

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF POLLUTION ABATEMENT

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on June 6 of this year, Andrew F. Brimmer, a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, spoke at the commencement exercises of the University of Miami at Coral Gables, Fla., on the subject of the "Economic Impact of Pollution Abatement."

Dr. Brimmer speaks eloquently of the need to educate the public to the economic sacrifices which increased pollution abatement is likely to entail in the years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this address represents a significant contribution to the existing body of knowledge on this, and I include Dr. Brimmer's address at this point in the RECORD:

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF POLLUTION ABATEMENT
(By Andrew F. Brimmer)

One is not surprised to note that the problems of checking pollution and improving our environment are among the most popular topics for commencement speakers this year. In fact, if the issue were not such a vital one, I might be inclined to apologize for raising the subject again. However, we are confronted with a stark and unpleasant reality: many of our lakes and rivers (and even the oceans themselves) are polluted. Much of our air is contaminated—to the point of creating a serious threat to the health of some of our citizens in specific areas. In a variety of ways, our overall environment has suffered considerable deterioration.

On an occasion such as this, there is little to be gained by an attempt to assign blame for the circumstances in which we find ourselves. To a considerable extent, all of us—as citizens of a country with the most sophisticated technology in the world as well as possessing some of the earth's richest natural resources—are guilty of allowing our environment to be abused. On the other hand, we know a great deal about the main sources of pollution, and we have a fairly good idea of the requirements that must be met—if we are to cope successfully with the problem.

SOURCES OF POLLUTION

We know that certain industries, partly because of the inherent nature of the production processes which they employ and partly because of hesitancy in recognizing their responsibilities, have posed serious dangers to the environment:

A sizable share of the air pollution can be traced to electric power plants, to coke ovens in steel mills, and to smelters of non-ferrous ores.

Paper mills pollute streams, and chemical plants produce waste that is discarded in lakes and oceans.

Faulty oil wells and accidents in petroleum transportation pollute ocean waterways and damage beaches.

In agriculture, drainage from feed lots spoil streams, and pesticides harm some beneficial plants, fish, birds, and people.

In transportation, airplanes, buses, trucks, trains, and other modes of transport also add to the pollution of the atmosphere.

But industry is not alone. Governments also contribute in significant ways to the deterioration of our environment:

Municipal incinerators rank high as a source of air pollution.

Garbage dumps scar the landscape, foul the air, and provide havens for rats and other vermin.

And above all, individual citizens collectively are probably the most important factor in air and water pollution in the United States:

The private automobile is obviously the chief source in the household sector.

Some furnaces and the burning of leaves and grass are also major contributors.

Drainage of septic tanks contaminate the subsoil and foul our lakes, streams and rivers.

Discarded solid waste disfigures our streets and highways and turns much of the countryside into a junk-heap.

So, we must accept the fact that the task of pollution abatement is both large and urgent. This conclusion seems self-evident—even after we discount (as we should) many of the overly dramatic claims of some of the more shrill environmentalists, some of whom do not distinguish between the wise and conservative development and use of our natural resources and the wanton squandering of our heritage. But we must also accept the fact that—left to themselves—some of the principal polluters (businesses, governments, and private individuals) would not correct the situation on their own responsibility.

Yet, the extent of the pollution problem varies greatly from industry to industry and even among firms within the same industry. Because of differing geographical and climatic conditions, one area with essentially the same industrial structure possessed by another may be relatively free of air or water pollution while the other staggers in smog or swirls in effluvia. So, what is needed is a national policy on pollution control—a policy with firm national standards, but one that also gives due weight to the diversity of experience and circumstances among industries and localities.

I realize, of course, that we do not need to begin from scratch in this effort. Laws and regulations on the books, at the Federal, State and local level, have already created much of the necessary framework for such a policy. And in a number of industries, business firms have gone a long way in adapting and upgrading their facilities in an effort to meet the more rigorous standards. Moreover, existing anti-pollution laws are being tightened, and new measures are being adopted.

ROLE OF PUBLIC SECTOR

In implementing these more stringent requirements for pollution abatement, the public sector (at all levels) does have a vital role. In fact, the Federal Government has projected a sizable expansion in the volume of budget resources to be devoted to pollution control in the next few years. Nevertheless, in the current fiscal year (ending on the last day of this month), outlays for these programs may amount to only \$1.2 billion. And, despite a relatively large increase projected for next year's budget, outlays for pollution abatement in the year ahead still may not exceed \$2 billion.

Moreover, as we look further into the decade, it is becoming increasingly clear that the resources of the Federal Government will be almost fully committed—despite the outlook for renewed economic expansion—through 1975. This prospect seems to be virtually assured because of the further matur-

ing of programs already in force and because of the expected impact of new initiatives whose adoption appears to be well underway. State and local governments also will be hard-pressed to raise the revenue necessary to finance an expanding demand for public services.

Consequently, the major role in the campaign to control pollution must rest with the private sector. But, within the private sector, the efforts of households to expand consumption and the efforts of business firms to expand investment will make heavy claims on our limited resources. Under these circumstances, we must face squarely an inescapable fact: there is a fundamental conflict between our efforts to maximize the growth of our gross national product (GNP) as traditionally defined and our efforts to devote a substantial share of our real resources to pollution control.

While activities to check pollution and to improve our environment will undoubtedly take many forms, above all they will require a significant increase in the level of investment in pollution abatement equipment. This will mean a drastic change in the pattern of investment spending in both the private and public sectors. Historically, the vast proportion of the new investment in private industry has been made to increase production capacity, and only a modest share has been devoted to suppressing the pollutants generated as a by-product of industrial activity. To get a firm grip on the pollution problem will require a considerable reordering of investment priorities: a much larger share of new investment will have to be devoted to making production processes themselves far cleaner and to repairing the environmental damages suffered in the past.

RATE OF GROWTH

And here we encounter the toughest choice of all: the rate of growth of real output in the United States—as in any other advanced industrial society—depends heavily on the pace of investment in plant and equipment to expand productive capacity. With much more of our net investment being channeled into pollution abatement, the rate of expansion of the American economy as a whole will probably slow down perceptibly. So, with our population continuing to grow, we would be faced with the likelihood of a slower growth in real per capita income—and in our standard of living as traditionally defined. Some of us, of course, would accept such an outcome as a reasonable price to pay to halt the deterioration of our environment. Others would decry it as an unwarranted penalty to be paid primarily by those segments of society least able to bear it—under-developed regions of the country, the poor and disadvantaged, hard-pressed urban communities—all of which may benefit considerably from a high level of sustained economic growth. And, finally, still other observers would hope and search for a viable means of reconciling these conflicting goals.

That these goals are in conflict is shown clearly in the results of a systematic analysis of the effects of pollution abatement efforts which I undertook with the assistance of the Board's staff and the computer-based econometric model which we have had in operation for the last few years. These results are not altogether comforting: while pollution abatement activities would undoubtedly create many new jobs, the adverse impact of reduced or disrupted output in some sectors would partly off-set these gains. There would also be an adverse impact on residential construction and personal consumption. But perhaps one of the most disturbing adverse effects is the impetus to inflation that the

pollution abatement efforts would produce. While some of the resulting increased costs and higher prices can be viewed as reflecting higher quality of output, there undoubtedly would be a further strengthening of inflationary pressures in the American economy.

Thus, the fundamental question that must be asked is this: are we prepared to pay these real costs? Only the American people as a whole can answer.

In the rest of these remarks, I will comment more fully on these major issues.

PUBLIC POLICY AND POLLUTION CONTROL

As I indicated above, the public sector is relying largely on the private sector for implementation of a large measure of environmental control. Essentially, encouragement is given to the private sector with the stick of judicial procedures and the carrot of a modest amount of grant assistance. So far, the emphasis of the Federal programs is mainly on water pollution. About 80 per cent of Federal obligations are currently in this area, with the largest share of funds reflected in grants and loans for construction of municipal waste treatment facilities. Air pollution control, in second place, lags far behind with about 11 per cent of the obligated funds. Small sums are planned for activities relating to the pollution of land, for example, from mine drainage, nutrients, pesticides, and other substances. Most of these funds will be for research.

Altogether, outlays for these programs in fiscal 1971 are estimated at approximately \$1.2 billion. In fiscal 1972, outlays for pollution control and abatement activities are expected to rise by a large percentage amount (71 per cent) but in absolute terms only by \$838 million. Budget authority for these programs so far has been considerably greater than outlays. To some extent, these low expenditure figures reflect difficulties in starting up programs, and perhaps there have been difficulties in the original drafting of some of the expenditure provisions. But, whatever the explanation, budget authority for pollution control in 1972 will increase rather significantly—from an estimated \$1.8 billion in fiscal 1971 to \$3.1 in fiscal 1972. On the other hand, these budget obligations are spread over a number of years in the future, and the amounts are relatively small.

WATER POLLUTION STANDARDS

As of this date, the Administration's program for fiscal 1972 has not been passed, and there are at least two major alternative programs being considered by Congress. However, there is a significant departure from previous policy in the Administration's new proposal for water treatment plants. From 40 to 60 per cent of the cost of waste disposal is apparently directly traceable to industrial users, and new proposals would require communities receiving waste treatment grants to recover from industrial users that portion of project costs that is allocable to the treatment of the specific company's waste. In other words, there would be a user charge associated with waste treatment, and industries would have a direct incentive to economize in their use of water. This clearly differs from past policies which relied on enforcement of water standards through judicial procedures, which could result in long delays and often were limited to a few conspicuous violators.

For the last 1½ decades, the central theme of Federal Government policy in this area has been that most pollution control must be effected by industry. In 1956, Congress amended the Federal Water Pollution Control Act and initiated Federal efforts to establish water quality standards and to enforce them. Federal involvement grew slowly, but the 1965 Water Quality Act provided Federal supervision in the establishment of water quality standards on all interstate water ways. As legislation now stands, Federal water pollution control is based on the

required development by each State of water quality standards for each interstate lake, stream, or coastal area within its jurisdiction. Provision is made for Federal and State negotiations on the problem and judicial enforcement of the agreed upon standards against polluters. To meet these standards, industry has already invested large sums of capital. The present structure of legislation and the apparent shortage of available government funds suggests, however, that the bulk of the effort will have to continue to be made without financial assistance from governments.

RECENT AND PROSPECTIVE PATTERNS OF BUSINESS INVESTMENT

These new investment requirements will follow a heavy volume of investment activity by American industry. In the 1960's, the growth in real private business investment outlays was particularly rapid, averaging about 6.5 per cent annually—well above the 2.7 per cent annual expansion during the 1950's. In 1970, real plant and equipment expenditures declined—partly because of the general economic slowdown and partly because of the lagged effects of monetary restraint in 1969. During the next few years, we expect outlays to expand again at a fairly rapid pace, if long-term capital markets remain favorable and if investment and depreciation allowances are made more liberal. In addition, if the investment tax credit were to be re-enacted, it too would provide inducement to expand durable equipment investment.

More generally, however, part of the unusually large volume of investment in recent years is undoubtedly attributable to inflationary psychology. The rapid rise in the prices of plant and equipment (especially in construction costs) caused business to push ahead with new programs even when the need for these facilities was not immediately urgent to meet current demand. As price increases moderate, this source of stimulus to investment should fade somewhat, but it will probably be quite some time before businessmen completely forget present inflationary conditions and the pressure of rapidly rising unit costs. Moreover, strong consumer demand (especially for durables with their greater capital investment requirements), the expected demand from the public sector (particularly from urban transportation systems), and requirements for changes in the production process to keep up with accelerating technological advances will undoubtedly generate large capital requirements.

Consequently, additional investment to curtail pollution of the environment will add importantly to already large capital outlays by private business. One recent survey estimates that investment in pollution-control activities by American companies this year will rise by 46 per cent over last year, to a total of \$3.6 billion—or 4.4 per cent of total capital investment in the 26 industries surveyed compared to 3.1 per cent last year. To meet legal standards set up as of last January, it is estimated that, from the end of last year through the mid-1970's, it will take a cumulative total of more than \$18 billion—and it is possible that standards will be stiffened further in the years ahead. Seven industries will probably have to spend more than \$1 billion apiece, with electric utilities being hardest hit with an estimated clean-up bill of \$3.2 billion. Electric utilities plan to spend \$679 million this year, compared with only \$127 million in 1966.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES IN ASSESSING POLLUTION ABATEMENT COSTS

The above outlays are obviously large, and they should make a significant impact on industry's capacity to cope with pollution. However, an economist would want to pose a number of specific questions in order to make a fairly good assessment of the probable costs of the investment necessary to

meet the more stringent pollution standards. I addressed such a list of questions to representatives in two industries (steel and electric power generation), and they were hopeful of responding in time to permit an analysis of the replies in connection with these remarks. Unfortunately, the answers were not available.

In the absence of such data, I decided to try a different approach to obtain an assessment of the implications of channeling a greater proportion of private investment to control pollution. For this purpose, I relied on the Federal Reserve Board's staff and the modern, computer-based econometric model which the staff has had in operation during the last few years.¹ Essentially, I wanted to know what would be the general economic impact—both direct and indirect—of devoting a larger share of business investment in plant and equipment to pollution abatement. To answer this question, it was first necessary to have an indication of the contours of investment and the level and composition of GNP in the absence of special efforts to change the configuration of investment spending. Using the Board's econometric model, a "base projection" of real GNP—and its principal components in 1975—was prepared.² The results (in constant 1958 dollars) are shown in the attached table.

According to these estimates, real GNP might rise from \$724 billion in 1970 to \$893 billion in 1975. Producers' durables equipment (the most likely place where outlays for pollution abatement would be registered) might be in the neighborhood of \$63.6 billion, representing about 7.1 per cent of GNP, compared with \$56.1 billion and 7.7 per cent of GNP in 1970. Expenditures on producers' structures (mainly plant and other nonresidential structures) would approximate \$25.7 billion, slightly more than in 1970, and equivalent to 2.9 per cent of total output. Residential construction expenditures might amount to \$24.7 billion compared with \$20.6, claiming the same share of total output (2.8 per cent) in both 1970 and 1975. This pattern of private investment and the overall structure of GNP associated with it should be kept in mind; without a conscious effort to modify the flow of investment, we might expect to see a slightly smaller proportion of our real resources devoted to capital accumulation in the private sector, and the increase in investment in plant and equipment would account for about 6 per cent of the rise in real output between 1970 and 1975.

UNIT COSTS WOULD RISE

The next step was to determine the effects of raising the level of investment to cope with pollution. It was assumed initially that pollution control devices are added to new equipment purchases but that old equipment is not altered. Greater investment in pollution control equipment would increase the amount of capital required per unit of output³—because no increase in production capacity would be associated with a more expensive—but less polluting—production process. The result of this second exercise is labeled "new equipment projection" in the table.

¹ The model was developed with the technical assistance of economists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Pennsylvania.

² Key assumptions underlying the exercise were that tax rates were unchanged and that resources were fully utilized, with unemployment in the neighborhood of 4 per cent in 1975.

³ Economists refer to the capital required per unit of output as the "capital-output ratio". It was assumed that the pollution control devices add 5 per cent to the cost of a unit of producers' durable equipment.

In this projection, real GNP might rise to \$918 billion in 1975 with investment in producers' durable equipment at \$69.5 billion, accounting for 7.6 per cent of total output.⁴ Personal consumption expenditures would be held to proportionally less than in 1970, 64.9 per cent of GNP compared to 65.9. Producers' structures and residential construction also would be held to proportionally smaller shares of total output than in 1970 as more investment is shifted to new pollution abatement equipment. The unemployment rate, however, would drop substantially below the 4 per cent level, and the pressure on prices and interest rates would be increased significantly.

The final step in the exercise was to estimate the effect of raising the level of investment to scope with pollution in both new equipment and the cost of upgrading equipment already in place. It was assumed that rehabilitation of the old stock of producers' durable equipment would cost \$3 billion a year from 1971 through 1975.⁵

The resulting projected GNP (labeled "upgrading" in the attached table) was \$887 billion, nearly \$5.5 billion less than the base projection (without special anti-pollution efforts) and \$31 billion less than the projection for investment in new equipment provided with pollution control devices. As expected, producers' durable equipment, at \$70.6 billion in 1975, claimed an even greater share of total GNP (8 per cent) than with either of the other projections, while plant held the same relative share. The increase in investment accounted for 10 per cent of the increase in GNP from 1970 to 1975. In addition, although they accounted for a slightly greater proportion of the total (66.3 per cent), personal consumption expenditures were lower than in the other projections, amounting to \$588 billion in 1975.

⁴ A ten-year simulation indicates that real GNP in the "new equipment" projection will drop below the level for the "base projection" in about seven years, compared with 3½ years for the projection discussed below.

⁵ This assumption appears consistent with results of the industry survey cited on page 11.

Outlays for residential construction and consumer durable were held to lower levels than in the base projection. The unemployment rate held at the same level as that of the base projection when no modifications were planned for pollution abatement, and interest rates rose only slightly.

The most disturbing aspect of this exercise is the projected effect on prices. Prices as measured by the GNP deflator began to rise more rapidly with the additional investment in pollution control. This, of course, raises the whole question of national accounting vs. a fuller set of social accounts. In a very important sense, when we add to the cost of electricity, for example, by insisting upon putting a cost on the use of natural resources such as water and air, we are adding to social costs. Since our traditional measures of cost cannot easily be adjusted for environmental savings, the standard price indexes will continue to register increases.

In summary, the increase in producers' durable investment for pollution control was purchased at the cost of slight reductions in expenditures for plant and residential housing, and sizable drops in personal consumption and total GNP.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Before closing these remarks, I want to emphasize again that I personally share the concern being expressed increasingly (especially by young people) over the quality of our environment. Fortunately, the handful of critics (and it is good that there are so few) who try to minimize the seriousness of the pollution problem have not been able to divert attention from the genuine threat that confronts us. Hopefully, from now on, we will insist that consideration of environmental consequences be placed high on the agenda of any resource development projects—whether public or private. We can no longer defend a scheme simply because it will expand the supply of energy, increase the availability of building material, reduce transportation costs, or in other ways add to the material welfare of our citizens. The costs to the environment must also be added in the calculus of decisions.

On the other hand, I certainly would not stand with that small band of intolerant men

and women (and here also it is good that there are so few) who would so elevate environmental concerns that we would be virtually precluded from using our economic and natural resources to improve the lot of the poor and disadvantaged, to spur the growth of depressed regions, or to ease the plight of our cities. In all of these areas, too, we are still faced with a long agenda of unfinished tasks. They also have large and legitimate claims which must be honored through the allocation of a greater share of our real resources.

So, I am left in the middle. I see a basic conflict among competing goals, and a shortfall in the means to satisfy them all. And we cannot afford the illusion of believing that we can: despite our obvious affluence as a nation, we do not have the capacity to produce enough so that households can maximize their consumption (while minimizing taxes); so that an adequate volume of housing can be built; so that business can expand their production facilities at a maximum rate (and also make the investment needed to abate pollution); so that governments can meet the increasing demand for public services (while tax revenues lag behind spending). Instead, I see the need for all of us to exercise the critical judgment and make the hard choices which seek a reasonable balance between our hopes and possibilities.

In short, some things must be left undone; some goals must remain beyond our grasp—at least for the time being. And some common aims must be pursued—despite the cost and pain to some of us individually. Put another way—perhaps an old fashioned way—there are still many sacrifices ahead.

With respect to pollution abatement alone, the issue can be stated succinctly: in the next four or five years, it will take about 10 per cent of our net increase in the nation's real output (or roughly \$16 billion in real terms, based on 1958 dollars) to finance the capital investment necessary to check pollution. At the same time, however, it might also place a substantial drag on the continued improvement in the material conditions of our lives.

How many of us are willing to pay this price?

PRINCIPAL CLAIMS ON REAL GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, 1970, AND ALTERNATIVE PROJECTIONS TO 1975

[Amounts in billions of 1958 dollars]

Sector	1970 (actual)		1975 base projection ¹		1975 new equipment projection ²			1975 upgrading projection ³			
	Amount	Percent of total	Amount	Percent of total	Amount	Percent of total	Variance from base projection	Amount	Percent of total	Base projection	New equipment projection
Gross national product.....	724.1	100.0	892.6	100.0	918.0	100.0	25.4	887.2	100.0	-5.4	-30.8
Personal consumption.....	477.1	65.9	593.8	66.5	595.6	64.9	1.8	588.2	66.3	-5.6	-7.4
Producers' durable equipment.....	56.1	7.7	63.6	7.1	69.5	7.6	5.9	70.6	8.0	7.0	1.1
Producers' structures.....	23.1	3.2	25.7	2.9	26.2	2.9	.5	25.3	2.9	-.4	-.9
Residential construction.....	20.6	2.8	24.7	2.8	23.7	2.6	-1.0	24.3	2.7	-.3	.6
Consumer durables.....	82.0	11.3	106.6	11.9	110.2	12.0	3.6	105.3	11.9	-1.3	-4.9
Memorandum:											
Treasury bill rate (percent).....	6.37		6.20		7.40		1.20	6.50		.30	-.90
Prices (GNP deflator).....	134.9		159.9		162.9		3.0	163.0		3.1	-.1
Unemployment rate.....	4.8		3.8		2.7		-1.1	3.8		0	1.1

¹ The "base projection" is derived from a simulation of the national economy by using the Federal Reserve Board's econometric model. A key assumption was that resources were fully utilized with unemployment in the neighborhood of 4 percent in 1975.

² In this projection, it is assumed that pollution control equipment is required on all new equipment, adding 5 percent to cost.

³ This projection assumed that in addition to adding pollution control devices to new equipment, old equipment will be renovated for pollution abatement at a cost of \$3,000,000,000 a year from 1971-75.

REVOKE ABSURD TRADE BAN

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Lima, Ohio, News of July 15 included

an excellent article entitled "Revoke Absurd Trade Ban," written by columnist Anthony Harrigan. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

The editor of the Lima, Ohio, News is Tom Mullen.

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

REVOKE ABSURD TRADE BAN

(By Anthony Harrigan)

When the Nixon administration entered office, some of its supporters assumed that one of the foreign policy moves would be to revoke the absurd and hurtful ban on trade with Rhodesia that the Johnson administration instituted. Unfortunately, President Nixon thus far has failed to revoke the executive order under which the ban was imposed.

In Congress, however, efforts are under way to eliminate the trade sanctions which are injurious to the United States. Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. of Virginia and U.S. Rep. James Collins of Texas have introduced bills (S. 1404 and H.R. 5445) to allow importation of vitally needed chromium ore from Rhodesia.

At the moment—because of the ban on trade—the U.S. is buying its chrome ore from the Soviet Union and at a higher price than Rhodesian ore sells for on the world market. Thus the Soviets control America's access to a strategic metal. In the long run, the United States must regain access to Rhodesian supplies of chromium ore inasmuch as Rhodesia has most of the world's supply of the metal.

Nixon administration action to discard the ban on trade with Rhodesia is long overdue. Certainly, if the administration can advocate increased trade with Communist China—an avowed enemy of the U.S.—trade with independent Rhodesia, an anti-Communist country, must be viewed as acceptable.

The Johnson administration's imposition of a trade ban was the result of pressure from the socialist government in power in Great Britain in the 1960s. Today, however, a Conservative government holds office in Britain and is ending the socialists' policy of antagonism toward European-led governments in Africa. The Labor Party's pressures against Rhodesia, for example, only encouraged that new nation to develop its industries and end its traditional reliance on bilateral trade with Britain.

Prof. David N. Rowe of Yale University recently returned from a visit to Rhodesia and reported some of his conclusions in the New York Times. His principal conclusion was that "in concert with Britain we should begin to accept Rhodesian independence as a fact, and act accordingly."

Dr. Rowe, who is a specialist in African affairs, also noted the progressive economic developments in Rhodesia, saying that "manufacturing has grown, generally to supply consumer wants previously supplied from abroad."

At a time when the U.S. is under severe fiscal pressure, it has need for seeking new trade links with friendly countries such as Rhodesia. Moreover, Americans should recognize that Southern Africa is destined to develop rapidly in the remaining years of this century. Experts report that major oil fields will be opened on the Mozambique coast adjacent to Rhodesia. South Africa, where American companies have approximately \$700 million invested, is an increasingly prosperous country.

The United States has a great opportunity to share in the development and resulting prosperity in Southern Africa if sensible trade and foreign policies are instituted. Congressional approval of the important Byrd-Collins bills would be a constructive step in this direction.

But the White House shouldn't wait for action in the Congress. By issuing new executive orders revoking the ban on trade with Rhodesia, Nixon could assure the U.S. access to a strategic metal and give a needed boost to the American economy.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S PLANNED VISIT TO CHINA

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that too much speculation over the President's trip to Peking will complicate the visit. This point was well

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made in the Chicago WBBM, channel 2, editorial of July 19.

Personally, I share the concern expressed in this editorial on the need to approach summit conferences with great care.

My own interpretation is that Dr. Kissinger has nailed down most of the points that will be discussed by the President and the Chinese Communist leaders. I cannot conceive of the President traveling to Peking, nor of the Reds receiving him, if the situation in Indochina has not been almost totally resolved.

Sharing as I do, however, the basic cautious approach to the President's planned trip and recognizing the tragic history of performances at summit meetings by previous American Presidents, I believe this editorial is a solid commentary on the situation.

The editorial follows:

PRESIDENT NIXON'S PLANNED VISIT TO CHINA

The President has asked the leaders of Congress for "restraint" concerning his planned trip to the People's Republic of China.

We agree there is a need for restraint—restraint of expectations. We should not expect too much from this visit. We have had summit meetings before—at Munich, Teteran, Yalta, Potsdam, Camp David, Vienna. They did not always solve problems—sometimes they created them.

However, we strongly endorse this dramatic move by the President to open solid communications with the People's Republic of China. We believe the United States should recognize that huge nation. The People's Republic should, in turn, be admitted to the United Nations.

But we do not expect the presidential visit will magically erase the suspension and animosity here toward the People's Republic, which have developed for a period of more than twenty years. The residual counter-animosity and suspicion within the People's Republic will not disappear overnight.

We hope the establishment of good relations with the People's Republic will accompany a settlement of the Vietnam war. But they may be separate actions.

Friendship with China could remove the fear which has motivated so much of our Asiatic policy for over twenty years—that all of Southeast Asia will fall under the Communist Chinese orbit and threaten us. This had been a barrier to the end of conflict.

But again we caution against overreacting to the President's planned trip—as though this is a sports event which calls for cheers or jeers. Let us be restrained and hopeful.

THE COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I include the following interesting editorial which was published in the New York Sunday News yesterday. It sets forth my views with regard to Red Communist China.

The editorial follows:

THE COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION

Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations (Suite 500, 1735 DeSales St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; Dr. Walter H. Judd, chairman) is reacting in an interesting fashion to President Richard

M. Nixon's planned visit to Peking, Red China.

The committee has drawn up a set of seven questions which it hopes the President will put to Red China's Premier Chou En-lai when the twain meet face to face.

We find these questions so illuminating and provocative of thought that we print them in full:

1—When will you release the American servicemen whom you have held as prisoners for as long as 20 years?

2—Do you now accept the United Nations designation of Communist China as the aggressor in the Korean War?

3—Do you now concede that you committed genocide [deliberate extermination of a national or racial group] in your invasion of Tibet as the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva has so stated?

4—Do you admit that you are responsible for the deaths of thousands of American servicemen in Vietnam through your supplying most of the small arms and ammunition to the Viet Cong?

5—Will you now apologize to my country and to me personally for describing me as a "chief butcher" and an "arch criminal" in your official publications?

6—Are you now prepared to abandon Mao Tse-tung's philosophy that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun?

7—Do you still believe that the U.S. is an "imperialist aggressor" and is surrounded by "running dogs"?

Take 'em away, Mr. President, and let's see Chou wriggle off those seven hooks if he can.

Mr. Speaker, these seven questions demand answers before Red China is even considered for admission to the United Nations.

REFUTING DR. STERNGLASS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, the press has given wide coverage to the sensational charges of Dr. Ernest J. Sternglass, professor at the University of Pittsburgh, that the normal operation of nuclear powerplants results in an increase in infant mortality.

Far less attention has been given to the scientific community which refutes his data.

It is significant, I believe, that the president and 13 past presidents of the Health Physics Society have issued a statement to the effect that Dr. Sternglass's contentions are without scientific foundation.

For the information of my colleagues, I include the Health Physics Society statement in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT AND PAST PRESIDENTS OF THE HEALTH PHYSICS SOCIETY WITH REGARD TO PRESENTATION BY DR. ERNEST J. STERNGLASS, JULY 14, 1971

On the third such occasion since 1968, Dr. Ernest J. Sternglass has, at an annual meeting of the Health Physics Society, presented a paper in which he associates an increase in infant mortality with low levels of radiation exposure. The material contained in Dr. Sternglass' paper has also been presented publicly at other occasions in various parts of the country. His allegations, made in several forms, have in each instance been analyzed by scientists, physicians, and biostatisticians in the Federal government, in

individual States that have been involved in his reports, and by qualified scientists in other countries.

Without exception, these agencies and scientists have concluded that Dr. Sternglass' arguments are not substantiated by the data he presents. The United States Public Health Service, the Environmental Protection Agency, the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Illinois have issued formal reports in rebuttal of Dr. Sternglass' arguments. We, the President and Past Presidents of the Health Physics Society, do not agree with the claim of Dr. Sternglass that he has shown that radiation exposure from nuclear power operations has resulted in an increase in infant mortality.

H. L. Andrews, University of Rochester.
W. D. Claus, (Retired).
F. P. Cowan, Brookhaven Natl. Laboratory.
Merrill Eisenbud, New York University.
W. T. Ham Jr., University of Virginia.
John R. Horan, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

Wright H. Langham, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory.

J. S. Laughlin, Sloan-Kettering Memorial Hospital.

K. Z. Morgan, Oak Ridge Natl. Lab.
Claire C. Palmiter, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

C. M. Patterson, Savannah River Laboratory.

Walter S. Snyder, Oak Ridge Natl. Lab.
J. Newell Stannard, University of Rochester.

L. S. Taylor, Natl. Council on Radiation Protection.

REVENUE SHARING AND CIVIL RIGHTS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable rhetoric about the President's proposed revenue-sharing programs. Most of the talk has been interpreted by most of the talkers with an interpretation that was most favorable to them or their way of thinking.

Despite the reassurance that Federal revenue sharing with the State and local governments was not to have any strings attached, those who have watched the deterioration of the educational system, the State welfare programs, National Guard, and other State agencies which receive Federal funds, knew that with Federal funds must come Federal control.

Certainly any skeptic should have his doubts removed upon receiving the Civil Rights Requirements Guidelines from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. All revenue-sharing programs are to remain under the supervision of the Commission on Civil Rights, and as the guideline report says:

Commingleing of revenue sharing funds with the general funds of a State would make impossible a "tracing" of Federal funds to specific programs or activities. If, therefore, the nondiscrimination requirement were to apply to any program or activity financed by the commingled funds... then it would have to apply to all funds expended by the State.

In other words, and to put it bluntly, the Civil Rights Commission intends to

use Federal revenue-sharing dollars as seed money to get control of every State and local government operation, including revenues raised by the local subdivision, which funds will become federalized the minute the funds are commingled with revenue-sharing moneys.

Last February 18, on page 3260 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I had commented on the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals decision affecting Saw, Miss., holding that a municipality must equally spend its tax money for each of its citizens and throughout its neighborhood.

Atlanta, Ga., has just received its judicial ultimatum that busing alone is not sufficient to overcome racial imbalance and it is necessary for the Federal bureaucrats to rearrange the entire city, including the "housing, planning, finances, rapid transit, and all other external factors which vitally affect its role in the community."

The move by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights simply brings home the point that revenue sharing with the State and local governments is not intended to strengthen or restore power to the State and local government but is rather the carrot dangling in front of hard-pressed politicians to surrender even more control and power to the Federal Government. Revenue sharing, using the people's tax dollars, is now revealed as a plan to federalize the people. I had so advised my people of this on March 3, 1971, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on page 4951.

I insert a letter from Howard A. Glickstein, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, his revenue-sharing program—minimum civil rights requirements, and several related newspaper clippings in the RECORD at this point:

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Enclosed is a memorandum setting forth the civil rights issues related to revenue sharing, approved by the Commission on Civil Rights at its last meeting, June 16, 1971. I believe you might be interested in the Commission's assessment of this important subject.

If you have any questions, please call my office.

Sincerely,

HOWARD A. GLICKSTEIN.

[From the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,
Washington, D.C.]

REVENUE-SHARING PROGRAM—MINIMUM CIVIL RIGHTS REQUIREMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The adoption of a general revenue-sharing program may well affect the manner in which the Federal Government carries out a number of its functions. It is imperative, however, that the program not interfere with the ability of the Government adequately to fulfill two major and closely related responsibilities. The first is the responsibility to enforce the mandate of the Constitution that racial or ethnic discrimination not occur in the expenditure and the enjoyment of Federal funds. The second is the responsibility to carry forward the broad national policy of securing economic and social justice for all minorities, and for the disadvantaged generally.

Revenue sharing presents both potential benefits and potential risks to the Federal Government's obligation to discharge these responsibilities. This memorandum presents an outline of minimal mechanisms necessary

to assure that Constitutional requirements and broad national policy objectives are effectively implemented in any general revenue-sharing program.

1. *Application of a Civil Rights Remedy to the Revenue Sharing Program:* Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides that no person is to be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. Inasmuch as general revenue sharing is one form of Federal financial assistance, the nondiscrimination requirement of Title VI applies to any program or activity assisted by general revenue sharing funds.¹

One of the principal sanctions available to enforce Title VI consists of administrative proceedings leading to a cut-off of Federal funds. One key question is: What programs or activities under a general revenue sharing program would be subject to the nondiscrimination requirement and, therefore, also subject to the sanction of fund cut-off?

If the Federal Government is to have an effective and practical mechanism to combat discrimination in State and local activities funded under the Federal revenue sharing program, it is necessary that earmarking of the funds be made mandatory so that the sanction of fund termination can attach solely to those programs or activities for which revenue sharing funds are designated.²

Commingleing of revenue sharing funds with the general funds of a State would make impossible a "tracing" of Federal funds to specific programs or activities. If, therefore, the nondiscrimination requirement were to apply to any program or activity financed by the commingled funds—as it must if the requirement is not to be rendered a nullity—then it would have to apply to all funds expended by the State. While application of the Federal nondiscrimination requirement to all State and local programs or activities would have the beneficial effect of providing substantial Federal leverage toward eliminating discrimination on the part of these governmental bodies, the sanction of cutting off all revenue sharing funds from a State in the case of discrimination in a single program or activity probably would be too drastic for practical use.

2. *Other Federal Remedies for Noncompliance with Nondiscrimination Requirements:* Revenue sharing represents an important new form of Federal assistance to State and local governments. It has far-reaching ramifications. Thus, it is of extreme importance that the nondiscrimination provision be one which has the maximum capability to produce compliance. Yet, experience with Title VI enforcement has demonstrated that the fund termination sanction has often proven to be too inflexible to be effective. When this factor is added to the previously mentioned problems involved in applying the fund cut-off mechanism to revenue sharing grants, it becomes clear that it is necessary to establish a comprehensive and flexible range of remedies, to be used on a selective basis.

(a) *Litigation by the Attorney General:* We believe that as in the case of Title VI, litigation by the Attorney General is a useful supplement to the sanction of fund cut-off. As the Commission pointed out in its October 1970 report, "The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort":

"Recipients would know that not only would Federal funds be cut off for noncompliance but litigation could be brought to bring about compliance. Thus, defiance of nondiscrimination requirements, even at the cost of losing Federal funds, would be an act of futility." (at 726)

As the Commission also pointed out, however, it is undesirable to rely on litigation as a substitute for, rather than a support to, fund termination procedures.³

Footnotes at end of article.

(b) *Cease and Desist Order Authority:* Another useful enforcement mechanism would be that of empowering the Secretary of the Treasury to issue judicially enforceable orders directing a State or local government to cease and desist from specific discriminatory practices. Provision should be made for the judicial imposition of sanctions for noncompliance with the cease and desist order, including civil and criminal penalties. Cease and desist order authority would have the benefit of offering an effective and speedy remedy short of the drastic one of fund cut-off.

(c) *Criminal Penalties:* A third sanction in addition to fund cut-off would be a provision making State or local officials guilty of deliberate acts of discrimination liable to criminal penalties. Under this sanction, government officials would be on notice that acts of discrimination would result not only in action against the State but also against those individual officials who are responsible.

(d) *Private Civil Suit:* Private individuals subjected to discrimination should be empowered to initiate litigation in Federal District Court for appropriate relief,⁴ including recovery of treble damages, for intentional noncompliance with Federal nondiscrimination requirements. To effectuate this remedy, which would arise after administrative remedies had been exhausted, Title VI administrative procedures should be improved so as to yield a reasoned determination on the issue of alleged discrimination within a brief period (no more than 60 days). In this way, the judicial remedy could be pursued with a minimum of confusion and delay.

3. *Strengthening the Entire Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort:* In "The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort" report, the Commission examined the civil rights enforcement activities of some 40 Federal departments and agencies in a wide range of subject areas, such as employment, housing, the operation of federally assisted programs, and regulated industries. In virtually all cases, the Commission found the level of civil rights enforcement seriously deficient and made a number of recommendations, including recommendations for centralized direction and coordination of civil rights enforcement in the newly formed Council on Domestic Affairs and Office of Management and Budget.

In May 1971 the Commission, in a report, "The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—Seven Months Later" concluded that the Federal response to its earlier report had been, with a few exceptions, one of tentative first steps toward stringent civil rights enforcement combined with promises to do better in the future. It found that major inadequacies in the Federal effort remained and that even the implementation of rather basic proposals for improving agency performance has been characterized by inordinate delays.

If the Commission's recommendations were implemented and Federal programs were in fact operated on a nondiscriminatory basis then the present patterns of racial and ethnic exclusion and the inequitable distribution of Federal benefits would be dramatically reduced. The enforcement of present laws, executive orders and administrative policies would bring about a basic change in practices related to race in communities throughout the Nation. They would, in fact, drastically alter the way the "system" operates, assuring greater racial justice in the communities into which revenue sharing funds would flow.

Vigorous enforcement of nondiscrimination requirements concerning revenue sharing, alone, will not be sufficient. There is large-scale disenchantment, particularly among minority group members, concerning the will and capacity of government to serve their needs and a loss of faith that the "system"

can work for them. We can move them toward a renewal of that faith if the full range of protections contained in existing civil rights laws are fully enforced and the rights of minority citizens are guaranteed in fact as well as in legal theory. Therefore, we continue to believe the recommendations contained in the Commission's report should be implemented as soon as possible.

4. *Assuring Equal Employment Opportunity by State and Local Governments:*

(a) *Amending Title VII to Cover State and Local Government Employment:* The Commission previously has urged amendment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to remove the exemption accorded State and local government employment. In its report, "For All the People . . . By All the People," the Commission examined equal opportunity in public employment throughout the country—north as well as south—and reported widespread discrimination against minority group members in State, city, and suburban government employment.

The report pointed out that State and local government employees make many policy and administrative decisions which have a significant effect on the lives of the citizens within the jurisdiction. The report (at page 131) observed:

"If these decisions are to be responsive to the needs and desires of the people, then it is essential that those making them be truly representatives of all segments of the population."

Since revenue sharing would serve to increase the responsibility of such governments, prior enactment of effective equal employment opportunity controls is imperative.

For the same reason, revenue sharing should not occur until effective Title VII enforcement machinery has been provided, by giving to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission the authority, in case of violation, to issue judicially enforceable cease and desist orders.

(b) *Affirmative Action by State and Local Governments:* In its study of public employment, the Commission found that the patterns of discriminatory job distribution often resulted from past practices of discrimination in hiring and job assignment. For these patterns to be eliminated will require more than adoption of a neutral policy of nondiscrimination. State and local governments also must undertake affirmative programs of recruitment, training, and promotion of minority employees. Such affirmative action is no less vital to securing equal employment in State and local government than it is in the case of Federal agencies and Federal contractors—where affirmative action already is required by law. Given the lessening of other kinds of Federal controls in connection with revenue sharing funds, it is imperative that State and local governments, under review by an appropriate agency such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, be required to undertake plans of equal employment opportunity affirmative action. Such affirmative action plans should include goals and timetables for their implementation.⁵

5. *The Civil Rights Responsibilities of States and Localities:* Federal civil rights requirements, no matter how comprehensive, are unlikely to prove sufficient to provide the level of protection that is necessary to ensure that the revenue sharing funds are expended in a nondiscriminatory manner. Furthermore, States and localities must be required to demonstrate that they, as recipients of large unrestricted amounts of Federal money, can provide the type of protection which will ensure the basic civil rights of all their citizens.

Currently, few States can sustain this burden. The majority of localities and more than a dozen States have no laws comparable to

the Federal Civil rights acts and, in fact, the civil rights laws of those States and localities that have enacted them are severely wanting in terms of coverage, available sanctions, and level of enforcement activity. In many cases, moreover, States and localities not only have failed to provide adequate civil rights protection, but have been responsible for much of the racial discrimination that has occurred. This Commission and other Federal agencies, such as the Departments of Justice, HEW, Labor, and Agriculture, have documented gross abuses of the rights of minority group citizens by State and local governmental agencies.

Thus, a mere assurance from a governor, mayor, or county official that the rights of minorities will be protected will not suffice. States and their subdivisions must, at a minimum, enact laws and ordinances which provide for their citizens the same level of protection offered by Federal statutes, executive orders, court decisions, and executive policy pronouncements. The laws must cover such areas as:

Housing: The law must require that all housing be offered on a nondiscriminatory basis to citizens of all races and ethnic backgrounds and that the policies of the jurisdiction be geared so as not to prevent minority group citizens from living within the jurisdiction or within any part of the jurisdiction.

The administration of State and local programs: The State or locality must assure that all funds which it disperses are used free from discrimination and are in fact distributed on a racially and ethnically equitable basis. This last requirement, which is essentially the same as that provided in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, would apply to such State and local programs as education, welfare, health care, employment services, highway and recreation facility construction, and economic development loans and grants.

Laws also are necessary in the areas of public accommodations, public facilities and voting rights. These laws must not only be broad in coverage but also must provide for effective enforcement. It is absolutely necessary that an enforcement agency be established having the power not only to investigate complaints and issue opinions, but also to conduct investigations on its own initiative, hold hearings, issue subpoenas and cease and desist orders, seek court enforcement of its orders, initiate and intervene in litigation, level civil penalties, and order the withholding, where necessary, of State and municipal funds from programs where discrimination is found.

These agencies must be fully staffed with trained, competent personnel. They must not be susceptible to domination by local political factions, but rather, should be permanent, independent agencies whose members are appointed for staggered terms of office. These agencies could be in part funded by the Federal Government, and perhaps given a quasi-Federal status, such as that of the State employment services. Furthermore, officials in all State and local agencies should be made to understand that it is their responsibility, subject to removal from office by agency directors, to ensure that their programs are not discriminatory in operation or effect.

This expanded, and in many cases new, effort by States and localities is not intended to supplant Federal civil rights activities, but rather to supplement them. Once the States and their municipalities prove their effectiveness in this area, the Federal agencies will be able to limit their efforts to a monitoring and spot-checking function. Until that time, however, the staffs of the two enforcement systems should work together so as to prevent duplication of effort and to ensure maximum utilization of information.⁶

6. *The "State Plan" Requirement:* As an

Footnotes at end of article.

other condition of eligibility for participation in revenue sharing, the State and its political subdivisions should be required to submit a "State Plan," the purpose of which would be to assure that the State is realistically facing up to the problems it has and that revenue sharing funds will be used in ways that will better enable the State to meet and overcome these problems.

The "State Plan" should, at a minimum, contain the following elements:

(a) A rank order of problems facing the State and its political subdivisions. This analysis would be supported by data and reports prepared by the relevant local agencies. Problems would include those in the areas of human resources, natural resources, economic development, and other general governmental concerns, but would be broken down into specifics. Thus, in the area of health care, the plan would relate to specific problems in the State and its various jurisdictions, such as prenatal care, care for the aged, hospital services, insufficient medical personnel, or insufficient funds to provide for the nutritional needs of its citizens.

(b) In a similarly detailed fashion, the State and its jurisdictions would be required to set forth what actions they have taken in the past to cope with each of the problems they identify. This analysis would be both in terms of financial and manpower resources allocated.

(c) A statement of how State and local revenue is being apportioned in the coming fiscal year and how this apportionment of funds is calculated to overcome the problems would be given. In addition, States and localities would detail how they anticipated using the Federal revenue sharing funds which they are to receive.

(d) A long-range analysis of the matters set forth in points a, b, and c would be detailed. This section will require officials drafting the plan to spell out the broadest aspects of the problems. This requirement reflects the fact that effective action toward social change requires long term planning.

The State Plan would be submitted for review and approval to the Office of Management and Budget, which would exercise its reviewing function in conjunction with Federal departments having major program responsibilities relating to the plans. National policy criteria for such reviews should be established by the Council of Domestic Affairs.

One of the major concerns in the review process should be whether a plan takes into account the special needs of minority group members and the economically disadvantaged. Thus, it would be unacceptable if a State or political subdivision overlooked the health needs of its poor citizens while devoting considerable resources to developing a highway system which, by its nature and location, serves only the more affluent sections of the population. In the past, some States and localities have participated in Federal programs on a selective basis, often refusing to participate in social welfare programs such as public housing or food assistance while accepting Federal money for suburban water and sewer facilities or recreational facilities that serve only the affluent. Revenue sharing should not be allowed to support these insensitive local policies.

Furthermore, the State Plan should be responsive to important Federal policies such as the racial and ethnic desegregation of schools and the elimination of racial and economic polarization in metropolitan areas. The programming of States and localities should be required to reflect these Federal priorities. It must be made clear that Federal funds, whether from revenue sharing or categorical grants, cannot be used to aid in schemes which tend to discriminate against, isolate, impoverish, or perpetuate second

class citizenship for any racial or ethnic group.

7. Distribution of Funds According to Need:

(a) *Distribution Among the States:* Distribution of general revenue sharing funds should be determined on the basis of indicators of need, such as the relative wealth of the State, measured by average personal income, and the number of the State's population who are "disadvantaged individuals" as defined in the U.S. Department of Labor Manpower Program.⁷

The present Federal system of categorical grants is, in its very structure, responsive to such demonstrated domestic needs as these. Given the shortage of Federal, State, and local government funds in relation to the demands made upon them, if we are adequately to serve the needs of our many citizens who are trapped in poverty, we cannot afford to distribute any large amount of Federal revenue without reference to such fundamental determinants of need.

In its ongoing study of racial and economic polarization in metropolitan areas, the Commission has seen how lack of adequate fiscal resources has contributed to an accelerating economic and racial separation in these areas. The lack of funds to finance adequate public services causes those who can, to flee the inner cities, and at the same time causes many suburban jurisdictions to use zoning and other devices to exclude the poor, who are most in need of public services. It also is such factors as these that make the State Plan, described in Section 6, a necessary "civil rights" protection.

For these reasons, the distribution of the general purpose revenue sharing funds should reflect a national commitment to the special problems of the poor and of our urban areas, where the poor and the disadvantaged are heavily concentrated.⁸

(b) Distribution Within States

A requirement that States "pass through" a proportion of general revenue sharing funds to local jurisdictions is an important safeguard in assuring that the cities receive their fair share of revenue sharing funds. For the reasons stated in our discussion of "Distribution Among the States" we believe that such a requirement should reflect the same criteria of need as recommended in that Section of this memorandum.⁹

FOOTNOTES

¹ S. 680 ("General Revenue Sharing Act of 1971") (Senator Baker) provides that no person shall be subject to discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin in any activity assisted by general revenue sharing funds. It provides sanctions for non-compliance, including referral by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Attorney General with recommendation for commencement of a civil action, and the sanctions—including fund cut-off—provided for in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

² S. 241 ("State and Local Government Modernization Act of 1971") (Senator Humphrey) and S. 1770 ("Intergovernmental Revenue Act of 1971") (Senator Muskie) contain similar provisions; the latter bill would also empower any person adversely affected by discrimination in violation of this provision to bring a civil action to obtain relief against such discrimination.

³ While not reflected in the language of S. 680, the White House has indicated that it favors a requirement that all general revenue sharing funds be earmarked by the States to specific uses.

⁴ As noted above, S. 680, S. 241, and S. 1770, all authorize the sanction of fund termination for failure to comply with non-discrimination requirements.

⁵ As noted above, S. 1770 empowers any person adversely affected by discrimination in violation of this provision to bring a civil action to obtain relief against such discrimination.

⁶ With respect to sanctions for non-compliance with affirmative action requirements, see Section 2 above.

⁷ The civil rights enforcement capabilities of a State or local government do not exist in a vacuum; they are closely tied to the overall level of proficiency of the government. S. 241 contains a requirement that, in order to qualify during the second and subsequent years of general revenue sharing, States must prepare a master plan and timetable for modernizing and revitalizing State and local governments. This could be an important contribution to strengthening the civil rights capabilities of State and local governments. It also is an important element in improving the capacity of State and local government effectively to carry out the planning functions discussed in the following Section.

⁸ The term is defined to include:

Any poor person who does not have suitable employment and who is either (1) a school dropout; (2) a member of a minority; (3) under 22 years of age; (4) over 45 years of age; (5) handicapped. U.S. Department of Labor, "Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System," Supplement No. 1, Dec. 14, 1970, at 10, n. 2.

⁹ S. 680, S. 241, and S. 1770 all provide that each State's share in general revenue sharing funds is a function of (a) total population of the State and (b) the State's "tax effort"—the amount of revenue it raises in relation to the total personal income earned by residents of the State.

¹⁰ S. 680, S. 241, and S. 1770 all require the States to "pass through" a certain proportion of funds to local governments. They all permit each State, acting in conjunction with its local governments, to determine the basis for allocation among the local governments—which basis could reflect the relative need of the respective local governments.

¹¹ Absent such special agreement, S. 680 and S. 241 provide that the share of each local government is to be the same as its relative contribution to overall State revenues. S. 1770 uses a more complex distribution formula, which makes the share a function of each government's contribution to State revenues, its population size, and its share of poor persons (those with incomes of less than \$3,000) and of persons regularly receiving public assistance.

[From the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Aug. 1, 1971]

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CASE FOR ATLANTA MAY LINGER ON (By Junie Brown)

The Atlanta school desegregation case has been dismissed by U.S. District Court here, but it probably is not over.

For one thing, the court ordered the Atlanta system to submit semiannual reports on its progress to the court which will keep the case open for review.

For another, the case is almost certain to be appealed to a higher court by the plaintiff, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The Atlanta case is 31 years old and it has stayed in court all this time because of the numerous appeals filed by the NAACP. The school system itself has never appealed any decision rendered in the case, according to its attorney.

Peter Rindskopf, the attorney for the plaintiff, has been out of town since the decision was rendered Wednesday.

Contacted in Michigan and informed the case had been dismissed by the district court, Rindskopf confirmed he probably will appeal the case to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

"They can do anything they want to but it's subject to appellate review," Rindskopf said. "It is very possible we will appeal. In fact, it's more than likely."

If Rindskopf needed ammunition for his appeal, he may not have to look further than the biracial committee appointed by U.S. District Judge Frank Hooper to work with the school system in solving its race problem.

Some members of that committee already are claiming they have been, at the very least, misinterpreted, or at the worst, misquoted, by the district court.

The court order issued by two federal judges here last Wednesday states that the majority of the members of the biracial group "furnished the court with a resolution praising the Atlanta School board's efforts and recommending no further action."

Biracial committee chairman Lyndon Wade, executive director of the Atlanta Urban League, says the court's interpretation is "not an accurate reflection of what the committee sent to them. We did not send in a resolution praising the board of education, and we did not send in a resolution recommending no further action. The statement was not ambiguous. It was very clear," Wade said.

What the resolution did say, in effect, was that the biracial committee supported the school board plan to pay transportation costs for students who voluntarily transferred from schools where they were in the majority to schools where they were in the minority.

A second paragraph said the committee also supported the board's reaffirmation of its antidiscrimination policy.

"At first the resolution had three paragraphs," said John Cox, director of the Butler Street YMCA and another member of the committee.

"But the paragraph that said we recommend no further action was clearly struck and did not go to the judges at all," Cox added.

"I honestly don't know what happened that the court interpreted it as it did," said Michael Trotter, an Atlanta attorney and another member of the committee.

"I don't think a committee with those percentages (five white and five black members) would have come up with the type of resolution the court has described," Trotter said.

"I'm sure there is no malice and no deliberate intent, but there could have been some slippage here. Judges use law clerks to draft their law decisions," Trotter said.

Trotter admitted the apparent resolution error is definitely one of the "relevant facts" that attorneys would look for when filing appeals.

"How important it is I don't know. It is just one of numerous findings of fact the court made. Whether this fact alone would be sufficient to uphold an appeal, I don't know," Trotter said.

Judge Sidney O. Smith, one of the two judges who sat on the case said the court made its finding from the resolution and from talking to members of the committee individually.

"The school board said this (desegregation plan) was all they knew to do. The biracial committee had no further suggestion. And if they supported the school board's plan we certainly took this as the inference," Judge Smith said.

"There may have been some misinterpretation," he conceded.

Whether the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals would overturn the Atlanta decision is anybody's guess, but there are arguments against it.

For one thing, it was not rendered by the same judge who had been on the case for 13 years, Judge Frank Hooper. Instead the decision was handed down by two judges, Judge Smith and Judge Albert Henderson, which gives it some unanimity.

Secondly, overturning the decision would open the door to the sticky question of a defacto segregation which the court has heretofore avoided. (Defacto segregation results

from segregated housing patterns. De jure segregation is the result of specific laws separating the races.)

The Atlanta decision makes it clear that Atlanta ended de jure segregation years ago and the remaining black and white schools in the city result from segregated housing patterns.

To try to further desegregate through busing students would cause whites to leave the city and make the Atlanta school system virtually all-black, the judges said.

[From the Atlanta Journal and the Atlanta Constitution, Aug. 1, 1971]

THE COURT'S COMMENT

From the decision by Judge Sidney O. Smith, Jr. and Judge Albert J. Henderson, Jr., U.S. District Court, July 28: Looking ahead, the court is compelled to note that the critical point for public education in the City of Atlanta and its environs has been reached. The situation calls for a sweeping examination of its relationship to housing, planning, finances, rapid transit and all the other external factors which vitally affect its role in the community.

Apparently, no serious effort has been expended on the question of consolidation of the Atlanta system with the Fulton County system. In terms of efficiency, taxes, and quality education, such consolidations normally produce long-range improvements. In terms of the current problems, such consolidation might well produce partial, even though not perfect, solutions.

Certainly for many reasons connected and unconnected with this case, this one aspect ought to be studied without delay. In any such investigation, the proper vehicle should be communitywide, crossing lines of industry, government, and transportation as well as education.

While the school board should certainly participate, it cannot function successfully alone. A special mayor's committee of both races might be appropriate. The existing biracial committee might well be expanded to 20 to 30 members to undertake such a task. If so, the court would gladly entertain a motion by any party or the committee itself to add sufficient members to represent the other community aspects involved.

Short of such critical re-evaluation, the Atlanta system faces a difficult task in merely "hanging on" to its present position, awaiting the uncertain reversal of white flight from its limits.

In its rejection of mass busing for Atlanta schools this past week, the U.S. District Court here addressed itself to some of the problems which the city and its environs must face.

Federal Judges Sidney O. Smith Jr. and Albert J. Henderson Jr. took note of the fact that there should be a sweeping examination of public education's "relationship to housing, planning, finances, rapid transit and all the other external factors which vitally affect its role in the community."

The judges also pointed to the possible benefits that might accrue from a consolidation of the Atlanta schools with the Fulton County schools.

Atlanta is the heart of the metropolitan area. The environs surrounding the city limits are largely dependent upon Atlanta for vital economic life blood.

For someone in DeKalb or Gwinnett or Cobb counties, for example, to take a detached view of what transpires within Atlanta is a flight from reality. If Atlanta is seriously hurt in any manner, those counties are going to feel the pain.

Much lip service has been given the metropolitan umbrella approach. But little progress has been made. Yet we are all in this together and we must seek common solutions to common problems.

The time has long passed when Atlanta's city limits were sharply defined from the remainder of Fulton County. The boundary now is arbitrary. In effect, all of Fulton County is Atlanta and Atlanta is all of Fulton County.

A first step in recognizing this fact of life could very well be the consolidation of the two school systems. The only justification—if it can be called that—for two separate school systems is "we've always done it that way."

There is nothing unique about either system which dictates the necessity of keeping them separate, with separate administration and separate overhead.

It is reassuring to see Mayor Massell's quick response to the judges' comment on school consolidation. He is to be commended for calling on the Atlanta Charter Commission to begin an immediate study of the problem.

And the Fulton County commissioner would do well to emulate the mayor on this vital matter.

In fact, all echelons of government within the metropolitan area should reflect on the comment contained in the decision by Judges Smith and Henderson. They should reflect on it and address themselves to it. They should take a positive approach toward solving the problems that beset us all.

And they should do that before we are engulfed.

[From the Washington Post, July 29, 1971]

COURT BARS BUS PLAN IN ATLANTA

ATLANTA, July 28.—A two-judge federal panel warned that Atlanta "stands on the brink of becoming an all-black city" and rejected mass busing today as a means of achieving racial balance in the city's schools.

"The problem is no longer how to achieve integration, but how to prevent resegregation," the panel said. "Atlanta is entitled to a dismissal."

The ruling and a lengthy opinion came in a 13-year-old suit seeking desegregation of the city's schools. The case had been remanded to the panel by the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals which directed it be considered in the light of the Supreme Court's ruling on desegregation in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, N.C.

The Supreme Court had held that mass busing was suitable in that case for ending a system of dual schools and also suggested other means of bringing about complete racial integration.

U.S. District Judges Sidney O. Smith and Albert J. Henderson said a "sweeping reevaluation of housing, planning, finances, rapid transit and all other external factors" in Atlanta was necessary to preserve integration.

"Short of such critical reevaluation, the Atlanta system faces a difficult task in merely 'hanging on' to its present position, awaiting the uncertain reversal of white flight from its limits," they said.

LEST WE FORGET

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in a land of progress and prosperity, it is often easy to assume an "out of sight, out of mind" attitude about matters which are not consistently brought to our attention. The fact exists that today more than 1,550 American servicemen are listed as prisoners or missing in South-

east Asia. The wives, children, and parents of these men have not forgotten, and I would hope that my colleagues in Congress and our countrymen across America will not neglect the fact that all men are not free for as long as one of our number is enslaved. I insert the name of one of the missing.

Col. Robert N. Smith, U.S. Marine Corps, XXXX, Athens, Ohio. Married and the father of three children. The son of Gen. and Mrs. Norman W. Smith, Sr., East Woodstock, Conn. 1948 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. Graduate of U.S. Naval Postgraduate School (1956) and Princeton University (1957). Officially listed as missing August 19, 1969. As of today, Colonel Smith has been missing in action in Southeast Asia for 714 days.

SHOEMAKERS SKEPTICAL

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, I address myself once again to the problems of an already deteriorating American industry, that of the U.S. domestic shoe industry.

The recent announcement by the Italian Government that it has decided to limit shoe exports to this country has been greatly heralded and, while I do not wish to undersell its importance or ignore the necessity to keep the door open for voluntary quota negotiations, a closer examination of this announcement gives little reason for enthusiasm by the American shoe industry.

While Italy has in the past been a major factor in the flooding of the American shoe market, it appears that even unrestricted imports from them would have amounted to less than a 5-percent increase this year—a drop in the bucket when compared to the overall problem.

As the following article from the Christian Science Monitor indicates, the decline in Italian imports is of little consequence when measured against the threat presently presented by countries such as Spain, Taiwan, and Brazil, where the labor markets are such that the American shoemaking industry cannot hope to be competitive. I feel that this article by David R. Francis, dated July 15, 1971, will be of interest to my colleagues:

U.S. SHOEMAKERS SKEPTICAL OF ITALIAN LIMITATION

(By David R. Francis)

WASHINGTON.

The United States domestic shoe industry doesn't know whether to be grateful or not for the Italian Government's apparent decision to limit shoe exports to this country.

For one thing, the limitation is not all that clear cut. Italy said it would require its 10,000 to 12,000 shoemakers to get visas to export their nonrubber footwear. Further, it was hoped that exports this year would be about the same as in 1970.

The U.S. State Department said that it would be "constructive" if the limit was observed.

ACTIONS DISGUISED

So, the Italian "unilateral and autonomous action," as the State Department describes it, is a sort of nonagreement agreement.

One cause of the vagueness of the Italian action is that trade deals are the prerogative of the European Common Market. Thus any quotas on exports, voluntary or otherwise, must be disguised as administrative actions.

Though called unilateral action, it came after visits to Italy by ex-Treasury Secretary David M. Kennedy, now a special ambassador for President Nixon. His trip was followed up by visits of Theodore R. Gates, a high official in the office of the special representative for trade negotiations, and Donald A. Webster, an aide to White House foreign economic adviser Peter G. Peterson.

Another reason for the shoe industry's lack of enthusiastic welcome for the Italian announcement is the feeling that it wasn't much of a concession. Italian shoe exports, the industry figures, would not have grown by much more than 5 percent anyway this year.

"It is basically meaningless," said one shoe industry official.

Wages of Italian shoe workers jumped enormously in recent months. They now amount to about \$1.30 per hour with fringe benefits, it is reckoned. This compares with about \$2.80 per hour with fringes for U.S. shoe workers. Italian shoe workers' wages now exceed those of workers in the British shoe industry.

STRIKES INTERFERE

Italian shoe exports to the U.S. are up 12.5 percent to 47.6 million pairs during the first five months of this year from the same five months of last year. In dollar terms, they are up 16.4 percent to \$137.5 million.

But shoe industry experts say that the higher Italian wages, strikes in the Italian industry, and the prospect of a dock strike in the U.S. made it doubtful that the Indian exports would increase as much in the latter half of this year.

In any event, the shoe industry is much more concerned over the results of U.S. talks with Spain on shoe exports.

"So much hinges on what the administration can pull off with the Spanish," noted Mark E. Richardson, president of the American Footwear Manufacturers Association.

The Spanish are considered much more competitive. Their wages plus fringe benefits amount to about 62 cents an hour, industry sources reckon. The cost of freight and insurance on shipments to the U.S. amounts to about 6 percent of the foreign price. Duties add another 12 percent.

When costs are totaled, Spanish shoe manufacturers have no trouble undercutting the prices of U.S. shoe firms.

"SCARED OF THE SPANIARDS"

During the first five months of this year, Spanish shoe imports climbed 41 percent to 12.4 million pairs. "We are very scared of the Spaniards," says Mr. Richardson.

With such large potential export gains, the Spanish are expected to be much more reluctant than the Italians to limit their exports of men's and women's leather shoes. Spain notes that it already has a large trade deficit with the U.S.

U.S. trade officials discussed the issue with Spanish officials about two weeks ago. The Spanish said they would talk it over with Cabinet members and industry executives.

"There is a reasonable chance we can find some action on their part," held one U.S. trade expert.

The American Shoe Manufacturers Association has been seeking legislated quotas—not voluntary limitations—to protect the domestic industry from imports.

According to reports here, Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D) of Arkansas, the powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, said Monday that he supplied the impetus for the Italian shoe deal, advising the administration that the Italians might consider such action.

This was a surprise to the domestic shoe industry and, for that matter, to some high trade officials.

Total shoe imports last year amounted to 235.7 million pairs worth at the point of shipment \$549 million. The wholesale value here might be twice the "FOB" value, it is estimated.

This compared with domestic shipments of 566 million pairs valued at \$2.9 billion.

The shoe manufacturers association projects that almost half of domestic shoe consumption will be imported this year. In the past, the industry's estimates of imports have proved conservative.

Mr. Richardson questions whether the country-by-country route for limiting imports will provide sufficient protection for the domestic industry. If both Italian and Spanish shoe imports were restrained, he suspects that after 8 to 18 months shoe production for export to the U.S. in such nations as Brazil and Taiwan would greatly increase. The domestic industry would get only a brief respite from import growth.

DOMESTIC DECLINE

Domestic employment of the shoe industry, he says, has declined from 350,000 in 1968 to about 300,000 now.

Domestic shoe production has slipped from 640 million pairs in 1968 to 515 million last year.

As a result, the Department of Labor has certified some 5,100 shoe workers as eligible for trade adjustment assistance. They are paid up to 65 percent of their average weekly wage for up to 52 weeks. If they are taking special training courses, the duration of the payments may be extended another 26 weeks.

The usual cost of the assistance amounts to about \$3,000 and generally about 90 percent of those eligible actually apply for the assistance.

At this point, the domestic industry is awaiting the results of the Spanish talks. Then it will decide whether to "knock" the administration's efforts to get voluntary limits on imports or accept them.

As a bargaining weapon, the administration has an evenly divided finding of the Tariff Commission on the need to hike import duties under an "escape-clause" action. This meant the final decision was left to the President.

Voluntary action on behalf of the exporting nations would avoid the possibility of foreign trade reprisals and potential damage to relations outside the trade sphere.

H.R. 9265

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to remark on the recent House passage of H.R. 9265, the Servicemen's, Veterans', and ex-Servicemen's Drug Treatment and Rehabilitation Act of 1971:

THE SERVICEMEN'S, VETERANS', AND EX-SERVICEMEN'S DRUG TREATMENT AND REHABILITATION ACT OF 1971

Mr. Speaker, the recent House passage of H.R. 9265, the Servicemen's, Veterans', and Ex-Servicemen's Drug Treatment and Rehabilitation Act of 1971, gives me a great deal of satisfaction. I have closely followed and strongly supported this legislation since it was introduced in June. It is designed to meet the growing national social problem of drug abuse and dependency. At that time, I and twenty-two other members of the House of Representatives felt that the Veterans' Administration was in a unique position to assist returning servicemen suffering from drug dependency to break away from drugs. Again, in the Veterans' Affairs Committee, we recognized the contribution that VA hospitals could make in treating this problem if the proper legislative authority was supplied. Our Committee, working with a bipartisan spirit, reported this bill out of the House action in near-record time so as to make an immediate expansion of VA programs in this area possible.

H.R. 9265 gives the Veterans Administration the authority it needs to be flexible enough to treat returning veterans, active-duty servicemen, and ex-servicemen who are now ineligible because of the nature of their discharge. In giving the VA authority for expansion of drug treatment services, this bill (1) establishes an orderly procedure for the Veterans' Administration to cooperate with the Armed Forces in treating servicemen with drug addiction problems; (2) provides that the VA may receive and treat ex-servicemen on the basis of commitment from Federal courts; and (3) clears up the confusion as to eligibility for treatment on the basis of the type of discharge by authorizing the VA to treat any serviceman or ex-serviceman with an addiction problem regardless of the type of discharge he holds or any other legal problems he may have as a result of violation of other laws. At the present time, many ex-servicemen are unable to seek treatment because of restrictions which the law places on the Veterans' Administration. Estimates ranging up to 10% have been given in describing the number of servicemen addicted to drugs in Vietnam alone. In Vietnam, where the problem is most severe, drugs such as heroin are cheap and easily available. However, when servicemen addicted to these drugs return to the United States, they find that the cost is many times more than what they have been paying, and drugs are much less readily available. Many of these returning veterans must turn to crime to support their habit and pushers to supply it. To prevent returning servicemen from being pushed into a life of crime and addiction, we should try to encourage them to identify themselves and look for treatment. I believe the provisions of this bill take a long step in that direction. Whatever the reasons for the increases in drug abuse and addiction, we must be prepared to help them recover and lead productive lives as law-abiding members of our society.

I am pleased that the veterans' hospital at Jamaica Plain in my congressional district has opened a drug clinic which will place medical facilities within easy reach of all veterans in the Ninth Congressional District of Massachusetts.

I feel because of the excellence of the program that the Veterans' Administration is obviously one of the Federal agencies best equipped to meet the drug abuse problem.

The passage of this bill by the House of Representatives moves us an impor-

tant step closer to the solution of those who are most in need of treatment.

SHELBYVILLE, IND., NEWS TELLS "WHY" OF SPACEFLIGHT

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, many people, watching the spectacle and drama of Apollo 15, quite understandably ask, "What does it all mean?" and "Is it worth it?"

One of the finest responses I have ever read to these questions was contained in the lead editorial of the Shelbyville, Ind., News, of July 27, 1971. It is a pleasure and privilege to enclose this editorial:

THE POINT OF IT ALL

What's the point of spending all this money for flights into space? It's a question asked by many since this country's space program began a decade ago—and it has been answered many times in many ways. Let's take another look at it.

Some 200 years ago Captain James Cook circumnavigated the globe in a small and fragile craft called the "Endeavor". It seems appropriate that the Apollo 15 astronauts blasted off the earth Monday in a command module named Endeavor. In its way, their space craft, pitted against the unknown hazards and vastness of space, is as fragile as Captain Cook's vessel.

And what is the point of it all? We doubt if the backers of Lief Erickson, Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand Magellan, Francis Drake, Cortez, De Soto, Rogers and Clark, LaSalle, Daniel Boone, Admiral Peary, Commander Byrd, Auguste Piccard, and Charles Lindbergh, could have told you what they expected to find or what would be its value. Hindsight is better than foresight and we all know of the benefit to mankind of the adventurous explorations of the past.

Of all the treasures we possess, knowledge is probably the most valuable. For from knowledge stems progress into areas hitherto unknown.

Already the entire world has benefited from the spin-offs of the space program—weather satellites, miniaturization, printed electronic circuits, computers and a myriad of new materials developed for space but adapted for earth use. Some of these products now flying in satellites and aboard the space craft were made here in our own community—and that means jobs.

Exploration is a dangerous business. Explorers know this, but their curiosity on behalf of mankind is greater than the hazards they face.

Who really knows what the Apollo 15 astronauts—Col. David Scott, Lt. Col. James Irwin and Major Alfred Worden—will find? Who knows to what use the knowledge gained will be put? Even if the voyage is a failure, we will learn something—why it failed—so that we can try and try again!

While many say the money spent on space exploration is wasted, we say it is not. The TV set which you used to watch the launch, is better because of space hardware developments. The computer that printed your paycheck came directly from the space program for they had to invent something we didn't have in order to make the intricate calculations necessary for space flight. New, lighter, better insulated building materials, fireproof paint, heat resistant ceramics, coated fabrics and many exotic materials will make life

better for us all, create new industry and jobs and though we cannot see the moon as a vacation spot, maybe someday you can buy an excursion ticket to the moon or some other planet. The point is, who knows?

We hope to find out, and that is the point of it all!

THE SHAME OF ST. LOUIS—PRUITT-IGOE

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial by KMOX-TV in St. Louis discusses the public housing shame of St. Louis—Pruitt-Igoe. The editorial expresses a sentiment that I have pointed up time and again—that no matter how much money is poured into this public housing structure, it would be a futile effort to try to reconstruct a disaster.

I have written Secretary Romney on several occasions requesting him to tear down Pruitt-Igoe. The KMOX editorial aptly states:

Pruitt-Igoe was doomed the day it left the drawing boards. You can't concentrate almost 3,000 low-income families in 43 high-rise buildings and expect them to survive in an area that provided no shopping facilities, no health services, inadequate transportation, a minimum of job opportunities, and almost non-existent schooling, playground, and recreational facilities.

An environment such as this induces acts of crime. In fact, crime and vandalism run rampant in Pruitt-Igoe. The only way to end these problems is by removing the source which creates them. In this case, the source is Pruitt-Igoe. The editorial concludes:

This area and its residents must be brought into and made a viable part of the community. And we agree more money should be spent on Pruitt-Igoe—but not for renovation. It should be leveled to the ground. Then new plans, new ideas and new public housing concepts can be devised without the 43 specters of failure casting their shadow over these blighted acres.

I endorse the KMOX editorial and commend it to my colleagues' attention:

PRUITT-IGOE

More millions in federal money have been proposed to rehabilitate the public housing shame of St. Louis—Pruitt-Igoe. In KMOX-Television's opinion, this would be a futile repetition of other costly efforts to rectify a monumental error in the project's original concept.

Pruitt-Igoe was doomed the day it left the drawing boards. You can't concentrate almost 3,000 low-income families in 43 high-rise buildings and expect them to survive in an area that provided no shopping facilities, no health services, inadequate transportation, a minimum of job opportunities, and almost non-existent schooling, playground, and recreational facilities.

Discontent, crime, vandalism and subsequent low occupancy were automatically programmed into this ill-conceived project. Originally, 43 buildings were constructed 16 years ago at a cost of \$36 million. Ten years later, another \$5 million was spent in renovation. Today, only 17 of the buildings have

occupants in about 600 apartments. The remaining 26 structures have been sealed shut to prevent further vandalism and opportunities for crime, at an additional cost of several hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. Elmer Smith, Area Director of Housing and Urban Development, has proposed this new attempt to salvage Pruitt-Igoe. He says if the city of St. Louis and representatives of all public housing projects, business, civic and labor leaders were to plan and work to change that area adjacent to downtown so that its residents become an integral part of the entire community, then Pruitt-Igoe can be saved.

Mr. Smith has an excellent idea—had it been proposed 16 or even 10 years ago. It might then have had some chance of success. But not now. It is much too late.

We agree that this area and its residents must be brought into and made a viable part of the community. And we urge more money should be spent on Pruitt-Igoe—but not for renovation. It should be leveled to the ground. Then new plans, new ideas and new public housing concepts can be devised without the 43 specters of failure casting their shadow over these blighted acres.

REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT CONSTITUENTS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following commentary on the Lockheed loan bill:

COMMENTARY

Should the federal government provide financial backing to major industries which find themselves unable to pay their debts? This was the theme of the debate before the Congress as it considered the "Lockheed Loan Bill."

Legislation originally was drafted to provide \$250 million in loan guarantee authority for Lockheed Aircraft to work its way out of severe financial straits. After hurried hearings in the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees, however, a proposal to set up a \$2 billion general fund to bail out all financially-troubled giant industries was approved.

I opposed the bill. It was so hurriedly drafted that adequate hearings on its validity or its need could not be held. More importantly, such legislation is damaging to our economic system, rewards bad management and, in a time of severe domestic needs, it would be a misallocation of our financial resources.

DAMAGE TO THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

It is not the function of a democratic government to pick up the tab for the failure of a private enterprise. Nor should the government be the one to decide which firms are important or deserving enough to continue operations. As the Hoover Commission pointed out 20 years ago, direct lending by the government to private enterprise opens up the dangerous possibilities of favoritism and invites political pressures.

Moreover, the bill is grossly unfair to small businessmen, who would not qualify for assistance under its provisions. By eliminating risks to large firms, smaller competitors are endangered. A loan to Lockheed also enables that firm to fulfill a commercial contract in direct competition with other large manu-

facturers with comparable aircraft on the market.

While the Lockheed loan would be in the form of a federal guarantee to banks which would actually loan the aircraft firm \$250 million, it would be the taxpayers who would have to repay the banks if Lockheed could not. The banks, meanwhile, would have no risk in loaning \$250 million, and yet they would be earning substantial interest on their no-risk loan.

REWARDING BAD MANAGEMENT

If Lockheed's "airbus" airliner, for which it wants federal help, is commercially viable, why haven't the banks loaned the firm the money it seeks? The firm's history in the production of airliners has not been exceptional. In the past, it chose to produce turbo-prop airliners while its competitors moved to the more widely-accepted pure jet aircraft.

Lockheed's military contract history also leaves something to be desired. It incurred enormous cost overruns on the C-5A cargo plane and the SRAM missile. The firm also underestimated the cost and the technical problems on the production of the Cheyenne helicopter.

Legislation to bail out industries with similar problems would only intensify the Defense Department's already-serious problem of holding contractors to adequate production and performance standards.

MISALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

Government loan guarantees tend to reduce the size of the pool of long-term savings available to non-guaranteed private borrowing, and, since the savings supply is limited, it raises the prospects of increasing interest rates for non-guaranteed borrowers.

If the rescue of Lockheed and other major companies is to become a federal obligation, it should be ranked among all government obligations such as health needs, urban and rural development, or education. The proposed \$250 million would assist 31,000 Lockheed workers, but would cut into orders and jobs for competitive aircraft industries. The same amount of money also would create 300,000 public service jobs.

It should be remembered, too, that bankruptcy does not necessarily mean the loss of jobs. The Penn Central Railroad submitted to bankruptcy, but it is still in action.

ENVIRONMENT AND AID

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has said:

There is no challenge more urgent than that of bringing 20th century man and his environment to terms with one another—of making the world fit for man.

I agree—I think we all agree. That is why we passed the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. In the time since that act became law, our foreign assistance program has played an important role in carrying out the national policy aimed at conservation and the enhancement of the environment.

U.S. aid missions overseas have been alerted to the necessity of considering the ecological consequences of all projects and programs undertaken in the name of development. This has meant,

for example, close watch on the uses of the chemicals which have hastened the "green revolution"—and scrutiny of irrigation schemes to assure that they will not cause silt, salinity, and weed buildup or erosion and consequent dislocation of populations.

AID missions have made preliminary surveys to identify environmental problems which might interfere with development in the nations we are aiding. Pilot projects are beginning in selected countries to demonstrate ways of dealing with these problems. The Smithsonian Institution has contracted with AID to join in the search for answers to them.

United States foreign assistance has been involved in a particularly valuable program in East Africa. Here, we have helped train game wardens, financed roads, provided equipment aimed at preserving the unique and precious wildlife that inhabit this part of the world.

Programs like these are not idle gestures, nor lip service to a popular cause. These are commitments that will have a major impact on the quality of our lives now, and on future generations. They truly seek to make the world "fit for man."

Protection of the global environment is of mounting importance, one of the challenges that the new aid proposals we are being asked to consider today are geared to meet. Without question, these proposals deserve our support.

EULOGY TO THE HONORABLE ROBERT TINDAL

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, today, last rites were held for the Honorable Robert Tindal, the second black man ever elected to the Detroit Common Council. He was respected throughout the city as a dedicated public servant, as attested to by the countless number of citizens who paid their final respects as his body lay in state at the city-county building.

He was a product of the civil rights movement, giving leadership in the South as well as in Michigan, where he served in the capacity of executive director of the Detroit Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But most of all he was a dear friend and associate of mine. My feelings were eloquently expressed at the funeral by Mr. Robert Millender in the following way:

EULOGY TO ROBERT TINDAL BY ROBERT MILLENDER

It is often said that you shall know a man by his deeds. While this may be true, it is not an absolute measure of the worth of a man, for sometimes the deeds are obscured by myth and in too many cases the motives for performance spring from acts of self-interest.

To truly evaluate the deeds, therefore, one must truly know the doer, his hopes and aspirations that prompted the acts we see.

I do not wish here to enumerate the various deeds of Bob Tindal, for they are as well known to you as to me. Rather, I wish to talk about the man, his hopes, his aspirations.

I knew Bob only a short period of time in terms of years, but I knew him since time immemorial for I was privileged in that he shared with me his belief in his purpose in life.

Bob visioned and knew there could exist a world wherein men are born free, a world where his son, Shawn, and all the other Shawns of that world would have the opportunity to develop their God-given talents without restrictions of any manner.

But he was a realist, for he knew that to many people that world was a myth, to some an obtainable goal and to others a mirage to be dangled before the eyes of the dispossessed to lure them into a sense of contented hopefulness.

He also knew that this world lay behind a man-made mountain of mental and emotional stones of apathy, complacency, prejudice, discrimination, racist bigotry, poverty, and disease.

His dedication and commitment led him to join with those who sought to climb to the top of the mountain, perceived this better world and proclaim its existence to the disbelievers. Further, their ultimate purpose was the elimination of the mountain.

Bob realized that this journey was a tedious, dangerous, sometimes lonely, frustrating venture but he did not despair and continued upward. Often he was seen lending a helping hand to fellow travelers along the way. He took time to clearly mark the pitfalls that he encountered for he knew that others were following and he desired that their journey be made easier.

He carefully mapped the path of his journey for he visualized the path becoming a road, the road a street, the street a broad, six lane highway virtually destroying the mountain.

Shed no tear nor mourn for the man, Bob Tindal. If you must shed a tear or mourn . . . let it be for that cause he lived and worked for. A cause that has lost a valiant warrior. For Bob was well aware, recognized, and accepted that the effort he expended in his journey could well lead him to this place at this time. He believed "that a man must do what he must do" and that if the end results are the supreme sacrifice, then so be it.

To you, Bob Tindal in behalf of those who continue the journey . . . farewell—we shall surely miss your companionship, your helping hand, your commitment, dedication and most of all your abiding faith that some of us will reach the top of the mountain.

For me personally I can say . . . farewell . . . friend . . .

CANADA AND UNITED STATES CO-OPERATE IN VETERINARY MEDICINE

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, last month the American Veterinary Medical Association and its Canadian counterpart, the Canadian Veterinary Medical Association, held a joint meeting in Detroit, Mich. This was the first such joint meeting of these two associations, and its significance was properly noted by President Nixon in a message to Dr. M. R.

Clarkson, executive vice president of the AVMA. I include the President's message at this point in my remarks:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C.

Mr. M. R. CLARKSON,
Executive Vice President, American Veterinary Medical Association, care of the Detroit Hilton, Bagley Avenue at Grand Circus Park, Detroit, Mich.

The First Joint Conference of Canadian and American Veterinary Medical Associations is a valuable step forward in the exchange of useful information between our nations in an area where progress will surely benefit the citizens of both.

A vivid example of how basic such international cooperation is to public health is evidenced by the epidemic of equine encephalitis which has spread northward from Venezuela through Mexico and most recently appeared in both horses and humans in Southwestern Texas.

May your deliberations serve to reduce the future threat of this and other diseases to animal and human life, and may they advance the well-being of both our nations.

RICHARD NIXON.

A major address at the joint meeting was delivered by the Honorable H. A. Olson, Minister of the Canada Department of Agriculture. In his speech, the Canadian Minister emphasized the importance of the contribution of the veterinary medical profession toward meeting the food needs of our world's constantly expanding population, and he stressed the importance of cooperation among veterinary groups of the various nations.

He also pointed out—

On this continent, there are no serious animal plagues or parasitic problems which have the effect of curtailing livestock production. I recognize that this is no accident but rather the result of organized disease control programs and I further recognize that continual vigilance with respect to all avenues of possible disease introduction must be forcefully continued.

The Minister went on to stress what great assistance veterinary medicine can provide to underdeveloped nations where the food-supply potential is restricted by the existence of various diseases.

Because of the significance of Minister Olson's comments, I include an additional major portion of his address at this point in my remarks:

ADDRESS TO: JOINT MEETING OF AMERICAN VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION AND CANADIAN VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, DETROIT, MICH., BY THE HON. H. A. OLSON, MINISTER, CANADA DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

There are other problems beyond disease control and improving breeds. Marketing is certainly a major obstacle in some countries. In many countries, aid projects aimed at improving production have difficulties which result from poor organization of marketing.

It has been suggested that assistance in international marketing may sometimes be preferable prior to assistance in production since production efficiency is hampered by the absence of suitable market incentives.

Some countries receiving large amounts of financial assistance from overseas sources are experiencing great difficulty in getting access to attractive foreign markets for their products.

We in Canada certainly recognize the vital role of marketing in the agricultural economy. Indeed, developed nations have pro-

gressed past the stage where the paramount concern need be how to produce more. I think we all know that we are capable of overproducing farm commodities. Some may take a little longer to overproduce but I think that, if we really tried, we could overproduce them in relation to the effective market demand all the time, and all at the same time.

Our concern is the matching of demand with supply. When demand exceeds the supply, the consumer suffers, particularly the men in the lower income category; and when supply exceeds the demand, the farmer suffers. I think we have the ingenuity and intelligence to avoid the type of situations where people are cutting each others' throats by overproduction and underbidding each other by over-supplying the market constantly. I feel that with orderly marketing, we can avoid the financial suffering for the people who get caught in these situations.

We have to start adjusting our productions to the demands that exist. It's poor business to produce and produce hoping the right market will come along.

I often hear the argument that we can give our surplus foodstuffs to the underdeveloped nations. Canada has never turned down a request for food aid. It must be remembered that continual food gift to these countries disrupt their own markets and incentives. This is probably why they hesitate to ask for more direct food aid. I think that our efforts will be more forceful if we work towards helping these people feed themselves because "if a man is hungry, do you give him a fish, or do you teach him how to fish".

The federal government of Canada, the provincial governments and a large number of charitable organizations are certainly aware of the challenges faced by the various agricultural industries in the underdeveloped nations of the world. We are providing an increasing amount of aid; our many years of experience is being used to advantage in that we are learning how to apply our assistance more effectively; we have moved towards programs that will bring about long-term solutions, while at the same time responding promptly to emergency situations such as the floods and conditions such as the recent political turmoil in East Pakistan.

In livestock aid programs, Canada recently has provided pure-bred and grade Holstein cattle to Uganda, the Barbados, Trinidad and Korea. Our efforts have included providing managerial staff to work in the milk-processing plants, a university team to operate a Ugandan university's department of animal science and technicians to help with the adaptation of cattle to the tropical climate. An interesting case is Korea. We shipped 1,600 dairy cattle there through a Canadian development loan. As a result of these shipments, the Koreans bought an additional 3,000 head of Canadian Holstein cattle.

Those of us in Canada who are most directly and intimately concerned with agricultural aid are quite interested in the rather recent evolution of international research centers built around a specific crop or product.

I have in mind here the international centers for rice research in the Philippines, the one in Mexico for wheat and maize research, and the ones being established now for tropical crops and animal research.

The structure of these international research centers offers certain advantages which are not available through other organizational structures and agreements, such as the United Nations organizations and bilateral agreements between countries. This is not to say that these international organizations have failed, or that bilateral agree-

ments are not effective. Quite the contrary. But there are, nevertheless, certain advantages to these relatively new international research centers which I believe we should exploit to their fullest possible potential.

Certainly the CIMMYT (Wheat and Maize Improvement Center) program, with headquarters in Mexico, has demonstrated that it can bring about dramatic results, that it can mobilize a global effort in wheat and maize research, and that it can put the fruits of this research to work in a meaningful and dramatic manner. I am certainly hopeful that the achievements of the CIMMYT program can be extended to other areas, and that we will eventually be able to provide similar services to global agriculture in terms of animal production and disease control.

It may well be that international aid programs, insofar as agricultural research is concerned, will develop more and more along the lines of these international research centers in the future.

I believe we will also see the evolution of the multi-disciplinary approach to problems in agriculture in the future. In animal production, we will probably see the development of teams of researchers concentrating on a particular problem, or on a particular industry within a nation or geographical area. Veterinarians will certainly be necessary on these teams, but I think the important thing here is that they will be part of a team, and not working in isolation on their particular specialty. This is certainly the direction that has been charted for agriculture in crops research, where the plant pathologist, the physiologist, the cyto-geneticist, the plant breeder, the soils specialist, the fertility expert and the extension officers have all teamed up to pull together on a particular project.

Experience in the developed nations, and more and more in the underdeveloped nations as well, is clearly showing that these teams must also include economists and sociologists and marketing specialists. It is no longer good enough to develop a better variety of grain, or a better method of production, or to eradicate a disease and to turn this technology loose in an agricultural economy. We must go far beyond that to examine the social and economic repercussions of our new production techniques, to take the products of our research right through the entire marketing system to the eventual consumer.

THE AMERICAN LEGION HAS REASON TO BE PROUD

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, besides the barrages of vocal and written attacks against our military services, it has become fashionable in some quarters to attack our veterans' organizations such as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Uninformed critics have been known to portray these organizations as "out-of-tune with the times, espousing a World War II foreign policy and being irrelevant to contemporary forces in the world, or consisting of old men who espouse the dispatch of youths to war."

Although we in Congress are in a better position than some to realize the fallaciousness of such attacks and are familiar with the substantive contributions made by the Legion and other such

organizations in terms of creative legislative proposals and other service, Anne McIlhenney Mathews eloquently puts those under attack in true perspective in her column in the Buffalo Courier-Express of July 22, 1971.

Anne Mathews is an outstanding columnist who is highly regarded for her objective and courageous commentary.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend the reading of the aforementioned column to my colleagues and include the article at this point:

LEGION HEAD DEFENDS GROUP

I started Monday to reply to a youngster who sneered that I had An American Legion Mentality." The answer was "Amen! I sure have!"

Not a joiner of almost anything, for years I had resisted invitations to join Buffalo Legion auxiliary posts. Auxiliary my eye! After 4½ years of duty overseas, doing the housekeeping for war correspondents and combat photographers, I didn't think I rated being an "auxiliary." Then I discovered the Erie Post of women war veterans—Waves, Marines, Air Force, Army, Coast Guard—and I gladly joined up with women who didn't have to go and who served well and valiantly.

Therefore when I was challenged in a recent letter by this youth who thinks that if I don't think as he does, I'm wrong, I copped a plea to the fact that if the "American Legion Mentality" in his thinking means a low IQ, believing that this country right or wrong is my country, and that patriotism isn't out of style, then I'm glad to be the village idiot.

And I have some high-class backing in a recent letter from National Commander Alfred P. Chamie's, which was circulated to all posts in the country. In it, he decries that the generations in the Legion do not communicate and that central city posts are "decaying." If this is decay, we need more of it. If this is puerile thinking, I'm glad to be part of it. To continue with Chamie's letter, here are some additional points to consider before writing off one of the great organizations of America:

"We who are Legionnaires of today, have sought to make the American Legion relevant to the times in which we live.

"A close review of the resolutions of our recent national conventions will demonstrate the American Legion is attuned to the mainstream of America and to the consensus in the Congress which annually enacts many of our proposals into law. A measure of our success in the legislative area is evident in the fact that more of our proposals concerning veterans benefits and other subjects of national concern were passed by the 91st Congress than by any Congress since World War II. Some of these are:

"Public Law 91-219, which increased education and training allowance and modernized both academic and vocational training programs for veterans, Public Law 91-506, which provided major improvements in the veterans home loan program, including extension of the program to Vietnam veterans. It reopened the program for all heretofore eligible veterans who had not used all of their benefits, and for the first time it included mobile homes and made other improvements in the over-all program. Public Laws 91-96 and 91-376, which improved and increased monthly benefit payments for widows, children and dependent parents of veterans who died from service-connected causes, and the disability compensation rates for living service-disabled veterans.

"Public Law 91-291, which increased from \$10,000 to \$15,000, the amount of insurance automatically extended to members of the armed forces, and has made other substantial

improvements in the program. Public Law 91-588, which improved the veterans and dependents pension program and avoided the loss by more than a million pensioners of all or a portion of their pension benefits by reason of previously enacted social security increases. Other significant public laws benefiting veterans that were supported by the American Legion include liberalizations in eligibility for VA hospitalization, out-patient treatment and the furnishing of drugs and medicine for certain veterans seriously disabled from non-service connected causes.

"Several other enactments, while important to those affected by them, did not necessarily pertain to the entire veteran population. Some of these were improvements in paraplegic housing legislation, and the automobile and prosthetic appliance program for amputees; educational assistance programs for wives, widows and children of POWs and persons missing in action, and GI home loan eligibility for their wives and widows.

"Our theme for the current year has been 'Reach Out.' This is a program of service in 'reaching out' to those amongst us who are in need, to our prisoners of war, to our returning Vietnam veterans, to our older veterans, to our youth and to our communities.

"As a matter of top priority this year we sought to arouse the American people, as well as world opinion, to the plight of the Americans held prisoners of war or listed as missing in action in Southeast Asia. There are some 1,659 personnel who are missing in action in Southeast Asia. We understand approximately 460 of these are in prison. We do not know the status of the others. The American Legion is determined that these men shall not be forgotten nor forsaken. To this end, we have developed television programs that have been seen by some 44 million viewers, radio programs, a motion picture documentary and an American Legion prayer that has been used throughout the country in churches, synagogues, and at appropriate civic events. We have solicited proclamations from governors, mayors, legislatures, city councils, boards of supervisors and from civic groups that designated a prisoner of war day, week, or month.

"We made our facilities, space and staff in our Washington, D.C., office available, without cost, to the League of Families of the Prisoners and Missing in Action in Southeast Asia. It is a matter of pleasure to us that Congress in joint session recognized the week of March 22, 1971, as a Week of Concern for the Prisoners and Missing in Action in Southeast Asia. Likewise, that the United Nations in December, 1970, by resolution recognized the need for humane treatment of prisoners of war in accordance with the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention.

"By this prisoner of war program we hope to assist in achieving the following objectives: The release of the prisoners in Southeast Asia as soon as possible; the identification of those prisoners who are being held; the inspection of the prison camps and sites by a third party neutral organization such as the International Red Cross; regular mailing privileges; and humane treatment for the prisoners as required under the 1949 Geneva Convention, to which Hanoi is a signatory.

"Another of our priority 'Reach Out' programs has been to serve the needs of returning Vietnam veterans. We have sought to insure for them an appropriate program of benefits, to advise them of such benefits and how best to utilize them.

"For those returning veterans who are sick and disabled we have been vigilant to see that they receive the very best of medical and hospital care. We appreciate the contributions made to this program by the dedicated men and women of the Veterans Administration and by the administrator, Donald E. Johnson. In this regard we supported in Congress the \$105,000,000 addition to the 1971 fiscal year budget, which was

adopted. Similarly, we have appeared before congressional committees seeking an increase in the 1972 fiscal year budget for the Veterans Administration from \$9.8 billion to \$10.8 billion. If adopted, this will be the most generous budget in the history of the Veterans Administration.

"We are also deeply concerned that the returning veterans who are able-bodied should come back into a healthy economic climate in which they can obtain employment. To this end we established a top priority 'Jobs for Veterans' program in which returning veterans are brought together with prospective employers. Some recent examples of the results of this program? The American Legion of Colorado held a job clinic at which 4,500 veterans registered. These veterans were interviewed by 36 employers and 15 agencies, and 600 of them were immediately placed in jobs.

"The American Legion of Maryland at its job clinic registered 1,971 veterans with 119 employers participating. Two hundred and seventy eight veterans were placed in jobs and altogether 778 were eventually employed. The American Legion of Oklahoma in one day registered 6,300 veterans at a job clinic, with 100 employers participating, and more than 1,000 were hired that same day. Seattle Post No. 1 of the American Legion has a telephone recorder operating 24 hours a day to which veterans may telephone, leaving their name, number and address. A volunteer member of the post takes this information and returns the veteran's call. To date, 776 calls have been received; of these 447 have gained employment. The American Legion of Arizona held two job clinics, one in Phoenix and one in Tucson. A total of 1,200 veterans registered, 62 employers participated, 132 veterans were immediately employed, 72 were referred and 31 were employed after the clinic.

"The American Legion of Ohio held two job clinics, at which 650 veterans registered, 62 were placed in jobs immediately and 120 were pending for job counseling. The American Legion of North Dakota held a job clinic at which 551 veterans registered and 58 employers participated. This resulted in 157 veterans being either placed in employment or on-the-job training. The American Legion of New Jersey held a job clinic at which 600 veterans registered and 37 employers participated. 46 veterans were placed immediately and the others are awaiting counseling. The American Legion of Idaho held a job clinic at which 410 veterans registered and 62 employers participated. 30 veterans were immediately hired and 20 are receiving counseling. The other applications are pending. The American Legion of Maine held two job clinics. A total of 1,624 veterans registered; of these, 243 either were employed or were scheduled for interviews with possible employers.

"For those not possessing required skills for available jobs we have urged 'on-the-job-training' programs or the obtaining of vocational, high school or college education.

"We started with 'Jobs for Veterans' pilot projects in 17 states, and have now expanded the program into practically every state. President Nixon thought so much of the idea he adopted it as a federal program."

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE AND FREE PRESS IN AMERICA

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, the people who control the com-

munications media, or the people's "right to know machinery," often go off halfcocked with insinuations against Members of this body without letting the record speak for itself. The only possible conclusions in such instances is that these people: First, did not take the time to find out what the truth is; or second, having found out the truth, chose to ignore it because it did not suit their purposes. In any event, these so-called newsmen endanger the future of objective journalism by impeaching journalistic credibility. They supply the tools for their own destruction by inciting the people to cry out for Government-supervised news media which will bring us that much closer to the point of absolute socialism when the horrors of George Orwell's fictional "1984" will become a reality.

A classic illustration of this type of so-called reporting occurred recently following the House vote on Senate Joint Resolution 111, extending the authority for the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune. Prior to the vote on this bill, I spoke on the floor of the House, reading excerpts from the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities regarding the affiliations of Mary McLeod Bethune. This was the sole purpose of my actions—to call the attention of my colleagues to the full public record of Mary McLeod Bethune's activities. The information I read from was part of the record of a committee of this House. It was the obligation of every Member to have complete knowledge of all her activities before casting his people's vote.

Yet, some papers in South Carolina and Georgia have attacked South Carolina Congressmen, saying that they voted against this bill simply because it involved a black person. The color of the individual's skin was not mentioned. The attention of the House was directed to associations that had been cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General, later Mr. Justice Tom Clark of the U.S. Supreme Court. The color of the subject was not mentioned.

Another newspaper carried a story of threatened political reprisals by the NAACP against these South Carolina Congressmen. Such intimidations must be regarded as an indication of the political purposes for this organization. If the NAACP can support her after knowing the facts—and I presume they do—then it is an indication of their use of intimidation to suppress the truth and an indication of the real powers behind the NAACP. I refer my colleagues to my remarks in the RECORD of July 31, 1971, page 28628 and following pages.

In any event, to let the truth speak for itself and show my colleagues the extent of factual distortion that is being practiced by some of the news media, I include in the RECORD at this point a series of related articles indicating the censorship imposed by the news media on truth, my original remarks on the bill extending the authority to erect a monument to Mary McLeod Bethune in the District of Columbia, and a list of her activities compiled by Circuit Riders, Inc.:

[From the Greenville (S.C.) Piedmont, July 30, 1971]

MANN-BETHUNE TIFF CONTAINS LESSONS

(By Jim Turner)

It is devoutly to be hoped that some good will come of Congressman Jim Mann's set-to with local admirers of Dr. Mary M. Bethune.

Mann and four other South Carolina congressmen voted against a monument for the late educator, a native of Mayesville, S.C. The House vote was 288 to 90 in favor of the monument, and Rep. Bryan Dorn was the lone South Carolinian to favor it.

If all five had voted against it, Mann would not look as bad as he does in some circles. Rep. Dorn managed to inform himself of Dr. Bethune's impressive record as an educator and government consultant.

Mann, by way of explaining his negative vote, referred to influence of Rep. J. R. Rarick, D-La., who produced allegations of the former Un-American Activities Committee, now Internal Security, that Dr. Bethune had been a member of so-called "Communist front" organizations years and years ago.

It is an unhappy commentary on our state that all anyone need do to discredit others is whisper the magic word "communist." How much longer must we wait to outgrow that?

How much more slander and libel will be allowed in the name of holy patriotism? How many deaths will it take until we learn that too many people have died in the fight of "righteous capitalism against godless socialism?"

The event is past. Mann said he voted his conscience. That was on Friday after the Monday vote. Earlier in the week, one of his aides admitted to the press and to a group of citizens who had protested, that Mann had known nothing of Dr. Bethune's history when he voted.

Instead, he took the word of a Louisiana legislator who has been one of the most ardent enemies of civil rights legislation in the congress. Dr. Bethune is black.

Rarick has not only voted against civil rights bills, but has introduced bills to repeal the laws now on the books, and most recently moved to cut off appropriations to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

No man with such a record should command instant credibility when he calls a black educator communist.

Perhaps Mann made a mistake which he is reluctant to admit. It would be better to suspect him of ignorance than of malice.

It is, no one needs reminding, less than a year before the congressman must seek re-nomination in his party's primary. That may not be long enough for the blacks in his district to forget.

One thing all of his constituents might learn from the Dr. Bethune debacle is to write your congressman.

It is a valid excuse that congressman cannot carefully study every piece of legislation they have to vote on. It is a sad but true circumstance, which lobbyists and special interest groups take advantage of.

Perhaps if we citizens would take the trouble to write our representatives and "lobby" them a bit, they would more truly reflect the needs and concerns of those who elect them.

LETTER FROM MR. TURNER

Here's copy you requested. As you see, it was really our congressman I badmouthed and not yours. If Rep. Rarick takes offense, remind him that I had to tone down my true feelings to get the editorial published in our "family newspaper" here.

But I assume your legislator is proud of his record and that it represents his constituency and that he therefore would have no reason to be offended. After all, we "syndicated communists" are nothing but unwitting tools of Moscow and Peking and Hanol anyway. It is no longer quite so fashionable

to holler nigger in S.C. as it obviously still is in bayou country.

Thank you for your kind cooperation in telling me of Rarick's record. The column would've been incomplete without it.

Peace,

JIM TURNER.

[From the Atlanta Constitution, Aug. 1, 1971]

REPRISALS "POSSIBLE" IN DR. BETHUNE VETO

COLUMBIA, S.C.—The South Carolina NAACP has warned of possible political retaliation against five of the state's congressmen who voted against a monument to honor the late Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune.

Isaac Williams, South Carolina NAACP field Director, said the vote was "untimely and insensitive" and added that the five congressmen were ignoring the interests of black constituents.

The House of Representatives voted last week 288-90 in favor of erecting a memorial to Dr. Bethune in Washington. Dr. Bethune, a native of Mayesville, S.C., founded Bethune-Cookman College in Florida and played an active role in the Roosevelt administration.

Reps. Floyd Spence, Mendel L. Davis, Tom Gettys, John McMillan and James R. Mann voted against the monument. Only Rep. Bryan Dorn of Greenwood supported it.

"It is apparent that Representative Dorn was the only South Carolina congressman who had the guts to vote intelligently on this matter," Williams said in a statement.

"Without a doubt, Dr. Bethune's contributions to this nation makes her more than worthy of any honor the nation can bestow on her," Williams said.

"At a time when black Americans are clamoring for recognition of their contributions to this country's developments, the negative vote was both untimely and insensitive."

Williams also noted that the five congressmen who opposed the project have no blacks on their Washington staffs. They indicated they opposed the memorial because Dr. Bethune belonged to alleged Communist-supported organizations.

Williams said the action of the five congressmen in seeking support from blacks in their campaigns then voting against the interests of blacks marked them as "hypocrites."

"Men as insensitive as these men certainly don't serve the interests of blacks," he added.

ORIGINAL REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN RARICK

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, his resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 111, extends for 2 years the authority for the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune. Mrs. Bethune has compiled a long and distinguished record in the field of education, and, of course, I think before the Members are called upon to vote up or down this extension, they should be made aware of all of the activities in the field of education which Mary McLeod Bethune has participated in, some of which may not be known to the Members. From the public files, records, and publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives comes a six-page documented listing of various affiliations of Mary McLeod Bethune:

Reading from the report, we find these revealing associations and activities:

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Subject: Mary McLeod Bethune.

The public files, records and publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities reveal the following information concerning Mary McLeod Bethune:

The name of Mary McLeod Bethune appeared on the honor roll of Elizabeth Gurley

Flynn, as published in the Sunday "Worker" of March 9, 1947 (page 7); Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is one of the few outstanding women leaders of the Communist Party in this country.

A pamphlet entitled "7½ Million . . ." (page 34), released by the American League for Peace and Democracy, lists the name of Mrs. Bethune as a member of the National Committee of that organization; a letterhead of the organization, dated July 12, 1939, furnishes the same information. "Fight" magazine for March 1939 (page 3), and a letterhead of the League dated March 24, 1939, both name Mrs. Bethune as Vice-Chairman of the League.

The American League for Peace and Democracy was cited as "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States . . . The League contends publicly that it is not a Communist-front movement, yet at the very beginning Communists dominated it. Earl Browder was its vice-president" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of January 3, 1939; March 29, 1944; January 3, 1940, January 3, 1941; January 2, 1943; and June 25, 1942). Attorney General Riddle cited the organization as having been established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union." (See: Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7683 and 7684.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948).

Mrs. Bethune was a sponsor of the Win-the-Peace Conference, as shown on a letterhead of that group dated February 28, 1946, the "Daily Worker" of March 5, 1946, and "A Call to a Win-the-Peace Conference" in the National Press Building, Washington, D.C., April 5-7, 1946; she was vice-chairman of the National Committee, New York Committee to Win the Peace, according to a letterhead of that group dated June 1, 1946, and the New York Committee call to Win-the-Peace Conference, June 28-29, 1946.

The National Committee to Win the Peace was organized at the Win-the-Peace Conference in Washington, D.C., April 5-7, 1946, and was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

Letterheads of the Civil Rights Congress, dated March 4, 1948 and May 7, 1948, list the name of Mrs. Bethune as Vice-Chairman of the Congress; she signed the call to the National Conference which was held in Chicago, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of October 21, 1947 (page 5); and was one of the sponsors of a meeting of the group, according to the "Daily Worker" of January 19, 1949 (page 10), in which source she was identified as president, National Council of Negro Women.

The Civil Rights Congress was a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. It was "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but especially to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in its report released September 2, 1947). Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

In a Report on the American Slav Congress, released by this Committee on April 26, 1950, the organization was cited as "a Moscow inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods

of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10,000,000 people in this country of Slavic birth or descent." Mrs. Bethune was one of the sponsors of a Testimonial Dinner which was held in New York City, October 12, 1947, under the auspices of the American Slav Congress; the dinner was arranged in honor of * * * (Invitation issued by the Congress; and the printed program, page 2). Attorney General Clark also cited the group as subversive and Communist in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948).

The "People's Daily World" of April 20, 1944 (page 3), reported that Mrs. Bethune was one of the sponsors of the American Youth for Democracy club; on a program of the dinner celebrating the first anniversary of the American Youth for Democracy, October 16, 1944, Mrs. Bethune was also named as a sponsor of the group (see program, "Salute to Young America Committee").

The American Youth for Democracy was the new name under which the Young Communist League operated and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress, according to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944); Attorney General Clark cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). In citing the group in 1947, the Committee on Un-American Activities revealed that its "high-sounding slogans" cover "a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against the college authorities, and against the American government itself . . ." (Report 271 dated April 17, 1947).

Mrs. Bethune signed the call to the Congress of Youth which was the fifth national gathering of the American Youth Congress, held in New York City, June 1-5, 1939 (from the Proceedings of the Congress, page 2).

The American Youth Congress was launched in August 1934 at a gathering held at New York University, New York City, and "has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (Attorney General Riddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, page 10); Attorney General Clark cited the group as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities called the group "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and "prominently identified with the White House picket line * * * under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization" (Report of June 25, 1942; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1941; and March 29, 1944).

Mrs. Bethune was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress (letterheads of the organization dated June 12, 1947 and August 11, 1947; and a page from a leaflet published by the organization). The Southern Negro Youth Congress has been cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of January 3, 1940 (page 9); and as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 271 released April 17, 1947, page 14). Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in a letter released to the press on December 4, 1947.

Mrs. Bethune was a member of the Council on African Affairs, Inc. (from a pamphlet of the organization entitled "Seeing is Believing" which was published in 1947); she participated in a conference of the Council, according to the pamphlet. "For a New Africa" (page 36), also published by the organiza-

tion. She sent greetings to the National Negro Congress, October 1937, as shown in the proceedings of the Congress; she also participated in the Conference on Africa held in New York City, April 14, 1944 (pamphlet of the proceedings of the Conference which was held under the joint auspices of the Council on African Affairs and the National Negro Congress).

The Council on African Affairs was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). "The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress . . . The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report dated January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944). Attorney General Francis Biddle said that "from the record of its (National Negro Congress) activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front,' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7687 and 7688). Attorney General Tom Clark cited the Congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

The "Daily Worker" of February 8, 1939 (page 2), published an appeal to the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy to lift the embargo on arms to Loyalist Spain; Mrs. Bethune was shown as one of those who signed the appeal. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities officially cited the Negro People's Committee . . . as a Communist-front organization in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944. Mrs. Bethune issued an individual statement which was printed in the booklet, "These Americans Say:" which was compiled and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo, urging that in the name of true neutrality, in the cause of world peace and democracy, lift the embargo (on the sale of arms to Spain); she sponsored the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, as was shown in the pamphlet, "Children in Concentration Camps." The Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo was cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the Party carried on a great deal of agitation (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1311 of March 29, 1944, pages 137-138). The Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign was cited at a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee . . . in a report released January 3, 1940.

Mrs. Bethune was a sponsor of the National Emergency Conference (letterhead of the organization dated May 19, 1939); and a member of the Board of Sponsors of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (press release of the group dated February 23, 1940). She signed the 1943 message of the National Federal for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to the United States House of Representatives, as shown on a leaflet attached to an undated letterhead of that organization. Mrs. Bethune was a sponsor of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, as shown on the "Call to a Conference on Civil Rights, April 20-21, 1940" (page 4), and on a letterhead of the group dated April 26, 1940.

"It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for

Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" (Report 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities, released September 2, 1947); the three organizations were also cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 on March 29, 1944. Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the National Federation . . . as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. * * * (It) was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D.C., June 7-9, 1940" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687). Attorney General Clark cited the National Federation . . . as subversive and Communist in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

The Washington Committee for Democratic Action was cited as an affiliate or local chapter of the National Federation . . . "The program of the Washington Committee followed that of the National Federation. National Communist leaders have addressed its meetings, and conferences sponsored by it have been attended by representatives of prominent Communist-front organizations" (Attorney General Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7688 and 7689); Attorney General Clark cited the group as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948); the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found that "when the American League for Peace and Democracy was dissolved in February 1940, its successor in Washington was the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. The latter was affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" (Reports of June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944).

Mrs. Bethune was one of the sponsors of the Congress of American Soviet Friendship, as shown in "Soviet Russia Today," for December 1942 (page 42); she participated in a meeting paying tribute to women of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. held in Carnegie Hall, New York City, March 6, 1944, under the auspices of the Committee of Women, National Committee of American-Soviet Friendship ("Soviet Russia Today," March 1944, page 35; and "New Masses" for February 29, 1944, page 29); she was named as a sponsor and a member of the Committee of Women of the National Council . . . on the "Call to a Conference of Women of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in the Post-War World" on November 19, 1944, in the Commodore Hotel, New York City; a letterhead of the Committee of Women, National Council . . . dated March 1, 1948, contains the name of Mrs. Bethune in the list of members; she was a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council, as shown on letterheads of that organization dated February 8, 1946 and March 13, 1946.

In its report of March 29, 1944, the Special Committee . . . cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as having been "in recent months the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian." Attorney General Clark cited the group as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

A letter of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, opposing alien registration, carried the signature of Mary McCleod Bethune, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of November 23, 1939 (page 3, columns 7-8); she was one of the sponsors of the Fourth Annual Conference of the organization which was held in Washington, D.C. March 2-3, 1940 (as shown on a letterhead of the Conference); a booklet entitled "The Registration of Aliens" which was prepared and published by the American Committee

. . . lists Mrs. Bethune as one of the sponsors of that organization.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been officially cited as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1311, March 29, 1944; also cited in Committee report on June 25, 1942). Attorney General Tom Clark cited the group as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1, and September 21, 1948).

Mrs. Bethune was one of the sponsors of the League of Young Southerners which is the youth division of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown on a letterhead dated August 13, 1940; she was named in "The Southern Patriot" for December 1946, as a member of the Board of Representatives (1947-1948) of the Southern Conference; she was a member of the Executive Board, as shown on a leaflet of the Conference entitled "The South is Closer than You Think" (received about February 1947).

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist-front organization which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States" (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 592 dated June 12, 1947). The Special Committee . . . also cited the group as a Communist-front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of the funds by which many Communist fronts operate (Report of March 29, 1944).

Mrs. Bethune received the New Masses award for greater inter-racial understanding at a dinner in her honor at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, January 14, 1946 ("Daily Worker," January 7, 1946, page 11, columns 1-2); she received a similar award "for contribution made to promote democracy and inter-racial unity" at the New Masses Second Annual Awards Dinner, as shown, in "New Masses" for November 18, 1947 (p. 7).

"New Masses" was cited as a "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party . . . whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service (Special Committee . . . Report of March 29, 1944; also cited in Committee reports on January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942). It was also cited as a "Communist periodical" by Attorney General Francis Biddle (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688).

The Washington (D.C.) "Star" on February 3, 1949 (page A21), reported that Mrs. Bethune had withdrawn from a Civil Rights Rally scheduled to be held in Washington on February 11 and 12, 1949.

The "Daily Worker" of February 12, 1951 (page 4), reported that Mrs. Bethune was a sponsor of a testimonial on February 23, at Essex House to honor W. E. B. DuBois on his 83rd birthday. W. E. B. DuBois was one of the five officers of the Peace Information Center who were indicted by a Federal grand jury on February 9, 1951, for failure to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The Peace Information Center was also cited as an organization which was described in the Worker of June 11, 1950, by the Communist Party's Peace Committee as one that was making available the Stockholm peace petition. (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Statement issued on the March of Treason, February 19, 1951; and House Report No. 378, on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, original date, April 1, 1951, page 42.)

Mr. RABICK. I would like to remind the Members of the House that the records from

which I have read applied only to those organizations which had been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive and Communist. What method was used to adduce this proof or to make the citation, I do not know—I was not present. But, certainly, I do not think that bringing this information to the attention of the Members of this House is in any respect un-American. However, I think it is the Members' responsibility to know who they are being called upon to memorialize as a leader for children of future generations.

If, knowing the full facts, you want to vote for it, vote for it, but if you do not, at least, I have carried my duty forward to advise you as to what this record of Mary McLeod Bethune shows relative to her activities in education and their relationship to the security of the people of the United States.

A COMPILATION OF PUBLIC RECORDS 6000 EDUCATORS, VOLUME I, CIRCUIT RIDERS, INC.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE (BETHUNE-COOKMAN)

(1) All Southern Negro Youth Conference—Speaker—*Daily Worker*, December 4, 1944, page 2.

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—program, March 29-30, 1941.

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter—folder, 1948.

(4) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—sponsor—letterhead, July 23, 1948.

(5) American League for Peace and Democracy—national vice chairman—letterhead, June 12, 1939.

(6) American Round Table on India—member—leaderhead, 1941.

(7) American Slav Congress—sponsor of dinner—program, October 12, 1947.

(8) American Youth Congress—signer of call—official proceedings, July 1-5, 1939.

(9) American Youth for Democracy—sponsor—*Spotlight*, April 1944; letterhead, November 28, 1945.

(10) Civil Rights Congress—vice chairman—*Daily Worker*, October 21, 1947, page 5; letterhead, September 30, 1948.

(11) Congress on Civil Rights—member of initiating committee—program, April 27-28, 1946.

(12) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937.

(13) Council on African Affairs—delegate—booklet, April 14, 1944.

(14) Council on African Affairs—speaker—*Daily Worker*, May 23, 1946, page 5.

(15) Council on African Affairs—member—pamphlet, 1947.

(16) Council Against Intolerance in America—member—letterhead, October 1952.

(17) Council of Young Southerners—sponsor—letterhead, June 26, 1940.

(18) Daughters of the American Depression—sponsor—*New York Times*, May 13, 1940.

(19) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions—initiating sponsor—*Worker*, December 24, 1944, page 14.

(20) League of Young Southerners—sponsor—letterhead, August 13, 1940.

(21) Methodist Federation for Social Action—signer of statement—statement, December 27-29, 1947.

(22) Methodist Federation for Social Service—member of executive committee—letterhead, April 12, 1946.

(23) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner—program, May 25, 1952.

(24) National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families—member of national board—*Workers*, March 17, 1946, page 5.

(25) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member—official list, 1944.

(26) National Committee to Abolish the

Poll Tax—vice chairman—letterhead, March 8, 1946.

(27) National Committee to Win the Peace—vice chairman—letterhead, June 1, 1946.

(28) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor—*Soviet Russia Today*, December 1942, page 42; March 1947; *Daily Worker*, February 10, 1944, page 3.

(29) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—member of board of directors—letterhead, January 7, 1948.

(30) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—member of board of sponsors—letterhead, February 15, 1940.

(31) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943.

(32) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, July 1954; April 1955.

(33) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—member of board of representatives—letterhead, June 1, 1947.

"DRUG USE IN THE NEW YORK LABOR FORCE"

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, in today's crisis atmosphere surrounding the problem of drug abuse, it is increasingly important to have careful, measured assessments of the problem that confronts us. We must not be panicked into taking new measures to combat the problem without assurances that the new approaches are based on a realistic understanding of the causes, the nature and the extent of drug abuse.

The New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission, supported in part with a contract from the U.S. Department of Labor, has made a landmark contribution to such an understanding with its recently released report "Differential Drug Use Within the New York State Labor Force." This analysis of drug use by employed persons in New York State was based upon a representative sample of all household members age 14 or older. Each person was interviewed in his home by specially trained interviewers using a questionnaire specifically designed to systematically elicit information about the use of a wide variety of both legal and illegal drugs. Such a statewide epidemiological assessment of actual drug use is without precedent.

The commission scientists reported these drug use results as the minimal number of persons using the various drugs. Underrepresentations of use were anticipated due to a respondent's natural forgetfulness, some reluctance to discuss illegal or socially disapproved drug taking, and by drawing samples from household members thereby excluding persons in institutions, hotels, rooming houses, and other nonpermanent residences.

While this survey was designed to establish the dimensions of drug use, it was not an attempt to document the incidence of drug abuse. Commission methodologists and epidemiologists responsi-

ble for the survey were in agreement that such a determination would be a logical follow-up survey, and designs are in progress for an assessment of the social costs and personal difficulties attendant to the various types of drug use. I await the results of such a survey with keen interest.

This survey makes clear that heroin is not the only worrisome drug abuse problem in this country. If the hundreds of thousands of heroin addicts in the United States were rehabilitated tomorrow, we would still be faced with the use and abuse of a wide range of potentially damaging drugs by millions of people in all walks of life. As the survey shows, many of these drugs are used by large numbers of people while on the job, raising additional serious questions about how drug dependent our society has become. I commend the highlights of this survey to the attention of all those Members of Congress concerned about drug abuse.

HIGHLIGHTS OF REPORT

The data secured through the study indicate that of the estimated 13,690,000 people in New York State age 14 and older:

1. Some 377,000 people use barbiturates, e.g., Seconal, Tuinal, etc., on a regular basis (at least six times per month) and 205,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed users, sales workers have the highest rate of regular use (1,230 per 10,000) and some 11.3% report using the drugs while on the job.

2. Some 173,000 people regularly use the non-barbiturate sedative/hypnotics, e.g., Doriden, Noludar, etc., and 72,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed users, the unskilled workers have the highest rates of regular use (180 per 10,000) but none of these workers report using the drugs while on the job.

3. Some 525,000 people regularly use the minor tranquilizers, e.g., Librium, Miltown, Valium, etc., and 157,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed users, the clerical and other white collar workers have the highest rate of regular use (570 per 10,000) and some 3.7% of these workers report using these drugs while on the job.

4. Some 85,000 people regularly use major tranquilizers, e.g., Thorazine, Mellaril, Stelazine, etc., and 55,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed users, sales workers have the highest rate of regular use (210 per 10,000) but none of these workers report using the drugs while on the job.

5. Some 37,000 people regularly use anti-depressants, e.g., Tofranil, Elavil, etc., and 13,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed people, the rate of regular use is the same for clerical, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers (30 per 10,000) but none of these workers report using the drugs while on the job.

6. Some 110,000 people regularly use prescription pep pills, e.g., Dexedrine, Benzedrine, etc., and 51,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed people, sales workers have the highest rate of regular use (140 per 10,000) and all of these workers report using the drugs while on the job.

7. Some 225,000 people regularly use prescription diet pills usually containing amphetamines, e.g., Dexamyl, etc., and 117,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed people, sales workers have the highest rate of regular use (360 per 10,000) and some 28.6% of these workers report using the drugs while on the job.

8. Some 21,000 people regularly use controlled narcotics other than heroin, e.g.,

Demeral, Morphine, Dilaudid, etc., and 19,000 of these people are employed. . . among these employed people, sales workers have the highest rate of regular use (90 per 10,000) but none of these workers report using drugs while on the job.

9. Some 485,000 people regularly use marijuana and 293,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed people, sales workers have the highest rate of regular use (860 per 10,000) and some 44.0% of these workers report using marijuana while on the job.

10. Some 50,000 people regularly use LSD and 25,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed people, sales workers have the highest rate of regular use (260 per 10,000) and some 26.7% of these workers report using LSD while on the job.

11. Some 34,000 people regularly use methedrine and 10,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed users, sales workers have the highest rate of regular use (70 per 10,000) and all of them report using the drug while on the job.

12. Some 41,000 people regularly use heroin and 34,000 of these people are employed . . . among these employed users, sales workers have the highest rate of regular use (210 per 10,000) and all of them report using the drug while on the job.

These highlighted figures are a numerical projection of the more "stable" of the drug users and consequently constitute minimums. Anyone who has become personally and socially dysfunctional as the result of drug use, e.g., "heroin street addicts," "speed freaks," "acid heads," etc., generally were not available for interview. Thus, only those drug users with a place of residence or routine "at home" hours were located. In some cases these minimal figures should be multiplied by 3 or 4 in order to project maximum involvement. Since these dysfunctional drug users are not part of the employed labor force, the projections of use within the various occupational groupings are reliable as they are reported.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS—29TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

HON. GEORGE E. DANIELSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. DANIELSON. Mr. Speaker, last month I sent out a questionnaire to every household in my congressional district. The results indicated that a freezing of prices and wages by the President was strongly supported in order to halt inflation.

Responses to other questions revealed: A firm approval of the proposal that would provide automatic cost-of-living increases for social security beneficiaries, a reluctance to commit U.S. resources and military power to guarantee the continued existence of Israel if this should become necessary, and slightly more than a 2-to-1 approval of the job that J. Edgar Hoover is doing as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Men and women agreed on the majority of the issues, with the only significant variation showing up in the question relating to the defense of Israel. Nearly half of the respondents answered in the negative on this question, but 36 percent of the men and only 32 percent of the women favored a strong commit-

ment. A large percentage were undecided, as 18 percent of the women and 14 percent of the men were unsure.

I will place the complete results of the questionnaire in the RECORD at this point:

[In percent]

	Yes	No	Not sure
1. With unemployment and inflation seriously affecting the economy, do you feel the President should use the powers already granted him by Congress to freeze prices and wages?	71	19	10
2. Do you favor increasing social security benefits "automatically," based on cost-of-living increases?	83	13	4
3. Should the United States commit its resources and military power, if necessary, to guarantee the continued existence of Israel?	34	49	17
4. Are you satisfied with the job that J. Edgar Hoover is doing as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?	61	28	11

RURAL RENEWAL

HON. ARTHUR A. LINK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. LINK. Mr. Speaker. A strong need exists to initiate a meaningful program to bring about a more realistic population balance in the United States. Clearly, rural renewal is an integral part of urban renewal.

Gov. William L. Guy, of North Dakota, wrote a poignant letter to Life magazine in response to an article on the disappearance of small towns in the upper midwest. Part of Governor Guy's letter was printed in the July 30, 1971, edition of Life magazine.

I include the text of Governor Guy's letter in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Bismarck, N. Dak., July 2, 1971.

Mr. THOMAS GRIFFITH,
Editor, Time Incorporated Publisher, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y.

DEAR Mr. GRIFFITH: Dale Wittner's story of the disappearance of the small towns in the Upper Midwest had particular sadness for me because I am a product of such a small town farming community and the Governor of a state which is suffering the steady erosion of its rural and small town life year by year.

For years, your readers have been told about the terrible social and economic costs of packing too many Americans into sprawling cities—the rising crime rate, stumbling mass transportation, smog, ghettos, polluted water, fire hydrant swimming pools, overloaded hospitals, crowded schools.

Now Vienna, South Dakota, shows your readers the other side of the coin. People leaving the farms and small communities is less dramatic, but still is a part of the gradual diminishing of our national quality of life being carried out at great social and economic cost.

The exodus from the country means lower tax bases and fewer people to allow or justify the things we all seek such as schools, medical services, sewer and water systems, parks, churches, Campfire Girl Troops, 4-H Clubs, fire engines, law enforcement, and on and on.

This tragedy besetting America is not a natural disaster like a flood or hurricane—it is man-made. It has been under way for decades and is a product of many factors, not the least of which are the induced population shifts caused by federal government activities and our free enterprise system's aversion to controls and government planning.

The United States is suffering a sickness which desperately needs correct diagnosis and not simply surface remedies. Before we can really start, it is necessary for our country to establish a national policy distribution of opportunity, and hence population.

This must come about through Congressional recognition of what causes population shift and what it is doing to America. Congress must establish national policy and leadership if there is to be any hope to stabilize the costly maldistribution of our people.

Quality of living need not continue to slide downward in both our congested and underpopulated areas while the standard of living rises in America—but it will if we do not get some strong leadership to show us how to pull up our national socks.

People do not have to leave the spacious midcontinent area to jam the crowded coastal regions—but 100 million more Americans will do just that in the next 30 years unless some great leader has the political guts to tell us what we are doing to ourselves.

The Viennas of South and North Dakota could share in providing for a few of those millions of new Americans if our national policy would permit it to happen. Opportunity in those small towns could once again blossom if we were to encourage the opportunities that man-made programs and policies have created to cause overpopulation in other areas.

There is so much we could do as a nation if we would stop racing from one crisis to another. We must develop at the national level the kind of federal comprehensive planning that has borne fruit for many communities and states.

Time has already run out for many people and many communities. We can only hope that there will be a future for those who remain.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM L. GUY, Governor.

AMERICAN LEGION PROGRAM "REACH OUT"

HON. W. C. (DAN) DANIEL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, as past national commander of the American Legion, I was privileged to be present at the department convention of the American Legion held in Norfolk, Va., on July 17 when that body was addressed by National Vice Commander Bob Eaton, of the American Legion. I was impressed by his remarks in present-

ing the American Legion program for this year, "Reach Out."

Bob Eaton attended West Point and retired from the Air Force as a major general after 30 years of distinguished service. For the last 10 years he has continued his service to the community, State and Nation through the American Legion. He has served as department commander of his own department of Maryland and has served two terms as Maryland national executive committee-man. He is presently serving as one of the national vice commanders of the American Legion.

In his remarks National Vice Commander Eaton stated:

The challenge to us in the American Legion today is to do those things necessary to help America to continue to be good and thus great. Our attitude is best expressed by the policy determination of our national organization to give action and public support to public and private officials who will persevere in the following efforts:

- To expose and put down anarchy;
- To preserve public and private institutions from usurpation or destruction by mob rule;
- To insure the safety of all citizens from willful harm;
- To stand firm against threats and criticism in performing their duties to protect and promote the public interest;
- To lead our country to rational and peaceful solutions to our everchanging problems;
- To instill in the American people a new growth of civic responsibility, love of country and faith in God.

I am placing National Vice Commander Eaton's speech in the RECORD so that my colleagues can read it in its entirety.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS OF NATIONAL VICE COMMANDER ROBERT E. L. EATON, BEFORE THE VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION—JULY 17, 1971

Department Commander Powell,
Past National Commander Congressman Daniel,
Past National Commander James,
Distinguished Guests,

Members of the 53rd Annual Convention of the Department of Virginia; It is with a great deal of pleasure that I appear before you to bring you greetings and congratulations from our National Commander, Alfred P. Chamie. The Department of Virginia has always had a reputation for strong programs, and we are pleased that your programs this year continue to reflect the strength that has always been identified with Virginia.

Our national program this year has been entitled "Reach Out." In this program the American Legion is attempting to strengthen all of our own programs, and also to reach out to national issues, such as the prisoners of war stalemate. All of our own programs are meeting with success. There is some indication that our prisoners of war program has indeed brought about some hope for an early release of these heroic men.

Our program for the year is well described by the words of the great labor leader, Samuel Gompers. When he was asked the question, "What does labor really want?", he answered, with a touch of wit, "More". What our program, "Reach Out", means is that all of our programs will require "more" from the American Legion at all levels, and particularly at the Post and community level.

We do indeed live in troublesome times. The great orator, Cicero, speaking more than 2,000 years ago, deplored the decadence and decline of the republic to which he was devoted with the words, "O tempora, O mores." If my high school Latin serves me rightly, his words can best be translated.

"Oh! the times, Oh! the customs." These words are just as timely today.

We like to believe that nothing can happen to our own republic. I believe that this is true. But it is only true because from the days of our ancestors to the present, we have reacted successfully to the conditions, the challenges and the changes with which we have been faced with a vigorous show of strength. When balance has been restored, we again believe that our republic is anchored in bedrock and cannot be moved by the winds or tides that whirl around us.

Some years ago a leader of a foreign country, visiting the United Nations, became unhappy at the proceedings. He took off his shoe and pounded the table, making an impassioned diatribe against the free world, and our country in particular. At the time, many of us put his words and actions down as the ravings of a barbarian; we were tempted to forget the whole thing. But in the 15 years that have passed since then, we should remember some of the things that he said about us: that we would disintegrate from within, that the intelligentsia and students would turn against us, and that the communist countries would "bury us" and never have to fire a shot.

When we see sullen mob type displays in our nation's capital such as the recent May Day spectacle, a display that was brought under control by our Washington Police Department, perhaps the best Police Department in the world, backed up by 10,000 federal troops, definitely the best disciplined troops in the world, we might remember Khrushchev's words. Then when we see the militants of the mob repair to the University of Maryland and incite the students to riot to the extent that it is necessary to call out the National Guard to bring the university under control; then we should remember Khrushchev's words.

Conditions are more serious than at any time in our history. We do have to address our thoughts and actions towards the problems that bring about this chaos. But I, for one, do not believe that the United States is ready for burial.

Those who predict doom would have us forget the remarkable progress made in our great country, not only in ancient times, but within the last 50 years. Several elements of our society attempt to convince us that everything is wrong, that violent change is necessary, that the future is dark unless we revolutionize our traditional thinking. Unless reasonably contained, this effort to promote chaos, in the name of a vague Utopia, without any real intelligent alternative, will surely lead to our destruction. Many elements of our society contribute to this promotion of chaos, but I believe that there are three major catalysts:

(1) The Educational System:

The first and most important element in the promotion of anarchy is our academic institutions, primarily the university system. Academia deals with our young people. Youth has always been the most idealistic element of our society, the most impressionable, the most aware of our shortcomings, and the most impatient for changes in the more traditional ways of doing things.

This fact has been reinforced by our special American reverence for education. From the establishment of the very first American university—the College of William and Mary—our academic institutions have been our special pride. It has been our faith and belief that general education at the highest level could only lead to greater and greater strengths for the republic. In order to do this, we have given a great deal of freedom to those who run our universities and teach our young people. This freedom has led to unhealthy developments throughout the land.

Congresswoman Edith Green of Oregon chaired a subcommittee that investigated

student unrest for some months; she concluded that there would not be any student unrest were it not for some of the faculty members.

It is ironic to me that so many of our young students who think of themselves as being such original and creative thinkers, are simply parroting the ideas of their elders—not their fathers, but faculty members slightly older than themselves—faculty members, who in many cases learned their lessons from the radical professors of the 1930's. Academia seems to feel that it has a mission, based on some sort of inner arrogance, to change everything around us towards some sort of Utopia. Educators feel that because of their education they know what is best for us. They feel that we should stand by and let them change our institutions. They feel that we should stand the cost, not only in money, but in turmoil and uncertainty for those experiments which they dream up on an idealistic basis, a look toward Utopia which ignores the lessons of history—which has not dealt kindly with Utopians.

When one thinks in terms of turning the university system off and getting the universities back to teaching the young, we must face up to some of the weaknesses of the present university system. These weaknesses are based on traditional sacred cows. One of these is academic freedom. What does academic freedom mean? It means that a Math professor can be hired, and he has freedom not only to teach Math, where he would be presumed to have some competence, but his academic freedom extends to his part time chore of organizing cells of the New Left. How do we get rid of someone like this? He is protected by another shibboleth, "tenure." What does tenure mean? Simply that once a professor has been appointed, he cannot be fired.

Now as to remedies, we must remember that students do not come near to support of the school. Our private schools are supported by foundations and endowments. For example, even though MIT owes its existence to those pillars of the capitalistic system, the Guggenheims, the Fishers, the Eastmans, the Fords, the Rockefellers and others, they are now under the domination of Professor Glomsky, who devotes his spare time to producing riots on the campus, using non students as inciters to produce chaos. In the control of private colleges, there is, of course, a remedy; stop giving them money.

In our state supported university system the taxpayers support the universities. We have given away our control by insulating the faculties through the setting up of a Board of Regents' system. The Board of Regents are often made up of political hacks and are expected to be ineffective. In the case of the state universities and schools, the remedy is for us taxpayers and voters to see that proper supervision is provided.

I should like to make it plain that I am not against academic freedom, nor am I opposed to tenure which helps insure academic freedom. But freedom is not license. Tenure should not protect incompetents. Our university system needs to be revamped so that academic freedom is accompanied by a sense of responsibility.

(2) The News Media:

The second element of our society that makes major contributions to our unrest and chaos is the news media. The news media are protected by the First Amendment to our Constitution. It was recognized by James Madison and others of our founding fathers that one of the dangers of the First Amendment was the development of an irresponsible press. Thus, the First Amendment guarantees the right of the news media not only to tell the truth, but to indulge in outright propaganda activity to carry their own predetermined view. This was to be a price tag.

Let me illustrate. When I was in Vietnam on a mission for the American Legion at the time of the Tet offensive in 1968, I came away with a firm conviction that the truth was not being told about the war. On my return I went to an old friend, a senior editor of Fortune, and I said, "Charlie, you have to write one of your great articles telling the truth about the war." His answer was, "I'm sorry, I know the truth. I would like to write the articles, but my colleagues won't let me. Our publishers are opposed to the war, and the truth cannot be told." What this means is simple. The major news media were opposed to the war, based on their own determination, and they were propagandizing to change the public to their own point of view.

Let me make another illustration. The recent CBS documentary controversy was based on one simple fact admitted by all; that the electronic network cut the tapes of statements made by those interviewed in such a manner as to give the impression that the official interviewed had given an entirely different statement than that which he actually gave. CBS defended its position on the basis of freedom of the press and the First Amendment.

In the case of the electronic media, we must remember that this media has a monopoly, and if you don't like the unctuous tones and pious noises of Cronkite, you can only turn to NBC and ABC for relief. Each of them has an axe to grind also of one sort or another.

I have one other example of the irresponsibility of the press. In these times we cannot escape considering the so-called Pentagon papers' episode. These papers really should be called the McNamara papers. For a time Secretary McNamara was thought to have a secure place in history as the maker of the Edsel, a boo-boo of some importance to Ford. Then came the TFX, and we changed our minds in favor of this effort as establishing McNamara in history. A little further down the road came the multi-billion dollar electronic fence. As each came along we said, "This is the one that would establish McNamara's place in history, but his last effort was the greatest that really established his place in history. He commissioned 36 whiz kid experts to produce a "history" which would guarantee his place with future generations. Supposedly to insure objectivity, these whiz kids were promised anonymity; they were told not to interview the people involved (people, who incidentally, knew something about the real facts); and finally, the results were limited to 15 closely controlled copies. I think that it is significant that Secretary of State Rusk had never even heard of the project; the substance was never discussed with the White House staff; and the military services and the JCS were specifically excluded from the distribution. The authors simply didn't want to be bothered by troublesome facts. Honest history names its author. Honest history exposes itself to the critical glare of other historians. But most of these authors were not historians. That these individuals were anti-war, anti-military and anti-administration goes without saying. That these anonymous authors produced a document that proves that Secretary McNamara and his senior associates, as well as the Presidents they served, were either knaves or idiots or both is not at all surprising. It is also not surprising that a little sniveling bureaucrat, who was never within a country mile of any of the decisions concerned, would steal the documents and attempt to peddle them. What is surprising is that the New York Times, a sheet that would like us to think it is the greatest of our newspapers, would entertain the idea of publishing the documents by these anonymous happenings in an even worse light. I suppose that the great bulder of the New York Times,

old man Ochs, is doing snap rolls in his grave, but there you are.

What is the remedy for the press problems? Yesterday, when I spoke in Ohio, I was followed on the rostrum by an individual from the news media who addressed himself to remedies that might be effective. I find myself in agreement.

You can do your best to combat what you get by comparing or following competitive media, keeping in mind the limited and monopolistic electronic media selection and the fact that newspapers available are often monopolies too. But, in the last analysis, you must remember that you can't believe what you read and hear.

Again I should like to make it plain that I am not against freedom of the press. But I greatly fear for the freedom of our nation if the freedom of the press is not accompanied by a sense of responsibility, by a code of ethics which we have come to expect in other professions such as law, medicine, and, yes, public service.

(3) Political Leadership:

The third element in our society which I believe has failed us are some of our political leaders. When a national figure rushes down to address a mob on the Mall, he reminds me of the action of one of the leaders in the French Revolution, who is reported to have said, "I must go down and get in front of yonder mob. I am their leader." Why responsible national leaders, in an effort to garner votes, should want to contribute to the mob pressure of minority interest, is beyond me. I would think that they would direct their interest to us veterans and "hard hats" instead.

One of the most deplorable efforts of some of our political leaders is their stooping to use the "big lie" technique. Hitler was the inventor of the "big lie." He indicated that if you tell a lie big enough and often enough, some people will believe it.

Let me illustrate with a current example. In the recent SST action in the Congress a spurious scientist was produced, who indicated that if the SST was built, we would all be in danger of developing skin cancer. The SST program was supported by the American Legion. We recognize that as a result of our mandates, keyed to our belief in the importance of our maintaining technical leadership in aviation, we strongly supported the program, but there might be legitimate economic, technical or other factors that would weigh in the ultimate decision. But the spurious untruthful advancement of a fear system unsupported by the legitimate scientific community, was painful for us to accept.

The Jefferson School of Democracy, which was a high flown name for a training activity of the Communist Party, drilled its students in the utilization of communist cadres' techniques to fool the people. These included the testimonial technique, which we have just demonstrated. Another one was, "We're all in this together" technique. Another technique was in the use of smear words or virtue words. When we see some of our political leaders using these techniques, we should recognize them as damaging and remember there is an effective remedy. When we enter the polling booth and pull that black curtain down behind us, we should do our duty.

Edmund Burke, the statesman, said, "The only thing necessary to make evil succeed is for good men to do nothing about it." In our program, "Reach Out", where we expect "more" from you, one of our new areas of action is taking on leadership in your local community.

We should take great pride in our programs that have been perfected throughout the years. Our VA hospitals, with their teaching facilities and their improvement of the general health of the nation, are worthy pro-

grams, not just for veterans but the whole community. In our youth programs we have contributed more than 250 million dollars, and the program continues at the rate of 10 million dollars per year. In our junior baseball program, 60,000 youngsters were suited up last year. Our Boys State oratorical program is another important contribution with new and higher scholarship awards. Then there is the GI Bill, which the American Legion alone sponsored. When we have educated the GI and allowed him to take his place in society, this general increase in education results in an overall improvement of our economy by increasing the productivity of society as a whole through a better educated population. We can also take great pride in our support of adequate national defense; not only to maintain a posture and an image which helps us to avoid war, but to see that the simple soldier is adequately trained, equipped and led when called upon to defend the country.

But, more important than these programs, is our responsibility of leadership in the local community. The French philosopher, De Tocqueville, in visiting our country 100 years ago said, "America is great because she is good—and if America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." In the wars that we have fought in our century, World War I, World War II, Korea and Vietnam, the important thing is that we were trying to do good. We were trying to extend the blessings of liberty and self determination to others and assist others in protecting their right to defend themselves. The challenge to us in the American Legion today is to do those things necessary to help America to continue to be good and thus great.

Our attitude is best expressed by the policy determination of our national organization, arrived at during our 50th Anniversary year, when our organization put itself on record to give "action and public support to public and private officials who will persevere in the following efforts:

- "To expose and put down anarchy;
- "To preserve public and private institutions from usurpation or destruction by mob rule;
- "To insure the safety of all citizens from willful harm;
- "To stand firm against threats and criticism in performing their duties to protect and promote the public interest;
- "To lead our country to rational and peaceful solutions to our ever-changing problems;
- "To instill in the American People a new growth of civic responsibility, love of country and faith in God."

If we can lead through these principles in our local communities, we will have done "more" through our "Reach Out" program.

Again, our congratulations on the great job that the Virginia Department is doing.

Thank you.

TURN IN A PUSHER—TIP

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a program sponsored by the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce entitled "Turn in a Pusher—TIP." TIP has been in operation in Tampa since February of this year and is aimed at identifying, arresting, and prosecuting known narcotics pushers in our community.

TIP accepts anonymous calls from citizens, gives the caller a code name, and

then turns valid tips over to the police. If a pusher is convicted, the caller can, through his code name, get a reward of up to \$500 while remaining anonymous. To date, five convictions have resulted from this program, and 280 cases are now being processed through the courts.

I think this is a unique approach to solving one of the most important problems in American society today, and I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article on TIP in the current issue of Newsweek:

THE PUSHERS PUSHED

Police in every city assiduously cultivate their own brood of paid underworld informers in the struggle against crime, but now officials in Tampa, Fla., are carrying the informer system a major step forward in their drive to rid the town of drug pushers: they have set up a system of rewards and urged ordinary citizens to turn informer and share in the bounty. The Tampa program was created after a 1970 study disclosed that the number of hard-drug addicts in the city had soared to some 4,000 (from an estimated 50 or so just a few years earlier). The idea for the informer program originated with a former FBI agent named James Cusack; it was received enthusiastically, and last February, after local business leaders donated an initial \$8,000 in bounty money, the "turn-in-a-pusher" crusade was launched with a barrage of posters and a fanfare of TV ads.

To insure an informant's anonymity, TIP conducts its business under a secrecy shroud worthy of the CIA. TIP operators assign each caller a code name gleaned from the telephone directory of a distant city. To collect his reward, the informant has to follow the newspapers to discover if his tip has indeed produced a conviction; if so, he must call back to arrange the payoff—always using his code name. A bounty of up to \$500 in cash is then paid him, depending, says Cusack, "on the type of fish we catch."

To date, TIP has received 3,000 calls and, while only five convictions have resulted, Tampa's overburdened courts are currently striving to process no fewer than 280 drug cases that stem directly from informants' leads. "We have more information than we can run down," groans Tampa sheriff Malcolm Beard. Predictably, the program has also generated a wave of practical jokes. One victim was the headmaster of a local boys' school. He was named as a pusher in twenty separate phone calls before bewildered police caught on to the identity of the tipsters—the headmaster's young charges, of course.

Not surprisingly, TIP has also served as a psychological outlet for scores of citizens who see a pusher lurking behind every loiterer—but most officials view the program as eminently effective, if only as a deterrent. "The pushers are getting paranoid," exults sheriff Beard, whose city has received 75 inquiries about TIP from other drug-plagued communities. "They really don't know who's going to squeal on them, maybe their best buddy. We've heard that some have already cleared out. After all, a town with a price on a pusher's head is simply not a good place to push in."

DEALING IN DEEDS: MRS. BARBARA PAYNE

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, all urban communities are faced with seemingly unsurmountable problems these

days. I think many times proper attention is not given to many members of these communities who are making a real effort to solve some of these problems.

I would like to bring to the attention of the House the following article by Gail Simmons which appeared in the Louisville Times describing the fine work being done in Louisville by Mrs. Barbara Payne, the youth adviser of the Jackson Area Council.

I have worked closely with the Jackson Area Council for several years. This project is most worthwhile and should receive the total support of the community.

NO PROMISES, PROMISES—NEW JACKSON YOUTH ADVISER DEALS IN DEEDS (By Gail Simmons)

Mrs. Barbara Payne says she knows what the youth of the Jackson area want and intends to do everything she can to help them get it.

"The youth in the Jackson area are just tired of being poor. This time they aren't begging for anything, they only want the door open and they'll get it themselves," said the new youth adviser of the Jackson Area Council recently.

"All these kids have is a million dollars worth of promises that never draw interest or dividends," said Mrs. Payne. "They would rather have \$10 worth of results."

"I lived in the ghetto around 11th Street," said Mrs. Payne. "At 15 I quit school, got married and felt that I had made it like many young people around here do."

Mrs. Payne decided to work for a high school equivalency diploma and was graduated as an honor student from the General Education Development (GED) degree program at John F. Kennedy School.

WORKED AT SCHOOLS

She began working as a programming supervisor at Cotter Elementary School and DuValle junior high, directing recreational programs.

"All I needed was a push and a pat on the back to get started. And that's all these kids need," she said as her eyes darted toward the group of young people gathered around the game room of the Jackson Area Council office.

Mrs. Payne, mother of five, joined the council staff about six weeks ago and already has a number of plans, including an indoor-outdoor community cleanup campaign re-creating the Jackson Area Youth Council and creating a volunteer escort service designed to reduce the number of street crimes in the Jackson area, which is just east of downtown Louisville.

She said the cleanup project will involve the whole Jackson community and would be run like a business instead of a volunteer project. Work crews composed of Jackson area teen-agers will solicit work from, and be paid by, residents and businesses receiving cleanup services.

The cleanup campaign, to be sponsored by a federal grant, will employ young drop-outs in the area who do not have jobs. The council is now taking applications.

The Youth Council, designed to bridge the gap between different groups in the Jackson area, will sponsor the escort service.

The service, like one created recently in the area west of Shawnee Parkway, would make youths available to escort community residents from bus stops during late evening hours to help prevent molesting, thefts and other street incidents.

COUNCIL IS MOVING

Another, more immediate project that is taking place right now is relocating the council's office from 509 S. Clay to 644 Shelby. Young people are busy painting floors,

panelling walls and doing general cleanup on the rambling building that is the council's new home.

"The young people help with everything," said Mrs. Payne. "Some have devoted more than 40 hours a week in volunteer service."

Mrs. Payne doesn't consider her position a white collar job.

"I go out to my people to find out why things are the way they are—why they exist," she said. "I cannot sit behind a desk and tell you what the youth are doing."

"I'm here because I know the kids are ready to work. I tell the kids, 'You may not be able to reach the moon, but you can touch that star and go on.'"

UNFAIR MILITARY DISCHARGES

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, military justice in this country has received a good deal of criticism recently. Some people have observed that it places too much emphasis on the "military" and not enough on the "justice." A case in point is the free use of general and dishonorable discharges to separate someone from the military service. While they come under the heading of administrative action, general and dishonorable discharges still are part of the system of military justice.

There is a stigma attached to any discharge other than an "honorable" one. It is a stigma that can stay with a person for a lifetime. Besides depriving him of some veterans benefits, it can make the chances of getting a job in an already-tight job market even worse. There is little room for distinction under the current system. A man can get a dishonorable discharge for being convicted of a serious crime. Another man can agree to accept a general discharge for not being able to adjust to military life as a recruit. To a prospective employer, they are both the same because neither man has an honorable discharge.

The House Armed Services Committee already has held hearings on the problem. It is in the process of reporting out a bill (H.R. 523). In recent editions, The Chicago Sun-Times has examined unfair military discharges and suggested some solutions to correct the situation. The texts of the articles, a news item and two editorials, are attached:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, July 22, 1971]

UNFAIR MILITARY DISCHARGES—I

About 10,000 men a year, most of them black teen-agers, are administratively separated from the armed services under a cloud which can unjustly hang over them for the rest of their lives.

These are the fouples, the culls, the misfit recruits who cannot adjust to military life and who are too often given—often vindictively, hastily and without sufficient concern for their civilian futures—discharges the services label "general" or "undesirable."

A general discharge carries with it all veterans' benefits but one—it isn't an honorable discharge, which is what prospective employers look for. An undesirable discharge means just what it says; a man is undesirable for military service. Sun-Times reporter Della Pitts reports that many hold-

ers of undesirable discharges cannot get employment with large companies. Also, veterans' educational and insurance benefits and the possibility of federal employment are denied men with undesirable discharges. And all those, whether misfits, untrainables or minor criminals, have little hope of changing that bad record, no matter how exemplary their subsequent civilian record.

The great bulk of those discharged with these two types of papers are service volunteers, says Clarence Browning, assistant director of the Concerned Veterans from Vietnam, a group active in 29 states trying to help these men. They are 17 or 18 years old, and chose military life "because they thought they would be better off than they were in the ghetto," says Browning, a veteran of 21 years in the Army himself.

What happens is that these young men, white and black, stubborn rather than militant, find themselves in trouble with NCOs and junior officers early in the training phase of service, say the first 60 to 90 days. They do not learn discipline easily and traditional attempts to make them learn—extra duty or deprivation of liberty—makes a bad situation worse.

The old service doctrine used to be "shape up or ship out"—behave or we'll transfer you someplace you won't like as much. Now, however, unit commanders are using the administrative discharges as a means to kick out problem soldiers. No courts-martial are necessary; once a man has amassed three company punishments, plus poor reports from NCOs, he can be on his way out.

The Army claims that there is machinery for counsel, for appeal. But a spokesman concedes that too often, the man is so eager to get out that he does not insist. Also, "guardhouse lawyers"—who can include a man's platoon sergeant or petty officer—advise him to get out to be rid of him.

This is a problem that requires urgent attention so that young men whose only "crime" is inadaptability are not stigmatized for the rest of their lives, a concept alien to our civil system of justice. Tomorrow, we shall examine some of the courses of action which should be taken.

UNFAIR MILITARY DISCHARGES—II

When the armed services push men who will not or cannot be adapted to military life out into the civilian world with discharges which are other than honorable, a military problem is becoming a civilian one.

As we stated yesterday, some 10,000 "general" or "undesirable" discharges are given each year, and for the men, mostly black teen-agers, who hold them, this is an undesired stigma which they can carry with them for the rest of their lives. Jobs, already hard to find, become harder to find. Veterans' benefits can be denied. Frustration builds on frustration and the end result is unpredictable.

On Tuesday, for example, a story by Sun-Times reporter Della Pitts cited the case of Marshall Kirkland, a Gary steelworker who was dismissed from the Air Force in 1950 as "undesirable" because of a civilian charge of armed robbery in Texas, which was later dropped.

He tried for 21 years to get the discharge changed, and was only successful when the Concerned Veterans from Vietnam, an organization which has been having some success in such cases, got a review board in Washington to hear his case and change the discharge to honorable.

We believe there should be only two types of discharges—the dishonorable and the honorable. The dishonorable should be reserved for cases in which men have served time in military detention facilities for crimes which are also felonies in civilian life.

The other discharge would be honorable, although here the services are entitled to some protection. There should be a proba-

tionary period in which the military can reject those it does not consider fit to be servicemen. Most administrative discharges come in the early months of an enlistee's exposure to military life, so the probation period could be short. And screening procedures, which should have caught misfits prior to induction, must be upgraded.

If, during that time or at the end of it, the service decides it does not want a young man, then he can be let go—but with some honor and dignity left to him, as happens in a civilian job. Needless to say, he should not be entitled to full veterans' benefits, but most of those are based on length of service, anyway. It also goes without saying that this probationary plan should not apply to draftees; it is too neat an out for those who do not wish to serve.

Should the plan we urge be adopted, it should also have some retroactivity built into it. Those who now hold undesirable or general discharges should have their cases automatically reviewed and their discharges changed if the new criteria are met.

Review procedure exists now, but it is cumbersome and is handled on a case-by-case basis. The Concerned Veterans from Vietnam has offices at 8815 S. Stony Island Av., Chicago 60617. Or, if a holder of a general or undesirable discharge wishes to deal directly with the military, he can write the Post Judge-Advocate, Fort Sheridan, Ill. 60037. The present system of review, however, concerns itself primarily with personal conduct since separation from the service, not with the circumstances which led to the other-than-honorable discharge.

Mere reviews of individual cases are of course insufficient. A rethinking of the entire policy on discharges is required, and the military and the Congress should address themselves to it with all dispatch. As this country moves toward a volunteer Army, the last thing in the world it needs is a Captain Bligh mentality towards recruits.

NINE VETS WIN FIGHT FOR CLEAN SLATE ON DISCHARGE PAPERS

(By Della Pitts)

Nine veterans who received less than honorable discharges from the armed forces had their slates wiped clean Monday.

A group called Concerned Veterans from Vietnam obtained honorable discharges for the nine by petitioning Washington case by case.

Most of the veterans didn't want their names used, saying that even the knowledge of rescinded "undesirable" or "dishonorable" discharges might jeopardize their present jobs and lives.

One who would talk for publication was Marshall Kirkland, a Gary steelworker, who was dismissed from the Air Force in 1950 as "undesirable."

Kirkland said he had tried without success for 21 years to get the Air Force to change its mind. He said the discharge was based on a civilian charge of armed robbery in Texas, which was later dropped.

With the Concerned Veterans' prompting, the Air Force invited Kirkland to tell a review board in Washington about his life since discharge. He did, and the Air Force changed his discharge to honorable.

Clarence Browning, assistant director of the Concerned Veterans, said the services too often fail to consider how they cripple the lives of the 10,000 men they brand as "undesirable" each year.

These men are denied veterans' educational and insurance benefits and are unable to obtain federal employment, Browning said. Most large companies refuse to hire the men, he added.

His group tries to get the record changed in one of two ways.

With the help of a lawyer, the group sometimes finds an injustice or discrepancy in the record, and the discharge is quickly fixed. Or,

Browning said, they try to demonstrate that the man has lived a responsible life since his discharge. If the service agrees, after listening to the man himself, it can change the record.

Browning said his group in a year and a half has obtained 31 revised discharges.

"This is not much," Browning said, "but if you could see the faces of the men who receive these papers, you would understand how much the honorable discharge means to them, and all the efforts would seem worth it."

Concerned Veterans, a national organization, is not an anti-war group, Browning said.

"We're not for or against the war, but we are for the man who has had the responsibility of that war on his shoulders," he said.

GROWING HOSTILITY TOWARD MILITARY

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I am seriously concerned over a growing attitude of hostility toward the military which has been fostered by our involvement in Vietnam. While Vietnam has been the center of dispute, criticism concerning our involvement has been generalized into criticism of the military. A good indication of this can be seen in the ready acceptance by some of the allegation contained in the television production "The Selling of the Pentagon." The program in some instances, distorted the materials which it presented. I think that it is time for serious reflections on the important role the military plays in our society. It is a matter in which our security is at stake and which should be discussed in an objective fashion and not clouded by the destructive rhetoric surrounding the Vietnam war. In pursuit of a dialog on this subject, I am entering in the RECORD today a column by Ruthven E. Libby, a retired vice admiral of the U.S. Navy and invite my colleagues to read it.

HOSTILITY TOWARD MILITARY IN AMERICA CONCERNS COMMENTATORS

(By Ruthven E. Libby)

At the dedication of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in Washington in 1960, President Eisenhower said: "Our liberties rest with our people, upon the scope and depth of their understanding of the nation's spiritual, political, military and economic realities."

Were he speaking today, realism would require that he substitute "survival" for "liberties" in this statement.

One of the unfortunate realities about the spiritual and political situation in the country today—unfortunate primarily because it is so dangerous—is what Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., recently called "a wave of hostility to the military at the moment, a hostility that makes fair and objective discussion of defense issues a difficult thing to achieve." Coverage of the Vietnam war has done nothing to diminish this public hostility.

Efforts by concerned commentators to reverse this feeling, and to arouse the public to the rapidity with which the United States was declining to the status of a second-class power, fell largely on deaf ears; the attitude

of a large segment of the public was—and still is—"So what?"

The rationale of the so-whatters seems to be that we got along all right before we became the leader of the free world; the time has come for somebody else to carry the load while we devote our time and energies to correcting our domestic problems. We are fed up with the war and we want peace. All we have to do is mind our own business and peace will ensue.

Peace will ensue, all right—the peace of slavery or of the grave. The American public and the political leadership of the country have failed to face up to the fact that the CPSU—the Communist Party Soviet Union—is as ruthlessly imperialistic as any power in world history. The material evidence supporting the intent of its leaders to achieve their stated objective of world domination is already overwhelming and is piling up higher every day.

President Nixon's assertion that we are leaving an era of confrontation and entering an era of negotiation is not borne out by the facts. In his Feb. 18, 1970, Foreign Policy Report, he said:

"Partnership (with our allies) and strength are two of the pillars of the structure of a durable peace. Negotiation is the third. For our commitment to peace is most convincingly demonstrated in our willingness to negotiate our points of difference in a fair and businesslike manner with the Communist countries."

We have allowed our strength to deteriorate to the point that the USSR, far from shying away from confrontations, seeks them, confident that we will back down. Our erstwhile friends and allies increasingly can be expected—as our weaknesses become more glaringly apparent—to seek accommodation with the rulers in Moscow. The two legs of our tripod thus enfeebled, what happens to "negotiation"?

The President proposes to negotiate with the Communists "in a fair and businesslike manner." But the Communists just don't negotiate that way. Examples are legion:

The current Vietnam talks in Paris, which have dragged on for over two years with nothing decided except the shape of the table.

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), about which official optimism continues to be expressed but which in reality have so far accomplished nothing.

They have, however, given the USSR more time to increase her already preponderant nuclear strength offensively and defensively. They have also given our peacenicks leverage to insure that we sit on our hands while the Soviet nuclear buildup—far beyond any possible defense requirements—continues unabated.

In addition, there is the sure knowledge that failure to reach agreement across the table doesn't really make much difference since the Communists will adhere to any agreement just so long as it serves their interest to do so, and not one second longer.

Perhaps it is timely to remind the so-whatters of the Communist definitions, promulgated some years back but still valid, of "peace" and "lasting peace." "Peace" exists whenever the Communist takeover of the world is proceeding on schedule; "lasting peace" will exist when it has been achieved. One can guarantee with absolute certainty that our peacenicks of today will not like the latter state of affairs.

One immediate consequence of our second-class power status is our national embarrassment over our impotence to induce the warring factions in the Middle East—the parties of the first part, that is, the Israelis and the Arabs—to reach a settlement with which they and the free world can live.

There isn't any answer to the several problems which, taken together, constitute the

Middle East Question which will satisfy all parties to the dispute fully. The alternatives are (a) compromise; (b) a settlement imposed from without; and (c) renewed hostilities.

It is manifest that the USSR will not permit its Arab stooges to compromise, although both Arabs and Israelis realize that it is to their mutual interest to do so. We are now powerless to impose a solution without the cooperation of the USSR, which will not be forthcoming.

Hence the outcome of the Middle East quandary will be determined not in Washington and London, but in Moscow, and it will be one which serves the interests not of the free world, but of the CPSU. And it can be said with confidence that this is the first of many more situations which will be settled by the same criterion.

In the light of known facts, which facts include the one that America's very survival is at stake, it is shocking to see senators and congressmen, the professional peacenicks and those who specialize in criticizing the Defense Department, charge—as Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., does—that Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird and Sen. Jackson are indulging in scare propaganda, that their warnings are "highly exaggerated and even semi-hysterical conclusions" and that there is no hard evidence that the Russians have tested multiple-warhead missiles.

David Lawrence, in a very timely column, calls attention to the fact that what he calls the "uninformed" menace the nation's safety.

He includes in this category the antiwar demonstrators, those who attack the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other law enforcement agencies, "aspirants to high political office" who add to the misrepresentations and lies being fed the public "by giving the impression that peace will come the moment America announces a date for complete withdrawal of its troops," and others. He concludes by wondering "when a countermovement will arise to inform the uninformed that they are dealing with the safety of the United States—both external and internal."

PORTRAIT OF A WEEKLY EDITOR

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, the July issue of *Empire Builders*, a publication of Kasum Advertising Associates in Boise, is devoted to singing the praises of Rodney Hawes.

As editor of the *Owyhee Nugget* in Marsing, Mr. Hawes has achieved a stature not usually accorded the weekly newspaper editor. Perhaps that is because, as the article points out, the *Owyhee Nugget* "cares." And because the paper cares, it has won for the citizens of Owyhee County a certain amount of fame and admiration they would not otherwise have had.

There are those who say that the Old West has been tamed. Those people have not read a Rodney Hawes editorial.

Mr. Speaker, I include the article referred to at the beginning of my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

PORTRAIT OF A WEEKLY EDITOR

(By Wm. C. Seifrit, Jr.)

Portraits must be placed in a proper and natural scene. Following is Rodney Hawes' scene, the setting in which he publishes the *Owyhee Nugget*.

Owyhee County, Idaho, comprises nearly 1.5 million acres, mostly sand, sagebrush, summer heat, and winter snow. A small portion of the county that lies along the Snake River is lushly fertile; a handful of tiny communities, Marsing, Murphy, Grand View, Reynolds, Homedale, Wilson, De Lamar, pass for population centers in Owyhee County. The county forms the southwestern corner of Idaho and is bordered on the West by Oregon, on the South by Nevada.

Owyhee County was the first county created in Idaho and remains the second largest. Its land area is larger than many states (Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Rhode Island) and is larger by far than Washington, D.C.

The *Owyhee Nugget* is published weekly in a small, cramped frame building situated near the middle of the main street in Marsing, Idaho. Through the years, the *Nugget's* occupancy of the building has spread from its original 20' x 40' at the front of the structure to include additional space for storage and presses; living quarters for Rodney and Leona (and their three sons); a recreation area with pool table, spare bed, antiques, and scores of various pieces and objects that some would call junk, but that others would know instantly to be reminders of past travels, lovingly recalled mementos of a rich, warm, and completely satisfied (and satisfying) life.

The floor of the room in which the *Nugget* is prepared has long since lost whatever varnish might once have been applied to it; the cement portion of the floor is a rich mine of lead filings, dust, old clippings, discarded notes, headlines, scraps of newsprint, souvenirs, and a great deal of material that is not readily identifiable.

This is not a description of a dirty office, a cluttered workroom, or a shop that is sloppily kept. Rather, this is a publisher's office, printshop, and headquarters of a man so busy with getting out a newspaper that regular sweeping, spotless desks, and surgical cleanliness have no place, assume no value in his method of operation. These are characteristics rather than criticism.

The walls of the *Nugget's* offices are covered with prints, photographs, reproductions, sketches, cartoons—nearly all of which depict some outdoor, Western scene or activity. Prints by Charles Russell abound, as do rodeo and ranch scenes by other talented Western Canadian, and Mexican artists. Apparently by design (or, more likely, by happy accident) not more than a small handful of the pictures on casual display show interior scenes.

The wall space not occupied by Western art is crowded with bells, bells from U.P. locomotives, sheep bells, devotional bells from Burma, goat bells from Greece, hundred-year old desk top school bells, camel bells from the Sudan, Swedish sleigh bells; there are bells hanging in the office whose origin and purpose have long since been forgotten.

Western pioneer gear is in profuse abundance. An ox yoke hangs over the linotype; a hand-forged broadaxe hangs from the yoke. Traps of all sorts are strewn about: gopher, coyote, and wolf traps; some are rusted and old, while others appear to have been brought in just last week from the trap line.

An anvil stands on the bed that held one of the earlier presses used to publish the *Nugget*. A hand-hewn bedding rake hangs over the grouser. Leather and metal gear is thrown about in compellingly attractive disarray, including an Indian cradle board now used to hold messages, souvenirs, and whatever else can be conveniently attached. The atmosphere of the outdoors, of the pioneer West, of Man in harmony with Nature is everywhere in the *Nugget* offices.

None of this is studied; none is artificial or contrived. No one could mistake this collection of artifacts and gear for a museum's

cataloguing department. The hand of the workman has left its muscled print on every object, every tool, every leather and metal scrap.

A principle of human behavior says that a man surrounds himself with objects that please him and that reflect his inner self. So it is with Rodney Hawes.

This place is run by a man who sits under his linotype machine, composing as he operates the machine, and who has learned to give a friendly wave simply by nodding his head and arching his eyebrows when a passerby glances in the printshop window.

Rodney is a product of Owyhee County, of Southwestern Idaho, and the American West. There is nothing plastic, cellophaned, or pre-packaged about Rodney Hawes or the Owyhee Nugget.

Rodney Hawes was born and raised in Owyhee County. While he has traveled all over the world, Owyhee County remains, as it has always been, his home. He began publishing in Bruneau in 1935. As World War II began, he moved his printing operation to Marsing where it has remained to this day.

With great relish, Rodney likes to tell the story of a competitor who walked into his Marsing print shop one day and offered him \$1,000 cash for ownership of the Nugget. He further offered Rodney \$100 per month to work for him (with no mention made of the hours Rodney was to keep.) The Hawes' immediately declined the offer, and the competitor left in a huff, shouting, "I'll run you out of business yet!" The year was 1940, and the Nugget has published regularly since that time.

In stature, Rodney Hawes is not remarkably large. He is approximately six feet, two inches tall, weighs 190 pounds, has thick and quite dark hair with just a hint of grey. Perhaps his most remarkable physical characteristic are his hands.

His hands are broad and strong. Even the fingers have noticeable muscles. His are the hands that lift a lead pig into the hot pot without apparent effort and later fold themselves with gentle reverence during a simple and sincere luncheon Grace.

He stands and walks taller than his frame seems to allow. But when he works his machines, he appears to become part of them. He accommodates his hands and body to his linotype in much the same way a trundle fits under a bed.

This is what the man looks like who publishes a weekly newspaper, loves his wife Leona, and who has raised three sons of whom any set of parents could (and would) be inordinately proud.

The final statistic concerns his paper. The Owyhee Nugget is a fullsize, 7-column by 21, 4-page letterpress weekly newspaper.

So much for biographic and statistic description.

Within this framework stands Rodney Hawes, his wife, and the Owyhee Nugget. The Nugget is labeled as the "official publication of Owyhee County." It is, of course, much more than that.

As must be the case with thoughtful, basically sensitive editors of weeklies across the country, the Owyhee Nugget is actually an extension, an outgrowth of the man who creates it. Yet, the paper is more even than that; reading the Nugget means stripping away the veneer of urban civilization; it means becoming reacquainted with people who earn their bread (in an older sense, literally) by sweat and by strained muscles. Reading the Nugget means learning once again some old lessons about man's relationship to man, that good has to triumph because that is man's way; that government at all levels is still responsible to the man who pays his taxes and wants his interests cared for; that law-abiding citizens in a democracy have a right to be heard; that a majority of informed citizens will more often than not make correct any irresponsible decisions.

Rodney Hawes and the Owyhee Nugget aren't really concerned with printing hard news in the usual headline sense. Radio and television news and commentary are readily and conveniently available. Daily newspapers circulate throughout the county. Competing for news stories on this basis is not a proper activity for the Nugget.

People and their political and economic problems are the business of the Nugget. A weekly newspaper, according to Hawes, has one concern, one purpose, one overriding characteristic: It cares.

A weekly cares about schools that are safe from fire and collapse. It cares about an adequate cemetery, about a highway that benefits even more people than live in the county in which it is located. It cares about school bonding, adequate police protection, liquor laws, farm prices, tax dollars, modern "advancements" that threaten a basic way of life, government by closed committee, about equitable election laws—a weekly newspaper cares about people problems, but mostly about people. It cares.

These are some of the things Rodney Hawes cares about. These are the matters he talks about in his editorials. As Frank Church puts it, "The Nugget itself is unique. It remains one of the few weeklies in the old-style tradition of weekly journalism, reflecting as it does the very personal kind of newspapering that Rodney Hawes epitomizes." (Senator Frank Church, D-Idaho).

Hawes and the Nugget are in an enviable position. He owns all his equipment. He doesn't spend much time selling ad space: "I just take what comes in the mail." He also takes job printing orders and contracts for special work from time to time.

Basically, Rodney Hawes publishes concern for the people of Owyhee County. He does not publish to pay for machinery, newsprint or ink.

The Nugget includes columns written by Senator Jordan's wife Grace, with chatty, pleasant commentary on the Washington scene oriented to women readers; items concerning visitors to county families; travels; and always legal notices. Most of this material is edited and arranged by Rodney's devoted wife, Leona.

But it is in his editorials that Rodney shines for the Nugget and for Owyhee County. When he feels strongly about an issue or a problem, his editorial will appear in large, bold, 14-point type on the front page of his newspaper.

He explains his reasons for presenting his views this way: "I believe the most important thing I have to say belongs on the most important page in the newspaper!" Then, he'll pause, clean his glasses, share his private smile, and add: "Besides, our old folks don't always see so good; I want to make it easier for them to read what I have to say."

The Owyhee Nugget cares.

When news of governmental scandal and corruption occupy the dailies, when the nation's conscience agonizes over alcohol and drug addiction, when internecine battles rage over the priorities demanding access to the public fisc, Rodney Hawes takes on the Idaho State Highway Board because it refuses to maintain a road built by his county, a road that is used by far more people from outside the taxing district than inside it. He devotes an entire front page to a school bond election. He will ruminate editorially about a Democratic governor's chances of benefiting his county with a Republican-controlled legislature rather than a Democratically-controlled one.

Rodney Hawes apparently believes that there are no embarrassing questions, only embarrassing answers; and that this is especially true of political matters.

"The Owyhee Nugget has been a force for a long time in the development of Southwestern Idaho, and few men have worked as

tirelessly as Rodney Hawes for the good of his community and state." (Senator Frank Church, D-Idaho).

Rodney himself says, "Editorials can't stop at merely being critical; they must offer constructive advice, solutions, and alternatives. Editorials must help get people to take a second look at problems."

Apparently not many other weekly editors feel this way. Hawes believes that the weekly newspaper may well be dying. Yet, he strongly maintains that editing and publishing a small town weekly is a supremely satisfying way of life, a lifestyle that he unreservedly recommends to any young man who wants to work long and hard but who does not bleed easily.

His own opinion of weeklies is not universally shared. A onetime political and commercial adversary, Lyle Young (former Executive Secretary of the Idaho Press Association), adds these thoughts: "Rodney Hawes is one hell of a good newspaperman. But the day of the loner is gone, and Rodney Hawes doesn't know it yet."

Politics is the name of Rodney's game when he and the Nugget worry about people problems. Hawes has held every office at the local, precinct, and state level that the Republican party in Idaho can offer. One of his editorials is widely held to be one of the single most important events in the election of former Governor Don Samuelson to office. Political activism helped secure a major highway for his county; and he continues, politically, to attempt state maintenance for that highway.

Although his editorials are pointed primarily toward local and county problems, many times his words have impact and influence far beyond county boundaries: "Politics and journalism both have been admirably served by Rodney throughout his career in Idaho. His dedication to the state, to responsible government, and to responsible journalism, are surpassed by none. On top of all that, he is a fine friend." (Senator Len B. Jordan, R-Idaho).

County and state politics, as viewed through the eyes of the Nugget's editor, means getting things done. But it costs. Accomplishments are nearly always accomplished by defeats. For a sensitively political newspaperman, this means that he bleeds. And fairly often.

Rodney Hawes bleeds because of the cares he shares with others for people. In many ways, his editorial outlook might be called naive because it is so simple, so straightforward, so honest. He does not exhibit in the words of the Idaho Statesman's veteran political newsman, John Corlet, the "conventional wisdom," the typical logic patterns of most of his contemporaries.

No convoluted figures of speech stylistically pepper his editorials; Wm. F. Buckley probably wouldn't care for Hawes' writing. Rodney's writing reflects the attitudes of the people who read his editorials. He writes for the shepherd, the feedlot operator, the school trustee, and he writes well. Governors, Senators, migrant workers—they all read and understand what the Nugget has to say. That's the way Rodney Hawes writes.

It all boils down rather quickly to the reason a weekly newspaper exists. It cares.

Hawes and the Nugget are not universally loved or even admired. But the respect in which he is held IS quite nearly universal.

"Rodney Hawes is among the last of a 'vanishing breed' of Americans—the country editor. He runs his own press, sets his own type, and writes with an impact that is felt throughout the state. There are few people in government in Idaho who have not heard of Rodney Hawes and his Owyhee Nugget. His unswerving dedication and loyalty to influence far beyond the circulation of his paper." (James McClure, Congressman, Idaho 1st Congressional District).

Rodney Hawes and the Owyhee Nugget aren't unique to Southwestern Idaho. His edi-

torial brothers and sisters live their lives and publish their newspapers in the bayous of Louisiana; they have gone sugaring off in Maine and Vermont; they've watched rainbow sunsets in Arizona and New Mexico; they've listened to the corn grow in Iowa and Nebraska; they drink in the pungent aroma of the lodgepole and ponderosa pines in Washington and Montana. "A good newspaper, I suppose, is a nation talking to itself." (Arthur Miller, 1961).

America is a better nation because of the many Rodney Hawes and Owyhee Nuggets across the country. No matter what names the editors have or what their papers are called, they are all part of this Portrait of a Weekly Editor.

WHEN COURT OVERSTEPS: CORRECTIVE MEASURE NEEDED

HON. LAMAR BAKER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, a cosponsor of the resolution to create a Select Supreme Court Study Committee to take a careful look at Supreme Court decisions from 1945 to the present to determine whether or not the Court has assumed power not accorded to it by the Constitution, I was pleased to note a recent editorial in the Nashville Banner praising the gentleman from Georgia, the Honorable FLETCHER THOMPSON, for the leadership he has taken in proposing such a step.

In placing this editorial, "When Court Oversteps: Corrective Measure Needed," in the RECORD, I want to voice my high regard for my colleague and commend him for his initiative in pressing for this select committee. As one of the cosponsors, I will do all I can to see that the Congress acts on the legislation this session.

I also wish to commend the Nashville Banner for its sound editorial position on issues of this kind and for keeping the people of Tennessee informed on all matters of public concern.

The editorial follows:

WHEN COURT OVERSTEPS: CORRECTIVE MEASURE NEEDED

Fletcher Thompson, Republican congressman from the Georgia Fifth District, has proposed congressional action for establishment of a select committee "to look into recent controversial Supreme Court decisions and make a determination about whether the court has seized power not granted it by the Constitution."

He is not the only man in public life—nor by any means the first member of Congress—to raise an affirmative reply to that question. Inasmuch as his corrective attention right now is addressed to the case of school-busing, it is significant to note that Congress as a whole in 1964 disagreed with the court on that decision, and had written into the Civil Rights Act of 1964 a clause expressly forbidding busing to achieve racial balance in the schools. Further, President Nixon very strongly condemned busing for that purpose, and held to the 1964 Act as the preferred concept. It was, in fact, POLICY until the recent ruling by the court.

On the broad field of judicial encroachment, Atty. Gen. John Mitchell added his own strong objection last week when, speaking before the American Bar Association in

its London session, he declared the American judiciary "has spent too much time making new law and new public policy, and too little determining guilt or innocence."

The overburdened courts have all they can take care of, and more, in the field of responsibility to which the Constitution assigns (and limits) them. Chief Justice Warren E. Burger has called for help from the bar, and help from Congress, in expediting court work and reducing the caseload. That would seem to be a recognition that the high court has no time to engage in collateral and invasive undertakings. It is not supposed to engage in legislative activities . . . in short that of "making" either law or public policy.

Congressman Thompson strongly recognizes that fact—and he cites the method, and the constitutional provision, for averting it.

The constitutional means he cites are:

(1) Specific amendments to the Constitution when the court has incorrectly interpreted its unequivocal language; and (2), Congress reviewing the actions of the Supreme Court, and if determining that the court has exceeded its power and infringed on the law-making prerogative of Congress, then the power of the court should be redefined and appellate jurisdiction restored to that granted by the clear, unequivocal language of the Constitution in Article III: "The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as Congress shall make."

The problem is not beyond constitutional correction if constitutional methods are employed.

SPACE EXPLORATION, INVESTMENT IN FUTURE

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1971

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I include the timely editorial from the Newton Kansan which discusses objectively the real value of space exploration. Most Americans who have followed the progress of the Apollo 15 mission recognize the significance of the exploration of the moon and the scientific and technological benefits that will come from it. The editorial follows:

SPACE EXPLORATION, INVESTMENT IN FUTURE

Two more Americans are on their way to the moon.

If all goes well two of them will land on the lunar surface late Friday afternoon. They will spend more than 2 days exploring the surface.

They will be the first humans to ride a vehicle on the surface of the moon, and what they learn and what scientists learn through their explorations may answer many questions that could have a profound effect on the future of mankind.

A half a billion dollars is a lot of money to spend to go rock hunting on a big piece of substance that has no atmosphere, no water and none of the other things that man needs to sustain life except under artificial conditions.

That half a billion dollars admittedly could help solve many problems here on earth right now.

But the half a billion dollars, hopefully, isn't being spent—it's being invested.

For what man has learned from previous space exploration, what man will learn from this project, and what he will learn from

projects in the future will undoubtedly make life more liveable in the future on earth.

The real value of space exploration may not be apparent today or next week or next year or even 10 years from now.

But our children and our children's children will continue to reap dividends from it.

ARIZONA BOYS STATE

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1971

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two memorials passed by the legislature of Arizona Boys State when it met in Tucson for its 25th annual session. Steven M. Danloe, secretary of state of Arizona Boys State, sent them to me—I found them to be well-drawn and pertinent to the problems we face and debate in Congress, and so I am particularly pleased to share them with my colleagues:

A MEMORIAL RELATING TO ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS CHANNELIZATION OF THE GILA AND LOWER COLORADO RIVER BASINS

To the United States Congress:

Your memorialist respectfully represents: The channelization of the Gila and Lower Colorado River Basins are in fact spoiling the scenic and useful value of these River Basins.

In this age where our natural resources are rapidly being consumed, the requested ban would save the esthetic value of these two beautiful scenic areas in our state for both humans and wildlife.

Now, wherefore, your memorialist, the Legislature of Arizona Boys State prays:

That the Congress of the United States immediately ban the outdated and destructive channelization practices on the aforementioned river basins, and institute an in depth study before authorizing any future thoughts of channelization projects in the great State of Arizona.

A MEMORIAL RELATING TO A NATIONAL VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCES AND A DRAFT RESERVE SYSTEM

To the Congress of the United States of America:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

Recognizing that the present United States Military system fails to offer sufficient initiative for men to willingly serve our country and realizing that men volunteering their services for our country would serve it better, a voluntary Armed Forces would benefit the United States of America in her national defense program.

Now, wherefore, your memorialist, the Senate of Arizona Boys State, prays:

That an active national armed forces be run on a volunteer basis. No citizen shall be drafted into the active armed forces unless a state of national emergency exist and/or war is declared by the Congress of the United States.

That the volunteer armed forces receive a salary equitable to the cost of living.

Male citizens between the ages of 18 and 25 shall, however, be subject to draft into a reserve force containing a number sufficient to protect our national security and interest. This force shall resemble the current armed forces reserve system. This reserve shall be trained and readied so that it may be placed on active duty in the case of national emergency and/or a declaration of war declared by the Congress of the United States.