

of violence, not of love; a policy of despair, not of hope—a policy that can only drag us further down into the abyss of death and immorality into which we have been descending for so long.

All these things you must tell to every one of us in Congress and to every office of government, until at last you make us understand, until at last you make us act to end the war.

And once these truths are known, I am confident that Congress will see the road it has to take. We will embrace our basic constitutional power and responsibility, and we will legislate December 31 as the date to end the war.

The brutalities we have committed in Vietnam in the name of America's national interest will remain forever in the history of the war. And some day, when the war is over, and let us at least be able to say, it ended because Congress at last awakened, and the Constitution began to function, and America found its way.

The Executive Branch has faltered, paralyzed by the prospect of peace. The legal profession of the nation can help Congress lead the way, so that when future generations read the tragic story of Vietnam, they will see a final brighter chapter, in which, in spite of the hideous story of the war, the basic good sense and decency of ordinary citizens everywhere prevailed, and America chose peace.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further business before the Senate?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I will suggest what I hope will be the final quorum call for the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER WITH RESPECT TO THE GERMANENESS RULE ON TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Pastore germaneness rule on tomorrow not become operative until the final dis-

position of amendment No. 75, offered by the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, AND ON THURSDAY, JUNE 10

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business on tomorrow and on Thursday it stand in adjournment each day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, orders for the convening hours on Thursday and Friday have already been entered, to wit, 9 a.m. each day.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM FRIDAY TO MONDAY, JUNE 14, AT 9 A.M.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, when the Senate completes its business on Friday next, it stand in adjournment until 9 a.m. on Monday, June 14, 1971.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, it is understood that these convening times are subject to change.

PROGRAM

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the program for tomorrow is as follows:

The Senate will convene at 9:30 a.m. Immediately following the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes, the period not to extend beyond 10 a.m.

At 10 a.m., the unfinished business will be laid before the Senate and the pending question will be on the adoption of amendment No. 75, as modified, by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY).

Immediately, Mr. President, upon the laying down of the unfinished business, there will be a quorum call, and it will be a live quorum. The time consumed on that quorum will be charged equally against both sides, up to 20 minutes to each side. If more time than a total of 40 minutes is consumed in that live quorum, the time required beyond the 40 minutes will not be charged against either side.

Time on amendment No. 75, as modified, in total, will be 3 hours, under the previous agreement, to be equally divided.

At the conclusion of the allotted time on the amendment, there will be a roll-call vote, the yeas and nays having already been ordered.

It is the understanding of the leadership that upon disposition of amendment No. 75 offered by the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), the distinguished Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT), will call up his amendment No. 90, concerning which agreement has been reached limiting time thereon to 3 hours. Following action on amendment No. 90, other amendments will be called up.

Mr. President, there will be a number of rollcall votes on tomorrow. And Senators will want to keep in mind the live quorum at 10 a.m.

ADJOURNMENT TO 9:30 A.M.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 9:30 a.m. tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to and (at 8 o'clock and 2 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, June 9, 1971, at 9:30 a.m.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 8, 1971:

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Jayne Baker Spain, of Ohio, to be a Civil Service Commissioner for the term of 6 years expiring March 1, 1977.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

STEREOTYPING CAN LEAD TO DISCRIMINATION

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the human weaknesses is that some people tend to place individuals in categories for which there is no justification. They form a mental picture of an individual based on his racial or ethnic background, even before they have ever met him.

A human being is like a puzzle and some people place the parts together before they have the instruction on how he fits. They have a preconceived idea of

how a person will act, what they think, and how they look. Thus, they tend to subconsciously accept or reject people before they really know them.

This practice of stereotyping individuals hurts their growth and understanding. They do not take the time to build a firm relationship with the individual due to some preconceived notion. Thus, they do not know the feelings, the problems, and the ideas of those who are in the categories which they have been subconsciously rejecting. They only know those who have been allowed to enter their little world which they have constructed.

But, this practice also hurts those who have been rejected. This is especially true of minority groups who have not been allowed equal participation in the

civic, social, and economic segments of the community.

Examples of discrimination by stereotyping an individual are with us every day. If a person is black, many subconsciously assume that he is lazy, and probably on welfare. If a person is of Italian extraction, many unjustly assume that he is a part of organized crime. If a person has long hair, many assume that he is a "hippie" and could be a drug addict. If a person is of Mexican heritage, many picture him taking a siesta when he should be working.

Mr. Speaker, there is no excuse for this practice of stereotyping. But, when an advertising agency attempts to take advantage of this weakness, and when it stereotypes those who are daily victims of racism, it is intolerable.

Mr. Speaker, it is time that we treat everyone alike, and it is time that we accept people for what they—as individuals—have to contribute.

With this in mind, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a very timely article that recently appeared in the Washington Post written by William Raspberry:

[From the Washington Post, June 2, 1971]

HOW ABOUT FRITO AMIGO?

(By William Raspberry)

You just can't imagine a fried-chicken restaurant chain trying to sell its product with advertisements featuring a drawing head-scratching Negro chicken thief.

Americans are too enlightened to go for that sort of stereotype.

Then how in heaven's name does the Frito-Lay Corp. keep getting away with its Frito Bandito ads?

You don't have to be a supermilitant Brown Power advocate to be offended by the mustachioed little cartoon character. It's offensive, or should be, to anyone with the slightest degree of sensitivity to the feelings of minorities.

It certainly is offensive to a number of Mexicans, including the Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee, which called it "probably the most subtle and insidious of such racist commercials."

The House Subcommittee on Communications and Power also has had complaints for Nosotros, a Spanish-American civil rights group, and from Rep. John M. Murphy (D-N.Y.).

But the little bandito keeps right on stealing corn chips—presumably because the rest of us keep right on buying the product that sponsors him.

It really is incredible, coming from an advertising industry that has a long history of going out of its way to avoid offending anyone at all.

Sensitivity to the possibility of offending Southern whites, for instance, was generally cited as the reason why black people were not depicted in most television commercials (except those for "special markets").

But that was in the old days. We've come a long way since then.

In the enlightened '70s, it is acknowledged that black folk use laundry products, razor blades, margarine and even deodorant and hair tonic. And the advertisers have managed to work them into TV commercials without resorting to uncomplimentary stereotypes.

Well, almost, anyway. There is that offensive Midas muffler ad that has Eddie Rochester Anderson (I think) doing his best to resurrect the old Stepin Fetchit character.

The impact of that bit of tastelessness is lessened by the increased use of black actors as ordinary housewives, fathers, lovers and children.

Mexicans, apparently, haven't progressed that far, at least so far as Madison Avenue is concerned. Not that Frito-Lay is the only offender.

The Urban Reporter, a publication of the Urban Research Corp., Chicago, says it has spotted "many more advertisements that symbolically reaffirm the inferior status of Mexican-Americans by exaggerating Mexican racial and cultural characteristics and by reinforcing the myths that Mexicans are comical, lazy and thieving."

A case in point: The commercial that shows a Mexican using Arrid spray deodorant while the announcer intones: "If it works for him, it will work for you."

"The message," says the Urban Reporter, "is obvious—Mexicans stink the most."

The publication also cites a Camel cigarette commercial depicting a Mexican village where every inhabitant is sleeping or bored. "The obvious conclusion: Mexicans are lazy and irresponsible."

Maybe blacks and Mexican-Americans are overly sensitive. Don't TV ads portray stereotypical Italians (speezy spicy meatballs)? And aren't "typical" Jewish mamas selling everything from gasoline to new Plymouths?

True, and for all I know these ads may also be resented. But if the resentment is less, it is because Italians and Jews have been sufficiently integrated into the general society that the jokes have become relatively harmless.

Imagine a TV comedian using Negroes as the butt of Polish-type jokes. And don't kid yourself that all Poles think the Polish jokes are terribly clever, either.

The point is that the ethnic stereotypes, bad enough no matter who they depict, are intolerable when they pick on people who are daily victims of American racism.

And if the point had escaped those who created the Frito Bandito ads, the complaints from Mexican-Americans have removed whatever innocence there may have been.

If the advertising people want to hang onto their "cute" little character in spite of his offensiveness (just as Winston refuses to drop its "like a cigarette should"), Richard Hernandez, legal counsel for Nosotros, has proposed a useful solution: a Frito Amigo who gives away corn chips instead of stealing them.

REINECKE CUTS HIS OWN PATH

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1971

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, recently one of Capitol Hill's finest reporters, Lou Cannon, of the Ridder Newspapers, wrote an excellent article about one of our former colleagues, California Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke. It provides an excellent assessment of the fine efforts of the esteemed Lieutenant Governor:

[From the San Jose Mercury, May 20, 1971]

REINECKE CUTS HIS OWN PATH

(By Lou Cannon)

WASHINGTON.—California Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke continues to walk a "hard, thin line" between loyalty to the Reagan administration and an independent political presence.

The "hard, thin line" is Reinecke's own description of his role.

It accurately described his responses Wednesday in an interview during which he strongly backed the governor's welfare program and philosophy but took issue with his concept of state management of the national redwoods park on the California north coast.

"If it's a national park, it's going to be administered by the Department of Interior," Reinecke said. "The department's not about to accept a whole, new concept for national parks."

Reinecke's matter-of-fact dismissal of a notion that Gov. Ronald Reagan has been advancing for several years illustrates as well as anything his gradual emergence as an independent, if conservative, Republican who in 1974 will seek the governorship on his own.

Last month, on another visit to Washington, the lieutenant governor suggested pointedly that he could communicate better with dissident young people than Reagan could, although he blamed a misunderstanding of the governor's position rather than Reagan himself.

The differences between Reagan and Reinecke can easily be overstated.

On all essential disputes between the Re-

gan administration and the federal government, Reinecke has stood foursquare for the state position. And on welfare, the issue upon which Reagan has staked his administration's reputation, Reinecke's position is indistinguishable from the governor's.

Speaking Wednesday before the National Federation of Independent Businessmen, for instance, Reinecke celebrated the "work ethic" and said that the growth of welfare was potentially more disastrous than environmental pollution.

"Too many people would just as soon ignore the fact that our society is rapidly becoming a welfare state—a society in which the dole replaces the paycheck . . . food stamps substitute for unemployment . . . and those working for a living are supporting an every-increasing governmental burden," Reinecke said.

It is declarations such as these that strengthen Reinecke's claim to a conservative following within the Republican party.

Reinecke's appearance and method of operation do nothing to detract from the notion that he is a low-key inheritor of the Reagan conservative tradition. The lieutenant governor dresses in conservative grey-and-blue, eats oatmeal for breakfast and pays deference to business leadership.

"I don't take orders from the governor but we agree philosophically," he says. "We come to the same conclusions given the same set of data."

Among the conclusions which businessman-engineer Reinecke, a former Tujunga congressman, expressed Wednesday:

On Lockheed—"I strongly favor the \$250 million loan guarantee proposed by the President." Reinecke also said that Sen. Alan Cranston's proposed amendment requiring Lockheed to get rid of its management as a condition of the guarantee would jeopardize the proposal both in Congress and with bankers, "who like to know whom they're dealing with." Reinecke further suggested that Cranston may have made the proposal to give himself a reason to vote against the Lockheed loan if the amendment is defeated.

On Nixon—the President will carry the state against any Democrat in 1972, Reinecke predicted, but it won't be any landslide. He saw unemployment as the issue hurting Republicans most.

FEDERAL RESEARCH PROGRAMS AND A PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL RESEARCH DATA BANK

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1971

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, during fiscal 1972, which will begin 2 months from now, the Federal Government will provide \$17,681,373,000 for research programs. This compares with \$16,536,733,000 for the current fiscal year and \$15,925,578,000 for fiscal 1970. These figures, which are based on the budget for fiscal 1972, do not include research obligations that are not separated from nonresearch obligations.

Some of my colleagues feel that a good deal of money could be saved by judiciously curtailing research spending, while others are convinced that much more should be made available for their favorite programs. No matter which view they hold, I am sure that they will be interested in a bill I introduced last week, H.R. 8732, to establish a National Research Data Bank.

The purpose of the bank would be to coordinate information regarding research projects through the office of the Comptroller General of the United States. Basically, the bill would be the national depository for all information and data relating to research programs conducted with Federal assistance. Second, the measure would direct the Comptroller General to publish a catalog containing a summary of all information and data stored in the data bank with the exception of those items that are classified.

I am sure that every Member of Congress has had occasion to request information on a research program only to find that it was conducted by 10 different project directors under five different agencies. Sometimes the mystery of where, how and by whom concerning research money appropriated by Congress becomes a major research project in itself.

Year after year Congress has been asked to approve the funding of new ventures in research without having a clear idea of how many other similar programs are in existence. We must begin to question any new program of research more thoroughly until there is a systematic way of maintaining and using the information that has already been gathered at Federal expense.

I have prepared a tabulation that shows the amounts that will be obligated for research for the fiscal years 1970, 1971, and 1972, broken down by programs within the various departments and agencies of the National Government. Brief descriptions of the activities are included with the statistical data in order that my colleagues and other interested persons and organizations may see what the money will be spent on. Actions by the House and the other body have affected the budget which was submitted early in the present session. The tabulations of just the judiciary, Executive Office of the President, Department of Agriculture, legislative branch, and the Department of Commerce are submitted herewith and other department expenditures will be provided on subsequent dates.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS			
Congressional Research Service—Salaries and expenses:			
Policy analysis and research.....	3,360	3,853	6,361
Documentation and status of legislation.....	319	360	789
Information and reference services.....	1,003	1,283	2,011
Total obligations.....	4,682	5,496	9,161

Policy analysis and research: The Congressional Research Service provides research, information, and consultative services to Members and committees of Congress, assisting them in the analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of legislative issues and proposals, and of recommendations submitted to the Congress by the President or executive branch agencies. This support comes in the form

of research reports, in-depth policy analyses, consultations, briefings, legal research, assistance with committee hearings, background studies, and related data and materials. Lists of subjects and policy areas which might profitably be pursued are periodically made available to each congressional committee. These services are directed toward assisting Members and committees in determining the advisability of enacting legislative proposals, in estimating the probable results of such proposals and alternatives to them, and in evaluating methods for accomplishing the results sought.

Documentation and status of legislation: The Service prepares and publishes on a periodic basis for distribution to Members and committees the Digest of Public General Bills, which includes summaries of all public bills and resolutions introduced in the Congress, the changes made therein during the legislative process, the status of bills receiving action, and various pertinent indexes. The Service also prepares and distributes weekly reports on the status of selected major legislation. Upon request from Members and committees, the Service provides legislative history memoranda with respect to measures on which hearings have been announced, and it compiles and makes available to each committee reports on legislatively authorized programs and activities which are within that committee's jurisdiction and which are scheduled to terminate during the current Congress.

Information and reference services: The Service assists Members in the performance of their representative duties. Reference files, containing clippings, pamphlets, and documents, are maintained for rapid informational use. Staff researchers and Members are alerted to current articles and publications in their fields of interest by computer produced citations. Lists of multilithed reports prepared by CRS staff for use of congressional offices providing information on legislative issues are circulated, and reader services are provided by the Congressional Reading Room.

JUDICIARY

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Courts of Appeals, District Courts, and Other Judicial Services: Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts: Study of rules of practice and procedure.....	75	80	90

This office, among other things, conducts a continuous study of the rules of practice and procedure in the Federal courts.

FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Automobile litigation survey.....	150		

EXECUTIVE BRANCH—EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: National Commission on Productivity.....			800

Basic research and statistical projects will include development of price and productivity measures for individual industries and development of a general wage index.

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: Research and development.....	481	972	1,000

A contractual program is conducted to provide in-depth studies and research in areas of national importance.

PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY COUNCIL ON EXECUTIVE ORGANIZATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Study of the organization of the executive branch of Government.....	806	577	
Change in selected resources.....	77	-77	
Total obligations.....	883	550	

The Council is reviewing the organization of the executive branch.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Study of causes and prevention of violence and disrespect for law and order.....	326		
Change in selected resources.....	-30		
Total obligations.....	296		

FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Foreign assistance: Bilateral assistance: Surveys of investment opportunities.....	185		
Office of Economic Opportunity: Economic opportunity program: Research, development, and evaluation.....	45,100	71,000	75,000

Projects supported under research and development provide the basis for planning national programs to alleviate poverty and promote equality of opportunity. This consists of systematic analyses of the causes of poverty, identification of need, design of social experiments, development of accepted hypotheses into working models, expanding successful concepts to demonstration scale, and developing mechanisms for moving these programs to full-scale operation either

within or outside the agency. The 1972 research and development effort will center around an assessment of experiments undertaken in prior years and completed during 1972, a continuation of the most promising activities begun in prior years, the initiation of new experiments in carefully selected areas, and the augmentation of an in-house research capability.

Evaluation activities included in this component are of two types: those providing an overall assessment of the impact and effectiveness of antipoverty programs, with emphasis on the extent to which programs are successful in achieving basic objectives, and those aimed at assessing the relative effectiveness of different program strategies, approaches, and techniques used by antipoverty programs.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE—AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SERVICE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses—Research:			
Farm research.....	100,037	114,482	113,518
Utilization research and development.....	35,394	38,539	38,522
Nutrition and consumer use research.....	4,148	4,844	4,769
Marketing research.....	9,031	10,196	10,070
Coordination of departmental and inter-departmental activities related to pests and their control.....	152	173	158
Construction of facilities.....	8,809	8,010	2,719
Contingencies.....		1,000	1,000
Total.....	157,571	177,244	170,756

The Service conducts basic and applied research relating to the production, utilization, and marketing of agricultural products, and research on nutrition and consumer use.

Farm research: Improved breeding, feeding, and management practices, including management of animal wastes, are developed for farm livestock, poultry, and domestic fur animals. Practical methods are sought for control of diseases, parasites, and insect pests affecting them and to protect them from chemical toxicity and other hazards.

Investigations are conducted to improve varieties of food, feed, fiber, and other plants, and to develop new crops; to improve crop-production practices, including methods to control plant diseases and nematodes, and reduce cost of production; and to develop safe chemical, biological, and other methods for control of harmful pests affecting farm production.

Investigations are conducted to improve the management of natural resources, including investigations to improve soil and water management, including salinity and saline soils, irrigation, and conservation practices; to study hydrologic problems of agricultural watersheds; to determine the relation of soil types and water to plant, animal, and human nutrition; and to apply engineering principles to improve efficiency and reduce costs of agricultural production.

The research is aimed at the profitable production of an adequate supply of food, feed, fiber, and other agricultural

products of desired quality at minimum costs. Increased attention has been given to studies on protection of plants, animals, and natural resources from harmful effects of soil, water, and air pollutants. Research also concerns the application of remote sensing techniques in meeting agricultural problems.

The net decrease requested for 1972 would provide for research to develop effective controls against emergency outbreaks of plant diseases; decreases to eliminate certain items of increase added by the Congress; and a decrease in public relations activities.

Utilization research and development: Chemical, physical, and biological research is conducted to develop increased industrial uses of farm products, and new and improved foods, feeds, and fabrics; and to develop improved methods for processing agricultural commodities.

The research aim is to expand the demand for farm products by developing new and improved products and economical processes tailored to the requirements of the domestic and foreign markets. The research conducted includes studies to protect food and feed products from harmful micro-organisms and naturally occurring toxins and studies of health-related problems of tobacco. Increased effort is being given to the processing of agricultural commodities to minimize waste formation and to utilize waste products to avoid pollution.

The decrease requested for 1972 would provide for a reduction in public relations activities and the elimination of certain items of increase added by the Congress in 1971.

Nutrition and consumer use research: Studies are made of human nutritional requirements, composition and nutritive value of foods, and consumer and food economics. The research aim is to determine nutrient requirements and how foods can supply these to best assure nutritional well-being of people throughout their lifespan; to provide up-to-date information about food consumption and nutrition of the population; and to develop improved procedures for household preparation, care, and preservation of foods which will preserve their nutritional, sanitary, and wholesome quality. The decrease requested for 1972 would provide for a reduction in public relations activities.

Marketing research: Practical answers to reduce costs and maintain product quality in moving products from farm to consumer are sought through research. For farm products as they pass through marketing channels, efforts are made to develop safe methods to protect against insect attack, find objective methods to determine quality, reduce losses from waste and spoilage, and improve efficiency in physical handling and transportation. The work includes research at each stage of marketing, such as assembly points and storage facilities, and of transportation at terminal or central markets, and at wholesale and retail markets. Research is also concerned with mycotoxins in agricultural products in relation to off-farm handling, conditioning, and storage. The decrease for 1972 would eliminate certain items of

increase added by the Congress in 1971 and provide for a reduction in public relations activities.

Coordination of departmental and interdepartmental activities related to pests and their control: The 1972 estimates provide for the availability of \$158,000 for the use of the Secretary to meet emergency situations relating to the safe use of pesticides. Part of this activity was transferred to the Environmental Protection Agency in accordance with Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1970. The project provided for coordination with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of the Interior, and other agencies of the Federal Government in development of measures to protect the public health, products, and resources.

Contingencies: \$1,000,000 is available to meet urgent research needs that develop unexpectedly during the year, when such needs cannot be met by redirection of resources from other projects.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES (SPECIAL FOREIGN CURRENCY PROGRAM)

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Market development research.....	991	1,700	2,000
Agricultural and forestry research.....	4,507	6,300	7,000

Foreign currencies which the Treasury Department determines to be excess to the normal requirements of the United States are used for expenses of carrying out programs of the Department of Agriculture as authorized by law. Research is carried on through agreements negotiated with research institutions and organizations in foreign countries. The research must be of importance to American agriculture. It serves to preserve and expand existing markets and develop new ones for agricultural commodities. It provides for research supplementary to domestic programs on problems of farm, forest, marketing utilization, agricultural economics, and human nutrition, and makes possible the conduct of research on exotic insect pests and diseases of plants and animals which could not be done in the United States.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements:			
Research.....	3,645	2,589	2,426
COOPERATIVE STATE RESEARCH SERVICE			
Payments and expenses:			
Payments to agricultural experiment stations under the Hatch Act.....	53,500	59,777	53,206
Grants for cooperative forestry research.....	3,419	4,580	4,641
Contracts and grants for scientific research.....	1,544	1,500	2,404
Grants for facilities.....	1,350	1,354	600
Penalty mail.....	160	160	209
Federal administration.....	1,920	2,132	2,238
Total program costs, funded.....	61,893	69,503	73,298
Change in selected resources.....	690	-1,027	1,027
Total obligations.....	62,584	68,476	74,325

The Service administers funds for payments and grants to State agricultural experiment stations and other eligible institutions for the support of research in agriculture, the rural home, the rural community, and forestry. This administration involves supervision of the funds, and close advisory relations with the State agricultural experiment stations, schools of forestry, and other institutions eligible to receive funds. The Service participates in planning and coordination of research programs among the States and between the States and the Department.

Payments to agricultural experiment stations under the Hatch Act: Grants under the Hatch Act are allocated to agricultural experiment stations of the land-grant colleges in the 50 States and Puerto Rico for agricultural research including investigations and experiments to promote a permanent and efficient agricultural industry and improvements in the rural home and rural community.

Grants for cooperative forestry research: These grants are allocated to land-grant colleges or agricultural experiment stations in the 50 States and Puerto Rico and other State-supported colleges and universities offering graduate training in the sciences basic to forestry and having a forestry school.

Contracts and grants for scientific research: These funds are for the support of grants on specific research problems at nonprofit institutions of higher education or nonprofit organizations whose primary purpose is the conduct of research. To meet the requirements for selection, each proposal must be evaluated and classified as outstanding and appropriate to the needs of the designated problem areas.

Penalty mail: Funds to cover the cost of penalty mailings for State agricultural experiment station directors are provided under this appropriation.

Federal administration: A coordinating and review staff is maintained to examine research projects and assist State institutions and Federal agencies.

FARMER COOPERATIVE SERVICE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses:			
Research and technical assistance for agricultural cooperatives.....	1,628	1,773	1,773
Change in selected resources.....	9		
Total obligations.....	1,637	1,773	1,773

Farmer Cooperative Service conducts research, advises directly with cooperative leaders and others, promotes cooperative organization and development through other Federal and State agencies, and publishes reports, News for Farmer Cooperatives, and other educational material. This work is aimed to help farmers get better prices for their products and reduce operating expenses, to help rural and smalltown residents use cooperatives to develop rural resources, to help these cooperatives expand their services and operate more

efficiently, and to help all Americans understand the work of these cooperatives.

In 1972, the Service will help cooperatives improve their markets and operating practices to serve farmers more effectively.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements:			
Research and technical assistance to cooperatives.....	36	41	46
ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE			
Salaries and expenses:			
Farm economics.....	6,854	7,140	7,036
Marketing economics.....	3,774	3,940	3,787
Domestic and foreign economic analysis.....	4,001	4,593	4,590
Total program costs, funded.....	14,629	15,673	15,413
Change in selected resources.....	252		
Total obligations.....	14,881	15,673	15,413

Agricultural economics research in the Department is administered by the Service. The results of the research program are relied upon by producers, dealers, importers, and exporters as aids in planning the most profitable adjustments in their operations, Government agencies in formulating and administering agricultural programs, and Congress in considering agricultural legislation.

Farm economics: Research is conducted to measure, appraise, and analyze on a continuing basis, economic changes that occur in farming and in the use of human and natural rural resources and to indicate needed adjustments.

Research on the economics of farm production includes the economics of organization and management of farms; adjustments of production to prospective demands and changing technologies; appraisals of costs and returns on farms representative of important types, sizes, and locations, and the appraisal of costs of producing important commodities; development of measures of farm output and productivity; problems of farm size and capital requirements; financing of farm enterprises; and appraisal of alternative agricultural production policies and programs.

Natural resources economics is concerned with the economics of use, conservation, development, management, and control of natural resources and their relationship to economic activity. It includes economic analysis of land and water resources, resource institutions, and the economic and social conditions affecting use of resources.

Economic development is focused upon the well-being and opportunities of rural people. It includes a broad research program on economic development of rural areas, opportunities and employment of rural people, and factors affecting them, including local governments and other organizations. Special attention is given to the poor who are found in heavy concentrations among rural people.

Marketing economics: This activity covers economic aspects of marketing farm products, including the nature of farmers' bargaining power; potentials for new products and new uses; market structure, performance costs, and mar-

gins; the economic effects of school feeding, food stamp, and direct food distribution programs.

Domestic and foreign economic analysis: Domestic economic analysis is concerned with identifying, measuring, and analyzing: the factors affecting demand, supply, and price of agricultural commodities; relationships between agriculture and the national economy; farm income and the income of the farm population; demand for and consumption of farm products; long-term projections of economic growth and demand for farm products; and historical developments in the policies, programs, and organization of the Department.

Foreign economic analysis includes trade studies and investigation of supply-demand relationships. The trade and market studies focus on the problems of developing foreign markets and the effect of these developments on U.S. agricultural production. Research is carried on for more than 100 countries around the world, focusing on the forces affecting supply, demand, and trade in farm products, and their impact on U.S. agricultural exports.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements:			
Economic research:			
Agriculture.....	378	596	596
Other agencies.....	604	331	331
Agency for International Development.....	887	783	783
Total obligations.....	1,869	1,710	1,710
Miscellaneous contributed funds:			
Program costs, funded.....	63	15	15
Change in selected resources.....	-40		
Total obligations.....	23	15	15

Miscellaneous funds received from States, local organizations, and others are available for economic research and analysis under cooperative agreements.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Statistical Reporting Service:			
Salaries and expenses: Statistical research and service.....	796	759	759

This work includes review of all statistical forms, survey plans, and reporting and recordkeeping requirements originating in the Department which require Office of Management and Budget approval; liaison within the Department and with other agencies for coordination of statistics; research on and development of sampling, forecasting, and other basic statistical techniques and methods to improve the crop and livestock estimates of the Department; provision of technical consulting services on new or improved statistical techniques to other agencies of the Department; use of and consultation on automatic data processing, to develop and adapt this technology to the improvement of the accuracy and timeliness of crop and livestock estimates; and conduct of special surveys relating to the marketing of agricultural products.

FOREST SERVICE—FOREST PROTECTION AND UTILIZATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Forest research:			
Forest and range management	19,203	19,612	19,504
Forest protection	11,311	11,940	11,940
Forest products and engineering	9,023	9,709	9,700
Forest resource economics	5,666	6,544	6,544
Forest research construction	592	870	
Total	45,795	48,675	47,688

Research is conducted at regional forest experiment stations, the Forest Products Laboratory, and the Institute of Tropical Forestry.

Forest and range management: Provides land managers and owners with a sound basis for management of timber, forage, and watershed lands. Studies are conducted to maintain a sustained yield of products at least cost; improve forage and habitat for livestock and wildlife without damage to soil, watershed, or other values; assure maximum regular flow of usable water, and reduce floods and sedimentation; and improve methods for developing and managing recreation resources.

Forest protection: Research is conducted to develop measures for the protection of forests from damage by fire, insects, and diseases. Forest fire and atmospheric science research provides improved methods of predicting fire danger, and preparing for and combating fire by combinations of ground and aerial methods. Insect and disease research develops direct controls, silvicultural measures, and biological agents to combat forest pests.

Forest products and engineering: Studies are conducted to develop new and improved forest products, reduction and utilization of waste, and use of low-quality wood and less-desirable species. Research is also conducted to advance the mechanization and efficiency of forestry operations, and to develop and evaluate machines and similar equipment for such operations as logging, planting, timber-stand improvement, and protection of forests.

Forest resource economics: Investigations are conducted to inventory and appraise the condition of forest lands, volume and quality of standing timber, ownership of timber resources, annual growth and depletion the potential need for timber products, and the economics and marketing potential of forest crop production.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Construction and land acquisition: Research construction		785	400

To provide for construction, alteration, and improvement of research laboratories and related facilities, and for procurement and installation of necessary initial equipment needed to put the facility into operating condition.

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	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements:			
Forest research at experimental forests and ranges, and for foreign countries	1,505	1,550	1,550
Cooperative work (trust fund):			
Research investigations	881	950	900

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—BUSINESS ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements:			
Economic research in water resource development	380	505	505
Input-output study	56	80	110
Bureau of the Census: Salaries and expenses: Research and development	625	784	784

Research and development is conducted on survey methods and techniques, including sample survey methods and theory, questionnaire design, response errors, equipment design and utilization, computer editing, and administrative control, operations, analytical techniques including techniques of geographic analysis, for the purpose of increasing accuracy, output, and usefulness of statistical data per unit of cost.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Planning, technical assistance, and research	3,062	2,556	2,216

A continuing program of research, training, and education is performed through contracts and grants. This permits the use of the best talent available in universities, other governmental agencies, and private institutions to help determine the causes and remedies of unemployment, underemployment, and low incomes, which information is then made available for use by Government and community leaders to help guide the formulation and evaluation of remedial programs.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
PROMOTION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE			
Advances and reimbursements:			
Economic Development Assistance: Water study		26	

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration—Research development and facilities:			
Operating costs:			
Environmental prediction and warnings	17,536	18,185	24,054
Mapping, charting and marine description	3,275	6,334	9,661
Solid earth monitoring and services	2,400	2,341	2,916

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Admin.—Con.			
Operating costs.—Con.			
Ocean fisheries and living resources	11,684	22,873	29,741
Environmental satellite	2,968	2,709	2,757
Sea grant		7,406	15,399
Data buoy		15,312	13,957
Tropical experiment			1,500
International field year for the Great Lakes		601	3,596
Executive direction and administration	1,771	3,458	4,542
Total operating costs	39,634	79,219	108,123
Unfunded adjustments to total operating costs: Depreciation included above	-1,519	-3,420	-4,500
Total operating costs, funded	38,115	75,799	103,623
Capital outlay:			
Environmental prediction and warnings	4,201	6,138	4,660
Mapping, charting, and marine description	2,754	4,287	2,036
Solid earth monitoring and services	432	823	439
Ocean fisheries and living resources	1,538	6,281	1,007
Tropical experiment			1,000
Total capital outlay	8,925	17,529	9,142
Unfunded adjustments to total capital outlay: Depreciation included above	-20	-32	-40
Total capital outlay, funded	8,905	17,497	9,102
Total program costs, funded	47,020	93,296	112,725
Change in selected resources	-7,001	-766	-1,624
Total obligations	40,019	92,530	111,101

This appropriation provides for the research and development and the acquisition of facilities to support the operational programs of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Environmental prediction and warnings: This activity includes programs to increase understanding of the composition and dynamics of the atmosphere; to develop better instrumentation and techniques for weather observing, analysis, and forecasting; to provide atmospheric and river observational devices and instrumentation; and to equip specialized meteorological and hydrologic laboratories and observatories. The 1972 increases include upgrading of facilities, air and water pollution abatement projects, installation of automatic surface meteorological observing equipment, instrumentation of additional air pollution observational support units, instrumentation of hydrologic equipment for data collection by satellite, expansion of weather modification, hurricane, tornado, and severe storm research, and development of remote sensing mobile meteorological equipment.

Mapping, charting, and marine description: This activity includes the research and facilities directed toward continued improvement of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's mapping and charting data acquisition, analysis, processing, and production capability and toward increasing our understanding of ocean and lake properties, processes, and environmental interactions. The 1972 increases will provide for further studies in the areas of marine environmental protection; sea-air interactions; environmental effects

of marine mining; and the physical processes along coastlines and estuaries. Funds are also requested for development, test, and evaluation of instrumentation for obtaining oceanographic and atmospheric data; to begin equipping survey ships with water pollution controls; to procure equipment for automation of marine chart production; and for initiation of a program to use deep exploration submersible systems and for continental shelf exploration.

Solid earth monitoring and services: This activity includes research directed toward understanding the intricate processes and phenomena of the solid earth, such as determining the size and shape of the earth and seismological studies and warnings; also included is the procurement of equipment, facilities, and the equipping of these facilities. The 1972 increase provides for research to improve geodetic technology; to improve earthquake investigations and services; and for updating geodetic equipment.

Ocean fisheries and living resources: This activity includes research directed toward living marine resources and toward improved methods of sport fishery management; also the procurement of equipment, facilities, and the equipping of these facilities. The 1972 increase provides for research on marine contaminants; on the marine resource monitoring and assessment analysis; on the effect of environment on living marine resources; on dynamics and ecology of estuarine waters; continued implementation of research in the sport fisheries programs; and for necessary laboratory facilities and equipment aboard vessels.

Environment satellite: This activity provides for research in the environmental satellite program to determine the most beneficial method of data selection, collection, and use by operational programs.

Sea grant: The talents and knowledge of academic scientists and engineers are utilized in the practical problems of marine resource development and management. The 1972 program will provide for institutional support and project support programs.

Data buoy project: The data buoy project was established to carry out the development of a system of automatic ocean buoys for obtaining oceanic and atmospheric data. This network of automatic buoys throughout the ocean is designed to bridge an information gap. The data buoy project is currently developing and deploying a network of prototype oceanographic and marine meteorological data collection buoys preparatory to a future decision on whether or not to deploy an operational system.

Tropical experiment: This project is a part of the global atmospheric research program—an international research program to provide scientific knowledge to improve the techniques of weather forecasts, to determine the feasibility of large scale weather modification, and to assess the long-term effects of atmospheric pollution. The tropical experiment is designed to provide an understanding of the mechanisms by which energy locked in water vapor of the air is re-

leased and then applied to driving the global atmospheric circulation.

International field year for the Great Lakes: This is a joint United States-Canadian contribution to the International Hydrologic Decade. A single lake and basin, Lake Ontario, has been chosen for study. The central objective is to provide a sound scientific basis for development of an economical, efficient, and healthy water management plan to meet the needs of the United States and Canadian citizens living within the drainage basin of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence region. This is to be achieved through two major programs: Water quantity and water quality.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (SPECIAL FOREIGN CURRENCY PROGRAM)

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Environmental prediction and warnings.....	248	220	360
Mapping, charting, and marine description.....		34	70
Solid earth monitoring and services.....	9	237	50
Ocean fisheries and living resources.....	12	300	80
Environmental satellite.....	37	80	
Total program, costs.....	306	871	560
Change in selected resources.....	249	-116	139
Total obligations.....	555	755	699

This program uses foreign currencies which are in excess of the normal requirements of the United States to supplement domestic research and development and to encourage international cooperation in environmental research and allied sciences. The program for 1972 includes:

Environmental prediction and warnings: Included under this activity are studies of cloud physics and other meteorological factors; study of the agricultural potential for arid areas where rainfall amounts are marginal; studies of techniques for regional analysis and prediction of marine environmental factors; and studies of meteorological characteristics of watersheds and river basins for use in developing hydrologic models and improving river forecasting techniques.

Mapping, charting, and marine description: Studies will be made to obtain a better understanding of the large scale motions of the ocean system and its interaction with the atmosphere.

Solid earth monitoring and services: This activity includes studies of the earth's magnetic field and its secular changes and studies of energy dissipated along fault lines as compared with latent energy which is built up in other areas.

Ocean fisheries and living resources: This activity includes technological research involving protein nutritional and fish preservation studies; studies of fishing vessels and gear; and a translation program to gain marketing and technological information for foreign fishery publications and reports.

Environmental satellite: This activity provides for use of satellite data in studies of meteorology, geomagnetism, ionospheric physics, and radio propagation.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Management and investigations of resources:			
Research.....	13,773	4,428	
Research on fish migration over dams.....	1,333	414	
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS			
Research and technical services:			
Basis for Nation's physical measurement system:			
Measurement methods, standards, and research.....	20,578	21,717	22,815
Transfer services.....	3,972	3,743	3,810
Scientific and technological services for industry and Government.....	7,751	8,603	9,401
Technical basis for equity in trade.....	1,962	2,008	2,146
Technical services to promote public safety.....	948	2,024	2,439
Technical information services.....	2,494	2,494	2,715
Central technical support.....	2,547	2,558	2,674
Total program costs, funded.....	40,252	43,147	46,000
Change in selected resources.....	-448	128	450
Total obligations.....	39,804	43,275	46,450

The proposed increase will strengthen the Bureau's program particularly with regard to standards of physical measurements, building technology, materials research related to public health and safety, environmental pollution abatement technology, and flammable fabrics. About one-third of the increase will be used for an accelerated cooperative program with the States to achieve greater uniformity in the content and application of building codes.

Basis for Nation's physical measurement system: The purpose of this activity is to insure that the users of science and technology in the United States will be able to make physical measurements which are meaningful—measure the desired property—reliable—measure properly and as accurately as needed—reproducible—yield the same results time after time—and compatible—will be reconcilable with other like measurements made elsewhere at different times.

Measurement methods, standards, and research: Programs include development, maintenance, and improvement of the standards of physical measurement which, by common agreement, are compatible with those of other nations. This involves national standards for measurement of some forty physical quantities—including the "basic six" of physics: mass, length, time, temperature, electric current, and luminous intensity.

Research is conducted to learn new and improved ways to measure the physical and chemical properties of matter, materials, and natural phenomena. The national measurement system is continually evaluated to insure that the Bureau's efforts in improving its measurement capability are linked to the present and future needs of the system and directed toward the highest priority problems.

Transfer services: This involves developing and making readily available a range of specialized products and services, including calibrations and standard reference data, that will effectively transfer the results of the Bureau's work to other elements of the Nation's meas-

urement system. The increase in 1972 will be applied to help meet the increasing demands of our technologically oriented society to extend the range and improve the accuracy of measurement. The greatest emphasis is planned for multidimensional metrology, laser measurements, operation of a newly rebuilt and relocated standard frequency broadcast station, and fundamental research on reference materials with particular attention to materials needed in clinical, biological, and environmental pollution applications.

Scientific and technological services for industry and Government: The purpose of this activity is to facilitate effective use of science and technology by governmental institutions and by industry. In the United States most of the effort devoted to developing and using technology is in the private sector. A variety of problems exist in certain areas of technology, however, where the Government has a substantial investment or where complexity, cost, or scope of impact are such as to require a national-level effort.

Programs in this activity include: Biomaterials, metals, alloys, polymers, inorganic, and composite materials technology; evaluation and improvement of measurement methods in support of environmental pollution abatement programs; research, performance testing, and evaluation of building materials and structures; services to improve the effective Government utilization of automatic data processing equipment; electronic technology; and the application of analytical techniques to nontechnological problems such as operations analysis and the management of research.

A proposed increase of \$1,100,000 will be used for a cooperative effort with the National Conference of States on Building Codes and Standards to reform the building regulatory system by achieving uniformity and compatibility of codes and standards, establishing a nationwide system for evaluating new building products and technologies, and encouraging the use of performance codes. Increases will also be applied to measurement problems fundamental to environmental pollution abatement and computer technology.

Technical basis for equity in trade: The purpose of this activity is to provide a common technical basis for a fair exchange between buyers and sellers in commercial dealings with minimum legal regulation at the Federal level. Programs in this area include voluntary engineering standards services to assist private sector groups to develop national and international engineering standards and disseminate information on such standards, measures of quantities important to commerce to insure a proper degree of measurement accuracy in commercial quantity determinations, including development and promotion of better weights and measures technology, standards to measure the performance of industrial and consumer products, test services to promote the application of product standards and standardized product test

methods by Federal, State, and commercial testing laboratories, and fair packaging and labeling programs to reduce undue proliferation of commodity package sizes by voluntary means.

The increase will be applied to test services to expand the Bureau's testing laboratory inspection service to cover new product areas and tests.

Technical services to promote public safety: Programs of this activity provide standards, test methods, information, and specialized services as required by law to protect the public from certain specified hazards. Subjects included are flammable fabrics, which provides the technical basis for reduction of the hazard of fire involving fabrics and related materials, fire research and safety, which involves research, information, and services aimed at reducing loss of life and property due to fire, and product safety, which provides the technical basis for assessing hazards and aids in setting standards for consumer product safety.

This increase will be assigned to the flammable fabrics program to improve and extend test methods, study the probable impact of standards on both the users and the affected industries, and investigate the effectiveness of various flame retardants when applied to fabrics.

Technical information services: The purpose of this activity is to disseminate information on research results and services to users through a variety of appropriate, easily accessible channels. Programs employed to achieve this objective are central reference services, such as National Bureau of Standards information analysis centers which provide highly specialized technical information, symposia, technical meetings, and training courses, research and development in information sciences including employment of experimental hardware/software configurations to improve the response time and adequacy of the Bureau's information-providing services, consulting and advisory services which are made available, usually at no cost to the user, and the National Technical Information Service, which collects and distributes scientific, technological, business, and demographic information generated by the Federal Government. Services include indexing, reproducing, abstracting, and announcing of reports, and analyzing, evaluating, and digesting contents of these reports.

The increase in 1972 will be applied to development of improved processing and distribution techniques for the National Technical Information Service.

Central technical support: The purpose of this activity is to provide the necessary technical supporting services—including operation of major research facilities—to other Bureau programs. These services include operation of major research tools such as the NBS research reactor, linear electron accelerator and other high energy accelerators. Also included are mathematical services, such as assistance involving advanced statistical problems or applying new mathematical techniques. The increase will be applied to refueling the research reactor.

RESEARCH AND TECHNICAL SERVICES
(SPECIAL FOREIGN CURRENCY PROGRAM)

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Basis for Nation's physical measurement system.....	303	962	619
Scientific and technological services for industry and Government	54	158	102
Total program costs, funded....	357	1,120	721
Change in selected resources.....	663	-246	-221
Total obligations.....	1,020	874	500

The responsibilities of the National Bureau of Standards for basic and applied research, improvement of standards, collection and dissemination of standard reference data, and the certification and distribution of standard reference materials are of sufficient breadth to encourage utilization of research capabilities in other countries. The foreign currency program supplements the Bureau's existing program, allows an acceleration of research effort in selected areas, and permits economies to the Bureau's regular appropriations over the long term.

Foreign currencies determined by the Treasury Department to be excess to normal requirements of the United States will be used in countries where scientific talent is available to augment the inhouse capabilities of the Bureau in the areas of standard reference materials, standard reference data, building research, research to improve measurements on materials, and exploratory research.

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Research, engineering, analysis, and technical services: Research and analysis for policy formulation.....		304	483

Technical assistance is provided to the Director, Office of Telecommunications Policy, for developing the U.S. position in preparation for international conferences. Issues of competition as contrasted to monopoly are analyzed as a basis for the Office of Telecommunications Policy's recommendations to the Federal Communications Commission. Research, engineering, and analyses are undertaken concerning economic opportunities for community cable distribution, communications alternatives for law enforcement and public safety, impact of new shared communication services, economic implications of various telecommunication interconnections and attachments, and radio resource management and economics. Results of these analyses are provided to OTP for use in formulating executive branch views on selected telecommunications policy matters.

OCEAN SHIPPING

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Maritime Administration:			
Research and development:			
Maritime science and technology.....	2,375	6,374	6,728
Shipping systems analysis and requirements.....	505	3,429	1,200
Advanced ship engineering and development.....	867	5,866	5,368
Improvement in ship operations and shipping systems.....	433	2,937	5,045
N.S. Savannah.....	1,833	1,700	1,700
Total program costs, funded.....	6,013	20,306	20,041
Change in selected resources.....	5,598	3,144	4,959
Total obligations.....	11,611	23,450	25,000

The 1972 program provides funding for the continuation of the 1971 program which was designed to serve the needs of the entire maritime complex including Government, shipbuilders, labor, and shipowners. The program will operate in the following major areas:

Maritime science and technology: Research conducted herein is planned to raise the level of marine scientific knowledge in order to advance the technological base upon which ships are designed, built, and operated. Primary research will be in hydrodynamics, propulsion, ship structures, navigation-communications electronics, and facilities and systems to disseminate technical information. No funds are provided for the joint surface effect ship program in the 1972 estimate.

Shipping systems analysis and requirements: This activity is concerned with forecasting trade and technology and with the economic analyses of total transportation systems. Included are studies of transportation demands as a means for projecting ship numbers and characteristics, advanced vehicles, intermodal aspects, and special economic studies.

Advanced ship engineering and development: Concerned with advanced ship design and construction methods. Nuclear and nonnuclear advanced ship design programs, subsystem development, management systems, and shipyard methods are included in this activity, as well as development of computer-aided design programs and development for naval hull types.

Improvement in ship operations and shipping systems: Includes applied research for all aspects of the maritime field concerned with ship and port operations. Consideration will be given to related operational equipment and procedures for navigation, cargo handling, automated control systems, containerization, manning, training, maintenance, and other aspects of the field.

NS Savannah: Provides for the continuing layup of the NS Savannah.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: Research and development administration.....	1,079	1,374	1,235

Provides for the cost of technical and administrative support required for research and development type contractual activity.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Vessel operations revolving fund: Experimental ship NS Savannah.....	1,488	1,700	1,700

Since August, 1965, the NS Savannah has been on experimental commercial operation under a bareboat charter agreement. The level of funding anticipates layup of the NS Savannah.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Maritime Administration: Research and development.....	143	290	290

LAST ONE-ROOM SCHOOL CLOSSES IN WEST VIRGINIA

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, as an historical footnote and as a nostalgic item, I call to the attention of my colleagues the demise of the last remaining one-room school in West Virginia. Paeans have been sung about the passing symbol of Mark Hopkin's optimum teaching method—the teacher and student on a log.

Paul Rutan, 67, a resident of Waynesburg, Pa., was the subject of a recent news feature concerning the passing of the Sarver Elementary School in Monongalia County, W. Va. Mr. Sarver had taught there for the past 7 years.

It may be that the one-room school, with its emphasis on self-help and individual instruction and self-reliance will never be missed. Or it may be that in some future conference, the education business will be struck with a radical proposal for an innovative program of building small schools with open classrooms, unstructured curriculums and firm, authoritative control. It may even be suggested that such work-study programs as hauling coal scuttles, erasing blackboards, and escorting smaller children to comfort centers become the new educational vogue.

In any event, I commend to my colleagues an intriguing article about Mr. Rutan and the one-room schoolhouse written by John L. O'Hara for the Fairmont, W. Va. Times. I ask unanimous consent that it be placed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

LAST ONE IN WEST VIRGINIA: ONE-ROOM SCHOOL ELIMINATED
(By John L. O'Hara)

WAYNESBURG, Pa.—One of the most familiar folk ballads of an earlier era of Amer-

ican culture is that most nostalgic song which extolled the historic one-room schools and which started:

"School Days, school days; Good old Golden Rule Days; Readin', Writin', 'Rithmetick, Taught to the Tune of a Hickory Stick," etc.

But take the word of a Greene County man, Paul Rutan, who taught for almost 50 years in various authentic one-room schools in Greene County, Pa., and for the past seven years in West Virginia's last one room school, it's best to throw away that hickory stick.

NO HICKORY STICK

"Discipline, yes, but not the kind that has to be enforced with a club regardless of what kind of a name is used to disguise the club or the purpose it was used for in the old days" says the 67 year old school master who looks and lives the part of the fictional school master so well that it is sometimes hard to believe that he actually is "for real."

James Whitcomb Riley, the poet laureate of the early American scene, didn't invent Paul Rutan but if he had he couldn't have done a better job and if the motion picture industry ever gets smart enough to make a Hollywood production extolling America's historic one-room schools they won't need to call the casting agency for a school-master type.

All they'll need to do is to dial Paul at his home at 56 Montgomery Ave., Waynesburg, Pa. 15370; Area Code 412—627-7881.

BEING HIMSELF

He wouldn't even need to pay the thousand dollar fee for an Actor's Equity card because once on the set he wouldn't be acting.

He'd just be himself in any scene involving any phase of the function of a one-room school, exuding the love, affection and concern for the make believe pupils just.

Because that's what he has done for the real life youngsters he has taught, guided and counseled ever since the first day he taught at the picturesquely named Wagon Road Run School in rugged Springhill township in the extreme southwestern corner of Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1923.

IN MONONGALIA COUNTY

And now, after almost a half century of truly dedicated efforts in a profession historically famous for the dedication of its practitioners, Paul (it's absolutely incongruous to call him Mister Rutan) is in the final days of his noteworthy career in what is perhaps the most appropriate setting imaginable.

After his retirement from full time teaching in Pennsylvania back in 1959 and some years of substitute work, he has taught for the past seven years at the historic Sarver school—the last one-room school in Monongalia County, W. Va.

Located a few miles south of Morgantown in a setting described by one of its patrons as "perhaps a little lonesome and bleak, and perhaps not as affluent as other parts of the county—but which has served some five generations of mountain folk both as a school and community center."

Despite its nostalgic memories, it is being phased out and will terminate forever next June 15 (1971) in the swiftly moving upgrading of the entire public education picture in West Virginia.

THE RIGHT MAN

In the long range consolidation program in Monongalia County schools, transportation difficulties made it expedient at the time to retain the Sarver school in its original function.

Finding a teacher with experience to handle that particular type of assignment was another matter.

Fortunately for both the school and its pupils—and for the teacher, too—Paul was

available and his selection has been mutually rewarding to all involved.

That is true, those close to the situation aver, because behind the facade of exterior appearances such as the one-room building itself, its potbellied stove "heating system" on the inside and exterior sanitary facilities, both the curriculum and the teacher compare favorably with the ultra modern elementary schools of metropolitan suburbia.

And that, they add, regardless of the hand-scrawled sign with a classic misspelling on one of the little houses at the end of the pathway which reads "Boys oLny."

MODERN FACILITIES

If touring schoolmen, seeing only what they might consider rude, or maybe rustic, exterior appurtenances of the school, would take the time to step inside they'd likely be surprised at noting the television set—which gets the benefit of the visual education programs from nearby West Virginia University—the reading machine, slide projectors and other visual aides, and a radio.

And if they come on the right day, they can meet a reading counsellor or other representatives from the county or state extension agencies, a travelling physical education instructor, all of whom praise the fine atmosphere for learning which the rugged, Lincolnesque teacher has created in the climaxing years of his notable career.

And only a few moments of conversation with Paul himself will impress the visitors with the fact that this raw boned, deliberate-speaking pedagogue is no "backwoods" character who has so successfully bridged the generation gap not only between himself and his pupils but also between the teaching methods from 1923 to 1971.

STARTED EARLY

He was teaching actually, before he finished his three year high school course at Aleppo Township in western Greene County. He has never stopped learning more and more about teaching ever since.

He completed his college requirements at Waynesburg College, has taken scores of additional courses at various colleges and universities, has attended more "institutes" and seminars than he can remember, subscribes to various journals and does much other reading besides.

He has a wonderful philosophy of teaching and education generally.

For instance, despite the nostalgia about the "old days" he holds no brief for the sternness and "hickory stick" philosophy so popularly associated with early rural American education. He attended those schools himself. He speaks from experience.

"Most of them were 'up tight' as we could say today. A child couldn't even squirm in his seat and when he couldn't it locked his mind as well as his body.

"To learn, a child must feel free to wander, to explore and to think.

THE BROAD VIEW

"We encourage children to use the dictionary any time they are in doubt about a word and without having to have special permission to do so. Also to make use of work tables where they can have the benefit of a free interchange of ideas," Paul says.

Paul is so many cuts above the popular conception of the old time "schoolmaster" whose main forte was stern rigidity of rote learning and dreary hours of sitting at "attention," that he was taking his youngsters on field trips to nearby woodlands and farms to learn about nature and wildlife in the first years of his career.

As modern transportation became available he arranged with parents and school officials to show them the other side of the coin by trips to Pittsburgh to visit the zoo, big industries, and amusement places which many of them—in the early days—would have had no other opportunity to have visited.

ALWAYS LEARNING

And, he has taken his own advice by participating in all sorts of community and civic projects. A man as devout as he is humble (he says has never taught at any school at which he didn't learn something from his pupils), he is a teacher in the Sunday school of the Waynesburg Baptist church.

A teacher, above all others, he says, has to keep learning.

"If he shuts himself off he becomes dead, professionally," he asserts.

With all of that, however, he is a mirthful man, enjoys hearing and telling a good joke, is friendly in a sincere way, has a deeply rooted sense of patriotism but does not impose his tenets on others.

He is a history buff of the first water so to speak, and because of his Lincolnesque appearance—he has to bow at least four inches to go through a six-foot doorway—it was inevitable that he would be asked to impersonate the emancipator at Lincoln Day dinners.

THE LONG DAY

He is in excellent physical condition despite the rigors of what most others would call "having to put up with" a bunch of kids all day long but which he says he has enjoyed every day of it since away back in 1923.

Nor has the 80-mile round trip drive every day back and forth between Waynesburg and the Sarver school dampened his enthusiasm or his spirit. His day actually starts about five a.m. and ends about 10 p.m.

Travel, poetry and history are among his favorite hobbies, along with gardening. Also, he still cuts his own grass, including the deep terrace beside his three-level home just off Waynesburg's main street.

He still has hopes that he and his wife can visit both France—where his ancestors originated—and Scotland, where hers came from.

Their family includes three children, David, of Waynesburg; Mrs. Sarah Buchanan, of Dilliner, Greene County, and Mrs. Wilma Kersey, with her husband at an airforce base in Louisiana.

And there are six grandchildren to whom he has long ago dedicated his own definition of a truly educated person:

"One who does what he ought to do, when he ought to do it, whether he wants to do it or not."

MARYVILLE COLLEGE SENIORS PRACTICAL

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, when Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn., held its graduation exercises a few days ago, they broke tradition in a unique way. I would like to share this by placing in the RECORD the following statement from the Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel of May 30, 1971:

MARYVILLE COLLEGE SENIORS PRACTICAL

A hallmark of respected tradition will be missing tomorrow when a few more than half of Maryville College's graduating seniors will wear street clothes without caps and gowns at commencement exercises. It's almost unthinkable that caps and gowns will be missing from the dress of those receiving their diplomas—until some second thinking. Then, in the realization that robe rental fees will go instead into a library fund to buy books for the college library, we think the break with tradition is not only understandable, but worthy.

And, the Maryville College seniors, while voting to let each individual make his own choice of dress for the graduation exercise, nevertheless decided unanimously to select one of their own classmates, and a parent and a teacher to do the program speaking on what graduation means to them, rather than bringing in an outside, expensive speaker.

This sounds much more interesting than the cut-and-dried, corny "launchings into adult responsibilities and leadership" we have come to associate with commencement exercises. We'll bet others around here soon pick up the Maryville College pattern.

RESOLUTION SEEKING FREEDOM FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, on May 26, 1971, the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts adopted the following resolution which I feel will be of interest to all those committed to the cause of justice and freedom for the Jewish people of the Soviet Union. I ask that my colleagues read this resolution in an attempt to better understand the plight of a persecuted people, and appreciate that plight through the struggle of one individual, Ruth Aleksandrovich.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTIONS REQUESTING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO URGE THE SOVIET UNION TO ACQUIT RUTH ALEKSANDROVICH, A RUSSIAN JEW, OF CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST HER AT A CURRENT TRIAL IN RIGA

Whereas, This week an intrepid fighter for freedom, Mrs. Rivka Aleksandrovich, who emigrated to her ancient homeland of Israel from Soviet Russia last month, will visit the commonwealth; and

Whereas, Mrs. Aleksandrovich's daughter, Ruth, age 23, is on trial this week in Riga, Russia, where she has been imprisoned since October, 1970; and

Whereas, Ruth Aleksandrovich's long imprisonment without a trial is reportedly due to her desire to emigrate from the USSR to Israel and to her courage in petitioning for the right of exit as guaranteed under Article 13 of the United Nations Human Rights Charter; and

Whereas, The Russian government has denied her appeal to pursue the cultural and religious tenets of her ancient Jewish heritage; and

Whereas, Such denial by the Russian government in contrary to the Soviet Constitution which assures protection from discrimination and provides for the instruction of every citizen in the language of her nationality; now therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully appeals to President Nixon and to Secretary of State Rogers to use the full force of their offices to urge the Soviet government that Ruth Aleksandrovich be acquitted, that harsh sentences already imposed on other Russian Jews for similar charges be annulled and that the government of the USSR allow all desiring to leave to do so in accordance with international obligations subscribed to by that government, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the Clerk of the Senate to the President of the United States, to Secretary of State Rogers, to the presiding

officer of each branch of Congress and to each member thereof from the Commonwealth.

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS ACT OF 1971

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, on January 25, 1971, I was privileged to introduce S. 23, the "Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1971," which amends the Higher Education Act of 1965 to authorize the Commissioner of Education to establish and operate a series of ethnic heritage studies centers in the Nation for the purpose of increasing the study and understanding of the traditions, backgrounds, and heritages of the various nationality groups that make up our country.

On April 20, 1971, the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, held hearings on S. 23, as part of the overall hearings on extending the Higher Education Act of 1965.

As a result of these hearings, I have made a number of modifications to my bill, S. 23. New language has been added to insure that the work of each regional ethnic studies center includes participation in the ethnic activities of the community it serves, and provision is made for the creation of a Regional Advisory Committee to assist each center. New language has been added to insure that, on the national level, there is coordination and exchanges of material between the different regional centers, and provision is made for the creation of a National Advisory Committee. Although educational and curriculum work remains a major function of the ethnic centers, language has been rewritten to insure that the scope of this work goes beyond students, and includes programs which will benefit all persons in the communities. Finally, to insure proper administration of each center from the beginning, provisions have been made for a Director at each center.

I am grateful for the assistance received from many experts in the field of ethnic studies, and look forward to continued cooperation to insure the passage by both Houses of Congress of this important step forward.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of my bill S. 23, as modified, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

S. 23—MODIFIED

A bill to provide a program to improve the opportunity for the study of cultural heritages of all ethnic groups in the Nation

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as "The Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1971".

SEC. 2. The Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by redesignating title XII as title

XIII, and sections 1201, 1202, 1204, and 1205 (and references thereto however styled in such Act or any other Act) as sections 1301, 1302, 1304, and 1305, respectively. The Higher Education Act of 1965 is further amended by inserting after title VII the following new title:

"TITLE XII—ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

"STATEMENT OF POLICY

"Sec. 1201. In recognition of the heterogeneous composition of the Nation and of the fact that in a multiethnic society a greater understanding of the contributions of one's own heritage and those of one's fellow citizens can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic, and committed populace, and in recognition of the principle that all persons in the Nation should have an opportunity to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group, it is the purpose of this title to provide assistance designed to afford opportunities to learn about the nature of each person's own cultural heritage, and to study the contributions of the cultural heritages of the ethnic groups of this Nation.

"ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

"Sec. 1202. (a) The Commissioner is authorized to provide for the establishment and operation of ethnic heritage studies centers through grants to public and private nonprofit educational agencies and organizations. Each such center will have courses of study and programs related to all ethnic groups represented in the regional area to be served by such center.

"(b) Each such center shall have a Director selected by the Commissioner, with the approval of the public or private nonprofit educational agency or organization which is to operate that center.

"ACTIVITIES OF ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

"Sec. 1203. (a) Each center provided for under this title shall—

"(1) develop curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education which deal with the history, geography, society, economy, literature, art, music, drama, language, and general culture of groups with which the center is concerned, and the contributions of those ethnic groups to the American heritage,

"(2) disseminate curriculum materials to permit their use in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education throughout the Nation,

"(3) provide training for persons utilizing or preparing to utilize the curriculum materials developed under this title,

"(4) work with persons and organizations in the communities being served by such center in promoting, encouraging, developing, or producing programs, activities or events in such communities relating to the history, culture, or traditions of ethnic groups; and

"(5) coordinate with other Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers assisted for under this title by exchanging curriculum material, program ideas, or any other information which would contribute to the expansion of knowledge and understanding in each regional area of the ethnic groups of this nation.

"(b) No grant shall be made under this title unless the public or private nonprofit educational agency or organization agrees to establish an advisory committee for the center to be operated under that grant.

"ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

"Sec. 1204. (a) In carrying out this title, the Commissioner shall to the maximum extent feasible make arrangement which will utilize (1) the research facilities and personnel of institutions of higher education, (2)

the special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities and of foreign students pursuing their education in this country, (3) the expertise of teachers in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education, and (4) the talents and experience of any other groups in the regional area to be served by centers assisted under this title such as foundations, civic groups, and fraternal organizations which would further the goals of the centers.

"(b) Funds appropriated to carry out this title may be used to cover all or part of the cost of establishing, equipping, and operating the centers, including the cost of research materials and resources, academic consultants, and the cost of training of staff for the purpose of carrying out the purposes of this title. Such funds may also be used to provide stipends (in such amounts as may be determined in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner) to individuals receiving training in such centers, including allowances for dependents.

"ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES

"Sec. 1205. (a) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall appoint a National Advisory Committee on Ethnic Heritage Studies consisting of the Commissioner who shall be chairman and twelve other members appointed without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service and solely on the basis of their fitness to perform the duties of the Committee under this title.

"(b) The Committee shall (1) advise the Commissioner with respect to policy matters arising in the administration of this title.

"(c) The Committee shall make an annual report of its findings and recommendations (including recommendations for changes in the provisions of this title) to the President not later than March 31 of each calendar year. The President shall transmit each such report to the Congress together with his comments and recommendations.

"(d) Members of the Committee who are not regular full time employees of the United States shall, while serving on business of the Committee, be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the President, but not exceeding \$125 per day, including travel time; and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code for persons in Government service employed intermittently.

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"Sec. 1206. There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out this title for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, the sum of \$10,000,000, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, the sum of \$20,000,000."

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 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?

HOUSE INTERNAL SECURITY
COMMITTEE

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I continue to have sent to me from all over the country editorials which are critical of the House Internal Security Committee.

I reproduce here an editorial from the Columbia Daily Tribune of Columbia, Mo., for May 19, 1971.

I also reproduce an editorial from the Quincy, Mass., Patriot Ledger for May 4, 1971 entitled "Too Much For Too Little":

[From the Patriot Ledger, May 4, 1971]

TOO MUCH FOR TOO LITTLE

Congressmen of all shades of political opinion recently have joined in the fray over surveillance of private agencies. One would have hoped, therefore, that last week's appropriation of \$570,000 to the House Internal Security Committee (HISC) would have engendered more debate than it did.

Nothing HISC or its predecessor, the House Un-American Activities Committee, has done in the past 26 years justifies an annual budget of more than half a million dollars.

The sole functions of HISC seems to be to compile dossiers on citizens and to hold spectacular but unproductive hearings.

HISC member Rep. Robert F. Drinan, D-Mass., who last week called for the committee's abolition as an independent agency, revealed that it keeps files on 754,000 individuals and organizations.

The committee's staff of 49, he pointed out, gather their information from sources such as paid informers and newspaper and magazine articles, incorporating such material into the files without verification.

These files are available on request to any Congressman and to an undisclosed list of federal agencies including the Civil Service Commission, Rep. Drinan charged.

HISC hearings, like those of HUAC before it, consist almost entirely of "investigations" into the activities of allegedly subversive groups or persons.

Witnesses in these hearings are generally either friends of the committee indulging in name-calling or persons subjected to charges against which they are not permitted to defend themselves with normal courtroom privileges such as cross-examination.

The committee's latest endeavor is an investigation of the formation of groups of veterans against the war. Considering the outspokenness of the veterans in Washington two weeks ago and considering the amount of surveillance done by other agencies, HISC's findings are hardly likely to prove enlightening. Content with its investigative functions, the committee virtually ignores the legitimate congressional task for formulating legislation. Its legislative output is almost nil, though its funding increases every year make it the highest-budgeted House committee.

In maintaining support for HISC, Congress has chosen to keep itself in the business of being a police force, albeit one which produces mere accusations without having the authority to seek convictions.

It would appear the committee has outlived any usefulness it may have had, and in the interest of saving time and money, it should be abolished.

[From the Columbia Daily Tribune,
May 19, 1971]

OUR PROTECTOR

The recent anti-war protest demonstrations in Washington were ready made hunt-

ing grounds for the nation's chief congressional snooper, Richard Ichord of Missouri's Eighth District.

Under the auspices of the House Internal Security Committee which he chairs, Ichord and his minions got into full swing by visiting as many of the jailed protestors as they could get to before somebody suggested the inquisition was surely unconstitutional since the incarcerated ones had no benefit of attorney nor any of the other niceties of due process. Even the members of the HISC seemed to recognize the impropriety of their actions since they called off the fact finding tour at this juncture.

Of course, this type of inquiry is not at all foreign to the HISC and its predecessor, the House Un-American Activities Committee. The committee's normal procedure is to haul witnesses up in public and attempt to discredit them, all under the guise of legislative fact finding and completely outside the court system. There is an extensive body of law in this country which protects the rights of individuals when they get into contention under the law. Judges in court must pay strict attention to these personal constitutional protections which are essential to our way of life. They are literally the only equalizing force standing on the side of the lonely individual as he faces the full might of the state.

But the HISC, since it is a Congressional committee, can and does circumvent these rules. Under the rationale of legislative fact finding a legitimate congressional activity, the HISC actually indulges in investigations of individuals with alleged subversive influences or motivations. None of this inquiry ever results in legislation. Indeed, Ichord has let it be known that he thinks the public is entitled to know about these people and the subversive connections they are supposed to have; hence the clear intention on the part of the committee to expose individuals and organizations which far outweighs any serious or germane development of legislative research material.

Now Ichord has announced another series of hearings which he says will show subversives among the Washington protest leaders. This time he is calling only law enforcement officers and other so-called "experts in the field of identifying people in these groups." He said the hearings would air some of the things which investigators learned as to the "leadership role which Marxists are playing in the two organizations that sponsored the recent demonstrations . . ." There is no pretext of legislative inquiry (the only possibly valid justification for holding hearings at all); the only purpose is to air testimony detrimental to some of the groups or people involved in the protest; handpicked testimony which will reflect the committee's view. One wonders why Ichord does not use the existing laws against subversion and proceed against the alleged violators through established channels. If they are guilty, the criminal justice system is the proper place to deal with the matter. If they cannot even be charged under these laws, Ichord and his committee have no business conducting ad hoc trials in public.

On top of all this, Ichord issued one of the most twisted up bits of reasoning we have ever heard on the issue of due process: "And I think the rule of law was severely damaged by the demonstrators because it is absolutely impossible to preserve the niceties of due process when you arrest in excess of 12,000 persons." Here he is blaming the protestors for being arrested in such large numbers and thereby eliminating the possibility of due process when, surely, everybody knows, the burden of providing due process rests with the law enforcers, not the people they apprehend. It is common knowledge that many innocent bystanders were rounded up along with the protest leaders and participants. The tactic of mass arrest recognizes that this will happen and that due

process will be suspended for those held. In exchange the law enforcement people know they will not be able to get convictions. The intent is to break up the gathering without concern for future indictments. This tactic is a valid topic for discussion in itself and we will not explore it here. But one thing that can be readily said is that any preclusion of due process is certainly not the fault of those arrested.

Ichord and the majority on this committee have such a fixation on Communism and subversion that suspicion of these associations is enough in their minds to justify any sort of official action. They question in jail cells without providing legal protection for those questioned. They generate individually damaging testimony in public without the restraints of court proceedings. And the chairman blames arrested persons for doing away with normal, constitutional practices of due process. The whole thing is an absolute circus and, except for the fact that its activities are so bizarre as to be ineffective, would represent the most consistently dangerous enterprise now going on in our government.

And yet the House, seeking to aggrandize its various functions, recently appropriated a healthy increase in HISC operating funds even though it is clearly the most useless committee in the federal legislative process. What it ought to do is eliminate the committee altogether, but with the backscratching that goes on among the members, none of their individual duchies are apt to be disturbed.

The government is too often a thing unto itself. Its activities become self-justifying and the people are effectively separated from intelligent influence.

THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF
WHATELY, MASS.

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and pleasure that I today bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives the 200th anniversary of the incorporation of Whately, Mass.

During the month of June, the citizens of Whately are celebrating their anniversary with many festive and exciting events. Therefore, I think this is an appropriate time to review the history of this sturdy and picturesque little New England town. I am sure you will agree that Whately has a heritage of which all Americans can be truly proud.

Whately was settled about a century prior to its incorporation in 1771. The town was named by Governor Hutchinson after a prominent Englishman.

Whately's early industry was quite varied. Beautiful mountain streams provided a superabundance of waterpower, and this gave rise to the construction of mills of all kinds—saw, grist, cider, and woolen mills. In addition, the town had blacksmith shops, cheese press mills, and a chair factory. An ironworks was established in the late 1700's. Pottery was made from local clay. Nail makers, wagon, and carriage producers, a stocking mill, tanneries, a hatter, brick works, a shop for broom making, and a leather shop all flourished in their day.

Agriculture has always been the town's mainstay, however, and this is true to this day. Dairy farming and poultry play an important role in the agricultural economy of the town, but tobacco has always been the most important crop. The soil and climate of Whately supported tobacco growers in the colonial days and continue to do so today.

As was true for most New England towns, Whately's early years were lean and hard. The resources available did not permit the early settlers to accomplish as much as they would have liked. Such conditions, however, forged the type of hardy New Englander that has long been praised in song and story.

In addition to the rigors of making a living in a harsh physical environment, the early settlers also were frequently forced to interrupt their everyday business to bear arms.

Although the French and Indian War—1754-63—antedates the incorporation of the town, many of the citizens residing in this area willingly left their homes and families and took part in the dangerous and bloody campaigns that marked this early colonial war.

Later this experience proved to be very valuable, as the men of Whately once again took up arms during the Revolutionary War. The townspeople took an early and deep interest in the impending crisis with the British and were among the first to respond to the dangers threatening their liberties.

The citizens of Whately stopped using materials produced in England in order that they might become more self-reliant and to show their disdain for the mother country. They also backed up their feelings by sending delegates to the 1774 Provincial Congress at Concord, and to the Congresses which followed.

Whately did not wait for the Continental Congress to act, but came out in favor of independence at an early date. In fact, the support of towns like Whately must have been of great importance in encouraging the eventual bold steps taken by our forefathers in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776.

In 1774, Whately voted to form and finance a local band of Minutemen militia. From then until the end of the war, Whately men saw service. They were present at such famous battles as Bunker Hill, Ticonderoga, and Saratoga.

Despite the armed conflicts of those early years, the day-to-day life of the town went on. It was during this period that many local institutions, such as churches and schools, were established.

Although children were educated in Whately prior to its incorporation, the first accounts in the town records of funds spent on education are found in 1772. The first classes were held in private homes, but this soon became impractical, and in 1782 the first school house was constructed. The early importance placed on schooling in Whately continues to this day, as the town still realizes that education must be given high priority.

The settlers in Whately were, like their contemporaries throughout the colonies, intensely religious. The town did not, however, have its own church prior to incorporation. Instead, the townspeople trudged over footpaths to nearby Hatfield

and Deerfield for services. The elders rode on horseback, but the youngsters walked, carrying their shoes in hand until they reached their destination.

Such a situation was obviously unsatisfactory, so in 1771 the town hired Rev. Rufus Wells of Deerfield on a trial basis to preach for 6 weeks. The Reverend Wells was well accepted and he remained in Whately until his death in 1834.

The first meeting house, a simple barn-like structure, was completed in 1797. It served its purpose well, being remodeled and improved until its eventual removal in 1867. By that time a number of different denominations had taken root in Whately and no one minister or church could serve the diversified population.

The people of Whately today continue to retain and honor the values of their forefathers. Such values—courage, integrity, perseverance and hard work—have served both Whately and our Nation well.

Whately men have fought and some have died in all this country's wars—French and Indian, the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, World Wars I and II, the Korean conflict and today they are continuing that proud tradition in the rice paddies of Vietnam. Never desiring conflict, they served willingly and gallantly when called upon to do so.

Time does not permit a detailed outline of all the changes that have occurred in the town over the past two centuries. Suffice it to say that, while maintaining its proud traditions and spirit, it has moved vigorously into the 1970's and is a modern, progressive community.

Today, as in the past, Whately's economy is primarily supported by agriculture. Tobacco is still a very important crop. However, wholesale and retail trade is playing an increasingly greater role in the life of the town.

The population of Whately has slowly grown over the last two decades. The 1970 census reported the population to be 1,145. As you can see, Whately is still a small town, and she enjoys all the attributes which that word implies: quiet, clean air, safe streets and community spirit.

I know that the people of Whately greatly value these benefits and intend to preserve them for future generations.

Earlier this spring, President Nixon recognized the uniqueness of this fine town and the importance of its bicentennial by taking time from his busy schedule to meet with me and a delegation from the town at the White House. The occasion was a proud one for the town. The delegation presented the President and the First Lady with commemorative coins marking the bicentennial and the White House meeting proved to be a highlight in Whately's schedule of events for this important year in the town's history.

I am sure that my colleagues in Congress join me in saluting this vigorous and responsible community for its two centuries of achievement and progress. On this, its 200th birthday, I offer my warmest congratulations and best wishes to the citizens of Whately. And I know the Members of this body join me in extending best wishes for continued success in the days and years ahead.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, there is so much good sense in the Chicago Tribune editorial of Sunday, June 6, 1971, that I want to call it to the attention of my colleagues and place it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

As the Tribune notes:

The national economy, like a mule, can be irritatingly stubborn.

Noting that interest rates are rising and inflation continuing, the Tribune says:

It is increased public spending—and the burden that goes with it—that tends to push interest rates up. An expansive monetary policy means inflation and higher interest rates.

There is another sentence in the Chicago Tribune editorial which Government planners would be wise to ponder:

There is no painless way out when a country lets its currency lose value.

It is unfortunate, I feel, that the administration has embarked on a deliberate course of deficit-financing. This is bound to lead to more inflation and higher interest rates.

Consider just a few figures: For the last 3 years of President Johnson's administration the accumulated Federal funds deficit of the Federal Government was \$49 billion; for the first 3 years of President Nixon's administration, the accumulated Federal funds deficit will be \$62 billion.

Thus, during that 6-year period the Federal Government will have run \$111 billion in the red.

Is there any wonder that the American people are suffering a severe inflation?

Is there any wonder that the American dollar is losing its purchasing power?

I say these huge deficits make inflation inevitable.

Inflation is a hidden tax that hits hardest those on fixed income. It eats heavily into every wage earner's paycheck and into every housewife's grocery money.

I ask the unanimous consent to insert these comments along with the editorial of the Chicago Tribune of June 6, 1971, and a table "Deficits in Federal Funds and Interest on the National Debt 1961-72," in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

OUR STUBBORN ECONOMY

The national economy, like a mule, can be irritatingly stubborn. With increasing confidence, the administration and many businessmen and economists have been predicting a rapid recovery, more stability in prices, a rising stock market and relatively low interest rates—and what happens?

Interest rates, at least on short-term borrowing, drift upward. Wholesale prices rose faster in May, it has just been reported, than in any of the preceding three months. The stock market is hesitant. And unemployment in May moved up to 6.2 per cent. As

the graph shows, [not reproduced] this reversed an earlier encouraging drop.

Fortunately, most of these figures are based on small samples, and the apparent trends may prove false or temporary. The June figures may look better. But there is, unfortunately, a tendency in Washington to view each statistic as an island unto itself, and to assume that each can be treated without reference to the others. In fact, all of these figures interact on each other, like the parts of a complicated machine.

Rising interest rates are lamented, while signs of increased spending are hailed. Yet it is increased public spending—and the borrowing that goes with it—that tends to push interest rates up. The Federal Reserve Board is praised for an expansive monetary policy that has tended to bring interest rates down. Yet in the long run an expansive monetary policy means inflation and higher interest rates.

As Milton Friedman, the University of Chicago economist, points out, the Fed now faces an unpleasant decision—to continue its expansive policies and thus invite new inflation and higher interest rates in the future, or to slow down and invite higher immediate interest rates and more unemployment.

On the international scene, we are told that the crisis has been resolved in a satisfactory and painless way by letting the values of certain foreign currencies rise. But there is no painless way out when a country lets its currency lose value. Last week prices began to rise on goods imported from West Germany and from other countries whose money is now more costly in terms of dollars.

Economic policies, like pills or chemicals sprayed on trees, may be useful in achieving specific goals, but they may have damaging and unforeseen aftereffects. Human nature being what it is, this is something that government planners tend to overlook.

DEFICITS IN FEDERAL FUNDS AND INTEREST ON THE NATIONAL DEBT, 1961-72
[In billions of dollars]

	Receipts	Outlays	Deficit (-)	Interest
1961	75.2	79.3	-4.1	9.0
1962	79.7	86.6	-6.9	9.2
1963	83.6	90.1	-6.5	10.0
1964	87.2	95.8	-8.6	10.7
1965	90.9	94.8	-3.9	11.4
1966	101.4	106.5	-5.1	12.1
1967	111.8	126.8	-15.0	13.5
1968	114.7	143.1	-28.4	14.6
1969	143.3	148.8	-5.5	16.6
1970	143.2	156.3	-13.1	19.3
1971	139.1	164.7	-25.6	20.8
1972	153.7	176.9	-23.2	21.2
12-year total	1,323.8	1,469.7	-145.9	168.4

* Estimated figures.

Source: Office of Management and Budget.

APPRECIATE EFFORTS OF VETERANS HOSPITAL VOLUNTEERS

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY
OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, we are all familiar with the tremendous job being done by VA hospital personnel under extremely trying circumstances of a lack of funds. But we often tend to forget the great service being provided by volunteer workers in the VA hospitals who make the day a little brighter and more pleasant for the patients. Mr. Ken-

neth M. Gooderham, of Jackson, Miss., recently wrote an article explaining what the volunteer workers have meant to him and I would like to share it with my colleagues.

The article follows:

WHAT THE V.A.V.S. HAS MEANT TO ME
(By Kenneth M. Gooderham)

Never in the course of human sickness and rehabilitation have so many veterans owed so much to those who ask so little as to the Volunteer Service Personnel in the Veterans Hospitals throughout our country. Time is one of the greatest factors in the cycle of life. To some time seems to fly by; to others, time seems to drag along; but to the veterans in the VA Hospitals, time can become an endless and dreary factor. This is where the V.A.V.S. enters the situation and plays a major role.

At the present time I am a patient on the Orthopedic Ward in the VA here in Jackson, Mississippi, but have been hospitalized in other VA hospitals. During one hospitalization period I spent over five months on the TB Ward. On this ward a patient is highly restricted as to his movements. At no time can he leave this ward until he is practically cured and considered safe to mix with other patients.

Due to this day after day carbon copy routine of taking medicine, seeing the same doctors, nurses and ward attendants, watching the clock, and looking out the window . . . one of the most pleasant and welcomed sights is to see a volunteer coming through the door for a visit. The first thing the worker does if they see a patient without a smile is to give him one of theirs. Next, instead of demanding, "What do you want, or need", the volunteer will cheerfully ask, "What may I do to help you?" She might suggest a phone call, a letter written, a shopping trip, a magazine, a jigsaw puzzle, paint set; or in some cases, if the patient is totally without funds, he is given comfort items such as toothpaste, tooth brush, razor, and other needed toilet articles when available. At other times she might just lend a sympathetic ear, listening and trying to guide the patient in any problems he might have. Her category of services that can be rendered to the patients will appear unlimited.

It is well to point out that the services and kindness given by the volunteers are not restricted to the patients in the VA hospitals, but in many cases they have donated much of their time giving help, information, and often constructive advice to the wives, relatives and friends of confined patients. Such an example of this unselfish aid to friends and relatives of patients is the providing of transportation to and from the hospital, so that the families might be able to visit their loved ones, which otherwise would have been impossible. They also keep the families advised as to the condition of the patient when a phone call or transportation is not available. This is just a small sample of the services rendered by the volunteers to persons related to patients.

The individuals making up the V.A.V.S. come from all walks of life. You'll find lawyers, housewives, government workers, teachers, you just name it. No matter how busy these people are, they always seem to find time to help us in one way or another.

One thing that I have noted during my stays in different VA hospitals is that no matter how long they have been doing this work, the volunteers never seem to run out of energy, enthusiasm, and interest in the patient. Whether it is the beginning or end of the day, they maintain their congenial, friendly manner. These volunteers are always exploring ways and means to make an effective contribution to the care and treatment of us in the VA hospitals throughout the country.

In closing let me state that I feel that we as patients should give full attention to the meaning and purpose of the V.A.V.S. and should at all times try to show our appreciation. From its basic lamp of operation shine the rays of service, compassion and care to the bored and lonesome veteran in a VA hospital.

At no time are the services of these volunteers based on a desire for personal glory. Their efforts and time so generously given reflect a feeling of great satisfaction and a heartfelt reward knowing that their presence and thoughtfulness has lifted the burden of loneliness and despair that often accompanies a patient during a long stay in the VA.

I feel that I speak for all of the patients in the 168 Veterans Hospitals when I say that the V.A.V.S. is a wonderful and devoted organization, and their over 9 million hours of service has certainly not been wasted.

WEST VIRGINIA IS PROVING
GROUND FOR "THE NEW FACE OF
REHABILITATION"

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the most overused and underworked word in our system of justice today is rehabilitation. And almost daily we see shocking examples that enforce the claims that incarceration without rehabilitation is both too costly and too wasteful to society. Recently the Baltimore Sun magazine published an article on one outstanding rehabilitation effort that promises to save young offenders from the streets. Reporter Henry Scarupa and Photographer Paul Hutchins visited the Kennedy Youth Center at Morgantown, W. Va. They found the campus-like center a far cry from the popular conception of a "reform" school, and its concerned administrators both eager and innovative in their approach to rehabilitating criminal trespassers. I ask unanimous consent that the story of the West Virginia institution be placed in the RECORD as an interesting and informative document on what can be done to reclaim our lost youth.

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

THE NEW FACE OF REHABILITATION

The Kennedy Youth Center in Morgantown, W. Va., which nestles in a small valley ringed by hills, must be one of the most exclusive schools in the country. Admittance is highly selective. A youth first must break a federal law and get caught. He must also show background and character traits which suggest to judges and correction officers that he would profit from an unusual program that breaks with the past. Individual pupil costs runs \$9,500 a year.

Operated by the Bureau of Prisons, KYC is the federal government's newest, costliest and most innovative correctional center for young men through age 23. Opened in January, 1969, at a cost of over \$10 million, its buildings are modern and inviting, with wide expanses of grass. The setting is campus-like, acres of grass, a reflecting pool and even a brook in back, none of it marred by wall, fence or guardtower.

A large staff gives the 185 students, as inmates are called, individual attention and counseling. Classes are small, ranging from 4 to 20. Students collect token payments for going to school, tidying up and generally doing what is expected of them. They meet weekly with people from town for conversation and discussions and less often for splash parties, dances and cookouts. Some even put on their mod outfits to go into Morgantown for an afternoon or evening, and get special 5-day furloughs home on Christmas and other occasions.

What is more, KYC is going coeducational in July. Thirty-six young women offenders are being assigned to one of the center's six cottages. They will share classrooms, dining halls and recreational facilities.

The center's goals, formulated when the late Robert F. Kennedy was United States Attorney General, are twofold. The first is to provide youthful offenders with meaningful rehabilitation rather than just a lockup. In the past, conventional reform schools and prisons have often served as training grounds for crime, swelling a convict's bitterness while teaching him about law breaking. KYC also serves as a research center for developing new correctional programs. Innovative techniques can be easily tried and if found lacking, dropped. Flexibility and continuous self-evaluation are part of the operation.

More recently the center has set itself a third major goal, to provide help and training to others in the correctional field. "The field is ready for change," says Roy Gerard, KYC's youthful-looking director. "People are searching for something that will help move their program into a better position. They want to find out how we fit new things to the problems we have." Last year over 1,000 visitors from 32 states and 12 foreign countries visited the facility. KYC has also begun to train state and local correctional workers through workshops and conferences.

The typical offender coming to the center has a brief history of law breaking and is unsophisticated in criminal ways. The door is closed to anyone with a record of sex offenses, physical assaults or repeated escapes from detention. Drug users, but not longtime addicts, are accepted. Usually the offender is a school dropout with an eighth-grade education, convicted, in over 60 per cent of the cases, of driving a stolen car across a state line.

Almost all inmates come from the eastern United States. About 30 per cent are black, mainly from ghettos, while many of the whites are from the rural South. Screening has been so stringent, the center is operating below its optimum capacity of 250. Along with this many more juvenile offenders are being tried in local courts and never come into federal custody. To get around this, the maximum age has been gradually raised from 18 to 23. Today only three students are 15 years old. Ninety per cent fall in the 17-through-19 age group.

For the young offender escorted to KYC by a U.S. marshal, the surprises begin as soon as his handcuffs are removed. He finds a relaxed atmosphere. A woman worker courteously hands him a "basic tan" uniform which fits. He sees staff, both men and women, dressed in civilian clothes, no one with gun, club or weapon of any kind. He observes others moving freely from building to building.

For two weeks the newcomer goes through orientation, which includes educational and psychological testing and conferences with professional staff. He also finds time to rap with "upper classmen," youths who have made it through the program and are waiting to go home. At the end of this period the trainee, as the new inmate is called, is assigned to another cottage which will be his home for the remainder of his stay.

The cottage plays a crucial role in "differential treatment" which is the basis to the center's rehabilitation program. Correctional workers have come to realize that a variety of causes lie at the root of delinquent behavior. If there is to be a cure the right treatment has to be prescribed for the right "sickness."

On the basis of testing and observation, the incoming student is placed in one of four behavior categories and assigned to a corresponding cottage. The categories, which derive from the concepts of Dr. Herbert C. Quay, professor of educational psychology at Temple University, are: (1) inadequate-immature; (2) neurotic-disturbed; (3) unsocialized-psychopathic; (4) socialized-subcultural delinquent. Treatment varies in each cottage and is further adapted to meet an inmate's needs. As part of this personalized approach, students and counselors are matched by personality traits to promote good rapport and, hopefully, a close relationship.

The ordinary prison controls its convicts through fear and physical force—armed guards, steel bars, bread-and-water routine. KYC works on a principle of trust and positive rewards. Staff members ignore or play down negative behavior such as rudeness and discourtesy. They strive to earn the respect of inmates rather than demand it outright. They try to persuade and reason rather than coerce. An inmate soon finds it to his advantage to conform to rules. In this way he learns internal controls and gradually comes to work through the system because the system pays off.

Basic to this approach is the token economy. A student earns points having cash value, 1 cent for 1 point, for doing well in school and at daily chores. He averages \$2.50 a week which he can use to buy snacks or save for an eventual trip home. With "soft" points earned in his cottage, he can buy recreational activity and pay rent. Paying rent is part of reality training at KYC, impressing on inmates the responsibilities that go with day-to-day living.

Rewards also come in the form of status and privileges. A newcomer quickly learns what his goals in education, work and conduct should be while at the center. He actually is encouraged to "contract" or set the schedule for his own progress. When a trainee meets these goals, he is promoted to apprentice and eventually to honor student. Each step brings with it greater freedom.

A trainee lives in a small cubicle with shoulder-high partitions and enjoys a minimum of privacy. He wears the regulation uniform, goes to bed early and earns points at a low rate. As an apprentice he moves to a private room for which he has a key, naturally paying higher rent, \$1.20 a week. His pay also increases. He now wears civilian clothes in off-duty hours and goes into Morgantown on escorted trips.

An honor student lives in a room with running water for which he pays \$2.10 a week. His earnings are correspondingly higher and he helps counselors in their work with trainees. He wears his own clothes at all times. He does not have to report to his room before midnight and he is given an alarm clock to awaken himself. He is given a chance to go home on furlough and later is granted 1-day passes into town. Occasionally he is allowed to hold an outside job. Most important of all, he becomes eligible for parole.

An inmate spends an average of 13 months at KYC before release, a month beyond the educational program. During that time he usually acquires a high school equivalency and what KYC staff call "industrial literacy," familiarity rather than vocation competence in several job areas. These include electronics, graphics, data processing and metal work. A student handles tools and materials

in bright, well-equipped workshops staffed by craftsmen-instructors. The program is designed to teach inmates good work habits and make them trainable for any number of industrial jobs.

A weekday consists of six hours of classes and two of chores. Students spend evening 6 to 9 in their cottages either in counseling sessions or in directed recreation. Some inmates belong to Kiwanis, Explorer Scouts or Jaycees which have local organizations at the center. A trained social worker in each cottage oversees the activity of several correctional workers who double as lay counselors. Case loads are small.

Perhaps most radical is KYC's "life school" program which draws on some 140 volunteers from the Morgantown community and keeps inmates in touch with the outside world. The program evolved out of the work of the center's two chaplains, the Rev. Paul W. Hickey, a Catholic priest, and the Rev. Robert R. Summer, a Protestant clergyman.

"It all began from the idea of open chapel," says Father Hickey, sitting in his office at the center's Chapel of the Ark. "Some college kids and a few local people wanted to do more than just visit. We decided to take them into the living units, hopefully to influence or redirect the values of our students. We wanted to break down the isolation of prison and build up the guy's acceptance of themselves."

Volunteers, who must be 18 or older, are psychologically tested and assigned to the cottage where they will be able to work best. They receive ID cards and report in one evening a week. Most are between 18 and 23, drawn in large part from nearby West Virginia University. Three-quarters of the volunteers are girls.

"This is by our design," says Father Hickey. "It's my conviction this is one reason we have almost no homosexual problem. At first there was some hesitancy on the part of our guys to accept what they thought were do-gooders and curiosity seekers. They preferred meeting girls from the Waynesburg Youth Development Center [a Pennsylvania State institution for delinquents 35 miles away]. But after awhile our guys began to understand these people were for real. Now they prefer the town girls."

Although each cottage holds a dance or party about once a month, social activities are only part of the life school program. More important is ordinary human mixing—easy-going conversation, heated discussions and planning for events.

"All this gives a guy the idea he can get out of the delinquent ghetto if he wants to . . . and there are people ready to help," Father Hickey says. "The life school program has gone a long way toward creating a therapeutic community, one not run by the threat of violence and pressure. Guys here have a nonthreatening environment and a chance to function in a socially acceptable way."

The generous taste of freedom and normalcy which the program gives inmates has yet to lead to serious abuse—almost to the surprise of KYC staff. "We're holding our fingers," says Father Hickey. "We started out with no rules restricting the program. We decided to do everything possible until we learned that restrictions were needed." Some changes have been made along the way to strengthen the life school program. A few volunteers, who failed to fit in, were dropped.

"When we began with volunteers, we weren't sure what would happen," recalls Mr. Summer. "We weren't sleeping nights. Everyone said that in the name of God we were having orgies. The fantasy was that sex would take place here and the awful, awful thing would happen—a nice girl from Morgantown would get pregnant. Well, it didn't happen. If we had played cops and robbers with the students, they'd have had sex with the girls just to get even with us."

Having women present . . . mother figures, sister figures, is vitally important."

Ironically the young men at KYC have been awaiting the arrival of women inmates with apprehension. Many feel their presence will lead to a loss of freedom and that everyone will be watched more carefully.

A relaxed atmosphere, notwithstanding, cottage doors are locked at 9.30 P.M. and correctional officers, on 24-hour duty, 7 days a week, make hourly checks throughout the night. Still, escapes occur—88 last year. Students simply walk off. Most are apprehended within hours either on the road or at home. Only one runaway has remained free over a year.

Although fleeing inmates create by far most of the disciplinary problems, security actually has been relaxed over the past two years. Mr. Summer recalls, "When the school opened we kept five cars on the perimeter road. The man at the gate was equipped with binoculars to scan the hillsides. We thought sure the students would keep running. Well, it's not a big problem."

The first 90 days at the center are the most critical. The new inmate faces major adjustment at a time when the school exerts the least influence. During an 80-day period in the spring of 1970, 54 inmates slipped away. Several events coming together almost simultaneously helped set the scene. KYC was in the midst of modifying some operations. Many new offenders suddenly were committed to the center even while a high number of original inmates were released. Staff turnover was excessive. Finally as the epidemic took hold, running away became a kind of game.

Consequences, some tragic, began to pile up. One escaping student, who had taken refuge at night on a hill overlooking the center, was struck by lightning during a thunder storm and killed. Another escapee hanged himself in the center's security unit where he had been confined following his capture. A few weeks later three runaways broke into a home in Morgantown and armed themselves with a pistol. Hostility toward the center began to surface.

Changing the rules of the "game" by upping the cost quickly arrested the epidemic. Runaways previously were returned to KYC only to escape a second and third time. Responding to the crisis, the federal court in Elkins, W. Va., charged offenders with an additional offense of escape and tacked on sentences of one to three years. Transfer to other federal institutions, where harsher treatment could be expected, automatically followed.

Infractions such as fighting and illicit sexual activity, which is rampant in many penal institutions, pose only moderate problems at KYC. Serious misconduct, refusal to cooperate or destructive behavior, is punished by detention in the security unit. In appearance much like the other cottages, the unit is always locked. Decorative masonry grillwork over the windows takes the place of bars. A student may be released for school, returning to the unit after classes. Detention generally is for short periods, a day or less in almost half the cases. The most drastic punishment is disciplinary transfer to another institution.

After last year's rash of escapes, KYC officers formed a student advisory committee which meets weekly with a staff group to air problems and desired changes. A student assembly also meets monthly with director Roy Gerard and his staff to discuss other compelling questions and, more important, keep communication lines open.

Many hard-nosed critics see all this as coddling. Does the humane treatment practiced at the Kennedy Center actually pay off? It is too early to tell conclusively, but it seems that it does. A study of a limited

sample of 101 releases shows that 80 per cent had kept away from serious trouble. Some had been free over a year. The short follow-up period, however, an average of 11 months, makes risky all but tentative conclusions.

"I'll lay odds there were as many or more obstacles in the community that felled the 20 per cent who didn't make it," speculated Mr. Gerard, who has spent 15 of his 42 years with the Bureau of Prisons. Playing a part from the first in the center's planning, he leaves next month to take a post in the bureau's central office in Washington. "There are certain problems of environment that you can't resolve in an institutional setting," he adds. "There's need to go beyond the supportive work of the center."

Mr. Gerard takes pride that some "graduates" return to visit the center after they have made it on the outside, often bringing along their wives. For many young offenders the Kennedy Youth Center has become a kind of alma mater. How many reform schools can claim as much?

BUM RAP FOR THE FBI

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times on May 18, 1971, published an article entitled "FBI Said To Encourage Use of Scouts as Informers," which implied a most sinister affiliation existed between the FBI and the Boy Scouts of America. This same theme has been picked up by other news media including at least one syndicated columnist.

The implication could not have been further from the truth.

In the first place, the program calling on assistance from the Boy Scouts was not an FBI program—it was a program of the Rochester, N.Y., Police Department and it was in no way sinister.

Basically, the program served two very worthwhile purposes. First, it taught members of the Boy Scouts of America good citizenship.

Second, it provided additional assistance to the police through advice on unusual or suspicious activities of persons in residential areas and around schools. They also supplied information about potentially dangerous situations such as faulty traffic signals, broken powerlines, and potential fire hazards.

Mr. Speaker, the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News in an editorial on May 20, 1971, referred to this situation as a "Bum Rap for the FBI."

I certainly agree and I would like to include this editorial as well as one from the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle of May 19, 1971, entitled "Not 'Spies,' but Good Citizens."

I think it is essential that the Members be aware of the actual facts concerning this program so that they will not be misled by the distorted reports which have been publicized.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, May 20, 1971]

BUM RAP FOR THE FBI

The FBI has run into a lot of criticism recently, but the facts have apparently re-

duced to absurdity the latest charge that a Rochester program, which the bureau has hailed, recruits Boy Scouts as sinister little junior informers. What the Rochester program did encourage were reports by Scouts to any of several appropriate public agencies of fires, faulty traffic lights, loiterers and around schools or a neighbor's house, blown-down trees, burglaries, broken windows, flooded viaducts and the like.

That kind of program strikes us as a promising way to teach youngsters good citizenship and inculcate a sense of commitment to one's neighborhood and community, to prepare them for dealing with emergencies and for bringing the pertinent local services to bear on specific problems. The Boy Scouts and Rochester authorities deserve commendation not condemnation for the idea, and anyone who would fault the FBI for merely applauding it must be suffering from a touch of anti-FBI paranoia.

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Democrat and Chronicle, May 19, 1971]

NOT "SPIES", BUT GOOD CITIZENS

How silly can you get? That's our frank reaction to a story that appeared in The New York Times yesterday headlined, "F.B.I. Said to Encourage Use of Scouts as Informers."

The story, out of Philadelphia, said that documents reported to be among those stolen from the F.B.I. indicate that the agency encourages local police departments to recruit Boy Scouts as informers. Six documents bearing on the issue were made available in Philadelphia by National Action-Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NAR-MIC), a program of the American Friends Service Committee.

One of those documents, according to The New York Times story, discusses "Operation SAFE," an acronym for Scout Awareness for Emergency, in Rochester, N.Y. Said the story: "Scouts are given identification cards with police, F.B.I. and other emergency numbers on the reverse side and are asked to watch for and report on unusual activity or lack of activity in neighbors' homes, plus numerous other things, including criminal acts and 'suspicious' acts—persons loitering around schools, neighborhoods and parks. . ."

In that context, it may sound a bit damning. In fact, the program to which the document refers, far from being the kind of invasion of individual liberty that it's represented to be, was a model of citizen involvement. Those emergency numbers included not only the F.B.I. and the police, but fire, Coast Guard, Poison Control, RG&E and so on.

That "informing" of suspicious acts" covered such items as these:

"Around home and neighborhood. Assaults, robberies, shoplifting, breaking and entering, broken windows, faulty traffic signs and signals, broken or blown street lights.

"Fires: Buildings, vehicles, brush, youngsters playing with matches, dangerous fire conditions.

"Suspicious acts: Strangers carrying merchandise from neighborhood, persons loitering in secluded places, strange cars or men loitering around schools, neighborhoods or parks.

"Unusual occurrences: Faulty traffic lights, flooded viaducts, power lines down. . ."

Spies and informers for the F.B.I.? Nonsense. All that the Scouts were asked to do was to act like good citizens concerned for the safety and the well-being of the community.

We don't know whose tempest this was. But we can recognize a tea-cup when we see it. If these are "spies" and "informers," then all we can say is that the nation could use a lot more of them.

AMERICA'S RURAL ELECTRIC
COOPERATIVES

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1971

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, it is easy to forget America's rural areas when faced with daily reports of urban problems and international crises. Yet vast numbers of Americans still live in our country's rural areas, and face the daily challenges and rewards of country living. To these people, the future of America's rural electric cooperatives is a question of vital importance.

I do not need to emphasize what electrification has meant to our rural areas. Before 1935 when REA was created, rates of 5 to 10 cents per kilowatt-hour were common in those rural areas where electric lines could be found at all. In some instances, farmers and other rural consumers paid as high as 25 cents and even more. By 1958, the average price of retail electricity to all types of consumers served by the rural electric was down to 2.43 cents per kilowatt-hour. Ten years later, in 1968, the average had been lowered to 1.88 cents per kilowatt-hour. With these lower rates have come a new and better style of living for rural consumers.

My own district is fortunate to have five excellent rural electric cooperatives. They include Blachly-Lane County Co-op Electric Association serving Lane County; the Consumers Power, Inc., also serving Lane County; Douglas Electric Co-op serving Coos, Douglas, and Lane Counties; Lane County Electric Co-op also serving Lane County; and Coos-Curry Electric Cooperative serving Coos and Curry Counties.

Yet, all is not well with the rural cooperatives. For the first time since the start of the rural electrification program the cooperatives had to raise their rates last year. For the first time REA members reported more rate increases than decreases. This departure from a steady downward trend will have a profound effect on all rural users of electric power.

In addition, for several years, the REA loan program has remained at a level of about \$345 million annually. Yet while the rural electric systems have continued to repay their loans with interest, their need for new capital has increased. There is need for more equipment to service new consumers in the cooperative's area. Consumers are using more power than ever before, doubling their average consumption every 7 to 10 years, so it follows that heavier transformers and other equipment must replace what was originally installed.

REA has on hand applications for loans to power-type borrowers totaling \$191 million. This is more dollars than the lending agency has available for power-type loans and distribution loans together. It is expected that by the end of fiscal 1971-72 REA will have over \$800 million in loan requests waiting for funding. So the crunch in the shortage of REA funds affects all parts of the rural

electric program very critically. And this comes at a time when the Nation as a whole is short of power. According to the Federal Power Commission estimates, reserve generating capacity is too low in most parts of the country.

Compounding this problem is planning construction of new facilities in time to meet the anticipated increased demand. Simply having a project planned does little to meet the immediate need for additional power.

At the same time, our increased concern for ecology reminds us that any construction undertaken must be mindful of our need to protect the environment.

It is my firm belief that Congress and our Nation can find solutions to these problems. I am pleased that Congress is focusing its attention on the funding problems of the rural electric cooperatives, and I pledge my support in any effort to work out practical solutions.

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN
BRADEMAM, COMMENCEMENT EX-
ERCISES HELLENIC COLLEGE,
BROOKLINE, MASS., JUNE 5, 1971

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, on June 5, 1971, our distinguished colleague, Congressman JOHN BRADEMAM of Indiana, delivered the principal address at the 30th commencement exercises of the Hellenic College in Brookline, Mass. I am very pleased, at this time, to call his fine remarks to the attention of the Members of this body.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, JOHN BRADEMAM was the first native American of Greek origin to be elected to the Congress, in 1958. Certainly his exemplary performance in the House of Representatives since that time has proved him a great credit to his heritage.

In his address at Hellenic College last week, Congressman BRADEMAM discussed some of the major contributions which have been made by the Greek Orthodox religious tradition to other Christian traditions. In might observe here that Congressman BRADEMAM, a member of the United Methodist Church, is also a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches.

Others participating in the commencement ceremonies at Hellenic College were His Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, and the Reverend Dr. Leonidas C. Contos, president of the college.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Congressman BRADEMAM's remarks to the attention and consideration of my colleagues:

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAM
(D-IND), COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HEL-
LENIC COLLEGE, BROOKLINE, MASS., JUNE 5,
1971

Your Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos, Your
Graces, President Contos, Reverend Fathers,

members of the faculty, members of the graduating class, your families and friends, please allow me to say what a great honor I count it to have been invited to be with you today on the occasion of the 30th commencement exercises at Hellenic College.

It is for several reasons that I regard your invitation as a rare privilege.

In the first place, it affords me an opportunity again to visit Hellenic College, which from its origin as the Greek Orthodox Theological School a generation ago, has come to play so significant a role in the life of Orthodoxy in the United States. Hellenic College will, I am confident, under the outstanding leadership of your distinguished President, the Reverend Dr. Leonidas C. Contos, be a still more vital institution in the years ahead.

Second, I am honored to be here with my friend, and the beloved primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America, His Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos.

As a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches and in many other areas of common activity, I have been able to observe at firsthand the great affection and admiration which His Eminence has won not only from Orthodox believers, but from those of nearly every other religious tradition.

Third, I am glad to be here because I share with you a deep pride in the heritage which is ours—the heritage of Greece.

That I am the first American of Greek origin to serve in Congress and, given the presence now in the United States House of Representatives of four other Greek-Americans, that I am Dean of the Greek bloc in the House, fills me, you will all appreciate, with a special sense of responsibility.

But there is another reason—even beyond these—that I must cite by way of expressing my joy at being with you here today in Brookline—another link that binds us together—and that is that we are brother Christians.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF ORTHODOXY

And although I was not directly nurtured in the Greek Orthodox faith, I shall take the liberty, as one whose father was, and at a time when, under the gifted leadership of men like His Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos, the ecumenical spirit is moving on the face of the waters of Christendom—I shall, to repeat, take the liberty of speaking to you today about the Orthodox Church and what, it seems to me, Orthodox Christianity can offer in the 20th century to all those who call themselves Christians.

Let me then make bold to tell you some of the emphases of the Greek Orthodox tradition from which, I believe, the rest of us have much to learn.

I shall dwell on only three major themes that seem to me to represent essentials of Orthodoxy.

One is the central role of the sacramental in the life of the church.

Another is the primacy of the people and of their tradition as a worshipping community.

And a third is the deep sense of historical continuity which characterizes Orthodoxy.

THE SACRAMENTAL

I speak first of the sacramental.

Listen to these lovely lines by one of the great poets of the 20th century, the Greek, C.P. Cavafy:

"I love the church—its hexapteriga,
the silver of its sacred vessels, its candle-
sticks,
the lights, its icons, its pulpit.
When I enter a church of the Greeks,
with its fragrances of incense,
with its voices and liturgical choirs,
the stately presence of the priests
and the solemn rhythm of each of their
movements—

most resplendent in the adornment of their investments
my mind goes to the high honors of our race,
to the glory of our Byzantine tradition."

In an essay on the strength of Orthodoxy, Ernest Benz writes, that "Within contemporary Christendom, Orthodoxy shines with a light all its own . . ."

"Its liturgy (says Benz) is a wonderful repository of all the early Church's interpretations and practices of worship. Whatever the early Church and the Byzantine Church created in the way of liturgical drama, meditation and contemplation, in beauty of prayers and hymns, has been integrated and retained in the Orthodox liturgy . . ."

Benz goes on to note that "Verbal service and sacramental service are meaningfully interlocked so that total separation of them, such as has occurred in Western Reformed churches, can never occur. . . ."

"The full doctrine of the early Church . . . is immediate and vital in the liturgy and . . . in the hymn of worship. . . . Here there is no divorce between liturgy and theology, worship and dogma."

What Benz is saying stems, I believe, from something crucial in the development of Orthodoxy, the Greek patristic tradition.

For the Greek patristic writers—the church fathers who preceded the Latin fathers by at least a century and whose literature represents what has been called "the oldest universal language of the Christian Church," were not content with theologizing in the speculative, rationalizing spirit of Aristotle.

Rather, as Carnegie Samuel Calian has written in his book, *Icon and Pulpit*, "Patristic theology can be only 'preached' or 'proclaimed,' preached from the pulpit, proclaimed also in the words of prayer and in the sacred rites, and indeed manifested in the total structure of Christian life. . . ."

"Theology seen in this light writes [Calian] is but a means to acknowledge the mystery of the living God; it is not a theology of rules, regulations and dogmas per se . . . in this sense, theology is never self-explanatory discipline. It is constantly appealing to the vision of faith . . ."

Again to quote Calian's explanation of the diversity of theological method: "The West places confidence upon human reason to translate the meaning of the revelation, whereas the East rejects human reason as a limited vehicle and views the revelation data simply as a porthole through which we sense the mystery and wonder of what is beyond the horizon."

Now I suggest to you that this awareness of the limitations of human reason, this insistence on the mystery of what we cannot know, this refusal to divorce liturgy from theology, or to separate worship from dogma—that in all these ways, the Orthodox tradition is speaking to the needs of men even today.

Some of you may be familiar with the book by Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, in which he warns of the dehumanizing effect of a technocratic society, of a society which dispenses with mystery and magical experience.

"A culture that subordinates or degrades visionary experience commits the sin of diminishing our existence," Roszak says.

One need not look far, I suggest, to see how more and more young people, some in ways constructive, others in destructive fashion, are searching for meaning for their lives, for meaning that goes beyond the principle of scientific rationality.

The Orthodox tradition, I suggest, contains, in the richest way, just that blend of the reality of human existence with its mystery, just that sense of the sacramental

the lack of which so impoverishes the experience of so many in our age.

And so even as I began with one poet's lines, I here close this part of my discussion with some lines from another—William Blake:

"What," it will be Question'd, "When the Sun rises, do you not see a round disk of fire somewhat like a Guinea?" O no, no, I see an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying, "Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty."

Would it not be fair to say that it would be in the tradition of Orthodoxy, to see, to paraphrase Roszak, not the sun but "instead a chorus of flaming seraphim announcing the glory of God?"

THE WORSHIPPING COMMUNITY

Let me now touch on a second characteristic of Orthodoxy from which I believe all other Christians have much to learn.

I refer here to what my old university classmate, now a distinguished Protestant theologian, Lewis S. Mudge, describes as "the Orthodox emphasis on the wholeness of the life of a universal worshipping community."

"The Orthodox churches are what they are", says Dr. Mudge, "by tradition," by actual life, and not by application of verbalized theological principles."

And Dr. Mudge speaks of a kind of "family tradition" as characterizing Orthodoxy, a sort of Eastern populism in which the people are primary—where "it is their tradition that counts, not the detached views of a priestly caste."

The distinguished Orthodox theologian, Nikos A. Nissiotis, makes much the same point in different words when he notes that in the Orthodox Church, "which is rightly named the worshipping Church, theology is the echo, the reflection, the voice of the praying and worshipping community."

" . . . the Ecclesia exists, recreates itself and lives primarily out of, in and for the communal worship."

Without any question, the close link between Orthodox churches and various nationalities—Greek, Russian, American, others—has contributed importantly to this sense of the church as community of which I have been speaking.

And without question, too, the maintenance of so close a bond between church and definable ethnic group—in our case, the Greek—will encounter difficulties in a pluralistic society like the United States—and His Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos, has been most perceptive in his appreciation of this development and, if I read him aright, in his awareness that the Orthodox Church in America is becoming an indigenous and autonomous church, with all the problems—and all the opportunities—to which these new conditions give rise.

Nevertheless, the tradition of popular primacy which has historically distinguished the Orthodox Church can, I believe, offer to non-Orthodox Christians new visions of what a Christian community can be, especially at a time when many Christians are experimenting with new, sometimes radical forms of Christian community life.

The Orthodox heritage, which allows local options, believes in unity in diversity, responds to the differing needs of differing peoples, and gives the laity an important role in governing the church, offers a method of operating that some may more easily recognize and adapt from Orthodoxy than they can find within their own church surroundings.

This approach to Christian peoplehood was described by the 12th century theologian, Euthenios Zigabinos, in a rich and revealing phrase, "torn-in-two harmony and a practicably working economy."

THE RICHNESS OF HISTORY

There is a third characteristic of Orthodoxy about which I should also like to say just a few words.

The Orthodox Church is a church rich in history

Only to say Byzantium is to conjure up an immense range of memories.

Indeed, my own mind and imagination and heart were flooded with my earlier studies of history when twenty years ago, I stood in my father's church of St. Nicholas in Kalamata and realized he had worshipped there, and of course again when, nearly a decade ago, I had the privilege of visiting Phanar and meeting in that ancient city, the extraordinary man who is the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, His Holiness, Athenagoras I.

At a time when many have no sense of identity, in part because they have no sense of history, the durability of the Orthodox Church reminds us of the richness of the Orthodox past and of all the cultural, social, and political developments that go with it.

In this connection, I remind you of the words of your new neighbor, Dr. John Silber, in his inaugural address last month as President of Boston University. Dr. Silber observed how in America we have developed "an instant culture" and have thereby destroyed the structure of time.

But with "the pollution of time," he warns, "the basis for significance in our own lives is likewise destroyed. All meaning is lost in the instantaneous."

And, President Silber goes on to say, "The pollution of time is most obvious in our loss of a sense of history, in a loss of the recognition of the past as our own, in the loss of the awareness of any past, in the loss of the past in general."

It is, I suggest, one of the great strengths of Orthodoxy that it is an historical church, with a profound appreciation of the significance for human existence of a sense of history and of time.

Yet, if anything I have said today is true, the Orthodox heritage is not to be regarded as a musty relic in a museum.

For the life of Orthodoxy is a continuing, breathing force with much to offer not only to its own adherents but to others as well.

A SUMMARY

Let me summarize.

I have chosen today not to dwell on the bond of our common Greekness, although I take pride in that heritage, as do most of you.

Rather I have tried to talk with you about the great richness of the Orthodox Church—and to suggest only a few—not all—of the treasures of Orthodoxy from which others in the Christian tradition might learn.

I have spoken of the deep sense of the sacramental which runs through Orthodoxy, marrying liturgy to life, theology to worship, mind to mystery.

I have talked of the Orthodox insistence on the primacy of the people and the wholeness of life of a universal worshipping community.

And I have recalled as well the long tapestry of Orthodox history and have suggested that the traditions of the early church live still today, illuminating our experience and our understanding of the Christian life.

That there are weaknesses in Orthodoxy, I would certainly not deny.

But it is to the strength of Byzantium for today's world that I feel you—and I—must, in today's world, direct our thoughts and hopes and prayers.

To those of you then who will be priests of the Orthodox Church, but, nay, to all, whether Orthodox priest or Orthodox layman, I say . . . you and your church have much

to give and not to your brother Orthodox only, but to all men everywhere who hold Christ as Redeemer and in Him see the Revelation of God.

DAVID K. E. BRUCE AWARDED WILLIAM J. DONOVAN MEDAL

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the D-day invasion and the most recent annual meeting of the veterans of the Office of Strategic Services, I am reminded once again of the role that organized intelligence has played in the conduct of war and the promotion of peace. Today, when the privacy that democracy guarantees to its citizens is being called into question by the increased technological sophistication available to Government intelligence and when we have come also to question the sagacity of a foreign policy which has allowed for our untimely intervention in the affairs of other nations, it is also well to remember that our Nation can neither remain strong nor guarantee for our citizens the peace we all seek without a well-developed and accurate intelligence system.

Spying is an ugly word, and the act itself, when perpetuated upon our Government, is treasonable and punishable by death. Yet, where would our Nation be today had General Washington not established an intelligence network in order to obtain from behind British lines information necessary to the effective deployment of American troops. Those who took part in that valiant effort, including Nathan Hale, felt that while their assignment was essential, it was ungentlemanly, and, as their biographers noted, many wrestled with their consciences and took their undue sense of shame to their graves. But, without their efforts, or the work of the men and women who followed in their footsteps, America would not today be in a position to maintain peace in the world.

Our Nation's leaders have long recognized that vigilance is a necessary component of national security. And certainly one of the finest examples of a modern American patriot is Gen. William J. Donovan. It was Donovan who succeeded, with the help of the highly trained, ethnically diverse, and dedicated cadre of the Office of Strategic Services, in mounting an intelligence effort during World War II to which much credit can go for our success in resisting Hitler's advance. Certainly, the D-day offensive would not have been successful without the efforts of the Office of Strategic Services, nor would millions of Jews be alive today were it not for the countless acts of heroism by OSS agents that will doubtless go untold. It was the need for continuing our vigilance that led to the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency after the OSS had been disbanded.

To the vision and restraint of Bill Donovan we owe the model of a wartime intelligence agency which managed to pursue its goals of informing our military strategy without provoking those American foreign policy decisions which are historically and correctly reserved to Congress, a vision which we hope guides the historical successor to the OSS.

As General Donovan's executive assistant and former president of the OSS, Edwin J. Putzell, Jr. has pointed out,

Much of the future safety and progress in peacekeeping for the 1970's will depend on the high calibre of young men and women who in the years to come will serve in the American intelligence service. These future O.S.S. leaders can help keep our country at peace and expand the knowledge gathered by the present officers and members of O.S.S.

On this occasion, then, it is fitting that the Congress take note of the honor recently bestowed upon one of the alumni of the OSS, Ambassador David K. E. Bruce. At the annual dinner of the OSS, Ambassador Bruce was awarded the William J. Donovan Medal, awarded annually since 1962 to "an individual who has rendered distinguished service in the interests of the United States and the cause of freedom abroad."

Adding my own sincere vote of thanks to those who have paid tribute to Ambassador Bruce, I insert at this point in the RECORD the list of those distinguished Americans who have received the Donovan Medal along with a brief history of the Medal and the citation upon its award to Ambassador Bruce:

THE DONOVAN MEDAL

- 1962—The Honorable Allen W. Dulles.
- 1963—The Honorable John J. McCloy.
- 1964—Lieutenant General William W. Quinn.
- 1965—General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower.
- 1966—The Earl Mountbatten of Burma.
- 1967—The Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen.
- 1969—J. Russell Forgan.
- 1970—The Astronauts of Apollo 11.

The Veterans of the Office of Strategic Services will award the William J. Donovan medal annually to an individual who has rendered distinguished service in the interests of the United States and the cause of freedom abroad. Any citizen of the Free World will be eligible.

The purpose of this award is to foster a tradition and spirit of the kind of service to his country and the cause of freedom which William J. Donovan rendered in both his private and public capacities. He was the exemplar of the citizen-soldier-diplomat who valiantly served his country and the cause of freedom throughout the world. This award, as a perpetual parallel, will be made to an individual who, in his activities, exemplifies the spirit, the tradition and the distinguishing features which characterize General Donovan's career. These include a continuing concern for the world's security and safety, for the role which the United States must play in the world, and for the rights, freedoms and welfare of individuals in our society. Perhaps the most unique feature of General Donovan's life was the continuing expression of these concerns in his private life and activities as well as in public service.

Specifically, in General Donovan's career these features were expressed, as one of

America's leading citizen-soldiers, as ambassador, as intelligence chief, as assistant Attorney General, as lawyer in the courtroom and in the office, as private traveler seeing what he could learn for the benefit of his country.

The recipient of the Donovan medal will be an individual who has, in his own career, outstandingly exemplified these features of Donovan's career. He will be selected by a committee appointed by the President of the Veterans of the O.S.S.

The award will take the form of a medal, carrying a likeness of General Donovan.

DAVID K. E. BRUCE

David Bruce is the most versatile of men. Everything he does is done with distinction. It seems easier to list what he has not done than to recite what he has done. We know him as author, soldier, diplomat, lawyer, student and patron of the arts. In an earlier incarnation he was legislator, newspaper publisher and farmer.

His is one of the most distinguished, varied and important diplomatic careers in the history of the Republic. Presently, he is the President's Ambassador in charge of peace negotiations with North Vietnam in Paris. He has served eight years as the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Prior to that he served as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany and Ambassador to France. Officially or unofficially, he has been representative or adviser to the institutions leading to an integrated European economic, military and political community and history will record him as one of the architects of a United Europe. He has served as Under Secretary of State, as Assistant Secretary of Commerce and as Chief of the Marshall Plan Mission in France.

We of the O.S.S. know him as one of General William J. Donovan's closest associates in founding and organizing the Office of Strategic Services. As Chief of the S. I. Branch in Washington, he laid the basis for America's first worldwide intelligence service. Later he took command of all O.S.S. operations in the European Theatre of War, serving under General Eisenhower's command. In that capacity he developed the American relationships with the British organizations engaged in psychological warfare, intelligence and special operations. He represented the United States in dealing on these matters with all of the European governments in exile. He was responsible to General Eisenhower for utilizing the intelligence activities of these governments and the Resistance movements in their countries to support the Allied invasion of Normandy and the liberation of France. He directed these far-flung activities with enormous distinction, while leaving an indelible impression as friend and counselor, as well as imperturbable and decisive leader, with all those who served under his command.

BIG BUS BILL

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, an important consideration relative to the proposal to widen buses is that of possibly aggravating an existing problem which results from mixing large and small vehicles in the same traffic stream. The extent of the problem is noted in the fourth annual report of the National Transportation Safety Board. The report states:

Sixty times as many fatalities occur in passenger cars as in large interstate trucks when these vehicles collide, based on 1968 interstate vehicle accidents. The fatality toll involved is more than 1,000 lives.

Differences in vehicle size and weight obviously are factors in this situation, but this is, at best, a loose determination of cause. Detailed causes have yet to be identified, and only a few experimental efforts have been made to cope with the problem. Broad factors involved, however, include trucks overriding cars and cars underriding trucks, the slower stopping capability of the heaviest trucks, and trucks sometimes crushing passenger cars in overturn accidents.

The Board had earlier taken note of this problem in its report on the tragic accident which occurred on the New Jersey Turnpike in November of 1969:

HIGHWAY ACCIDENT REPORT: MULTIPLE-VEHICLE COLLISIONS UNDER FOG CONDITIONS, FOLLOWED BY FIRES, NEW JERSEY TURNPIKE, NORTH OF GATE 2, NOVEMBER 29, 1969

FACTORS RELATED TO VEHICLES
Incompatibility of vehicles

There were 21 passenger cars and six tractor-semitrailer combinations known to be involved in impacts. Of the passenger cars which struck other vehicles, three are believed to have struck the overturned propane semitrailer, and some five others are believed to have struck other passenger cars in initial impacts. No deaths are believed to have occurred directly as the result of the impacts by passenger cars.

Of the six tractor-semitrailers involved in impacts, five are known to have struck some eight passenger cars directly, plus at least five others in secondary impacts. One semitrailer was struck by a passenger car shoved into it by a tractor-semitrailer. While no deaths can be proven to have occurred directly in the impacts by tractor-semitrailer combinations, five of the six deaths occurred in vehicles struck or overrun by tractors. These vehicles were subsequently consumed by fire.

(a) *Difference in Vehicle Weight:* Passenger cars involved in this accident ranged in weight from about 3,000 to about 5,000 pounds. Tractor-semitrailer combinations ranged from 25,000 to 76,340 pounds. This would represent a potential range in weight differential from about 5 to 1 as a minimum, to about 25 to 1 as a maximum. Specific examples would be Vehicle 1 impact of Vehicle 17, approximately 19-to-1 ratio; Vehicle 2 overrun by Vehicle 3, about 19-to-1 ratio; and Vehicle 13 impact with Vehicle 9, about 6-to-1 ratio. Weight (or mass) alone does not tell the whole story of impact damage. In this accident, vehicle speeds at impact are indeterminate for the most part, so that impact accelerations or energies cannot be calculated. However, weight differences do parallel the amount of damage suffered by the various vehicles and was a contributing factor to fatalities.

(b) *Differences in Stopping Capabilities:* Specific stopping distances or braking efficiencies were not determined in this accident, so that it is impossible to relate individual crashes to individual stopping capabilities. In addition, each crash situation was unique in terms of its specifics as to (1) what each driver saw; (2) the speed of each vehicle; (3) each driver's evaluation of the situation and stopping reaction; and (4) the stopping capability of each vehicle as it was loaded.

However, a recapitulation of overall events shows that of the 21 passenger cars involved, 11 made initially safe stops and three had very light impacts with cars ahead. Another was struck from behind while slowing. Thus, only six of the 21 (28 percent) did not stop

in time to avoid a major crash—for whatever reason.

Of the eight tractor-semitrailer combinations involved, three made initially safe stops, one was traveling at a reduced speed but collided with two separate vehicles ahead because it could not stop in time, and four made heavy impacts into vehicles ahead. Thus, five of the eight (63 percent) did not stop in time to avoid a crash.

These differences may reflect the lower stopping capabilities of trucks as compared to passenger cars at given speeds. The Board has attempted to compare passenger-car stopping capabilities with those of trucks and tractor trailer combinations, but can find no results of tests made by a single agency under comparable conditions. Nevertheless, data which has been found shows substantial stopping differences, indicating much longer stopping distances for truck-semitrailer combinations as a class, than for automobiles as a class.

(c) *Differences in Vehicle Dimensions:* Vehicle dimensional differences as examples of override and underride, are described and illustrated in Appendices D and E. The following specific analyses relate to these dimensional differences:

(1) Vehicle 3 override of Vehicle 2: The bottom of Vehicle 3's tractor bumper would have struck some portion of Vehicle 2 above its bumper, but lower than the top of its trunk lid. The deformation of Vehicle 2 sheet metal during the initial contact could have created a ramp effect, permitting the front wheel(s) of Tractor 3 to ride up onto Vehicle 2.

(2) Vehicle 3 override of Vehicle 6: Vehicle 6 was "bull-dozed" towards the left and rotated counterclockwise as Vehicle 3 moved towards its left following initial contact with Vehicles 6 and 4 and Semitrailer 1. During this action, the side of Semitrailer 3 overran Vehicle 6, as indicated by photographic exhibits showing the damage to Vehicle 6. The height of Semitrailer 3's lower side sill was 45 inches, compared with Vehicle 6's hood height of 36 inches and roof height of 55 inches. Extensive damage to the trunk of Vehicle 6 could have resulted from contact with the left rear drive tire or left side trailer support of Vehicle 3.

(3) Vehicle 20 underride of Vehicle 19: When Vehicle 20 with its van-type trailer in tow was struck in the rear by Vehicle 18, it was forced under Semitrailer 19. Photographs and direct examination showed that Vehicle 20 was rotated counterclockwise about 15°. Exhibit D shows that the underride guard of Semitrailer 19 was 7 to 9 inches higher than Vehicle 20's front bumper. The top of Vehicle 20's hood was 2 to 5 inches higher than the rear crossmember of Semitrailer 19. The damage to Vehicle 20 indicates that it was shoved under Semitrailer 19 up to the windshield, jamming both doors.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration set a high priority on establishing performance requirements for new buses, trucks, trailers, and combinations in regard to: (1) improved braking capabilities with balanced skid resistance, reduced "fade," and shorter stopping with maximum load; (2) the use of energy-absorbing underride and override barriers to reduce passenger-car impact decelerations through controlled yielding; and (3) minimum limits on stability factors for loaded vehicles. (Stability factor is defined as one-half the tread width between centers of outside tire footprints, divided by the height of the center of gravity of a loaded vehicle.)

The Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety, Federal Highway Administration, consider the promulgation of regulations to require improved braking capabilities of regulated vehicles, and inclusion of a numerical statement of the sta-

bility factor (value) on the identification plate of all tank trailers which transport hazardous materials, in implementing Recommendation 3, above.

CONCLUSIONS

Even though the fatalities could not be attributed exclusively to impact effects of the trucks on the passenger cars, the intermixing of passenger cars and trucks in the crash acted to invalidate occupant protection characteristics of passenger cars. The trucks and passenger cars did not operate as a compatible system to reduce occupant fatalities.

The relative proportions of heavy trucks and of passenger cars which could not avoid striking vehicles ahead suggest that the known varying stopping capabilities of different types of vehicles intermixed had an effect in this accident.

The rear-end protection devices on Semitrailer 19, which met the provisions of Title 49, Section 393.86 (Motor Carrier Safety Regulations), failed to prevent the underride by Vehicle 20, and the resultant jamming of the front doors of Vehicle 20.

The resistance of trucks to overturn as influenced by center of gravity height is controllable, but is not presently controlled by any Federal regulation.

Significant conflicts in the logic of operation of the highway as a managed system were present; namely, (1) a conflict between the legal theory of the advisory signs and their apparent actual role in the sequence of operations, (2) a conflict between the need for uniform speed of different types of intermixed vehicles to reduce hazardous interaction during smooth flow and a need for differing speeds of the same vehicle types to avoid collisions when interruptions of flow occurs, and (3) a crash design incompatibility of the different types of intermixed vehicles which tended to invalidate the occupant protection characteristics of the passenger cars.

DRUG ABUSE IN THE MILITARY

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have been actively working to end drug abuse in the military and on May 10 I introduced H.R. 8216, the Armed Forces Drug Abuse Control Act of 1971. Under the terms of my bill, which now has 49 cosponsors from both sides of the aisle, a Drug Abuse Control Corps would be established in each branch of the Armed Forces to carry out comprehensive treatment-rehabilitation programs and to cut off the illegal traffic in drugs; a uniform amnesty-treatment program would be established in each of the Armed Forces; and the key provision of the bill states that—

No member of an armed force who is adjudged by competent medical authority during his active duty to be addicted to a narcotic drug may be separated from service until such time as he is adjudged by competent medical authority to be free of any habitual dependence on narcotic drugs.

My proposal has gained widespread support among my colleagues in the House and the news media has enthusiastically endorsed my approach to the problem.

I was pleased to note that in the June 12 issue of the New Republic, Senator HAROLD E. HUGHES, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Narcotics had adopted my approach in toto in an article entitled, "Hard Drugs in the Military." In outlining solutions to the drug abuse problem in the military, Senator HUGHES proposed—

Universal drug treatment, rehabilitation, and preventive education programs throughout the armed services. Universal amnesty policies for drug addicts seeking help that are set forth and backed up by the highest levels in the DOD. No GI with a drug problem should be discharged to return to society until his addiction is under control.

I welcome Senator HUGHES' support and I am hopeful that favorable action will be taken on my proposal early in this Congress.

I am inserting the New Republic article in the RECORD at this point for the benefit of my colleagues. The article follows:

40,000 ADDICTS: HARD DRUGS IN THE MILITARY

A recent estimate from the Provost Marshal's office in Saigon—the first official admission on the subject with any semblance of realism—indicates that between 10 and 15 percent of the American troops in Vietnam are on hard drugs. We are talking about 30,000 to 40,000 addicts in uniform. The prevailing drug is heroin—or "skag," as the GIs and users here at home call it.

In the past year, the Senate subcommittee on alcoholism and narcotics has been investigating the drug problem in our armed services as an extension of our continuing investigation of the drug epidemic in our civilian society. This investigation was initiated with the consent and cooperation of Senator John Stennis, chairman, and Senator Margaret Chase Smith, ranking minority member, of the Armed Services Committee. The subcommittee staff has conducted extensive on-the-spot inquiries into drug use in our military bases in Vietnam, Thailand, Korea, Europe, and elsewhere overseas, as well as at our bases in this country. On the basis of the information we have obtained, I would say that the estimate of 30,000 to 40,000 addicts is on the conservative side.

The reflex of the armed services to the drug problem, for which they were totally unprepared, has been a caricature of the blind, moralistic reaction of our civilian society. To most of the military brass, drug addiction is a crime for which the answer is strict enforcement and harsh punishment. In their view, addicts are a disgrace to their uniforms; the most prevalent solution is to drum them out of the armed services with a less than honorable discharge.

Obviously, this is no solution. On the contrary, it fatally compounds the problem, for these men, trained in violence to defend their country, are being returned home afflicted with a deadly, crime-inducing disease they can't control. In America, where the cost of illegal heroin and other narcotics is high, the only way that most addicts can support their habit is by crime. In other words, as we release increasing thousands of addicted servicemen back into our society, we are inviting a horrifying addition to what is already the major source of crime in our cities.

Our staff investigators in Southeast Asia found that narcotics are as readily available as chewing gum and cigarettes in this country—and cheap. Heroin is strong—97 percent pure, as compared to around five percent in most of the illegal, domestic US heroin.

Fewer than a fourth of the 260,000 troops we have in Vietnam are in combat units. For the remaining 200,000, time is heavy on

their hands. They are lonely, homesick, bored. With drugs plentiful and cheap, it is understandable how the average GI can ease into full-fledged addiction without realizing it. Like the alcoholic who never has a hangover because he never sobers up, the habitual skag smoker may not know he is hooked until he leaves the area and begins to suffer withdrawal symptoms.

Efforts by the military are token, even by comparison with efforts in our civilian society, which is saying something. The necessary amnesty for addicts who seek treatment is slow to be accepted by the brass or to be trusted by the GIs. Only a few high ranking officers, like General John J. Tolson, as Commanding Officer of Fort Bragg, have recognized the crisis and moved to meet it. But now the bugles are being heard—even at the highest DOD levels. You can't drum men out of the services by the regiment without impairing our national security.

Throughout the nation, people have been scared stiff but this has not been translated into official or civic action on a realistic basis. Efforts to fund programs to control the epidemic of chemical addiction in this country have not been popular. But now, perhaps, this has been changed. We get calls from state and local officials we had never heard from before. Public officials are beginning to rush to get involved in the drug act. It would be ironic if the one great victory of Vietnam were to be awakening of our country to the deadly crisis of the drug epidemic—but, if so, this is no small achievement.

What can be done? I have studied the problem long enough to know that there are no sure-fire solutions, but here are some thoughts.

General: We will never control the drug problem until we get at the source of the problem—the addiction itself. This means diversified programs of treatment, rehabilitation, and preventive education. Not every addict responds to the same treatment. We are talking about massive effort, massive funding. It will pay back the investment many times over.

Enforcement of drug laws and control of illegal imports? Yes, these are important. International efforts to control the poppy culture in Turkey and the large-scale refining of opium into heroin in France for illegal export to the US? Yes, we should explore all possibilities without delay. But realistically, poppies grow in Thailand and elsewhere. Where there are huge profits to be made, man's ingenuity is unbounded. And heroin is only one of a vast and bewildering variety of dangerous substances. I am convinced that we will never control the drug problem simply by trying to shut off the supply. We must get at the source—the addiction.

Military: Begin with careful screening to avoid inducting individuals who are already drug dependent. One reason we have a severe drug problem in the armed services is that some men inducted brought their addiction with them.

Universal drug treatment, rehabilitation, and preventive education programs throughout the armed services. Universal amnesty policies for drug addicts seeking help that are set forth and backed up by the highest levels in the DOD.

No GI with a drug problem should be discharged to return to society until his addiction is under control.

For the benefit of those already discharged from the armed services with addiction problems and of individuals who will be struggling with addiction in the years ahead, we need to have complete programs for the treatment and control of chemical addiction in our Veterans' hospitals.

With public concern rising about the hard drug epidemic in Vietnam, there is hope that our government will be pushed to make the

big moves required to save thousands of young American men from living death. In the meantime, with 260,000 American servicemen still in Vietnam, the epidemic is worsening and the massive flow of drugs and addicts from Southeast Asia to our homeland is bound to increase. Can anyone doubt that the first and most obvious step toward correcting the situation is to get our troops out of Indochina?

HAROLD E. HUGHES.

HAROLD E. HUGHES, United States Senator from Iowa, is chairman of the Senate subcommittee on alcoholism and narcotics.

TURNING OFF THE GAS

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, Prof. Matthew S. Meselson, professor of biology at Harvard University, has written a most interesting article relative to the White House policy on ratifying the 1925 protocol against gas warfare. Professor Meselson served as consultant to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency since 1963. He was one of the leaders among a loose coalition of scientists who helped persuade President Nixon to review American biologic weapons policy and eventually ban the production and stockpiling of "germ warfare" weapons in September of 1969. His article, as printed in the Christian Science Monitor of May 15 is both valuable and timely, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

TURNING OFF THE GAS

(By Dr. Matthew S. Meselson)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—Recently, the Senate held hearings on possible ratification of the 1925 Geneva protocol. This is the treaty which prohibits the use in war of "... asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices." The protocol has been ratified by most of the nations of the world, including all major countries except the United States. It was submitted to the Senate in one of several widely praised White House moves to strengthen the barriers against chemical and biological warfare.

However, ratification of the protocol has hit a snag. The problem arises from the fact that when the administration took office, United States forces in Vietnam were already using certain types of chemical weapons. Starting in 1962, chemical herbicides have been sprayed over millions of acres in order to remove vegetation and to destroy food crops. And, from small beginnings in 1965, the use of riot gas escalated to become by far the largest combat use of gas since World War I.

As with many treaties, the Geneva protocol may be interpreted either broadly or narrowly. Faced with considerable criticism of chemical operations in Vietnam, the previous administration enunciated a narrow interpretation, one that would allow riot gas or herbicides. In spite of some misgivings, the present administration has gone along with that approach by submitting the protocol to the Senate making specific exemptions for these weapons. This places the United States squarely in opposition to the preponderant international view that the protocol prohibits all antipersonnel and anti-plant chemical warfare.

The most recent indication of the views of other nations was a resolution at the United Nations in December, 1969, when 80 nations voted against our position and only two voted with us. Although there were 36 nations abstaining, nearly all of them were our close allies, politely registering their reluctance to accept the U.S. viewpoint.

Not surprisingly, the question of interpretation dominated the recently concluded Senate hearings, with several key members of the Foreign Relations Committee strongly in favor of U.S. ratification without special exemptions for riot gas and herbicides. Thus, it appears that the protocol is not likely to be approved by the Senate until the problem of interpretation can be settled.

Fortunately, the administration has left itself an important degree of flexibility. One course that is open would be to let the status of riot gas and herbicides be decided by the International Court of Justice at The Hague. There is also an opportunity for a more direct solution. On the recommendation of Ambassador Bunker and General Abrams, herbicide operations in Vietnam are being rapidly phased out and reportedly will end completely this spring. Similarly, the use of riot gas has fallen to a small fraction of what it once was. In large part this is because the gas has become ineffective as the other side has learned defensive tactics and acquired large supplies of gas masks. Thus, before election fever overtakes us, the President might be persuaded to broaden the U.S. interpretation of the protocol.

When we shift our attention from the receding events of the past in Vietnam we see that our future interest is clearly on the side of building the strongest possible barriers against chemical warfare. This view was most forcefully put before the Senate by McGeorge Bundy, former national security adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and a participant in the initial decisions to use chemical weapons in Vietnam. Mr. Bundy told the Foreign Relations Committee that the basic question at issue is "... the safety of American lives in the future and indeed the safety of the human race itself."

Because they are relatively cheap and are capable of being disseminated over large areas, chemical and biological weapons could bring about a major increase in the level of death and devastation in wars of all kinds. However, the greatest hazard of letting the moral and psychological barriers against chemical and biological warfare erode may be that this would open a radical new dimension of expanding knowledge and technology for military exploitation.

We are in the midst of a revolution in biochemistry and molecular biology, leading to the most detailed and subtle knowledge of the living process. Inevitably, this will allow man to manipulate and control living things, including himself, in ways that cannot now be spelled out. Of course, pure science is neutral in the sense that its discoveries can be used for good and for ill. But it seems only prudent to take great care not to generate interest and momentum toward the military application of this knowledge. If the other nations of the world are willing not to use chemical warfare in any form, the United States should be more than willing to go along.

NIXON'S VIET POLICY RESTS ON OLD, FALSE PREMISES

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the misconceptions and faulty logic that

drew us into the quagmire of Vietnam have been exposed and discredited by many war critics in recent years.

These same arguments, however, are still being used by the administration in its opposition to the growing demand that we end our intervention and withdraw all our troops by the end of this year.

The danger of this situation was spelled out simply and articulately in a recent editorial in the Detroit Free Press, under the heading, "Nixon's Viet Policy Rests on Old, False Premises."

The editorial points out that Nixon is "doing the right things for the wrong reason," basing his foreign policy decisions on "premises which have proven to be false years ago."

Unless these false premises are recognized, the editorial continues, the United States will have learned nothing from the whole tragic experience, and may well repeat its mistakes in the future.

We did not intervene in Vietnam to stop or prevent Communist aggression, we have consistently broken our promises to the people of Vietnam, and we have permitted an unreasoning fear of communism to lead us into policies entirely alien to American ideals.

Our attempts to "preserve freedom" for the people of Vietnam and other Southeast Asian nations have instead given them death and destruction.

A stubborn adherence to this policy has bankrupted us financially and morally, and caused divisions in our Nation that probably cannot be healed in our lifetime.

If we are to emerge from this nightmare, it is essential that we recognize our mistake, and reject what the Free Press calls "outworn cliches and discredited theories."

This is the message of the Free Press editorial, and I commend it highly to the attention of my colleagues:

NIXON'S VIET POLICY RESTS ON OLD, FALSE PREMISES

Each time President Nixon expounds at any length on the war in Vietnam, we are forced to grit our teeth and bear it. The man is doing all the right things for the wrong reasons.

Were the subject any less significant to the United States in the long run, we would not bother to dispute his reasoning. But when foreign policy decisions being made today are based on premises which have proven to be false years ago, the odds are not good that the decisions will work out. More important, in the long run, we may well have learned nothing to keep us from repeating the mistake.

Such as Indochina. In his press conference Tuesday night, Mr. Nixon said that "we have done what we have" to prevent a "takeover of South Vietnam by the communist aggressors" which would have resulted in the loss of freedom for 17 million people in South Vietnam. Our failure to intervene, he said, would have greatly increased "the danger of that kind of aggression and also the danger of a larger war in the Pacific and in the world."

Let's once more take the points one by one. We did not intervene to prevent a takeover by communist aggressors. We intervened initially because John Foster Dulles and President Eisenhower were convinced that in a free election in both Vietnams, as called for by the Geneva Accords of 1954, Ho Chi Minh would have won 80 percent of the vote.

We intervened by having Ngo Dinh Diem,

the puppet premier of South Vietnam, cancel the elections which were scheduled by the Geneva Accords for 1956.

This cancellation of guaranteed elections—the third time Westerners had betrayed their guarantees to the Vietnamese in 10 years—started a civil war against Diem and his colonial supporters.

It has continued ever since and is basically what is going on in South Vietnam. This simple fact has been obscured by the massive entry first of American military personnel, then North Vietnamese.

In place of preserving "freedom for 17 million people," we have succeeded in killing perhaps millions of them; uprooting many millions more and putting them in refugee centers or high-class concentration camps; destroying their livestock, their crops and their land itself; imposing on the people a government of our choosing which is economically, morally and constitutionally corrupt; and seriously weakening, if not destroying, the ability of Vietnam to become self-sufficient.

Since there was no "aggression" except by the United States, then transparently our involvement did not reduce "the danger of that kind of aggression and also the danger of a larger war in the Pacific and in the world." We have been so consumed with communism, 1954 style, that we have weakened our position in the world, alienated our friends and allowed Russia to assume a role in the Middle East it never had before. We have thus increased the danger of a larger war in the world.

Mr. Nixon at time gives us hope that he is breaking out of his China lobby-massive retaliation-monolithic communism way of thinking which he carried all through the 1950s. We were heartened by his willingness to negotiate, by his seeming breakthrough in the SALT talks and by his re-evaluation of the existence of China. But when he reverts to all the outworn cliches and discredited theories about Indochina, as he did Tuesday night, we are torn by uncertainty.

Is he saying these things because he believes them, or does he have a political purpose? If the latter, we wish he wouldn't play politics with war and peace. If the former, then how long can his luck hold out?

PRESIDENT'S ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND HONORABLE PEACE MERIT OUR SUPPORT

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, the senior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) yesterday in an address to the National Convocation of Lawyers To End the War, stated that—

The only possible excuse for continuing the ... policy of Vietnamizing the war ... seems to be the President's intention to play his last great card for peace at a time ... when the chances will be greater that the action will benefit the coming presidential election campaign.

The entire message of the Senator's speech was that the President is playing politics with the war. Mr. Speaker, who is playing politics? Who was it that said we should avoid "inflammatory rhetoric" and "rational voices should prevail"?

To accuse the President of timing the withdrawal of troops solely because of the political effect it may have is a very serious accusation. Not only is it irre-

sponsible and unfounded, but it also tears, once again, at the fabric of our constitutional Government.

Let us look at what the President has accomplished in a positive vein. Under the Vietnamization program, American troop strength has been reduced from 542,000 to less than 260,000 and combat deaths from 278 weekly to fewer than 40. South Vietnam's regular and local forces have greatly increased their capabilities and have taken over the major share of defending their country against North Vietnam's attack. Instead of a stalemate the end of our participation is in sight.

The United States has maintained a flexible negotiation posture in Paris. We have done almost everything that various parties—including the Senator from Massachusetts—told us would kindle negotiations. We halted the bombing and other acts of force against North Vietnam. We agreed to NLF participation in the Paris talks. We agreed to the principle of withdrawal and have made substantial withdrawals. We agreed in principle to remove all our troops. And we appointed a new senior negotiator in Paris.

These steps, except for the bombing halt, were unilateral, designed not only to reduce our involvement; but also to open the door to negotiations. Each of them was urged by the other side as a constructive contribution.

Mr. Speaker, if one was political he could argue that this is a Democratic war, a war begun by President Kennedy and expanded by President Johnson. I for one have never said this and don't believe it is true. No American President, Democratic or Republican, has played politics with American lives. We can certainly disagree with the decisions that are made and voice our honest objections. However, it is a sad day when a Member of Congress implies that a President of the United States acts solely from political motives regarding the war. I would hope the senior Senator from Massachusetts would reexamine his position. The accomplishments of the President in attempting to achieve a just and honorable peace merit our support.

A BILL TO RENAME THE NEBRASKA NATIONAL FOREST THE SAMUEL R. MCKELVIE NATIONAL FOREST

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to change the name of the Nebraska National Forest to the Samuel R. McKelvie National Forest.

Sam McKelvie was one of Nebraska's foremost citizens and a national leader in the cattle industry, agriculture, and preserving our natural resources. Precedent has been established for the changing of names of national forests such as the William B. Bankhead National Forest in Alabama, the Whitman, Cleveland, Lewis and Clark, Custer, Roosevelt, Carson, Lincoln, Coronado, Davy

Crockett, Sam Houston, Mark Twain, Daniel Boone, George Washington, Jefferson, Gifford Pinchot, and others.

Following is a brief summary of the life of Samuel Roy McKelvie:

SAM MCKELVIE

Samuel Roy McKelvie, the twentieth governor of the state of Nebraska, farmer, rancher, businessman, publisher and public servant, was born April 15, 1881. The fourth of nine children of Sam and Jennie McKelvie, he was raised on their farm near Fairfield in Clay County, Nebraska.

Marked by boyhood days in which he acquired a deep feeling for, as well as knowledge of agriculture, Sam McKelvie began a multiplicity of careers on graduation from Lincoln Business College in 1901. At the age of 21, his first employment was a field man for one of a half-dozen farm publications in Nebraska at the time—The Twentieth Century Farmer. In just three years of covering and reporting agriculture for the farm newspaper, he had established himself as an authority in his field, and on change of ownership of another farm publication, The Nebraska Farmer, Sam McKelvie was made editor of the newly-based Lincoln publication.

In three more years he purchased and became publisher of the fifty-year-old publication, a move that was to result in The Nebraska Farmer becoming the sixth largest farm publication of more than forty in the nation by the mid-twentieth century—and the establishment of the authoritative publication in nine of every ten farm homes in Nebraska alone. Under the signature of his "By The Way" column, and throughout The Nebraska Farmer, Sam McKelvie was devoted to the improvement, progressiveness and establishment of agriculture as the major occupation and industry it was in supplying food to the nation. Over the course of years in his publishing, political and agricultural careers, Sam McKelvie was to influence the promotion of agricultural improvements and marketing by encouraging establishment of farm cooperatives and mutual livestock associations.

At the time his interests focused on politics and elected government office, the state of Nebraska was in the throes of early development of state government. Sam McKelvie saw the need for change, and after quick successions in public offices of city council in Lincoln, a term in the state House of Representatives, and a term as Lieutenant Governor, he bid for and was elected Governor of Nebraska in 1918. In two successive terms of service from 1919 to 1923, he initiated such large-scale government reform that he was called the biggest reform/reorganization governor the state had ever had.

Sam McKelvie's Civil Administration Code was a forerunner of modern state government, not only in Nebraska but throughout the United States. It provided for the consolidation of more than twenty far-flung departments, bureaus, commissions and boards into six state departments. He provided an executive budget for the state's cabinet structure of government. With lagging programs in some areas, and others non-existent but needed, Sam McKelvie established a state parks system, a state road program, new agricultural programs including the State Agricultural Information Service, state accounting and auditing procedures, and diversification of funding of roads and highways and other programs.

In the first two years as governor, the reforms and reorganizations that were made resulted in a reduction of more than \$2 million in appropriations to run the state and a cut of one-third of the state's property taxes. The effectiveness of his reform programs lay in the reduction of waste and duplication, the efficient accounting of state

programs and operations and the increased efficiency in these operations. But most importantly to Sam McKelvie, the reform resulted in an opening of the doors of elected government to the people—the renewal of responsibility to the people.

Besides his government reform and establishment of important road and park programs, Sam McKelvie was to be instrumental in one other important project for Nebraska as its governor. Perhaps the most visual contribution he made to the state is the Capitol building that stands today. Considered one of the architectural wonders of the world, the new Nebraska capitol was more than a brainchild of Sam McKelvie. It was needed, its design fitting and appropriate to the people and land it symbolizes. Chairman McKelvie and a bi-partisan Capitol Commission solicited plans and designs from around the nation for a year before Governor McKelvie signed the construction contract for the plans of New York architect Bertram G. Goodhue. Sam McKelvie laid the cornerstone for the new \$10 million building that when completed several years later, had no costs remaining to be paid against it because of McKelvie's pay-as-you plan for financing the building.

Not choosing to seek a third term as governor, and with his government reorganization plans in effect, Sam McKelvie returned to his publishing career and began anew in livestock production. In the years that followed his elected public office, he was to continue to be of service to Nebraska and the farm people he loved. First as a successful producer of beef cattle for breeding, Sam McKelvie served on the American Hereford Association board of directors, including one term as president; he organized, served as president for ten years, and published the bulletin of the Sandhills Cattle Association to promote, advertise, improve and establish sandhills feeder cattle of Nebraska as the highest quality beef in the country.

Sam McKelvie's interest in, and promotion and knowledge of farming and agriculture did not go unnoticed beyond the boundaries of Nebraska. He was asked by President Hoover to be secretary of agriculture in 1929, but declined because of illness. Later, after an operation and recovery, another request by the President led to his acceptance of a position on the new nine-member Federal Farm Board, on which he served two years.

Sam McKelvie died Jan. 6, 1956, at the age of 74. He had been a man of many interests, many careers, from farm publications, farming and ranching, to politics and government. But most important, Sam McKelvie had been a Nebraskan, a sower of belief and strength and determination in the land and its people. He had seen the fruition of many dreams, many aspirations, many beliefs and concerns come true in his lifetime.

The stabilization and establishment of farming through cooperative programs and alliances with business; the improvement and production of purebred, high quality beef through association of growers and marketers; the establishment of a state road program and state park system in Nebraska; the reorganization and reform of state government into efficient, progressive and responsible representation; the establishment of a new, architecturally acclaimed and debt-free capitol building—all had been the efforts and concerns and product and love of Sam McKelvie.

Always in the interest of Nebraskans and farmers and the nation as a whole, always for the benefit of improvement, betterment, progress, success, and deep concern for the good life, Sam McKelvie felt, breathed, slept, worked and lived Nebraska, agriculture, economy. He was honest, often daring; he was respectful of personal friend and political opponent alike; he was determined and open-minded; fair and frugal; hard-working and devoted. A man of integrity, he trusted

and believed in his fellow man, in Nebraskans, and in his state. Sam McKelvie was a Nebraskan first and always. He was a part of Nebraska.

FARADAY'S CARTRETTE

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, one of the most innovative firms from within my congressional district in Michigan, Faraday, Inc., has been honored for developing the product of the year for the State of Michigan. The recognition of Faraday's Cartrette could have significant implications not only for Michigan, but the entire Nation as well. It is extremely gratifying to have what is considered to be a major breakthrough recognized by these business and industrial leaders.

I insert at this point in the RECORD the following articles which explain in some detail this new product development in the consumer field:

FARADAY'S MINI-CARTRIDGE REVOLUTIONARY FOR MUSIC

A tiny cartridge, measuring approximately two inches square and a quarter-inch deep, not only won regional honors as Michigan's product of the year award, but it may kick off a new era for Tecumseh's Faraday, Inc.

Last week at Ann Arbor, judges selected the cartridge, called "Cartrette," as the top regional product from Lenawee, Livingston, Monroe and Washtenaw counties. It will represent these counties in the state contest, scheduled to start Friday at Lansing.

The Cartrette resulted after 15 months work at the local plant, and it may eventually involve a million dollar investment, Frederick J. Kluin, company president, pointed out.

"I believe that in five years that all juke boxes will be all Cartrettes," Mr. Kluin predicts. Those who have heard the stereo sound from the mini-cartridge can hardly dispute this prediction.

In comparison to the eight-track and cassette cartridges, Cartrette will probably sell to the consumer from \$1.00 to \$3.98, while pre-recorded eight-track cartridges are currently selling at \$6.98 and \$7.98.

In view of the potential, Faraday already has patents in practically every country and expects to license other companies for production, which is expected to start next fall.

"We can't possibly produce enough Cartrettes and the Cartrette tape players here at Faraday," Mr. Kluin explains.

This statement preceded his announcement that Faraday expects to expand next spring, adding 17,000 square feet for Cartrette manufacturing and about 4,000 square feet for general office.

Employment will jump 125 from the current 275-300 employment figure.

The Cartrette has other advantages besides the attractive, low price. It is so small that auto designers will be able to fit the equally small tape player into a car's dash, instead of hanging the tape player below.

Designs also include developing it for the teenagers who may want to carry it around, the same as transistor radios are now toted about.

Although extremely small, it has equal or superior stereo quality than the cassette. And, it will have 80 minute monaural or 40-minute stereophonic playing time.

Product-of-the-Year award for Faraday would be stupendous, as the award is one of the most coveted honors a company can receive.

Competition is keen as the regional contests proved S.E. "Bunky" Knudsen of Rec-trans, a \$17,000 plus motor home; Merit Engineering of Monroe, a unique mail box indicator; and Michigan Ladder Co. of Ann Arbor, a new concept in table tennis tops and tables.

Regional judges included Kenneth McElroy, president of United Savings Bank of Tecumseh; Mrs. Hazel Proctor, advertising manager for Ann Arbor Federal Savings and Loan Association; John Parke, president of Precision Stamping Co., Brighton; and Joseph F. Maroon, vice president of Peoples Federal Savings and Loan, Monroe.

TECUMSEH ENTRY WINNER: FARADAY'S TINY TAPE CARTRIDGE GAINS IN MICHIGAN WEEK EVENT

A tiny tape cartridge developed by Faraday, Inc., of Tecumseh, has been selected Regional Product of the Year in the annual Greater Michigan Foundation contest. The cartridge named the Cartrette, is only two inches square, one-quarter inch deep, and will play 40 minutes of stereophonic or monaural sound, or 20 minutes of quadrasonic sound. It can be produced more cheaply than standard eight track tapes, and may be marketed in vending machines.

OTHER ENTRIES

The Cartrette will now be the Region 16 entry in judging to select Michigan's Product of the Year, which is announced during Michigan Week in May. Region 16 includes Lenawee, Monroe, Livingston, and Washtenaw Counties. The Cartrette won over the following entries: Livingston County—Rec-trans Inc.'s Discoverer 25 Motor Home (developed by Bunkie Kaudeen); Monroe County—Mora Engineering's, a mailbox indicator, and Washtenaw County—Michigan Ladder Company's table tennis top and table. Judges were Mrs. Hazel Proctor of Ann Arbor, John Parke of Brighton, Joseph Maroon of Monroe and Kenneth McElroy of Tecumseh.

GIVES DEMONSTRATION

Frederick J. Kluin, president of Faraday, demonstrated the Cartrette and its prototype playing equipment. Announcement of regional winners was made April 23 at a luncheon in Ann Arbor.

The Michigan Product of the Year award is one of the most coveted honors a company can receive. It focuses widespread attention on the product itself, and results in a keen sense of civic pride in the community in which the company is located.

1971 CONFERENCE ON HEALTH RECORDS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the Association for Health Records is conducting its second annual interdisciplinary conference on health records June 16 to 18 at the Shoreham Hotel here in Washington.

This new association was organized in June of 1969 in an effort to improve the quality of one of the most crucial elements of our health care system: the medical record. The organizers realized the need for a multidisciplinary forum

for the exchange of information on this most important subject.

I have the honor to serve as a member of the Committee on Ways and Means which is also concerned about the role of the medical record, especially in regard to Government-financed health care programs such as medicare and medicaid. H.R. 1, which has recently been reported out of our committee, deals specifically with this problem. Section 235 of H.R. 1 provides for Federal matching grants to the States to meet the costs of designing, developing, and installing mechanized claims processing and information retrieval systems.

Mr. Speaker, because of the importance of this subject, I place in the RECORD some background information describing the Association for Health Records and some of the problems which prompted the association's establishment. This material was prepared by Dr. Keith W. Sehnert of Arlington, Va., the co-chairman of the 1971 Conference on Health Records.

THE HEALTH RECORD PROBLEM

(A background memorandum by Keith W. Sehnert, M.D.)

Modern medicine is threatened by a "Paper Monster." The imperfections of our current record keeping system are endangering the quality of America's health care.

Hospitals, medical clinics, private offices, educational efforts, clinical research—indeed the whole scope of health care—are deeply affected by the traditional record system. It is ironic that this "Paper Monster" is causing such distress at the very time in history that marks some of medicine's greatest advancements.

The problem is that in today's space age we are still using horse-and-buggy methods of medical documentation. Doctors continue to gather data and report it with time-consuming, burdensome paper shuffling and pencil pushing.

The mountains of paperwork are aggravating our medical and health manpower shortages. There is a great need to standardize, simplify, and redirect our traditional record system because of:

1. Increased mobility of patients and health care staffs.
2. Increased insurance reports of all kinds.
3. Increased medicolegal implications for health professionals.
4. Better informed patients insisting on better health care and records.
5. Explosive growth of medical and scientific terminology.

The above events have helped to greatly increase the costs of medical care. They have caused the average physician to sink into a morass of medical records. They have left him with less and less time for patient care at a time when more and more demands for quality care are being made by the patient and by the local, state, and federal governments.

The poor quality of most medical records systems, described by some critics as being "non-system", led to the formation in June of 1969 of the Association for Health Records with headquarters in Ann Arbor, Michigan. It was formed to do something about a serious problem.

AHR was organized to provide a multidisciplinary forum for the exchange of information by persons with a variety of backgrounds that now includes: physicians, statisticians, hospital administrators, nurses, health record analysts, medical record librarians, and experts in systems, computers, public health planning, education, information theory and many other disciplines.

The interdisciplinary members of AHR are bound together by a belief that good health records are essential to good health care and that the current attitudes about records must be changed.

AHR believes that the "glue" that holds together a quality health care system is a quality medical record. Whenever a medical clinic, or a hospital, or an individual physician is known for quality care in a community, there is a precise, smooth functioning record system backing up the service.

A good record system helps the doctor, nurse, and other health professional collect the data, sort them in a convenient format, and use them in making accurate diagnostic decisions for successful therapy and good medical management.

One of the reasons that we see our health care system in America becoming "unglued", and in many instances breaking down and not functioning at all, is that the traditional health record system needs revision. The traditional system for health records is "source-oriented". The record is gathered from such sources as the X-ray department, the pathology laboratory, the psychiatric social worker's office, the bookkeeping department, etc. Many leaders in AHR believe that the record should be "problem-oriented" instead of source-oriented. The patient enters the health care system because he has a "problem" and wants it fixed. A problem-oriented record system could keep better track of the patient's problem and help clear up some of the chaos in today's "Paper Jungle".

Records should be changed so that they can assist the doctor in being the director of a guidance system for the Health Care Team.

There have been two notable achievements by the Association for Health Records during its brief life span:

1. The first has been its successful amalgamation of persons with a much wider variety of professional backgrounds than any other medical or health organization.
2. The second has been its creation of a new type of health professional, the Health Record Analyst. This new specialist will be dedicated to properly prepare, analyze, improve, and more effectively use the health record to improve the quality of health care.

TRIBUTE TO FREDDIE STEINMARK— A FINE YOUNG AMERICAN

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, this country has known many great heroes. In speaking of greatness, I suggest one name, that of courageous Freddie Steinmark—our beloved athlete from the University of Texas—will stand in the ranks with any men. It is to this fine young American to which I should like to pay tribute today.

Mr. Speaker, Freddie was a great football player and a great athlete. He displayed his talents many times and under pressures which few people could stand. He and his teammates fought to become the national champion for the 1969-70 season, of which we are all very proud. But Freddie was a national champion in many other ways at which we can only stand back in awe.

A year and a half after the victorious bowl game at the age of 21, Freddie was

pitted against a much more fearsome opponent—cancer. And I suggest that he was no less a victor. He fought with courage and even cheerfulness against unbeatable odds—and won. For his spirit of tremendous hope, constantly exhibited, in the face of despair, is a "play" which no opponent can defeat.

Freddie lost a chance for glory in the stadium, but gained glory in the eyes of a nation; he suffered a physical loss but gained, and gave to us through his example, a spiritual triumph; and finally, he lost his life, but gained victory over his death through his outstanding performance in his final game.

Mr. Speaker, we are indeed proud to have known such a spirited young man; a man who achieved national recognition and regret by the age of 22. And we shall continue to applaud the ultimate victory of a true winner—Freddie Steinmark.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit to the record the following article from the June 8 issue of the Washington Post by Mr. Blackie Sherrod which tells of the victory of Freddie Steinmark:

FREDDIE STEINMARK'S LAST 17 MONTHS: WHAT AN ATHLETE WAS SUPPOSED TO DO

(By Blackie Sherrod)

DALLAS, June 7.—Six months after they took the left leg of Freddie Steinmark, he returned to the Houston tumor clinic for another of his nerve-wrecking checkups.

The little Texas safety had to do this every three months, as do all victims of osteogenic sarcoma. He underwent blood tests and X-rays to determine if the dread malignancy might appear in other parts of his strong, young body.

For several nights preceding his trips to M. D. Anderson Hospital, Freddie would stare at the ceiling. He knew the odds. He prayed for a miracle.

"They told me not to worry, but that's easy for them to say," Freddie said. "They're the ones taking the X-rays, not the one getting them."

When Freddie would get a clean report, he would return joyously to the Texas campus and throw himself into another project with fierce energy. He took up golf, balancing himself on one leg while he swung.

He learned to water ski. He went religiously to the Longhorn weight room to build up the rest of his body, as if muscle could hold off any return invasion of cancer cells. He worked his grades back to a B average. He made speeches and appearances.

He wanted feverish activity to keep his mind occupied, so it wouldn't wander back to the calendar and the date of his next trip to Houston.

Last July a couple of blurs showed up on X-rays of Freddie's lungs. It could be one of several things, the doctors told Freddie, we'll watch it close. A bit later, they told Freddie he would have to start a series of chemotherapy treatments. He didn't change expression. But he guarded the news as if it were the atomic secret. He wanted no one to know.

It was almost as if Freddie thought the treatments were a sign of personal weakness. The news might bring pity from his teammates and friends and above all, he didn't want that.

The chemo-therapy consisted of six days of shots that, hopefully, would kill or arrest any fast-growing cancer cells. They make the patient frightfully nauseous. But he masked the trips and treatments from all save a precious few. Scott Henderson, the linebacker and Freddie's apartment mate, knew, but he respected the confidence.

One possible side effect of chemo-therapy

shots is the loss of hair. Freddie had a long thick black mane and he was proud of it. His teammates teasingly accused him of being a hippie. "Okay, you guys," he said. "I'm gonna help coach the freshman defensive backs and just to show you how seriously I'm taking the job, I'll get rid of the hippie image. I'll get rid of all this hair. As a matter of fact, I'll just shave it all off, just to show you I'm not kidding."

So the Texas squad had a little ceremony in the locker room and they all laughed and cheered as Bobby Waensch shaved off the Steinmark hair. His teammates didn't realize he dreamed up this little act to hide the fact he was taking treatments that made his hair fall out.

He kept his head shaved.

Rick Troberman took note of the bald head and the missing leg and applied the nickname "Pirate."

Freddie went along with the gag.

He had his ear pierced and wore a gold ring in it for awhile.

He shared his worry and concern with no one.

But sometimes when you were in a conversation with Freddie, he would be staring at you vacantly with those enormous black eyes and there would be a silence, and he would say, "Excuse me, I guess I wasn't listening. What did you say?"

To the last, Freddie refused to accept the idea that the cancer had caught up with him and finally dragged him down.

When he was hospitalized this last time in M. D. Anderson, he believed—at least outwardly—that he was there to have some fluid removed from his body. When his priest from Austin, Father Fred Bomar, walked quietly into Room 514W and sat down, Freddie looked at him narrowly.

"Have you got some business in Houston, Father?" he said.

The priest said no, he just came down for a visit.

"Do you know something I don't know?" asked Freddie.

The priest said no.

His friends thought it was rather a miracle, Freddie having played regularly on a national championship team with the tumor already gnawing at his leg, and had survived the amputation and returned to active life, to move back into society, to tell people how he felt, to squeeze another 17 months out of precious life.

Freddie didn't think it was a miracle; it was what an athlete was supposed to do and now that same fierce competition kept him hanging on for days, maybe weeks, after the average person would have let go.

Doctors walked out of his room with tears in their eyes.

A week ago, I visited the room.

The shades were drawn. A television set suspended from the ceiling, with the volume off, flickered lifelessly with a soap opera.

There was a skinny couch with bed-pillows along one wall, where Freddie's mother, Gloria, and his girl friend, Linda Wheeler, spent each day and his father spent each night.

A vigil candle on a table burned 24 hours a day.

Freddie was a gaunt shadow and his voice was about gone and I had to bend close to hear him whisper, "I'm getting better."

Freddie has written a book about his experiences. It will be published this fall. The editor noticed after Freddie was hospitalized that he had not made a dedication of the book and he asked to whom Freddie wanted to dedicate his story.

Freddie said to the Lord, who had been so good to him.

Funeral services for Freddie Steinmark will be held Wednesday at 7:30 in the Orlinger Funeral Home in Denver, Colo. The funeral mass will be held Thursday

at the Church of the Risen Christ at 9 a.m. at 3060 S. Monaco Parkway, also in Denver.

MILITARY WIFE OF THE YEAR

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to report to the Congress and the American public on the selection of the Military Wife of the Year. We are all aware of the many thousands of military wives who devote untold energies to the betterment of civil programs while at the same time maintaining their homes, raising their families, and keeping the letters flowing to their husbands. They contribute much to maintaining the excellent morale of our Armed Forces, and all Americans owe them a great debt.

The idea for the annual award grew out of a worldwide entertainment tour to military families conceived by Art Linkletter and Wilson Harrell, president of Harrell International, Inc., and sponsored by Mr. Alfred J. Stokely, president of Stokely-Van Camp, Inc. The tour not only brought entertainment to the wives and dependents of active duty military personnel, but it discovered and then focused attention on the remarkable work the military wives in all five branches of the service were doing on bettering community relations between the military and the civilian population. It was then decided to hold a competition and to find the most outstanding military wife in all the services.

All women's clubs, whose memberships are wives of active duty Armed Forces personnel throughout the world are invited to submit nominations. Through a selection process, the field is then narrowed to five—a representative of each of the five major military branches of the service. The final judging is done by a panel of distinguished women at a formal dinner in Washington, D.C.

On the evening of May 18, 1971, the panel of judges selected Mrs. Jan Squires as the "Military Wife of the Year, 1971," and I am highly pleased to provide the following background information about the selection. It outlined some of Mrs. Squires' many contributions in the interest of humanity, democracy, and freedom.

This young lady is an outstanding military wife of the year and a great American. Our House Armed Services Committee, the Congress, the Armed Forces, and the country have every reason to be very proud of her.

Jan Squires, wife of Navy Personnelman 1c. James W. Squires, became the first enlisted man's wife to win the coveted honor of Military Wife of the Year.

Her name was announced at a very elegant banquet in the Shoreham Hotel at which she was honored with wives chosen in a national contest to represent the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard. Mrs. Squires was Navy Wife of the Year.

"The little firecracker from Battle Creek" was the way famed emcee Art Linkletter called her to the platform to receive the fifth annual award, a huge gold trophy that looked half as tall as she is.

The reference was to her activities which he learned about earlier in the long evening when he interviewed the contestants in a kind of "final exam" for the five judges.

Mrs. Squires' sailor-husband was with her to share the happy moment. He is stationed at Lowry Air Force Base, Colo. When Linkletter asked what a Navy man was doing in Denver, she responded:

To keep the Air Force straight.

She revealed that she herself is an employee of the Army, working in the office of Champas, which takes care of health benefits for military dependents.

She told Linkletter:

I've been adopted by the Air Force and Army wives out there.

What brought her to the notice of Navy Wife of the Year judges was the river cleanup campaign she spearheaded in Lansing, Mich., when her husband was stationed in Vietnam.

She said:

We got 1,200 people to clean up 13 miles of river bank (the Grand River) on two Saturdays, and got the Navy, Coast Guard and Michigan National Guard to help. And furthermore, I'll be back there this summer to see it's done; it's a five-year project.

The judges are Mrs. Betty Beale Graeber, columnist with the Star and Publishers-Hall Syndicate; U.S. Treasurer Dorothy Andrews Kabis, Mrs. Perle Mesta, Mrs. Birch Bayh, wife of the Democratic Senator from Indiana, and Mrs. Hugh Scott, wife of the Republican leader of the Senate.

I salute the sponsors of this most worthy project and all who participated in it, for it is a timely and well-deserved recognition of the varied and significant contributions of our military wives to our national defense.

ALFRED KIRCHHOFFER HONORED BY UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Alfred H. Kirchhofer, retired editor of the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News, has been honored by the State University of New York at Buffalo with the presentation of its highest award, the Chancellor Norton Medal.

The presentation was made at the university's 125th commencement exercises.

The award is most fitting and deserved, for Mr. Kirchhofer has made an enviable mark upon his hometown through his years of service as a reporter, editor, and executive.

In his years of building the prestige of his newspaper, Mr. Kirchhofer always found time to devote to matters of public interest and concern, including the devel-

opment of what formerly was known as the University of Buffalo.

Today, in retirement, Mr. Kirchhofer is both active and vitally interested in the affairs of our community and is looking ahead to the future—an example for all of us.

As part of my remarks, I include the text of the story on the award ceremony which appeared in the May 28 edition of the Buffalo Evening News, also the text of a related editorial:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, May 28, 1971]

ALFRED H. KIRCHHOFFER RECEIVES UB'S CHANCELLOR NORTON MEDAL

The State University of Buffalo's highest award, the Chancellor Norton Medal, today was presented to Alfred H. Kirchhofer, retired editor of The Buffalo Evening News and former president of WBEN Inc.

Dr. Robert L. Ketter, UB president, presented the medal at UB's 125th commencement exercises at Rotary Field on the university's Main St. campus.

Mr. Kirchhofer, who retired as editor of The News in 1966, was the dominant figure in Western New York journalism for nearly four decades.

Starting as a reporter with The News in 1915, he was named managing editor in 1927. When WBEN Radio went on the air in 1930, Mr. Kirchhofer was named vice president of broadcast operations.

Later he became president of WBEN Inc., and under his guidance the first television station in the area, WBEN-TV, was established in 1948.

NAMED LEADING BUFFALONIAN

Dr. Ketter read a citation which accompanied the Chancellor Norton Medal, awarded annually since 1925 to a leading Buffalonian for his contributions to the city. It said:

"Journalism is practiced at its best by men and women who seek to form truth by ordering facts in their proper relationships. The ability to see this order is what distinguishes the truth-finder from the fact-gatherer and the exceptional from the mediocre.

"The university is proud to honor today an individual who has practiced his profession with the exceptional as a standard.

"He became a member of this community when the population of the City of Buffalo was only 279,000 and the nation consisted of 44 states.

"In the intervening years it has been his task not simply to chronicle the tremendous change and growth of a community and a nation, but to seek and communicate the order inherent in the seeming disorder of immediate events.

BEGAN AS A COPY BOY

"He began his career in 1910 as a copy boy, and in 1915 he joined the staff of the newspaper which he eventually was to serve as editor and executive vice president until his retirement in 1966.

"His high standards, however, were not limited to the print media. As active head of his parent company's broadcast facilities, he was responsible for bringing the first television station to Western New York in 1948. He is a charter member of the Society of Television Pioneers and an innovator in radio and television journalism.

"His meticulous attention to detail in his insistence on accurate and complete reporting, his conviction and furtherance of the principle of a free press and his contributions to improvements in his profession have been recognized time and again through honors bestowed upon him by his professional peers.

"JOURNALISTIC HONORS

"He has been elected to the National Journalism Hall of Honor at the University of

Missouri, an institution which also awarded him its School of Journalism Medal for Distinguished Service to Journalism. He received a similar medal from Syracuse University.

"He is a past president of both the National Press Club and the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He also is a member of the prestigious Gridiron Club.

"A colleague of his has said that in speaking of this man and his profession, one word must always be used. That word is integrity. 'There was no compromise,' said the colleague. 'Right was right and wrong was to be avoided at all costs.'

"He has been a particular friend of education and of this university. A former member of the University Council, he also was publicity director for the university's first \$5 million endowment campaign.

"TRUSTEE OF FOUNDATION

"When the university joined the state system in 1962, he was one of the incorporators and trustees of the University of Buffalo Foundation.

"As a visiting professor in the University of Missouri School of Journalism, he conducted a series of science writing seminars sponsored by that institution and Roswell Park.

"He is a former president of the American Council on Education for Journalism, which serves as the accrediting agency for college and university journalism schools. His efforts helped establish the accrediting program.

"He is also a founder of the American Press Institute at Columbia University and has served on its Board of Directors.

"His public service activities are legion in the areas of government, medical and cultural affairs. He has been a director or trustee of an extensive list of organizations dedicated to the improvement of life on the Niagara Frontier.

"WILL IT HELP BUFFALO?"

"A friend has said that our honoree always posed one question whenever a project was proposed. Will it help Buffalo? he asked. If the answer was 'Yes,' then the newspaper lent its help.

"On Feb. 9, 1922, Chancellor Charles Norton addressed a letter to a local bank explaining the intent of a clause in his will which created the Chancellor's Medal, which now is the highest honor the university can bestow. It was to be awarded, he wrote, 'to personify civic patriotism and vivify public patriotism and vivify public service in the eyes of the citizens of Buffalo.' The recipient was to be an individual whose acts had dignified 'the performer and Buffalo in the eyes of the world.'

"YES, PLEASE!

"The individual we honor today has devoted his life to the future of this community and to the highest standards of his profession. This devotion—and his life itself—do indeed dignify both the man and the area.

"According to anecdote, our honoree once received a memo of several thousand words from one of his staff members. The subject of his message was the creation of a program designed to train reporters to write more briefly. The correspondent asked if the program should be started immediately. The reply he received was: 'Yes, please.'

"In the spirit of this stand of brevity, I am proud to award this 43d Chancellor's Medal, on behalf of the Council and the University, to Alfred H. Kirchhofer."

[From the Buffalo Evening News, May 29, 1971]

CHANCELLOR'S MEDAL

When Alfred H. Kirchhofer retired five years ago as editor of The News, we noted that for us, as for the entire metropolitan

community in which he had long been a prime mover, the event marked in truth the end of an era. It is an era now well remembered and fittingly honored by the bestowal on Mr. Kirchhofer of the State University of Buffalo's Chancellor's Medal.

The citation speaks for itself. But it is particularly appropriate for UB to make this 125th anniversary commencement an occasion for recognizing the tremendous campus-community bridge-building role that such devoted community leaders as Mr. Kirchhofer have played in shepherding UB through its entire modern era of frantic growth and difficult transition. President Ketter said it well when he noted that this year's recipient is just such a person as the founder of the Chancellor's Medal had in mind: a personification of civic patriotism whose acts, indeed whole life itself, dignify both "the performer and Buffalo in the eyes of the world."

BIGGEST NONSENSE IN GUN CONTROL

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, new anti-gun efforts have been noted in the Congress. A spate of antigun nonsense can always be anticipated whenever the climate appears even the least bit favorable for the passage of bills to take weapons away from law-abiding American citizens. The Milton Eisenhower Commission on Violence has lent itself to these efforts and they have been augmented by recent murders of policemen in which the use of handguns were involved. Taking weapons away from those who seek to own them for the protection of their homes and families is not going to stop the criminals from using them. It will only encourage criminals to obtain guns by whatever means they can other than by legal channels.

The American Rifleman for June 1971 has published an editorial on the aspect of this question which shows the nuisance value of too much gun control legislation. I call attention also to a sound editorial from the Alexandria Gazette on this subject. I submit both for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the American Rifleman, June 1971]

BIGGEST NONSENSE IN GUN CONTROL

Except for U.S. income tax returns, few Federal requirements impose a bigger mountain of paperwork on the American people than the 1968 Gun Control Act. By best estimates, this act requires the detailed recording of 30 million retail transactions every year on .22 rimfire ammunition alone.

Every time anyone wants so much as a box of 50 of these cartridges from a Federally licensed dealer, he must identify himself to the dealer's satisfaction by a driver's license or equivalent means. The dealer must then enter in a bound record, to be kept at least two years, the buyer's name, address, birth date and mode of identification, plus the date of transaction, quantity and caliber of ammunition bought, and the manufacturer of it.

While Congress exempted rifle and shotgun ammunition from this redtape procedure in 1969, the requirement still applies on all .22 rimfire ammunition, as well as handgun ammunition, because .22's can be used in handguns. Involved in this maze of paperwork

are, by National Shooting Sports Foundation estimates, some three billion rounds of .22's a year constituting 60% of all ammunition sales.

Aside from helping to snow under a country already cluttered with more government paperwork than probably any other in the world, it is hard to see what use this detailed record-keeping serves. No one apparently believes that it has made a serious dent in crime.

Elsewhere in this issue, we discuss the major role played by .22's in a variety of outdoor sports and activities. As we point out, the .22 is no toy. It should be used cautiously under proper conditions conducive to safety. But if it is no toy, neither is it in itself an evil thing—nor a thing that can or should be controlled by intensive book-keeping.

The House of Representatives voted 246 to 59 last year to end the record-keeping requirement on .22's. The Senate Judiciary Committee, which received the House bill, approved it. But that session of Congress ended before the bill could be passed, so it died with adjournment.

Fresh bills to exempt .22's were promptly introduced this year. There are now 22 of them in the House and two in the Senate.

All of these bills are considered revenue measures, as they involve firearms taxes, and have therefore been referred to the Senate Finance Committee or House Ways and Means Committee. Approval is expected in the late spring or early summer. Whenever it comes, its supporters can be sure of one thing. It will be welcomed by a majority of the American public.

[From the Alexandria Gazette, June 2, 1971]

DISARMING THE PUBLIC

Ignoring the statistics that as legal executions have declined in the United States murders have increased, the National Commission on Reform of Federal Crime Laws has recommended the abolition of the death penalty and called for the confiscation of the hand guns of law-abiding citizens.

The two proposals of the commission, interacting with each other, can only stimulate a further increase in crime. In 1960 there were 9,140 murders in this country and 56 killers were executed. During the 1960s, the number of murders continued a general upward climb while executions did the reverse.

In 1965, for example, 9,850 murders occurred, an increase of 710 in five years. In the same year executions had dropped to seven. By 1969, 14,830 people died at the hands of murderers while not one killer was executed. Throughout the 1960s murders rose by 57 percent, but the population increased by only 12 percent.

The solution of the commission is simply to outlaw hand guns on the apparent assumption that fewer firearms will mean fewer murders and therefore executions won't be necessary as a deterrent. Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., using the same false logic, has proposed legislation to register "every gun in America," which is generally considered the first step toward confiscation.

The point is, however, that outlaws won't give up or register their firearms, which would leave the law-abiding person even more at the mercy of the armed criminal, which could only increase the crime of murder. And, too, other weapons—knives being the most obvious—are readily available to a would-be slayer.

Only two things deter crime: Fear of punishment and realization that the intended victim may be able to defend himself. The commission would destroy both obstacles to crime by reducing the penalty and disarming the victim. If anything, the public should be encouraged to defend itself, legally of course, against crime and the death penalty should be revived.

DOW CHEMICAL'S NEW PIPELINE

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, a new pipeline system being developed by Dow Chemical Co. could be a major ecological breakthrough that would make a Canadian pipeline route superior in virtually every respect to the proposed trans-Alaska pipeline. This new pipeline involves a radically different approach to solving some of the major ecological problems associated with transporting the oil from Alaska's North Slope through the frozen Arctic to lower-48 States.

If Dow's claims for its pipeline system are true, problems due to the hot oil in the pipeline possibly melting the permafrost—the permanently frozen land that much of the pipeline would go through—would be eliminated. Dow's system would also allow the pipeline to be built totally underground which would eliminate several objections to an overland pipeline. Among these objections are that:

It would be an eyesore;

It could affect migratory patterns of caribou and other Arctic species;

It would be open to possible sabotage.

In addition, many ecologists have objected to the proposed trans-Alaska line on the basis that it involves unacceptable environmental risks. The proposed Alaska pipeline would run through various seismic areas where, environmentalists charge, a pipeline break could easily occur.

The Interior Department is presently studying whether to grant permits to Alyeska—a consortium of seven oil companies with interests in the North Slope oil—to build an 800-mile Alaska pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez in the South. The oil would then be shipped by tanker from Valdez to Seattle.

While Alyeska's pipeline system uses a principle of insulation to protect against melting permafrost, DOW's system involves a combination of insulation and heat transfer devices, depending upon the particular conditions. Dow's system proceeds on the basis that it is impossible to stop eventual heat transfer and that the only answer lies in directing the heat away from the permafrost and into the air. Their proposed system would put a plastic sleeve around the pipe filling it with a solution that freezes at lower temperatures than prevail in the Arctic. This would allow the heat to move upward by convection to the top of the sleeve where it can be released into the air. Around this sleeve would be another sleeve containing a solution that freezes just below the freezing temperature of water. In the winter, this would be frozen solid by the temperature of the air and would only partly thaw in the summer, leaving some frozen material in the solution when winter arrived again.

As long as some frozen material remained in the outer sleeve, its temperature would be below that of the perma-

frost and would not melt it. A Dow representative has told me that the cost of their pipeline system would be roughly comparable to that of Alyeska's. He said that Dow has been working on this pipeline system in the laboratory for over 6 years, and he was virtually sure that it would work. In addition, he told me that Dow felt that its system should be tested in the Arctic climate for about 1 year.

Mr. Speaker, if this new pipeline is workable, it would appear that a Canadian pipeline route would be free of major ecological problems, while the proposed trans-Alaska route would still be subject to the two most worrisome ecological risks: The earthquakes and the tankers.

If Interior fails to study and evaluate Dow's proposal, I believe it would involve a flagrant violation of the National Environmental Policy Act, which requires that the appropriate Federal agency study the possible environmental consequences of any Federal project before it is undertaken.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that every agency involved in construction of the pipeline, and especially the Interior Department, will consider the possibilities that arise from Dow's new pipeline research, and that the design of the pipeline will be changed so that it will not cause the problems which many of us have pointed out.

ADVICE TO YOUTHFUL JOBSEEKERS

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, so many things are being said about our young people at this time, I feel the following editorial comments made as advice to youthful jobseekers by my good friend and constituent, Allen T. Lanier, merits our serious attention.

Mr. Lanier is postmaster at Guyton, Ga. and his comments appear in the summer edition of the Postmaster Advocate. The editorial is as follows:

ADVICE TO YOUTHFUL JOBSEEKERS

DEAR KID: Today you asked me for a job. From the look of your shoulders as you walked out, I suspect you've been turned down before, and maybe you believe by now that kids out of high school can't find work.

But, I hired a teenager today. You saw him. He was the one with polished shoes and a necktie. What was so special about him? Not experience, neither of you had any. It was his attitude that put him on the payroll instead of you. Attitude, son. A-t-t-i-t-u-d-e. He wanted that job badly enough to shuck the leather jacket, get a haircut, and look in the phone book to find out what this company makes. He did his best to impress me. That's where he edged you out.

You see, Kid, people who hire people aren't "with" a lot of things. We know more about Bing than about Ringo, and we have some Stone-Age ideas about who owes whom a living. Maybe that makes us prehistoric, but there's nothing wrong with the checks we sign, and if you want one you'd better tune to our wave length.

Ever hear of "empathy?" It's the trick of seeing the other fellow's side of things. I

couldn't have cared less that you're behind in your car payments. That's your problem. What I needed was someone who'd go out in the plant, keep his eyes open, and work for me like he'd work for himself. If you have even the vaguest idea of what I'm trying to say, let it show the next time you ask for a job. You'll be head and shoulders over the rest.

Look kid: The only time jobs grew on trees was while most of the manpower was wearing G.I.'s and pulling K.P. For all the rest of history you've had to get a job like you get a girl: "Case" the situation, wear a clean shirt, and try to appear reasonably willing.

Maybe jobs aren't as plentiful right now, but a lot of us can remember when master craftsmen walked the streets. By comparison you don't know the meaning of "scarce."

You may not believe it, but all around you employers are looking for young men smart enough to go after a job in the old-fashioned way. When they find one, they can't wait to unload some of their worries on him.

For both our sakes, get eager, will you?

CONSUMER PROGRAMS ARE GOOD FOR BUSINESS, TOO

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, when needed consumer legislation is proposed in Congress, industry "status quosers" inevitably charge that the bill for those programs will cost the American consumer hundreds of millions of dollars. That conclusion, frequently false, is intended to intimidate the public and their Representatives in Congress.

Two consumer proposals now pending before Congress—unit-pricing and open-dating—disprove the thesis that consumer programs are necessarily costly and an inconvenience to business.

Safeway Stores, Inc., which is the Nation's second largest supermarket chain, has been unit-pricing and open-dating many of their food products since early 1970. The vice president of Safeway for accounting, recently spoke to the question of costs of consumer programs and their effect on store operations.

His conclusions are that unit-pricing and open-dating add very little, if anything, to the cost of doing business and, in fact, facilitate stock rotation and freshness control for the retailer. I consider this finding to be exceedingly important. While it may not apply to every retail operation or to every consumer program, his conclusion shows that there can be a commonality of interest between the consumer and the producer. It also shows that innovative consumer programs can be good for business as well as for the consuming public.

I include, at this point, the full text of the remarks of N. V. Lawson, vice president for accounting and data processing, Safeway Stores, at the 21st National Association of Food Chains Controllers Conference:

COST ASPECTS OF OPEN DATING AND UNIT PRICING

Being the last speaker in a conference of this type carries a great deal of responsibility.

My remarks must be short enough to please those of us who feel we have just about reached the saturation point as far as speeches are concerned and yet "meaty" enough to make the whole thing worth while. I will try to do my best to carry out that responsibility.

Today, it is almost impossible to look through any of our trade publications or the popular press, and not find articles, editorials or statistics on the subject of Open Dating and Unit Pricing. The very number of articles about these subjects is also a good indication of their controversial nature. A recent survey of 400 shoppers in the Atlanta area, conducted by Chain Store Age, had as one of its key questions, the following: Which of these five services would be most useful to you—open dating, the disclosure of the phosphate content of detergents, nutrition labels, unit pricing or returnable bottles? Open dating was included in 95% of the responses. On another related question, almost 50% rated open dating the *most important single service*. The second most important? Unit pricing with 23%.

It is fairly obvious, therefore, that instead of "if", or "should we", proceed with programs of open dating and unit pricing, we are being more realistic if we ask, instead "how quickly", and "how efficiently", can we institute these programs.

We at Safeway have been deeply involved in open dating for years, and since 1969 we have been studying and experimenting with unit pricing. With this experience as background, I'll try to give you an idea of the costs of open dating and unit pricing programs we have experienced, their benefits and advantages, and any unresolved or potential problems where they exist.

First though, I would like to give you our interpretation of the terms "open dating" and "unit pricing." We define an open date as an uncoded, plainly marked, legible and understandable date, printed, embossed or labelled on a packaged perishable item. In most cases, the date is the store's pull date, indicating the last day the item can be sold after which it must be removed from the shelf and destroyed. On some items the date may be a pack date, rather than a pull date.

Unit pricing, (or dual pricing) seems to be well enough understood as the retail price of an item relative to some stated unit of measure, be it pint, pound, square foot, or some other appropriate base. It is important, however, that the base unit used for any commodity be the same for all items in that commodity grouping, and be a common, familiar measure.

Although open dating and unit pricing have some similar aspects, they are more different than alike, so I'll treat them separately.

OPEN DATING

I'll start with the easier one—open dating. For over thirty years Safeway has been open dating perishable items which we either manufacture or process ourselves. Frankly, we wish every food producer used an open-dating system similar to ours. We are currently working with our suppliers toward that end.

Our reason for favoring open dates is simply this: It is much faster and more accurate for store personnel to use open dates rather than encoded dates, for two-vital store responsibilities: *stock rotation* and *freshness control*.

Basically, there are no significantly greater costs inherent in open dating as compared to any other kinds of dating system. All producers of perishable food must date their products in one way or another anyway. It is in conversion from coded dates to open dates that some costs may arise.

Although Safeway is not involved in con-

verting from coded dates to open dates, we are involved in an open-dating standardization program.

The costs of our standardization program would closely parallel the problems and costs of a conversion. Our open-dating standardization has been going on gradually for years and would have continued on for several more years. However, with the increased consumer interest in open dates, we decided last year to accelerate our program for completion in 1971.

We are implementing a five-point standardization program to improve the usability of all our open dates. It was designed to be very practical, by staying within limits imposed on us by the nature of the product and our production facilities. All five points involve some costs.

Perhaps you may be able to relate one or more of the following points to your own situation:

1) Whenever possible, open dates are to be *pull* dates rather than pack dates. (Most fresh meats and produce are notable exceptions.)

2) Printed dates are generally easier to read and, therefore, are preferred over embossed dates or other dating methods.

3) 3/16" numerals will be used whenever possible.

4) Dates will be placed in a conspicuous position, preferably on the main-merchandising panel or on a cap, or lid.—And

5) Our open dates will be physically separated from any required regulatory information so that the consumer does not confuse the two.

Costs of implementation of these five standards, to-date, has not been out-of-line with results. Here are some examples:

Safeway's Brookside Division is one of our principal manufacturing and processing operations. Brookside manufactures or processes coffee, tea, margarine, jams, juices, and many other products. In 1970 Brookside's remaining items to comply with our dating standards required:

Re-positioning of dates on bagged coffee, converting embossed dates to printed labels and stickers on some size of margarine,

Re-positioning dates on jams and jellies, Purchasing a new date printer for bulk tea, instant coffee and mayonnaise, and

Investigating several other changes on soft drinks and frozen-food products.

Brookside's cost for all new equipment modifications, and installations for all these remaining changes (including converting the dates on shipping cases, smaller than 1" to new dates 1" or larger) in the 10-month period from August 1970 to completion of the program this month—is estimated at \$15,000 or less.

One item of interest is Brookside's new date coder for the line that handles all sizes of mayonnaise salad dressings and sandwich spreads. The coder costs only \$400 and took only two hours to install. A \$150 coder was available but the "expensive" \$400 coder was chosen because of its lower maintenance requirement. The new coder was purchased to meet our 3/16" size standard.

In our Dairy Division, milk carton dating is being converted from plain embossing to a combination-inked embossing that can be read from as far as 3 to 5 feet away. Safeway has over 50 milk carton fillers, ranging in age from an indexing filler built in the 1940's to the fast-modern rotary type. We have experimented with, or are using inkers ranging in price from \$500 to \$2,500 each. The program is 90% complete with an average modification cost of a little over \$1,000 per filler.

All of Safeway's ice cream fillers are also under conversion to inked dates. We designed and built our own inkers for \$200 each.

Safeway has just announced the introduc-

tion of Safeway Brand canned hams and picnics. Soon these hams will be sold with an open date printed on both side panels. Safeway's open dating of canned hams is a first for the industry. The total equipment cost for three-dual-head date stamps used on the three lines is \$700.

Other standardization costs are equally modest. Our bread plants are standardizing on using either dated plastic closing tabs or end seals in place of tie bands. Total cost \$25,000. Cookies and crackers are converting to printed dates in place of embossing. Total cost, 5 machines—\$10,000.

You can see we are committed to a program of opening dating. All the equipment modifications I have described would have been accomplished as a part of our regular-improvement program even without strong customer interest. Unfortunately, we still have a number of Safeway Brand items purchased from outside suppliers that still carry a coded date.

In our 30 years of experience with open dates, we have found *no* significant basis to the contention that customers will select the freshest items first, leaving the older merchandise to die on the shelf. In fact, the 4 weeks following the introduction of the more readable-printed dates on dairy products, which by the way we advertised on radio, TV, in the newspapers, as well as in some stores, we found that in Divisions using this program, our dairy sales improved rather than decreased.

Let me sum up our attitude on open dating.

Open dating has turned out to be a major-promotional item. Yet, for the long haul, we still consider it primarily as serving the public but also as an aid to store personnel that clearly more than pays for itself.

We are looking forward to and enthusiastically support an industry-wide-standardized, open-dating system that gives the consumers what they want, and yet satisfies our own needs.

UNIT PRICING

Now let's take a look at the pressing issue facing food-chain operators in 1971—Unit Pricing. A moment ago, I said Safeway is committed to open dating. I can also tell you that we are also committed to expanding our program of unit pricing.

Once again, unit pricing is not an entirely new concept. Safeway was pricing produce by the pound back in the '40's, and we all have been marking the price per pound and the total package price on self-service meats for years.

In mid-1969, U.S. Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal, a sponsor of unit-pricing legislation and Chairman of a House Governmental Operations Consumer Sub-Committee, asked Safeway to cooperate in an experimental study of unit pricing in actual use. Safeway responded by starting in September of 1969, with two stores, each using a different method of providing the shopper with unit pricing information. This initial experiment using shelf labels was continued for 10 months until it was terminated on August 1, 1970.

Starting in April 1970 (5 months after our initial-test store received its first labels) a 6-month in-depth survey of consumer reaction to unit pricing was conducted by Dr. Monroe Friedman of Eastern Michigan University. His survey was jointly sponsored by a \$5,000 grant from the NAFC and a \$25,000 grant from Safeway.

Included in the Friedman survey was a background study of two other Safeway stores, similar in character to the test stores, but not participating in the unit-pricing experiment. The background study examined the influences of certain pricing and packaging practices on the consumer's ability to make effective price comparisons.

The completed Friedman Report was published in the *Congressional Record* last April 15. I have several copies available if you are interested.

I don't believe a detailed review of our experiment or of Dr. Friedman's Report is necessary here. I think it is enough to say that these experiences indicated to us that unit pricing is of significant value and interest to the consumer. Admittedly, unit pricing does and will present problems but the benefits seem far more significant. It also seems obvious that other food chains recognize many advantages since Jewel Tea, Star Markets, Kroger, Giant, Kohl's and many others have instituted or are in the process of installing a unit-pricing system of one kind or another.

We believe the greatest potential may be in areas such as:

Improving maintenance of shelf alignment.

Reducing out-of-stocks,
Reducing the time required for ordering,
Reducing the time required to price tag shelves, and

Improve pricing accuracy.

Certainly, another positive result of the unit-pricing experiment is that the undertaking of this study and the publishing of its findings helps dispel the notion that voluntary cooperation between business and the consuming public can never solve pressing consumer problems.

On November 9, 1970, three months after the completion of the original experiment, we re-embarked on a program to expand and improve our unit-pricing techniques and make them available to all of our Retail Divisions.

Our decision to proceed with a new program was prompted by four-equally important desires:

- 1) to give our customers what they want,
- 2) to develop a system acceptable to our consumers, consumer advocates and legislators; this, too hopefully preclude a proliferation of non-uniform unit pricing legislation at state or local levels,
- 3) to be competitive, and
- 4) to determine in greater detail the costs and possible cost savings of unit pricing.

Obviously, all four of these points have important cost impacts, but it is the fourth point, dealing with the costs of implementing a unit-pricing program, that we will try to explore here today.

Safeway's cost considerations are compounded by our current transitional status in data processing. We are converting from de-centralized to centralized computing. Consequently, in order to provide unit-pricing systems for all our Retail Divisions, we were forced to develop a separate system for our larger Divisions using IBM 360/25 or 30's, another system for our smaller Divisions using card-oriented hardware, and we have just recently completed a system for use on our large central equipment which is currently serving 6 of our 18 U. S. Divisions. As a result, some costs have been duplicated.

All of these systems have not yet been implemented so it will be some time before all the returns are in. However, we do have numerous figures to share with you, especially in the areas of system design, data processing, merchandising, and cost of supplies. Most of them developed from our Washington, D. C. operation which is now fairly well in place.

Today, under the new program in Washington, D. C., we are unit pricing items for all stores using an entirely new and improved label and providing 10-base units instead of just two used in our original experiment. The manhour figures for these changes should be typical for any operation with 250 stores assuming similar techniques are used.

Designing the new label—approximately two weeks staff time.

Programming for the new label, including all testing and documentation—approximately 100 manhours.

The new label used in Washington, D. C. has been selected to solve many problems developed during our original experiment. The new labels cost \$3.50 per thousand in lots of two and one-half million, f.o.b., Washington, D. C. This is an increase of \$1.74 per thousand over the old label. However, the new label is two-color Avery Tigerhide, which is tough, should not tear on removal, is washable and so far on testing, will stick to frozen food and dairy case mouldings. Because it is so tough and washable, it may last up to 6 months, maybe even longer. With the new labels coming into stores all the time due to price changes, no complete store re-labeling should be necessary. Nor should the label require any protective-plastic cover. However, the new programs do allow for store requests for replacement labels at any time. The new label is the same height as the old one, 15/16 inches, but its length was reduced to 2 1/2 inches so it could be printed 5-up instead of 3.

A much larger portion of the label is now used for retail price. A special 9-character set of printer slugs was installed in the print chain of our IBM 1403-N1 printer at a cost of \$200 plus a monthly charge of \$97 per month plus tax. These special characters are used to print the large-retail-price figures.

The 5-up label and the programming improvements to go with it, give us a current-printer-label rate of 36,000 per hour, or about 7 computer hours per 1,000 labels for 250 stores. This is an improvement of 8,000 labels per hour over our experimental programs.

In getting ready for the new label, it was necessary for the Merchandising Department to go through the Order Guide and establish separate fields for the pack and size, and description, for all items to be converted. We use twelve positions for pack and size and twenty-three for description. This review took approximately 130 manhours for the 4,500 items in the Grocery Order Guide.

After the conversion of up to 5,000 items to unit pricing, now in process, we expect to process 200 price changes per week. We anticipate 1 1/2 hours on one computer, with a total DP job time of 2 hours per week.

By the end of this year, we should have 6,000 warehoused items on unit pricing in Washington, D.C. The systems design, programming and assignments of codes to direct delivery items is still in development at this time.

Earlier, I mentioned our two other approaches to unit pricing; one, utilizing centralized data processing for Divisions converted to our DP Center in Oakland, and the other designed for smaller Divisions using small card or disk computers.

Because both these approaches are still in the test phase, less cost data is available. But I believe I have some figures of interest to you.

The central and small systems have been programmed to produce an entirely different label than Washington's. Instead of a 5-up label using special number-forming characters in their printer chains, the central and small systems produce a 3-up label measuring 4 1/2" x 1", with the retail price shown on the label by a pattern of blobs.

The first high-speed print train (1403-N1—1100 LPM) was modified for \$205 plus art work, matrix charge, and slugs to a total of \$535. The Oakland Center print chain (1403-Mod 2—600 LPM) for \$343 including these extra charges and the small slow speed (2203 type bar printer) was modified for \$315. Subsequent modifications to each will cost approximately 50% of this original figure.

All these systems are printer bound when producing labels. Connected to Central, a Division with a fast (1403-N1) printer running 1,000 lines per minute, will produce 3-up labels at 30,000 per hour, and the slower (2203) printer can muster 9,000 per hour, running about 300 lines per minute effective. If you recall, the 5-up label arrangement, running on a 1403-N1 printer, produced 36,000 labels per hour.

Although the central and independent 3-up approach could produce any type label, our current testing is all with a perforated stiff paper label with no adhesive whatsoever. The paper label is considerably cheaper, costing only 70¢ per thousand in lots of 3 million, as compared to the \$3.50 per thousand for the smaller pressure sensitive label.

Mounting time for paper labels is still untested. But additional material and labor costs may be involved in that paper labels may need a plastic cover to keep them clean and in place. One type cover, a clear-plastic strip used in two-foot lengths, is being considered. This strip fits standard-shelf mouldings and costs about 3.2¢ per foot. Paper labels may also require a plastic sleeve for mounting to shelf-tag mouldings in other than a 1" size. In many cases the paper label may work out very well and very cheaply used "as is".

Both type labels give the same basic information but in different format. Both, we feel, are excellent in design and easy for the consumer to use.

The central system is the most complete in that it offers 14 base units: pound, pint, quart, etc. The central system also allows for 255 conversion factors, 45 of which are standard and currently programmed. Of the 255, each Division will have available 180 conversion factors they may use as they wish to meet special conditions.

The central system has required approximately 16 man weeks of systems design and programming effort, excluding senior staff time in label design. Approximately 4 hours at \$150 per hour were used for program compilation and testing.

The small-independent system required 12 man weeks of system design/programming. However, some of this time was used for improving a file-maintenance procedure on the Mod 20 card systems for effective use with unit pricing.

The procedure for processing price changes in all Divisions should be similar but because Safeway's Divisions operate quite independently to meet local conditions, there could be differences in schedules, number of price changes per week, method used for mailing labels, and other factors affecting the overall cost of operation.

Although the 4 1/4" x 1" paper label is the present corporate "standard", the final decision of label design, material and mounting styles must await further cost studies and measurement of customer reaction.

In summing up the cost aspects of unit pricing, I would like to leave you with these thoughts. Many retailers feel that unit pricing will ultimately raise food prices because of expenses involved in maintaining such a system and point to many problems including price fluctuations and temporary price reductions or advertised specials. We agree that we have not yet faced some of these questions squarely, but based on our experience to date, we still hold to our original assessment, that unit pricing may not increase costs . . . it may even eventually pay for itself. Although others and ourselves are attempting to account accurately for the cost of installing unit pricing, the net gain or expense must be tempered by a careful study and weighing of the intangibles, so many of which are tied to today's "consumer awareness".

Thank you.

J. EDGAR HOOVER WARNS OF RED
CHINESE SUBVERSION IN UNITED
STATES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in a provocative and enlightening article in the VFW magazine for June 1971, entitled, "Mao's Red Shadows in America," FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover reports on the subversive activities of the Red Chinese agents in the United States. He also recounts activities for violent revolution including guerrilla warfare of pro-Maoist groups such as the Revolutionary Union and Progressive Labor Party.

This timely account of Mr. Hoover's points out the critical need for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Internal Security as well as for rigid laws to protect the internal security of the United States.

It also indicates the folly of conducting trade relations and "cultural exchanges" with Red China.

I insert the text of Mr. Hoover's article:

MAO'S RED SHADOWS IN AMERICA

(By John Edgar Hoover, Director Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice)

Mao Tse-tung, the Red Chinese dictator, is some 6,000 miles from the United States. But the shadows of pro-Peking subversion are daily becoming a more serious problem in this country.

EXAMPLE 1

It was a warm evening in May. In a city not far from San Francisco several cars drove through a suburban area and then parked. Their occupants hurried into an attractive small home. A friendly gathering of people.

But, not quite. This was a meeting of a "collective" (or cell) of the Revolutionary Union (RU), a group dedicated to Mao Tse-tung and his doctrine of the Marxist-Leninist revolution.

Inside, the meeting came to order. The chief speaker, one of RU's West Coast leaders was talking.

"The RU," he said, smacking his fist into his hand, "is placing far too much emphasis on theoretical work. Reading, studying and theory have their place—but not now. The times demand direct action."

He paused for a moment, almost caught up in a rage. He turned and slowly looked into the eyes of every member present, as if he were talking to each individually. This was a group small in numbers, but hysterically dedicated to the teaching of Chairman Mao.

The leader leaned forward, almost hissing between his teeth. "We must start arming. Only in this way will we awaken the revolutionary masses."

EXAMPLE 2

The man had entered the United States from a foreign country. He was a "tourist"—there was no doubt about that. He wouldn't stay permanently. But he had assignments other than just sightseeing. As a pro-Peking intelligence agent, he was gathering information of many types.

In the eyes of this spy, and his masters in Red China, the U.S. was the "citadel of imperialism," "Enemy Number One"—a nation with a vast array of scientific, technological, military and other types of in-

formation which, as much as possible, must be stolen or otherwise obtained for use by Mao's government.

EXAMPLE 3

The woman was medium in stature. Her brown eyes reflected a cold, steel fanaticism. She stood behind the podium with a sheaf of papers scattered in front of her.

"I have lived in the Peoples' Republic of China under Chairman Mao. His thoughts and teachings have brought success to the 'people's revolution.' He represents the wave of the future. You must learn more about him—who he is, what he stands for and what you can do to help him.

"You are in an excellent position to tell the story of Mao to Americans. Many of you here today are students. You are working with students on college campuses and young people in industry. Carry to them Chairman Mao's message of revolution."

The group?

A New England cadre training session of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), a pro-Maoist activist organization with headquarters in New York.

The woman speaker?

A person very closely connected with the Peking regime.

What do these three incidents tell us?

First, there is a variety of pro-Maoist groups in the United States, such as the Revolutionary Union and the Progressive Labor Party, which, although often in dispute over the tactics of bringing about the revolution, are working zealously for the Red Chinese cause.

Second, this nation today is the target of a growing Red Chinese espionage campaign designed, among other things, to gather confidential data for Peking.

Third, Red China desperately wants to make contact with and influence our rising generation, both college and high school students as well as youthful workers employed in industry.

Let's examine in more detail these Maoist thrusts.

The two main pro-Maoist groups, highly competitive with each other, are the Progressive Labor Party and the Revolutionary Union. Each has its own program, origins and, on occasion, feuds with the other. But both are fanatically loyal to Mao doctrines.

PLP's chief contribution to the Red Chinese cause has been the "pulling off" of an almost unbelievable revolutionary feat—that of not only influencing, but ideologically capturing a sizeable number of America's most militant and radical youth!

Here is what happened—and this technique looms as a threat as to what can happen in the subversive indoctrination of youth.

Yet, despite this Old Left background, PLP is what we call an Old Left group, that is, it draws its ideological roots from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 (as do the pro-Moscow Communist Party, USA, and the Socialist Workers Party or Trotskyists). Actually, PLP was formed in 1962 by dissidents expelled by the Communist Party after bitter internal dissension caused by the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Moreover, not only is PLP Old Leftist (which means strict discipline), but it represents the most orthodox, traditional and dictatorial interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, namely, that delineated by Mao.

Yet, despite this Old Left background, PLP was able, through hard work, masterly maneuvering and a keen sense of strategic timing, to so project a "face" of activism, revolutionary zeal and youthful appeal as to strike deep roots on college campuses.

The Worker-Student Alliance (WSA), a PLP-sponsored college group, grew steadily. (The name comes from PLP's emphasis that students and workers form an alliance to bring about the Communist revolution.) In

June, 1969, WSA even attempted to gain control of the New Leftist Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

This attempt tore SDS apart, leading to the rise of factions, such as the extremists-anarchist Weatherman, which were to become separate entities. The WSA faction claims to be the legitimate SDS and today, with headquarters in Chicago, it calls itself by this name and issues a newspaper, *New Left Notes*, the name of SDS's former official paper.

In other words, an Old Left group, believing in Maoist Communism, with its strict discipline, organizational control, and concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was able to influence and control students who, caught up in the mood of New Left extremism, were denouncing the "tyrannical Establishment" and demanding more "freedom!"

Surely, PLP's exploit must rank as one of the most remarkable and paradoxical in Marxist history in this country.

In late December last year, WSA-SDS held a national convention in Chicago, with an estimated 900 to 1,000 registered.

PLP's newspaper, *Challenge*, headlined the proceedings: "Best SDS Convention: Worker-Student Unity is Key to Victory;" and wrote:

"Over a thousand students came from dozens and dozens of schools from every corner of the country. . . . This convention showed that SDS is a strong and growing organization composed of students who want to ally with workers, and NOT a group of crazy terrorists."

As part of the convention proceedings, delegates conducted on-the-street agitation, handed out PLP literature, made personal contact with workers:

"Nearly 400,000 flyers were handed out. Many students on the brigades (organized by the convention) passed out PLP leaflets. All 100,000 PLP flyers were given out in the first two days, 6,000 *Challenges* were sold, and over 800 workers from the communities and factories gave us their names and phone numbers so that we would work together in the future."

Here is a pro-Maoist group, active on campuses, which says, among other things:

"We see that millions are awakening to the need to seize power and set up a dictatorship of the working class. . . . Resist the military; fight ROTC and veterans organizations. Agitate inside the armed forces if drafted: "There are many ways of resistance within the Army, literature, discussions, organized rebellions, sabotage." Disrupting the courts: "Carry the struggle to the courts—turn the court into a political forum. . . . Hate the law of the land and the law enforcement officer. Indoctrinate the workers in industry with Maoist Communism. Make the university an agency for propagandizing the revolution."

Membership of the parent PLP group is not large, running over 300. However, through the WSA-SDS, this pro-Maoist organization is able to reach thousands of young people, especially on campuses. It is known, for example, that PLP maintains close contact with pro-Red Chinese organizations abroad. The Chinese Communists subsidize the PLP through the purchase of its publications. PLP leaders have been in periodic contact with Chinese agencies and these leaders on occasion have visited the Chinese mainland.

No wonder PLP proudly sent greetings to Mao Tse-tung last fall on the occasion of the 21st anniversary of his regime's seizure of power.

What about PLP and WSA-SDS opinion regarding the use of violence?

Being Old Leftists, they are not opposed in principle to violence, but they do not feel the time is yet ripe for its use to bring about

a revolution. Hence, they oppose the anarchist style of Weatherman violence:

"SDS is not against violence," says an article in *New Left Notes*, "but we oppose the mindless violence of small terrorist groups isolated from the people, lashing out in frustration at friend and enemy alike. This includes aimless property destruction and attacking other students and workers on campus."

A growing minority inside PLP and WSA-SDS, however, is chafing at this policy of nonviolence. This group feels that violence is needed to bring about the destruction of the hated Establishment. Much will depend on the outcome of this internal argument.

The second major Maoist group's emphasis, is on violence. The Revolutionary Union believes guerrilla warfare is essential to revolutionary action:

"We recognize the need for organized armed struggle against the power of the state . . ." "The people must be armed . . ." "The organized repressive violence of the state (police) must be met with the organized revolutionary violence of the people."

As one observer commented, RU's policy is "g before p"—guns before politics!

FBI investigation reflects that RU members have accumulated weapons and have engaged in firearms and guerrilla warfare training.

Originally based in the San Francisco area, RU has now spread to other cities, in the South, Midwest and East.

Membership is not large, perhaps several hundred. Adherents have come from former members of the Communist Party, USA. At the same time, RU has been successful in attracting both high school and college activists. One youthful member of RU claims to have lived in China and participated in Mao's infamous Red Guards. Key leadership has been given to RU by self-styled intellectuals.

The RU has been rent recently by a violent dispute on the question, "When the revolution?"

In late 1970, a splinter group, calling itself *Venceremos*, split from the parent RU. This group feels that RU is hesitating on its commitment to armed struggle now, preferring to build a mass base before an actual insurrection. In *Venceremos'* eyes, the time for an armed struggle is now:

"We believe that armed struggle is an actuality now, not an eventuality."

These militants give strong support to the Black Panther Party: "We support the Black Panther Party and recognize it as the vanguard of the American revolution. We want to unite with the Black Panther Party in every way possible."

What is Mao's fascination for these individuals? Here is a man in a distant foreign country, whom these radicals have never seen. They know little, if anything, about Red China. Why are they so infatigably enamored with him and Peking's program?

For some of the old-line Marxists in the PLP and the RU, Mao is the personification of the "original purity" of Marxism-Leninism, a Communist leader who bitterly resisted the Krushchev brand of "revisionism." To these comrades, the Soviet Union and its mouthpiece in this country, the Communist Party, USA, have betrayed the "revolution." They feel that Mao, as one of international Communism's pioneers, alone held firm to the original revolutionary principles of Lenin and his successor, Stalin.

To these adherents, Mao is a man of the "old school," believing in discipline, strict organizational control and Communist orthodoxy. They view Mao's "Great Cultural Revolution" as a purge necessary to oust the decadent and the revisionist elements which are gradually creeping into Communism.

For the younger members, Mao (like Fidel Castro and Che Guevara) is a charismatic

guerrilla leader who fought the "Establishment of his day" and won. They think in terms of the young, tempestuous, romantic guerrilla leader. They feel Mao's call to arms is what is needed in the United States.

All the time, the red wind of espionage from the Far East continues to blow. The FBI's investigation reflects stepped-up intelligence activity by Peking.

Red Chinese intelligence in the United States, as compared with Soviet Russia's, has a major handicap in that Peking is not recognized diplomatically by this country nor is it a member of the United Nations. This deprives the Red Chinese of a legal base from which to operate spies. A high percentage of Soviet espionage, for example, is carried out by Soviet diplomats assigned to either the Soviet embassy in Washington or the USSR's Mission to the United Nations in New York.

Peking is attempting espionage in a variety of ways, one is to endeavor to introduce deep cover intelligence agents into the United States, trained Peking agents who clandestinely enter this country using false identities and identifications and attempt under the cover of being an American to conduct spy operations.

Third countries are used as bases of attack against the United States. The New China News Agency, an agency of Communist China, has an office in Canada. Though claiming to be a legitimate news-gathering organization, it is obvious that the New China News Agency serves as Red China's chief propaganda outlet abroad and has the potential of supplying Peking with intelligence of all types.

Penetration of Chinese ethnic groups in the United States is also tried. The overwhelming majority of Chinese Americans are loyal to this country, and only a very small percentage are sympathetic to Peking. Yet, Mao leaders constantly seek to identify those Chinese Americans who might help them, especially among the younger elements who might have a sentimental pride in the so-called "accomplishments" of Mao in the ancestral homeland.

Recruiting of agents among indigenous pro-Maoist American groups, such as the Progressive Labor Party, Worker-Student Alliance and the Revolutionary Union, is yet another method. The indoctrination of members of these groups in Mao ideology makes them prime candidates for the carrying out of Red Chinese espionage assignments.

Spy couriers are developed. They are individuals who travel between the United States and other countries and can engage in spy activities. This also includes the development of mail drops in third countries whereby spy data can be transmitted.

We must be alert constantly to the possibility that, following an established espionage pattern, we may find the Red Chinese attempting to introduce " sleeper agents" into the United States among the thousands of Chinese refugees who immigrate annually. The same observation applies to hundreds of Hong Kong-based merchant seamen who desert in American ports, some of whom vanish into the American mainstream.

The shadow of Mao Tse-tung can be seen and felt in the United States today. We can expect the subversive danger to grow as time passes. The only way to meet it is to be prepared. This the FBI is doing through its investigations and the training of its personnel. For example, we are giving instruction to FBI agents in the various Chinese dialects. In this way, our agents are capable of conversing in the native tongue, and the FBI will be able to handle present and likely future contingencies.

Above all, the FBI needs the constant and concerned cooperation of patriotic Americans

such as the men and women of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. You, as veterans, know the perils of subversion.

My associates and I are deeply grateful for the splendid cooperation which you have given the FBI. To all the readers of the *V.F.W. Magazine*, we say, "thank you."

SUCCESS IN SOUTH KOREA

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by the Honorable William J. Porter, Ambassador to the Republic of Korea for the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, June 8, 1971:

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR WILLIAM J. PORTER TO HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS, JUNE 8, 1971

Mr. Chairman, it is a particular pleasure for me to appear before this Committee, many of whose members are close observers of the Korean scene, and to give you this report on the state of our relations with the R.O.K. and the progress that country continues to make. The story of the Republic of Korea has now become well known throughout the world as that of a people who literally picked themselves up from the ruins of war and who are forging a bright future for themselves and their children. It is a story of close association with their American friends, who sensed in that people the brains, energy and determination which could achieve such a miracle if only given the opportunity to try. By a series of decisions over a period of many years, the United States made it clear that the people of Korea would have that opportunity. The support we have given and the faith we displayed in them provided the basis for the enduring friendship and understanding which has developed between our two peoples. That it has not been a one-way friendship, the testimony before this Committee will no doubt make clear.

The Republic of Korea currently has a population of approximately 32 million people, who live in an area about the size of the State of Indiana. They possess few natural resources except the brains and the energy which I have already noted, and which have enabled them to develop their commerce, by importing and converting raw materials into products saleable throughout the world. From an estimated export level of thirty million dollars in 1960, the Korean economy sent a billion dollars worth of goods abroad in 1970. The figures are impressive, but they should not be taken as indicating that the Korean economy is in balance. The cost of equipping Korean industry has been great, and currently the burden of debt which the Korean Government must service weighs heavily on the economy as a whole. Korea is still definitely in the period of equipping herself, but a combination of careful management and internal stability, for both of which President Park can justly claim much credit, has given sound reason to hope, and even to predict, that the country has a bright future.

The encouragement we derive from Korean success has a practical side, in that it has made it possible for us to lessen our contribution to that country. For example, direct cash support for the Korean budget has disappeared from our aid effort; investment loan

funds provided by the U.S. Government have sharply diminished in favor of funds provided on normal commercial terms by regular sources of international finance; Korea has undertaken to settle her war surplus property debt on a regular schedule satisfactory to us; Korea has begun to assume the costs of certain items hitherto provided through our military aid programs.

By the end of fiscal year 1971, the U.S. will have provided somewhat over five billion dollars in bilateral economic assistance: \$2.9 billion was provided through AID or its predecessor agencies and \$1.3 billion in PL-480 assistance. Other programs, mainly of a relief nature in earlier years, provided the balance. In fiscal year 1971, we expect bilateral economic assistance to total \$59 million by AID and \$89 million from PL-480 for a total of \$148 million. The major emphasis of current programs is in agricultural development.

On the military side, our contribution to Korean security in the form of manpower has just been cut by 20,000 men; and now Koreans man the entire 151-mile stretch of the DMZ, except for the small Panmunjon sector. The redeployment of American troops from the Demilitarized Zone, where they had stood guard for almost twenty years, was a carefully considered move based on the belief that the Republic of Korea had reached the point in a military and industrial sense where it could and should assume increased responsibility for its own defense. That assumption fitted well the basic concept of the Nixon Doctrine, as well as President Park's belief that Korea would and should become more self-reliant as her strength grew. The Congress agreed that redeployment and reduction of American troops in Korea should be accompanied by a program to modernize Korean forces, and appropriated funds to get such a program underway. This Congressional action reassured our Korean friends, who interpreted it as meaning that changes in our troop dispositions did not mean any lessening of our interest in their security.

Security problems remain, however, stemming, as the Committee is aware, from the division of the country into two parts whose communication with each other unfortunately consists largely of invective and harassment. Incidents are fewer in number these days, and our insight into their origin often remains unclear. Of course, it should be stated that major incursions such as the Blue House raid of January 1968 and the infiltrations of armed guerrillas into the ROK during 1967 and 1968, and to a lesser extent since then, were clearly the result of North Korean planning and execution. Countermeasures considerably improved the security situation in the South, particularly when the Korean Government decided to rely on its people to detect and engage guerrilla groups initially, and formed a Homeland Reserve, to which the U.S. made a contribution of 700,000 light weapons, for that purpose. Today the Homeland Reserve stands at 2.7 million. Their weapons are kept at the ready and are stored in local police stations for immediate use.

At the present time, the Korean Government continues to station approximately 50,000 troops in the Republic of Viet-Nam, though there has been discussion between the ROK and the GVN about withdrawing some of them. The United States has supported the costs of weaponry, supply and other items required by ROK troops in Viet-Nam, under the provisions of a document known as the Brown Memorandum, details of which have previously been made available to the Committee.

The Korean people and their Government had laudable motives when they decided to dispatch their troops. They desired to make a contribution to prevent what they felt was a Communist effort to take over an Asian

State; they desired to assist their ally, the United States, in dealing with that problem and thus express their appreciation for what had been done for them in somewhat similar circumstances. The Koreans did not, however, dispose of the resources needed to equip, transport and supply a large force thousands of miles away, and in the circumstances each ally made its own contribution, with the Koreans supplying manpower and the United States providing support and equipment. That is the essence of the matter.

I have alluded above to the fact that relations between North and South Korea remain tense. The position of President Park is that if and when the North renounces its attempt to unify the country through the use of force and so informs the United Nations, then he, Park, will begin to examine means for removing "one by one" the barriers that now exist between North and South. The North, for its part, declares that unification can only come about with the disappearance of the Park Government and the withdrawal of all U.S. forces. The fact that that Government was again duly elected by the people seems, for the Northern regime, to have no bearing on the matter. The Government of the ROK has mentioned the possibility of exchanges designed to determine areas where contacts might be developed, but always places that possibility within a future context roughly in the last half of the 1970's. At that time, the present ROK Government feels, the country will have the necessary military and industrial power to face its adversaries in the North with confidence.

The recent Presidential and Assembly elections in the ROK showed, however, that the Government's view on how to approach the problem of unification is not universally shared, and Opposition candidates, particularly the nominee for the Presidency, declared the government's approach to be too rigid. In a hotly contested election, as the Committee is aware, President Park emerged with 53.2 per cent of the vote. His opponent gained 45 per cent of the vote. The Assembly election was also hard fought, the President's Party emerging with 113 seats and the Opposition with 91 (including two splinter groups with one seat each). The Majority Party is now faced with the problem of managing its legislative program with a working edge of only eleven seats in a body where groups have tendencies to maneuver regardless of Party disciplines.

With the Assembly more evenly divided than in the past, it now seems possible that the future holds a healthier prospect for the handling of internal problems on more of a give-and-take basis. In particular, social pressures are arising as farmers and working men are beginning to articulate their need for protection against drought, unemployment, health problems, and the injudicious use of governmental powers.

In the field of international affairs, two subjects seem likely to remain preeminent. They are the profound desire for unification of the country and the need to preserve the relationship Korea now has with the United States. Differences of opinion are appearing as to how best to achieve or maintain these aims, but are unlikely to diminish their importance to the average Korean. Also, the question of possible admission of Red China to the United Nations, and the growing discussion of the doctrine of universality, will engage their close attention because of Korean concern about the effect such problems would have on their part of the world.

To sum up, our Korean friends have displayed through their elections an example of their understanding of how democracy should work that is an encouraging counterpart to their performance in developing their economy. They have political and economic problems which will continue to test them severely, but the indications are that they will find reasonable solutions. They are in

a phase which has been described both as moving toward Korean self-reliance and as a weaning process, but we can clearly see now the form of a strong and loyal friend, and the results achieved are already sufficient to make us proud of our association with them.

TO THE CLASS OF 1971

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in last Sunday's New York Times, James Reston has written most perceptively about the younger generation, and the search for meaning, in their lives. In an address "To the Class of '71 . . .", Mr. Reston notes:

There is no way to remove our difficulties by political gimmicks, or to explain the American dilemma, unless we see ourselves as a decent people living below our idealistic standards of public and private life. . . .

The discontent that is shaking the world cannot be dealt with by politics alone or at the periphery of public life, but must get closer to the central and intimate places of personal life and moral conduct.

This message has importance for all of us, not just the class of 1971. I commend this item to your attention:

TO THE CLASS OF '71

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON.—The university students graduating this month have gone through one of the worst periods of civil disorder and drug addiction in the history of the Republic and are now facing the highest rate of unemployment in nine years.

Most of them were born three or four years after the last World War. They were eleven years old when John Kennedy campaigned for the Presidency, fourteen when he was killed, sixteen when the American ground and air war started in Vietnam. In short, the time of their active memory has been one of unrelieved turmoil, change, confusion, doubt and temptation.

Still, we need not weep for them and, anyway, they are not interested in pity. Their situation is full of paradox. No generation ever talked so much about "commitment," yet seemed so unwilling to commit itself to one man or woman, or to one useful job of work. None has talked so much about the great political and social issues of the age, or written so badly about them. Seldom has so much physical and intellectual energy been combined, often in the same persons, with so much physical and intellectual slackness and even laziness.

They talk about "participatory democracy" but most of them don't participate in the democratic process. They complain about the loss of "individualism" but run in packs. They condemn the welfare state but lean on it and praise the good-life personal happiness but for all their activity often seem bored and singularly joyless.

So maybe this new generation is not so different after all. They are our children with our own features, yearnings and hypocrisies, only they are more visible and vocal and open in expressing their rebellion about the tangles of life. They look and sound more different than they are—TV and the press having dramatized the differences—but most of them don't even look or sound so different, only more interesting.

The commencement speakers seem to have been talking to the graduates this year mainly about the war and drugs, emphasizing

ing the astonishing conclusion that these are very bad things and may even be injurious to your health. But the political commencement speech is not very helpful these days, if it ever was, for the malaise in the country among old and young alike is not primarily political but philosophical.

People of all ages now are looking for purpose and meaning in their lives. The advertisers have seen the point clearer than the politicians. "Something to believe in," says General Motors, "a Buick!" But even if General Motors and Mr. Nixon got everything they want tomorrow—peace, revenue sharing jobs and a Buick in every garage—the problem of living without faith or trust in a noisy, changing world of commercial and political hucksters would still be with us.

It was widely believed in 1914 to 1919 and again in 1939 to 1945 that war was the explanation of the disorder of the world and later that economic chaos was what disoriented the human family, and both, of course, were partly true, but after the wars and the triumph of John Maynard Keynes the moral confusion remained.

Nothing seems to irritate the young graduates of today more than what they regard as this outdated priggish moralizing, but you cannot explain, in the most practical circumstances, the present tragedies of the Vietnam war or the spiritual anxieties of the age unless you take into account the moral indifference of American public and private life.

There is no way to remove our difficulties by political gimmicks, or to explain the American dilemma, unless we see ourselves as a decent people living below our idealistic standards of public and private life. Mr. Nixon cannot reconcile his Quakerism and his war policy in Vietnam, and the campus militants cannot reconcile their ideals and their violent actions unless they reject the principle of moral responsibility.

The discontent that is shaking the world cannot be dealt with by politics alone or at the periphery of public life but must get closer to the central and intimate places of personal life and moral conduct.

"What is left of our civilization," Walter Lippmann wrote long before this year's graduates were born, "will not be maintained, what has been wrecked will not be restored, by imagining that some new political gadget can be invented, some new political formula improvised, which will save it. Our civilization can be maintained and restored only by remembering and rediscovering the truths, and by re-establishing the virtuous habits on which it was founded. There is no use looking into the blank future for some new and fancy revelation of what man needs in order to live.

"The revelation has been made. By it man conquered the jungle about him and the barbarian within him. The elementary principles of work and sacrifice and duty—and the transcendent criteria of truth, justice, and righteousness, and the grace of love and charity—are the things which have made men free. Men can keep their freedom and reconquer it only by these means. These are the terms stipulated in the nature of things for the salvation of men on this earth, and only in this profound, this stern, and this tested wisdom shall we find once more the light and courage we need."

MONOCACY RIVER AND C. & O. CANAL CLEANUP

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, people throughout the United States this spring

are pitching in to help cleanup their local environment. The Canoe Cruisers Association of Greater Washington, D.C. and the Monocacy Canoe Club of Frederick, Md. have both sponsored cleanup campaigns along the Monocacy River and the C. & O. Canal in Frederick County during the month of May.

On May 16, the Monocacy Canoe Club under the chairmanship of George W. Waxter sponsored a conservation project in cleaning up the C. & O. Canal from Goodharts Lock to the Sandy Hook Bridge. The group included 37 people who worked from 8:30 in the morning and completely filled a truck provided by the National Park Service by noon. Mr. and Mrs. Donald Thornton were in charge of the project. Robert Bell of the National Park Service provided the truck. Numbered among the participants were members of the Hood College Outing Club led by Miss Doris Bailey.

On April 24, the Canoe Cruisers Association based on the recommendation of Dr. Walter D. Foster of the Monocacy Canoe Club cleaned up a stretch of the Monocacy River from the Buckeystown Dam to Greenfield Mills. Eighty-five members participated, ranging in age from 4 to 60. Several tons of trash were removed, loaded on trucks provided by the State of Maryland, and sent to the trash dump.

I would like to commend these efforts. The Monocacy Canoe Club and the Canoe Cruisers Association know how important this work is. They have helped enhance the beauty of an area used for recreation purposes by people from throughout the Metropolitan Washington Baltimore area.

FARMERS' SHARE OF FOOD DOLLAR SET AT 39 CENTS

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, we all know that the cost of food in the supermarket is constantly rising, yet the prices the producer receives remain pretty much as they were 20 years ago.

Floyd W. Emerson recently wrote an editorial in the Brainerd Daily Dispatch in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District, on this subject, which I would like to share with all of those people who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

FARMERS' SHARE OF FOOD DOLLAR SET AT 39 CENTS

Despite rising food prices at retail stores, the farmer's share of the consumer food dollar continues to change little, leaving the middleman as the biggest shareholder in what families spend on groceries, according to the Agriculture Department.

During the first three months of 1971, a department report said, farmers averaged 39 cents of each dollar that consumers spent on food.

That was up one cent from the fourth quarter last year and equaled the 39-cent average for all of 1970. In 1969 farmers received an average of 41 cents from each dollar spent at retail food stores.

Historically, however, farmers have averaged near the 40-cent mark each year, according to USDA records.

The latest report, a summary of the "Marketing and Transportation Situation" to be issued in full later this month, said a list of so-called market basket food items would have cost an annual rate of \$1,218 in January-March.

Of that amount, the products were valued at \$466 at the farm level. The farm-retail spread, or what middlemen receive, was \$753 during the first quarter.

The market basket total was up slightly from \$1,214 last October-December. At that time the farmer received \$448 and middleman \$766.

Thus, according to the report, farmers fared a little better during the first quarter than in the preceding three months. However, in January-March last year, when the market basket bill was \$1,225, farmers got \$507 and middlemen \$718.

Commenting on the first quarter price spreads, the Agriculture Department report said most of the increase in total market basket costs occurred in March.

"Increases were general," the report said, "but those for fresh vegetables, hogs and beef cattle contributed most."

Looking ahead, the report said prices paid to farmers for the food products may strengthen during the summer but weaken later on.

THE CAPTAIN AND THE PRESIDENT

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD a column by Royce Brier in the San Francisco Chronicle which adds a needed new dimension to the recent public dialog—some of it critical—aroused by President Nixon's personal interest in the case of Lieutenant Calley.

Recalling an Army prosecutor's contention that the President's intervention was damaging to the administration of military justice, Brier also says there are some more odd words in a United Press International dispatch stating that—

No one could recall when a President had stepped in prior to completion of military justice review.

The columnist writes that apparently no one ever heard of Abraham Lincoln who intervened by telegram in hundreds of cases of soldiers sentenced by court-martials to die, usually for desertion or sentry sleeping. The writer also points out that the President has the right of judicial intervention under the Constitution.

The column, which I recommend to my colleagues, follows in full:

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 8, 1971]

THE CAPTAIN AND THE PRESIDENT

(By Royce Brier)

Since everybody talks and writes about My Lai and Lieutenant Calley, a few more words here may not be excessive. Some of the written words, at least, are mystifying.

You recall President Nixon announced he would personally examine the Calley trial record, and make a decision. This offended Army Captain Aubrey Daniel, III, prosecutor, who sharply criticized the President, saying his intervention was damaging to the administration of military justice. This was a remarkable stricture directed at a commander-in-chief, though the Captain has a right to his view.

But there are some more odd words in a United Press International dispatch analyzing the President's intervention: "No one could recall when a President had stepped in, prior to completion of military justice review."

Apparently "no one" ever heard of Abraham Lincoln. He intervened by telegram in hundreds of cases of soldiers sentenced by courts martial to die; usually for desertion or sentry sleeping. The wires, mostly to major generals commanding armies of districts, read like this: "You are holding John Smith, sentenced to death for desertion. Please suspend execution of sentence and send the record to me."

Most of the cases were "prior to justice review," in fact most were only a few days old. The Army brass was disgruntled, said they damaged discipline. Lincoln didn't care, indeed, he said he wouldn't hang soldiers while "wily" civilians, convicted of discouraging enlistments and the draft, escaped with a few months in jail. Very few soldiers were hanged in Lincoln's army; most were commuted "for the duration."

Mr. Lincoln was only doing what previous Presidents could do, and occasionally did, in scattered cases. The power of judicial intervention derives from two simple clauses in the Constitution: "The Executive power shall be vested in a President . . ." (Art. II, Sec. 1-1); and, "The President shall be commander-in-chief of the Army, Navy . . ." etc., (Art. II, Sec. 2-1).

The first obviously applies to civil cases in the Federal courts, the second is on the point of military cases.

Evidently Captain Daniel and thousands who disapprove Mr. Nixon's handling of the Calley case, haven't digested these two clauses. Both tradition and law empower the President to determine final administration of justice, without regard to impairment of "discipline" or other factors. Generals and captains can do nothing but accept the finality.

This power is fitting if we want a strong President. He is the arbiter of the public interest and welfare in domestic and international cases. These elements cannot properly be taken into consideration by judges, juries, or other public officers in non-judicial cases. The only limitation on the presidential power goes to certain indispensable powers of the Congress expressly granted by the Constitution.

It is true the power is kingly, but it has to be lodged somewhere, and it is both democratic and sensible to lodge it in a chief executive answerable to the people. The alternative is to lodge it in a committee, which we tentatively do in the Supreme Court. But even that court cannot make findings bearing on the terminal public interest and welfare.

A TRIBUTE TO FREDDIE STEINMARK

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have the opportunity to pay tribute to Freddie Steinmark. The courage displayed by this young man when confronted by adversity provides an example for all of us.

Fred distinguished himself on the football field. At Wheat Ridge High School in Colorado, he led his team to a State championship, and while Colorado football fans were sorry to see him leave the

State, we were pleased and proud when he won a starting position on the University of Texas 1969-70 national championship team.

Fred impressed me in many ways but it was his personal courage which impressed me the most. Against the overwhelming odds confronting him, Fred plunged himself into his school work and became an assistant coach at the University of Texas. He was an inspiration to his classmates, his teammates, and all who came to know him.

Mrs. Brotzman and I wish to extend our sincere condolences to the Steinmark family, and particularly to Fred's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Steinmark of Wheat Ridge, Colo.

KEEP LOCOMOTIVES

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I note with great interest that tomorrow President Nixon will announce his export list for liberalizing trade with Red China.

All of us in Congress will be watching to see whether or not locomotives are on the list. Locomotives, as the Washington Post pointed out in its Monday June 7th edition, are important because "Peking could use them—to move war supplies to Hanoi."

More than perhaps any other American, the President knows the tragedy of Vietnam. He knows of the suffering and killing that our boys have experienced at the hands of the North Vietnamese, who have received a great deal of their supplies from Red China. It is inconceivable to me that the President would include any strategic materials which would directly aid the enemy in killing American boys.

Personally, I am not enthusiastic about the administration's trade moves in general. I do not believe that they come at an appropriate time. I cannot help but wonder who will benefit from this liberalized trade. I am inclined to think, based on what I have seen, that it will not be the United States.

On the other hand, if we must institute some kind of trade policy, let us make sure that so long as one American boy is yet exposed to enemy fire in Vietnam, none of the material we allow Peking to purchase will accelerate the deaths of Americans or our allies.

Certainly if Peking purchases locomotives from the United States, these locomotives—which thanks to American superior technology are better than any locomotives available in the world—will most certainly be used to transport war materials.

Has it been that long since the United States foolishly sold Japan scrap metal only to discover the metal being returned in the form of bullets in the bodies of American soldiers?

Have we forgotten that our trade policies in the past have been used to the

advantage of some of the most notorious dictators?

Do we not remember that the same arguments which various observers have advanced for liberalizing trade with Red China are the same arguments which were used by essentially the same people in arguing for liberalized trade with the Soviet Union—which supplies 80 percent of the large weaponry to our enemy in Vietnam—and to Cuba—which continues to export violent revolution throughout Latin America to the everlasting detriment of the United States.

No, Mr. Speaker, if we agree to allow Peking the opportunity to purchase strategic materials we will indeed be fulfilling Lenin's famous prophecy that Capitalists will sell the rope that hangs them.

Marilyn Burger and Frank C. Porter, reporters for the Washington Post, observed in their Monday piece on the China issue that:

Administration officials are deliberately playing down the East-West trade developments of the past two months . . . One suspects that the developments are deliberately minimized to hold down conservative criticism, mostly in Mr. Nixon's own party. It may be summed up in Senator Paul J. Fannin's statement that "it is folly to promote trade with Communist nations. They will agree to trade only when it presents them with an opportunity to steal our technology or in some other way promote their pronounced goal of burying us."

One hesitates greatly to disagree with the President of one's own party. I do so infrequently and only when I believe there are grave reasons for doing so because I know the President has a difficult task in guiding this Nation's foreign affairs. I have supported and continue to support the President when I believe he is correct. But, Mr. Speaker, the time has come for honorable men to disagree. I disagree with the reasoning which led the President to announce liberalized trade with Red China. However, that limited disagreement is not even a sample of the disagreement the President will find from me or, I suspect a majority in this House, if strategic materials such as locomotives are included in the trade list tomorrow.

I believe Senator FANNIN has made an excellent observation. I hope and trust the President will do as he has said he would, which is to seek counsel from all sides on the China question. Many of us who have worked long and hard in the Republican cause are ready, eager and willing to offer that counsel, and indeed with this effort today we openly seek the President's ear on this most important question.

WHY OUR "GLAMOUR SCHOOLS" ARE HURTING FOR MONEY

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, a well-written and highly informative article about the sad state of education in the suburbs of Chicago recently appeared in a community newspaper circulated in

many of the towns in my district. I believe that the facts and pertinent comments in the story are important enough to interest legislators at very level of Government in all parts of this country.

All across the Chicago metropolitan area bond issues for education have been failing at a stunning rate. Only 15 of 37 proposed boosts in the educational tax rate were approved in Cook County during the 1969-70 school year. Another survey by the Investment Bankers Association showed that 48 percent of all school bond issues across the Nation were approved in 1970. Seventy-seven percent were OK'd in 1965; 89 percent were passed in 1960.

One of the most interesting aspects of the bond failures in my district is that the current assessed valuation per pupil is higher than almost anywhere in the State of Illinois. Spending per student is considerably above the average for the State and the Nation. The average teacher's salary in the areas discussed in this article is over \$10,000. The current teacher-pupil ratios are about 15 to 1.

The article appeared in the Park Ridge Herald on June 3, 1971, and was written by Ellen Soetebier.

I include the article not in support of more Federal money, but as a reminder that bond issues are failing in this Nation's affluent areas because taxpayers are tired of spiraling costs and lack of return for their tax dollar. Perhaps rather than planning a new boost of Federal funds, this Congress should consider the mandate that voters have given educators in this country.

Personally, I think that we should start exploring the concept of running our schools on a year-round basis and other methods to make education a better buy for the dollar.

The article follows:

WHY OUR "GLAMOUR" SCHOOLS ARE HURTING FOR MONEY

(By Ellen Soetebier)

According to the Chicago Sun-Times, at least 100 suburban school districts in the Chicago area are presently facing a "financial crisis." Niles Township High School District 219 announced earlier this spring its intention to cut 47 teachers at the end of the school year. After losing two requests for a tax rate increase Wilmette Elementary School District 39 announced plans to cut 35 teachers. After losing a tax rate referendum for only the second time in its history, Evanston Elementary School District 65 announced 73 staff cuts for the 1971-72 school year, including 59 teachers. Palatine Elementary School District 15 is closing 39 classrooms this June. And Park Ridge Elementary School District 64 plans to reduce its staff by 54.

The names alone imply affluence to anyone familiar with the Chicago metropolitan area: Evanston, Mt. Prospect, Maine Township (covering parts of Park Ridge, Des Plaines, Glenview, Niles, Morton Grove and Rosemont) and Niles Township (covering Skokie, Lincolnwood and Golf and parts of Glenview, Morton Grove and Niles).

A recent survey prepared by "School Management" magazine bears out the initial impression. According to the magazine's "12th Annual Cost of Education Index," the median assessed property valuation per pupil for school districts in the three-state region of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio is \$15,400. The current assessed valuation per pupil in all four local districts is considerably higher:

	Per pupil
Evanston	\$36,500
Maine Township	*44,200
Mt. Prospect	25,300
Niles Township	*69,600

*School Management uses a 1.3 multiplier for student populations of secondary school districts because of the additional costs of educating a high school student. The same multiplier was used here to make the figures comparable. The actual assessed valuation per pupil is \$57,400 in Maine Township and a spectacular \$190,500 in Niles Township.

These districts have used their wealth to create "quality schools." Evanston district 65 was rated the best school system in the country by a Ladies Home Journal national survey three years ago. At least 85 per cent of Mainehi and Niles graduates go to college.

School Management's index places the median expenditure per pupil for this region (figured with educational budgets only—debt service, construction and transportation costs are not included) at \$678.72. Any school district spending at least \$802.38 per pupil is in the upper 25 percent of the region in terms of per-pupil spending.

Again, all four districts are substantially higher than the regional median:

	Per pupil
Evanston	\$1,081
Maine Township	*913
Mt. Prospect	802
Niles Township	*1,070

*Figures are again adjusted by School Management's 1.3 multiplier for secondary school districts. Actual educational expenditures per pupil are \$1,186 in Maine Township and \$1,392 in Niles Township.

Schools in these districts have been well-staffed, and their staffs are well-paid. School Management sets the median average teacher's salary for this region at \$9,708.31. The average teacher's salary in 1970-71 in the four local districts was:

Evanston	\$10,567
Maine Township	12,900
Mt. Prospect	9,700
Niles Township	13,000

(Estimate made by district business manager)

The following current teacher-pupil ratios include all professional staff as well as regular classroom teachers such as counselors, psychologists, librarians, special education teachers:

Evanston	15.37:1
Maine Township	15.70:1
Mt. Prospect	19:1
Niles Township	14.8:1

Over the past 10 years there have been schools built, new programs developed, curriculums expanded and large salary increases granted in these four districts, as in most Chicago suburbs. "I want my child to have a good education," was the motto as people packed up and moved to the suburb. And once they got to Evanston, Skokie, Park Ridge and Mt. Prospect they said "Yes" on a regular basis to requests for more money for schools.

The early 60's post-Sputnik era was a time of rapid expansion for these school districts, in terms of enrollment, construction, programs and budgets. From 1960 to 1966, Evanston District 65 won six tax rate and bond issue referendums, all by large margins. In 1968 the district asked for 19 cent increase in the tax rate. The referendum was defeated—the first time the district had ever lost a referendum. A second try that same year was approved, raising the tax rate to \$2 per \$100 of assessed valuation—one of the highest rates in the state.

On March 6 of this year Evanston voters were asked to raise that rate by 45 cents. The move lost by 400 votes. Five of the seven board members have said they want to try again for the increase some time next fall.

Bonita Harsh, education writer for the Evanston Review, said she "wouldn't be too optimistic" about the chances of passing a second vote this year.

"For most North Shore districts (referendum defeats) started in 1965," she said. "(District 65 and High School District 202) had a massive building program in the early 60's . . . People sort of went 'Aargh.'"

"People are turned off on the idea of all this 'extravagance.'"

Mrs. Harsh cited what she called the "excesses" of such items as the high school's planetarium and natatorium, the discontent raised by District 65's comprehensive bused integration plan instituted in 1967, and the divisive controversy generated by the dismissal of district superintendent Gregory C. Coffin last year as factors involved in the new "No" mood of Evanston voters.

District 65 business manager Kenneth Orton described it as a "We've had it" attitude.

Alan Koch, a former education writer for the Park Ridge Herald, said of Maine Township, "People in this district want a good education, but on the same hand they look around and see these . . . lavish structures, and they begin to wonder, 'Why in — do we need this tax increase?'"

Maine Township, which last received a tax rate increase from voters in 1969, plans to ask for another one next fall. Koch said he believes the referendum will fail. "They'll get the money, but not on the first try."

Across the Chicago metropolitan area, referendum defeats have become a prevailing trend. According to a survey made by Cook County School Supt. Robert Hanrahan, only 15 of 37 proposed boosts in the educational tax rate were approved in the county during the 1969-70 school year. By contrast, voters approved 32 of 55 such proposals in the previous year.

According to a survey made by the Investment Bankers Association, only 48 per cent of all school bond issues across the nation were approved in 1970. Seventy-seven per cent were okayed in 1965; 89 per cent were passed in 1960.

Mt. Prospect District 57 last offered, and won, a referendum in 1969. Niles Township's tax referendum last spring was defeated by a large margin. The last vote it won was three years ago. Neither district plans to offer a referendum in the near future, although both districts have made extensive staff cutbacks, and Mt. Prospect went into deficit spending this year for the first time in the district's history.

Board members in both districts think it would be a waste of money and effort to even try. One Mt. Prospect board member said, "There is absolutely no sentiment for a referendum" among voters.

Niles Township business manager Robert Gara said, "Parents are in the mood to cut schools a little bit, whereas at one time they would have been upset by any cuts."

None of the persons interviewed attributed the change in voter attitude to a revolt against students with changing dress and manners or to the way schools are teaching children.

According to Gerry Kramer, education reporter for the Skokie News, "It has to be the recession." Mt. Prospect business manager J. C. Busenhart said, "People are griping about taxes. In Mt. Prospect many people's incomes are pegged to the stock market, and as long as it remains low so do the chances of a referendum."

Mrs. Harsh also cited the recession as the prevalent reason behind the tax raise defeats. She said people in Evanston "like to say (District 65) is Number One, but still it costs a lot to live here." Property taxes for District 65 alone on an Evanston home worth \$30,000 on the market (assessed at about \$10,500) are more than \$575 a year.

Mrs. Harsh said the revolt is strongest among the elderly and persons who send their children to parochial schools, and political conservatives who dislike Evanston's extensive integration program.

There also seems to be a certain amount of skepticism among voters about the real extent of the schools' "financial crisis." According to Orton, "We have a psychological problem on the North Shore . . . It's difficult for people to realize we're in a financial bind."

Several persons interviewed said many people feel money is being spent unnecessarily for large increases in teachers' salaries (especially if teachers' raises have been substantially greater than a voter's own salary increases over the past few years), and such "educational frills" as music, art, drama, summer school and counseling.

The extensive cuts announced in these districts this spring have often taken people by surprise. Evanston's PTA Council criticized the District 65 board for not announcing planned cuts until after the referendum failed. The PTA representatives said many voters did not believe the increase was really needed and the post-defeat cuts came as a surprise.

"The defeat and cuts shocked a lot of people," Mrs. Harsh said. "They really didn't think their vote would count."

Some teachers' groups have also been difficult to convince of the seriousness of the problem, especially where staff cuts have been made. American Federation of Teachers President David Selden called the school situation across the nation "a phony crisis." The AFT monthly newspaper reported in April, "Whenever a local fund cutback was threatened last month, AFT affiliates took the lead in organizing teacher and community opposition."

After 47 teachers were fired, effective this June, by Niles Township (the only district of the four that is operating in the black), the Niles Township Federation of Teachers briefly considered a protest walk-out, then distributed 20,000 copies of a newsletter challenging the cuts. The teachers' organization is presently threatening to bring a court suit that would require the district to prove the cuts were necessary.

Robert Jewell, administrative superintendent of New Trier Township District 203, explained the effect of referendum defeats in this way:

"In private business, when costs go up, the businessman raises his price. In education the only way you can raise your price is if the consumers (voters) agree.

"When the public won't agree to have prices (tax rates) raised, and your costs keep increasing, then you have a financial crisis."

KENNETH KENISTON'S COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the foremost authorities on student movements in America is Dr. Kenneth Keniston, professor of psychiatry at Yale University. It was most appropriate, therefore, for Dr. Keniston to deliver the address for the 126th annual commencement at the University of Notre Dame on May 23, 1971.

Dr. Keniston has been a member of the Yale faculty since 1962 and serves as

director of the Behavioral Sciences Study Center of the Yale Medical School. During this period he has written extensively on the psychological and social factors which affect young Americans.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, Dr. Keniston's books, "Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society," 1965, and "Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth," 1968, have become classics in the contemporary study of the emerging role of young people in American life.

Moreover, Dr. Keniston is a member of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education on which the distinguished president of the University of Notre Dame, the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., also sits.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Keniston observed in his address that student activism has reached a crossroad: It can either abandon ideals and turn to violence or it can continue the struggle to insure civil rights for all Americans, to reestablish national priorities and to bring peace to our troubled world—movements in which American youth have made a great contribution.

Dr. Keniston hopes that the American student movement will take this latter course. But he notes:

It will require not only the celebration of life and the expansion of consciousness advocated by the new culture, but the hard work, the persistence, and the dedication that has characterized the old culture.

Mr. Speaker, I believe Dr. Keniston's remarks—delivered in the Third District of Indiana, which I am privileged to represent—are valuable for us all.

At this point I include in the RECORD the text of Dr. Keniston's address:

THE AGONY OF THE COUNTER-CULTURE

(By Kenneth Keniston)

This has been a bad year for Consciousness III. At the very moment when its virtues were being celebrated by Charles Reich in *The Greening of America*, the alleged possessors of Consciousness III have fallen into self-doubt, nostalgia, introspection and despair. This year, compared to last, has witnessed a marked shift in mood. The expressive exuberance, the romantic optimism and the political radicalism of May, 1970 have been replaced by what the president of Yale, Kingman Brewster, has aptly termed an "eerie tranquility".

The same students who last year were working toward major change in national priorities, toward massive re-ordering of our goals and purposes, have this year fallen silent. They participated in very small numbers in the November Congressional campaign. They have turned inward—to meditation, to studying the *I Ching*, to communes in the mountains, to macrobiotic diets, to reliving the television programs of their childhood, or even to doing their homework. *Time* magazine has announced the "cooling of America". And it is said on good authority that the Nixon Administration believes the problem of student discontent is a thing of the past.

How do we explain the in-turning and relative silence on American campuses? Has youthful alienation indeed become a thing of the past? And what can the experience of the last year tell us about our goals and actions in the future.

One explanation sometimes heard in Washington is that the calm on campus results from the firmness, sanity and adroitness of the current Administration. President Nixon has clearly indicated that he will not be in-

fluenced by demonstrations or by public opinion polls—at least not in the conduct of the war in Southeast Asia. A policy of "firmness" has involved a crackdown on political dissidents, more extensive use of eavesdropping devices, underground agents on campus, mass arrests of protesters, and so on. And "adroitness" is allegedly shown by the way in which the Nixon Administration timed and press-managed the recent Laos invasion.

QUESTIONS ADMINISTRATION ADROITNESS

I suspect that I express more than my own personal views when I doubt that sanity, firmness, or adroitness on the part of Mr. Nixon explain the relative tranquility on campus this year. Unresponsiveness to the expressed wishes of the American people three-quarters of whom now seek an end to the war by the end of 1971 and two-thirds of whom consider the war immoral, hardly seems to me evidence of sanity. A policy of widespread wiretapping, harassment of dissenters and illegal confinement of demonstrators hardly seems consistent for an Administration that has pledged itself to preserve law and order. And the news blackout preceding the Laos invasion, like the later announcement that a disastrous military route had really been a victory hardly seems an adroit way of increasing confidence in the political process. In talking to students, I do not find a sudden burst of renewed faith in Mr. Nixon.

A second explanation for the silence this year comes closer to the truth. In May, 1970, following the invasion of Cambodia and the killings at Kent State and Jackson State, at least a million and a half students were mobilized in largely peaceful demonstrations of concern and grief: almost half of America's 2,500 campuses were affected. Especially at the most selective and visible colleges, there was a massive outpouring of revulsion against the war, against the policies that led to its continuation, and against the Administration.

UNRESPONSIVE TO PLEAS

But that outpouring of feeling and energy led to no visible results in terms of a major shift in national policy. Despite the withdrawal of American land forces, American aerial bombardment of Southeast Asia has actually increased, as have the civilian and military casualties of all groups except Americans. The pleas of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest that the President should act as a reconciling force in American life went largely unheeded. The many evils in American society against which dissenting students have protested continue. The Civil Rights Commission has only recently been able to announce that, in the words of President Hesburgh, the dinosaur has opened at least one eye. Last spring, students hoped that they could help change our society, re-order our national priorities, convince others with moral suasion. But many believe that events proved them wrong. As a result they are both exhausted and depressed. Far from being won over, I think students have if anything become even more discouraged about affecting the political process.

But discouragement alone is not, I believe, an adequate explanation of the silence. If you talk at any length with students who were active last May, you quickly detect an undercurrent of embarrassment and even shame.

Many students then nourished the secret fantasy that their unaided efforts might produce a "total change" in American politics, an apocalyptic or revolutionary re-ordering of our society. But when autumn came, a more sober re-appraisal of the possibilities of basic social change was inevitable. For example, students who had believed that the Black Panther Party constituted a "revolutionary vanguard" realized that the Panthers neither expressed the aspirations of most Ameri-

can Blacks, nor were they themselves above deceit, exploitation, and racism. Radical students painfully realized that a great many young people, especially those who do not attend college, are primarily motivated by a desire to take part in the American system, rather than to change it. The understandable result of such encounters with reality was a justified sense of embarrassment at their own previous naivete, shame that they had allowed themselves to entertain apocalyptic fantasies of revolution.

RECOGNIZING VIOLENCE

But even discouragement and shame are not enough, I believe, to explain the relative tranquility of campuses this year. Underlying these feelings is what I will term a genuine agony of the student movement. This agony at root springs from a new awareness that violence lies not only within the rest of American society, but within the student movement itself.

Before I discuss the issue of violence and the youth movement, I want to make my position clear. I am addressing myself primarily to those of you in this audience who are a part of, who identify yourselves with, or have been influenced by, the student movement. In emphasizing the secret flaws and vices of the student movement, I do not want to draw attention away from the real evils of American society, evils which the student movement has helped pinpoint. I am well aware that if we tally deaths, cracked skulls, or even minor injuries, the members of the counter-culture have suffered far more violence than they have perpetrated. I make the comments that follow in hopes that if you who are part of the youth culture, and we who sympathize with it, can gain insight into its inner weaknesses, then that culture may thereby be made more effective. For I believe that if we can understand what is wrong in ourselves, then we can be more effective adversaries of the wrongs of society.

The agony of the student movement this year ultimately revolves around the issue of violence, which I believe to be the central issue of our national existence today. As a nation, we possess the most terrible weapons of world destruction owned by any nation in the history of mankind.

Domestically, we are one of the most violent nations of the world. And in a distant war in a far-off land, our country has been implicated so far in the deaths of two million men, women and children, of whom less than 2 percent are Americans. From the start of the student movement in the early 1960's, violence has been its unwanted companion.

VICTIMS IN THE MOVEMENT

The civil rights movement was committed to nonviolence, but it constantly brought upon itself the violence of those who opposed it, as witnessed by the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi in 1964. Throughout the 1960's, there have been killings of student activists: students shot at Orangeburg, at Isla Vista, at the People's Park in Berkeley, in Lawrence, Kansas, at Kent State, at Jackson State. Members of the student movement have come to expect harassment, to fear brutality and even death from their adversaries, including from the very public forces pledged to maintain law and order in the community. Yet if there is any one goal that has traditionally been central to the student movement, that goal has been the abolition of violence—whether it be the violence inflicted upon Blacks by American racism, or the violence which we, the most powerful nation in the world, have inflicted upon the people of a third-rate military power in Southeast Asia.

This commitment of the student movement to nonviolence corresponded very well with the particular psychology of its white

members, most of whom are children of fairly prosperous, educated, humanitarian, and idealistic middle-class parents. If we study the childhood experiences of such middle-class students, we find that physical violence was almost completely absent during their earlier years. Even death was eliminated from the public landscape, isolated in distant hospitals and antiseptic funeral homes. If we ask white college students how often they were involved as children in major physical fights, the answer is generally once to twice if ever. Furthermore, the parents of these middle-class children rarely expressed anger physically: verbal attacks took the place of physical assault.

In other words, we have taught our children to express their rage and destructiveness in largely indirect ways. As a group, middle-class Americans take out their anger on themselves by becoming depressed, or express it verbally by making cutting remarks. And even if anger finally overflows, it overflows in the form of words, of obscenity. But physical violence—hitting, striking, hurting other people—has been almost completely taboo.

UNPREPARED FOR REALITIES

This upbringing, coupled with the real violence inflicted by others upon student activists, made it very easy for members of the student movement to see violence and destructiveness as existing only "out there"—only in their adversaries, only in American racism, only in American foreign policy. An obscenity shouted at a policeman did not seem violent, but the policeman's billy-club in response to that obscenity was seen as a shocking form of violence.

What has happened with increasing speed in the last year, is that the denial of rage, anger, and destructiveness by members of the student movement has been undercut. This confrontation with inner violence is symbolized by two events: the murder of an innocent onlooker by Hell's Angels at the rock festival at Altamont; the killing of an innocent graduate student in the terrorist bombing at the Mathematics building at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. These events are dreadful, criminal, and inexcusable in their own right; but they also have a special symbolic importance. They symbolize the fact that from within the youth movement, there were emerging groups who were prepared to use violence in a systematic way in order to attain their ends. And this violence emerging from within the student movement has forced its members to re-examine their previous self-justifying assumption that rage and destructiveness were the characteristics of their adversaries, but not of themselves.

In light of Altamont and Madison, the inner significance of earlier events became clearer. Recall, for example, the positions adopted by the Weathermen and expressed in their "days of rage" in Chicago in the fall of 1969, when they marched virtually unarmed into battle against a much larger force of armed police. Recall, too, the explosion in the townhouse in Greenwich Village, which ended by killing three of the Weathermen who were making bombs. Or recall the rapidity with which some of the peace-loving flower children of the hippie movement became embroiled in the sordid exploitativeness and destructiveness of the hard drug culture. At the time, these events could be written off as exceptions which only demonstrated that the student movement, like any social movement, possessed its share of "crazies".

ANOTHER FORM OF VIOLENCE

But in retrospect, the uglier side of these events has become more clear. Nominally opposing violence and suffering violence from others, some fringes of the counter-culture became infected by the very violence it op-

posed. The shouted obscenity calculated to offend the policeman was all along a form of violence; so, too, was the categorization of the opponents of the student movement as sub-human—as pigs. And above all, that ideological argument which led a few members of the youth movement to consider their fear for violence a "bourgeois hang-up" to be overcome by the practice of terrorism—this was no less a symptom of the pathological violence in American life than were the police riots at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968 or our indiscriminate bombing in Southeast Asia.

In brief, then, the murders at Altamont and Madison symbolized the end of an era for the student movement. During that earlier era, it was possible for student activists to blind themselves to their own rage, to see themselves as happy exceptions to that morbid fascination with violence which affects our nation as a whole. The violent rhetoric that came to pervade the student movement could be passed off as mere talk. But when that rhetoric culminated in murder, then the members of the student movement had to face for the first time their own complicity with the very violence against which they struggled. Woodstock was transformed into Altamont; Berkeley and Columbia were transformed into Madison.

COMING FULL CIRCLE

The agony of the counter-culture, then, involves above all its confrontation, at an individual and a collective level, with its own destructiveness. Underlying the turn inward, the turn away from politics, has been the realization that some people in a movement dedicated to peace, justice, democracy and equality were moving toward the systematic betrayal of these very principles. The members of the student movement gradually came to realize that if they allowed themselves to be led by a rigid and destructive minority, dogmatism and murder lay at the end of their own road. The silence this year springs from a recoil from violence.

In a peculiar way then, the introspectiveness, the self-criticism and self-examination that has characterized most American campuses this year testify to the ultimate sanity of most student activists. Confronted with dogmatism and murder at the end of the road, most student activists have pulled back, have turned inward, have spent the year "trying to get their heads together." This process of self-confrontation can aptly be termed an agony, for it has involved depression and anguish, inner uncertainty, struggle, and self-reevaluation.

I am a psychologist, and I see an analogy between the agony of the counter-culture and the agony of the individual patient. In the course of psychotherapy, the patient may eventually come to the point where he must confront his own complicity in his misery, his own involvement in the very motives which he criticizes in others. The result is a stage of inner agony, a period of withdrawal, gloom and depression. The evils that were seen as largely outside of the patient are now acknowledged as existing inside him as well.

VALUABLE INTROSPECTION

But an agony is also a contest, a crisis, a potential turning point. In psychotherapy, the recognition of one's own dark motives can lead to either one of two outcomes.

It can lead to the termination of treatment, to flight, and to regression. The patient who is unable to look at himself in a clear mirror flees from his truthful image in order to preserve his illusions about himself and, with them, his neurosis.

But there is also a second, more hopeful outcome. It involves accepting the awareness of one's own destructiveness, one's own covetousness, one's own dark side. As the acknowledgment of inner evil is extended,

and *only then*, a more creative and integrative process may begin. Without ceasing to oppose evil in himself or others, a man may nonetheless come to acknowledge that he too shares in complicity with evil, and that, in this respect as in others, he is his fellows' brother. It becomes more difficult for him to polarize mankind neatly into good and evil, for he recognizes that in himself both coexist. He sees the world in a more complex, less black-and-white, more realistic way. And he becomes more effective in his deeds, for he is less prone to an unconscious complicity with the very forces which he consciously seeks to overcome. From this agony or self-confrontation, then, there can come a more mature, more integrated, more effective person.

TWO PATHS POSSIBLE

A social movement is very different from an individual patient. And most student activists are not psychologically disturbed human beings. Yet the analogy between the agony of the counter-culture and the agony of the patient suggests the two possibilities which lie ahead for the student movement.

One possibility is a dark one. The agony of the counter-culture could mark its imminent death. The youth movement which gave so much to America in the 1960's, which helped redefine our national priorities, which helped expose the persistent wrongs of American society, which began to define new lifestyles, new values, and new institutions could continue to fragment, splinter, go underground, be suppressed and eventually disappear. Those of you who were once members of the movement or who identified yourselves with it would then become cynical and despairing, alienated from the existing society yet utterly convinced of your inability to change that society. Or, unable to confront the potential for evil that lies within the student movement, some of you might continue the disastrous process of externalization that leads to dogmatism and violence, to the denial of the humanity of one's adversaries, or to withdrawal into hedonistic concerns. Were this to occur, your generation would indeed lapse into silence, but it would not be a silence that springs from satisfaction, but a silence of despair. Human idealism is immensely fragile: it can easily be corroded into the destructive cynicism of the idealist. For this to happen would be, I believe, the worst thing that could befall our country—we would lose the idealism of the young, morality would become soured to cynicism, and those who were once impatient and hopeful would be overwhelmed by a sense of their own impotence.

The second scenario is a more optimistic one, but I believe it is also within the realm of possibility. Indeed, I think that the task of those of you who graduate today, like the task of those who have preceded you and those who will follow you, is to begin to make this second possibility real. Just as the individual patient may confront his own dark side, and through this painful insight gain in compassion, maturity and strength, so the recognition of violence within the student movement could ultimately strengthen and renew that movement. The result could be a generation and a movement more innoculated against self-righteousness, dogmatism, moralism and a secret collusion with violence, a movement that did not need to view the world as consisting simply in the struggle of good men against evil men, a counter-culture that could recognize the enormous difficulties in resolving the problems of our society, but without losing its determination to resolve them.

FUTURE UNPREDICTABLE

I do not believe we can predict today which of these two outcomes will occur. Much of what happens to the members of any generation happens because of events which are

beyond their control. The future of the student movement will partly be determined by what happens in Washington, Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, South Bend and Indianapolis. For example, a speedy end to the war in Southeast Asia, a vigorous effort to uproot racism in all of its virulent forms from American society, a concern with the quality of life and the environment that went beyond electioneering rhetoric, and above all a desperately needed renewal of tolerance for dissent in American society—these changes could well make the difference between the two alternatives.

But I am here addressing the graduating class of 1971, and much of what you make of the movement that has defined your generation in the public eye depends on you. Many of you, I know, have struggled against your more radical and disaffected classmates. Others have participated only peripherally in the student movement. Still others of you have considered it *your* movement and have defined yourselves as a part of it. But whatever your position vis a vis the student movement, you have all been profoundly affected by it, and you will all have a role in determining whether its promises will be realized, or whether they will be corrupted and destroyed.

DANGER CITED

It is clearly not appropriate for a middle-aged psychologist to attempt to instruct a group of intelligent college graduates how they should conduct their lives. Yet as a long-time observer of the student movement, I would be derelict if I did not at least share my own convictions and hopes. I have already made clear my conviction that the greatest danger which confronts those who struggle against violence is the danger that they themselves will become secretly contaminated by the violence they oppose, and unconsciously conclude in creating more violence than they prevent. I have made clear, too, that I consider the eerie tranquility of this year a recoil by students from the violence that was beginning to appear in naked form within the student movement itself. But I see this recoil from violence as a mark not of the perversity of your generation, but of your honesty, your insight, and the reality of your idealism. And finally, I have made clear that this confrontation with violence need not mark the end of the youth culture that has defined your generation, but *could* mark the beginning of a new, more powerful, more compassionate and more comprehensive movement that extended far beyond youth and the universities.

This is the challenge that lies ahead. The student movement and the counter-culture have so far spoken largely to the young, the affluent and the educated. What is now needed is an extension and translation of the values and ideals of the student culture into a broader social, cultural and political context. Do not forget that as graduates of this distinguished university, you have received at least the beginning of an education. Your education provides you with skills, competence, knowledge, and understanding that could enable you to continue and transform the youth culture in which you have directly or vicariously participated. That culture has been so far too much of a counter-culture, too much defined by opposition to the evils which you correctly perceived in American society, too much an outcry against our culture's failure to fulfill its promises or to build upon its achievements. The student movement, for understandable reasons, has so far largely been a movement of opposition.

A TIME FOR AFFIRMATION

It is now time that it becomes a movement of affirmation. To transform the student movement will require not merely the enthusiasm of Consciousness III, but the

professionalism and skill of Consciousness II. It will require not only the celebration of life and the expansion of consciousness advocated by the new culture, but the hard work, the persistence, and the dedication that has characterized the old culture. It will require an alliance not merely of the young, the privileged and educated, but of those who are not young, or privileged, or educated, and of that vast majority of Americans who refuse to ally themselves with either camp.

On one issue virtually all Americans are agreed: if we are in a period of national crisis, it is because, in a dozen ways, our society is going out of control. For example, the technology we created to serve us has come to dominate us, and now threatens to destroy us. The institutions we founded to serve the public interest too often have come to manipulate public opinion and exploit public anxieties.

I doubt that anyone has a precise, detailed, and sure-fire prescription for reversing these trends. But it is clear that to reverse them will not be the work of one apocalyptic moment, one revolutionary spasm, or one outcry of opposition and despair. It will be the work of a lifetime, of a generation of competent and skilled men and women who are dedicated to the hard work of making the best ideals of the youth culture real throughout society, and who are willing to continue in that struggle long after they themselves cease to be students.

I hope you will undertake that struggle, for if you do, you will find many allies among the rest of us, and together we may be able to realize the extraordinary—and still unrealized—potentials of our American society.

ADMIRAL DUNCAN RECEIVES RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION MINUTE MAN AWARD

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1971

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to know Adm. Charles K. Duncan since 1929. He is a native of Nicholasville, in Jessamine County, Ky.

Later, he graduated from the Naval Academy in 1933. His naval career is one of great distinction. Throughout his entire service, Admiral Duncan has had a great interest in the welfare of enlisted men and is known throughout the Navy as the enlisted man's Admiral.

Recently, he was chosen by the Reserve Officers Association for the Minute Man Award. I include the article from the Reserve Officers magazine concerning Admiral Duncan, present Commander of the Atlantic Fleet, for the perusal of the Members:

MINUTE MAN AWARD

The climax of the convention will come when Adm. Charles K. Duncan, Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (NATO), will receive the annual ROA Minute Man Hall of Fame Award, which goes to a regular officer making substantial contributions to ROA's objectives.

Adm. John S. McCain, Commander of all U.S. Forces, Pacific, also will be on the program to give a first-hand report of United States Military operations in Southeast Asia and other parts of the Pacific.

The Defense Department Secretary also will be represented by highly placed officials,

with Assistant Secretary of Defense, Roger T. Kelley, heading the group of those with special responsibility for the Reserves. With him will be Dr. Theodore Marrs, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Timberlake, USAF; Adm. Edwin J. Roland, USCG; Gen. Paul Freeman, Jr., USA; Adm. B. J. Semmes, Jr., USN; Gen. John P. McConnell, USAF; Gen. Omar N. Bradley, USA.

Graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1933, Admiral Duncan was commissioned Ensign and began five years of service aboard the cruiser Salt Lake City in the Pacific. In 1938 he went to the Atlantic to serve on a destroyer and on the staff of Commander, Destroyer Force. Returning to the Pacific, he served as Executive Officer of one destroyer and then Commanding Officer of another until April, 1944. For his service while commanding a destroyer he was awarded the Navy Commendation Medal with Combat V and a Gold Star in lieu of a second award of the Medal, also with Combat V.

His postwar sea duty included assignments as Executive Officer of the Battleship Wisconsin and Commander of a Destroyer Division. He held a series of posts in the Pacific and then returned to duty in the Bureau of Naval Personnel from 1962-1964. In all, he has served three tours in the Bureau of Naval Personnel prior to his latest service there.

Admiral Duncan has also seen service as Assistant Plans Officer on the staff of Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet and as a member of the Plans and Policy Section of the staff of Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic. From 1964 through 1968 he held a sequence of three major Atlantic Fleet Commands. These were: Atlantic Fleet Cruiser Destroyer Force, Atlantic Fleet Amphibious Force and U.S. second Fleet and (NATO) Striking Fleet Atlantic. For his service as Commander Amphibious Force he was awarded the Legion of Merit.

Just prior to his present duties, Admiral Duncan served as Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Manpower and Naval Reserve) and Chief of Naval Personnel. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal with a citation that praised his "dynamic leadership and outstanding foresight, . . . his deep concern for the morale and welfare of Naval personnel," and "his dedicated service and brilliant record of achievement."

A native of Nicholasville, Ky., Admiral Duncan attended Lexington, Ky. High School, Kavanaugh Preparatory School and the University of Kentucky before entering the Naval Academy. He is married to the former Sheila Taylor, of Halifax, Nova Scotia. They have two children.

THE QUIET REVOLUTION

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith a perceptive editorial published in a recent issue of the Fitchburg Sentinel.

This valuable editorial makes the point that the 20 or more million Americans who are 65 years of age or over are asking the American people to reconsider the proposition that a man or a woman should be forced to retire at 65.

The editorial entitled "The Quiet Revolution," follows:

THE QUIET REVOLUTION

There's a revolution going on in America—and it's a quiet one compared with the usual youthful demonstrations of clang and clamor.

It's a revolution of Americans who have experienced—and caused—more changes in our way of life than today's young people can ever comprehend.

The members of this movement are the 20 million Americans who are 65 years of age or over. They're the ones who built their lives on change—they helped the United States grow from an adolescent among nations to the most powerful, complex and productive country in the world. They participated in these changes as teachers, engineers, factory workers, doctors, scientists, farmers and businessmen.

Within their lifetime, they have embraced everything from the coming of the horseless carriage to the first man to walk on the moon. They built the first radios and flew the first airplane. They developed marvelous machines. They organized systems that are still an indispensable part of modern life.

And today, as the American Association of Retired Persons and the National Retired Teachers Association point out, they are engaged in a quiet revolution to change the role of retired Americans. They're revolting against being shunted aside, against attitudes that they feel deny them opportunities to use their energies and talents as full participants in our national life.

One of their goals—and they are using May, which is Senior Citizen's Month, as a focus for their campaigns—is to ask reconsideration of the proposition that a man or woman should be forced to retire at 65, or any other arbitrary age. They point out that history abounds with evidence that creativity and contributions to society follow no clock or calendar. And they charge that discrimination due to age is a social phenomenon that merits far greater attention than it has received.

Certainly, they have a point, well worth pondering. We have a tendency today, in our youth-oriented society, to listen to the young and ignore the old.

Yet, our elderly people are worth listening to—theirs is the voice of experience, and experience is still one of the best of all teachers.

WILLIAMSBURG, MASS., CELEBRATES 200TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on the outskirts of the western hill country of Massachusetts, there lies a town named Williamsburg that will celebrate its 200th anniversary this year. This fine town occupies a handsome location on the eastern slope of the Berkshire Hills in the north central section of Hampshire County. Both the pleasant climate and the entrancing countryside combine to form all that any admirer of nature's beauty could possibly desire.

From a large number of the high-reaching hills in the northern and western parts of the town, the entire Connecticut River Valley, including Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke, can be viewed with ease. You need only spend a few moments among the hills of Williams-

burg, anytime from spring to fall, to have your eyes filled with unsurpassable beauty.

But equally as important to Williamsburg as her physical attractiveness is the town's long and most interesting history that reflects the same tribulations and glories experienced by our Nation itself. I would now like to briefly review the historical highlights of Williamsburg.

Arriving from the town of Northampton in 1735, John Miller, having purchased 900 acres of land in an area once known as Hatfield Woods, became Williamsburg's first settler. For 17 years this "mighty hunter" was without a close neighbor. Despite the constant threat of Indian attack and many other dangers, John Miller thrived as both a hunter and a farmer. In fact, there were years when his apple trees alone yielded 100 barrels of cider.

Before long, others realized the richness of this area, and it is then, from 1760 until 1771, that Williamsburg experienced a great period of settlement. In 1771, the town was incorporated. Because of the great assistance the Williams family of Hatfield gave to incorporating the town, Williamsburg was named in their honor. No one can deny that the patience and fortitude of those pioneers was admirable.

Williamsburg continued to prosper and develop until the Revolutionary War broke out in 1775. In March of 1775, a month before the first battle of the Revolution was fought, the town, responding with patriotic fervor to the cause of independence, voted to support a force of Minutemen for immediate employment in the service of the Colonies.

During the Burgoyne Campaign, shortly after Ticonderoga was overtaken by the British, a messenger with the bad news reached Williamsburg one Sunday morning during church. The sermon was interrupted so that the news could be heard and at once the religious service turned into a war meeting. The American forces needed men and arms, and before nightfall 50 volunteers were obtained.

This is but one instance when Williamsburg gallantly performed her part in winning our independence. The list of Williamsburg soldiers in the Colonial Army is large, and although the town records show that the struggle took a heavy toll, there was never a thought of turning back.

Continuing in the style so unique to Williamsburg, the town passed a resolution favoring national independence several weeks before the Declaration was pronounced by the Continental Congress.

After the war was finally over, toward the close of the 18th century, many factories and small businesses appeared in Williamsburg. Among the many items produced were leather, cotton, shoes, buttons, hardware, woodwork, and ironware. The town flourished both economically and socially, beginning a new decade with a new national Government, and a buoyant sense of optimism.

After a long period of development, another great war came along that shook

the country for years. Responding again with patriotic enthusiasm to President Abraham Lincoln's call for aid when the Civil War broke out in 1861, more than one-eighth of Williamsburg's population served in the military—a percentage reflecting the town's desire for a unified country. Until victory came to the Union in 1865, Williamsburg never weakened her support.

But never has Williamsburg felt the brutality of death more than in 1874 when a raging flood carried more than 1 billion gallons of water through the streets of the town. The Mill River Dam, built 9 years before in 1865, burst without the slightest warning and caused the total destruction of the entire industrial section of Williamsburg, in addition to killing nearly 60 people.

Whenever one mentions the flood, the courageous actions of George Cheeney and Collins Graves must be praised. On Saturday, the 16th of May, the day of the flood, George Cheeney, watchman of the dam, ran all the way from the dam to Williamsburg to warn the people of the coming flood. Shortly after this alarm, rather than retreating to the hills as most had done to avoid the water, Collins Graves rode horseback with a wall of water at his back to many neighboring towns to alert them to the impending disaster. Through the action of these men and others, hundreds of lives were saved. But men such as these have not been uncommon to Williamsburg, as is evidenced by her proud history, and there is no doubt that this courageous quality still remains in the men in Williamsburg today. This spirit and determination has always pulled Williamsburg through such tragedies and disasters.

The weekend of July 4 will have double meaning for the citizens of Williamsburg this year. They will be reflecting, of course, on the birth of our Nation, but they will also be participating in the many festive and exciting events marking the town's anniversary. On July 5, the Williamsburg Bicentennial Parade will be held—the climactic event on the anniversary schedule.

During these happy days, the citizens of Williamsburg can be truly proud of their town and its rich, historical heritage. Beyond this, however, they can look ahead with confidence to the future for they have proven themselves equal to whatever opportunities or adversities come their way.

I have only given you a brief look at the history of Williamsburg, Mr. Speaker. But I think that you can begin to appreciate the contributions and sacrifices which this small town has made on behalf of the nation. I certainly wish that all of you could be there over the Fourth of July to celebrate this occasion, but I am sure that I can pass on to the people of Williamsburg the sincere congratulations and best wishes of the Members of this House.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for the opportunity to present this statement on Williamsburg.

THE UNHOLY SOVIET EMPIRE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in the aftermath of World War I, the United States and Great Britain emerged as the two most powerful countries in the world. Russia was weak and dismembered.

At the close of World War II, America, with the atomic bomb in her arsenal, reigned supreme as the world's strongest as well as freest nation.

Yet, today Soviet Russia controls all of eastern Europe except Turkey and Greece and continues to spread her colonial empire to other parts of the world, including the Western Hemisphere.

Most Americans are unaware of the true story of how Russia gained control of eastern Europe since the history text books and the news media do not tell them.

In a well written and factual account entitled "Betraying Our Friends," Rose B. Christensen writing in the Review of the News explains how the captive nations of eastern Europe came under the iron fist of Soviet Russia.

With so much rhetoric these days about building bridges as well as ping pong diplomacy and increased trade with Communist nations, a reading of the accompanying articles should serve as a sober reminder to our colleagues that you cannot do business with the Communists—and survive. Pope Pius XI expressed it very well when he wrote in his encyclical letter on atheistic communism:

Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever.

I insert the Review of the News article to follow my remarks:

BETRAYING OUR FRIENDS

(By Rose B. Christensen)

The dignity of gentle rhetoric is hardly warranted by the rank hypocrisy of an American foreign policy which has over a period of fifty years consistently supported the most savage oppressor in human history.

And it doesn't take a "McCarthyite mentality" to recognize it.

Any mentality at all will do.

Begin by looking at the facts.

Fifty years ago Europe was crawling out from under the ashes of World War I. Germany was defeated. America and Great Britain were powerful and great; Russia lay in a disintegrated heap, the Czarist Empire blown to bits, with new nations emerging daily from the crumbling wreck to claim or reclaim their independence. Peoples long subjected to Russian rule arose heeding the call of their separate cultures, languages, religions, uniting together in political unions based upon their natural bonds, and emerged as sovereign nations. Most that thus appeared were not at all new. The Ukraine, for instance, had a thousand-year history; Armenian and Georgian history predated Christ. No fledglings these, no mere political adventures. They were not Russian and had

strongly resisted all Czarist attempts at Russification. And never, in all their years of subjection, had the heat of their patriotism cooled.

How brightly shone the sun.

Through the haze of spent powder and the crippling stench of gas the new future lit the horizon. Many a Moslem and Jew, Ukrainian or Estonian or Byelorussian dreamed now of freedom, of the end of oppression from Russia. In a dozen regions of the former empire men gathered together to organize, to ordain, to solidify their national aspirations on paper.

But elsewhere, other men had different plans. Plans which they said would result in an Utopia, a heaven on earth, a kind of paradise where all men would be equal and where there would be no need for private poverty or crime.

Just one slight hitch.

You got it whether you wanted it or not. You got it over your own dead body if necessary, over the body of your country, over the ashes of your church and the ruins of your home.

The illumined leaders of the New World knew that you can't make an omelet without breaking eggs. And the egg breakers moved in—highly dedicated, carefully trained, and well financed professional criminals.

The Communists rushed into the vacuum they created by the murder of the Czar. They had to crush the independent States of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia which bordered the Ottoman Empire; they had to recapture White Russia and the Ukraine; they had to thwart the aspirations of the Cossacks and the Moslems of Idel Ural; the Nomads of Turkestan; the Caucasians, the Siberyaks, and the Mongols.

And this they did. With frenzied haste they pounded and battered, murdered and terrorized, imprisoned and starved millions. Then the Red cannibal, wiping the blood from his mouth, fattened but exhausted by the fury of his own mastication, swung his bulk into the international limelight as geographic successor to the Czar.

The gentlemen of the West arose slightly from across the table to extend a hand in greeting. They frowned of course. It really wasn't quite cricket for the Communists to have been so *undiplomatic* in their approach; but, after all, it couldn't very well be undone without more bloodshed—and it was a "war-weary" world. So the West decided to ignore the Communists for awhile. That might reform them. At least that's what they told their horrified citizenry. In terms they thought the general public would buy, the *Insiders* stated American policy: The Communists are criminals. Perhaps they will reform. We will not support them . . . yet.

But American policy was already supporting the Communists—even then. The Bolsheviks knew it, and "our" leaders knew it, even if most Americans did not. Lenin had said as much before the Geneva Conference in 1922 when he announced: "First of all we have to stabilize the economy. Without equipment and machinery from the capitalist countries, we could not hope to finish this task in the short time available to us." Lenin well knew that President Wilson had already moved to provide what Russia needed when, in 1920, he lifted the American ban against commercial relations with the Soviet Union.

In fact, American aid wasn't just helping the Communists, it was saving them. Lenin confirmed this when he admitted: "The most significant circumstance in ensuring our continued existence in this very difficult and complicated situation was the commencement of economic relations with the capitalist countries."

What was "this very difficult and complicated situation"? Clearly it wasn't opposition to the Communists from the capitalists of the West. It was, in fact, the resistance to Communism mounted by the masses enslaved within the confines of the new Communist Empire. No day passed without incident. Armenia cast off the yoke after bitter fighting in 1921, Georgia in 1924—both only to be crushed mercilessly after the Reds were assured the West would not take their part. In Ukraine, resistance was mighty. Within the first 15 weeks of 1919 some 328 separate uprisings were noted by the Soviets themselves, with more than a million insurgents taking up arms against the Communists bleeding their homeland.

I

What decent man wouldn't have revolted against such oppression, such brutal treatment, such sadistic subjection. Only the blood lust that fancies paradise rooted in putrefaction, a heaven evolved from hell, could dismiss what was going on in Russia with the excuse that to undo it would mean only more bloodshed. For the Reds weren't just trying to Russify through propaganda, or atheize through brainwashing. They were using the most effective weapon at their command. They were using terror—mechanized, scientific, systematic terror.

Regional customs, cultures, languages, and laws were trampled in the Communists' ruthless advance. Mass deportations were scheduled and executed—as a part of Moscow's plans for "population control."

The Bolsheviks, you see, couldn't just ignore traditional beliefs and patterns of living among their conquered peoples, they had to destroy them. All religions were persecuted; priests, rabbis, and mufti alike were imprisoned; churches, temples, and mosques pillaged, profaned, and destroyed. The faithful were taunted, terrorized, and butchered. Intellectuals, partisans, any who might provide leadership to the subjected peoples against the Bolshevik tyranny were deported or butchered. The more brutal the treatment, the more accomplished the Communist goal.

Flocks, herds, and homes, all were expropriated, everywhere. Cattle and sheep-owning nomads, who had lived in mud huts, were reduced overnight to a status of poverty even more base. Land-holding peasants were forced into collectives, to live on starvation rations. Those who refused were slaughtered by the millions and left to rot. Murder, imprisonment, rape, torture, holocaust, slave labor, and pillage were The Plan.

Take the Ukraine, for instance. It is a good example for many reasons. The Ukraine, as we have, noted, boasted a thousand years of history as a separate nation. Its people were ethnically united; they spoke a common language and shared an ancient culture. Ukraine met every requirement ever put forth to determine nationhood.

To crush the spark of liberty in the Breadbasket of Europe, the Communists conceived a very simple plan. They would starve the Ukraine to death. Not just an isolated thousand or so within the confines of a Communist prison, but millions—tens of millions if necessary. Yes, The Plan was simple. It called for the sending from Moscow and Petrograd of collecting detachments to confiscate the entire food supply of the Ukraine. Beginning in 1921, and continuing again in 1932-1933, the Communists starved to death—by plan—more than ten million Ukrainian men, women, and children.

Documents captured in 1941 in the Academy of Sciences at Kiev revealed that in 1932, while the Communist-created famine tore at the Ukraine, as many as three thousand corpses at a time were piled along the walls of one garage in one hospital in the Ukrainian capital. As the famine raged there was, according to official Soviet statistics,

enough food on hand under Communist control to feed the entire population of the Ukraine for two years and four months. That food was simply withheld.

Ten million people! That's more than the total of the combined population of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Utah, Nevada, and Nebraska. More than the highest estimate of Nazi atrocities against the Jews during all of World War II. When resistance developed, the Communists forcibly infected the women of entire villages with venereal disease and refused them medical treatment unless and until they provided information about the partisan forces.

No person who has not lived through such a planned hell can imagine a country in which every loyal citizen is dying of starvation. A survivor described it this way:

"Whoever had an opportunity to see the Ukrainian countryside before the terror would be paralyzed with fear when beholding it during the famine. Vegetable gardens were overgrown with weeds, these would take over and grow right up to the door of the house, and almost as high as the door itself. No voices were heard in the evening, no laughter. No dogs barked, because they had all been eaten. Roads, unused and untraveled now, were completely overgrown. Walking singly or in pairs became dangerous, as robbery and kidnapping for cannibalism often occurred.

"In the center of the village, by the ruins of a church which had been dynamited, was the bazaar. Whoever came to sell or buy now moved slowly, with swollen ashen face. There was silence. No one spoke except in whispers. Their movements were slow and weak because their limbs were so swollen. They made trade of cornstalk, bare cobs, dried roots, bark and roots of waterplants. This constituted the entire diet of Ukraine, a diet incapable of keeping us alive. Soviet grain collectors not only requisitioned stored grains, but confiscated seed grain, potatoes, cattle, meat, poultry, butter, fruit, honey and mushrooms as well."

The catastrophic results, by the Communists' own calculations, made collapse imminent. They had in the Ukraine, for example, purposely cut food production by plan to twenty-four percent of that of 1916. This, of course, was confiscated. But it was far from enough to feed the masses of Russia whose fields lay idle in the wake of the peasants' revolt. Without food, the Communist monolith was crumbling of its own weight. It was only a matter of time.

But now, calling themselves the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the masters of the Kremlin requested aid from America. The \$63 million worth of food commodities which we presented to the Russians in 1921 were used to maintain Communist domination. With the Soviet Government in control of all the food there was, you supported that Government or you starved to death.

The machinery and technical assistance supplied by America after President Wilson lifted the ban on commercial agreements kicked off Stalin's first "five-year plan." American "Liberals" trained Stalin's engineers in our factories and universities. We even sent to Russia our best technical experts to guide construction and the development of industry. But what the Reds really needed was a vitally different kind of aid. They needed the prestige of legal stature. They needed diplomatic recognition by the United States.

The Kremlin now dispatched to Washington one Maxim Litvinov to convince President Roosevelt of Russia's intention to abstain from subversive activities in this country, and to promise "freedom of religion" in the nations enslaved by his masters—in exchange for American recognition.

The President, relying upon his Leftist

advisors, agreed to recognize the Communist regime. It seemed to make no difference to him, and to few others in positions of power, that as he did so Ukrainians intentionally starved to death by the Communists were being dumped into mass graves by the millions.

Litvinov only laughed and bragged: "Promises we make to the capitalistic world are not binding." For the sake of accuracy, perhaps he should have said: "No promises we make are ever binding." The Communists can't even trust each other. Four years after Roosevelt dignified this band of butchers with American recognition, Stalin sent a commission consisting of Molotov, Yezhev, and Khrushchev into the Ukraine. They are all has-beens now, replaced by a more "mellow" variety of murderer; but in that year, 1937, they were still on the way up. They were sent to Ukraine to liquidate the leadership of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the Ukrainian Parliament.

When the Plenum of the Ukraine Central Committee rejected Khrushchev, the N.K.V.D. butchered nearly the entire membership of the Ukrainian Government. Of the sixty members of the Central Committee, and forty candidates of the Communist Party, only three survived. The Communist Premier then killed his wife to prevent her from being raped or tortured and committed suicide. Thus was Nikita Khrushchev elevated to head the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine and to continue the terror.

The whole of the U.S.S.R. was now one vast slaughterhouse—a field of blood, an abattoir.

By the time plans for the Second World War were maturing, America's "Liberal" leadership had built an unbroken record of giving the Soviets everything they wanted. Not only had they written off the Communists' \$628 million debt, but they ignored Communist persecution of American civilians and diplomats stationed in Russia and even turned a blind eye toward the substantial Soviet subversive networks in the United States.

II

It was the invasion and division of Poland, resulting from the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which provided the springboard from which the Communists launched their attack against the sovereignty of the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

In 1920 peace treaties between Russia and the States of Estonia and Latvia had concluded a period of bitter fighting. The Red Army then withdrew under the echo of Lenin's pronouncement that "We do not want to shed the blood of workers and the Red Army for the sake of a piece of land, especially since this concession is not forever." Nineteen years later, his promise was fulfilled. Forced to sign "Mutual Assistance" pacts with the Soviets, the Baltic States were immediately subjected to an "exchange" of troops. A few months later, key subversives having been given sufficient time to pave the way for conquest, Soviet armored divisions were dispatched into Lithuania on the excuse of alleged border provocations. The same day, June 15, 1940, an incident on the Latvian border resulted in a Soviet ultimatum demanding the establishment in Latvia of a Government ready to ensure the "honest execution" of the Latvian-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance.

With twenty years of practice, the Kremlin had developed and refined its technique of aggression. The simultaneous advance on all three Baltic States was accomplished with no wasted motion, no noise, no single detail left to chance. The infamous "Serov Deportation Order No. 001223," worded with chilling precision, is in itself ample proof of the careful and inhuman calculation with which the Communist reign of terror was unleashed on the Baltic people that terrible night of

June 14, 1941. Entitled: "instructions regarding the manner of conducting the Deportation of the Anti-Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia," it reads in part as follows:

"On arrival in the villages, the operative groups shall get in touch with the local authorities; the chairman, secretary or members of the village soviets, and shall ascertain from them the exact dwelling place of the families to be deported. Operations shall be begun at daybreak. Upon entering the home of the person to be deported, the . . . group . . . shall assemble the entire family of the deportee into one room, taking all necessary precautionary measures against any possible trouble. After the member of the family have been checked in conformity with the list [N.B.] the location of those absent and the number of sick persons shall be ascertained . . . After the completion of the search, the deportees shall be notified that by a government decision [N.B.] they will be deported to other regions of the Union . . .

"In view of the fact that a large number of deportees must be arrested and distributed in special camps and that their families must proceed to special settlements in distant regions, it is essential that the operation of removal of both the members of the deportee's family and its head should be carried out simultaneously, without notifying them of the separation confronting them."

A refugee now living in America described to us the night ten thousand of his fellow Estonians disappeared forever from their homeland as a result of this single Communist order:

"They came to my father's house to find my brother. It was very early in the morning, not yet light, and my father had to light a lantern to go to the door. There were some Russian soldiers there, guided by a couple of Estonians who seemed to be familiar with the area, although they were not of that village. My brother had not lived in my father's house for eight years; but you see, his name had been on the list since that time. They finally found him, and he and his wife and eight children were all deported. We never heard from them again."

The absolute secrecy surrounding the deportation, and the shock with which news of it hit the Baltic people, was summed up for us by yet another refugee:

"Although I was just a young lad, I remember seeing people locked in a boxcar at the railway station, waiting to be deported to Siberia. They were crying for help, but soldiers were standing guard and no one could go near the train. The people inside were holding jugs and bottles out a small window near the top of the car, calling for water; but no one dared to help them."

"I remember the look on my mother's face. I knew something terrible was happening there, but it was the look on her face which scared me most. As long as I live I shall never forget it. When we got away from the station, she walked so fast I had to run to stay with her. My hand hurt, she held it so tight. She was crying."

One week after the first mass deportation in the Baltics, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. It is no exaggeration to say that news of the invasion was welcomed by the captive peoples with overwhelmingly joy. The brief Soviet occupation had quickly ameliorated the ancient animosity toward Germany, and the approaching troops appeared as liberators. The peoples of the captive nations looked at any chance of war as an opportunity to cast off the Red yoke.

Thousands of Balts who had fled their homes in the wake of the deportation took refuge in the forests. Partisan groups were forming under the command of military officers, and each day marked the swelling of their ranks. They raided and attacked Soviet

communication lines, army depots, and isolated units. They seized arms and annihilated Communist "Destruction Commandos," heirs to Stalin's "Scorched Earth" policy. Estonian volunteers from Finland parachuted into their homeland with arms and equipment. Partisans quickly recaptured control of large sections of southern Estonia, even before the arrival of German troops, and they were soon organized to fight on the front line against the Communists.

The Balts fought frantically to drive out the Soviets. To assume that their purpose was to advance the cause of Nazism is absurd. They fought for their homes, their wives and families, for their territorial integrity. There was little justice in the treatment accorded them when, having fled with the Germans at the end of the war, hoping to surrender to Western allies, they were screened out of D.P. camps by U.N.R.R.A. and I.R.O., outlawed in Germany, and precluded from emigrating overseas, and eventually delivered by Eisenhower to the Soviets for mass murder or tortures that would have made mere death merciful.

In the desperate panic surrounding the German collapse, and the imminent reentry of Soviet forces into the Baltic States, the Balts fled by the thousands into Western Europe. The retreating German soldiers—knowing what could be expected from the Russians—made room wherever possible. A woman refugee described for us her escape to the West:

"There was a light inside this one car, and I could hear talk. I knew somebody was inside, so I banged on the door and asked if I could get in too. A German soldier pulled back the door and told me that it was a car just for dogs, and he shut the door. But I banged again. This time he opened it and asked me how many there were. I told him two women and two children. He reached down and helped me in. Then he pushed some of the dogs out of the way and made room for us. We thanked God for it."

Another refugee told us of his flight in a German ambulance, where room had been made for him underneath the bottom cot. The wounded soldier lying above him led to death in the night, and in the morning the refugee crawled out to his mother who was huddled against the door of the careening vehicle, cradling her baby. The young refugee was covered with the dead man's blood.

But these were the lucky ones.

Imagine the thoughts of literally millions of such persons when they were advised by the Allies of their impending "repatriation." They had risked everything to get to the West—where America would receive them! "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free. . . ." They had believed and trusted.

"Operation Keelhaul," as it was called, was the final brutal kick for an already dying Eastern Europe. Refugees were rounded up by the Americans on orders from Dwight Eisenhower and returned to the Soviets for . . . disposal.

"I was standing there beside an American truck holding my baby," a beautiful Latvian woman recalled, "when they told us they are sending us home. It was like I was dead. Nothing in the world anyone could have done to us could have been worse than to send us home. This G.I. who drove the truck told me to come sit in front with him. He said not to worry, that I was not really going back. I did what he said. After we left the village he stopped the truck and told us all to get out and go. The Americans probably put him in jail for that." As she concluded, the memories flooded back and she wept uncontrollably.

Thousands hanged themselves, or cut their wrists, or threw themselves in front of tanks or trains rather than return to the Communist hell. In cities all over Europe, the ultimate protest against a return to Com-

munistism dangled from thousands of lamp-posts. Those who saw it will never forget. It was the end of the war in Europe.

III

At home there were parades, cheering, and returning heroes. The baby boom was on, and the housing shortage, and the New Look. It was a time to celebrate the victory. A time to rebuild and reshape the world so that "it can never happen again."

But, it was already happening again.

Lenin had long before predicted the West would "furnish credits, which will serve us as a means of supporting the Communist parties in their countries, and by supplying us with materials and techniques which are not available to us, will rebuild our war industry, which is essential for our future attacks on our suppliers. In other words, they will be laboring to prepare their own suicide." And labor we did.

Winston Churchill had asked Stalin, scribbling away the lives and liberties of millions of Eastern Europeans with a stubby pencil on a fold of scratch paper: "How would it do for you to have 90-percent predominance in Rumania, for us to have 90-percent in Greece, and about 50-50 in Yugoslavia?" And the deal was made, as a smiling paralytic from America sat paring his fingernails with the best control he could muster and nodding agreeably, grinning as his advisor, Alger Hiss, turned to whisper in his ear.

For all the talk of victory, the parades, the cheering, the welcome home, for all of that, the only winner was Russia. With the exception of Greece and Turkey, the entire population of Eastern Europe was turned over to the Communists to have and to hold, to rape and to torture, to liquidate and deport from that day forth.

It was easy enough for the English and Americans to affix their countries' approval to the Declaration of Liberated Europe, promising restoration of "sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them by aggressor nations." They could, after all, simply go home and forget about it. But Stalin was right there, and he knew by now that no one would stop him.

The ink was scarcely dry when Andrei Vishinsky, the Communist butcher who had "liberated" Latvia, deployed Soviet tanks and troops in Bucharest and pounded on the desk of young King Michael of Romania demanding the resignation of General Radescu and the formation of a Communist Government. Stalin had of course promised that he had "no intention of establishing Communist regimes in the countries of Eastern Europe," that he wanted only "stable governments with which it would be possible to reach an understanding." This was hardly the kind of Government Stalin ordered Vishinsky to establish in Romania. And he got what he wanted. By deceit, by terror, by ultimatum, by murder, and by the acquiescence of America, he got it.

Bulgaria suffered a parallel fate. On the very day she severed diplomatic relations with Hitler, Moscow invaded. By September 9, 1944, a detachment of the Communist-controlled Military League invaded the chambers of the Bulgarian capitol and arrested all members of the Government.

A new Coalition Government was formed immediately, one in which Moscow felt it could "place its trust." The Communists, of course, held the strategic Departments of Justice and the Interior and, within six months, Soviet "people's courts" had convicted and executed more than 10,000 Bulgarian anti-Communists. This liquidation ensured Bulgaria's absorption into the Soviet Empire on June 5, 1947.

It was on that day that Nicola Petkev, a "Liberal" but loyal Bulgarian, took the floor of the National Assembly knowing that the

building was surrounded by three hundred members of the Communist secret police. He arose, he said, "not to defend myself against the charge of treason, but to reaffirm—for the last time—my own unshakable belief in freedom and democracy; and finally to accuse the Communist Government of suppressing freedom and liberty in Bulgaria on behalf of an alien power."

The tension finally resolved in the explosion of Dimitrov, the Communist Premier, who screamed from his seat:

Go on! Speak up, speak up, this is your last opportunity. Speak up, speak now, because you are in my hands and you shall not get away. Let's see how your friends, the Americans, and the English, come to your rescue. You won't save yourself and they won't be able to save you. They will send you to the gallows.

The Communists sentenced Petkov to death by hanging and the sentence was carried out on September 23, 1947, shortly after midnight. To the end, he refused to humiliate himself and his country, disdaining the opportunity to sign a petition for clemency.

Our own planners were already so busy redesigning America that they didn't have time to be concerned for the millions of Bulgaria and Romania. Our theoreticians, you see, were too involved in their statistics and bar graphs to recognize the ciphers as living beings, people like themselves, who wanted to live safe and peaceful lives, own their own homes, read the paper, and visit the theater once in a while. Maybe, if they thought about it, they decided a bullet felt different in the base of the skull of a Romanian or a Bulgarian than it would in their own. And so America, the strongest nation on the face of the earth—in sole possession of the atomic bomb—only stood and watched.

IV

After the subversion of the Kerensky Government, the Communists had controlled a land area no larger than France. Now—with consistent American support and acquiescence in their perfidy—they had gained control of all northern Asia and half the countries of Europe, with agents, agitprops, and armed forces sweeping the area like hungry locusts. They had made no secret of their plans to enslave the world, nor of the strategy they intended to use.

The Communist capture of Yugoslavia, for example, was a textbook operation. Resistance forces had formed in the mountains of Serbia and Croatia in the wake of the too rapid German advance. The Chetniks, under the able command of the great Colonel Draja Mihailovich, were decidedly anti-Soviet and pro-Western; the Partisans, under Moscow-trained Josp Broz Tito, were the unwitting tools of the Communists. At times these two factions fought together against the common enemy; but, as German strength declined, Communist agent Tito turned the full force of his propaganda and military might against the anti-Communist Mihailovich.

American aid, originally aimed at Colonel Mihailovich, was redirected to Communist Tito. The Yugoslav Government in exile, under the inexperienced King Peter, was too ineffective to be able to support Mihailovich, whom it had appointed Minister of War in 1942. Tito's orders from his Communist superiors called for the formation of a Provisional Government with the support of the "people's committees" which he had already formed. He was to crush the legitimate Government and create a Communist State.

The United States reacted by seeking to make bedfellows of the violently opposed Mihailovich and Tito; and, when this failed, stood mute as the Communist Provisional Government emasculated the legal Government for the 1945 elections, announced the establishment of a republic with a new con-

stitution drawn up on the Soviet pattern, and finally tried, condemned, and executed the gallant Colonel Mihailovich.

Soviets tactics in Hungary followed the same basic pattern that had been used in subduing Romania and Bulgaria. While Germany still held Budapest, the Soviets mustered former members of opposition Parties into a Provisional National Assembly and formed a new Provisional Government. This accomplished, the new Government signed an armistice, promising to continue the war on the side of the Allies for the duration. The immediate move of the advancing Soviets to disarm the Hungarian Army in view of this agreement exposed the Communist design even at that early stage. But America did nothing.

Following the capitulation of Germany, the Hungarian people demanded a free election, and the Soviets were forced to agree, although with certain stipulations which they hoped to be able to use to their advantage. When the voters gave a sixty percent majority to the non-Communist Smallholders Party, Commissar Voroshilov, Moscow's man in Budapest, was outraged. Claiming that the "Allied Control Commission would demand a 'coalition' government," he got it and proceeded to direct the intensification of the usual Soviet terror to achieve, "cooperation" among the elements of the resultant political patchwork.

America did not respond to Soviet terror with so much as a protest.

One young Hungarian, who escaped his native country in a hijacked airliner, described the takeover:

"We had the foolish notion that a government of our own choosing, if given enough power, could create Utopia . . . When absolute economic and political power was concentrated in the central government, the Communist Party simply took control.

"The propaganda campaign which destroyed the old social order, the political and economic actions which transferred all power to a well-meaning socialist government, was the first stage of that Communist takeover. When the Communists openly took the reins of power, they began the second stage: execution, terror, concentration camps, atrocities—to eliminate the dupes who had boosted them to power and to erase all opposition to their regime."

Imagine the chagrin of this young man as he watches the same pattern emerge on the American scene, as he sees his life and liberty threatened once again by the same forces that conquered his homeland. Imagine his frustration as he waited in vain for America to come to the aid of his brothers as they fought so desperately to free themselves from Communist control in 1956. Imagine the mixed feelings with which he must now regard his adopted land.

The case of Czecho-Slovakia is equally dismal.

Concerned about an occupation of his country, the President of the Czecho-Slovakian Government in Exile met with Stalin at Moscow. Assured there that it was the Russian intention to work for the restoration of Czecho-Slovakian independence, Eduard Benes put his signature to another of those treaties of "Mutual Friendship, Mutual Aid and Postwar Cooperation." This proved to be no more binding on the Communists than the similar treaties with the Baltic States.

Moscow soon tried to bite sub-Carpathian Ruthenia out of Czecho-Slovakian and annex it. When Benes returned to Moscow to discuss the dispute, he was told to call immediate elections or face extreme action. A Czech Communist leader named Klement Gottwald declared at this Moscow conference that the "foreign policy of Czecho-Slovakia must be adjusted without reservation to a policy of complete cooperation with the Soviet Union." That was The Plan.

In the subsequent election an intensive

terror campaign produced the intended results. Thus enabled to form the new Government, the Reds reserved to themselves the key Departments of Justice and Interior, systematically removing experienced police officials and replacing them with disciplined Communists. With Communist pressure mounting, the remaining non-Communist officials of the Czecho-Slovakian Government finally resigned. On February 25, 1948, the blackest day in all Czecho-Slovakian history, President Benes accepted the mass resignations and approved a new Government composed entirely of Communists and fellow travelers. The Communists then destroyed the remnants of the opposition Parties, suppressed their newspapers, and arrested those leaders who had not managed to flee.

Gottwald, the new Prime Minister, had warned twenty years before of what was to come:

You are saying that we are under Moscow's command and that we go there to learn. Yes, our highest revolutionary staff is in Moscow and we do go there to learn. And do you know what? We go to Moscow to learn from the Russian Bolsheviks how to break your necks, you patriots.

Klement Gottwald and his cohorts had learned well. The prisons, concentration camps, and graveyards of Czecho-Slovakia are full of "Liberals" who thought they could deal reasonably with such men.

Poland's fate at the hands of the Communists was equally terrible.

A note from Molotov, handed to the Polish Ambassador in Moscow on September 17, 1939, contained the Communists' strained justification for the Soviet assault on the Poles. The Polish government had "disintegrated," it claimed, and therefore all agreements between Russia and Poland had ceased to be effective. The note explained that because "Poland has become a suitable field for all manner of hazards and surprises, which may constitute a threat to the U.S.S.R. . . . the Soviet government has directed the High Command of the Red Army to . . . take under their protection [sic] the life and property of the population of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia . . . [and] to extricate the Polish people from the unfortunate war into which they have been dragged by their unwise leaders, and to enable them to live a peaceful life."

The perfidy of the Red giant's interest in the life and property of the Polish people was only too well demonstrated by the uncovering near Smolensk in April 1943 of the mass graves of some eight thousand Polish officers. The Katyn Forest Massacre proved only too well the extent to which the Soviets would go to achieve their goals. With this single act, they had so successfully emasculated Poland and destroyed its ability to defend itself that, even without the subsequent political conniving, Poland's fate was sealed on that day.

Nor was this the only incident of Communist willingness deliberately to violate the life and liberty of the people they had so condescendingly promised to protect. A wave of Communist terror was unleashed not only against the government, the military, and other strategic elements of the Polish society, but against the total population. A Polish refugee, the grief of those tragic years hauntingly carved in her still beautiful features, recalled for us her impressions of that time:

"I remember the silence. A silence was frightening. No one dared speak. We passed each other in the streets and didn't dare say hello. We never knew who was watching, checking, or when we would be arrested in the night—it was always late at night—and taken away.

"Once in our city, they marched some people to the railroad station. They had done nothing. It was winter and very cold.

Not everyone had clothing for that cold winter. Some were children, and some of them were even barefooted. The looks on their faces were like death. You know how a dead man looks? I have seen many dead men. These people looked like that. Their faces frozen and knotted and white. I don't know how far they had to march that way, but they were exhausted and some stumbled and fell.

"One mother was trying to help her child who was so cold and weak. When the child finally stumbled and fell in the snow, she went down on her knees beside it, crying, trying to lift and carry it; a Red soldier kicked her in the back and knocked her on the ground over the child. I had to stand there and watch that. I had to stand there and let that happen before my eyes, and know there was nothing I could do, nothing except die myself, and that would not have helped. . . . You ask me what it was like under the Communists? I tell you it was like that!"

These people, the ones who marched and died, the ones who helplessly watched and waited till they could escape, all were pawns in this death-dealing game that trapped its victims with promises of Utopia, World Peace, Equality, and the like—while America sat idle or acquiesced. World War II began when Hitler and Stalin divided Poland. In the end, we fought a war leaving all of Poland in Stalin's bloody hands.

The story of Eisenhower's bungled entry into Berlin, of his orders to General Patton to restrain his American troops so that Russia could occupy a major part of Germany, of Morgenthau's plan to convert that industrial mammoth into a great pasture incapable of blocking Russia's march to the Atlantic—all this is common knowledge now. But pity the American who tried to point out the idiocy of that policy as it was being executed.

The propaganda had paid off. In the public eye the Soviets had been converted from brutal beasts allied with the Nazis to noble humanitarians; Uncle Joe became that elfish fellow with the snappy twinkle in his eye. And, by the time that image had faded in accordance with Moscow's directives to "de-Stalinize," Americans had forgotten anyway. They were infatuated with a new image, that of a balding little fat grandfather, a fellow named Nikita Khrushchev—the butcher of Hungary and the Ukraine. He came to America in 1959 and visited "our" leader at his Gettysburg retreat. He waved to the TV cameras and talked corn with an Iowa farmer. And, while he was here he issued orders to execute fifty Hungarians who had reached the age of eighteen, boys who had risen in revolt against the Communists three years before.

The Soviets had cranked down the iron curtain over Eastern Europe, a wall oiled and greased by \$11 billion worth of American supplies and equipment and training. Aid that had been flowing in a continuous tide since six months before Pearl Harbor.

You want to know about how America saved the Communists? Ask the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, Poles. Ask the families of the 25 million people the Communists butchered in China, or those of the 10 million they systematically starved to death in the Ukraine. Find someone—anyone—who's been there, and ask about the "mellowing" Communists.

They can tell you about "promises" or "peace" or "cooperation" with the Communists. They can tell you because their loved ones have been crushed by them, their homelands brutalized by them, their churches burned by them, their bodies scarred by them.

And they can tell you something else, if you will let them.

Ask, and they will tell you that America is repeating their mistakes. Ask, and they

will tell you that it is now happening here. Ask, and they will tell you that unless we awaken and stop it—America is next.

EEC OFFER DOES NOT GO FAR ENOUGH

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, it was reported over the weekend that the European Common Market is going to offer later this week a proposal to lower its tariff on American citrus imports.

On its face, the offer would appear to be the breakthrough we have long sought to the discrimination against U.S. citrus imports due to preferential trade agreements with several Mediterranean countries. This, however, is not the case.

The preferential agreements with Morocco and Tunisia allow them an 80 percent reduction in the tariff paid on citrus products entering the Common Market countries and the agreements with Israel and Spain allow them a 40 percent reduction.

Thus, the reduction of the tariff on U.S. citrus from 15 to 8 percent will result accordingly in a tariff reduction to 2 percent for citrus from Morocco and Tunisia and 5 percent for Spain and Israel. Thus, the same degree of discrimination will be present. Moreover, the proposed offer does not apply during the months of April and May when U.S. citrus enters the EEC in direct competition with citrus from the Mediterranean countries.

The offer is not responsive to the U.S. request. I have just returned from Brussels where I met with EEC officials to discuss the need to give equal treatment to U.S. citrus products. It is our position that these agreements violate the most favored nation clause contained in article 1 of the general agreement on tariffs and trade; and that the United States should, therefore, be required to pay the same tariff as the Mediterranean countries.

Need for adherence to the MFN principle is especially important to the State of Florida. Although Florida does not export a great deal of fresh citrus, these preferential agreements have a serious adverse import, because they have stimulated increased production by these countries and the development of the capability to process orange products. The EEC is the largest single foreign market for Florida concentrate. The creation of an industry to process concentrate in those countries with preferential agreements will pose serious problems to Florida as the citrus industry in Florida is secondary to tourism as a source of revenue.

To date, the trade preferences have caused a loss to the United States of \$4.7 million—a 32 percent decline. Hopefully, the EEC will recognize the seriousness of this situation and make an offer which will end this discrimination.

SHOULD WE SAVE LOCKHEED?

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor of June 1, 1971, carried an excellent editorial relative to the proposal to aid Lockheed Aircraft. The Monitor's View is certainly well worth the consideration of us all, and I am pleased to include this editorial herewith in the RECORD:

SHOULD WE SAVE LOCKHEED?

The more we think about the administration's proposal to bail out Lockheed Aircraft the more unhappy we become.

We have no objection to government being concerned with the unemployment problem which could follow from a total Lockheed collapse. And we would not object to the government stepping in to sustain Lockheed's important defense contracts. This could be done either by the government taking over the assembly lines in question or turning them over to different (and one would hope more efficient) management.

But we are bothered over the precedent of the government underwriting a private commercial venture. There appears to be no precedent in U.S. history for this kind of help to a single company for a single purpose, and of such magnitude.

In this case the proposal is for a loan of \$250 million for the exclusive purpose of making it possible for Lockheed to go ahead with the production of a commercial airliner which is in competition with similar planes which are or soon will be in production by Lockheed's competitors.

It cannot be claimed in this case, as it could be in the case of the SST, that the Lockheed L-1011 TriStar is a unique project which must be completed to keep the United States in the forefront of aerial progress. The TriStar is in competition with both Boeing and with McDonnell-Douglas projects of comparable nature.

Nor can it be contended, as was also in the case of the SST, that it must be kept in being a pool of technicians capable of doing this advanced kind of technical work. Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas are keeping all the technicians needed in full employment.

What we are really talking about is whether use of taxpayer money is justified for the purpose of keeping three companies in the airframe business when the other two are capable of filling all the orders in sight for planes of this size—and more.

If we were to allow the law of supply and demand to operate in the airframe market, Lockheed would now disappear as a maker of airframes. The market does not need Lockheed.

The only excuse for keeping Lockheed going is the jobs involved for workers and the value of shares to stockholders.

If the Congress approves, so be it. But let it be remembered in approaching this decision that it will provide a precedent for setting aside the law of supply and demand. True, it will not be the first step taken away from a competitive enterprise economy. That first step was taken long, long ago, with the first protective tariff. The United States has ever since had a "protected enterprise" economy, not a "free enterprise" system.

But to bail out Lockheed will be a much further step and one with the most dangerous implications to the competitive enterprise system. If the weakest of the three airframe companies is to be saved by a government loan what is left of the incentive to efficiency and good management?

American industry is already vulnerable to more efficient foreign competition. In many an area foreign goods can jump the American tariff wall not because of alleged lower wages but because they are in fact more efficiently run.

If President Nixon wants to keep American industry efficient he should not offer it the spectacle of a reward to Lockheed for being inefficient.

FIFTEEN YEARS IN IOWA CITY

HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, this year, Procter & Gamble is celebrating its 15th anniversary in Iowa City. During the past 15 years, the changes that have taken place in P. & G.'s operations at that fine locality have mirrored the great progress made by the entire Iowa City community.

Prior to building in Iowa City, P. & G.'s site selection research had revealed the community's many attributes. These assets ranged from direct business-related features such as ample transportation, utilities and services, to the community's good living aspects—excellent schools and medical facilities, and a wide range of recreational and cultural opportunities.

But the one ingredient in the Iowa City mix which stood out was expressed to P. & G. in these words:

You'll find hard working, interested, and flexible people to run your plant.

P. & G.'s comment today is we did, and we are delighted to say that this statement is as true in 1971 as it was in 1956.

P. & G. has grown with Iowa City in the intervening years. Plant employment has more than doubled with a 1971 enrollment of over 350 men and women. The annual payroll now exceeds \$3 million. Manufacturing facilities have grown, too, with the addition of major production operations for two new national brands—Head & Shoulders shampoo and Scope oral antiseptic products.

In 1962 and 1968, the plant was expanded to the point where it now encloses 10 acres of floor space under one roof. This Iowa City location ships its dentifrices, shampoos, home permanents, and oral antiseptics to Chicago and all areas west of the Mississippi River. Two products—Head & Shoulders and Lilt—are shipped nationwide from Iowa City. The plant also serves as a distribution point for other P. & G. toilet goods made in Cincinnati.

Procter & Gamble obviously came to Iowa City to stay. Since 1956, P. & G. has carried out its responsibility as a local citizen by participating in community affairs designed to maintain Iowa City's progressive edge. F. J. Newman, Iowa City plant manager, expresses the company's philosophy in this manner:

We believe it is important to contribute financial assistance in many instances, but we think the involvement of many of our employees in such activities as Hospital Boards and the United Fund is just as important.

I believe Procter & Gamble and the community have a good two-way relationship. Procter & Gamble can look back over the progress-filled years since 1956 with a sense of pride in its selection of Iowa City as a plant site. As the first national manufacturer to build a major plant in Iowa City, P. & G. was a very significant factor in the growth and progress of the entire community.

SAY GOODBYE TO NBC CREDIBILITY?

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, the protection of our environment, including wild animals in their natural state, has become a prime concern to many Members of Congress, including myself. The various forms of media communication can accomplish much by providing the public with valuable educational information.

At the same time, however, we must expect accuracy and objectivity. Misinformation can distort the overall perspective and result in great harm. When such occurs it should be publicly corrected. Specifically, I refer to charges that an NBC production, entitled "Say Goodbye"—aired last January through the sponsorship of the Quaker Oats Co.—apparently contained a misleading and contrived sequence of events.

For the sake of objectivity, I insert into the RECORD today, an editorial from the May-June issue of New Mexico Wildlife as well as an exchange of letters between Quaker Oats Co. and Mr. Charles Kenneth Campbell, a personal friend of mine from Houston. To date, Mr. Campbell has not received a direct and satisfactory answer from Quaker Oats Co. I believe that the company's unwillingness to do so throws great doubt upon the objectivity of the program, "Say Goodbye." Campbell, the Congress, and the American public deserve a straight answer. The material follows:

SAY GOODBYE

The New Mexico Department of Game and Fish has joined wildlife agencies across the nation in voicing serious concern over segments of a T.V. production on NBC, "Say Goodbye", sponsored by the Quaker Oats Company.

The production, aired in January, has come under fire from the International Association of Game, Fish and Conservation Commissioners consisting of wildlife organizations throughout the 50 states, five Canadian provinces and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Ladd S. Gordon, Director of the N.M. Department and a member of the Executive Committee for the Association joined in criticism of the film which depicts the death of a female polar bear with two cubs after she was allegedly shot from a helicopter by a big game hunter. Both shooting a female polar bear and hunting from an aircraft are illegal under Alaska Fish and Game laws.

The Alaska Department of Fish and Game issued a statement saying the portions of the

film showing the polar bear were taken by an employee of the Alaska Department of a tranquilized female polar bear during a tagging operation. It was also pointed out that helicopters were not used either to illegally chase or to herd polar bear.

The Association's president, Chester F. Phelps, has written Julian Goodman, president of NBC, to express concern over the misrepresentation in the film. In a letter to Goodman, Phelps said, "I am advised by officials of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, U.S. Department of the Interior, and by officials of the Alaska Game Department that the female bear was, in fact, succumbing to tranquilizing drugs administered by biologists employed by the State of Alaska and engaged in a scientific and humane project designed to improve knowledge of polar bears. I am advised that the female bear later rejoined her cubs which were not harmed."

Phelps urged that NBC make a full investigation of the program and requested a report of the findings. He also advised Goodman that "through the exposure provided by your network and affiliates, the public has been misled about this matter, and I submit that the National Broadcasting Company has a duty to correct this false impression."

Gordon summed up the Department's position by saying "We deplore false reporting and hope that NBC and Quaker Oats, the sponsor of the film, take a serious look at the implications involved in contrived films."

APRIL 2, 1971.

Mr. R. D. STUART, Jr.,
President, Quaker Oats,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. STUART: Recently you shocked myself and my family by sponsoring an inaccurate and apparently deliberately misleading television show called "Say Goodbye".

I have hunted various animals all over North America, including the polar bear, and I am curious to know the name of the country and state where the sow bear with cubs was killed. Alaska was suggested. I also would appreciate having the name and address of the outfitter, the helicopter pilot, the camera man and the hunter who committed the unsportsmanlike and illegal act of killing a sow bear with cubs. I desire to write each of them to express my low opinion of them. Of course, if the shots were faked, (as with a tranquilizer gun) then I would appreciate knowing that, so that I may let you know of my low opinion of you and your company, as the sponsor of an untruth.

My family has "Said Good-bye" to Quaker Oats pending your personal reply to this letter.

I will understand if I do not hear from you, since 30,000,000 people purchased hunting licenses in the United States during 1970, and I am sure you cannot answer all of them personally.

Sincerely,

CHARLES K. CAMPBELL.

QUAKER OATS CO.,
April 13, 1971.

Mr. CHARLES K. CAMPBELL,
Houston, Tex.

DEAR MR. CAMPBELL: Thank you for your recent letter about the television special, "Say Goodbye."

Let me begin by pointing out that we, too, are concerned about the authenticity of programs which we sponsor. Perhaps the following background will help to explain our position.

First, in an attempt to improve the quality of television programming, we have sponsored several outstanding specials in recent years. These have included "The World of The Beaver," "Voyage to the Enchanted

Isles" (about the Galapagos Islands), "The Lions are Free," "Arctic Odyssey," and "They've Killed President Lincoln!" We believe that the American public benefits from programs of this type and we are proud to have sponsored them.

In this same context we felt it would be timely and appropriate to sponsor a special which would encourage concern about ecology. "Say Goodbye" seemed to meet these needs by pointing out in a powerful way the effects of industrial pollution, pesticides, overcrowding and man's abuse of the environment. Much more time in the film was spent on industrial pollution than on any other effect of man on the environment. "Say Goodbye" was produced by David Wolper Productions, one of the most widely acclaimed makers of television documentaries in the world. Further, technical advisory work on the film was done for the producer by the Curator of Birds and Mammals at the Los Angeles Museum of Natural History as a representative of the World Wildlife Fund—a group which receives wide support from many noted hunters and conservationists. Because of the outstanding reputation and credentials of the producer and his consultants, the authenticity of the film seemed to be something in which we could have confidence.

Since "Say Goodbye" appeared on television there have been charges, as you know, that the polar bear scene in the film was edited by the producers to create a contrived picture. If this was the case, we had no prior knowledge of it and no responsibility for it. We sincerely regret any misconceptions that may have been created by the producer's decision to use the footage involved.

We hope that this will reassure you of our good intentions in encouraging concern about the environment by sponsoring "Say Goodbye."

Sincerely,

WILLIAM R. DONALDSON,
Manager—Communications Programs.

APRIL 28, 1971.

Mr. R. D. STUART, Jr.,
President, Quaker Oats,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. STUART: On April 2, 1971, I wrote you a short letter expressing my concern about the television show sponsored by your company called "Say Goodbye." I have received a reply to my letter from William R. Donaldson—Manager Communications Programs.

In my letter, I requested seven specific items of information, and Mr. Donaldson's reply did not contain any of this information. I refer you back to my letter of April 2, 1971.

Mr. Donaldson's letter went to great lengths to tell how concerned the Quaker Oats Company was in getting the film authentic, but then in his fourth paragraph, he was unable to say whether the Polar Bear scene was faked or not. He also denies having any responsibility for it.

Let's level with each other. Quaker Oats is run by mature level-headed business men, who do not spend stock holders money on Television Specials without knowing exactly what is being bought.

I agree with Mr. Donaldson, it is appropriate to be concerned about ecology. I am. Please, however, do not send me and my family any more lies over the Television Networks.

I am assuming, that the Polar Bear kill scene was contrived, since I have not received your reply and Mr. Donaldson's letter managed to skip delicately around the issue.

I will be with Bill Archer, my congressman, on Friday May 7, 1971, and one of the things I have to discuss with him on that occasion is the integrity of television programming, and I will be using your "Say Goodbye" as my prime example of deliberately misleading propaganda.

I would still appreciate having the following information about the Polar Bear:

1. Country in which the Polar Bear was shot.
2. State in which the Polar Bear was shot.
3. Name and Address of the outfitter.
4. Name and Address of the helicopter pilot.
5. Name and Address of the camera man.
6. Name and Address of the Hunter.
7. Your answer as to whether or not the picture was faked.

Pending your reply, I retain my opinion of your Company as the peddler of an untruth.

Sincerely,

CHARLES K. CAMPBELL.

CHARLES KENNETH CAMPBELL,
ARCHITECT,
May 11, 1971.

Mr. R. D. STUART, Jr.,
President, Quaker Oats,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. STUART: On April 2, 1971 I wrote you a letter concerning a television program which you sponsored named "Say Goodbye". I then received a reply from William R. Donaldson who signed his name over the title of "Manager-Communications Programs." I then wrote you another letter dated April 28, 1971.

In both letters, I asked for the facts about the Polar Bear sow kill shown on your program. On Wednesday night May 5, 1971 I had the good fortune to spend about four hours with Frank Cook the Chairman of the Board of Fish and Game for the State of Alaska. Since you had been unable to answer my questions about the Polar Bear, I posed my same seven questions to Frank. He told me that "Say Goodbye" had used film taken by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game of a female Polar Bear being tranquilized during a tagging operation. This fact suggests strongly to me that the scene was contrived, and I believe since it was contrived, shaped, misleading and untrue, that your company sent a deliberate lie over the public airwaves via television.

Mr. Donaldson expressed great concern about authenticity of programs which Quaker Oats sponsors. He then in the fifth paragraph indicates he does not know whether the scene was contrived or not. Perhaps you can pass this letter on to him, and maybe he can contact Frank Cook and determine whether or not, to his own satisfaction, the film was contrived.

On Thursday night May 6, 1971 I had dinner with Bill Archer, my Congressman, and during our general discussion of authenticity and integrity in television, I showed him copies of our correspondence about your show "Say Goodbye." Bill read through it, and then asked if he might put it in the Congressional Record. I of course gave my assent, since I believe even small voices, such as mine, can sometimes be heard, and I felt that certainly you would want your reply recorded. I will forward a copy for your file as soon as I receive it.

Last night I read in "New Mexico Wildlife," the official publication of the New Mexico Game and Fish Department, where that department had joined Wildlife Agencies all over North America in deploring the lie called "Say Goodbye." I am enclosing a copy of their statement so that you and Mr. Donaldson will be better informed on whether the Polar Bear scene was, or was not, faked.

I feel that you would like to forget and say goodbye to "Say Goodbye," but I believe there will be a sustained reaction by the public to blatant lies such as yours. Perhaps your company will take a very close look in the future before sponsoring a deliberate untruth on television. My hope is that other sponsors of programs will see your example and carefully verify the facts before attempting to sway public opinion via the publicly licensed airwaves.

I personally intend to keep posted on "Say Goodbye," to see how you explain away, or justify this lie. I am interested in knowing whether you admit it, deny it, or ignore it.

Pending your reply, Quaker Oats equals "Contrived Lies" in my opinion.

Sincerely,

CHARLES K. CAMPBELL.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES AWAIT

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, June is traditionally the month for high school graduation exercises, and in a few days, young American high school graduates all over the United States will set off on a new voyage. These commencement exercises will touch all of us—teachers in the classrooms, parents in the home, politicians in the legislatures, and especially the students in whose eyes a new world opens and in whose grasps a new opportunity awaits to be seized.

The United States has always had a nearly universal system of public education; a system which has functioned properly and which has contributed significantly to the building of America. Today, however, long hikes to one-room wooden schoolhouses and black-topped slates for readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic have given way to space-age techniques, computers and advanced instruction in new math, English, and the sciences. Because of technological advances in communications, today's student is more aware of the world around him than any other generation before him.

High school graduates, this week, are participating in commencement exercises which signify the beginning of new and greater responsibilities to themselves and to others. Their efforts will be limited only by the intensity of their concern and the spirit with which they want to serve others responsibly.

While many find faults with today's youth, from personal experience, I say that, while there are those who seek to undermine and destroy America, the vast majority of our graduates are dedicated young Americans who will do all they can to idealize a better America and to uphold those traditions and principles which generations before them have defended and hold so dear.

Once, Mr. Speaker, we, too, were young and had dreams of making the world all over again. This, I believe, is a characteristic of all young Americans, for America is the land of opportunity and she rears a pioneering people. With the stimulation of youth and the experience of our elders, we have discovered through the years that together greater hope can be offered to all mankind.

As each graduate sets out—some to further their education, others to work, and still others to serve their country—he has a common bond to his classmates, for each will be exploring new paths with an enlarged sense of responsibility and understanding. As a result, as we turn over the reins of government and busi-

ness to these graduates, I am confident that America will remain strong and prosperous, protected as well as protector for the idealism of our past has become today's reality, for as the prophet has spoken:

Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions.

REA CO-OPS EFFECTIVELY SUPPORT
CONSUMER LEGISLATION

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1971

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, there are no rural electric cooperatives in the Third Congressional District of Missouri, and it is rare for me to hear from any of my constituents about the REA, except occasionally from investors in private utilities who object to aspects of the REA program, or from a few residents of the St. Louis area who own property in rural areas and who write to me in support of the local cooperative.

Nevertheless, as a Representative of an urban area, I am very much aware of the important contributions to the industrial and economic growth of this Nation brought about by the extension of electric power to farms and rural areas throughout the country during the past 35 years under the Rural Electrification Administration. Like many of the bitterly fought issues of the New Deal under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the REA has more than justified the effort which went into its creation and development.

I have been particularly impressed by the vigor with which the rural electric cooperative movement has supported legislation in behalf of all of the consumers of the United States, through local, State, and national organizations with which the co-ops and their members have been associated. I remember 6 years ago going to the convention of the National Rural Electric Cooperatives Association in Miami Beach, Fla., to talk to a great crowd of enthusiastic women about the many consumer issues pending in Congress and subsequently receiving their wholehearted support and very active assistance in the advancement of those causes.

That meeting was arranged by Mrs. Irma Angevine, then on the staff of the NRECA, as women's activities coordinator, who subsequently accompanied former Congressman Clyde T. Ellis, longtime general manager of NRECA, in testifying before my Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency in strong support of the legislation which became the Consumer Credit Protection Act of 1968.

STRONG SUPPORT FOR CONSUMER CREDIT
PROTECTION ACT

Mr. Ellis was kind enough to say in his testimony in 1967 that much of the NRECA's active interest in truth in lending and in similar consumer legislation stemmed from the speech I had made to the organization in 1965, when the wom-

en members had accepted my challenge to work in behalf of consumer legislation on a bipartisan basis.

Not only did the national organization endorse the truth-in-lending bill and other provisions of the consumer credit protection bill of which it was a part, but thousands of members of electric cooperatives wrote to their own Members of Congress urging passage of a strong comprehensive consumer measure rather than the limited truth-in-lending bill which had been passed by the Senate. The NRECA, I might add, vigorously supported the controversial inclusion of agricultural credit under the Truth in Lending Act.

Women members of REA co-ops are now working for a greater voice for women within the movement, and are actively seeking election to boards of directors of co-ops and greater participation also in community organizations and local government. The NRECA officially endorsed an expansion of women's participation in affairs of the organization and its affiliates at its most recent convention in Dallas, and this can have only one result and that is in an improvement in the quality of rural life and in the promotion of civic and community betterment.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I want to join with our colleagues, who have been discussing here today the importance of the rural electric cooperatives to the rural areas, in this tribute to the REA program, and to say that as an urban Congresswoman I am happy to salute the pioneers and leaders of this movement. I know we can count on the rural electric cooperative members to continue to work for further improvements in our consumer laws, not only nationally but in the States, too, and I am proud that a speech of mine to this organization in January of 1965 helped to bring about a dedicated interest among the co-op members in the advancement of consumer political issues.

A BILL TO REMOVE THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION'S JURISDICTION OVER DRIVER REGULATIONS FOR FARM VEHICLES AND CUSTOM COMBINES

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation which calls for the removal of the Department of Transportation's jurisdiction over driver regulations for farm vehicles and custom combines. This bill would, in effect, negate proposed regulations to require all drivers of farm trucks, including pickups, to be at least 18 years old and successfully complete physical and written tests.

Along with all Members of Congress who represent rural interests, I have received a heavy volume of mail from my constituents protesting this regulation. Contracts with the Department have not, as yet, been satisfactory. Although I real-

ize that negotiations have been held between the Department officials and farm groups in an effort to lessen the effects of these regulations, it is not a matter for the Federal Government to be involved with in any event.

Along with other Members of Congress, I just received notification from the Department that the regulations announced earlier are being revised as result of these negotiations. This is a step in the right direction, but this is clearly an area of State responsibility.

These regulations infringe on the prerogatives of the various States in exercising the police power to fit the needs of their particular citizens and economies. It is pretty obvious that bureaucratic logic drawn up in Washington does not meet the needs of family farmers and custom cutters in the rural areas.

Farm truckdrivers have an excellent safety record. Their trips are short, thus they seldom suffer from long hours of driving. In most cases, the loads they are hauling are their own, and extra care is taken.

The proposed regulations including driver age limitations, truck weights, physical examinations, written tests, and recordkeeping requirements obviously were drafted for commercial, long-haul professional drivers. If permitted to stand, they would seriously disrupt the family operation of farming. On farms the whole family works, and that includes driving trucks.

Perhaps the most serious restriction involved in these revised regulations is the requirement that farm truckdrivers be 18 years of age. Most States license drivers at age 16, not 18. It makes no sense that these young people can drive high-powered automobiles for pleasure but cannot drive the family farm pickup to haul produce to the nearest market.

Farmers in Kansas are just now beginning the annual wheat harvest. The date of implementation of the proposed regulations has been postponed, partly because of the difficulties expected to be encountered if farm youths were not allowed to help in getting the wheat cut and to the grain elevators. This situation and the need for these young family workers will not change in the fall during the feed grain harvest or by next year. Therefore, I urge prompt and favorable consideration of this legislation by the Congress.

WILL OUR CHILDREN BE EXEMPT
FROM SAFETY?

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, a nation is only as viable as its government's will to enforce laws which protect its citizens from danger to their rights and persons. If a government refrains from playing such a role, for whatever reasons, it gradually forfeits the faith of the majority of its citizens. Such a situation seems to be prevailing in our country today.

America's marketplace, where we all shop, has become as polluted in its own way as the air we breathe and water we use. More than a few major corporations have seen fit to abuse consumers through production, sales, and service policies which pay havoc with their purses and personal safety. No group of Americans has suffered more or been placed in greater jeopardy by such deliberate policies than children under the age of 5 years.

Last year, Congress passed the Flammable Fabrics Act, which was aimed at getting such dangerous materials off the market and away from America's sales counters. Previously, it had been firmly established that garments made from such fabrics had proliferated across the land. When exposed to fire, they instantly burst into flames, incinerating or crippling the wearers. The act in question was hailed as a significant advance in the area of consumer protection.

Now we are informed by press reports that the Commerce Department, repository of great virtue in this administration, is considering weakening proposed requirements on flameproofing of children's nightwear.

Under the revision, the proposal would make optional, rather than mandatory, the tough standard against flammable fabrics. Those makers not following the standard would be required to place cautionary labeling on children's pajamas and nightgowns. Obviously, the children would read and heed these warnings with diligence.

At present, the Secretary of Commerce has not made the ruling. Officials at Commerce say such a rule would leave to parents the decision whether to buy flame-retardant sleepwear, which is expected to cost more.

Their argument is familiar. Make it voluntary and industry will whoop it up for safe sleepwear for all. Such callousness is exceeded only by blind faith in what is palpably impossible. If Congress had to pass a law to end such an outrage, what makes these experts believe that relaxing standards rather than enforcing them will bring voluntary compliance and an end to these deaths? Perhaps these gentlemen, when they retire, would consider authoring a volume on logic.

Still, they are only small children who can be turned into flaming torches. And they burn so brightly. And they do not vote. And they do not know why the law will not be enforced.

Yet, while we are striving to digest this disgusting lump, let us take a swift little peek at still another active group of enforcers of consumer protection laws. This also involves children under age 5.

In recent years, Congress has come to a fuller awareness of the fact that annually, hundreds of thousands of people, mainly children under age 5, are poisoned by ingesting hazardous substances. Hundreds perish and easily as many more are crippled for life by swallowing lye, Drano, and assorted other poisons.

The main reason for this toll of young lives is lack of safety closures on containers commonly in use across the country. Such safety closures are available. If widely used, they can be close to 100 percent effective.

Congress therefore passed the Poison Prevention Act of 1970, which called for setting of standards on various products and mandatory use of closures within 6 months of the setting of such standards.

It is especially vital that Government act swiftly in regard to liquid lye bowl cleaners and aspirin, which are the most deadly and commonly ingested substances, respectively. It is also vital that these standards, when they are set, be pegged at the highest levels possible. Eighty percent is a minimum satisfactory level. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, after delaying almost 4 months, appointed the advisory board. It has met once. Immediate action setting standards as high as 80 percent on these substances named was not taken. Meanwhile, more children are being poisoned and killed daily.

Obviously it is too much to expect "servants of the public" at the Commerce Department to enforce the Flammable Fabrics Act. Certainly, however, we have been led to expect more from HEW. The Bureau of Product Safety of the Food and Drug Administration is charged with enforcement of this law. It is under the HEW Secretary's immediate jurisdiction. FDA, as recent publicity has indicated, leaves more than a little to be desired as far as consumer protection is concerned. Yet, it is well to bear in mind the fact that when they are lax in enforcing a law, people die daily. No excuses should be accepted. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare has it within his power to pick up his telephone and end this appalling situation immediately.

I think these facts speak for themselves. The children may have no voice. But their silence, agony, and deaths speak louder than any words.

METHODS OF RECYCLING POLLUTANTS

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to share with other Members a sound and informative statement on the necessity of developing new methods of recycling pollutants both as a step in our environmental programs and as a means of conserving resources.

The following is a letter addressed to me by Dr. Charles C. King, professor of biology at Malone College, in explanation and support of the conclusions expressed in an interesting resolution adopted by the Ohio Conservation Congress. I wish to include herewith the letter followed by the resolution:

DEAR MR. BOW: Not too long ago I attended a meeting which was called to discuss the potential problems involved with dumping waste pickle liquor (sulfuric acid with iron and other impurities) from area steel mills into an abandoned strip mine. Many of the local people were quite concerned about the effects such material would have on their immediate environment. Prime concern was expressed about contamination of ground water supplies.

The need for a new disposal method of pickle liquor arose when the State recently issued orders forbidding dumping of these chemicals into local streams as had been the custom for some time. The company contracting for the disposal operation outlined in considerable detail the equipment and method by which the highly acidic (pH 1-2) pickle liquor would be neutralized with crushed lime in a holding tank to approximately pH 8 (non-acidic) before any effluent would be discharged into the ground or surface water in the strip mine area. The resulting solid material, the bulk of which would be calcium sulfate (gypsum) would then eventually be buried as a non-objectionable residue in the abandoned strip pit.

As is typical of such meetings, emotions were running quite high. As is also typical, the primary, fundamental, causal reasons for the problem were overlooked. The process of neutralization (with expensive equipment) of waste pickle liquor (a costly commodity) with lime (at another cost increment) producing gypsum (a valuable mineral product) and then burying it in the earth is logically unsound. From either an environmental or an economic viewpoint the most disturbing problem is that we do not presently have sufficient technological expertise to clean up profitably and properly recycle this valuable waste material. The same problem exists for many of our other used materials, e.g. municipal sewage and solid wastes. It is imperative that we soon develop feasible recycling techniques for our valuable wastes. These wastes when allowed to return to the environment in massive amounts become our prime pollutants. Or as Eugene Odum has said: "Pollution is only a resource out of place."

Some of the most valuable material in our area, much of it brought here at considerable effort and expense, is used for a short period of time and then discarded: dumped down our sewer lines, sent out our smoke stacks and tail pipes, or hauled to a land fill. This applies equally well to biological wastes as to industrial wastes. Logic demands that more efficient use be made of these costly commodities. The question is not so much "Will we recycle our wastes?" since nature will recycle them in one way or another anyway frequently to our detriment as the present environmental crisis demonstrates. The real issue is "How will we recycle them?" And that is where society is going to have to recognize that large and significant investments of time, money and inconvenience are going to have to be made to do a better job of recycling than we have been doing. When we finally get serious regarding recycling, most of our environmental problems will be solved before they start.

CHARLES C. KING,

Malone College, Canton, Ohio.

RESOLUTION 1

Presented to the 1971 Ohio Conservation Congress Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, April 24, 1971, by the Committee on Environment: Liz Kanagy and Charles C. King

Whereas: the earth, except for solar energy input, is virtually a closed system, and
Whereas: the waste products of man and his machines become part of this closed system, and

Whereas: these materials in excess in this closed system become major pollutants, and

Whereas: these pollutants are in reality valuable resource products for other beneficial processes in our society if recycled properly, and

Whereas: our present waste recycling technology is minimal and inadequate for most of our total waste production, and

Whereas: society has much to gain (even survival itself) if feasible recycling techniques can be determined,

Be it therefore resolved that research on recycling technology be emphasized and financially encouraged by both state and federal governments with the possible development of recycling research stations in the magnitude of society's existing research emphasis in agriculture, medicine, outer space, and warfare.

FIRST AMENDMENT FREEDOM OF THE PRESS—THE NEWSMEN'S PRIVILEGE ACT

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, it has been a bad year for the Constitution. The administration has been roundly and properly criticized for its apparent lack of respect for constitutional guarantees and separation of powers. Recently our own body has betrayed an equal willingness to abuse the Constitution to suit its own purposes. We have countenanced the refusal of one of our committees, the Internal Security Committee, to comply with an order of a Federal court requiring the Government to produce certain documents in its possession in connection with a pending criminal case.

More recently, another of our committees, the Committee on Interstate Commerce, attempted to subpoena film and tapes in connection with a television documentary in derogation of first amendment freedom of the press.

Mr. Speaker, it is time we began exercising our responsibility to preserve and protect the Constitution of the United States. I am pleased to be a cosponsor of the Newsmen's Privilege Act—H.R. 837, H.R. 8519—originally introduced last session by Congressman Ottinger of New York, and introduced this session by my colleague from New York, Mr. Koch. The purpose of the bill is to protect the freedom of the press by forbidding any court or Government agency to require any journalist to disclose confidential sources of information.

An editorial in support of this bill recently appeared in the Chicago Sun Times. It very succinctly states the merits of the proposal and makes very clear that the freedom of the press and the freedom of the country are inseparably intertwined. The editorial follows:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 31, 1971]

UPDATING THE BILL OF RIGHTS

After nearly 170 years, there still occurs from time to time a need to define by law exactly what the founding fathers had in mind when they wrote in the Bill of Rights that "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech, or of the press."

The most recent instance in which the media has had to assert its rights under the First Amendment was the refusal Thursday of the Columbia Broadcasting System to respond to a new subpoena issued by a House subcommittee demanding film and sound recordings edited out of scenes broadcast in the documentary, "The Selling of the Pentagon."

The subcommittee is trying to make a case that the documentary was presented as factual but that "deceptive practices" were used. The committee obviously is trying to substitute its judgment about what should have been broadcast for the judgment of the CBS editors. We agree with CBS that Congress (or any public agency or official) has no right to abridge freedom of the press by issuing such a subpoena. The Republican U.S. Senate Policy Commission in December, 1969, said: "Whether news is fair or unfair, objective or biased, accurate or careless, is left to the consciences of the commentators, producers and network officials themselves. Government does not and cannot play any role in its presentation." President Nixon May 3 reiterated support of that principle, and said he did not support government pressure on networks.

The President also said reporters are not above criticism, which must be acknowledged. But there is a difference between criticism and sending government agents into a news media office with subpoenas in a fishing expedition to get evidence to back up the criticism. That breaches the right of newsmen to be free of government interference.

A bill to protect newsmen from governmental intimidation and interference has been introduced in Congress by Rep. Edward I. Koch (D-N.Y.) and Rep. Charles W. Whalen Jr. (R-Ohio). It would forbid any court or governmental agency including Congress from requiring any journalist to disclose sources or confidential information. It lists certain exceptions which are designed to protect both press and public.

Koch is concerned primarily with efforts to intimidate the press and he cites the CBS subpoena as an example. There are, however, times when subpoenas may properly be issued in connection with a criminal investigation or court trial demanding a reporter's confidential notes or sources; this is not necessarily intimidation and may, in some instances, be in the interests of justice. But there must be safeguards set up in state and national laws to prevent indiscriminate subpoenaing that would inhibit the press in its duty of informing the public and holding public officials to account for their stewardship.

For example, a newsman may receive information concerning corrupt public officials or bad public practices. Forcing him to reveal his sources would dry them up to the delight and security of said public officials, and to the injury of the citizens' right to know.

Under present Illinois statutory law, any party to litigation or the Grand Jury may subpoena newsmen at will without any prior judicial scrutiny or supervision. Last year Criminal Court Judge Louis B. Garippo, in a ruling of national significance, declared these statutes unconstitutional as far as they applied to the news media. He said they had a "chilling effect" on the constitutional rights of the press.

Judge Garippo set down new guidelines for prosecutors and defense lawyers who seek evidence from news organizations. They require a prior court hearing; the reasonableness and necessity of the request must be established. It must be shown that a miscarriage of justice would be caused unless the information was obtained. The media could argue against issuance of subpoenas.

A bill (H.R. 1756) to incorporate the substance of Judge Garippo's ruling into law has been introduced in Springfield by Reps. Arthur L. Berman (D-Chicago) and Thomas C. Rose (R-Jacksonville), both lawyers. It grants conditional privilege to the newsmen to protect their sources of information except in cases where a court may find, after a public hearing, that the information

sought cannot be obtained anywhere else and is necessary to the protection of the public interest. This is a timely and appropriate clarification of the free press clause of the Constitution and we recommend its adoption at this session of the General Assembly.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the pleasure of meeting four young essay contest winners from the Third District, Ruth Attarian, Jan Babas, Susie Kay Hargett, and David Merritt. As part of Michigan Week activities in Battle Creek, each had written an essay entitled, "What is Democracy?"

Miss Ruth Attarian is the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Edward Attarian, 2691 Michigan Avenue, Battle Creek.

Miss Jan Babas is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Babas, 223 Lois Drive, Battle Creek.

Miss Susie Kay Hargett is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ross Hargett, 292 Hunter Street, Battle Creek.

And Mr. David S. Merritt is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank W. Sherman, Route 1, Box 203, East Leroy.

The thoughtfulness of these young people and the quality of their winning essays very much impressed me.

Mr. Speaker, thinking that others might be interested in the thoughts of these young people, I ask that their essays be printed in the RECORD.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

(By David Merritt)

Democracy, in short, is a "People's government". Traditionally, democracy is associated with the ideals of liberty and equality. In the U.S., democracy is particularly identified with a special concern for the common man. In a democracy, the government receives its power from the people, unlike a dictatorship where the government has all the power.

In a democracy, the people decide whether or not the government may govern, may stay in office, or be voted out.

Democracy has eight basic characteristics or ideals which we should defend with our very lives. (There are many kinds of governments that are trying to destroy democracy.) The eight basic ideals are:

1. *Rights of Individuals:* Democracy respects every man, woman and child. It values every person whether he be black or white, Protestant, Catholic, Jew or nonbeliever, young or old, rich or poor, professional man or day laborer. Democracy believes that a human being is the most precious thing on earth and that every one of us has something worthwhile to contribute. Democracy also believes that we all can develop into better persons.

2. *Equality:* Our Declaration of Independence states that all men, women and children are endowed by their creator with inalienable rights. The authors of the Declaration of Independence meant only that all men, women and children in a democracy have certain rights and privileges in common simply because they are God's children. In a democracy, all people must be granted equal opportunities.

3. *Civil Liberties:* Neither Congress nor all the people can legally deprive any law abiding citizen of his civil liberties in the United States. Those liberties are protected by the U.S. Constitution and by our courts. Everyone in our country has the right to say what he thinks. However, the right to freedom of speech imposes two obligations. The first is to study and understand problems and not to speak carelessly. The second is never to deny others the right to speak, even if we disagree with them. In a democracy, all people have the right to assemble peaceably. Democracy protects even reactionary groups in that respect. The very people who want to overthrow democracy take advantage of this democratic protection. However, democracy is confident that the majority will accept only the principles that are best for all. In a democracy, we also have free access to information through newspapers, magazines, theaters, TV and motion pictures.

4. *Freedom of Action:* In a democracy, every man has the right to choose his own work provided it does not hurt public welfare. Democracy even helps each person select the right kind of work for himself. Schools and government agencies give guidance. Democracy fosters free enterprise. In a democracy, the government encourages men to devise better scientific and business methods, to build better machines and to negotiate better labor conditions. Democracy protects the right of every man to own property. True, everyone must pay for this right through taxes, but that merely helps sustain the privileges of private ownership. In the U.S., every person is protected by Constitutional law against unfair seizure, arrest, imprisonment and fines. Our laws guarantee every citizen impartial representation in the courts and no one shall be punished unjustly. In our country, no man can be punished for the way he worships or votes, even if those in the highest authority disagree with him.

5. *Religious Freedom:* Men have always worshiped God. But there are many ways of thinking about God. Democracy gives everyone the right to worship as he pleases. The Constitution guarantees this choice without interference of any kind. Our government has never driven a preacher from his pulpit for his remarks. In our country, government and religion are separate entities. There is no "state church". The government gives no money to any church and no church is taxed.

6. *Government of the People:* Democracy believes that a government receives its power from the people. Self government makes men free and happy. Also it imposes upon them great responsibilities. Every citizen must help make decisions affecting his democratic government, even though the actions of a democracy are sometimes slow. In democracy the majority rules. However, democracy protects minority groups no matter how small they are. Our Constitution gives every man the right to think his own thoughts and to live his own life as long as it does not hurt his fellow man.

7. *Learning, Growing and Serving:* The principles of our democracy have remained the same for nearly two centuries. Our ideals are so broad and flexible that they can be applied effectively to changing economic and social life. Democracy does not do the work for its people. It encourages people to work out their own problems. It helps, however, by providing the means with which citizens can strengthen unity and better living through active, positive citizenship applied in the community, schools churches and within each individual's home.

8. *Interdependence:* The cooperation between all citizens. Democracy wants its people to appreciate how much they depend on each other. In a democracy all citizens must work together. Unity of effort provides

greater strength with which to build greater opportunities for each of us. That is a very vital expression of good citizenship.

These are the eight basic characteristics or ideals of democracy.

I believe if every American would live by The American's Creed in their every day lives, the United States of America would be a true example of a perfect democracy. I believe as Abraham Lincoln did: "A government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish. . . ."

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

(By Jan Babas)

Democracy means rule by the people. Just a nine letter word with a five word meaning, but what it all involves could fill volumes.

Democracy is the most ideal form of government which man has made. It's also a way of life and recognizes the rights of all men. It says all men are equal before the law. It doesn't let the government give special favors because of where a man is born, how much money he has, color of his skin, or religion. In America, we feel that everyone has the right to live in freedom. We believe that our democratic government and our way of life promise more liberty and happiness to more people than any other kind of government. I am so proud and thankful that I am an American. People of a democracy take part in government by getting together to work out laws, plans and programs. They are also taking part when they elect people (called representatives) who act for them. We don't all agree on certain political issues or even the people (called candidates) chosen for office. But in our democracy, the majority decides. The people vote in free elections with secret ballots, so no one else knows how they vote.

Our country is the leading nation of the world. We have a great heritage, and it's so important for us to be loyal and patriotic citizens.

We Americans are different from the people of most countries. We came from people of many nationalities. Even in our classrooms at school, the students represent many nationalities.

Our forefathers came to America because they wanted freedom and better lives for themselves and their children. We are proud of our ancestors who came across the seas to America. We believe our country is stronger and richer because our people came from many lands.

From the time the first colonists came, liberty has been the very spirit of America. It was written into our Declaration of Independence by *Thomas Jefferson* in 1776, which was the birth of a new and free nation, and into the constitution in 1789, which gave us the plan of government for a free nation. It was written into the Bill of Rights in 1791, promising certain rights to all Americans which no man or government can take away. I think these documents should be called treasures. As Americans, these treasures belong to us, giving us the right to vote, hold office and assemble together. We may speak freely and worship as we desire. It means we have a right to take sides on any question and stand up for what we believe as long as it doesn't interfere with the rights of others. Isn't it wonderful that we have this privilege? I'm especially happy for my religious freedom because I love my God and my church very much, and I'm so thankful he chose this country for me to be born in.

Under our constitution and our laws all citizens have equal rights. Our courts stand for equal justice for all.

I think our democracy is great because as Abraham Lincoln said, ours is a "government of the people, by the people, for the people." I feel people are able to make decisions, and,

of course, elect men who run our government and make our laws. If we aren't satisfied with those we have chosen, we can choose others to represent us in the next election. I think our President and men in High offices today are doing a terrific job and that we have chosen them well. Our plan of government has worked so well that only twenty-five amendments have been added. Under our constitution, America has become a symbol of liberty and democracy to all the world.

We must work hard for our democratic freedom. In many countries, democracy has been lost because people didn't help govern themselves by taking part in public affairs.

I think it is very important to keep informed on what is going on in our schools, community, state, and country. This is the only way we can do a good job in choosing our policies and candidates. Information can be gotten through newspapers, magazines, books, radio, and TV.

After becoming informed, the citizen must act and help the political party that he chooses or even run for an elective office in his local government. A good citizen can work with groups that are not political, but deal with community problems like the Red Cross, Boy or Girl Scouts, Community Chest, and schools and hospitals. I can help, and it makes me feel good inside because I know these things are important.

Education can make our democracy strong by teaching students how to think, not what to think. We must learn to respect views of others, so that later on it will be easier to respect different social and political opinions. We honor the symbols of our democracy. Don't you get all tingly inside when you see our flag waving in the breeze? I do. It's because our flag more than any other one thing is the symbol of America. It represents our nation, and the brave men and women who built it. Above all, it is the symbol of our liberty. We also have the Great Seal of The United States, the American Eagle, the Liberty Bell, and Uncle Sam. In themselves, they don't mean much, but to Americans they have become precious because they represent our country.

We can improve our democracy. We don't claim that our system works perfectly, but we shouldn't ever lose faith in our government. We should remember our government officials are human beings, and we chose them; we all make errors. Ours is still the greatest form of government.

We young people are tomorrows leaders and have a great responsibility in making our democracy work. I thank God that I'm an American and can help take part in this. I know we can do it. We *must* do it, and with the help of our creator, who helped us make this free and great nation, we *will* do it.

(This isn't part of my essay. I wrote it after I was finished and was thinking about my report. I never knew before how lucky I was to be an American.)

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

America is my country.

To it, I'll be loyal and true.
I have faith in what it stands for
And I'll try hard to serve it, too.

We have a great democracy.
If the whole world only knew.
Wouldn't it just be wonderful,
If all, had the freedoms we do?

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

(By Susie Kay Hargett)

Democracy can be used in many different ways, with many different meanings, but it always comes back to the same basic point—a government run by the people.

As proud Americans, we all think of democracy as the way our government is operated. I asked and looked for different definitions. Antagonists of our country may

say it is a "two-party Communism." My dad says democracy is, "A government where an individual has the right to do what he wants to do." Then, I reverted to Webster's to see what they had to say about democracy. They say it is: "1. Rule by the people; 2. A community so governed; 3. The quality of being democratic."

My idea of democracy is that it is a way in which people have their choice in who runs their government and what their government stands for and how their country will be. You notice that I used the word their. A democracy is "doing your own thing." It is using your own ideas, no matter who you are and voicing your opinions to help all.

Some say, "Is it democratic to send boys to war who don't believe in killing?" But, is it really democratic or helping matters by demonstrating and breaking laws? Laws that they (who are demonstrating) could be voicing an opinion on, in accordance with the laws (if they weren't too lazy to write to their congressmen or if they're eighteen, if they weren't too lazy to register to vote.) Laziness might be human nature, but if you are lazy and don't do something to better conditions, you have no room to talk.

Running a country by the democratic form of government should in no way be said to be, "against the people." How can a government run by the people be "against the people?" There is no way, if everyone really cared and would try compromising, that a democracy should be unsatisfactory. Of course, some are never satisfied, but by giving everyone their free choice to vote for what they want and to elect who they want in office, who they nominate, there should be prosperity and satisfaction.

Now in these times, if we could only get along with others and look at everyone's viewpoint we might make democracy work because democracy is getting along with others and making your own rules and laws by which to live.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

(By Ruth Attarian)

The word "democracy" comes from the Greek "demos-kratos," meaning: "people rule." In a democratic society, the public makes its own laws, elects its leaders, and gives equal rights to every citizen. The public also delegates authority to enforce the laws it makes, and has the right to change these laws and its leaders through election. Democracy also means freedom to know, freedom to think, and freedom to act. However, democracy is a responsible type of freedom, one that does not infringe upon the freedom of others.

An example of pure democracy was the town hall meetings of New England, in which the government was derived directly from the people. At these meetings, the adult members of the community would discuss problems of the area and other business matters. Each individual had the right to express his opinion, vote on any matter under discussion, and appoint township officials.

However, pure democracy is awkward and inefficient in areas of large population, and therefore must be replaced by representative democracy. In this type of government, the citizens elect delegates to voice the people's opinion, make decisions, and maintain the machinery of government. These delegates are elected periodically by the vote of the adults of the community.

The government of the United States is an example of representative democracy in which the President and the Congress are chosen by the adults of the nation to carry out the machinery of government. The President is elected every four years, and has the responsibility of administering laws made by the Congress. He is also called the Chief Executive because he is in complete charge

of the administrative branches of government. The Congress is elected by the public, and has the basic job of law-making. However, the public may replace any of these branches of government if they feel that the branches do not comply to their wishes.

Only in a democracy does a citizen have the right to obtain an education in any type of field. One may attend school for any desired length of time, reporting to classes of his choice. When a democracy prevails, everyone has the right to listen to a free broadcasting system, one that allows both sides of every story to be expressed. This same idea goes for the right to a free press. Everyone also has the right to live in a society where all matters of the government are open to them.

Besides this, democracy means communications with other individuals instead of isolation; such as the right to converse freely. The right to know where you stand in any matter is another important factor in the freedom to know.

The freedom to think means that the public may maintain their own religious or political beliefs, customs, and ways. Another factor in this type of freedom is the right to give one's opinions without fear. But the most important part of this freedom is the right for every citizen to be considered a unique individual instead of a social robot.

The third freedom—the freedom to act—means that citizens have the right of free speech, open protests, and free assemblies, such as protests against the Vietnam War. Each individual has the right to travel without permits in a democracy, unless he has forfeited this by transgression of a law.

Everyone has the right to live how and where he chooses, and may raise children by his own standards, as long as certain responsibilities are met.

Freedom in the courts plays an important role in the freedom to act. Suspected individuals are given certain rights, and may speak out in their own defense.

This freedom includes the right to free elections and voting; meaning that every citizen may have a choice of candidate in each election and may vote in secret.

Democracy is also a responsible type of freedom; one that does not allow any individual to infringe upon the rights of others. To make this government successful, the public should take part and have pride in it. This means voting regularly, accepting jury duty, and some type of involvement in community affairs, such as the serving on a committee when asked. The paying of taxes and the willingness to work are other types of responsibilities of the people. One must have pride in himself, his work, his community, and his country to make democracy succeed.

So in reality, democracy is, "power of the people."

HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 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:

H. RES. 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.

STUDENT INTERN PROGRAM

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to have included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the attached letter and report from two young high school students in my district, Randall Casey and Mike Jackson. Randall and Mike were participants in my student intern program this year and their evaluations are well worth the attention of the House.

The student intern program consisted of three groups of high school students, most of them Juniors, one from each high school in my district. They were selected by the student body from a group submitted by the administration. They came to Washington for 8 days and met with such distinguished men and women as Ambassador George Bush; Senators JOHN TOWER of Texas, MARLOW COOK of Kentucky, MARGARET CHASE SMITH of Maine, HOWARD BAKER, JR., of Tennessee, and HUBERT HUMPHREY of Minnesota; Dolf Droge of the National Security Council; and Dr. Jean Spencer and J. C. Helms of the Vice President's office. The Speaker of the House of Representatives and the minority leader of the House also generously gave their time to these students. In addition, the students and their chaperons were briefed at various government agencies. The Embassies of Vietnam and Israel hosted some of the participants. Upon their return to Houston all the participants gave a full report to their respective student bodies. Several have spoken at Rotary Clubs and in their churches.

It is impossible to calculate the exact impact such a program had on these young people, but I think it is safe to say that their impressions will serve as both inspiration and incentive for many years to come. At a time when we hear much

talk of student unrest, student apathy, and student mistrust of government, it is heartening to read the remarks of Randall Casey and Mike Jackson. When young men, potential future leaders of this great country, make commitments to their country like Randall and Mike have, our work here in this Chamber takes on new meaning and added responsibility.

My intern program will be repeated next year and hopefully every year that I am a Member of Congress. I know of no greater satisfaction than that which accompanies helping high school students learn the value of our system of government.

The articles follow:

MAY 19, 1971.

MR. M. A. WRIGHT,
Chairman of the Board,
Humble Oil & Refining Company,
Houston, Tex.

DEAR MR. WRIGHT: I am one of the students who recently returned from Washington on Congressman Bill Archer's program and have been asked to write you on behalf of the 35 student interns. This trip was made possible by your company's contribution to a much needed program. It has opened doors for me and increased my interest in government to an undescrivable degree.

It is my belief that our government is truly the greatest establishment that has been organized since the beginning of civilization, and I am optimistic in my views about our government. However, prevalent problems cannot be overlooked. Even though these may be numerous, none of them have emerged as too large to surmount. This presents a challenge to me, as it should to all youth. It would be a perversion of the truth to expect 200 million imperfect people to form a faultless government. However, I strongly feel that the youth of our nation, contrary to popular opinion, want to come up with solutions to these problems. Evidence of this is shown in the recent demonstrations across the nation. I believe they feel that this is the best way to bring about changes they think are necessary, but the youth do not realize that they are actually adding to the problem by playing into the hands of extremists. I feel that their impatience must be overcome by a strong force consisting of the police, the military and/or a judicial system. Whatever the cost, we must maintain law and order. Our government, and likewise, our nation was originally set up on these two principles and unless they are upheld and preserved, our great society in which we live will inevitably collapse. These same people will have more respect for a government that demands loyalty of them. I believe we can disagree with our government or the policies of our government without being disloyal and we can examine our system without disrupting it. We as intelligent beings can devise more progressive ways without destroying all that our forefathers have stood for. It is through programs such as the one in which you and I were recently involved that widespread misconceptions can be disarmed and our people taught responsible government.

Twenty or thirty years ago, family life was somewhat different and it was customary for the average American family to get together and discuss its problems. These discussions were a form of outlet for the youth to express their views on the problems and issues and in turn caused the youth to become more involved in their government. Gradually over the years, however, there has been less emphasis placed on family life. The youth, therefore, never get a chance to make their opinions known. Accordingly, by the time they graduate from high school, they

are bursting with energy to express themselves. This, consequently, leads to "doing their own thing" and may appear in the form of dope, sit-ins, mass demonstrations, etc. I feel that if these young people can be reached in high school, their methods of expression can be transformed from a destructive to a constructive force. Likewise, this would not only benefit the young people but also the government and our nation as a whole.

This program has been successful in activating my interest among many others in our government and it is my opinion that a giant step has been taken toward solving a number of our problems. If more such programs could be set up, I feel that we would be well on the way to preserving our democracy and making our nation a better place to live for future generations.

Thanks again for your contribution.
Respectfully yours,

RANDALL CASEY.

REPORT ON INTERN TRIP TO WASHINGTON, D.C.
(By Mike Jackson, Apr. 9, 1971)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONNAIRE AND REPORT

1. Method of Election: No, I would not change this method because I feel that the responsible element of the faculty vote combined with the popular student election provides the means of choosing the best candidate for the program. Both groups balance each other out, thus achieving a proper mixture of academic ability and popularity. The "B" average requirement is good in that it provides for a student whose grades will be able to take a week's rest.

2. Observations and reactions: I feel that our group had about the proper mixture of sight-seeing and governmental interviews. I think that the first several days should be spent in tours of Washington sights to give the intern the proper perspective of our Capital. Especially memorable to me were the Arlington Cemetery and Jefferson Memorial. The Cemetery was both sad and inspirational. It made me sick to realize the hundreds of thousands of human beings who have died in such a senseless thing as war, but it made me realize at the same time with pride, the vast and enduring strength of our Nation. The Jefferson Memorial was a fantastic tribute to a fantastic man. His writings on the walls are to me what men should base their lives and actions. It is ironic that as far as we have advanced from Jefferson's day, that we have not even been able to assure basic rights and dignity to all men. Again, I was also struck with the hope that if these dreams can ever really be realized that it will be in a Nation such as ours.

The interviews with governmental leaders were rewarding. Of all the meetings the one I enjoyed and learned the most from was the dinner and evening at Congressman and Mrs. Bill Archer's home. As corny as it may sound, this provided the chance for me to realize that Congressmen and Senators are not just politicians, but they are people who act and vote a certain way because of strong personal convictions. Even though I might not have agreed with all the speakers on everything, I saw that they are unsure, and carefully consider the choices in every decision and then act as they feel would best help the country and the people. This is not to say that I did not see people who are out for personal gain and control, but these are the people who are weeded out of office. With the realization that Washington is run by people who are trying to do a very hard job as best they can, some of my cynicism went out the window. The rest of the interviews were spent supporting this idea and collecting just pure information on how the everyday decisions are made. I liked very much talking to Congressman Gerald Ford and sharing his insights into the SST vote.

The prize for the best meal and most unique experience has to go to the lunch at the Viet Nam Embassy; it was great!

One thing which I feel should be more emphasized in the future is the Congressional Committee meetings. Since this is where most of the actual work of the legislative branch is done. The one short meeting which our group attended did not give a true picture of the importance of these meetings.

3. Continuing the program: I feel that that this is a very worthwhile experience and that all that can be done to insure that others will be able to participate, should be done. Slide shows and talks to high schools as well as adult groups are important. At Jesuit the Audio-Visual Department is taping a fifteen or twenty minute television program which can be shown to incoming freshmen or juniors interested in the program in years to come. In this show, I will explain the program and give a short summary of the trip and my feelings about it.

4. Willingness to participate: I will be more than happy to help in any way that I possibly can this year and in years to come. Just a call to Jesuit or my home will bring a volunteer.

I wish to express my deepest thanks and gratitude to all of the people who worked on the planning and actual trip. I believe that this has been a very rewarding experience which has deepened my understanding of government and widened my horizons a great deal. Again, much thanks to everyone.

CHILDHOOD LEAD POISONING—THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS POSITION

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the American Academy of Pediatrics has been one of the organizations which has taken the lead in arousing the public to the dangers of childhood lead poisoning. On April 21, 1971, R. James McKay, M.D., president of the academy, issued a statement on childhood lead poisoning. Dr. McKay noted that the academy's committee on environmental hazards has emphasized that all children of high risk be screened for elevated blood lead levels, and that those with significantly elevated levels be removed from the home, be promptly treated, and not be returned to a high-risk environment. The committee also recommends mass screening of dwellings for lead concentrations and prompt renovation to prevent further poisoning.

Dr. McKay also noted that the academy—

Calls for the active support of other organizations and individuals to seek appropriations for the implementation of the Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act, Public Law 91-695.

Subsequently, in the May 1971 edition of Pediatrics magazine, the academy's committee on environmental hazards and the subcommittee on accidental poisoning of the committee on accident prevention published a statement on "Acute and Chronic Childhood Lead Poisoning." That statement immediately made the point, in the first sentence, that

"lead poisoning is a preventable disease." Therein lies the tragedy, because the fact is that we have not yet taken adequate action to end its deadly grip on the small children of our cities.

I am including at this point both Dr. McKay's statement and the statement of the academy's committees which appeared in Pediatrics magazine:

STATEMENT BY R. JAMES MCKAY, JR., M.D.,
PRESIDENT, AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS

Representatives of the St. Louis Lead Coalition met with officials of the American Academy of Pediatrics currently meeting in St. Louis. Representatives of the Coalition alleged that the city of St. Louis has failed to enforce its lead control ordinance, with the result that many St. Louis children, most of whom live in poverty areas, have elevated blood lead levels which puts them at risk of brain damage and other serious results of lead poisoning.

If the allegation is substantially correct, the Academy deplors the situation and urges that St. Louis physicians make every effort to see that the lead ordinance is promptly and equally enforced, for the welfare of St. Louis and its children.

The Academy believes that the situation in St. Louis is not unique and urges all its members to join with other community groups to influence their local authorities to take the steps necessary to implement prompt eradication of the hazard of lead poisoning to children.

The Committee on Environmental Hazards of the AAP has studied the medical aspects of lead poisoning and has issued several statements, the most recent of which emphasizes that all children of high risk be screened for elevated blood lead levels and that those with significantly elevated levels be removed from the home, be promptly treated, and not return to a high risk environment. The Committee also recommends mass screening of dwellings for lead concentrations and prompt renovation to prevent further poisoning of children.

During the 91st Congress the Academy has actively supported legislation directed toward solving the lead-based paint problem, and calls for the active support of other organizations and individuals to seek appropriations for the implementation of this law.

[From Pediatrics magazine, vol. 47, no. 5,
May, 1971]

ACUTE AND CHRONIC CHILDHOOD LEAD POISONING

Lead poisoning in childhood is a preventable disease. Virtually all cases occur in children who live in old, deteriorated houses which were built and painted years ago when the use of lead-based paints on housing surfaces was widespread. Eighty-five percent of recognized cases occur in children in the 1- to 3-year age range in which pica (the habit of eating non-food substances) is prevalent. Consequently, the disease results from the interaction between hazardous housing and the child with pica. Early diagnosis of plumbism on clinical grounds alone is exceedingly difficult, and often impossible. Furthermore, by the time the clinical diagnosis is obvious, permanent brain damage which cannot be modified by therapy may already have taken place. Although the true incidence of plumbism is not known, careful surveys have revealed that 10 to 25% of young children who live in deteriorated urban slum housing show evidence of increased absorption of lead and that 2 to 5% show evidence of poisoning. While recent therapeutic advances have reduced the mortality of acute lead encephalopathy, it is now apparent that at least one-third of the survivors of encephalopathy sustain permanent irreversible damage to the brain. Significant

reduction in the risk of permanent brain damage, therefore, requires identification of the child with increased body lead burden prior to the onset of poisoning. Fundamentally, both the prevention of adverse health effects due to lead and the treatment of identified cases depend upon the elimination of the housing hazard which lies at the root of the problem. In view of the foregoing and in the interest of effective action to eradicate this preventable health hazard to children, the American Academy of Pediatrics recommends that:

(1) The major emphasis of programs designed to prevent adverse health effects in children from lead be placed on the testing of dwellings for lead-pigment paints on housing surfaces, both interior and exterior, in order to identify high-risk areas within the community.

(2), As a policy, determine lead in blood of all 12-to-15-month-old children living in poorly maintained dwellings in identified high-risk areas and wherever other special local situations expose children to lead hazards. At the very least, a subsequent sample of blood should be obtained during the following spring or summer.

Those children with levels of blood lead greater than 50 μg per 100 ml whole blood should be referred immediately for definitive medical evaluation and a repeat blood lead determination. All children having two blood samples with a concentration greater than 50 μg per 100 ml whole blood should be reported to the responsible local government agency so their environment can be investigated by appropriate officials and action taken to eliminate the hazard.

To be effective, these programs must be supported by local health and housing departments with appropriate personnel and laboratory facilities at their disposal.

Committee on Environmental Hazards,
Paul F. Wehrle, M.D., *Chairman*, James N. Yamazaki, M.D., *Acting Chairman*, Robert L. Brent, M.D., J. Julian Chisolm, Jr., M.D., John L. Doyle, M.D., Emmett L. Fagan, M.D., Laurence Finberg, M.D., Andre J. Nahmias, M.D., G. D. Carlyle Thompson, M.D., Lee E. Farr, M.D., *Consultant*, Robert J. M. Horton, M.D., *Consultant*, Robert W. Miller, M.D., *Consultant*, *Committee on Accident Prevention*, Allan B. Coleman, M.D., *Chairman*, *Subcommittee on Accidental Poisoning*, Joel J. Alpert, M.D., *Chairman*, Henri J. Breault, M.D., Virginia G. Harris, M.D., Lt. Col. Robert G. Scherz, MC, Robert D. Semsch, M.D., Hugo D. Smith, M.D.

RURAL ELECTRIC SYSTEMS OF FER MEASURE OF PROTECTION AGAINST MONOPOLY

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1971

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, Robert Partridge, general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, wrote those words recently:

Energy, whether it is animal power, falling water, boiling steam, man-muscle or nuclear reaction, becomes the base upon which any successful economy is built when it is transformed into work accomplished. It is upon harnessed energy that this nation rode to world preeminence during the twentieth century.

He went on to say that the United States is the only nation which permits control of energy and energy resources to

remain predominantly in nongovernment hands. Only in this country are transportation, communications and energy facilities and resources mainly owned and operated by private corporations with only a modicum of control by the Government.

It is the nature of such corporations that they feed upon competitors, growing larger themselves as they devour any who stand in their way.

This is why you and I need to be concerned about those who control the energy sources of this Nation.

That is why I am concerned when I learn that in the last 10 years, seven of the Nation's 10 noncaptive coal companies have been acquired by noncoal companies, with four of these acquisitions being made by large petroleum companies which are also natural gas producers.

That is why I am concerned when I hear that the president of the Nation's biggest electric power complex, says this country should have only about a dozen suppliers of electric energy.

These are indications that this Nation is on the verge of acquisitions, mergers and monopolies the likes of which have never been known.

When a monopoly of the magnitude indicated by these trends, particularly where control of energy sources is concerned, is contemplated, it is not difficult to see control of this Nation shifting. With energy controlled by a very small monopolistic clique America's economic life and all it implies will be at the mercy of that clique. Effective control of the destiny of this Nation could pass from this Congress and this Government and rest with the energy monopoly.

Competition is the element monopoly most fears. It is the one element monopoly will never accept willingly, and it is the one element which can halt the surge toward total monopoly of the Nation's energy sources.

The Federal power program and the consumer-owned rural electrification systems are the only competitive elements in sight which can and will stand up to rampant monopoly.

The rural electric systems have long provided competition by example in the energy service field, and in this way have benefited consumers beyond their own membership and beyond their own service territories.

It was only after nonprofit rural electric cooperatives began demonstrating that they could provide service with REA financing in thinly populated areas by passed by the power companies that these companies swung into active programs of line building to connect rural consumers.

Before 1935, when REA was created, only one farm in 10 had electric service. Electric companies had been hooking up farm families at a rate of less than 50,000 a year. But by the end of 1936 the power companies, seeing the example of the REA borrowers, were connecting more than 100,000 farms per year. And by 1960, the power companies were probably serving about 40 percent of the farms in the United States—a job that many of them had earlier declared could not be done under any circumstances.

The competitive example usefulness of rural electric cooperatives is especially evident in the field of generation and transmission of power.

It has not always proved necessary to actually construct a generating plant in order for cooperatives to enjoy the benefits of the generation and transmission loan authority which the Rural Electrification Act provided. John M. Carmody, REA Administrator from 1937 until 1939, recalled that the mere announcement of a proposed generating plant, made in a weekly newspaper in Cambridge Springs, Pa., was sufficient to bring the quoted price of wholesale power tumbling within a few hours. There are many such examples.

In 1949, to name one more, an REA generation loan of more than \$16 million was approved to the Old Dominion Electric Cooperative, comprised of a number of distribution cooperatives in Virginia. Hearings on the proposed project began before the State utility commission in 1950. Between the time that the loan was made and the time the hearings began, the Virginia Electric & Power Co. offered the cooperatives a three-fourths cent rate—a reduction from 1 cent. The commission told the cooperatives to forget about the proposed plant and to accept the new rate, since the reduction would save consumer-members in Virginia about \$20 million over the life of the contract.

In 1945, REA Administrator Claude Wickard told a House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee about eight separate cases in which the mere consideration of a generation loan had brought down company prices. Prior to consideration of a loan to Brazos Transmission Cooperative and Farmers Generation and Transmission Cooperative, in Texas, Mr. Wickard testified, the average rate charged cooperatives by Texas Power & Light Co. was 1.12 cents. After the possibility of an REA loan arose, the price dropped to 0.56 cent. The rates of Southwest Gas & Electric Co. fell from 1.28 cents to 0.56 cent; Texas Electric Service Co., from 1.25 cents to 0.56 cent; Central Power & Light Co., from 1.35 cents to 0.70 cent; and Gulf States Utility Co., from 1.29 cents to 0.825 cent.

In 13 States, according to Mr. Wickard, cooperatives in 1945 were paying approximately \$2,265,600 a year less for energy than they would have been paying had REA-financed generating plants not been considered by cooperatives.

The average price of power to REA borrowers has been coming down steadily over the entire 20-year period, bringing down also the wholesale rates charged by these companies to other classes of large power consumers. As REA loans for generating facilities increased, the price of power charged REA borrowers by commercial utilities continued to fall. Now that the volume of REA G. & T. loans has been reduced, supplier companies are applying for rate increases.

Congress must keep an eye on the potential monopolistic practices in the electric power industry—indeed, in the entire fields of fuel and energy. Better to be concerned now than too late.

And while we maintain our wary watch, we must take the simple positive action of enabling cooperatives to provide a measure of competition in the wholesale power supply market.

STOP THE SLAUGHTER—SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has been shocked by the recent shootings of policemen in New York, Chicago and Washington. The question is whether the Congress and the administration are shocked enough to do something about it, other than make pious pontifications.

There are no easy answers to the root causes of crime and violence in our society. But until some solutions are forthcoming which deal with those root causes, the least we can do to protect ourselves and our public servants is to take immediate measures to reduce the hazard of crime and violent injury. The most realistic and obvious way to begin is by putting a halt to the easy availability of the most lethal weapon of deadly assault, the handgun.

There are over 25 million handguns in private hands in America. Nearly 75 percent of all policemen killed in action are shot with handguns. There is no legitimate use for most of these handguns other than to shoot people. They are not used for sporting purposes, except in the case of a few pistol clubs. Why then is nothing done to rid society of this substantial proven menace?

Apparently it is necessary for a tragedy to occur in order to get action. We saw just such a tragedy a few weeks ago when a young father was shot to death in a bank robbery here in Washington. Suddenly it seems that a lot of people have woken up to the fact that something must be done to protect policemen and firemen and all the rest of us. In a curious perversion of reasoning, the White House has suggested that the best answer is to pay some money to the widow and children of the men who are shot, rather than to enact stringent legislation gun control legislation to prevent some of those men from being shot in the first place.

In the last few weeks there has been a great public outpouring. People are finally realizing what law enforcement officials around the country have known for years—that the best protection we can give our police officers is to dry up the arsenal of privately owned weapons which we now send them out in the streets to face.

We have the means to act. The distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CELLER) has recently introduced a comprehensive bill to deal with the problem. I urge my colleagues to support that legislation. It is time we stopped talking and starting doing.

I would like at this point to insert in the RECORD several articles which have recently appeared in various newspapers urging us to take action on gun control.

The articles follow:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 1, 1971]

LEGISLATURE PRODDED—ROCKEFELLER HITS HARD ON GUN-CONTROL NEED

(By Clive Lawrance)

NEW YORK.—The recent killings and gun attacks on New York policemen have aroused renewed urgency among advocates of gun control here.

In a special message, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller has called upon the New York State Legislature to approve a gun-control measure he submitted in March.

The Governor said, "The brutal and cowardly gunshot slaying of two New York City police officers last Friday [May 21] in a week marked by rampaging attacks on police, tragically underscores the urgent need for stiffer gun-control laws.

"Firearms are known to be the primary instrument of injury and death in American crime, and hand guns are the weapons predominantly used. I urge you to approve the bill now before you to strengthen New York regulations and control of hand guns."

PUBLIC PRESSURE URGED

The Governor is backed by most of the New York media. A recent New York Times editorial states: "The assaults underscore the irresponsibility of those who, despite the persistent pleas by such experts as Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy, continue to block the enactment of nationwide gun controls."

In the meantime the Times called for more stringent application of existing laws. "Public pressure against the availability of unregistered guns is needed . . ." the editorial stated.

At the moment there is a law in New York City and Nassau County which requires the licensing of hand guns. The Governor's legislation proposes to extend the law to shoulder guns and have it apply throughout New York State.

Authority for administering the law would be in the hands of the superintendent of state police. He would work with a seven-member "firearms control board" to establish policies for administering the law.

The board would take into account the needs of law-enforcement officers, sportsmen, and the public.

CLAIMS RESTRAINED

The measure has its opponents. Some think it goes too far, others that it does not go far enough. Some call it a "sham."

Its supporters do not expect it to be an immediate panacea for violence, but it would make it more difficult for "lawless" persons to obtain guns. Anyone in possession of a firearm without a license would be subject to prosecution.

The state Legislature has adjourned until Wednesday, but Governor Rockefeller is "hopeful" that the legislation will be passed within five or six days of the Legislature's reconvening.

Proponents of gun control make it clear, however, that city and state laws are not enough.

TRAGEDY REGRETTED

New York Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy has said, "New York has for years had a strong gun-control law, but the availability of guns in other states or from abroad has virtually nullified our Sullivan Law. For this reason, the only effective solution to the need for stricter control over hand guns is tough federal legislation that can help seal our borders and our state lines

against the traffic in these deadly implements."

Commissioner Murphy was speaking in support of federal legislation proposed by New York Rep. John Murphy.

Commissioner Murphy said, "It is unfortunate that it takes a tragedy of such major proportions as the killing of New York policemen or a United States senator to focus attention on the absurdity of allowing large numbers of private citizens to possess firearms."

"If guns are available, people will use them. The statistics border on the unbelievable. In one year our department confiscated 8,792 illegal weapons. Current estimates of illegal guns run into the millions."

Twenty-five percent of the guns seized last year by the New York police were so-called "Saturday night specials," the low-caliber, low-priced pistols that account for a large percentage of the gunshot slayings and assaults in this city.

"The deeper significance of all this," said Commissioner Murphy, "is that, we in this country have developed a psychological climate of acceptance of guns—and the violence they produce, stimulate, and facilitate."

[From the Christian Science Monitor,
June 1, 1970]

NOT ACCURATE ENOUGH FOR TARGETS—JUST PEOPLE—\$20 U.S.-MADE GUNS: A DEADLY BARGAIN

(By Robert P. Hey)

WASHINGTON.—Last year a handful of American entrepreneurs made three-quarters of a million cheap pistols that are useful, not against targets, but against people.

In the next 12 months these businessmen will be making even more—perhaps 2.5 million more.

It's all perfectly legal, but Rep. John M. Murphy, a New York Democrat, wants to make manufacture of these guns illegal. He calls it "insanity to continue the proliferation in this country of cheap guns."

Despite the violent crime in United States cities, there now is no law against American firms' making cheap, easily concealed pistols that aren't accurate enough for target shooting—but are just right for people shooting.

The proliferation of cheap guns, Mr. Murphy said in an interview, only "makes their access so much easier—not just for the premeditated crime, but for the act of passion, and of irresponsibility."

OPPOSITION WELL MANNED

But Mr. Murphy is one of the very few in this year's Congress who are firing away on this side of the gun-control skirmish line.

The other side is well manned, as usual. Several bills have been introduced to repeal various parts of the 1968 Gun Control Act. And, Murphy aides insist, nine separate bills have been introduced to repeal the law all together.

Mr. Murphy says he thinks total repeal of the Gun Control Act unlikely: "I don't see the Congress regressing." The gun lobby, he says, isn't strong enough to win that one.

Nevertheless, he isn't leaving anything to chance. Recently he revealed that at his request the Treasury Department has evaluated the effectiveness of the 1968 act. It found a 400 percent increase in arrests made on federal gun law violations in the 27 months after the law took effect, compared with the 27 months before it did. There also was a 234 percent hike in the number of gun-violation cases made.

Mr. Murphy says these figures give the lie to a prime contention of opponents of gun control "that if the traffic in firearms is controlled, only criminals will have guns."

Mr. Murphy says another veteran marksman is about to appear on his side—Rep. Emmanuel Celler. In 1968 Mr. Murphy intro-

duced into the House the bill that became the Gun Control Act. The powerful Mr. Celler, who has been in the House longer than any other present member, was largely responsible for getting the bill through the House in its final form.

This time, however, Mr. Murphy isn't sure his colleague's fire will be as telling. "I spoke to Mr. Celler yesterday," he said recently. "He is coming in with an omnibus bill on guns. I would think that an omnibus bill would draw all the opponents into a common camp, to make even more difficult the passage of this bill."

"I think we have to approach gun controls on a loophole basis, federally."

The loophole Mr. Murphy is trying to plug is on the 1968 Gun Control Law. One section set up minimum standards of quality and length for imported pistols. The effect was to ban the import of cheap pistols, widely blamed for urban crimes of violence. Some 3.5 million were imported from 1958 to 1968.

But the bill didn't prevent domestic manufacture of these guns—that wasn't judged a problem, then. (Indeed, in 1969 only 60,000 were made in the U.S.) Mr. Murphy's bill would require pistols made domestically to meet the same standards—and the cheap ones now being made in the United States can't.

INTENT QUICKLY CIRCUMVENTED

In 1969, when the gun law took effect, a number of small importers and other entrepreneurs (no large weapons-makers are involved) found a market for cheap pistols without a corresponding supply.

They quickly found three ways to get around the importation ban:

One group imports several parts for cheap pistols, then makes domestically the frame (which cannot be imported), and puts the pistols together on U.S. soil. (One entrepreneur, says Mr. Murphy, converted a Florida church into a cheap-pistol factory.) Mr. Murphy says these entrepreneurs have U.S. Government permission—which is required—to import enough parts to make 1,400,000 more pistols.

A second group imports nothing. Mr. Murphy says it is geared to make a cool 1 million cheap pistols in the U.S. in the next year. Like those with imported parts, they sell in the \$15-to-\$20 range.

The third group imports legal pistols and saws off their gun barrels. This reduces accuracy, sometimes removes serial numbers, and makes them easier to conceal. Mr. Murphy has asked the Treasury Department how widespread this practice is.

The New Yorker is appalled by all three practices. He says the issue has nothing to do with legitimate hunting and sporting uses—these cheap guns aren't accurate enough to be used in those ways. He only hopes enough congressional colleagues agree so that domestic production of these cheap "mankillers" will be banned.

[From the Washington Post, June 2, 1971]
ARE PISTOLS INDISPENSABLE?

That well-known bleeding heart and professional do-gooder, Quinn Tamm, director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, said on Memorial Day that he sees no sense or reason in the private possession of pistols. Mr. Tamm, long an advocate of effective federal firearms regulation in general, was led to this stringent view about handguns in particular by the recent rash of police fatalities by gunfire. A pistol is the customary weapon for the murder of policemen; it was, for example, the weapon employed in the recent wanton slaying of Officer William L. Sigmon here in Washington. Fifty-one police officers have been killed in the performance of their duties so far this year; 80 per cent of these killings were accomplished by guns—and probably could not

have been accomplished without them; and the weapon in nearly every case was a handgun.

Mr. Tamm's view about this is entitled to attention—in Congress, in the Department of Justice, and even in the White House. He is a man of ripe experience in law enforcement; and if his concern for the lives of policemen seems sentimental to some of the stronger-stomached gun lobbyists, it is nevertheless rooted in conscience and it reflects an extremely widespread feeling among ordinary Americans. The community has a clear obligation to protect the public servants to whom it looks for protection against criminals.

What Mr. Tamm proposes—and what this newspaper has proposed often in the past—a flat prohibition on the sale of handguns to anyone outside the armed services and the law enforcement agencies; and this would mean, of course, rigid limitations on the manufacture and importation of these deadly weapons. The clear corollary of this proposal is that individual owners of handguns would be required to turn them in to the government—with appropriate compensation, of course—by a determined date. Exceptions could be made for collectors, for individuals in special circumstances where need for a handgun could be demonstrated, and for gun clubs which could keep handguns on their premises for target-shooting purposes.

It might be useful to compile a sort of balance sheet in an effort to see what such a draconian regulation would entail. On the minus side, one must acknowledge that it would take pistols away from those householders who fancy themselves as qualified to shoot it out with armed intruders in their homes. These warriors would still have at their disposal, however, as many rifles, carbines and shotguns as they desired—weapons more formidable for defense than pistols, although less useful to criminals, being so difficult to conceal when carried along for the perpetration of a robbery or an assault.

It has to be admitted also that the proposal would deprive "sportsmen" of the pleasure of target shooting with pistols (except at licensed clubs or shooting ranges) and that it would keep them plinking at tin cans, empty bottles and other random targets (except with long guns). There is no sense pretending that these are not hardships; one can only suggest to those asked to suffer them that they are less grave than the hardships suffered by the widows and children of slain policemen.

On the plus side of the ledger, one can count, apart from policemen allowed to go on living, a certain number of children spared because their baby brothers or sisters were unable to find in some closet or bureau drawer a pistol they supposed to be unloaded; a certain number of wives or husbands still alive because in a moment of anger no handgun was at hand to settle a family quarrel; a certain number of human beings in despondency or despair granted a reprieve from death because no revolver was available to make suicide simple; a certain number of merchants and bankers and householders and other decent citizens unrobbed because some young punks wouldn't dare to attempt what was obviously beyond their powers without the help of a handgun.

Some of the gun lobbyists may think it squeamish to worry so about the gun toll. It is true that only a little more than 20,000 human beings are shot to death annually in America and that the number of those injured by firearms each year does not greatly exceed 200,000. It mounts up, however. According to former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, "Since 1900, guns have killed over 800,000 persons in America. . . . Total casualties from civilian gunfire in this century exceed our military casualties in all the wars

from the Revolution through Vietnam." Most of the killing and maiming has been done with pistols. Are they really indispensable?

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

TARGET: THE POLICE

Violence against the police is rising to an ominous level. Across the nation, 51 policemen have been killed since the beginning of the year, seven of them in this city.

In focusing public and official attention on this murderous violence, President Nixon expresses the concern of every responsible citizen. The police are the nation's front-line troops in the unending struggle to control crime and disorder. When they lose their lives in that struggle either to the random criminal who shoots in panic or to the fanatic who stalks his victim, society itself is endangered.

Unfortunately, the White House meeting last week between Mr. Nixon and police officials was more effective in symbolizing the nation's concern than it was in accomplishing anything to lessen the number of police fatalities. The only concrete proposal to emerge from the meeting was for legislation to give \$50,000 to survivors of slain policemen.

At the outset, the meeting was unnecessarily engulfed in controversy by the conspicuous failure to invite Police Commissioner Murphy of New York and Quinn Tamm, executive director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Neither personal animosities nor policy differences should get in the way of the search for wisdom on this difficult problem.

Much more important than these exclusions was the Administration's recent failure to renew a research grant under which the Police Chiefs Association was compiling statistics on police assaults and making detailed studies of the circumstances of each assault. The survey's aim was to learn what additional action policemen could take to protect themselves. Failure of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to continue financing this valuable project is part of the Nixon Administration's broader failure to provide programmatic leadership in the police field.

Indeed, the top post of the L.E.A.A. was left vacant for nearly a year and only recently filled. Important positions in that agency have gone to political hacks. Commissioner Murphy, who served briefly in 1968 as first head of L.E.A.A., is a leading expert on police administration. His vigorous, articulate presence at the White House meeting might have been embarrassing to Attorney General Mitchell, who has so seriously failed to make good on L.E.A.A.'s potential.

The White House meeting was notable for what it did not do. It did not face up to the unrestricted traffic in pistols and revolvers. These weapons are used in the overwhelming majority of cases where policemen are killed or wounded. They are banned in this state, but New York's law is ineffective because guns are so easily obtained in other states.

It is irresponsible to deny the clear relationship between the availability of handguns and the murderous assaults on policemen. There is a hard job of public education and congressional persuasion to be done on the gun control issue. The leadership of the President and the Attorney General, not their opposition, are needed if that job is to be done.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 5, 1971]

PROTECTING THE PROTECTORS

President Nixon this week held a show-case meeting in Washington with selected police chiefs from around the country. He wanted to demonstrate his administration's concern over the rash of police killings this year.

There were two important revelations at the meeting. The first was a proposal that the federal government pay a lump sum of \$50,000 to the family of a policeman slain in the line of duty.

In principle, few would deny that policemen's families deserve adequate protection. The promise of financial security no doubt would help in the recruitment of qualified men. And as an earnest of the top elective official in the land's support for the policeman's role in society, the \$50,000 lump sum has the virtue of visible, tangible simplicity.

But it is not certain that a lump-sum settlement would provide the best kind of protection. Perhaps a national insurance program for those in hazardous public service jobs—which would include firemen, also now shot at in the line of duty—would be a better solution.

Actually, the second revelation of the White House meeting—that the administration would not change its opposition to stronger handgun controls—rejects what would be the larger protection to America's policemen.

There are 30 million handguns in America. The United States is the only industrial nation without effective handgun laws. Between two thirds and three fourths of policemen slain on duty in recent years were killed with handguns. The administration continues to want the states to do the controlling of such weapons. But this approach would not protect the populaces and policemen of states with such legislation from guns bought in states without it. As commissions on violence and crime matters have urged in the past, and as we have urged, effective federal handgun controls are a must.

President Nixon's gesture of police support, though one may question certain specifics, comes at a needed time. The role of the policeman has changed profoundly in recent years. The policeman today must deal with situations far more complicated than containing barroom rowdies or even than shootouts with gangsters. The job requires greater psychological skills than physical. And this at a time when police are openly derided. No doubt, as time passes, greater degrees of college training will be required for men in law enforcement.

A realistic government program to protect families of policemen, as well as handgun controls and more thoughtful moral support from the public, would help that evolution along.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 4, 1971]

WASHINGTON HEARS CRY FOR STRICT GUN CONTROLS

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—As President Nixon consults with city police chiefs on what to do about crime, the chairman of recent presidential crime commission in testimony here plead that one immediate step would be to control firearms.

New York Police Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy, a supporter of strong federal firearms control, was not included in the White House invitation. The Nixon administration opposes federal control.

There are 30 million handguns held privately today in America. Dr. Milton Eisenhower, brother of the late president, told the Senate. He headed the 1968-69 commission on violence, whose recommendations on gun control have been largely ignored.

Two other presidential commissions have recommended gun control, the Warren commission after the assassination of President Kennedy, and the crime commission under Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, former attorney general. Congress passed a mild firearms control act following the Warren report, chiefly against importation.

ASSOCIATION OPPOSITION

Fighting strict control is the powerful National Rifle Association here, which speaks for hunters and rural areas, and which has been aligned in the past with military elements promoting marksmanship.

The Nixon administration favors firearms control in the states. Ronald L. Ziegler, White House press secretary, said he thought commissioner Murphy had not been invited to the White House conference because he was not a "police chief." The guest list was prepared by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover at Mr. Nixon's request.

The Senate testimony on gun control was taken before the White House conference.

The United States is the only industrial nation that does not strictly control firearms, witnesses noted.

"We know many of the things that need to be done to stop crime—guns is one," Mr. Katzenbach, now in private law practice, told the Judiciary subcommittee under Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D) of Massachusetts here.

He dropped his voice and spoke slowly and impressively.

"There is no question that rigorous gun-control laws would not only reduce crime and violent crime significantly, but they would also reduce the police response. Yes, here is something that all of us know.

"And there is no police official in the country who doesn't know this.

"And yet we find the cities and the states and federal government unable or unwilling to act on that because of a certain amount of feeling the other way."

MEETING WITH POLICE CHIEFS

President Nixon and law-enforcement aides met with police chiefs of big cities here this week following the murder of two New York policemen and two in Washington. Mr. Nixon advocates a tough line to safeguard law elements.

Observers are struck by what seems lack of communication between officials fighting crime and commissions which have studied the subject. Why is this, asked Senator Kennedy.

"Gun control is at the top of every poll that you see," he said in questioning Dr. Eisenhower. "It's at the top of every housewife's fears that walks the streets of the city of Boston, and people are absolutely terrified. What is demanded in terms of national leadership?"

"Well, most certainly the most violent opposition has to do with gun control," said Dr. Eisenhower, whose blue-ribbon commission of 13 issued a monumental report that advocated control.

"Your commission," said Mr. Kennedy, "the Katzenbach commission, the Warren commission, all made very strong recommendations in terms of gun control, and they have all showed the relationship with the increase of violence and the increased availability of these concealable weapons. Do you think meaningful legislation would have an impact on violence?"

"This will have a real impact," Dr. Eisenhower replied. "It is no good to have one state have a Sullivan law, as in New York, when they can simply cross the state line and get all the guns they want. What we need is a federal act which would become effective in each of the states, say, after three years.

IMPACT PREDICTED

"The real weapon here," he said, "and one of the great causes of crime, is the concealable junk handgun." Sale of these has "quadrupled" in recent years, he said. "These are not sporting weapons; they have no other purpose than to kill."

One of several articles based on testimony in Washington by the chairmen of recent presidential crime commissions.

[From the New York Times, Thursday, May 27, 1971]

SATURDAY NIGHT SPECIAL
(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, May 26.—It was pointed out in this space on Nov. 11, 1970—and as early as April 30, 1969, by Nell Sheehan in The New York Times—that the 1968 Gun Control Act was being to some extent thwarted because domestic firms were importing and reassembling the individual parts of cheap handguns, which were themselves barred by the act from importation.

This turns out to be only partially true. The parts are being imported and reassembled, all right, and with devastatingly dangerous effect. Before the act, for instance, the importation of cheap revolvers—weapons of such low quality that few sportsmen or law officers would want one—had risen from 41,350 in 1951 to 747,012 in 1968. That was enough to move Congress to ban shipments of handguns that could not qualify under a factoring system as a sporting weapon.

Since the act, which did not bar the importation of the individual parts of cheap handguns, five former importers have been authorized to import enough parts to assemble in this country about 1.5 million such guns. In addition, domestic manufacturers now are producing annually nearly a million cheap handguns made entirely in the United States. All these "Saturday night specials" retail for about \$15 to \$30, and often for much less on resale in the streets and alleys of every major city.

These are figures supplied by Representative John Murphy of New York, a principal sponsor of the 1968 act. He and another Murphy—Commissioner Patrick V. of the New York City police, who is a firm supporter of gun-control legislation—appeared the other day in a news conference to ask support for Representative Murphy's new legislation to bar the sale of cheap handguns domestically manufactured or assembled.

The Congressman also has written Representative Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, that domestic manufacturers now are producing 41 different versions of the "Saturday night special" that would not be importable under the 1968 law.

Representative Murphy urged Mr. Celler to hold immediate hearings on the bill to apply the importation standards to domestically produced handguns. This is a measure obviously needed to plug a gaping loophole in the 1968 law, and the political prospects are reasonably good that this modest additional gun-control step can be taken; it is one that the most vociferous sportsman or gun fan will find hard to oppose on any rational grounds.

Further figures supplied by Representative Murphy—who got them from the Treasury's Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division—do not, however, bear out the notion that the domestic production of "Saturday night specials" has thwarted the 1968 law. In fact, as Representative Murphy said at his news conference, the record shows that "gun legislation does reduce crime and contribute to its prevention."

From January, 1969, to March, 1971, 967 arrests were made under Title I of the 1968 act, which prescribes certain standards as to who may and may not legally buy and sell guns (convicted felons, for instance, may not). In a comparable period before the passage of the act, only 258 arrests had been made on somewhat similar charges.

Although, under various provisions of the 1968 law, 4,477 arrests had been made through March, 1971—including, Representative Murphy said, "significant arrests of every type of criminal known." Arrests are not convictions, but since this record represents an increase of about 410 per cent over

gun-law arrests in the 27-month period before the 1968 law was passed, convictions and imprisonments for various firearms violations are bound to have increased, too.

The importance of these statistics is that they tend to disprove those who have been convinced that gun-control laws would have the effect of disarming law-abiding citizens, while leaving criminals free to dodge the law and commit as many crimes as ever. The effect, instead, has been to make it much easier to charge a violation of the new law to a gun-bearing criminal, or potential criminal, before the gun has been used in a crime.

A small further step, beyond closing the senseless loophole that permits the domestic manufacture of "Saturday night specials," has been proposed by a New York State Bar Association committee. It recommended a voluntary Federal license that would offer legitimate gun owners certain advantages, and at the same time make a beginning at determining on the Federal level who should and who should not be permitted to own a gun. That would be a small step indeed, but big ones are not likely in this politically volatile field.

BLACK CAPITALISM OR TAXPAYERS' SUBSIDIZED BLACK NATIONALISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the American people continue to be bombarded with goals of equal opportunity and racial mixing. Black capitalism to give disadvantaged minorities a role in profit-making enterprises is also heard. What was intended by the \$7.6 million grant of taxpayers money by the Department of Commerce for a community-owned hotel near Howard University? The recipient of the grant is the People's Involvement Corp.—a nonprofit community organization which will oversee the hotel that will be called The Harambee—Swahili, meaning unity.

Not to be outdone, the U.S. Department of Labor announces a grant of \$500,000 to fund an exconvict's juvenile delinquent rehabilitation program.

Some of the Federal agencies have so much money appropriated to them that they have to give it way to get it out of the way. They even pay for the slogans and goals they do not follow.

I insert several newsclippings at this point:

[From the Washington Post, June 7, 1971]
U.S. GRANTS \$7.6 MILLION TO BUILD BLACK-OWNED HOTEL IN INNER CITY
(By Paul W. Valentine)

In what he called a new effort to revitalize the black inner city here, Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans announced approval yesterday of almost \$7.6 million in grants and loans for construction of a community-owned hotel near Howard University.

Construction of the nine-story, 168-room hotel at Georgia Avenue and Bryant Street NW, just south of the Howard campus, is scheduled to begin in about one year.

Owner of the hotel and recipient of the federal funds will be the People Involvement Corporation (PIC), a nonprofit community improvement organization founded in 1967

and directed by a 39-member board of elected and appointed residents.

The corporation will oversee general planning of the hotel and let bids for its construction, according to PIC Executive Director Arnold T. Jones.

After construction, PIC will lease the building to a firm called Murph's Hotel Corporation for operation and maintenance.

Murph's corporation is headed by Ed Murphy, who operates Ed Murphy's Supper Club, one of two buildings on the site of the proposed hotel in the 2200 block of Georgia Avenue. The other building is vacant.

In a press conference at the Commerce Department yesterday, Murphy, Jones, Stans, D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy and City Council Chairman Gilbert Hahn Jr. praised the hotel project.

Stans noted the hotel will be called "The Harambee" (Swahili meaning "unity"). Murphy said the hotel "will have decor reflecting the very best in black styles."

He added: "Just as a good Hungarian restaurant is for all people and just as a good Chinese restaurant is for all people, this hotel is for all people."

He said the hotel will be "owned and operated by black people," employ about 200 people, and create a \$1 million annual payroll. "The profits will stay in the community," he said.

The federal funds approved yesterday include a \$3,569,000 grant and a \$3,569,000 loan to PIC to meet the total cost of building the hotel.

Another \$445,000 loan goes to Murphy's Hotel Corporation to help furnish the hotel. The PIC loan is payable in 40 years at 5½ per cent, the hotel corporation loan in 10 years at 6 per cent.

Preliminary plans call for the hotel to have a six-level, 300-car underground garage; banquet and conference rooms for up to 700 people; restaurant and lounge facilities; a coffee shop, and ground-level space for small retail shops.

Murphy said the hotel expects to attract visitors, conferees and conventioners at nearby Howard University, Washington Hospital Center, the Veterans' Administration Hospital and Freedmen's Hospital, and tourists in general.

Since its creation, PIC has been organizing assistance in a variety of social services in an inner-city area bounded roughly by 16th and Harvard Streets and Massachusetts Avenue NW and the B & O railroad tracks in Northeast.

In housing, it has one ongoing project, renovation of 51 houses on 8th and 9th Streets between S and T Streets NW. Other projects are in the planning stage.

PIC is directed by 39 board members: 36 elected from PIC-area precincts or at large and three appointed by the mayor.

[From the Washington Post, June 6, 1971]

EX-CONVICT GETS U.S. GRANT TO RUN YOUTH PROJECT

BALTIMORE.—Eddie M. Harrison, convicted four times of the same slaying in Washington but freed after 8½ years in prison by order of President Nixon, has received a \$500,000 grant to run a program for the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents here.

The Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor agreed Thursday to supply the funds and a contract has been signed by Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro III.

The direct recipient of the funds will be Learning Systems Inc., Boston-based firm that originally hired Harrison as a prison consultant but is now giving him free hand in designing a program to educate juveniles in their mid-teens who have run afoul of the law.

Harrison was 17 when he and two companions were charged in 1960 with the shotgun

slaying of small-time gambler George (Cider) Brown. He was tried as an adult and originally sentenced to death.

"WE'RE VERY FORTUNATE"

"Eddie's a unique person and we're very fortunate to have him," says John Peck, president of Learning Systems. "He's been through it all and he knows where it's at."

Harrison was a high school dropout who hung around on street corners in Washington, learning street life.

"Hustlers were very high on the totem pole in our society," he says now. "They had Cadillacs, fine clothes and money—and you want to have those material things too."

That period ended in March, 1960, he says, when Brown was slain by three youths who, police theorize, were trying to rob him.

Harrison spent the next 16 months on death row in the D.C. jail. Then that verdict was overturned—his "attorney" turned out to be an ex-convict without legal training—and he received a 20-year-to-life at the next trial.

"It began to dawn on me during the next six years in prison that my idols were pretty dumb," says Harrison. To occupy his mind, Harrison finished high school in prison and began taking college courses. He also began to serve as an intermediary between the prison administration and other inmates.

IMPROBABLE REQUEST

Then, after his sentence was overturned and he had received his second life sentence at his third trial, he made a highly improbable request: to be released on personal bond pending appeal.

To the surprise of almost everyone, that request was granted.

The U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, in approving Harrison's release, said that his "outstanding detention record, coupled with his strong area ties, his family's help, assured employment and his apparent determination to live a useful and productive life are obviously factors to be weighed . . ."

Newspaper stories about the decision caught Peck's eye, and Harrison was hired almost immediately as a prison consultant at \$50 a day.

And two years later when his appeal of his fourth conviction was denied, President Nixon responded to broad-based community pressure and commuted his sentence.

BENEFITS FIRST OFFENDERS

"I decided in prison I had to try to bring about some change in the kids who are growing up now, shaped by the same sorts of things I was shaped by," says Harrison. "Otherwise they'll just be victims."

"The President gave me that chance—and here I am."

Harrison's program will take first-time offenders out of the courts and will give them, for a 45-day period, individual audio-visual instruction at their own functional level, as well as individual counseling by Harrison and a staff of more than 20.

If the suspect completes the course and responds favorably to counseling, charges will be dropped and the youth will have no record.

"I see myself as an example for the young kids who are in the institutions," he says, "and I think my place in the community is that of a teacher—a person who's gone through trial and tribulation and has acquired certain desirable characteristics in spite of it."

[From the Washington Evening Star, June 8, 1971]

BLACK ON TV DISMISSED; 30 PROTEST
(By Lynn Dunson)

About 30 persons demonstrated in front of WTOP-TV yesterday to protest the dismissal of Carol Randolph, hostess of "Harambee," an early morning, black-oriented news-talk show.

They said they will continue the protest all summer. They also plan to send delegations to WTOP advertisers and press a "selective buying" campaign until Mrs. Randolph is returned to the show, according to Calvin Rolark, demonstration spokesman.

"Blacks have never had their fair share in the television industry," Rolark said. "If WTOP is supposed to be a pioneer in the hiring of blacks as it says it is, then Mrs. Randolph should have been among the last that they fired."

Mrs. Randolph said she was told her dismissal was an economic move and a part of a summer cutback in live production.

Daniel E. Gold, vice president of Post-Newsweek stations, said Mrs. Randolph was released from her \$20,000-a-year post because the show will use more reruns and fewer live performances during the summer.

She is the first black person dismissed in a series of terminations, including that of John Corporon, former general manager, in the last several months, Gold said.

Gold said Mrs. Randolph had not been "fired" but "laid off." She received 13 weeks' severance pay.

He said station executives are considering a new format for the show and Mrs. Randolph might be re-hired in the fall when the new direction of the program is known.

MANAGEMENT AND PUBLIC HOUSING

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, the June 1971 issue of the National Capital Area Realtor magazine includes an article entitled, "Proven Management Techniques Offset Public Housing Problems."

The public housing project which is the subject of this article, the Glenarden Apartments, is located in Prince Georges County in my congressional district. The author discusses the problems and successes which can result when a management firm administers a public housing project.

Mr. Speaker, I insert this article in the Record at this point for my colleagues' perusal:

PROVEN MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES OFFSET PUBLIC HOUSING PROBLEMS

Public Housing, be it profit oriented, non-profit, rent subsidized or not, can be successfully administered, according to California native Edward L. Gammon, who is now deeply involved in three major low-rent projects in the Washington area.

Gammon, who heads a non-profit organization known as the National Health Foundation, cites the success of his first venture—Glenarden Apartments in Prince George's County, Md.—where the turnover rate is less than two per cent and rent-collecting and maintenance problems are negligible.

Housing Services, Inc., Gammon's management firm, also operates Parkway West Overlook off Suitland Parkway in southeast Washington and Gammon is presently awaiting FHA approval of a government-subsidized loan to buy and renovate the Brentwood Village complex at 13th and Rhode Island Avenue, N.E.

Gammon lists three criteria for maintaining the buildings properly and obtaining and keeping responsible tenants.

They are:
Housekeeping
Screening
Education

Under housekeeping, Gammon insists that properties, inside and out must be rigorously maintained. The buildings, he said, must be kept scrupulously clean. Repairs must be made immediately, trash and garbage can not be permitted to accumulate and the proper maintenance extends to landscaping walkways, lighting and playgrounds.

Tenant screening is done on a professional level by management people. Routine credit and character checks are made but Gammon, who admits his screening agents' policies are "tougher than most" says they also look into employment records, past housekeeping habits and occasionally the numbers and characters of children and close relatives.

Gammon is sold on tenant education. "We assume nothing," he says. Tenants are told at seminars, meetings and through literature the basics of housekeeping sanitation and cleanliness.

"We tell them how to take care of kitchen equipment, the function and use of utilities. Some of these people don't know how a modern stove works or how to properly clean a refrigerator. We tell them and at the same time try to instill in them a sense of personal pride in their surroundings."

"Our tenants are basically good people. They will take care of their apartments if they are told how and if they believe management is cooperating with them."

Gammon's views and philosophies are shared by Robert Allen, Jr., manager of Glenarden and a vice president of Gammon's management company.

The average family at Glenarden Apartments, says Allen, "wants a decent place to live. Show them you want to provide it, and they'll cooperate with you."

He once thought it impossible to run neat, clean, budget-respecting housing for subsidized families. He has changed his mind because he is now learning how to do just that.

"Many people complain when they hear that their tax money is being used to provide air conditioning and swimming pools for moderate rent housing. Actually it would be a waste of money not to provide them," he says.

It also is urgent for the community today to have these built-in amenities, he said. With two or three children per family, Glenarden Apartments would have a thousand youngsters looking for a way to keep cool and/or active on hot summer days and evenings if they didn't have adequate play facilities.

"If you show these people that you care about the property, they will show their appreciation," Allen said.

At Glenarden the staff doesn't wait for equipment to break down before repairing it. Each summer the boilers are taken apart and put in shape for the next winter; in the winter the same is done for the central air-conditioning plant. The bearings on a playground merry-go-round were replaced recently and the machine was kept in operation.

"Sometimes a window is broken, and no one in the family reports it. We replace it promptly, anyway. We try to make plumbing repairs within 24 hours."

"I keep my evenings free to meet with tenant groups and listen to gripes. Instead of standing on my rights, I try to meet complaints half way."

Consideration, of course, is a two-way street, and Allen expects tenants to pay their rent on time. Suit is filed on the 15th of every month to exact payment from those who are tardy.

It takes another month for eviction, by which time nine out of 10 have paid up. And they must pay the \$11 court cost as well. This is another aspect of what it takes to keep a project a nice place to live.

"In Prince George's County the courts back us up. Landlords get the blame when a property goes downhill, and often they deserve it. But what can the owners of housing do when they have no way to enforce rent collections?"

"Half of the relatively small number of families we have had to evict from Glenarden were plagued with internal quarreling," Allen said. "These are things that don't show up in written reports."

"I figure that if I can send a man into the families' present homes—no matter how miserable the external surroundings may be—he should be able to tell something about how good tenants they will be."

Gammon, whose projects have been aided by FHA programs, speaks highly of the work of this housing agency.

"Without FHA programs," he insists, "there wouldn't be any good quality, low rent housing."

"The agency also has a better batting average of accomplishments than most people credit it with."

WILLIAM J. KING, IMMIGRATION CHIEF AT BUFFALO, RETIRES

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, a 42-year veteran of Government service, known to his friends and employees as "Colonel King," has retired after serving the past 14 years as Chief of the Immigration and Naturalization Service District headquartered in my home city of Buffalo, N.Y.

William J. King has acquired a host of friends and has commanded wide respect in a position of responsibility that often has touched on very sensitive problems of human relations.

As one of the major international gateways to the United States, many, many thousands of individuals have crossed the border each day from Canada through the stations over which he had charge.

Colonel King supervised his district in a strict but completely humane manner, giving courteous and sympathetic consideration to every request for assistance in connection with immigration and naturalization problems.

Before he joined the Immigration and Naturalization Service he served in the Army where he achieved the rank of full colonel and is credited with organizing the Army's Criminal Investigations Division during World War II.

I join with Colonel King's many friends in wishing him gracious living in his retirement and many many happy days ahead.

Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks I include an excellent article from the Buffalo Evening News on Colonel King:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News,
May 26, 1971]

RETIRING IMMIGRATION CHIEF LIKES CITY, BUT IRELAND IS MOST FIT FOR A KING

(By Tony Cardinale)

If Buffalo's retiring U.S. immigration chief had his way, he'd emigrate back to Ireland, which his ancestors left 160 years ago.

"Southern Ireland is the last outpost of gracious living in the Western world," mused William J. King, known to his friends and 360 employes as "Colonel King."

But for this 42-year veteran of government service, retirement this month means settling down in Buffalo. Nor is he complaining.

"Buffalo is our home town now," he said. "We love it! If everybody I know in Buffalo would vote for me, I'd run for mayor."

For gracious living, Buffalo style, Col. King will continue to swim daily at the Buffalo Athletic Club and meet there quarterly with the Philosophers, a group of successful friends he jokingly calls "15 old steamroom athletes."

MAN OF CONTRASTS

At 69, the outgoing director of the upstate New York district of the Immigration & Naturalization Service is a man of contrasts.

One moment he's the crusty colonel fully in charge of things. A twinkle later, he's the mellow, self-deprecating, devil-may-care conversationalist.

After all the successes in military and civilian life, the one prize that he points to with unabashed pride is a Disabled American

Veterans citation he received for "your efforts in the entire area of employment of the handicapped."

Asked how he'd explain his impressive list of achievements, he said simply: "I just happened to be available with a particular knowledge that was needed at the time." The list includes:

Organizing the Army's Criminal Investigations Division (CID) during World War II while serving in England as the Army's liaison with Scotland Yard.

LIAISON WITH SCOTLAND YARD

Serving as senior liaison officer to the British Army of the Rhine.

Commanding a German labor service battalion, the beginning of a post-war German army under Allied supervision.

Retiring as a full colonel after only 13 years in the Army.

Returning to civilian life in 1954 to become head of the INS Field Inspection & Security Division, which brought him to every district immigration office in the country.

Rounding out his career with a 14-year stint as head of the Buffalo INS district, where nearly 80,000 aliens live and more people walk across the border than anywhere else in the country.

Col. King leaned back in his chair, pressed dimples into both cheeks with the tips of eyeglass frames, and allowed that his rise in the INS since 1929 has been meteoric.

SERVED MANY ROLES

He served in Detroit as chairman of a special inquiry board, in Honolulu as inspector in charge of the Chinese division, in New York City as head of the inspections division, and in Washington as information chief and assistant director of a special division seeking wartime subversives.

A graduate of Georgetown University's Foreign Service School, he is a native of Springfield, Mass., and has long given prime space on his office wall to photos of the three Kennedy brothers.

Snuffing out his methol cigarette, Col. King got up and stood at his window overlooking Niagara Square. He said he'll spend more time with his wife now, and with his Civil War books, and may visit his daughter in London and old friends in southern Ireland.

Any new battles left unfought?
"Lovely sunshine," he mused, still gazing out the window. "Think I'll get some of it tomorrow."

SENATE—Wednesday, June 9, 1971

The Senate met at 9:30 a.m. and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

Rabbi Morton M. Kanter, Congregation Beth El, Detroit, Mich., offered the following prayer:

Our Heavenly Father, King David's Psalm implores:

Seek peace and pursue it.—Psalm 34: 14.

The rabbis who came late said: "You must seek peace in your own place and pursue it even to another place as well." (Leviticus Rabbah, Tzav, IX, 9).

We seek Thy guidance and inspiration for those who are charged with the great responsibility of directing the affairs of our Nation. May Thy spirit dwell richly within them as they manifest abiding courage and sincere faith to work for freedom, justice, and peace within our Nation and throughout the earth. Grant them loving kindness and patience, un-

derstanding and foresight so that they will ever be warmed by Thy love and nurtured by Thy teachings.

Bless, O Father, all the people of our country. In our relations with one another, may we ever remember that we are all equally dependent upon Thee. Bring us together in an indissoluble bond of friendship and brotherhood, that, unitedly, we may promote the welfare of our country and increase the happiness of our fellow men. Hear Thou our prayer and bless us with strength and peace. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, June 8, 1971, be dispensed with.

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider nominations on the executive calendar.

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Joseph F. Donelan, Jr., of New York, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Charles J. Nelson, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic