers with a compulsive drive to "remake the world" along Socialist lines.

(c) How the foundation-sponsored Kinsey report was deliberately designed as an attack on Judaic-Christian morality.

(d) How they imported a Swedish Socialist to produce a study on the American Negro which has been used to justify revolutionary activities.

(e) How they use the ultimatum "conform or no grant" to subvert and control American education.

(f) How they finance and promote Socialist textbooks.

(g) How they push Rhodes scholars into Government service.

(h) How they produce history books which keep Americans from learning the truth.

(i) How they promote the United Nations as the home base for the Socialist-Communist coalition.

Dr. Quigley explains why the Reece investigation did not have the impact it should have had: "It soon became clear that people of immense wealth would be unhappy if the investigation went too far and that the 'most respected' newspapers in the country, closely allied with these men of wealth, would not get excited enough about any revelation to make the publicity worthwhile, in terms of votes or campaign contributions."

The Naked Capitalist brings the anti-American activities of the Ford Foundation

up to date. Under Paul G. Hoffman, member of the Council on Foreign Relations and trustee for the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Ford Foundation financed a film to whitewash the Communist connections of J. Robert Oppenheimer. Under McGeorge Bundy, the Ford Foundation has poured vast funds into the "Black Revolution", including men affiliated with the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and R.A.M., \$50,000 to LeRoi Jones (author of a vulgar anti-white play called *The Toilet*), \$475,000 to the anti-white racist organization CORE, and \$508,500 to the "Citizens Crusade Against Poverty" which was a Walter Reuther scheme to unionize welfare and OEO recipients.

3. How The Establishment Helped Give China to the Communists:

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 16 volumes of hearings documented beyond any doubt that China was lost to the Communists by the deliberate actions of a group of academic experts on the Far East and Communist fellow travelers whose work was controlled and coordinated by the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Dr. Quigley adds a new dimension to the China story. He says: "The influence of the Communists in IPR is well established, but the patronage of Wall Street is less well known." He shows how the IPR money came from the Carnegie Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and specific Wall Street interests, adding, "The financial deficits which occurred each year were picked up by financial angels, almost all with close Wall Street connections," including Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Thomas Lamont, the senior head of J. P. Morgan and Company, and his son, Corliss Lamont.

Dr. Quigley, in talking about the loss of China, admits the thesis of the great book by John T. Flynn, *While You Slept*, who was the first to expose how the leading book review journals are loaded to aid the Communists. Dr. Quigley states "It is also true that this group, from its control of funds, academic recommendations, and research or publication opportunities, could favor persons who accepted the established consensus and could injure, financially or in professional advancement, persons who did not accept it. It is also true that the established group, by its influence on book reviewing in *The New York Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, the *Saturday Review*, a few magazines, including the 'liberal weeklies,' and in the professional journals, could advance or hamper any specialist's career. It is also true that these things were done in the United States in regard to the Far East by the Institute of Pacific Relations, that this organization had been infiltrated by Communists, and by Communist sympathizers, and that much of this group's influence arose from its access to and control over the flow of funds from foundations to scholarly activities."

4. The Role of the CFR in the Establishment:

Dr. Quigley describes the Council on Foreign Relations as one of several "front" organizations set up by the inner group for the purpose of advancing its conspiratorial schemes. Dr. Quigley explains more specifically that the Council on Foreign Relations "was a front for J. P. Morgan and Company." Some idea of the influence of the Council on Foreign Relations may be gleaned from the fact that there were 74 CFR members in the American delegation to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in 1945, including Alger Hiss (Communist spy), Harry Dexter White (Soviet agent), Owen Lattimore ("a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet international conspiracy"), John J. McCloy (formerly head of the Rockefeller Chase-Manhattan Bank), Harold Stassen, Nelson Rockefeller, John Foster Dulles, Philip Jessup and Dean Acheson.

Internationally, the CFR is interlocked with the Bilderbergers, the Pugwash Con-

ferences, the English-Speaking Union, the Pilgrims Society, and the Round Table. Within the United States, CFR members are interlocked with the American Association for the United Nations, the Foreign Policy Association, the World Affairs Council, the Committee for Economic Development, Business Advisory Council, Commission on National Goals, American Assembly, National Planning Association, and Americans for Democratic Action.

5. How the Establishment Controls the Universities:

Dr. Quigley explains in detail how for generations the international financiers have dominated American universities through their control of university endowment money. He tells how Columbia University was dominated by J. P. Morgan and Company, and "its president, Nicholas Murray Butler, was Morgan's chief spokesman from ivied halls." Butler once said, "The world is divided into three classes of people: a very small group that makes things happen, a somewhat larger group that watches things happen, and the great multitude which never knows what happened." Dr. Quigley gives many examples of how the international bankers placed their men as presidents of leading universities, including the placement of Dwight Eisenhower as president of Columbia.

Columbia University was the intellectual rostrum of the father of Progressive Education, John Dewey, and his favored disciples, William H. Kilpatrick, Harold O. Rugg, and George S. Counts, author of *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* which urged teachers to "deliberately reach for power and then make the most of their conquest."

6. Establishment Influence on the Election of Presidents:

Dr. Quigley tells how and why the Establishment was determined to defeat and destroy Barry Goldwater in 1964, unleashing a torrent of rage against him with such epithets as "extremist," "racist," "atomic bomber," "trigger happy," "warmonger," and "psychologically unfit."

Dr. Quigley tells how the international financiers manipulated the nomination of Dwight Eisenhower at the Republican National Convention in 1952. As Quigley explains, "The lower-middle-class groups had preferred Senator Taft as their leader. Eisenhower, however, had been preferred by the eastern establishment of old Wall Street, Ivy League, semi-aristocratic Anglophiles whose real strength rested in their control of eastern financial endowments, operating from foundations, academic halls, and other tax-exempt refuges."

Dr. Quigley explains Establishment support of John F. Kennedy like this: "Kennedy, despite his Irish Catholicism, was an Establishment figure. This did not arise from his semi-aristocratic attitudes or his Harvard connections. . . . These helped, but John Kennedy's introduction to the Establishment arose from his support of Britain, in opposition to his father, in the critical days at the American Embassy in London in 1938-40. His acceptance into the English Establishment opened its American branch as well."

In describing the Communist sympathizers and fellow travelers who took over in the United States under the Roosevelt Administration, Dr. Quigley says: "It must be recognized that the power that these energetic leftwingers exercised was never their own power or Communist power but was ultimately the power of the international financial coterie."

7. The Influence of Cecil Rhodes:

The great and lasting influence of the Englishman, Cecil Rhodes, who had the money to propagandize for the strange ideas he believed in, is spelled out in detail by Dr. Quigley: "In the middle of the 1890s Rhodes had a personal income of at least a million pounds sterling a year (then about \$5,000,000) which

was spent so freely for his mysterious purposes that he was usually overdrawn on his account. . . . These purposes centered on his desire to federate the English-speaking peoples and to bring all the habitable portions of the world under their control. For this purpose Rhodes left part of his great fortune to found the Rhodes Scholarship at Oxford. . . ."

Rhodes formed a secret society called the "Circle of Initiates," along with other fronts for those who were not on the inside. According to Dr. Quigley, "The power and influence of the Rhodes-Milner group in British imperial affairs and in foreign policy since 1889, although not widely recognized, can hardly be exaggerated." For example, Dr. Quigley goes on to show how this group dominated the London Times from 1890 to 1912 and "has controlled it completely since 1912 (except for the years 1919-1922)."

What we call the Eastern Establishment is the American branch of the Rhodes organization. J. P. Morgan and Company was the inner core of command, and the Council on Foreign Relations is its principal front. The Eastern Establishment extended its influence in the press in the same way in the United States as the Rhodes group did in England. According to Dr. Quigley, "The American Branch of this 'English Establishment' exerted much of its influence through five American newspapers (the New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, the Washington Post, and the lamented Boston Evening Transcript)."

Dr. Quigley also shows how the Establishment reached out to control the leftwing press as well. He names the Wall Street fortunes which established the New Republic, and says that "the original purpose for establishing the paper was to provide an outlet for the progressive Left and to guide it quietly in an Anglophilic direction. . . . This latter task was entrusted to . . . Walter Lippmann . . . the authentic spokesman in American journalism for the Establishments on both sides of the Atlantic in international affairs."

8. The One Thing the Establishment Fears:

Dr. Quigley describes the conflict between grassroots Americans and the Establishment as "the Midwest of Tom Sawyer against the cosmopolitan East of J. P. Morgan and Company, of old Siwash against Harvard, of the Chicago Tribune against the Washington Post or the New York Times. . . ." He leaves no doubt as to where the real power centers are.

Dr. Quigley admits that nothing panics the international Establishment like the possibility of a threatened exposure. Whenever the public became somewhat aware of the conspiratorial processes, the vast, interlocking power structure of the whole London-Wall Street combine immediately shifted into high gear to cover up their agents and their tracks.

This is why the Establishment has viciously attacked nearly every Congressional investigation. Congressional hearings are the best sources of unvarnished truth we have had in America in the last 35 years. The Establishment turned all their heavy guns against Democrat Congressman Martin Dies, Republican Congressman Carroll Reece, Democrat Senator Pat McCarran, and Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy because they were opening up the secrets of the conspiracy for the American people to see.

The American people had been nationally alerted to the fact of Communist infiltration of our Government by the Alger Hiss conviction in 1950, and to the fact that our boys were sent off to fight no-win wars in which the Communists had privileged sanctuaries by the Korean War of 1950-52. By the time of the Communist takeover of Cuba in 1959, nearly everyone knew something had to be terribly wrong at the top.

Unfortunately, the Establishment counter-offensive spearheaded by the Reuther Memorandum and the Fulbright Memorandum

has been very successful in intimidating American citizens from taking action and spreading information.

However, there has been a steady growth in the number of informed patriots. They are the true "Hope" of the country. In 1964, 27,000,000 of them proved that they could resist intimidation and insult of every vicious kind, and still stand up and be counted for their convictions. Events since 1964 have surely greatly increased this number.

W. Cleon Skousen is the author of a best-seller a decade ago called *The Naked Communist*. It is still one of the best books in print on the subject of Communism. A former high FBI official, a former Chief of Police of Salt Lake City, and now a professor at Brigham Young University and editor of the leading police magazine, Mr. Skousen has a record of reliability and dedication which few can match. In *The Naked Capitalist*, he has given us a tool to do the job.

Exposure is our greatest weapon against the enemy that seeks to destroy American freedom and independence. Buy and read *The Naked Capitalist*—and persuade all your friends to do likewise.

THE LATE AND LAMENTED FLORENCE FENLEY—A DISTINGUISHED HISTORIAN

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago Florence Fenley, of Uvalde, Tex., passed away. A descendent of a noted frontier Texas family, she lived a full life which, among other things, was devoted to the preservation of frontier history. In that respect she was preeminent. Except for her alertness and dedication many significant names and events, which figured prominently in the history of the Southwest, would have gone unrecorded. Her contributions was truly invaluable.

While her pen has been stilled and her voice silenced by death, both the spirit and the writings of Florence Fenley will live on and on, to be read and enjoyed by generations of the future.

Florence Fenley was a woman of the soil, of the sagebrush, of remote spots in the brush country, about which she wrote so brilliantly. She knew the smell of saddle leather, the loneliness of the coyote's howl, the crackle of the campfire, the cowboy's yodel, and the sacrifices and heroism of those stalwart people who braved the frontier. Her firsthand knowledge of hitherto unrecorded events seemed inexhaustible.

This distinguished lady left her mark indelibly. But she is gone and thousands will mourn her passing and revere her memory. To me she was a valued personal friend, to be remembered for her strong character, her warmth and her delightful personality. Above all, she was a truly great American, who loved her country and its institutions. She typified the very best in womanhood and the finest of old-fashioned patriotism. She was a part and parcel of the community where she lived, and dedicated her everyday life to the well-being of her friends and associates.

I include as a part of my remarks an article written by Harry Hornby, Jr.,

publisher of the Uvalde Leader-News, which appeared in the May 30 issue of that publication. It follows:

OLD TRAILS COME TO END FOR FLORENCE FENLEY

(By Harry Hornby, Jr.)

The full, active life of Southwest Texas' best known chronicler of early day residents and events ended Thursday morning when Florence Fenley died at Uvalde Memorial Hospital of a heart attack. The previous Saturday Florence, working in the yard of her Uvalde residence, fell and broke her hip. She was operated on Monday morning and Tuesday was able to sit on the side of her bed where her many friends found her in good spirits. The heart attack claimed her life in a few hours.

For over 40 years Florence had been associated with *The Leader-News* writing about her cherished pioneer resident friends throughout the area. In more recent years she also wrote the popular column "Old Trails" which carried her outspoken opinions on local, area and national events based on her experiences as State Representative from 1941 to 1946, her service as a leader in the Texas Women's Press Association which she had served as president, and in her continuing acquaintance with public officials.

Florence was a statuesque, handsome woman whose demeanor left no doubt she would not retreat from any obstacle which her long life in the ranch country bore out with her raising a family, riding horseback in her work and successfully making a career as a writer. Her articles in the *Texas Cattleman*, *Texas Sheep & Goat Raisers' Magazine*, *The Leader-News* and her books had become classics in her lifetime.

She was recognized among Texas cattle businessmen, being named Sweetheart of the Cowboy's International Association as well as Wagon Boss. She was also elected Sweetheart of the Old Trail Driver's Association.

When I succeeded my father as publisher of *The Leader-News* I sort of inherited Florence along with the newspaper. My father had encouraged Florence to reprint her stories of pioneer residents which they did in the first "Oldtimers." Later my wife and I printed more of these authentic interviews in a second book, "Oldtimers of Southwest Texas."

Florence's ability as a writer was described by the late J. Frank Dobie as follows:

"Florence Fenley is honest in writing about old times. This quality of being honest about old range days is not common. She is concrete, specific, definite. She gets the facts, and she has the right tune as well as the right words. She is the most superb reporter I know."

Florence Fenley was born in Uvalde on December 19, 1898.

Services will be conducted at Rushing-Estes Chapel this Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock for Florence Fenley. Interment will be in Uvalde Cemetery. Bro. Ted McElroy, minister of the Uvalde Church of Christ, will be in charge of the services.

Pallbearers will be Fred Horner, Jr., George Wentz, Alex Kincaid, Grant Wimberley, George Brashear and Harry Hornby, Jr.

Honorary pallbearers are Ross Brumfield, Ray Duncan, H. O. Niemeyer, Dolph Briscoe, Price Daniel, O. C. Fisher, Capt. A. Y. Allee and Happy Shahan.

Survivors include two daughters, Mrs. Burns Reinier of Sante Fe, N. Mex. and Mrs. Belle Edwards of North Platte, Nebraska; three sons, Sam Lewis of Colorado Springs, Jack Lewis of El Paso, and Bill Fenley of El Paso; a sister, Mrs. Belle Gay of El Paso; a nephew, Jim Tom Gay of St. Louis; a niece, Mrs. Mona Christopher of Anchorage, Alaska; and 16 grandchildren and several great grandchildren.

Mrs. Fenley was preceded in death by a son, Jim Wilson, and a daughter, Mrs. Florence Patricia Baker.