

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 19 (legislative day of February 17, 1971):

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

James H. Wakelin, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION

Robert M. White, of Maryland, to be Administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Howard W. Pollock, of Alaska, to be Deputy Administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

John W. Townsend, Jr., of Maryland, to be Associate Administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Rear Adm. Don A. Jones to be Director of the National Ocean Survey, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Rear Adm. Harley D. Nygren to be Director of the Commissioned Officer Corps, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ABUSE OF STUDENT FUNDS CITED BY GRAND JURY

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, I believe the attached editorial, "Abuse of Student Funds Must End," carried in the Buffalo Courier Express, points up the need for an accounting of student activity fees.

Students deserve more for their money than a handout to groups which do not represent their best interests.

As a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, I shall be most anxious to review the entire findings of the grand jury to determine if the committee should take action.

The editorial follows:

ABUSE OF STUDENT FUNDS MUST END

Another voice has been added to the stream of protests concerning abuse of student-activity fees at units of the State University of New York. The findings of a holdover Erie County grand jury should be enough to satisfy even the most stubborn skeptic that there has been flagrant misuse of fees which every student in the state system is obliged to pay.

The grand jury, according to its report, found, for instance that student funds at the University of Buffalo had been given to revolutionary groups such as the Black Panther party, to defense funds for the "Buffalo Nine" and the "Chicago Seven" and to provide bail money for both students and nonstudents charged with violating state or federal laws. The panel even suspects that some student funds were used to foment rioting on the UB campus and that some ringleaders benefited financially from such disorders.

It is no wonder that the grand jury has recommended that the board of trustees and the State University administration establish strict guidelines for the distribution and use of student funds and has urged that there be a ban on assisting with such funds any group whose avowed purpose is the destruction of American society.

It might even be desirable to go further and end the giving of student funds to any political group. If this were done, it would not only reduce the need for student fees on the present scale—about \$500,000 is available each year for use; or abuse, on the UB campus—but it would leave to each student the decision as to whether or not to contribute to a specific political endeavor, surely a preferable solution in such a controversial area.

A few months ago, the Temporary State Commission to Study the Causes of Campus Unrest proposed that mandatory student fees be abolished and that students on all campuses of the State University system decide by referendum whether or not they wish to have a voluntary fee system. This proposal, which has much to commend it, is still under study.

As we have said before in these columns, the time is ripe for action. One way or another, by action of the State Legislature if this is necessary or by directive of the administration of the State University if this were sufficient, there needs to be effective control over the use of student funds and provisions for ensuring that the majority of students has a voice in how such monies are spent.

TOWARD A VOLUNTEER ARMY

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, this week I have joined a large number of my colleagues in introducing the Volunteer Military Manpower Act of 1971. This bill, very similar to one many of us introduced last session, will give the armed services the necessary resources to begin a terminal phasing out of the draft.

There can be no doubt that involuntary conscription is a foreign concept to our heritage. During the first 150 years of our history, draft laws were on the books for only 4. The first comprehensive conscription act was not passed until 1863 when the Union forces were under great pressure during the Civil War. A \$300 buy-out provision forced the brunt of that law upon the poor. They rebelled. The July 1863 Draft Riot led by poor Irish immigrants paralyzed New York City for 3 days and created similar chaos in other northern localities.

The draft instituted at the time of our entrance into World War I was met with similar displeasure. Over 50 percent of those called applied for exemptions and almost 300,000 men failed to answer draft calls and were never arrested. Medical disqualifications reached such proportions that the War Department was forced to warn dentists that they were liable for prosecution if they knowingly aided draft evasion by pulling a prospective draftee's teeth.

It is most beneficial for us to consider, Mr. Speaker, why conscription has traditionally been so unpopular throughout our history. I think a perspective of that history offers a clear answer.

From the very beginning of our constitutional form of government our country's leaders opposed the draft as irreconcilable with their idea of a free society. During the debates at the Constitutional Convention, even Edmund Randolph, leader of the Federalist group seeking strong powers for the Federal Government, stated that a conscription

law would stretch the strings of government too violently to be adopted. When Presidents Washington, Jefferson, and Madison all offered limited draft proposals to the Congress, each was rejected. The reasons for these rejections were concisely summarized by Senator Daniel Webster, who while leading the opposition to President Madison's proposal during the War of 1812, remarked:

Is this, Sir, consistent with the character of a free government?

Randolph, Webster, and the host of other early leaders who opposed mandatory military service recognized that such laws were not in accord with the new Nation's ideals of personal liberty. The great majority of Americans then were still far too proximate to the tyrannical exercise of power by military oriented European governments which they had so recently rejected. Two centuries have passed, yet our Nation's most recent experiences with the draft strongly indicate that this revulsion to impressed service still gnaws in the hearts and minds of our countrymen. More than 100 young Americans now leave their country each week rather than answer a draft call. The number of these expatriates residing in Canada alone is now conservatively estimated at 50,000. Hundreds of others have simply refused to serve and have been incarcerated in Federal prisons.

Of course, the antipathy of our youth for the war they are being asked to fight has contributed heavily to these recent problems. But the draft must share responsibility. Conscription operated successfully during World War II when the national will stood firmly behind the Government's efforts. The Korean experience was similar. But Vietnam has been different. Public support for intervention, never anything approaching unanimity, has dwindled to a pitiful 27 percent according to the latest Gallup survey. Backing by draft-aged men is even lower. No conscription law could—or should—operate in such a political mate.

We also must realize, Mr. Speaker, that the present draft, like that of the Civil War, has operated unfairly toward the poor and the minorities. The \$300 buy out of the Civil War has been exchanged for the \$300 per semester college tuition or a \$300 medical bill. This economic inequity has particularly worked to the disadvantage of black Americans. A study of Selective Service operations during the war in Vietnam compiled by the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure reveals that while only 18 percent of white Americans found "qualified" for

the draft were inducted, 30 percent of black Americans were. This resulted in a disproportionate 20 percent of blacks serving in combat units in Vietnam.

A few commentators have suggested that the racial inequality would only be accentuated by return to an all-volunteer force. I do not agree with this contention. It is well known that the President's Commission on an all volunteer force—the Gates Commission—studied this problem extensively and determined that such a force would differ little in racial composition from the present one. Even more impressive to me was an analysis of the Gates Commission report by an ad hoc committee of citizens. Included on this committee of 16 distinguished Americans were two of my dear colleagues in the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS), and the gentlelady from New York (Mrs. CHISHOLM), as well as Mrs. Martin Luther King and the Reverend Channing Phillips. I quote their findings.

The (Gates) Commission Report deals at length with (racial) problems and indicates that the increase of blacks in an all-volunteer force, given present standards, would be negligible. . . . We concur in these findings and would add that recent changes in the black community may lead to a reduction of Negroes in the military.

This later prediction is already documented by the National Council To Repeal the Draft. In their May 1970 Newsletter they point out that in 1966 nonwhites composed 13 percent of all draftees and in 1967 made up 16 percent of that group. Yet for the same 2 years nonwhite volunteers totaled only 8 percent and 9.9 percent of those figures. This indicates that in the absence of a draft nonwhite participation in the Armed Forces may actually be substantially reduced.

In the last analysis, though, Mr. Speaker, mandatory conscription is an issue which supersedes racial questions. Continuance of the draft affects all Americans, the difference only being one of degree. It remains on the books in opposition to our heritage, in violation of the basic credo of a free society, and without, I am confident, the support of a majority of the American people. It must be eliminated. This bill is the intelligent way to accomplish elimination. I therefore respectfully urge my colleagues to afford it expeditious consideration and an early passage.

GREAT LAGUNA FIRE

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, as you know the most disastrous fires ever in California struck the forest and brush lands of southern California last October and November. Only through the grueling and heroic efforts of thousands of forest firefighters were these fires brought under control. While these men were on the firelines, many others were working tirelessly backstage in offices

such as the San Diego County Civil Defense Office, which did an outstanding job in coordinating many aspects of the firefighting effort and subsequent programs to help those whose homes were destroyed in the fires.

Under the fine supervision of San Diego County Civil Defense Director William B. Marty, this office also served as the single major communications center during the fire. A detailed report on the Great Laguna fire in San Diego County has been sent to me and I take this opportunity to share it with my colleagues because it demonstrates so well the value of a Federal-State-local investment in civil defense and disaster preparedness:

SAN DIEGO COUNTY'S GREAT LAGUNA FIRE, SEPTEMBER 25-OCTOBER 2, 1970

The Great Laguna Fire was the most disastrous fire in the records of San Diego County and perhaps in the State of California. Santana winds of 40 knots (gusting to 70), coupled with low humidity readings of about 5% drove the fire from Pine Valley in the middle of San Diego County right into the boundaries of the City of El Cajon and the communities of Spring Valley, Lemon Grove and Jamul; an area about 30 miles long and 18 miles wide. This fire was fast and hot (about 1,800 degrees F.). Fire brands from burning brush, carried down-wind, started structural fires. Whatever caught fire, burned to the ground. But, for every structure (or home) burned, about 4 were saved by the fire fighters. Community evacuations (about 5,300 people) were dramatic, fast and successful. Something more than luck, diminished the wind and raised the humidity that helped the fire fighters contain the fire front; otherwise, this fire could have gone on and caused an unbelievable fire in the large urban and city areas of south San Diego County and the evacuation of about 250,000 people. What follows is a profile, as only the exposed part of an iceberg.

Statistics indicate the scope of the fire: 382 homes burned completely (\$5.7-million); 1,200 other structures (\$3.5 million); 225,000 acres burned; 3,000 acres of prime forest land burned out (\$30 million value); 10,000 acres of thick oak woodlands (\$30 million value); 1,000 miles of fence; \$1 million in public utility losses; projected loss in small dams damage—\$3 million; bridges and roads loss—\$600,000; and recovery costs for preventative flood measures will run the total dollar cost to about \$100 million. But statistics miss the human side of the disaster.

Fire fighting forces turned in a magnificent performance. Forestry fire services were expanded to 1,350 state forestry personnel; within the county, 10 city and 22 special district fire departments joined in mutual aid assistance; the California Disaster Office provided a superb mutual aid coordination and brought in task forces and companies from as far away as Tulare. Law enforcement also carried out its emergency tasks with a clean cut mutual aid operation based on our California Master Mutual Aid Agreement and our countywide Operational Area Mutual Aid Plan (12 cities provided mutual aid to the county Sheriff).

The San Diego Chapter American National Red Cross, and its branches, provided instant response for the care of evacuees from the fire area (Pine Valley, Alpine, Crest, Harbison Canyon, Jamul, Japatul Valley). The ANRC has expended about \$75,000 in cash assistance for about 340 families. The Salvation Army was up on the line supporting fire fighting personnel.

The Emergency Operations Center (funded by OCD) was a key facility during the fire disaster. Coordination of emergency information, disaster situation analysis and control and direction where needed was the major task of the emergency center staff.

The California Disaster Office and the Office of Emergency Preparedness met with speed and ease the heavy workload for guidance and assistance to the County. Our State Regional Office (CDO-I) at Los Angeles has provided us with sound guidance and immediate help in the resolution of work problems. HUD (Housing and Urban Development) has provided long term emergency housing for about 200 families. SBA (Small Business Administration) has loan applications of about three million dollars from disaster victims, for rehabilitation and reconstruction. OEP/CDO financial assistance and resources administration are critical (and welcome) imperatives in the recovery operations (totaled about 1.5 million dollars).

There was an enormous pay-off from the long history of our joint federal-state-local investment in disaster preparedness. How? by superior performance of city and county departments; in mutual aid; communications; experience; our Emergency Operations Center; training; cadre organization; operational organizations; drills; tests; situational exercises (the possibility of this fire disaster was "gamed" a month earlier by the county's civil defense staff during August); medical resources; community action groups; and some segments of all of OCD's big eight priority programs. This fire disaster was a classic in the intangible benefits of disaster preparedness turning suddenly into measurable benefits of practical consequence.

FACTS ABOUT THE SAN DIEGO COUNTY OPERATIONAL AREA

Area: 4,255 square miles. Extends 70 miles along the southwest Pacific Coast to the Mexican border and 80 miles inland. Topography varies from sea level to 6,500 feet in the mountains. With a population of 1,400,000 it is the third largest in California. There are 13 incorporated cities of 1,000,000 people with 400,000 in 16 populous areas of the unincorporated areas. Disaster preparedness is a countywide program with one program director-administrator and staff for the Unified San Diego County Civil Defense and Disaster Organization.

THE PURE DRINKING WATER ACT

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, after extensive discussions with Leonard Dworsky, director of the Water Resources and Marine Sciences Center at Cornell University, in my congressional district, a bill entitled the "Pure Drinking Water Act" was drafted and last September, introduced as H.R. 19422 in the 91st Congress. The purpose of this legislation—as developed jointly by Dr. Dworsky and myself—was to improve both the quantity and the quality of the drinking water provided to this Nation's citizens. Its need was based, among other factors, on the result of a survey conducted by the Federal Bureau of Water Hygiene of some 1,000 drinking water systems throughout the country which indicated that, of the systems analyzed, 41 percent were delivering water of inferior or potentially dangerous quality and that, additionally, 79 percent of the systems had not been inspected by State or county authorities in the past year, and that, for 50 percent of the systems, the operators could not remember when,

if ever, such an inspection had been made.

At the time of introducing H.R. 19422, I was careful to point out that no public crisis presently existed, and that there was no need for individual concern—as the study in question also forewarned against—but I attempted to make the point that, as a nation, we had become altogether too complacent about the quality of one thing we took for granted when we partook of the same several times every day: The drinking water that flows from the tap in our home, office, factory, or public place. To end that complacency, and to avoid the development of anything resembling a public health crisis, my bill provided, among other things, for the vesting in the Administrator of the new Environmental Protection Agency of authority to develop national drinking water standards, as well as new and badly needed authority to conduct and encourage research to improve methods and procedures of identifying, measuring, and removing potentially toxic materials heretofore present in our drinking water, along with training programs for upgrading the capabilities of the personnel of State and local inspection agencies, the personnel of the actual operators of the water systems, and, finally, to improve the detection, purification, and delivery mechanisms of all water systems needing such assistance.

Subsequently, to my pleasure and encouragement, I was joined in this effort by my able and influential colleague, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. ROGERS) who introduced a substantially comparable bill in the last Congress. Neither such proposal reached the hearing stage, but I am extremely hopeful that either my now-modified proposal as introduced in this Congress—H.R. 437—or Mr. ROGERS' version thereof, will not only reach that stage but will also realize enactment into law this year, for I truly believe that action in this area of environmental concern is urgently needed.

Support therefor, along with a general discussion of the background of the problem in hand, is now indicated by the following copy of remarks as recently delivered by Eric F. Johnson, executive director of the American Water Works Association, before the Soap and Detergent Association in New York City, and the same is well worth the consideration of all my colleagues:

WATER—THE FORGOTTEN DETERGENT
(By Eric F. Johnson)

Water, we, in the water utility field, like to point out, is a detergent. In fact, we are inclined to say, it is the best detergent, and one without which your products would not do very much. "Duz," one of your members once said, "does everything." "Duz," we pointed out, "does nothing without water." And that should qualify us to talk to you.

The idea that we are both in the detergent business, of course, immediately makes one wonder why we are so different. The difference is obvious. You market your detergents. We seem reluctantly to make ours available for as close to nothing as possible. Our soft sell is so soft that almost no one has ever felt it. And the remarkable accomplishment of almost always providing all the water the public needs when and where it needs it, safe and palatable, goes unnoticed—is taken for granted.

Mention public water supply these days, and the public says, as it does for your detergents, too: "Oh, yes, pollution." But pollution, or its control, is not what we are talking about. We are talking about more than \$50 billion worth of facilities that collect, purify, and distribute water to 175,000,000 people in the United States through 30,000 different water systems. We are talking about the delivery of more than 26 billion gallons, almost 110,000,000 tons of a vital necessity every day to the homes, and commercial establishments, and industries that need it. And what seems incredible is that almost no one realizes that this biggest of all industries, in terms of product, even exists.

The major blame for this public unawareness of public water supply is ours. Historically, the industry has been its own worst enemy. It has preached reduction in use of its product, it has bragged about its low rates, it has resisted improvements in its quality of service. In good part, this unbusinesslike approach has stemmed from the fact that 75 percent or more of water utilities are politically controlled, and political control is normally concerned more with the shortsighted view of keeping rates down than with offering improved service. But even a major portion of the privately or investor owned utilities are small and concerned more with doing what has to be done rather than providing maximum service. Nevertheless, this is the industry that has, with the cooperation of state and federal regulatory agencies, developed the best public water supply service in the world.

The part of the state regulatory agencies in this effort has been to provide surveillance and technical assistance that has been particularly important because of the multiplicity of small, ill-manned systems. The part of the federal agencies has been to set minimum standards and to provide assistance in research and training to the overall effort to supply safe water to the public.

And the team has done its work so well that it has now faded almost into oblivion.

Not just the public, but its elected representatives are almost completely unaware of the public water supply industry. As recently as 1966 there was a unified water supply and water pollution control program in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Then, by Reorganization Plan No. 2 of the Johnson administration, the water pollution control program was transferred to the Department of the Interior, leaving behind a minuscule water supply operation in a \$50 billion HEW. Every year since the change, the water supply operation has had its budget reduced, until in FY 1971 the Administration had cut it back to \$2,344,000, compared by then with a billion dollar water pollution control operation. It was at this point that AWWA began to get deeply involved in the process of protest, partly because its partners in the team that had developed safe water service were being wiped out and partly because those who sought to restore their effectiveness chose to do so by misrepresenting the facts to suggest a crisis that did not and does not exist.

In the past year or two, AWWA has been devoting a major part of its public information efforts to point out the imbalance between federal attention to water for fish and water for people, not with the idea of de-emphasizing the water pollution control effort, but with the hope of giving the community water supply program the support it deserves.

In so saying, let us emphasize first that the water utility industry is not looking for the kind of money that is now being pumped into the water pollution control effort. It does not need nor want construction grants to build facilities. It believes that it can take care of itself in these matters through its revenues from rates. And it feels that the unasked for grants that have been made

available to it by a confused Congress have done more to hinder than to help the cause of better water service.

Where the water utility industry is asking for help is in research and training. It is in these areas of preparation for future problems that an industry consisting principally of very small unit operations has difficulty in taking care of itself. Basic research is not the forte of the six-employee utility, nor is the development of the basic technology of the field. Neither is the kind of training that is and will continue to be necessary to bring and keep personnel up to the levels of skill required to handle the increasingly sophisticated technology. In these respects federal participation is required, both through direct research and training activities and through grants to public and private institutions that must be enlisted in the effort if it is to be successful.

At the present time, we feel, the industry is capable of taking care of the known problems of water supply safety, but because of the hiatus in federal support over the past few years, the margin of safety has been significantly reduced. And we fear that in ten years, unless a program commensurate with the importance of the problem, is mounted, there will be a crisis in public water supply—a crisis that will call for a costly and inefficient crash program that will victimize the public both in health and in wealth.

The restoration of some kind of proper priority for water for people is now in the hands of the new Environmental Protection Agency, and AWWA expresses its concern to Administrator William Ruckelshaus even before he had been confirmed in his post, asking for a separate and identifiable unit in his organization which would deal with water for people and a budget for that organization big enough to do the job. In the first organization of EPA, the water supply program is indeed separate, if not equal. It has been established as a division under the water quality—that is, water pollution control—office, but at least it still does have identity and perhaps with some legislative support in the 92nd Congress it can achieve parity with pesticides, solid wastes, air pollution, radiological health, and even water pollution in EPA.

In the past month AWWA has met with Acting Commissioner David Dominick of EPA's Water Quality Office and with Dr. Edward David, Science Advisor to President Nixon in the effort to bring some awareness in the administration to its neglected \$50 billion asset. Association representatives have met with Congressman Paul Rogers of Florida who is introducing a bill that will beef up the federal funding of water supply research and training and give assistance to the states in their water supply surveillance efforts. So there is some hope that the situation will improve. But the water supply industry will not really gain its proper status until the public understands what it is, what it does, and what it can do. And this, we recognize is going to take the kind of public information approach that your end of the detergent business can mount, but that ours has been unable to, principally because municipal ownership and political control make the expenditure of funds for public information always difficult and often impossible.

The situation, then, is this:

Over the first 60 years of the century, the water utility industry, working with the cooperation of the state health departments and the US Public Health Service, developed the best public water supply service in the world.

In 1966, with the transfer of the water pollution control program from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Department of the Interior, most of the trained personnel and most of the money for

research and training that had constituted the Public Health Service contribution to the water supply effort was diverted into water pollution control, leaving in HEW only a minimal water supply program that has been reduced year by year.

The decimation of the federal part of the water supply team was paralleled in the state health departments, and, for lack of research and training assistance, in the state universities as well.

Water utilities are still doing the job of providing safe water to the public, but, because the research and training necessary to keep the technology and the technologists up to date has been lacking, the margin of safety has been greatly reduced.

To restore the water supply effort to its proper level, the Environmental Health Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, motivated by the Bureau of the Budget, tried to scare the public into the belief that a crisis exists through a deceptive report on the current status of public water supplies.

Concerned that the scare technique could drive a frightened public into drinking from unsafe sources, AWWA tried to accomplish the same end through educating the legislators involved in providing the funds for the Bureau of Water Hygiene, the HEW agency that works with water utilities, and was able, no doubt with an assist from the fear instilled, to get a small addition to the Bureau's budget that reversed the trend.

Now the Environmental Protection Agency has a chance to give community water supply the status that it deserves in the total environmental effort and has, as a first step, maintained its separate identity, although it has kept it in a role subsidiary to water pollution control.

The funds proposed for water supply research and training, and for assistance to state surveillance efforts, in the bills to be reintroduced into the 92nd Congress by Congressman Robison of New York and Congressman Rogers of Florida promise to give to the water supply effort the kind of support required to establish its proper status, without burdening the industry with the problem of construction grants.

At the same time, AWWA is mounting an action program hoping to get water utilities involved in the burgeoning interest in the environmental effort to point out not only their accomplishments but the things that they can do, using present technology, to improve water service.

The basic element, though, is public understanding and in this, certainly, your industry can be helpful. And you can be, too. Join AWWA!

THE MYTH OF ASSURED DESTRUCTION

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, assured destruction as a concept guiding our strategic force posture is more or less widely accepted not only as a preferred stance but also one which we can maintain without substantial improvements in our existing strategic forces. A renowned physicist and acknowledged expert on civil defense, Nobel prize winner Dr. Eugene P. Wigner of Princeton University, does not feel at all assured about our destructive capability in the light of continuing Soviet emphasis on massive civil defense procedures.

Dr. Wigner postulates a situation which may confront the United States in

the not too distant future if massive Soviet city evacuation plans were actually carried out. Given what he calls the most unlikely case, that: (a), the Soviet first strike leaves our strategic offensive force unscathed; (b), the antimissile systems of the Soviet Union are inoperative, and; (c), that we aim everything we have only at evacuated civilians, Soviet losses to our second strike will total around 10.5 million people. Naturally should the Soviet strike damage our forces or their anti-ballistic-missile defenses work at all, or should we target some industrial or soft military targets, the Soviet population losses would be less.

To put this loss in perspective we should remember that Soviet losses during World War II were quite a bit higher than this, and, in fact, the Bolsheviks have executed a greater number than this in their periodic liquidation programs directed against their own people.

In any case this level of destruction is substantially less than the general criteria which have served in the past as the basis for a U.S. assured destruction capability. Assured destruction capability has generally been conceived as a U.S. capability to destroy 20-30 percent of the population of the U.S.S.R. and 50-70 percent of its industry with the forces remaining after a sneak attack. This assured destruction capability on the part of the United States is supposed to deter Soviet attack. Dr. Wigner's estimate comes up with only 5 percent of the population destroyed, period, assuming that the Soviet counterforce weapons, such as the SS-9, have no degrading effect on our forces whatsoever.

Doctor Wigner's calculations might possibly be called into question as estimates of this sort are likely to vary. But what if the Soviets are figuring it like Dr. Wigner? Or what if the Politburo figures it at 10 percent but decides that this is an acceptable price to pay for assured domination of the planet? In either of these cases we are likely to have a nuclear war take place on the North American continent.

You will note that Dr. Wigner's figures are based on successful Soviet evacuation of their cities. If we were to launch a preemptive strike the moment we become aware of the fact that the Soviets were evacuating their urban centers damage would be higher, possibly high enough to be termed unacceptable. But is the Commander in Chief going to launch an immediate strike on the Soviet Union the moment he becomes aware that this type of an evacuation is taking place?

The only other option he would seem to have, other than picking up the hot line and asking them what they are about, would be to delay and watch our target under the assured destruction doctrine disappear; to watch the basis of our deterrence evaporate. What have we then?

The United States does not have a counterforce capability with which to render inactive the Soviet strategic offensive force. Some people were of the opinion that the ability of the United States to destroy the Soviets offensive striking weapons was destabilizing. If stability has anything to do with the

prevention of central nuclear war the situation postulated above shows the extremely destabilizing nature of not being able to severely degrade the Soviet strategic offensive forces through a combination of counterforce weapons and ballistic missile defense.

Doctor Wigner's article from the July-August 1970 issue of *Survive* magazine follows:

THE MYTH OF "ASSURED DESTRUCTION"

(By Eugene P. Wigner)

A large part of our public and much of our military consider civil defense preparations unnecessary because they believe we can rely on the "assured destruction" doctrine. This doctrine tells us that, even after being subjected to a first strike, our forces can inflict such damage on the assailant that his destruction as a nation is assured. Hence, no nation will ever attack us or ever threaten us with an attack. The purpose of this article is to expose this doctrine of "assured destruction" as a myth. It became a myth principally as a result of the elaborate preparations which were undertaken by the USSR to evacuate its cities. If such an evacuation were carried out before a confrontation is precipitated, our deterrent based on the threat to the Soviet urban population would have evaporated.

Underestimating the effectiveness of defense—in the present case the civil defense and city evacuation plans of the USSR—is almost as common a mistake as preparing defenses against the enemy tactics of the preceding war. Thus, before the First World War, it was taken as axiomatic that the outcome would be determined one way or the other within three weeks because the offensive power of at least one of the parties would overwhelm the defense of the other. Yet the trenches protected the troops of both sides and stalled the progress of the attacker for four years. As to the Second World War, psychologist Janis observes,¹ "prior to World War II, government circles in Britain believed that, if their cities were subjected to heavy air raids, a high percentage of the bombed civilian population would break down mentally and become chronically neurotic. This belief, based on predictions made by various specialists, proved to be a myth." Indeed, the stories of horror, the subject of a variety of books before the Second World War, depicting the utter hopelessness of people roaming the streets, their disorientation and helplessness, must have deeply affected every reader. Yet, when the attacks came, the air raid shelters proved to be very effective—effective not only emotionally by preventing the breakdown of morale anticipated by Janis' "specialists," but also physically by providing a remarkable degree of protection.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF DEFENSE: U.S. DOUBTS VS. SOVIET CONFIDENCE

The situation now is somewhat similar to that before World War II. Both our military and our public give credence to statements by those who grossly exaggerate the power of offense over defense. They tell us that we can do little or nothing to protect the civilian population against the effects of nuclear weapons. In the USSR, on the other hand, civil defense has the wholehearted endorsement of the military, and belief in its effectiveness with which the Soviet government has developed protection for its people.²

The publications in the USSR do not conceal the terrible nature of nuclear weapons. Thus, the article of General Chuykov,³ which forms one of the bases of this article, gives a fair and, in fact, unusually clear picture of the effects of these weapons. One can only wish that all our people were familiar with this article. However, it then goes on to say that "there is no poison for which

Footnotes at end of article.

there cannot be an antidote, nor can there be a weapon against which there is no defense. Although the weapons we have examined are mass weapons . . . they will not affect masses but only those who neglect the study, mastery, and use of defense measures."

SOVIET SURVIVAL MEASURES

Indeed, as readers of *Survive* well know, the Soviet Union is well ahead of us in shelter construction. According to Podchufarov,⁴ the length of their subway tunnels is by now 130 miles. Even though they surely exaggerate when claiming that all the subways in the USSR are "safe" in the case of nuclear attack, it is true that they have hardened subways and these provide not only fallout but also very good blast protection—much better than any of the public shelters in our country.

The public shelters in the cities of the USSR are, nevertheless, designed to protect only a small part of the total population—those whose services would remain indispensable even during a conflict. What then renders our theory of assured destruction truly a myth? The USSR's extensive plans for evacuation of cities. These are barely more than two years old, yet they extend to all details—often, it seems, to a ridiculous extent. However, their principal lines are simply and clearly formulated. The decision to evacuate "will be announced by radio, television, published in the press (note this), or brought to you at your place of work or residence." People are expected to take along only what is most necessary, not more than 110 lbs. per person. The evacuation plans, communicated to all city residents, specify the collection point where transportation will be provided for them. At the destination, food, lodging, shelter, work, medical services, will be available. Mail will be automatically redirected to reach people at the evacuation point rather than at their city residences. Plans are also formulated for the evacuation of sick and infirm persons—even for women who have just given birth to a child. Some of the plans appear to be too detailed.

EFFECTIVENESS OF EVACUATION

How effectively would the evacuation, if carried out completely, reduce the casualties and thus negate our "assured destruction"? It is difficult to give an exact figure for this because the total number of casualties depends on several factors. Chief among these are (a) the extent of the success of the USSR first strike in reducing our retaliatory capability, i.e., in destroying some of our missile sites,⁵ (b) the effectiveness of the USSR ballistic missile defense in destroying the missiles which we can launch after absorbing a first strike, (c) our own targeting doctrine, whether, under the conditions outlined, we would aim at the remaining missile sites in the USSR, at their evacuated cities to cause industrial damage, or at the evacuated population.⁶

Clearly, the maximum number of casualties would be caused under the least likely assumption: that (a) the USSR first strike against our missile bases is without any effect, (b) that the ABM of the USSR is entirely inoperative and (c) that we aim only at the evacuated people, disregarding the cities and industries, the people sheltered there, as well as the remaining missile sites in the USSR. This last assumption is, of course, least credible.

Under the assumptions just made, the USSR hostage level is easily estimated. The evacuated people are immune to two of the most important effects of nuclear weapons: fire damage and fallout. The shelters protect them from the fallout radiation and no large fires can spread in the countryside. They are subject to the blast. Anyway, if fallout is to be caused the area subject to a certain blast damage is reduced to about one-half. The total area which we can cover with a blast wave of 15 psi overpressure is 19,000 square miles.⁷ This overpressure, 15

psi, is far from the "mean lethal overpressure"⁸ of about 50 psi, as established by extensive studies.⁹ Hence, one might claim that the number of fatalities which the USSR leaders have to fear is considerably less than the number which we shall obtain, using the adverse assumptions (a), (b) and (c). To some extent this may be true. However, if one considers additional effects, such as initial radiation, flying objects, as well as damage to the eardrums which (though by no means lethal) occurs at much lower overpressures, the 15 psi may be a good estimate for a "practical mean lethal overpressure."

If evacuation has taken place, how many people will there be within the area of 19,000 square miles in which we may be able to create the "practical mean lethal overpressure"? This depends on the area into which the people of the cities will be dispersed. Chuykov's aforementioned article³ gives an indication for this. He mentions a "city A," which we can assume to be Moscow, with a population density of 7000 per square kilometer (18,000 per square mile). After evacuation, the density would drop to one tenth of these figures. Since the population of Moscow is about 7.5 million, one obtains an evacuation area of 3900 square miles or a maximum evacuation distance of about 35 miles.¹⁰ This area then can be destroyed by less than one half of our missiles even though the "area coverage" needed for this is, since circles do not cover an area without overlap, about 4700 square miles.

How to use the remaining missiles, with an area coverage of 19,000-4,700=14,300 square miles? The next largest city in the USSR is Leningrad and, since it lies on the sea, its population cannot be dispersed as well as that of Moscow. The dispersal area for its 4 million people is closer to 2000 square miles (again using the maximum dispersal radius of 35 miles), requiring an area coverage of about 2400 square miles, leaving an area coverage of 11,900 square miles for the other large cities. These—Kiev, Baku, Karkov, Gorky and Tashkent—have populations of about 1.4 million each. The dispersal of these people into areas similar to that given by Chuykov for "city A," would give an average density of 1.4 million/3900 square miles, that is 360 per square mile. There would be no point in covering any of these dispersal areas with an overlapping pattern so that the remaining 11,900 square miles would place an additional 4.3 million people at risk. Together with the populations of Moscow and Leningrad, this gives $7.5+4+4.3=15.8$ million people at risk. If we accept the official estimate that about two-thirds of our missiles function as expected, the total number of hostages we may have in the USSR becomes just about 10.5 million people.

This estimate is obtained under the unrealistic assumptions (a), (b), and (c), as explained above. Actually, the loss of some of our missiles to a first strike, the destruction of others by the missile defense of the USSR, and the fact that at least some of our own missiles would be aimed at industrial, and military installations, would reduce the number of "hostages"—would reduce it to perhaps one-half of the 10.5 million figure.¹¹ The total number of casualties suffered by the people of the USSR in World War II was about 11 million.

EVACUATION—A PRELUDE TO CONFRONTATION?

There is a question that must have arisen in the reader's mind concerning the real effectiveness of evacuation in negating our "assured destruction" capability. It concerns the time needed for evacuation as contrasted with the warning time of a missile attack. The flying time of the land-based missiles is about 20 minutes, that of submarine-based missiles may be shorter. Evacuation of cities takes at least a day—according to General Chuykov, the press is one of the means of communicating the order to evacuate. Hence, evacuation is not a valid defense measure¹² against a first strike, certainly not against

an unanticipated first strike. Does this circumstance revalidate the doctrine of assured destruction, and is it reassuring in this sense?

The answer is, in this writer's opinion, rather the opposite. City evacuation may not be a valid defense measure but, should a first strike or a confrontation be planned, evacuation would give the initiator a tremendous advantage. While $5\frac{1}{2}$ million lives lost is a terrible retribution, is it "assured destruction"? Is it sure to deter a nation that lost twice that many in World War II? Can a President of the United States bargain with this deterrent against the threat of a first strike which can kill many millions of Americans?

We are spending less than 35 cents per person per year for civil defense. We have hardly any blast shelters, no plans for evacuation, and most of our fallout shelters are located in cities exposed to destruction by blast. We have $5\frac{1}{2}$ million Russian hostages; the USSR can threaten the destruction by blast. We have $5\frac{1}{2}$ million Russian hostages; the USSR can threaten the destruction of more than 80 million American lives. In a confrontation, our President would be in a very, very inferior position.

Assured destruction has become a myth.

FOOTNOTES

¹ J. Janis, *Bull. At. Scientists*, VI, 256 (1950).

² See various articles in *Survive* by J. Levey, later J. Gallar.

³ Marshall V. I. Chuykov, *Nauka i Zhizn* (Science and Life) No. 1, p. 43 (1969), Marshall Chuykov may be known to the American public as a representative of the USSR at President Eisenhower's funeral.

⁴ I. I. Podchufarov, *Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil* (Communist of the Armed Forces) No. 8 (April, 1968), p. 52.

⁵ See "Last To Be Eaten," by Edward Teller, page 8, this issue of *Survive*.

⁶ See "They Bet Your Life," by Arthur A. Broyles, page 6, this issue of *Survive*.

⁷ See, for instance, this writer's article in *Survive*, Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 16.

⁸ The "mean lethal overpressure" is the pressure of the blast wave which causes fatal injuries in 50 per cent of those exposed to it.

⁹ See various publications of the Lovelace Foundation, in particular Report LF-1242-1 by Clayton S. White. See also *DASA report* 2113 by I. G. Bowen, E. R. Fletcher and D. R. Richmond of the same Foundation.

¹⁰ This writer's estimate for the evacuation area, before the article of reference 3 became available, was 50 miles. The resulting estimate of the maximum casualty figure was then 7.5 million, instead of the 10.5 million to be arrived at here. Actually, the book of reference 11 supports the original, higher estimate of dispersal area (p. 63).

¹¹ The estimate given in the USSR textbook on Civil Defense (edited by N. I. Akimov) is about four times lower if I understand this passage correctly.

¹² According to the opinion of the authors of the Little Harbor Study, it is not a valid defense measure to be initiated by the U.S. See "The Threat" chapter of Civil Defense, Little Harbor Report, TID-24690, published by the Division of Technical Information, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, 1969.

ARMY SERGEANT FROM SHORE KILLED IN ACTION IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, a fine young soldier from Maryland, Sgt. George L. Robertson, was recently killed

in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ARMY SERGEANT FROM SHORE KILLED IN ACTION IN VIETNAM

An Army sergeant from Salisbury has been killed in action in Vietnam, the Defense Department has announced yesterday.

He was identified as Staff Sgt. George L. Robertson, husband of Mrs. Dorothy Robertson, of Salisbury.

Sergeant Robertson was born in Virginia, but moved with his family to the Salisbury area as a boy. He attended schools there and was graduated from Salisbury High School in 1964.

After training at Army installations in South Carolina, Georgia and Missouri, Sergeant Robertson was stationed in Korea and, from 1968 to 1970, in Germany. He went to Vietnam in September.

According to a telegram received by his wife, Sergeant Robertson was killed by a booby trap explosion January 26 while on a combat mission. In letters to his home, Sergeant Robertson said he was assigned to front-line duty for the past several months.

In addition to his wife, the former Dorothy Jones, Sergeant Robertson is survived by a daughter, Angela Michelle Robertson; his mother, Mrs. Mildred Russell, of Hebron, Md.; a half-brother, John Russell, and a half-sister, Mrs. Wanda Hicks, both of Hebron, and his grandmother, Mrs. Viola Robertson, of Salisbury.

TAX-EXEMPT STATUS OF BONDS ISSUED BY THE STATE OF MONTANA

HON. RICHARD G. SHOUP

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution of the senate and the house of representatives of the State of Montana deals eloquently with the need for the continuation of the present tax-exempt status of bonds issued by the State of Montana or any political subdivision thereof. I believe it only fitting that this resolution be included in the RECORD:

A JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF MONTANA

To the Honorable Mike Mansfield and the Honorable Lee Metcalf, Senators from the State of Montana, the Honorable Richard Shoup and the Honorable John Melcher, Representative from the State of Montana, and to the Congress of the United States asking that the present tax-exempt status of bonds issued by the State of Montana or any political subdivision thereof be maintained

Whereas, the present tax-exempt status on income from bonds issued by the state of Montana and the political subdivisions thereof is necessary to make them attractive to investors, and

Whereas, if any limitations or restrictions on the tax-exempt status on income from such bonds are enacted by the Congress of the United States, the marketability of such bonds will be greatly jeopardized if not totally destroyed.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Montana:

That the Congress of the United States maintain the present tax-exempt status on income from state and municipal bonds, and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent by the Secretary of State of Montana to The Honorable Mike Mansfield and The Honorable Lee Metcalf, Senators from the state of Montana, The Honorable Richard Shoup and The Honorable John Melcher, Representatives from the state of Montana, and to the presiding officers of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States.

FEDERALLY GUARANTEED LOANS AND TAX INCENTIVES FOR AUTOMOBILE SCRAP PROCESSING EQUIPMENT

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to introduce a bill today encouraging States to establish motor vehicle disposal programs and to provide for federally guaranteed loans and tax incentives for the acquisition of automobile scrap processing equipment. The large increase in the number of motor vehicles in our country has resulted in an esthetic problem of unsightly graveyards and abandoned rusty hulks scattered throughout the countryside and cities. Further, the junked vehicle represents a considerable amount of resources which should be recycled to help preserve our valuable and depletable resources. I feel that my bill provides avenues which will allow the Federal and State Governments along with private enterprise to reclaim and preserve our countryside and resources.

I include the bill at this point in the RECORD:

H.R. 4585

A bill to encourage States to establish motor vehicle disposal programs and to provide for federally guaranteed loans and tax incentives for the acquisition of automobile scrap processing equipment

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

GRANTS TO STATES

SECTION 1. The Secretary is authorized to make grants to States which have State plans approved by him, to pay the Federal share of the cost of carrying out motor vehicle disposal plans approved under section 3(b).

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 2. (a) From the sums available for the purposes of section 1 for any fiscal year, the Secretary shall allot not more than 2 per centum among the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Canal Zone. From the remainder of such sums he shall allot to each State an amount which bears the same ratio to such remainder as the number of motor vehicles registered in such State bears to the number of such vehicles in all States. For the purposes of this subsection, the term "State" does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Canal Zone.

(b) The portion of any State's allotment under subsection (a) for a fiscal year which the Secretary determines will not be required to carry out the State plan for that fiscal year shall be reallocated not later than the tenth month in such fiscal year, to other States in proportion to the original allotments to such States under subsection (a) for such other States being reduced to the

extent it exceeds the sum which the Secretary estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such period for carrying out its State plan approved under this Act, and the total of such reductions shall be similarly reallocated among the States whose proportionate amounts are not so reduced. Any amount reallocated to a State under this subsection during a year shall be deemed part of its allotment under subsection (a) for such year.

STATE PROGRAMS

SEC. 3. (a) Any State desiring to receive its allotment of Federal funds under this Act shall submit a State plan consistent with such basic criteria as the Secretary may establish. Such plans shall—

(1) provide for the administration by a public agency in the State of a motor vehicle disposal plan designed to provide for the efficient removal to scrap processing facilities of junked motor vehicles;

(2) provide assurances that a State law substantially in accordance with requirements established by the Secretary, after consultation with the Attorney General, has been enacted or will promptly be enacted by such State to provide an efficient means of transferring title of junked motor vehicles (or other evidence of ownership of such vehicles in States not requiring title certification) to public agencies or private business concerns charged with the responsibility of processing such motor vehicles;

(3) provide assurances (A) that a State law substantially in accordance with requirements of section 4 with respect to control of automobile graveyards has been enacted or will promptly be enacted by such State, and (B) that the State will carry out such law;

(4) (1) provide assurances that a State law has been enacted or will promptly be enacted by such State to provide that automobile scrap processing equipment is exempt from any State ad valorem property tax;

(ii) for purposes of subsection (a) (4) (i), the term "scrap processing equipment" means automobile scrap shredders or other equipment used to upgrade the quality of automobile scrap, including car flatteners;

(5) set forth such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disposal of and accounting of Federal funds paid to the State agency (including such funds paid by the State agency to any agency of a political subdivision of such State) under this Act; and

(6) provide for making such reasonable reports in such form and containing such information as the Secretary may reasonably require to carry out his functions under this Act and for keeping such records and for affording such access thereto as the Secretary may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

(b) The Secretary shall approve any State plan and any modification thereof which complies with the provisions of subsection (a).

(c) Criteria established under this section shall include, after consideration by the Secretary of the latest and best information available, a description of the most efficient means of processing junked motor vehicles, the average cost of such scrap processing, the requirements set forth in paragraph (2) of subsection (a), and other information as the Secretary deems relevant and necessary.

CONTROL OF AUTOMOBILE GRAVEYARDS

SEC. 4. (a) A State law meets the requirements of this section with respect to control of automobile graveyards if it makes provision for effective control of the establishment and maintenance along all public streets and highways in such State of all outdoor automobile graveyards which are within one thousand feet of the nearest edge of the right-of-way and visible from the main traveled way of any such street or highway.

Effective control means that before two years after the date of enactment of this Act, such automobile graveyards shall be screened by natural objects, plantings, fences, or other appropriate means so as not to be visible from the main traveled way of the public street or highway, or shall be removed from sight.

(b) For purposes of this section, the term "automobile graveyard" means any establishment or place of business which is maintained, used, or operated for storing, keeping, buying, or selling wrecked, scrapped, ruined, or dismantled motor vehicles or motor vehicle parts.

(c) All public lands or reservations of the United States which are adjacent to public streets or highways shall be effectively controlled in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(d) Nothing in this section shall prohibit a State from establishing standards imposing stricter limitations with respect to outdoor automobile graveyards on public streets or highways than those established under this section.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

SEC. 5. (a) In order to carry out the objectives of this Act, the Secretary is authorized to—

(1) promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary;

(2) appoint such advisory committees as he may deem advisable;

(3) procure the services of experts and consultants in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code; and

(4) use the services, personnel, facilities, and information of any other Federal department or agency, or any agency of any State, or political subdivision thereof, or any private research agency with the consent of such agencies, with or without reimbursement therefor.

(b) Upon request by the Secretary each Federal department and agency is authorized and directed to make its services, personnel, facilities, and information, including suggestions, estimates, and statistics available to the greatest practical extent to the Secretary in the performance of his functions under this Act.

(c) The Comptroller General of the United States or any of his duly authorized representatives shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records that are pertinent to any grantee under this Act.

PAYMENTS

SEC. 6. (a) Payments under this Act shall be made from a State's allotments to any such State agency which administers a plan approved under section 3(b). Payments under this Act from a State's allotment with respect to the cost of carrying out its State plan shall equal 100 per centum of such costs for any fiscal year. In determining the cost of carrying out a State's plan, there shall be excluded any cost (1) with respect to which payments were received under any other Federal program or (2) which is attributable to the relocation, removal, or disposal of an automobile graveyard.

(b) Payments to a State under this Act may be made in installments, in advance, or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of underpayment or overpayment, and may be made directly to a State or to one or more public agencies designated for this purpose by the State, or to both.

WITHHOLDING OF GRANTS

SEC. 7. Whenever the Secretary, after giving reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to a grant recipient under this Act, finds—

(1) that the program or project for which such grant was made has been so changed

that it no longer complies with the provisions of this Act; or

(2) that in the operation of the program or project there is failure to comply substantially with any such provision;

the Secretary shall notify such recipient of his findings and no further payments may be made to such recipient by the Secretary until he is satisfied that such noncompliance has been, or will promptly be, corrected. However, the Secretary may authorize the continuance of payments with respect to any projects pursuant to this Act which are being carried out by such recipient and which are not involved in the noncompliance.

FEDERAL GUARANTY OF AUTOMOBILE SCRAP PROCESSING EQUIPMENT LOANS

SEC. 8. (a) For purposes of this section:

(1) The term "automobile scrap processing equipment" means car flatteners, and trucks used in connection therewith, and automobile scrap shredders or other equipment used to upgrade the quality of automobile scrap.

(2) The term "equipment purchase loan" means any loan or equipment in connection therewith, made for the purchase of automobile scrap processing equipment.

(3) The term "automobile scrap processor" means a person who the Secretary determines is or will be in the business of processing automobile scrap.

(b) The Secretary may guarantee any lender against loss of principal and interest on any equipment purchase loan made by such lender to an automobile scrap processor. Such guaranty shall be made in such form, on such terms and conditions, and pursuant to such regulations, as the Secretary deems necessary and which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this section.

(c) No guaranty shall be made:

(1) Extending to more than the unpaid interest and 90 per centum of the unpaid principal of any loan.

(2) On any loan or combination of loans for more than 90 per centum of the purchase price of the automobile scrap processing equipment to be purchased therewith.

(3) On any loan whose terms permit full repayment more than ten years after the date thereof.

(4) Wherein the total face amount of such loan, and of any other loans to the same automobile scrap processor guaranteed and outstanding under the terms of this section exceed \$1,500,000.

(5) Unless the Secretary finds that, without such guaranty, in the amount thereof, the automobile scrap processor would be unable to obtain necessary funds for the purchase of needed automobile scrap processing equipment on reasonable terms.

(d) The Secretary shall prescribe and collect from the lending institution a reasonable guaranty fee in connection with each loan guaranteed under this section.

(e) (1) To permit him to make use of such expert advice and services as he may require in carrying out the provisions of this section, the Secretary may use available services and facilities of other agencies and instrumentalities of the Federal Government with their consent and on a reimbursable basis.

(2) Departments and agencies of the Federal Government shall exercise their powers, duties, and functions in such manner as will assist in carrying out the objectives of this section.

(3) The Secretary shall make available to the Comptroller General of the United States such information with respect to the loan guaranty program under this section as the Comptroller General may require to carry out his duties under the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921.

(f) (1) Receipts under this section shall

be credited to miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury.

(2) Payments to lenders required as a consequence of any guaranty under this section may be made from funds which are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Department of the Interior for that purpose.

(3) Administrative expenses under this section shall be paid from appropriations to the Department of the Interior for administrative expenses.

(g) The authority contained in subsection (b) of this section hereof shall expire ten years after the date of enactment of this Act.

AMORTIZATION DEDUCTION FOR AUTOMOBILE SCRAP PROCESSING EQUIPMENT

SEC. 9. (a) Section 169(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to definition of certified pollution control facility) is amended by—

(1) inserting below paragraph (1) (B) the following new sentence: "Such term also includes scrap processing equipment if such equipment constitutes a new identifiable treatment facility (within the meaning of paragraph (4)).";

(2) by inserting below paragraph (4) (B) the following new sentence: "For purposes of this paragraph scrap processing equipment shall be considered a treatment facility."; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(5) SCRAP PROCESSING EQUIPMENT.—For purposes of this section, the term 'scrap processing equipment' means automobile scrap shredders or other equipment used to upgrade the quality of automobile scrap, including car flatteners."

(b) The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to taxable years ending after the date of enactment of this Act.

FINANCING

SEC. 10. (a) The portion of section 4061(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to excise tax on automobiles) which precedes paragraph (1) thereof is amended by striking out "equivalent to the specified percent" and inserting in lieu thereof "equal to \$5.00 plus the specified percent."

(b) There is established a trust fund in the Treasury (to be known as the "Automobile Disposal Trust Fund") which shall consist of all additional taxes received by reason of the amendment made by subsection (a) of this section. Amounts in such fund shall be available, as provided in appropriation Acts, only for the purpose of making grants under section 1 of this Act.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 11. As used in this Act—

(1) the term "motor vehicle" means any vehicle driven or drawn by mechanical power manufactured primarily for use on the public streets, roads, and highways, except any vehicle operated exclusively on a rail or rails. The Secretary may exclude classes of motor vehicles other than passenger automobiles from the definition of motor vehicle for the purpose of this Act upon a finding that to do so is in the public interest;

(2) the term "junked motor vehicle" means any motor vehicle which the owner desires to dispose of, including derelict motor vehicles;

(3) the term "derelict motor vehicle" means any obviously abandoned vehicle which has component parts missing, is inoperable, or is worth less than \$100 in value;

(4) the term "State" includes each of the several States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, the Canal Zone, and American Samoa; and

(5) the term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior.

SECTION 920 OF THE HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1970

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I just received some material which elucidates section 920 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970. As one who participated in the dialog on that amendment, I think it appropriate to have a complete legislative history on the section. Accordingly, I request that there be printed at this point in the RECORD copies of letters by my distinguished colleague, Mr. BARRETT, chairman of the Housing Subcommittee, and by Mr. Bane, president of the Council of Savings and Loan Stock Co. The letters follow:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HANNA: Once again let me express the sincere thanks of our organization for your leadership in the enactment of Section 920 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970. This amendment remedied important shortcomings in the Savings and Loan Holding Company Act of 1967. For example, the amendment will—as Chairman Martin indicated to the Conferees—subject to prior approval of the Board, permit loans by an insured institution to third parties to facilitate the sale of property which was acquired by the institution's service corporation from the parent savings and loan holding company. Such constructive changes as this will, as you put it in your remarks in the *Congressional Record* of December 3, 1970, put all insured institutions on par by letting "any savings and loan association finance housing sold by its wholly-owned service corporation."

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

TOM BANE,

President, Council of Savings and Loan Stock Co.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
February 12, 1971.

Mr. TOM BANE,
Council of Savings and Loan Stock Cos.,
Sherman Oaks, Calif.

DEAR MR. BANE: Thank you for your letter of February 1, 1971. Your organization's interest in Section 920 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970 is understandable.

Along with my good friends, Congressman Sisk and Hanna, I was involved in the development of the legislation and its history. You should be aware of the exchanges between us three relating to this provision which appeared in the Congressional Records of December 3rd and December 19th. Copies of those records appropriately marked are furnished for your information.

The Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board also contributed to the legislative history on Section 920. In a letter circulated to members of the Conference Committee and dated December 11, 1970, Mr. Martin said of the provision:

Sec. 821 of House version. Certain transactions by service corporations of subsidiary insured institutions. Section 821 would amend section 408(d) (4) of the National Housing Act to permit, with prior Board approval, certain loans, discounts, or extensions of credit by a savings and loan holding company subsidiary insured institution to third parties on the security of property acquired by such third parties from a wholly owned service corporation of such insured institution.

In the interests of substantial parity of

treatment for service corporations, this amendment would have the effect of setting aside a restriction on the activities of holding-company affiliate service corporations which is not applicable to other service corporations. In the second sentence of section 821 there are two exclusions from this proposed relaxation of the now absolute ban imposed by section 408(d) (4):

First. Extensions of credit on the security of property acquired by third parties from an affiliate of the insured institutions other than a service corporation. This exclusion would prevent the type of so-called "bail-out" loan whereby a subsidiary insured institution in effect finances the speculations of its parent holding company or other affiliates. The elimination of this practice was one of the major purposes of the Savings and Loan Holding Company Act Amendments of 1967.

Second. Extensions of credit on the security of property heretofore held at any time by any savings and loan holding company or affiliate. This exclusion would prevent reciprocal loans by holding companies in an attempt to evade the prohibition on financing their own properties through their subsidiary insured institutions.

I hope this information will help you better understand the provisions of Section 920 as they relate to the authority of a savings and loan holding company and its savings and loan subsidiaries and their affiliates.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM A. BARRETT,
Member of Congress.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution which was passed on February 13, by the Lithuanian Council of New Jersey, as they met to commemorate the 53d anniversary of the restoration of Lithuanian independence.

I am sure that all of us share the distress of these people in watching their compatriots who continue their struggle for freedom. It is appropriate that we, who enjoy the bounties of freedom, should lend our support and encouragement to those who are striving to reach this goal.

The resolution of the Lithuanian Council of New Jersey follows:

RESOLUTION

On the occasion of the 53rd Anniversary of the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence, we the representatives of the Lithuanian ethnic community of New Jersey, assembled here on February 13, 1971, in Newark, New Jersey to:

Commemorate Lithuania's Declaration of Independence proclaimed on February 16th, 1918, in Vilnius, whereby a sovereign Lithuanian State, having antecedents in the Lithuanian Kingdom established in 1251, was restored;

Honor the memory of the generations of Lithuanian freedom fighters who fought to defend Lithuania's national aspirations and values against foreign oppressors;

Recall with pride the political, cultural, economic and social achievements of the Lithuanian Republic during the independence era of 1918-1940;

Express our indignation over the interruption of Lithuania's sovereign functions as a

result of the military occupation of our homeland by the Soviet Union on June 15, 1940, during the course of which national traditions and values were trampled, the personal freedoms of the people were suppressed and hundreds of thousands of people were liquidated by the Soviet genocidal practices;

And to emphasize once again our confidence that, regardless of what methods the Soviet oppressors devise, they will, in the end, be unable to suppress the aspirations of the Lithuanian people for freedom and the exercise of their human rights. These hopes were made most evident in the recent successful hijacking of a Soviet aircraft to Turkey by Pranas and Algirdas Brazinskas, as well as in Simas Kudirka's heroic attempt at defection.

Gravely concerned with the present plight of Soviet-occupied Lithuania and animated by a spirit of solidarity we, the members of the Lithuanian ethnic community of New Jersey,

Demand that Soviet Russia immediately withdraw its armed forces, administrative apparatus, and the imported Communist "colons" from Lithuania, thus permitting the Lithuanian nation to freely exercise sovereign rights to self-determination.

We call upon our Senators and Representatives to make use of every opportunity to urge that President Nixon once again publicly reiterate the long standing United States position of non-recognition of the incorporation of the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union and to raise this issue in the United Nations and at various international conferences.

Dated at Newark, New Jersey—Feb. 13, 1971.

LITHUANIAN COUNCIL OF NEW JERSEY,
VALENTINAS MELINIS, President.

OUR FLAG SPEAKS

HON. LAMAR BAKER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, on Lincoln's birthday, February 12, I had the honor of presenting an American flag which had flown over the U.S. Capitol to the Riceville Elementary School, Riceville, Tenn.

This was not only a proud occasion for me, but for the students as well. They made an extra special event of the presentation and engaged in a contest to see who could write the most appropriate remarks about Old Glory.

The winner was Miss Vicky Decker of Riceville, whose poem "Our Flag Speaks," was judged the best. Vicky accepted the flag on behalf of her school and delivered her poem as a highlight of the presentation ceremony. It is a fine piece of writing and I am proud to bring it to the attention of my colleagues. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Vicky Decker's poem, "Our Flag Speaks," at this point in the RECORD:

OUR FLAG SPEAKS

Our flag has many voices
Speaking loud and clear.
Listen, youth of America,
Come lend me your ear!

It's voice rings out for freedom,
Not just for you and me,
But for every American.

All people must be free!

The white calls out for purity
In deeds and thoughts from you;
Red speaks out for valor.
"Justice!" shouts the blue.
Listen, youth of America,
The flag has something to say.
It speaks of the past and present;
It sings of a brighter day.

AMERICAN LEGION SECURITY
COMMISSION

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion has since 1919 advocated a strong national defense, which I believe would have prevented World War II. Their program today is one which, if implemented, will prevent World War III. Mr. Speaker, may I emphasize that the Legion's program is for the prevention of war and for the maintenance of peace. Under the leadership of National Commander Chamie the American Legion is a dynamic force for peace. It was my great honor to give the following concluding remarks to the American Legion National Security Commission at the end of their 3-day conference on February 17, 1971:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN WM. JENNINGS
BRYAN DORN

Since its first national convention in 1919 the American Legion has always advocated a strong national defense posture to preserve the peace. Had the Congress and the American people acted on the recommendations of the American Legion in the '20's and '30's we could have avoided World War II. We had scrapped our Navy, disbanded our Army and refused to develop the airplane and the tank as instruments of defense. General Billy Mitchell was court-martialed largely as a result of his advocacy of air power. With no air force and our fleet in mothballs the U.S. was no deterrent force to the warlords of Japan or to the raving Hitler. Had the Nation listened to the American Legion then we might have avoided the tremendous human suffering and material loss associated with World War II.

The American Legion has always recognized in addition that national security involves domestic as well as external considerations. The Legion has recognized that a strong military posture must be accompanied by a vigilant attitude towards those who would illegally and violently subvert our nation from within.

Today I am going to talk with you concerning the external, or foreign elements of our national security. First of all let me say that I believe we are on the right track in Indochina. Our national security demanded that we intervene in force in 1965, at a time when a blatant and open communist invasion from the north threatened to overwhelm South Vietnam's anticommunist government. Today we are gradually turning over to the South Vietnamese the main combat burden. There may be temporary setbacks for the Saigon forces, but they are increasingly able to carry the load for themselves. The significant fact with regard to our national security is that the United States has maintained its international credibility by maintaining its commitments to the people of South Vietnam.

We have thereby given the people of South Vietnam 6 years they would otherwise not

have had to build their national defense effort and their national institutions.

While withdrawing Americans from Indochina, the President has moved boldly, as in Cambodia and Laos, to keep the enemy off-balance and to disrupt Communist rear supply areas.

Our national insistence on an honorable withdrawal has tremendous consequences for our future national security, for we have shown that despite fantastic domestic discord and division, the world's most powerful democracy can still stand firm to meet its obligations. We need only wonder what the Russians or the Chinese would have thought of us, or worse, what they would have done to us, had we made a hasty and dishonorable quick-exit from Indochina. The Communists understand military power; they understand the language of power as well as they understand the twisted doctrines of Marx and Lenin. It is because of their constant watching and testing of our military strength and our will to use it if necessary, that our national security demands an honorable solution in Indochina.

Looking farther into the post-Vietnam era we see other threats to our national security, and these involve the lagging development of our naval and air power. In just 5 years the Soviet navy has grown from a waterborne arm of their ground forces to a well rounded naval force. The Soviets now possess the largest submarine force in world history: 360 submarines—80 of them nuclear powered—as against our total of 147 of all types submarines. At the current capacity of US ship yards, our maximum annual submarine construction is 12, while the Soviets have one yard with a 3-shift capacity of 35 submarines a year.

When discussing the relative air and naval strengths of the United States and the Soviet Union we must always remember that the Soviet Union has a predominant land mass position, while the US is basically an island power dependent on freedom of the sea and air lanes. As an example, while the Soviets have land access to Southeast Asia, the US has used the sea to ship 97 percent of all materials sent to Vietnam.

In addition to the necessity of neutralizing the Soviet submarine threat to our sealanes, we must increase our nuclear strike potential by increasing the number of ICBM-firing submarines. While our fixed-site ICBM's may someday be knocked out by missiles fired from an orbital military satellite, our mobile subs would pose a much more elusive target—should the Russians or the Chinese gamble on a pre-emptive knock-out first strike.

I say today that we must have a crash program to make our country again supreme on the sea. It is essential to the survival of freedom that the United States control the sealanes of the world for peace. This can be done only with a nuclear navy.

Nothing I have said in support of a revitalized navy should be taken in neglect of our nations air power. With our superior technology and organization we can—if only we will—control the air lanes of the world and even space. And we can control it for peace. Weakness in keeping abreast of new developments in air technology could invite national disaster through continued aggression by the other side in countless brush-fire wars. Should the aggressor renounce nuclear warfare—as the Axis Powers did with respect to gas warfare in World War II—and move with their vast preponderance of land forces in Southeast Asia or Europe we could not win without superior air-power. We would invite aggression and be defeated.

Of course we need a highly mobile, trained Army that can be rushed as a deterrent to future aggression. But without command of the sea and the air it would be hopeless to try to stem the tide of aggression.

On September 28, 1970 and again on October 8, 1970, the late Chairman Mendel Rivers

warned the Congress and the American people of the Soviet threat. Mr. Rivers quoted at length from a letter he had received from Vice Admiral Rickover, the father of the nuclear submarine. In connection with the rising strength of the Soviet navy the Admiral had written:

"If history teaches anything it is surely that weakness invites attack; that it takes but one aggressor to plunge the world into war against the wishes of dozens of peace loving nations—if the former is militarily strong and the latter are not."

Admiral Rickover also made the interesting observation that the only one of Stalin's treaties that the Soviets did not break was the notorious Nazi-Soviet treaty. Simply because the Soviets feared the strength of Hitler's armies. As we move into the "Era of Negotiations" proclaimed by the President in his Inaugural Address, it is useful to remember that the Soviets understand the arithmetic of power. They will honor their commitments to the extent that they fear to provoke a powerful America.

The only way to prevent World War III and the nuclear holocaust which would destroy civilization is for our country today to maintain superior military strength. We can prevent war and preserve the peace for a fraction of what it would cost to fight a nuclear war which no nation could win.

BIG CITIES NEED TO GET LARGER
SHARE OF ANTIPOLLUTION FUNDS

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on February 9, in an effort to assist the cities and States of America finance their much-needed waste treatment facilities, I introduced legislation in the House which would provide for an increase in the Federal share of grants to States and cities for the construction of waste treatment facilities. The bill which I am sponsoring, H.R. 4010, would increase the Federal share in meeting construction costs from 30 or 50 percent to a full 70 percent.

The Sunday, February 14, Cleveland Plain Dealer carried an excellent article describing the need for increased pollution control assistance to America's major cities. The article follows.

At the conclusion of the article I would like to enter a table in the RECORD which provides, accurate through November 30, 1970, data on the distribution of Federal waste treatment facilities construction grants. The table clearly indicates that the money simply is not going to the areas of greatest need or to the areas where the greatest pollution exists:

BIG CITIES MAY GET LARGER SLICE OF
ANTIPOLLUTION CAKE
(By Robert J. Havel)

WASHINGTON.—Antipollution dollars, which have been flowing rather freely of late, have been going down the wrong drains. There are stirrings in Congress to redirect that flow.

As late as 1969, the flow was only a trickle because Congress and presidents were long on promises but short on performance. But the spigot opened wider last year as concern for the environment and presidential politics grew.

Now, President Nixon is proposing \$2 billion a year as the federal share of a three-

year, \$12-billion program for construction of waste-treatment facilities.

Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, the leading but unannounced frontrunner for the Democratic presidential nomination, wants the federal government to kick in \$2.5 billion a year for a five-year, 25-billion program.

The main problem is the allocation formula.

Cities simply haven't been able to come up with the matching money—70% of the total cost of construction in Cleveland's case.

The federal money, therefore, has not gone to the big cities, where the people and the pollution are, but to smaller communities where the construction is often used for industrial development rather than pollution control.

From the start through Nov. 30, 1970, federal grants for water-pollution control for 10,916 projects have totaled \$1,959,101,583, the Environmental Protection Agency reports.

The total cost of the 10,916 projects is estimated at more than \$8 billion, which includes local money.

However, only 8.2% of this money has gone to cities with more than 250,000 population, although 22% of the people in the United States live in cities this size.

A staff member of Muskie's pollution subcommittee frankly admitted that neither the Nixon nor the Muskie proposals would greatly ease the cities' problems.

"The program has been underfunded and undermanned from the beginning," he said. "We started behind, and now we're farther behind."

Nixon's proposal would require the states and communities to pick up at least 50% of the cost of treatment facilities.

Muskie's plan would enlarge the federal share to as much as 60%, if the problem is approached on a river basin basis.

This simply isn't enough, the mayors of Atlanta and Detroit told Muskie last week. Those cities are under 180-day orders to stop pollution, as Cleveland is.

The cities can't clean up in 180 days, the mayors said, or even in 180 weeks.

They recited results of a study by the U.S. Conference of Mayors on the needs of 1,105 communities and sewer districts that serve 95 million people.

The total needs of these 1,105 units were estimated at \$33 billion to \$37 billion over the next few years.

Ohio's total needs were set at about \$1.2 billion, Cleveland at \$485 million.

The mayors recommended that the federal government pick up as much as 75% of the cost of the projects. The Muskie committee staffer said the senator was kicking the idea around.

In the House, Rep. Charles A. Vanik, D-22, Cleveland, introduced legislation asking that the federal government provide up to 70% of the cost of waste treatment facilities.

Citing Nixon's campaign for his \$5-billion revenue-sharing plan, Vanik said:

"The demand for \$6 billion in matching funds completely washes out the promise of \$5 billion in revenue sharing."

Ohio is a revealing example of how the big cities have gotten short shrift under the present setup. From fiscal 1968 through fiscal 1971, which ends June 30, Ohio has been allocated \$111.4 million for construction grants.

A report by the Muskie subcommittee says: "In Ohio (through 1969), 58% of waste-treatment-facility funds have been distributed to serve one-quarter of the state's population, which lives in counties under 100,000 population."

Another gripe of the cities and states has been that the federal government has not put its money where its promise was.

Because for five years appropriations have fallen short of authorizations, many com-

munities went ahead and built facilities on their own. They assumed the federal government would reimburse them for the federal share. They were wrong.

The Environmental Protection Agency estimates projects, now in various stages and worth \$1.5 billion, will be eligible for reimbursement. Of this amount, \$300 million is due communities and states for plants already in operation.

Ohio this year was allocated \$51.5 million. Of this nearly \$11 million was for reimbursements.

Under the current pollution-control program, which expires June 30, Cleveland has received reimbursements of \$535,238 for planning and engineering.

Improvements now under way at the Cleveland's Easterly Treatment Plant will cost \$6.6 million.

Of this amount, says Cleveland Utilities Director William S. Caskill, \$600,000 has been allocated to Cleveland by the federal govern-

ment through the Ohio Water Development Authority, which sets state priorities and handles the federal money.

The state has made a \$6-million, 20-year loan for the remainder of the Cleveland need.

Ohio did get a break last week when William D. Ruckelshaus, head of EPA, ruled that the state's loan arrangement qualified as a matching-funds program.

This entitles the state to 50% matching money from the U.S. Treasury. Previously, because the loans did not qualify as a matching program, projects could receive only 30% in matching money.

What this means is that Ohio and its communities will now have to put up \$51.5 million to take full advantage of the \$51.5 million in federal funds allocated to the state.

Under the 30-70 setup the state and cities would have had to raise \$119 million to get the \$51.5 million in federal money.

TABLE 1¹

| Population | Number of projects | Percent of projects (cumulative) | Federal grants | Percent of grants (cumulative) |
|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| Less than 2,500 | 5,251 | 48.1 | 284,900,992 | 14.5 |
| 2,500 to 5,000 | 1,564 | 62.4 | 208,471,117 | 25.2 |
| 5,001 to 10,000 | 1,335 | 74.7 | 244,305,475 | 37.6 |
| 10,001 to 25,000 | 1,235 | 86.0 | 353,534,885 | 55.7 |
| 25,001 to 50,000 | 608 | 91.5 | 236,690,006 | 67.8 |
| 50,001 to 125,000 | 422 | 95.4 | 252,127,967 | 80.7 |
| 125,001 to 250,000 | 187 | 97.1 | 140,763,242 | 87.8 |
| 250,001 to 500,000 | 104 | 98.1 | 77,564,933 | 91.8 |
| 500,001 and over | 210 | 100.0 | 160,743,236 | 100.0 |
| Total | 10,916 | | 1,959,101,853 | |

¹ Status of grants as of Nov. 30, 1970.

² Estimated cost of 10,916 projects is \$8,039,640,235.

³ Includes approximately \$170,000,000 supplemental funds from EDA and ARC.

Source: Records of Evaluation and Resource Control Branch, Division of Facilities Construction and Operation, EPA.

TRIBUTE TO WISCONSIN STATE REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH SWEDA

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, as Members of the House will know, all too often in political life the most workmanlike of legislators receives the least amount of publicity.

That fact is no more true in the House than it is in the Wisconsin Legislature where I spent almost 7 years.

Occasionally a thoughtful and perceptive member of the journalistic profession will publicly note the behind the scenes influence of one of those quiet workers in the legislative vineyard. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to insert in the RECORD a portion of a recent column by the dean of Wisconsin State house capitol correspondents, John Wyngaard, noting the rise of influence of an old friend and fellow legislator who has contributed much to the welfare and progress of northern Wisconsin, State Representative Joseph Sweda.

The excerpt from this column appeared in the Green Bay Press-Gazette, and follows:

INSIDE THE CAPITOL

(By John Wyngaard)

A young man to watch in the Democratic Assembly majority is Joseph Sweda, a rising

figure in his caucus as the newly chosen speaker pro tempore, meaning that he is one of the top leadership circle.

At the age of 44, Sweda is starting his fifth term from the preponderantly rural district composed of Lincoln and Taylor Counties. Sweda is one of the comparatively few Democrats who is solidly entrenched according to consistent performance in a rural district, as shown by the fact that he is chairman of the Taylor County Board, an office representing higher prestige in local politics than membership in the legislature in most instances.

NIXON THE BOLD

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, one of the best analyses I have read of the President's state of the Union message, is that by Joseph Alsop entitled "Nixon the Bold."

As is Mr. Alsop's habit, he has dug beneath the surface and produced a truly thoughtful comment on the President's message to the Congress. I include the article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 25, 1971]

NIXON THE BOLD

(By Joseph Alsop)

The President's message on the State of the Union was genuinely remarkable. In many rather fundamental ways, in fact, it was

bolder and more innovating than anything heard from a President since the time, nearly 40 years ago, when Franklin D. Roosevelt was putting the country on a new course.

Before defense of this high claim for the President, a short history of the message and its ideas is in order. To begin with Richard M. Nixon knew enough about the subject to think the U.S. government had ceased to work very well, even before he took office. His experience in office strongly confirmed that conviction.

The first symptom of the root-and-branch character of the resulting Nixon approach was the Family Assistance Plan, intended to junk the whole ghastly welfare system. If FAP ever passes this will certainly prove to be a far more radical measure than most people suppose. The end result, in fact, will be public welfare mainly federally administered, on the pattern of the Social Security system.

This was, and is, a centralizing measure, therefore. It had to be, for no other solution seemed practical. But the President's real objection to the present system was to what may be called "governance government." Here was where he wanted the main restructuring; and he therefore set all sorts of people, notably George Shultz, Robert Finch and John Ehrlichman, to work out what should be done.

The really climactic moment was last June, when three critically important meetings were held at San Clemente on three successive days. At the first meeting, the President adopted the Keynesian theory of the so-called "full employment budget." He also decided on a thorough-going revision of the whole tax system, including adoption of the value-added tax. But this latter step will be attempted later.

At the second meeting, the President ruled that the rundown of national defense had gone far enough, and ordered a somewhat more generous defense budget. And at the third meeting, the President decided on very bold restructuring of the federal government itself, plus equally bold restructuring of the dealings between the federal government and the states and local governments.

Under the headings, "reform" of the federal apparatus on functional lines, and "revenue-sharing" by the federal government with the state and local governments, the last two proposals above-listed were the main themes of the President's message on Friday. They are so much bolder and more innovating than anything offered since the early New Deal days, simply because these steps, if taken, will add up to really enormous, truly structural changes.

From the later years of Roosevelt to date, the great changes and reforms have always been conceived as though they were poultices—to be applied externally, and here and there as the need arose. It is not going too far to say that two-thirds of the existing federal apparatus is no more, at bottom, than an agglomeration of these poultices.

The reform—poultices, particularly, have also been designed, without exception, on the basic principle of "governance government." This is the principle that the federal bureaucracy always knows best, and bureaucrats must therefore have power—especially money power—to require the states, cities and other bodies to do things the proper way.

But let the scales drop from your eyes for a moment and look at the record. In the period in question, this country has repeatedly addressed itself to its vast social problems. In each case, the social problem being tackled cried out for attention. Literally hundreds of billions of dollars have been spent trying to solve, or at least to ameliorate, these social problems.

But with all this direly needed and well-intentioned effort, and after all these vast expenditures, the social problems being tackled have actually grown much worse,

with almost no exceptions. Hence the gist of the President's message may be given as follows.

"Let us get rid of a lot of the poultices (as they are described above). Let us put the federal government together again, on strictly functional lines. Then let us get rid of the whole idea of governance government, as far as this is now possible.

"Let us give the states and local governments as much money as we can, to solve their own problems as best they know how. And let the main check on these state and local governments be the voters who elect them, instead of bureaucrats here in Washington."

The only trouble with this is that American liberals are deeply attached to governance government.

MASSACHUSETTS IS HONORED BY A PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted and honored that a constituent of mine from the Third Congressional District of Massachusetts, Mr. Robert William Meserve, has been nominated as the president-elect of the American Bar Association.

Mr. Meserve has had a most distinguished career at the bar. Mr. Meserve received his A.B. degree from Tufts College in 1931 and the LL.B. degree from Harvard University Law School in 1934. From 1936 to 1941, Mr. Meserve was the assistant U.S. attorney in Boston. During that time he was also a lecturer at the Boston College Law School.

After his years of service as an assistant U.S. attorney, Mr. Meserve returned to his position as an associate, and subsequently a partner, in the distinguished Boston firm of Nutter, McClennan, and Fish.

During the Second World War, 1943-46, Mr. Meserve served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Naval Reserve.

The professional and academic attainments of Mr. Robert W. Meserve are extraordinary. From 1961, he has been a member of the Massachusetts Board of Bar Examiners and since 1964, has been secretary of that prestigious five-man group. Mr. Meserve has served for several years as a lecturer in trial practice at the Harvard Law School. In the years 1936-40, Mr. Meserve was a member of the School Committee in Medford, Mass. Subsequent to that time he was an alderman in the same city.

Mr. Meserve has served his alma mater, Tufts University, as a member and subsequently as chairman of the board of trustees. For a number of years he has been vice president of the New England Medical Center hospitals.

Mr. Meserve was a very distinguished and innovative president of the Boston Bar Association and a most devoted chairman of the Standing Committee on the Federal Judiciary of the American Bar Association.

Mr. Meserve, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, was elected as a member of the prestige-laden American Academy of

Arts and Sciences and was the regent and subsequent president, 1968-69, of the American College of Trial Lawyers.

Robert William Meserve married Gladys E. Swenson in 1936. Their children, Roberta Ann, William George, Richard Andrew, John Eric, and Jeanne-Marthe, are all following in the path of distinguished and devoted service which their father has followed during his entire career.

I know that I speak for the entire congressional delegation of Massachusetts and indeed for all of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts when I express particular delight in the election of Robert Meserve as the president of the Bar Association since Mr. Meserve is the first lawyer from Massachusetts to serve in this exalted capacity since 1898.

Mr. Meserve will take office as the president of the American Bar Association in August 1972. Mr. Meserve will follow Mr. Leon Jaworski of Houston, who will become president of the American Bar Association in August 1971.

The bar of Massachusetts, the people of Waltham, Mass., and the countless friends of Mr. Robert Meserve are proud of the new honors which he has brought to himself, his family, his profession, and his Commonwealth.

MAYOR RICHARD J. DALEY AD- DRESSED CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on February 11, 1971, in an address before the 67th annual meeting of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, Mayor Richard J. Daley enumerated Chicago's 1970 accomplishments and outlined the city's goals for the coming decade. I feel that we in Chicago can be proud of the advancements that our city has made in recent years—years that have been extremely difficult ones for most of our Nation's urban areas. I also believe that we can look ahead to the next decade with optimism, for the program outlined by the mayor is indeed a plan for progress.

I am inserting a copy of the mayor's address in the RECORD to call it to the attention of my colleagues. I believe they will find it both interesting and informative:

REMARKS BY MAYOR RICHARD J. DALEY

The people of Chicago have demonstrated in their comparatively brief 134 years, that "I will" is more than a mere motto—it is the progressive spirit of the people of that city.

Certainly the men and women present here today represent a tradition of leadership that has been a prime factor in making Chicago a great urban metropolis.

Chicago is a great city because of the contributions of all its citizens.

There is no better evidence of this than the contribution the representatives of commerce and industry have made to the economy of this city down through the years.

For example, as John Gray has pointed out—our rate of unemployment is about half

the national average—a genuine testimonial to the strength of the city's commercial and industrial enterprise.

Comparatively we are in an enviable position, but in Chicago that's not good enough. Earlier this week, with 15 other mayors—Democratic, Republican, and Independent, I appeared before a Senate Committee to urge passage of a bill that would provide Government financing for hiring thousands of the unemployed during a recession. These workers could be used to fill public service needs in such areas as environmental quality, health care, housing, neighborhood improvements, recreation and other programs. A similar bill was passed by the Houses of Congress in the last session, but vetoed.

This kind of public service employment should not be just stop-gap employment—make-work jobs in which the worker simply marks time until the economy improves. Public service employment should generate real jobs and real training where the worker can see advancement opportunities in permanent employment in private industry.

Next month, working with the national administration, we will launch a program in which commerce and industry will be asked to join to give jobs to returning veterans from Vietnam.

Employment is a first requisite for a thriving city.

But in order for a person to work, in order for business and commerce to prosper, there must be high standards for basic services.

To reach the goals that have been projected before you today, we must continually improve the basic services, such as police and fire.

The police department has received approval of an application for a \$4 million Federal grant to construct new area headquarters on the near west side. Site studies are being conducted for a new area headquarters on the north side and a new police training academy.

During 1970 there were 3,500,000 calls to the police emergency number. This represents one call for service every eight seconds. To handle this tremendous volume, the police are expanding the number of radio channels and adding new equipment and more police dispatchers. This will speed up police assistance to all residents.

Completion in 1971 of a city-wide radio satellite system will permit the assignment of more motorized-foot patrols in every neighborhood. These receiver-transmitter stations will relay radio messages between the communications center at headquarters and officers in cars and on foot equipped with portable radios throughout the city.

Where other cities are having difficulty in recruiting, Chicago had approximately 4,700 young men taking the civil service examination for patrolmen a few months ago.

The department's seven-month recruit training program has been serving as a prototype for other cities and is being hailed as a major break-through in police training. In addition, more than two thousand members of the department are enrolled in the training extension program—leading to a professional certificate.

In 1971 another step in creating a career police force will be taken when executive development training will be provided for all command officers.

Morale in the Chicago Police Department is high. It is becoming the most professional police force in the Nation.

Last year, the Fire Department began providing ambulance service in the model cities areas. Eight new ambulances were added to the fire department's fleet and Model Area residents are being trained as ambulance attendants. A career in the fire department will be available to these model area residents.

This year the entire ambulance service has been expanded to provide removal service to all citizens.

Also this year the fire department is expanding its data processing systems so that inspections can be analyzed with reports of fires. This technique will make it possible to provide service where it is needed the most and to inspect those buildings which require immediate attention.

Meanwhile, eight sites for fire stations have been selected for submission to the city council. The multi-company stations are part of the recommendations being implemented in the Maatman report which is helping the department keep up to date.

Over the years the board of health role in meeting the needs of the community has vastly expanded. Where once the city health department was primarily concerned with preventing communicable disease, and enforcing ordinances, it is now providing to those who cannot afford private care the kind of health services that the family doctor provides.

For example, by April 1st, the Grand Boulevard community will have a well-staffed comprehensive health center which has been developed in cooperation with Provident hospital. In addition, ground is being broken this month of the first two of an eventual seven community health centers. These centers will cost a total of 11 million dollars. They will be located in Uptown, Woodlawn, North Kenwood, Pilsen-Lower West Side, the near Northwest Side, near North and Englewood.

The Board of Health is planning and developing these centers with maximum community involvement, seeking counsel from the people themselves as to the kind of service they want. In other health programs scheduled for this year, the board is inaugurating a new immunization program for preschool children at 15 urban progress centers which will be open during evening hours, when working parents will be able to take their children to the clinics.

A new program of decentralizing the treatment of lead poisoning has been launched and children are being examined at 14 neighborhood clinics. Previously such treatment was available only at the municipal contagious disease hospital.

In a few weeks, the Board of Health will announce the details of a comprehensive drug control program.

Using highly sophisticated laboratory techniques and equipment, the Board of Health is carrying on an intensive testing and control program designed to assure that the city's food and water supply is free of contamination from mercury and other polluting elements.

Already in 1970 we have established two new mental health outposts in Rogers Park and in Chatham. The Board of Health is considering their expansion into full mental health facilities. There are now sixteen neighborhood mental health clinics.

In recognition of its outstanding effectiveness, the city's rodent control program has just been given a grant of \$1,636,000 from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The new grant will permit the continuation of a nationally-recognized health-educator aides program. In the past year health educator aides have given guidance and counsel on general health, housing hygiene and related problems to more than 38,000 inner city families.

Also contributing to the health and environment of the city is the quality of our sanitation program. This week, night time shuttling of refuse over our expressways to landfill sites in the southeast section of the city will be discontinued. We expect complete elimination of all landfill dumping in the next few weeks. This accomplishment is being made possible by the operation of the 1,600 ton northwest incinerator at Chicago and Kenton—the largest plant of this kind in the world. This plant features the most

efficient air pollution control devices available.

In 1971 the Department expects to remove more than 100,000 abandoned vehicles from city streets. Under a new program in which derelict vehicles were towed directly to crushing machines, 93,000 vehicles were removed from the streets last year. The program will mean that the city will be able to keep up with the number of cars abandoned each year.

New reflectorized green and white street-name signs—designed for better visibility—will be installed on all boulevards and major arterial streets throughout the city in the next few months.

The Bureau of Forestry is placing special emphasis on the control of Dutch elm disease. During 1971, more than 60,000 diseased and damaged trees will be removed, and 35,000 new trees will be planted.

Tree removals will steadily decrease while plantings increase and a balance will be reached within the next five years. To speed up the removal of five thousand tree stumps, the city is initiating contracts with private firms to join the city crews.

Very shortly the department will begin its pedestrian loop mall study by closing certain loop streets to vehicular traffic. Tests will be made to determine the economic effect the air and noise pollution that will occur on those streets upon which the traffic is diverted.

This spring the Department will also begin marking streets for a comprehensive 18-mile system of bicycle routes.

As these programs indicate, we are actively concerned with the quality of our environment. In July, 1970, new laws became effective which greatly limited the sulphur content of fuels, outlawed the burning of garbage and trash in boilers, prohibited leaf burning and set more stringent restrictions on the use of incinerators. By the end of the year the impact of the enforcement of these laws was evident. The yearly average of sulphur dioxide for 1970 measured point 03 parts per million—a 50 percent reduction over the 1969 yearly average. Much has been written about the clean-up of London's air. The 1970 sulphur dioxide average for London stood at point 05 parts per million—67 percent higher than Chicago. Sulphur dioxide levels in the month of January of this year averaged point 023 parts per million. In January of last year the average was point 06 parts per million.

We can look forward to a further reduction in sulphur dioxide levels for Chicago as the sulphur content in fuels are reduced to a one percent limitation in 1972.

There also was a 12 percent reduction in particulate matter emissions in 1970 over 1969. The restrictions on incinerators which went into effect the first of this year, will help to lower the content of soot, ash, and other matter put into the air.

Last week we met with supermarket and independent grocery managers, and this week we met with the manufacturers of soaps and detergents and they assured us that very shortly now all packages in the stores will carry the proper labeling as required by our ordinance. And right now, the stores in Chicago carry low-phosphate detergents which meet the requirements of the ordinance and which will help reduce the pollution of our lake and streams. Many cities are following our example and we have urged the State and the Federal Congress to pass similar legislation designed to save and purify our water resources.

Significant steps have been taken in preserving our waterways. A riverbank cleanup and beautification program was begun last summer with more than 50 Chicago river property owners making improvements by removing debris. The program will be expanded to include more property owners on the north and south branches of the river.

To further prevent pollution and flooding, the first deep tunnel system replacing combination sewers will be completed by the end of the year under Lawrence Avenue. The Metropolitan Sanitary District is carrying on similar projects.

Last Tuesday we submitted to the city council a recently completed study to be used as the basis for modernizing our current anti-noise ordinance. The study makes recommendations concerning levels of noises from vehicles, including cars, trucks, motorcycles and construction equipment. Also, noise from air conditioners and power mowers, as well as noise emanating from industrial zones bordering on residential areas.

The Department of Environmental Control will recommend an ordinance for the control of asbestos pollution.

Auto emissions will be further analyzed and uses of converters on city vehicles will be evaluated toward recommending legislation governing auto emissions. A joint study undertaken by the Departments of Streets and Sanitation and Public Works, to be completed in 1971, will outline solid waste disposal practices for the city up until the year 2000.

We are trying to make Chicago a model city and the rejuvenation of our inner city areas through the model cities program will help us achieve our goal. We are proud of the projects initiated in the first year of this program. Model cities has given employment to more than 3,500 persons—81 percent of whom live in the model cities neighborhoods. We have offered career opportunities for residents through service as health aides, educational aides and as subprofessionals in a wide range of service categories. The police department has hired 400 community aides who perform non-arrest functions. By accentuating the service side of the police department, they are slowly building a better relationship between the community and the police.

Model cities has established a free breakfast program in 37 schools, serving more than 13,000 youngsters. In the first year, 14 day care centers have been established and 53 foster day care homes have been instituted which provide a variety of supplementary services.

To stimulate economic development, 67 model neighborhood businesses have been furnished with management assistance through a non-profit corporation.

The model cities efforts in education have been rewarding and are offering opportunities to the youngsters and their parents as the model area schools become closely identified with the community and its residents.

All of these programs were launched in the past year and their steady expansion in 1971 will contribute to the welfare of hundreds of thousands of citizens—which will contribute to the welfare of the entire city.

Further in the field of education, the public building commission will build twenty new schools including 8 new high schools. One elementary school is completed and seven of these new model educational facilities are now under construction. Most of the balance will be started this year. The new schools are not only good physical structures but they will contain facilities for the most modern concepts in education, including magnet and specialized schools. The commission also is building a skill center at 39th and Wabash which will be operated by the city college system for manpower training. This will be a unique institution training students for a specific occupation for which there is a demand.

The commission has also started construction of the Audy Homes—a modern juvenile facility urgently needed.

I would like to emphasize that all these programs have already been financed by bond issues, model cities, other Federal grants, and on-going programs by departments. With the exception of schools they

will not represent any additional costs to the taxpayer.

The city has carried on far-reaching programs involving every aspect of local government and urban life without affecting its fiscal integrity. According to Dun and Bradstreet, the city's overall per capita debt as of August, 1970, amounted to \$177.00 compared with an average of \$326.48 for all cities of over 500,000 population. Chicago had a net debt of \$91.12 per capita compared with the average of \$206.40. The second lowest of all cities with a population of over 500,000. The ratio of Chicago's overall bonded debt to assessed and full valuation is the lowest of all cities of over 500,000 population.

It is interesting to note that in the past ten years Chicago's real estate taxes have been less than most of the suburbs around it. In 1970, out of 40 representative suburbs, Chicago ranked 36th in the amount of taxes paid. When one takes into account that many suburbs do not offer the extensive services the city does—the only conclusion is that Chicago property owners have one of the lowest tax burdens of any municipality. Every indication is that city property tax owners will continue to pay less taxes than most suburbs.

We have maintained that record because we have insisted that all departments utilize the most modern administrative practices and mechanized equipment. For example, our purchasing department won the national award by the American City magazine for introducing an outstanding new concept in purchasing management. This new concept is called guaranteed maintenance for life or life-cycle costing. This is a contract for equipment which covers the original cost of the item plus the total cost of maintenance during its lifetime. Under this new concept the city over the past six years has saved approximately \$4 million dollars.

This system has been adopted by the Defense Department.

In 1971 the city will be totally computerized on all purchasing activities and inventories throughout our 34 warehouses.

In all departments the city has used computers to support their activities. For example, an optical scanner reads water bills. There is almost instant visual access to information stored in the data center in response to inquiries. In a similar fashion, video and remote terminal devices are used in the building department. In 1971, the use of such advanced computer techniques will be extended to appropriation-budgetary accounting. Through the use of present-day technology, we are meeting the demands of the citizenry for more and better services and we are providing those services with greater efficiency and economy than ever before.

One of the most difficult problems facing cities is the question of housing. In the past ten years local government agencies have been responsible for the construction of 133,000 new housing units. At the same time we have torn down 53,000 substandard dwellings. We need a far greater supply of new housing—especially for low and moderate income families. We are in a squeeze in a sense, because the Federal Government and this city administration believe in strict code enforcement to eliminate substandard buildings. On the other hand the Federal Government has not provided the resources to finance the very programs they have established to stimulate the increase of housing. For example, model cities asked for a thousand reservations from the F.H.A.—and was given twenty-five.

In one area of housing, however, we have made progress. Under the urban renewal program we have built homes, schools, health service facilities, shopping centers and have created recreational areas. In renewal activities in the last four years, 9,600 new homes

and apartments were added to our housing inventory.

This year 1,100 housing units will be built in Hyde Park-Kenwood and 450 units of pre-fabricated * * * construction at 37th and Cottage Grove. In the past year the department of urban renewal conveyed 34 acres of renewal areas and approved sale for another 90 acres for a total return of \$13,200,000.

We are awaiting favorable action by the Federal Government in providing the resources necessary to fill the urgent need for housing and we are prepared to launch a far-reaching program for housing in the history of Chicago.

And yes—we do anticipate the future which will see a new crosstown expressway which creates a new highway while refurbishing the communities along its path. We prepare for the removal of the blighting elevated structure and the extension of the loop subway system to the new McCormick Place—the Hancock Center and the expanded Chicago Circle Campus.

We are planning to build eight park and ride facilities to give the people of Chicago and the metropolitan area more economical and swifter mass transportation. I am happy to report that passenger volume on the Dan Ryan and Kennedy Expressways are passing expectations. They are not only saving riders money but are helping to reduce congestion. We look for further use of Midway Airport even as O'Hare Field is being modernized to keep up with the rapid expansion and changes of aviation.

We also are going to build 1,500 new units of housing for senior citizens. We are going to construct seven junior college campuses . . . a new central library and eight neighborhood branch libraries. We are going to renovate Navy Pier as a port and recreational facility. And we are going to achieve our long dreamed of plan to consolidate the railroad terminals and open up hundreds of acres south of the Loop for redevelopment.

We also are looking forward to a new State constitution which we all worked to pass.

Because of the passage of the 1970 Illinois Constitution, we will enter a new era of local government authority and responsibility. The grant of home rule power to cities is a sharing of the State's sovereignty with that unit of government closest to the people—city government. It will mean greater authority to tailor-make solutions to local problems. It will give us the opportunity to develop a more equitable revenue system. The new intergovernmental cooperation section will permit several municipalities to join in bulk purchasing thus saving money and better serving citizens throughout the Chicago area. In short, home rule will mean better government, more responsive to the needs of the people. To that end we are preparing to implement these powers that will be available to us on July 1.

What we do in this coming year to implement the new constitution may directly affect our citizens and our economy for generations to come and it will call for sound legislative and administrative judgment.

Our recommendations should be based on the recognition that we must bring Government closer to the people in their neighborhoods. This is not new. The city already has neighborhood community conservation boards, urban progress advisory councils, model cities councils, neighborhood cleanup committees, police community advisory committees, and corrections advisory committees.

For years we have sent our mobile office of inquiry and information into the various neighborhoods so that information and complaints could be taken on the spot.

We also have many city services with offices in neighborhoods. Under the model cities program we will be building four

multi-service centers where all of the services are available in one location—right in the neighborhood.

All neighborhood organizations have had ready access to city departments—and to the mayor's office—to voice their views, their complaints and their suggestions.

There are many ways of measuring the vitality of a city. Chicago has more active neighborhood organizations than any major city in the United States. They have staffs, planning consultants, highly developed programs and loyal memberships. They are continually striving to make their neighborhoods better. This is the most positive evidence that the city has a future—for people do not organize in this way if they intend to leave the city—if they do not have pride in their neighborhoods—and in their city.

Show me a city where neighborhood organizations or individuals are not advocating and fighting for a greater share of city programs, for greater participation in local government—and I will show you a city without programs—without membership. When delegations stop coming to my office, to city council meetings, or to public hearings, that will be the signal that they lost confidence in the future of Chicago.

Like Mr. Gray, I will make a prediction. This will never happen—for our greatest resource is the people of Chicago and the future is theirs.

NEW ATTITUDE NEEDED TOWARD RUSSIA

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, some interesting observations were made recently by Col. Irving Salomon, a distinguished Californian who is a student of communism and a former delegate to the United Nations. I am pleased to share with my House colleagues the following article from the San Diego Union written by Colonel Salomon:

NEW ATTITUDE NEEDED TOWARD RUSSIA

I am irritated at:

1. The members of the Congress and others who still think that all is sweetness and light in our relationship with the Soviet Union; who feel that the cold war is subsiding and that we should offer the Soviets the warm hand of friendship.

2. Our Department of State that continues its docile passiveness in the face of the obvious machinations of the Soviet Union. Why are they blandly accepting the constant pin-pricks which are more like switchblade stabbings?

3. The Administration that is mercilessly paring our military requirements, blinding itself to the Soviet Union's vast escalation in nearly all phases of military readiness. Has it lost sight of one essential truism—diplomacy, to be successful, must be backed by military might?

The only element that the Kremlin fears is military strength, even if only psychological. Still our government feels we can argue with them from a weak position—an absurdity.

No one should lose sight of the fact that the cold war with Russia still exists. In fact, it is colder in some respects.

This is best attested to by Moscow using every conceivable device to belittle our international efforts, and at the same time building up its own prestige.

The examples are everywhere—Soviet

strength in the Mediterranean, and, in the visible future, in the Indian Ocean. The Kremlin's all-out efforts in West Germany, where we were formerly entrenched; in Vietnam; the continued support to North Vietnam and categorical refusal to assist us in our peace efforts, and, perhaps, above all, in the Middle East.

If Russia can obtain the Suez Canal, she will continue to undercut our efforts for a peaceful settlement.

Actually, there is considerable doubt that Moscow wants peace, preferring to continue chaos in the Middle East to the disadvantage of the United States.

Russia is using the SALT talks as a delaying device and deliberately preventing any progress there by us.

There are suitable responses for these assaults.

Our government should be flexible and capable of meeting any issue.

It should change in its attitude on military spending. One of the best and most essential investments our government can make is to maintain our military supremacy. Americans are willing to pay more taxes because needed competing military expenditures is like insurance.

The State Department should cease being so docile and obliging. It should study ways to alter its policy and apply the same tactics of aggression that the Soviets do.

As a suggestion, almost none of Russia's satellites have any distinct warmth and loyalty toward the Soviet Union, so what would we lose by instructing our envoys to try to stir up a hornet's nest for them?

Would it be unwise to let Russia know that we would help China in the Sino-Soviet conflict? Would it hurt the U.S.S.R. if we were to sabotage the SALT meeting?

While these may not be wholly practical suggestions, the brains of the newly reorganized Department of State should be picked to find new ways and means of injecting into the Soviet Union some of her own medicine.

What can we lose under the current distressing circumstances? Among other things, our government would lessen the concern and wrath of its knowledgeable citizenry.

POSSIBLE CONFUSION IN ADMINISTRATION'S REVENUE-SHARING PROPOSALS

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the great gap of information that separates Mr. Nixon and his administration from the rest of the country concerning the proposed Federal revenue sharing is a particularly difficult obstacle for Congress to overcome.

Consideration of Mr. Nixon's proposal must be made on the basis of comprehensive and accurate information; information the administration has not supplied. As Mr. Nixon's supersalesmanship is being applied through the media to State and local officials trying to convince them of the merits of revenue sharing, Congress awaits the details of the proposal.

One of the privileged few who have been given information directly from an administration source—in this case the U.S. Commissioner of Education—found that Mr. Nixon's delay in revealing his proposal is the result of conflicting poli-

cies in the administration. Peter Milius, writing in the Monday, February 15, 1971, edition of the Washington Post, indicates that the administration is somewhat confused about revenue sharing. For while Mr. Nixon was proposing a relaxation of the regulations governing the distribution of Federal moneys, during its first 2 years in office, the Nixon administration "has sought not to relax, but rather to tighten regulations governing at least two major Federal education programs."

I include the article at this point in the RECORD:

NIXON AND EDUCATION: RECORD AND RHETORIC DON'T MATCH

(By Peter Milius)

President Nixon may be right in saying that the present "wide array of overlapping . . . contradictory" narrow-purpose federal programs in domestic fields is in great need of repair. At the very least, in proposing that these programs be consolidated into broader-purpose block grants to the states, with fewer strings attached, he has hold of a powerful political issue. A subtitle in last month's budget message put that issue succinctly, in big capital letters that no opponent could fail to see or understand. "Revenue Sharing," it proclaimed. "Returning Power to the People."

Yet at least in one domestic field, education, the President's call for reversal of the tide that has made power flow toward Washington contained some ironies. The President is saying now that federal regulations and guidelines ought to be relaxed, on the theory that state and local officials know best how to spend the money at their disposal. Thus he noted that, while current "statutes routinely purport to prohibit federal 'control' of education, they surely impede local control." Yet the Nixon administration, during its first two years in office, has sought not to relax, but rather to tighten regulations governing at least two major federal education programs. And its reasoning has been precisely the opposite of the reasoning advanced last month. Its view has been that, without tighter controls, state and local officials would continue to "waste" federal funds.

In his budget message the President said that, "more than any other federal activity, the school-aid programs of the Office of Education reflect the excesses of the categorical (narrow-purpose) grant system." He noted that the Office of Education now administers "over 100 separate grant programs," and said that "the maze of set-asides, special conditions, priorities, plans and approvals for these grants is bewildering to states and local school districts alike." Worse, he observed, "Federal aid is often provided for needs and purposes which have already been addressed by state legislation, yet the states are unable to transfer or convert the funds to other purposes that are going unserved."

As his answer to these problems Mr. Nixon announced that he will ask Congress to consolidate these myriad old programs into five new, simpler ones, providing funds for the disadvantaged, for the handicapped, for vocational education, for "schools in areas affected by federal activities" (impact aid), and for "general support" (textbooks, laboratory equipment, other miscellaneous items). This reform, the President said, would "provide support for educational activities in broad areas where the federal government has developed strong interests . . . over the years." However, he added at the same time "the states would have discretion as to how they would accomplish each of these major purposes." The implication was that they lack such discretion now.

The irony of all this is that the states

already have great discretion—and that the Nixon administration has been saying for two years that in some fields at least, they ought to have less.

As one example, there is at least one old federal program that already seems exactly to fit Mr. Nixon's new specifications. It is Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, at \$1.5 billion this year the largest of all OE programs, accounting alone for almost a third of the whole OE budget. The money is distributed to school districts according to how many disadvantaged children they serve. The only requirement is that they spend it only on these children, and as an extra, to help them catch up. All further decisions—as to whether they spend it on teachers or textbooks, reading or math for example—are theirs alone to make.

Title I, like so many of OE's other current programs, is a legacy of the Johnson administration, one of its proudest accomplishments from Great Society days. The trouble with it, as Mr. Nixon himself observed in his education message last March; is that it has "not measurably helped poor children catch up." Proponents say this is because state and local officials have misspent the money, used it in unimaginative ways, spread it too thin, and often spent it on all children rather than just on the poor. Thus for two years the Nixon administration has been doing something the Johnson administration—partly for fear of being accused of encroaching on local prerogatives—failed to do; it has tightened and warned that it will enforce Title I regulations.

One of these regulations (on "comparability") reaches down to the tiniest details of school management, further than the federal government has ever moved before. Its purpose is to make sure that Title I funds are indeed spent on extras for poor children. It requires that local school boards first spread all of their non-Title I money out evenly, local and state money as well as federal, so that services to all pupils in all schools in any one grade are "comparable." The boards may then add their Title I money on top just in poor schools. The comparability rule does not assume that state and local officials are somehow less fallible than federal officials. If anything, it assumes the reverse. The rule, if enforced, will require a major redistribution of resources in many local school districts.

The problem with Title I, and the problem posed by federal revenue-sharing generally is how to reconcile a federal purpose with local and state control. The Nixon administration has faced the same problem on a smaller scale in the field of vocational education. Federal appropriations for vocational programs used to be pretty much what Mr. Nixon now says he wants—lump-sum grants to the states to spend as they saw fit. In 1968, however, Congress changed that. Its finding was that the states were spending too little money on the segments of the population most in need of vocational training. Its response was to rewrite the law, divide the money up, and require that fixed shares be spent each year on such groups as the poor, the handicapped, and those who had left high school with few marketable skills.

The administration has not yet determined whether to keep or abandon these "set-asides" in the consolidation bill it will send to Congress. Its problem was clearly put in a memo last fall, from presidential assistant John D. Ehrlichman to Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Elliot L. Richardson. The memo, intended to elicit policy proposals in the vocational field, contained six questions. One was, "How can federal vocational education programs best serve as a catalyst for reform in the often moribund state vocational educational agency without violating the principles of the New Federalism?"

Mr. Nixon declared once before, in his education message to Congress last March, that "I am determined to see to it that the flow of power in education goes toward, and not away from, the local community. The diversity and freedom of education in this nation, founded on local administration and state responsibility, must prevail." Yet the President also said, in that same message, that he was not going to seek "major new expenditures" for education until, as he put it, "we gain a new confidence that our education dollars are being wisely invested to bring back their highest return in social benefits, and . . . provide some assurance that those funds contribute toward fundamental reform."

How to reform and not interfere? That is the question.

Mr. Nixon said in his state of the Union message last month that "I reject the patronizing idea that government in Washington is inevitably more wise, more honest and more efficient than government at the local or state level . . ." The idea that a bureaucratic elite in Washington knows best what is best for people everywhere and that you cannot trust local government is really a contention that you cannot trust people to govern themselves." That is the politics of his proposal. It is also an oversimplification.

When the President's bill is sent to Congress, it will have strings attached to funds; his own Commissioner of Education said as much last week. Meanwhile, it is enough to say that the President's rhetoric and his record do not match.

MARY A. WOODFORD, VERMONT'S VOICE OF DEMOCRACY WINNER

HON. ROBERT T. STAFFORD

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I place in the RECORD for today an outstanding speech by a fine young lady from Vermont, Mary A. Woodford of Springfield, who is the Vermont winner in the annual Veterans of Foreign Wars voice of democracy contest.

FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE

The word freedom seems to have become almost as hackneyed as the words relevant, meaningful, viable and other such clichés which abound in the modern American vernacular. However, freedom must not be shrugged off lightly nor bandied about until it becomes worthless. Throughout history, men have fought to conserve freedom; in the twentieth century we also must see that it is preserved.

Rather like the snake devouring its own tail, the cry for freedom is too often the rallying point of extremist causes, both right and left. In the last several years, we have witnessed the misuse of this term by both ends of the political spectrum. In 1967, while visiting Canada, General Charles de Gaulle voiced the idea of a free and independent Quebec. In the past few months, this cry has been taken up by radical separatists, who after kidnapping and murder, made extortionate demands on the Canadian government for the freedom of political prisoners. For several years, the demands of leftists in America have been listened to politely by their more moderate counterparts. However, those attempting to propound more conservative views are heckled by these same

radicals who so urgently espouse unbridled freedom.

Over the millions of years that have passed since man appeared on this planet, he has made the transition from a primitive cave-man to the civilized being we know today. Man has steadily evolved a civilization which has consistently improved the lot of the individual. Learning from the mistakes of governments, leaders have risen to initiate improvements. Due to their efforts, men were delivered from the bondage of serfdom and the rule of tyrants. Gradually, the common man became educated toward the idea of freedom.

From its earliest years, this nation has cherished the concept of freedom. Looking back today, we can say the American has monumentally succeeded in producing a free society. Not surprisingly, the system has had its faults; but no humanly-devised institution could be perfect. All we can do is strive for constant improvement. The nation's faults have been steadily corrected by due process of law, and, hopefully, Americans will continue to erase the flaws that exist.

It is through the democratic process that reform can be successfully carried out. In this manner, tremendous strides have been made in the realms of universal suffrage, public education, social security and civil rights to mention a few. We must not give in to hysterical nihilists who, while purporting to carry the banner of freedom, would destroy everything that we have achieved thus far.

One of the inalienable rights of an American citizen is the right to dissent. He has the opportunity and responsibility to work within the system to eradicate the wrongs he believes to exist. We have seen too much of this peaceful dissent turn into riots; we have witnessed the very people who preach peace, love and equality bombing buildings and destroying property that does not belong to them. Examples of this destruction are rampant in many of our universities and colleges, as, for instance, Columbia, Kent State, and some universities in California.

In the Wall Street Journal of August 3, 1970, S. I. Hayakawa, President of San Francisco State College, stated, "From the age of 15 on, our young people, whether or not they have a bent for the intellectual life, are pushed and prodded by parents and teachers—and even more by community expectations—to go to college." Hayakawa goes on to say that many of those students who join protests and demonstrations never wanted to go to college in the first place; that they should exercise their right not to go.

Thus Americans must not allow the destruction of their heritage of freedom by extremists from the right or left. Rather we should rely on the nonextremists, that human ballast in the ship of state, to keep this country on an even keel.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, on December 21, 1970, when the vote on H.R. 14233 to exempt sales of .22 caliber ammunition from the 1968 Gun Control Act was taken, had I been present, I would have voted for H.R. 14233.

The RECORD mistakenly has me "paired" against the measure. I support H.R. 14233.

RECIPE FOR CHARACTER: HEAD,
HANDS, AND HEART

HON. J. GLENN BEALL, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 19, 1971

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I noted with great pleasure an article published in the Baltimore News American of December 20, 1970, which was devoted to an interesting and an outstanding American, Mrs. William Reick. Mrs. Reick exemplifies the type of solid, dedicated, hardworking citizen who has, through the years, built this Nation. Mrs. Reick's late husband was a veteran of World War I and a career military officer. Mrs. Reick was a registered nurse and a teacher of Red Cross classes. Her interests range from history to current affairs. Mrs. Reick now helps to support herself by selling a variety of home baked goods. Her reputation as a cook continues to spread through Southern Maryland.

Mrs. Reick's self-reliance and determination to make her own way in life are, I think, truly commendable characteristics.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

RECIPE FOR CHARACTER: HEAD, HANDS, AND
HEART

(By Corinne F. Hammett)

The old, black country kitchen coal stove still works. The date on the metal plate says 1931.

The little white farm house, like the stove inside, has a very distant past. The yard, just off a narrow, black-top road is rutted and topped with brown-grey tufts and twigs. An old, white station wagon is parked on the dirt, next to neatly spaced brick enclosed circles where summer flowers bloom.

A small, plain, white sign, jutting from the corner of the house says "Patti Reick's Country Kitchen."

And, strange as it may seem—there is a country kitchen in the house—and more often than not, Patti Reick will be in it.

This time, however, Mrs. William Reick, in a spotless pink, white and green print, her white hair in soft short curls, glasses perched on her nose, was bending over a dining room table putting tiny labels on boxes of rich, dark brown fruit cakes.

There were about a half dozen of the boxes on the table, ready to be wrapped and mailed. Hundreds, maybe thousands (Mrs. Reick wasn't sure) had already been sent on their way, across the country and across the ocean.

"Oh, my yes, honey, I do everything myself. Help? Where would I put them?"

Where, indeed?

The orderly little kitchen, heated by the coal stove has just enough room for the stove, another range a few years younger, two floor-to-ceiling ovens, a tiny sink, some cupboards, a table with a nut grinder on one end, a professional bakery pastry blender and a cement mixer.

And, of course, Mrs. Reick, who admits to being "in my 60s," and adds, "I never did learn to work sitting down."

But, the cement mixer? "Oh, my yes, it doesn't crush the nuts, candies and fruits. And it will efficiently mix up a 50 pound batch of Mrs. Reick's fruit cake—these recipes are all my own, I wouldn't tell a soul how to do it."

Making 3,000 pounds of fruit cake (in five different varieties) by Dec. 1 isn't unusual for Mrs. Reick—I don't know how much I've made this year, I don't have time to add up all the orders."

Once the cakes are baked, and decorated, she personally packs them, wraps the boxes and loads them into her station wagon for the trip to the post office.

Along with the cakes, which she says are "mostly fruit, nuts, butter and eggs and candies. . . . I don't advise freezing them because there is so little flour they get too moist" . . . she also makes, using old family recipes, plum pudding, mince meat, hot chutney, sweet onion rings, and peanut and cashew butters.

The telephone rings frequently in the house in which she lives alone—her husband died tragically in April, 1969.

"There goes that phone again . . . you enjoy your mince pie while I get it," she commented. This time it wasn't an order, it was a woman doing some of her own baking who needed some expert advice.

"Oh, my yes, that happens all the time honey, why not long ago I answered the phone and a young girl was in tears. She'd made a lemon pie for her husband and the meringue just laid there she said. So, after I asked her how she'd made it (too little sugar), I told her to let the meringue lay there and make some more and put it on top."

But Mrs. Reick isn't only interested in cakes, puddings and pies. Just inside the hallway near her front door is a small stack of Congressional Records.

"I subscribe to the Record. Right now I can't keep up with it, but I will read them. I think everyone should read the Congressional Record and become aware of what is happening in the country.

"All these people shouting their heads off. They should read and know what they're talking about first. Like Vietnam, you can't just turn a switch and turn it off . . . I hate any war . . . but you've got to do things the right way. Not running up and down the streets, shouting their heads off.

"Where were all these people when the agreements were made?"

"Oh, yes, I'm very interested in history. I think everything is a jigsaw puzzle, and it all fits in. You have to know the before and after."

Recently she spoke to an officers' wives club about her kitchen. "They said I deserved a lot of credit for what I'm doing. I told them no, not me, my parents and grandparents deserve the credit. They gave the heritage, to go on, this is the kind of thing that has to be taught in childhood.

"The three R's are O.K., but I was taught the three H's. First, how to use my head, then to learn to use my hands. Hands aren't just for powdering your nose and feeding your face, they are to serve others as well. Then, to whatever endeavor you set yourself, you must add heart. You can't do things just with the idea of just getting by . . .

"And there are some other R's that are important too. But parents aren't teaching their children these today. The kids are demanding their rights, but before rights, there is this: reason, responsibility and how to remember others. Then comes your rights and rewards."

While her kitchen is in the country, Mrs. Reick doesn't intend to stay "way back off the main highway . . . what I'd really like is to have some businessmen back me so I could open a small plant and diversify . . . and sell my things right there.

"The trouble now is that my business is really only word-of-mouth and it's seasonal . . . I wish people would think of ordering things for other holidays, like Easter, or even give me my orders in July. Big companies usually know then what they're going to spend for Christmas." . . . among her regu-

lar customers are several companies who send her fruit cakes and puddings to their employees and to those in the service overseas . . . "one of them is a very exclusive New York store."

Can she "diversify?" "Oh, my yes, honey, I make seven kinds of chicken dinners, from foreign recipes and I can beat the socks off that Colonel with my fried chicken, but I just don't have the time and the storage facilities now to do it.

"My mother told me when I was a girl that I might never get to travel around the world but I could learn something about all the peoples of the world if I tried their way of cooking.

"I've been interested in foreign cooking ever since. I have a lot of cook books but I usually make my own changes, nine times out of ten I'll improvise."

Mrs. Reick says she cooked her first meal when she was 10 years old . . . "it was steak, on an old iron grill on the coal stove, mashed potatoes and salad" . . . but she's done a lot of things that took her out of the kitchen too.

"I've done more things in my life, honey, than I care to tell about . . . I was an R.N. for a long time . . . during the Second World War I taught Red Cross classes in Washington, D.C. and one year I was in charge of their whole campaign. I formed a political club once and ran it . . . no, I won't tell you where it was or which side it was on. I worked for the Philadelphia Record for a while inside and then I ran to all the fires.

"My husband was an architect, but he was also an artist, I used to pose for him a lot . . . that's my portrait over there. I told him at the time that I looked like an old sourpuss, but he had started to paint it from a passport picture."

In the 1940s the Reicks were frequently guests of Congressmen and foreign ambassadors—her husband was the chief architect to the superintendent of the Memorial Division, Army Quartermaster Corps—"we had a real coterie of friends then, but most of them are dead now."

In a quiet, pleasant voice Mrs. Reick related how her country kitchen in Calvert County came about.

"In 1946 Bill, he was a World War I veteran, had so much trouble with his ulcer that he had to resign. He was too proud to go to Veterans' Administration and ask for money, so for nine years we lived on our savings. Then it was gone and I went to the VA and said, look you've got to save this man's life. They did, but took half his stomach away and wired him back together. We couldn't stay in D.C. on \$66.15 a month so we began to look for a country house.

"In 1955 we found this house, it was run down but we knew we could fix it up . . . so with his knowledge and my strong arms we did it.

"We always had given my dark fruit cake for Christmas gifts, even to Congressman . . . so I said, if they like it so much, why not sell it?"

"That's how it began, friends told friends . . .

"We went to the FHA for a loan to buy some equipment and then we went to the Small Business Administration for another loan to put in a cold storage room. On April 8 we got the money and the next day, we were working under the corner of the living room . . . the man who had built the house hadn't done a proper job with reinforcement, but we didn't know that. Bill walked under the floor and the cinder blocks came apart and fell on him and he had a massive heart attack . . . with all those wires they couldn't give him a heart massage.

"No, I'm not bitter. It's not healthy to be bitter, that's how resentments grow into catastrophes. I feel a great loss, Lord how I miss him . . . but I don't feel any bitterness . . ."

And she smiled and said, "let's go down to the cold storage room . . . I can make cakes all year and keep them indefinitely down there."

The room is reached via a narrow stairway from the kitchen. Inside the temperature is maintained at 40 degrees—and the pleasant aroma of fruit cakes liberally doused in rum, brandy and bourbon fills the room.

"I don't use any artificial preservatives or additives in any of my cooking . . . I use rum, brandy and bourbon on the cakes and if I don't sell them all, I go back down in the summer and give them all another good spray."

Shelves, covered in bright foil, rise to the ceiling—they were loaded with fruit cakes, each tiny package carefully wrapped, "they all weigh a pound."

Jars of nuts stood on other shelves along with some freshly made peanut butter, some canned tomatoes and peaches.

"Those are just for my own use."

Stacks of supplies were on other shelves . . . several boxes of dates from Iran stood in a corner . . . "I use the best, those are only allowed in the country once a year so you can imagine the trouble that is."

Back up the stairs again . . . "You've got to watch your head, the ceiling is low" . . . she talked about the future: "I would like to sell these all year around, there's plenty of room in the cold storage room . . . the trouble is not many people even know there is a Lower Marlboro."

Year around sales would aid Mrs. Reick in paying back the loans she and her husband obtained . . . "Oh, my, honey, one has six years to go yet."

She adds, "my things really ought to go over, people are so fed up with the ersatz and the artificial . . . you'd be surprised what's in some of the food you buy. But nothing beats good honest home cooking. I learned as a child to cook that way, I can even make wine if I have to . . . I'd love to have that plant, I'd give some of the men coming home from Vietnam jobs.

"Someone came here awhile ago and wanted me to convert to health foods. They bought some organic dates, at \$1.15 a pound. I think this is really just a fad, and it's much too expensive for me. But you don't have to cook that way.

"If people would learn how to cook it would be a happier world . . . I believe a lot of Americans go to bed hungry, they eat junk, soft drinks, hot dogs, french fries . . . no wonder our digestion is going in this country!"

When she has a spare moment, Mrs. Reick likes to watch television . . . "I go to sleep watching it" or enjoying the Calvert County countryside. "It's really very lovely around here, and the moonlight, we have the prettiest moonlit nights in the state.

"A few months ago I was crabbing on our little pier down the road . . . this used to be a famous port you know, a long time ago. It was around midnight and the new moon was very low, it reflected in the water and then I turned and looked back at the trees . . . they were ablaze with millions of lights like flickering fireflies. It was a gorgeous sight!"

As she walked to the door, she pointed to two framed certificates in the dining room—"I'm real proud of them. We won two awards, in 1967, the 17th annual International Paper Box Manufacturer's Association. There were over 4,000 entries and only eight people won two awards . . . for the box as well as the contents."

She opened the door and commented "I'll have to start early tomorrow and make some more plum pudding.

"Oh, my, yes honey, it'll take me all day . . . well come back again . . . you know, I put this plastic on the door myself this year, think I did a good job too."

The door was closed and she went back

to her kitchen heated by the old coal stove . . . she'd been a little embarrassed by that stove, she apologized for not having it polished, "but you can't buy the good Vulcan polish anymore . . ."

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 172—A BILL URGING HEW COMPLIANCE IN THE DISTRICT SCHOOLS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 172, a resolution expressing the sense of Congress that Federal officers and employees residing and working in the District of Columbia should send their children to the public schools of the District of Columbia.

The resolution has been referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. I am hopeful, since so many members on the committee are interested in racial balance, equality of education, and the future of the District, that early hearings will be held and the resolution unanimously adopted.

The District of Columbia Superintendent of Public Schools, Hugh J. Scott, has reportedly warned that a state of anarchy exists in the District's 190 schools, 51 of which do not have any "other"—non-Negro—students in attendance. At present, of the total student enrollment of 143,763 there are 136,364 Negroes; 60.3 percent of the "other"—non-Negro—are enrolled in 14 schools, at which schools the "other"—non-Negro—students constitute at least 50 percent of the enrollment.

If the present Health, Education, and Welfare guidelines and court rulings under which public education in my district must operate were to be equally applied to the District of Columbia school system, all Federal funds would be immediately cut off.

Since many of the HEW bureaucrats, legislators, staffs, and members of the judiciary responsible for the crisis in public education live or work in our Nation's Capital, I feel that they should participate in the war for egalitarianism for themselves. Adoption of this resolution would help pave the way to HEW compliance as well as forced racial balance in the District. The entire country would profit—at least by experience gained firsthand.

In this way, Washington, D.C., schools might better serve our Nation as a model in experimentation and laboratory education.

The text of my concurrent resolution follows my remarks:

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 172

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that each officer or employee of the Federal Government who is residing and working in the District of Columbia and who has a child qualified to attend an elementary or secondary school should send such child to an elementary or secondary school in the public school system of the District of Columbia.

ADVICE TO THE PEACENIKS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, restraint is needed in balancing public interest in military operations in Southeast Asia with risk to fighting men in the field from having the enemy know too much in advance about our plans and objectives. Some of the news stories of late have virtually been a blueprint of the tactics, strategy, and objectives. This presents a very real danger to our fighting men.

The following remarks by the able columnist, Ralph De Toledano, appearing in the Manchester Union-Leader on February 16, 1971, are of interest in this connection:

ADVICE TO THE PEACENIKS

(By Ralph De Toledano)

Truly, the American people are long-suffering. Or else something has atrophied in our moral character. At another time, much of the country would be up in arms over what has been going on in Washington and on the front pages. I refer to the frightening display of irresponsibility which led Senators overcome by a sense of their importance, the electronic press, and some newspapers to risk the lives of Americans and their allies by focusing attention on Indochinese operations which for standard—and correct—military reasons were being kept secret.

One scene I will never forget is that of a TV newsmen shoving a mike at Defense Secretary Melvin Laird and demanding to know the details of plans on which there had been a blackout in South Vietnam. If I were running the Communist world's Intelligence network, I'd fire most of my staff and rely on what I could read in the American press or see on American television. Enough could be read between the lines of what our press and the Fulbright clique-claque were spouting to fill in the picture. Espionage, let it be noted, is no longer a job for Mata Hari. It consists of fitting small pieces of a jigsaw puzzle together—and Hanoi's Intelligence corps must have had a ball as it picked up every little shenanigan of those who wanted to "expose" the Nixon Administration.

It seems to me that even the most dedicated peacenik would realize that this washing of military plans in public can only lead to the deaths of Americans and American allies. It's as simple as that, especially since the peaceniks assure us every hour on the hour that they are fighting for surrender in Vietnam to save American lives. No one will know how many people are being killed today because the enemy was forewarned by the brouhaha in this country.

Were it not being said in and out of print by some of Washington's most respected columnists and newsmen, I would hesitate to make the point. But it has become obvious that the old rules of political and journalistic behavior no longer apply.

Those who brought President Johnson low and are hoping to do the same to President Nixon have one thing in mind. They truly want to see terrible American defeats in Indochina so that they can leap to their feet in righteous indignation and chant, "We told you so." Few of them know and none of them care that the most difficult military operation is one of planned withdrawal. If the Nixon Administration's program for pulling our combat troops out of Vietnam is badly handled, many thousands of American boys will die.

There is only one way to achieve a safe pullback and that is to keep the enemy off balance. So far Mr. Nixon has been able to

accomplish this, but certain elements in the press and the Congress are inexplicably determined to force him to tip his hand. The President may have faults, but lack of courage is not one of them. And so he will push ahead to get us out of a war which would have long since been won had not the peace-niks imposed impossible conditions on its conduct.

I suspect that Richard Nixon must look back with nostalgia to the day when a Republican Senator, Arthur Vandenberg, put aside his isolationism and his partisanship to support a Democratic President faced by tremendous foreign policy problems. There are no Vandenberg in the Senate today, only Fulbrights and Kennedys, and McGovern. Once upon a time, politics stopped at the water's edge—but no longer. And so Mr. Nixon must cope with a highly complex situation overseas and a highly nasty one at home. If he tries to explain to the American people what is going on, he is accused of playing politics. If he remains silent, then he is accused of trying to keep the American people in the dark.

There are enough adult Americans today who served in the armed forces to understand just what the Roman holiday of press speculations did to us. But these Americans have remained silent. I wonder why. Many of them have sons in Vietnam—sons who may be killed because of what has been happening here. I would like to know why they have not bombarded the Senate and their local press with indignant denunciations.

"CONTRA COSTA COMMUNITY FORUM ON LOCAL NEEDS AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES"

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, recently a forum was held in my district to discuss the issue of national priorities and the need to reevaluate our present system of priorities to better serve their community and their Nation.

The forum's sponsors recently sent me a report of the proceedings which I feel may be of interest.

The report follows:

On October 3, 1970, the Contra Costa Community Forum on Local Needs and National Priorities was held at Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill, California. The purpose of this Forum was to stress the need for a review and re-ordering of national priorities. The goal of the Forum was to establish a positive response between government and citizens as to our mutual needs.

Significant statistics were revealed regarding expenditures for the year ending June 30, 1970; i.e., for each of the 160,000 families in Contra Costa County, the Dept. of Defense spent \$625 for defense purchases and \$215 for defense payrolls. The total expenditures of health, education and welfare (including Social Security) came to only \$345 per family. Thus, we spend \$840 for war and only \$345 for local social needs.

The Forum consisted of six workshops whose objective it was to examine in depth the unmet needs of Contra Costa County. They were: 1) BUSINESS, chaired by specialist Fortney Stark, president of Security National Bank and prominent civic leader. "Business slowdown in the county is due to the anti-inflation squeeze (higher unemployment, hence less buying). The underlying cause for the business recession is the

Indochina War. Expenditures in Vietnam last year were 30 times more than federal grants for urban renewal;" 2) LABOR, chaired by specialists Jack McCormick, labor representative with Western Graphic Arts, Local #4, and Laurence P. Corbett, attorney and labor negotiator representing management. "Employment in the broadest sense is the challenge of the 70's to labor and management in answering national and local needs. No longer can the unions strive only for high wages and improved working conditions for the employed union members.

Labor and management must demonstrate responsibility to the public by developing new jobs for an expanding work force, by providing new job training for workers displaced by automation or cutbacks in military expenditures, and by opening without discrimination equal job opportunities to minorities, including acceptance in apprentice and training programs as well as promotion to executive and administrative positions. It is time for labor and management and the government, where appropriate, to prove that employment problems can be more effectively resolved in a peacetime economy than in times of war"; 3) EDUCATION, chaired by specialist Paul Phillips, instructor in Economics and History at Contra Costa College. "There is a need for individualized education and for changing the present system of public education to provide students with alternatives. Two or more public systems should be open to choice of each student, and such systems should differ widely in curricula, methods, and organization of facilities. This will cost money, but perhaps our survival depends upon these changes"; 4) LAW AND ORDER, chaired by specialist Eugene Swann, Executive Director of Legal Services Foundation, Instructor of Economics at San Francisco City College, University of California at Berkeley, and Contra Costa College. "The American system of justice is under tremendous strain to provide a means of orderly change and progress. Dispute as to the proper and future role of law enforcement and justice is reflective of the dispute between our local needs and national priorities. Thus, resolution of 'law and order' problems can only be made within the large context of resolution of our national goals and purposes"; 5) ECOLOGY, chaired by specialist Cliff Humphrey, founder of Ecology Action which has some 200 chapters across the nation. Mr. Humphrey is the author of several articles and the Campolindo High School text book entitled "What's Ecology" "Discussion of some of the major environmental problems in the County with particular emphasis on the County's master plan, the relationships between taxes and growth, the institutionalized growth bias as characterized by the Baldwin Channel Project—a publicly financed project serving special interests which represents a major environmental threat to both the Bay and Delta regions. Some effort will be made to suggest the tremendous positive potential for county government to act immediately in solving the environmental crisis"; 6) SOCIAL PROBLEMS, chaired by specialist William O. Smith, Minister of Valley United Church, past Chairman of Economics Opportunities Council, recipient of Contra Costa County's "Citizen of the Year" Award 1969. "Bring low income families up to a living standard that allows them to live decently. This will require an expenditure of over \$44 million for some 26,000 low income families in the County. The County needs at least 15 'Discovery Houses' at a cost of \$500,000. A new Juvenile Hall is urgently needed as well as a reception center for youth who are having problems living in their present families—at a cost of \$2.5 million. None of the above figures includes the needs of mental and physical health programs, recreation and open space, penal rehabilitation, etc., but with \$70 million—the cost for

conducting the war in Vietnam for one day—we could deal creatively with the social problems that confront us."

The keynote speaker, Alvin Duskin, local dress designer and manufacturer and well-known for his involvement with the plight of the Alcatraz Indians and the Peripheral Canal project, made the following significant remarks: "The United States, which has long possessed the military power to destroy the societies of any combination of potential enemies—continues to spend about \$80 billion a year on 'defense'. Despite the first serious effort by Congress since World War II to review and reduce defense expenditures, the largest single slice of the federal budget continues to go for the military establishment rather than to meet human needs. The concept of re-ordered priorities may have growing support, but it does not yet have the political muscle to overcome formidable resistance. The military-industrial complex, an unsympathetic Administration, and a public which is largely satisfied with the status quo (except for resentment against high taxes and high prices)—all combine to create serious resistance to change. The need now is to develop throughout the country a broadened base of political support for the concept of re-ordered priorities. Until this broadening takes place, the forces of change will probably not prevail."

The CONTRA COSTA COMMUNITY FORUM ON LOCAL NEEDS AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES was one of 90 such town hall-type meetings held throughout the country as part of a project started by the Coalition of National Priorities and Military Policy headquartered in Washington, D.C.

VOLPE WARNS HEARNES ON BILLBOARD STATUTE

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith an excellent article by Mr. Louis J. Rose, Jefferson City correspondent of the St. Louis Post Dispatch of February 14, 1971.

The Secretary has certainly taken a firm position on this matter and in this he is backed up by the law. Any State has the right to do whatever it wishes. However, if it refuses to stand by the billboard provisions of the present law then the Secretary is forced to deduct the 10 percent from that State's allotment.

Many of my colleagues may not be familiar with this law and I am inserting this article with the purpose of enlightening many Members of Congress as to what has to be done:

VOLPE WARNS HEARNES ON BILLBOARD STATUTE
(By Louis J. Rose)

JEFFERSON CITY, February 13.—Secretary of Transportation John Volpe has warned that Missouri will lose nearly \$12,000,000 in federal road aid if the state fails to strengthen its billboard control law this year.

Volpe, in a letter this week to Gov. Warren E. Hearnes, said that if the present state statute was not revised to conform to federal standards he would have no choice but to reduce the regular federal road apportionment to the state by 10 per cent.

He indicated that Missouri would have until next Jan. 1 to enter an agreement with the Federal Government regulating the size, spacing and lighting of roadside billboards.

"I intend to take a strong and personal interest in the highway beautification pro-

gram, particularly as it relates to billboards," Volpe told Hearnes. He said it would be necessary for Missouri to revise its billboard control legislation to be eligible to execute an agreement with federal officials.

Under federal law, states such as Missouri that have failed to conform have been subject since 1968 to a possible 10 per cent reduction annually in federal road aid.

Volpe and his predecessors, however, have never imposed the penalty on delinquent states because of the failure of Congress to provide adequate funds for the Federal Government to carry out its part of the regulation agreements.

Volpe, however, made it clear that no further delays would be allowed.

"I am lifting the moratorium which has been in effect for about three years," he declared in his letter to Hearnes.

Missouri's present billboard law was enacted in 1966. It failed to win the approval of Washington officials because of a provision that sought to give county courts, which are administrative bodies, the power to allow billboards along Missouri highways in unzoned areas.

Federal officials reportedly wanted changes in provisions on spacing of billboards, but this was not viewed as a major hurdle.

An attempt was made in the 1967 Legislature to bring the Missouri statute into line. A bill to achieve this was offered by Senator Robert A. Young (Dem.), St. Ann. It cleared the Senate, but was killed by the House Committee on Roads and Highways, which was headed at the time by Representative Ruben A. Schapeler (Dem.), Butler.

Schapeler, an opponent of tight billboard controls, was defeated when he ran for reelection in 1968. The committee is now headed by Representative Walter L. Meyer (Dem.), Bellefontaine-Neighbors.

At the request of Robert L. Hyder, chief counsel for the State Highway Commission, Representative Meyer has introduced a bill to revise the 1966 measure.

Meyer's bill would delete the provision authorizing county courts to exercise zoning authority and would set the minimum space between billboards at 300 feet, rather than the 150 feet under the present law.

"By far the great majority of all billboards and signs along our primary and interstate highways in Missouri are unlawful," Ryder told the Post-Dispatch. "We can't enforce the law because we can't use state road funds for enforcement."

Hyder estimated that there were 10,000 roadside billboards and signs for which no state permits had been issued or that otherwise violated the state statute. In the vast majority of the cases, Hyder said, the signs could not be licensed under provisions of the law and would have to be taken down.

When the 1966 bill was passed, the plan was to use revenue from the permit fees, together with special federal funds, to compensate owners for removal of billboards that had been lawfully in existence before the bill was passed.

But the federal funds, which had been expected to pay about 75 per cent of the cost of the program, were not forthcoming in the amounts indicated. The Federal Government then was forced to put a moratorium on its plan to impose a 10 per cent penalty on states that failed to comply.

Opponents of strong billboard controls have testified at legislative hearings that the state would lose millions of dollars more by such control than it would lose by non-compliance. This point has been made repeatedly by spokesmen for the billboard industry and operators of restaurants and other businesses dependent on outdoor advertising.

Some opponents have cited a report in which two Washington University professors estimated in 1967 that full compliance

with federal billboard removal rules throughout Missouri could mean an economic loss of \$42,000,000 to \$100,000,000. The two professors, Martin L. Bell and Richard F. Wendel, concluded that the economic costs to the state would exceed the benefits.

U.S. LATIN AMERICAN POLICY

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the time-honored Monroe Doctrine is being observed more in the breach than the observance. As pointed out in the following article, after a decade spent quietly watching the Communists steadily increase their influence in the Western Hemisphere, public officials are now rushing to express outrage over the harassment of 17 commercial fishing boats by Ecuador.

I agree we should not take lightly the seizure and fining of American boats for fishing in waters generally recognized as the high seas. I believe it to be tantamount to an act of piracy and intolerable.

But for the past 10 years this Nation has tolerated the Soviet Union arming Cuba—a scant 90 miles from our shores. We are now witnessing the completion of a Russian nuclear submarine base on that island which will effectively double the size of Russia's submarine fleet operating in the Atlantic.

Mr. Speaker, I ask, as does Virginia Prewett in the following article that recently appeared in the Washington Daily News, is this the commonsense policy that has protected this Nation from the threat of foreign intervention for the past 150 years?

CONGRESS COULD WORSEN PROBLEM; TUNA
OBSCURES BIGGER ISSUES
(By Virginia Prewett)

Storm signals warn that it is high time for the U.S. press, our Congress and the White House to take a hard look at the way our hemisphere relations are drifting.

From the excitement it generated, you would think the biggest thing happening in Latin America is that Ecuador has seized and fined U.S. tuna boats. Yet Russia is moving into Cuba with increasing military strength. And for the first time, Russia's allied political organization has entree—thru Chile's government—into ruling a South American mainland country.

The implications of the latter developments completely dwarf the fishing dispute. Yet the California State Senate has called on our Navy to protect U.S. tuna boats. And two measures have been rushed into the legislative hopper on Capitol Hill that can escalate the fishing dispute into a major hemisphere brawl.

REPRISAL MEASURES

One bill says the U.S. should take back from a country that seizes our fishing boats any naval vessels we may have lent to it. Peru and Ecuador have several small work vessels on loan, and Chile has two.

The second proposes that when a country seizes a U.S. fishing boat, the U.S. should deny its fishery products entry into our market. If this law is passed and applied to Peru, it will hurt that country badly.

The introduction of bills into Congress does not mean they will actually become law. But these two proposals reveal a toughening attitude toward Latin American problems.

The tuna fishing controversy involves the law of the sea. Its ramifications are far too broad for Congress to attempt to legislate details. If our diplomats are to keep the whole issue—and our Latin American relations—out of a damaging tangle, Congress must leave them room to maneuver and not pass laws inflaming the situation.

I am not arguing that the U.S. should give in on every Latin American problem. But if we start to get tough, we must single out the key problem to get tough on—and not let tremendous hemisphere interests go down the drain on an issue far from the heart of the matter.

To start, we should review our whole Latin American policy in light of 1971's realities. Late in 1970, our National Security Council leaked that since Russia now has either parity or superiority to us in nuclear arms, we must envisage that they may one day decide to roll over Western Europe with conventional weapons.

NATO nations were pressured to promise \$5 billion for conventional arms in coming years on this basis.

Now if Russia may or can roll over Western Europe with conventional weapons—and if this is not a possibility, then our National Security Council should be fired—this would catch us with Russia in Cuba riding our sea communications between our West and East coasts and between our industrial plant and important Latin American sources of supply.

And we propose to get tough in Latin America because Ecuador fines 17 fishing boats?

EMERGING NEW BLACK POLITICS

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, in the most recent days since the President's state of the Union address there has been considerable discussion, speculation, and dialog over the motivation, the wisdom, and the impact of the 12 black Members' of the House decision not to attend the address. Unfortunately, for the Nation—the division has been primarily along racial lines. Mr. Speaker, it has become quite apparent to black America that a new black politics has emerged. The Nation as a whole does not have the slightest concept or understanding that a black political revolution has reached fruition.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of my fellow colleagues who are reputed to be the most knowledgeable, most astute political analysts in the country, perhaps my discussion of this matter might give them more insight and more appreciation of the actions some black Members of this body may take during this session of Congress.

EVENTS LEADING TO PRESENT STATE OF MIND IN
BLACK AMERICA

The plight of the black man in America has been to endure one crisis after another. The killing of black students at Orangeburg, S.C., and at Jackson State College in Mississippi, the murders of Medgar Evers and Dr. Martin Luther

King, the dismissals of black teachers and principals in school districts forced to integrate by court orders, the jailings, and persecutions of Malcolm X, H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, the national plot to annihilate the Black Panthers, the scheme by the FBI to embarrass and disgrace Dr. Martin Luther King are by no means isolated and unrelated incidents. They are an integral part of American past, present, and perhaps its future unless blacks themselves decide certain basic options and alternatives to the traditional reign of terror under which we have lived.

It is crystal clear in the minds of most black Americans that the aforesaid realities are inherently a substantive part of the racism that has always existed in the United States. All of the mentioned racial atrocities are a continuation of the eras of mass lynchings, bombings of black churches, intimidation of black voters, police brutality against black citizens, and the exploitation of black labor.

The pent up feelings under which we as black Americans have lived for so many years can no longer be tolerated. We no longer feel compelled to nurture these frustrations in silent obedience or to accept this unjust state of affairs.

Black Americans today are in the business of relating small instances to the whole picture. Underpaid black garbage workers in Memphis and Atlanta and black tobacco workers in South Carolina and North Carolina who are forced to labor under the most unsanitary, inhumane conditions imaginable are now projected into the overall black conclusions about life expectancy for our race and reasons for our low-median income. A bank which employs 25 black people but refused to finance black businesses and homes is viewed exactly in that light. If a TV or radio station hires a black newscaster but is selective about the news he can cover, the black community readily sees the inequity.

As responsible elected black officials with a mandate to articulate the needs of our constituencies, we would be derelict in our duties to do otherwise. We cannot join the voices of those in America insisting upon social order on the one hand without insisting on social justice on the other. Until social order rests on the reality of social justice—order will always rest on very tenuous grounds. If this Republican administration and this Democratic Congress do not address themselves to the urgent, critical problems of black and poor Americans and respond adequately and with dispatch—the explosive mixture of circumstance, tension, and hopelessness which lays bare our Nation to spontaneous combustions will continue to exist.

THE NEW BLACK POLITICS

Mr. Speaker, at one time the politics of blacks was based on the theory of appeasement of the white majority. Today, I inform my colleagues that the old black politics of accommodation has been replaced by the new black politics of confrontation. Those providing the leadership for the new black politics must possess three fundamental qualities.

They must have a deep sense of personal commitment to the concept of justice and equality at any cost; a relative degree of political independence and equally important the attribute of political integrity.

The new black politics demands a re-evaluation of the old concept that "what is good for the Nation is good for minorities." Those who embrace the new black politics must couch their thinking in the fundamental concept that "what is good for minorities is good for the Nation." This position out of necessity requires the development of a new political philosophy for blacks. That philosophy must be practical and selfish—the same as all others that presently exist in this country. Black politics must start on the premise that we have no permanent friends, no permanent enemies, just permanent interests. In matters strictly of a political nature, we must be determined to "take what we can, give up what we must." Those in politics who disagree with this approach should first analyze the composition of their own philosophy and if it does not parallel ours—they are qualified to disagree.

Mr. Speaker, the second qualification for the new black politics is a relative degree of political independence. Those black politicians who are subservient to white controlled political machines cannot possibly stand the kinds of pressures which will come when the new black politics launches the campaign for total black equality in all areas of American life. This is not to say that blacks in politics cannot have a reasonable, legitimate coalition with white politics. To think otherwise would be absolute folly. But the kinds of techniques necessary to employ at this stage in black politics must be abrasive, retaliatory, obstructionist—all of which may be offensive to whites, even white liberals. Without political independence or a deep sense of commitment the pressures will be too great and some "colored" politicians may not be able to stay in the kitchen.

The new black politics will cast the traditional white liberal in a new and perhaps uncomfortable role. For many years now the white liberal has planned, strategized, organized the fight for racial justice in this country. He has determined the priorities, the issues, the battle plan, and the time of execution. He has skillfully involved many forces into the fight and has provided dedicated leadership in helping to create the national climate for racial change. But now he is confronted with the possibility that blacks will be planning, directing, and leading the onslaught. The question is—can the white liberal follow the lead of blacks who have followed them for so many years? This question should be answered in the 92d Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that this brief explanation has helped to enlighten my colleagues and perhaps provide some basis for them to understand certain actions on the part of black Members of this House. I am enclosing three articles—two of which appeared in the Chicago Sun on January 27 by Charles Bartlett and Ed Williams and the third dated February 6 by Howard Woods in the St.

Louis Sentinel—which might further elaborate on the subject.

The articles follow:

THE BOYCOTT OF THE PRESIDENT (By Howard B. Woods)

I have had many conversations with many of my friends, black and white, regarding the boycott of President Nixon's State of the Union address by the twelve black congressmen. It has had a lot of debate here principally because the idea was conceived by Missouri's Bill Clay, the Democrat from the First Congressional District. Some of my more activist black friends argue that the boycott would have been much more effective if the twelve would have walked out on the speech instead of the previously announced snub. To this one would have to disagree. This was the Congress of the United States and the President. Regardless of the cause, no brownie points could have been earned for a rash act of disrespect. Actually, the twelve discussed all aspects of what form the protest should take.

There are those, black and white, who felt even the snub was totally disrespectful. Many whites especially say that Clay now has an opportunity to "rise to statesmanship" but that he is miffing the opportunity.

Perhaps to place the act in better focus, I can quote from syndicated columnist Charles Bartlett, not one given to liberal views. Bartlett, a most respected and conservative pundit, wrote in his column of January 28, that the boycott was "a piece of political theatre by actors more anxious to shock than to enlarge the public's warmth for their cause."

"The script was not written for the white majority," Bartlett said. "Few enjoy seeing the President snubbed. It was not a totally honest script in that negotiations had been underway to produce a meeting between the President and the black bloc legislators. They are all Democrats and there is no tradition requiring the President to sit down with a militant band of opponents."

Bartlett goes on to point out that the boycott "although rude and unprecedented, plainly struck a responsive chord in black communities. Telephone checks around the country indicate that thoughtful Negroes usually adverse to such tactics were heartened by this one. They hailed it as a proper use of access to the headlines to register the widespread disillusionment with Richard Nixon."

The writer then says that the White House tried hard to get some significant blacks to speak out against the discourtesy, but could find no one. Bartlett said Whitney Young had some private criticism, but that entrepreneurs "like Philadelphia's Rev. Leon Sullivan, gilded beneficiaries of the black capitalism program, kept their silence."

With this, Bartlett goes on to explain some of the more positive approaches the President has taken and is taking to "abandon the ambiguous diffidence on minority problems which marked his first two years in office." These programs, Bartlett wrote "is shadowy stuff against the grim realities and deepening gloom in the ghettos. The usual pressures are compounded by two evils which eat at the social structure—unemployment and drugs. The victims," the writer said, "feel they are injured by a crime that is not evoking sufficient concern from the President."

Bartlett says pointedly to his white readership that the black legislative bloc is "far from foolish in their instincts." He pointed to the majority backing they gave Rep. Hale Boggs, Louisiana Democrat for majority leader.

This is the kind of maneuvering necessary on Capitol Hill if a legislator is to survive and still remain effective enough to serve his constituency at home.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE BLACKS
(By Eddie N. Williams)

It is a shocking revelation that for at least the last 11 months the President of the United States has refused to meet with the 12 black members of the House of Representatives about "the pleas and concerns" of their constituents.

According to a Capitol Hill source, the White House reply to the congressmen's request for an audience has been: "Can't fit you in our calendar. Will get back to you soon." Since the President didn't get back to them, they told him last week they would not attend the joint session of Congress to hear his State of the Union message. So they boycotted.

Now they are petitioning four national television networks and the Federal Communications Commission to provide equal time for them to respond to the President's speech. They charge that the President does not know the state of blacks within the American union and therefore cannot articulate their concerns, let alone respond to them. If their petition is denied, they will consider bringing a law suit against the networks under the fairness doctrine or staging their own state of the union presentation on the floor of the House.

The boycott and the lack of communication—even social—which it unearthed are most unfortunate because the President desperately needs reliable lines of communication into the black community. As the conflict itself suggests, blacks need greater access to the White House. Who's to blame? Blacks, because they have treated the President as a political leper? The President, because his style and programs do not excite their interest?

Perhaps it is politically naive for any group to think that its opposition to the election and programs of a President will be lost either on the man or his supporters. Yet the President, no matter who opposes him, is the President of all the people and his job is indeed to "bring us together," as Mr. Nixon promised to do in his inaugural. It does not seem reasonable that he can do this by refusing to meet with elected officials who say they speak for 25 million Americans. Nor can he do it by refusing to give national vent to their pleas and concerns.

One might argue that his dramatic State of the Union proposals respond in part to some of the major issues troubling the black community—health, employment and welfare, in particular. This would be true only superficially even if the proposals could get enacted into law.

By and large the President's message was an "institutional" message rather than a "humanitarian" message. His major concern was to make the systems work better. For many citizens, this would only mean a more efficient administration of present injustices and inequities.

It is certainly true that efforts toward efficiency as well as toward "power to the people," whatever that means, are worth pursuing, and they no doubt will help to improve the general lot of most Americans. In themselves, however, the President's proposals are pale substitutes for the moral and humanitarian leadership the President of all the people is expected to exert. This is the pointed reminder of the 12 black congressmen whose frustrations and bitterness stem not only from their inability to get on the White House grounds, but from their firsthand witness of the President's unhelpful actions in other areas, including voting rights, legal aid, health, education, and manpower programs.

Given the intensity of their feelings, it would appear that at the very time the President is trying to position his administration in a favorable stance with respect to Congress, he will have to contend with an aggres-

sive flanking attack by the black members of the House of Representatives.

BLACK BLOC EMERGES AS NEW CHALLENGE TO
NIXON

(By Charles Bartlett)

WASHINGTON.—The boycott of the President's address to Congress by 12 black lawmakers was a piece of political theater by actors more eager to shock than to enlarge the public's warmth for their cause.

The script was not written for the white majority. Few enjoy seeing the President snubbed. It was not a totally honest script in that negotiations had been under way to produce a meeting between the President and the black bloc legislators. They are all Democrats, and there is no tradition requiring the President to sit down with a militant band of his opponents.

But the boycott, although rude and unprecedented, plainly struck a responsive chord in black communities. Telephone checks around the country indicate that thoughtful Negroes usually adverse to such tactics were heartened by this one. They hailed it as a proper use of access to the headlines to register the widespread disillusionment with Mr. Nixon.

It was ominous that the White House, trying hard to get some significant blacks to speak out against this discourtesy to the President, could find no one. Whitney Young, highly controversial since he met with Mr. Nixon, delivered some private criticism. But entrepreneurs like the Rev. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia, glided beneficiaries of the black capitalism program, kept their silence.

All this took place despite solid signs Mr. Nixon means to abandon the ambiguous diffidence on minority problems that marked his first two years in office. His racial rhetoric has grown more positive. He noted the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. this January and sent Spiro T. Agnew to talk with the black officials of Newark, N.J.

In addition, a paragraph calling for a national campaign to eradicate sickle cell anemia, a disease that afflicts 7 per cent of all blacks, survived eight drafts of the State of the Union message. It was edited out in the ninth draft because it seemed gimmicky to Mr. Nixon to make so much of a program that will concern a minority of a minority. But the campaign will go forward.

The new mood is displayed more significantly in expanded allocations to the programs that affect ghettos. The expansion is far short of the needs, but Mr. Nixon intends that his shared revenues will have a "scrambled eggs" effect in restricting discriminations against blacks by state and local governments. If it becomes impossible to distinguish federal funds from state funds after the two are mixed, the injunction that the President proposes against discriminatory use of federal funds will become applicable to all the money that a state spends.

But that is shadowy stuff against the grim realities and deepening gloom in the ghettos. The usual pressures are compounded by two evils that eat at the social structures, unemployment and drugs. The victims feel they are victims of a crisis that is not evoking enough concern from the President.

The black theater was calculated to make this point, and this is a technique the younger black legislators know well. Rep. William Clay (D.-Mo.), who conceived the boycott, won his political start by staging a sit-in at a bank. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D.-Calif.) has the showmanship of a Billy Sunday. These men, less reserved than the others, may set the pace for the new black bloc.

They are far from foolish in the instincts. All but a few of the black lawmakers backed the successful race of Rep. Hale Boggs (D.-La.) for majority leader. Afterward a white liberal came up to Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D.-N.Y.) and said, "How do you feel, Aunt

Jemima?" But she and the others had taken a prudent step toward enlarging their influence.

The black bloc is going to try to fill the black leadership vacuum. It will play to the black constituencies and it will often seem abrasive to the white majority. It has suddenly emerged as a new challenge to Mr. Nixon's leadership.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA BUILDS
CHARACTER THROUGH BROTHERHOOD

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, the Boy Scouts of America, which celebrated its 61st anniversary on February 8, is comprised of a noble group of young men who have made an early commitment to life through their brotherhood and scout troop activities.

The following letter from LeRoy Curry, scoutmaster of Troop 263, in Windsor Locks, Conn., reflects the scope and influence of these activities. The varied endeavors of the troops provide the town with valuable services. Their willingness to serve the community as scouts has been appreciated by all those around them:

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA—TROOP 263,
Windsor Locks, Conn.

DEAR MRS. GRASSO: This occasion, the 61st anniversary of the Boy Scouts of America, seems an appropriate time to examine the principal ideals of the Scouting program and focus on the way in which a typical Troop strives to attain these ideals. What are these Scouting ideals?

They are: Development of Character, Training in Citizenship, Building of Physical Fitness.

What is a typical Troop and how does it strive to attain these ideals?

I will use Troop 263 as an example because it has just been selected as the outstanding Troop among the twenty-five Troops in the towns of Bloomfield, East Granby, Suffield, Windsor and Windsor Locks. This award indicates that our Troop most nearly meets the standards of the Boy Scouts of America as established by the National Office in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Troop 263 is sponsored by the Knights of Columbus, Riverside Council No. 26 in Windsor Locks, Connecticut. The Troop is open to boys of any race, creed, or color. The Troop Committee consists of 14 registered adults who solidly endorse and actively support the Troop program. Direct leadership is provided by the Scoutmaster and five Assistant Scoutmasters. Thirty-two boys are currently active in the Troop, ranging from 11 to 17 years of age and representing all ranks from Tenderfoot to Eagle Scout. The boys are organized into four groups or Patrols with a boy leader, the Patrol Leader, at the head of each patrol. A Senior Patrol Leader and his Assistant complete the boy leadership in the Troop. It is to the Senior Patrol Leader that the boys look for their most direct leadership. The boy leaders have been trained to run the Troop, receiving this leadership training locally as well as at the Charter Oak Council Courses at Lake of Isles Scout Reservation in North Stonington, Conn. In addition, the Assistant Senior Patrol Leader attended a Junior Leader Training Course at the SCHIFF National Scout Reservation in New Jersey last year.

How does Troop 263 strive to attain the Scouting ideals?

Character—Each boy in the Troop is expected to take the Scout Oath and Law as his own and to make every effort to live up to these ideals. He continues to build his character in meeting the challenges put before him in reaching his advancement goals. The boy learns to do his share in the Patrol, to get along with others and to accept responsibility. The following is an example of character development: "A Scouting family lost their mother recently. The Troop expressed its sympathy and each prayed for her in his own way. One boy, however, did not think this was enough so he arranged to help the family by visiting them once per week to talk with them and bring them some form of dessert baked by the mothers of other boys in the Troop. This young man received a tremendous satisfaction from helping this family adapt to their new way of life and vividly demonstrated the character development encouraged by Scouting. This young man is now an Eagle Scout, the highest award a Scout can earn."

Citizenship—The boys in the Troop have participated in numerous citizenship events through their community service projects and shows. For example, the Scouts have helped at the polls on election days, have helped community churches with cleanup and renovation and have helped the elderly and disadvantaged in the community. They have visited with the elderly, provided flowers to the elderly, contributed to food baskets for the needy at Easter and helped to teach the mentally retarded. As an emergency community service, the Scouts in the Troop cleared snow from fire hydrants in the Southwest area of the town after the hydrants had been completely buried by a series of snowstorms. For an Eagle service project, one of the boys led the Troop in collecting, packaging and forwarding foods to town servicemen serving in South Vietnam at Christmas. Another Eagle service project involved a renovation of the town Civil Defense Headquarters.

At present the Troop has four Eagle Scouts, each showing promise of responsible civic leadership. The first, Richard Dakin, is now in his third year at West Point Military Academy. The second, Dennis Gragnolati, is a Junior at Farmington College in Maine, an education major, and a nominee for "Who's Who". The third, Paul Olszewski, is a high school senior, largely responsible for the development of a youth center in town. The fourth, James Parry, is also a high school senior with an active interest in sports. Jim was an active member of the state championship soccer team and is currently president of the high school ski club. He plans to attend college to prepare for a career in forestry and ecology.

Physical Fitness—Physical fitness is a natural outgrowth of the program provided by the Troop. This program provides rigorous outdoor camping, hiking, backpacking, mountain climbing, skiing and whitewater canoe trips. More than 10 nights of camping are provided annually along with numerous hikes and other special events. Some of the camping highlights are related in the attached Troop newspaper. In addition, the boys in the Troop often backpack on the Appalachian Trail in Connecticut and Vermont. Many attended the week long wilderness canoe trip in which the Troop canoed the 97 miles of the Allagash Wilderness Waterway in Northern Maine, then climbed to the 5,267 foot summit of Mt. Katahdin, Maine, the northern terminus of the Appalachian trail.

This then, is an indication of the way in which one Troop reaches for the ideals of Scouting, as established by the Boy Scouts of America, sixty one years ago.

Yours very truly,

LEROY R. CURRY.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF MANCHESTER KIWANIS CLUB

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Kiwanis International is a federation of some 5,600 local clubs throughout the world dedicated to serving the needs of their respective communities. The attitude with which problems—both large and small—are met is summed up in the Kiwanis motto: "We Build." The activities vary from scholarship programs, to hospital additions, to assisting the elderly. But the end result is the same on community enrichment.

Founded 50 years ago this month, the Manchester, N.H., Kiwanis Club has more than lived up to the expectations of its founders. New Hampshire's "Queen City" has benefited greatly from this outstanding service organization. It was Kiwanians who were responsible for building the "Kiwanis Auditorium" at the Manchester Girls Club. In addition, the Boy Scouts, the YMCA, the New Hampshire Industrial School, and the Salvation Army are but a few of the activities which have received financial assistance from the local club. The Manchester Kiwanis Club is known for much more than this, however. Its members are noted for their plain, old-fashioned neighborliness that offers a helping hand when and where needed.

This year the Manchester club has singled out two areas for community improvement. "Operation Drug Alert" has been mounted to stem the increasing misuse and abuse of drugs, and the club is also emphasizing the quality of the environment in an effort to protect New Hampshire's abundant natural beauty by curbing pollution and improving methods of waste disposal.

Kiwanis offers a community answer to the all too prevalent attitude of "let George do it." Thank goodness we have a "George" in the Kiwanis International who strives to build.

In light of the 50th anniversary of the Manchester Kiwanis Club, I believe the following Reader's Digest article on the Kiwanis International is of interest:

THEIR MOTTO IS "WE BUILD"

(By Clarence W. Hall)

One scorching day in 1919, a sharp-eyed promoter named Allen S. Browne sat in an angry meeting and watched the features of his brainchild being altered beyond recognition. Four years before, in Detroit, Browne had put together a men's luncheon club called "Kiwanis," an Indian word meaning "To make oneself known." Dedicated to fraternal jollity and mutual profit gained from members' favoring each other's interests, the rapidly expanding club had paid its founder well: he owned it lock, stock and barrel.

But now, in this convention at Birmingham, Ala., delegates representing 138 clubs were in open revolt, demand radical change in the Kiwanis character. With community and national problems demanding attention everywhere, they reasoned, the "you-scratch-my-back - and - I'll - scratch - yours" motive for association had become repugnant. The club should devote itself to

good rather than greed, to service rather than selfishness.

To Browne, such a notion was arrant nonsense, and he resisted manfully. Cried down, he settled for \$17,500 for his rights of ownership, pocketed the members' personal checks for that amount and thereby relinquished all control. The victorious delegates promptly wrote a new Kiwanis constitution pledged to giving "primacy to the human and spiritual rather than to the material values of life." As a symbol of this pledge, they made the club slogan "We Build." Today, a half-century later, Kiwanis International is spread around the globe. 275,000 members in 5600 clubs in 29 countries, each member charged with being a VIP—Kiwanis parlance for a "very involved person."

Optimistic by nature, Kiwanians believe that this is a good world, but it can be made better by voluntary action. Thus, facing a need, they spend little time decrying it or calling for government action. They simply ask, "What can we do about it?" And then they do it.

For example, at one of the weekly Kiwanis luncheons in Phoenix, Ariz., three years ago, Juvenile Judge Jack D. H. Hays told of the tragic lack of effective correctional facilities for youths. Convicted of minor crimes, youngsters were either being sent to tough prisons among hardened criminals or being released in parents' custody with only a reprimand. Either measure, said the judge, only encouraged more crime. Needed was a special disciplinary facility where erring youths could be given a correctional jolt without taking them out of school or totally away from family. The trouble was: Maricopa County had no funds for such a project.

Phoenix Kiwanians scooped up the gauntlet, enlisting nearby clubs to help. Result: a fine new \$60,000 detention center where the erring young spend after-school evenings and weekends, subject to skilled counseling plus work assignments related to the problems that got them in trouble in the first place. For example, reckless drivers do hospital work with traffic-accident victims, and vandals make improvements in local parks and playgrounds. The unique institution has attracted nationwide notice.

Of paramount interest to Kiwanians is the encouragement of responsible citizenship—in themselves and others. Mindful that good government begins on the local level, more than 96,000 Kiwanians in the United States and Canada serve without pay on governmental boards of their own communities.

Kiwanians also believe that good citizenship requires quick response to human needs. Commanding many clubs' attention now is the plight of elderly people caught in the squeeze between meager pensions and constantly rising living costs. To meet this need, Kiwanians in Sandusky Bay, Ohio, set up Sandusky Bay Senior Citizens, Inc., a non-profit corporation, in 1966. This done, they obtained a long-term federal loan of \$2,075,000 and erected a ten-story building including 153 living units, plus an activities center for the entire community. Similar projects have been pushed by Kiwanis clubs in such places as Hamilton, Ontario; Charlotte, Mich.; and Tiffin and Dayton, Ohio.

Crippled children have always moved the Kiwanis heart. One of the most ambitious efforts is a foundation established in 1951 by Kiwanis' Illinois-Eastern Iowa District to underwrite research aimed at uncovering the hereditary causes of spastic paralysis. Originally backed by Kiwanis pledges of \$190,000, and now maintained by annual donations, the foundation works with Chicago's Children's Memorial Hospital and the University of Illinois College of Medicine in developing techniques to prevent spasticity.

Not all Kiwanis projects relate to sizable groups. Consider the case of Mary Tomlin, a housewife in Rockmart, Ga., who suffered

third-degree burns over a large part of her body when a bottle of solvent exploded. Although her life was saved, her recovery depended upon months of intensive care and many costly skin grafts. The family savings account was soon exhausted by hospital bills running to \$1700 a week. Rockmart Kiwanians organized the "Mary Tomlin Fund," employed such fund-raising schemes as band concerts, rummage sales, paper drives and community barbecues. By late September 1968, total proceeds reached \$11,000—with Mary Tomlin recovering and every bill paid.

Of all Kiwanis concerns, none has been stressed by more clubs than work with youngsters. Nine years ago, for example, Kiwanian Clifford Rothrock, a school administrator in Anaheim, Calif., took the problem of troublemaking students—many of them underachievers, most of them potential dropouts—to his club. "I know these boys," he said. "In their defiance of teachers and police they are simply grandstanding, trying to get recognition that their grades can't give them."

Heads together, Rothrock and his Kiwanian colleagues came up with a program called "Service Gents." Recruiting the troublemakers was difficult at first, but a number finally responded. Their first project was to design and build a recreational area for their school. Once started, the Gents gradually grew enthusiastic, doing all the sodding, seeding and cement-laying themselves.

From there, the Gents dreamed up their own projects: ushering at school plays, painting litter containers, planting trees and shrubs on school grounds, repairing school property, cutting lawns for the elderly, painting houses for the infirm. Their Kiwanis sponsors counseled them on personal and home problems, tutored them in their studies, invited them into their homes. The Gents program proved so successful that it was adopted on nine campuses of the sprawling Anaheim Union High School District. It has contributed significantly to the district's lower dropout rate, which averages ten percent—well below the national average of 24 percent. Moreover, since its founding in 1960, many of the Gents have gone on to college or into responsible careers.

Seeking to motivate high-school students toward academic excellence and future leadership, the Kiwanis club at Quincy, Ill., in 1959 formed the "Society for Academic Achievement," designed to be the high-school equivalent of Phi Beta Kappa. The society has since spread to 12 states, involving more than 9000 students and 600 faculty members.

Many other clubs have established college scholarships—more than 18,000 of them in a single recent year. And when the Kiwanian principal of a high school in Pittsburgh, Pa., pointed out that "there are many young people whose inclinations and qualifications indicate a need for education other than college," his Kiwanis colleagues in 1964 set up a loan program to give scholarships at technical training institutes. The result, according to one prominent educator, was that "scores of young people have been turned from a bleak future as manual laborers toward lucrative and satisfying careers as skilled industrial technicians."

Out of its preoccupation with the young sprang Kiwanis' two lively youth organizations: Key Club International, for high-school students, and Circle K International, a college men's organization. Through them Kiwanis is raising a whole new generation of the concerned.

Key Club today has 92,000 members in 3500 clubs across the United States, Canada and the Bahamas. A sample project: In 1965, Key Clubbers at the Earl Warren High School in Downey, Calif., expanded a school project into a beautification campaign aimed at making Downey "the most attractive community in California." After 4200 man-hours,

they had cultivated, weeded and trimmed flowering trees along a main boulevard; painted and landscaped welcome-to-the-city signs; repainted 270 bus-stop benches; cleaned, waxed and polished 42 city police cars; dug trenches for water lines and planted 800 shrubs in Golden Park; refinished 75 city trash receptacles.

Circle K now has 850 clubs on as many college and university campuses, with a total membership of 15,000. It is described as "a new type of fraternity for college men, devoted strictly to service to school and community."

At the University of Pennsylvania, for example, Circle K men have rounded up a small army of students to work with underprivileged and homeless boys. Several others were set to tutoring prospective civil-service employees desiring to enter government work but unable to meet the qualifications.

Whatever the need or issue, the Kiwanis way for a half-century has been to meet it head-on, with person-to-person directness, without bureaucratic fussiness or political entanglement. Today more than ever, such volunteer service is as invaluable as it is irreplaceable.

PRESIDENT NIXON EARNS THE SUPPORT OF GOVERNOR REAGAN FOR 1972

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 19, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, the rural poor of California, caught between two gigantically powerful, and opposing politicians, the Governor of California and the President of the United States, lost an important struggle for their future when one of those powerful contenders, the President, bowed to the political threats to his 1972 reelection chances posed by the other, the Governor of California.

The failure of the President to override the politically motivated veto of the Governor of the federally funded California rural legal assistance program was a clear signal to the poor of California that they have become "too uppity" in their successful legal attacks on the Reagan administration and its powerful supporters.

CRLA is anathema to the Governor and his financially powerful political supporters, the agricultural interests who have long exploited the rural poor. That "exploitation" had been lessened by a series of successful legal actions against the Governor and his powerful grower allies.

The Governor quickly responded to the cries of anguish from those grower defendants who the courts found had been unfairly treating the powerless rural fieldworker. The instrument causing their anguish was the effective legal representation given the heretofore voiceless poor by the CRLA.

The President's concern, of and expressed, that the poor and alienated in our society should not take to the streets, but should utilize the system to redress their grievances, fell before his greater concern with the political threat to this administration that the conservative idol, Governor Reagan, presents.

He has now "saved the face" of Governor Reagan. He has now greatly disillusioned the poor of California in their recently encouraged belief that redress of grievances can be found within the system.

It was good of the Governor to announce to the California Republican State Convention the long awaited decision of the President to uphold his veto of CRLA. It was understandable that he coupled that "good news" with his first public announcement of support of President Nixon in 1972.

The rural poor of California who did not share in the enthusiasm with which the Republican delegates received that information might be further cautioned that being "uppity" is not reward by politicians.

POLLUTION; WHAT YOU CAN DO

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, of the volume of mail reaching my office from concerned citizens in my district, there is no subject which exceeds that related to the problem of pollution and the preservation of our environment. Typical comments are: "almost every day our eyes smart from smog;" "our ears throb from noise about us;" "we are assailed by rubbish;" "our waters are dirty, aquatic life is disappearing." It is apparent that people are "fed-up" with the situation and want to see corrective action.

It is very gratifying to receive many inquiries from constituents who ask: "What part can I play in the fight against pollution?" I believe the great majority of citizens do wish to become involved in working for a better environment.

I submit for the RECORD a very timely article from the February 18, 1971, issue of The Christian Science Monitor entitled "Pollution, What You Can Do."

The essay outlines many ways in which the citizen who is concerned with the quality of the environment can better define his role and participate in the antipollution effort.

POLLUTION—WHAT YOU CAN DO

(By Peter C. Stuart)

WASHINGTON.—By day, Dr. Ellis L. Yochelson pokes through paleontology collections in the silent depths of the Smithsonian Institution. His specialty: fossilized snails.

But evenings and weekends, on the rostrums and doorsteps of the suburban community where he lives, he is making environmental history.

His town, Bowie, Md., is believed to be the first in the country to ban the sale of soft drinks and beer in non-returnable containers. And Dr. Yochelson, more than anyone else, is responsible.

"It was one thing that we could do," he says simply.

Until about a year ago, the soft-spoken scientist was no more concerned about environmental protection than millions of his fellow American commuters.

Then came Earth Day, and he was asked to speak to a group of students in a 12th-grade "Problems of Democracy" course at Bowie Senior High School. Choosing a subject came easily.

"NATURAL INTEREST" HELPS

"I have a natural interest in solid waste," he explained, with a paleontologist's fascination for life's leftovers. "An aluminum can is going to stay around as long as a billion years. A glass bottle, for all practical purposes, forever."

He talked to the students—classmates of his own son—about the need for recycling containers.

"It's one thing to talk about a problem, but quite another to do something about it," he said, fixing the visitor with dark, gentle eyes in a face framed by great clumps of black-gray-white beard.

What Dr. Yochelson and schoolteacher friend Don Murphy "did about it" was to mobilize students to poll the community on the idea of banning one-way beverage containers . . . collect 1,400 signatures on petitions . . . distribute leaflets door to door . . . enlist support from interested groups such as the Parent-Teachers Association . . . and buttonhole each city councilman before the vote.

CITY ORDINANCE RESULTS

The result: a city ordinance prohibiting the sale of no-deposit, no-return containers for soft drinks and beer in this city of 45,000 beginning April 1, under penalty of \$100 a day.

Since then, a handful of communities have followed. Scores of cities and several states (including Maryland) are considering doing so. And Congress has been asked by Rep. Joseph P. Vigorito (D) of Pennsylvania to impose a nationwide ban.

What sets Bowie's Dr. Yochelson apart from millions of other Americans interested in the quality of their natural environment?

Simply this: He wasn't content with a private environmental gesture. He didn't merely avoid littering his own nonreturnable bottles and cans, or refuse to buy them for his own household.

There are plenty of such symbolic contributions available for a concerned individual:

Cutting waste

Select products wrapped in minimum packaging.

Particularly avoid packaging or disposable containers of plastic, metal, or wax that are nonbiodegradable (don't break down in water or the natural environment).

Substitute cloth for paper in toweling, napkins, handkerchiefs, diapers.

Buy milk in returnable glass bottles.

Carry reusable shopping bags, and reject brown paper bags and wrappings.

Save newspapers and deposit them with commercial dealers, paper mills, or recycling centers.

Share magazine subscriptions with friends.

Install and use a litter bag in the car.

Cleaning and saving water

Buy no color-dyed tissue.

Clean laundry, dishes, and kitchen with low- or no-phosphate detergents, or soap products.

Avoid using DDT and other pesticides, herbicides, and insecticides. Try a fly swatter or flypaper, and pull garden weeds by hand. Convert to organic gardening. Compost garbage, leaves, grass cuttings.

Sprinkle sand, instead of salt, on icy sidewalks and driveways.

Don't over-water lawn or garden. Take briefer showers.

Adjust float valve in tank of bathroom commode, or pile bricks inside to reduce flushed water.

Cleaning air

Burn low- or no-lead gasoline in car. Keep car engine tuned and antipollution device working. If you need a car, consider trading for a smaller one (four- or six-cylinder engine). Travel on mass transit, if available. Organize a car pool. Ride a bicycle, jog, or walk.

Use fireplaces sparingly.

Miscellaneous

Eliminate unnecessary electrical appliances. Generating electricity can pollute both air and water.

Shun a powerboat for a canoe or sailboat.

Operate radio, television, phonograph at respectfully low volume. Check car muffler and consider soundproofing garage. Exchange power lawn mower for manual model. Noise, too, pollutes.

Don't buy animal fur or leather.

Thoughtfully plan family size.

A conscientious citizen who practices some—or even all—of these suggestions will achieve a warm heart and a clear conscience. But the pity of it is, for all his good intentions, he will achieve a negligible impact on the environmental ills of his country.

Even in the unlikely event that every individual American did so, the United States would still be left with serious ecological problems.

Why? Because the nation's environmental troubles (with the possible exception of the litter problem and over-population) are not produced by the life-styles of individuals—and cannot be solved by changing life-styles.

"These things are good for a psychological reason—people think they really can do something. And for a philosophical reason—if everyone did them, it could have some effect," said Ed Chaney, information director of the National Wildlife Federation, one of the liveliest of the conservation "establishment."

"But these things can be bad if they lead people to think this is all they need to do to clean up the environment. It just won't happen, because it's not that simple," he declared.

His explanation: The public lacks "environmentally sane alternatives." Many individuals, for example, simply don't have the choice of traveling by mass transit instead of driving a car, because there isn't any mass transit for them. Neither can they buy a pollution-free car, because the auto industry manufactures none.

The lion's share of electric power is generated for industry, and some 60 percent of water pollution is produced by industry—corporate giants over which the individual citizen has little control.

IMPORTANT ROLE REMAINS

There remains, however, an important role for the concerned individual: social action. Environmentalists increasingly recognize it as the course of the future—and their brightest hope.

"We call it Phase 2," explained Sam Love, a leader of brash Environmental Action, Inc., the youth-run group that got its start by coordinating Earth Day last April.

"It's a step beyond individual actions. It's people working in groups to develop social solutions to what are basically social problems."

Here are some ways a citizen can participate:

Join an active environmental group. Or form one yourself. The polluters and despoilers are organized—you should be, too. If you have a special skill (law, sanitary engineering, public speaking), put it to work for your group.

Generalized environmental organizations are fine, but sometimes groups focusing on a single issue can better target their fire. "You

can't solve the whole [environmental] problem," advised Dr. Yochelson. "So you break it into components, then take the smallest possible component and work on that."

Inject yourself into public decisions affecting the environment. Local public hearings and city council meetings are rarely attended except by persons having a private or corporate interest in the pending decision. Show up and speak out. At the state and national level, write your state legislators, congressmen, and the President.

Make environmental protection an election issue. Officeholders who make environmental policy must stand for reelection. Study their records. For congressmen, the League of Conservation Voters in Washington publishes charts plotting the environmental voting record of each member.

Then campaign actively. It works. In the last congressional elections, Environmental Action targeted for defeat a "dirty dozen" congressmen with poor environmental records. Seven lost, and an eighth fell within one percentage point of losing.

Report polluters to the authorities. Most pollution is outlawed by laws already on the books but rarely enforced. If you suspect pollution, check the law (local, state, or federal). If the law is being violated, notify the government. Be willing to lodge an official complaint, if necessary.

REFUSE ACT REDISCOVERED

One of the most useful antipollution tools is the newly rediscovered Refuse Act of 1899, which bans most dumping into navigable waters without a permit from the Army Corps of Engineers. It specifically encourages citizen complaints, even entitling informants to one-half of any resulting fine set by a court.

Do-it-yourself kits on this law can be obtained from the conservation and natural resources subcommittee of the House of Representatives' Committee on Government Operations (Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515) or Rep. Edward I. Koch (D) of New York (Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515).

Support for such citizen watchdogging comes directly from the nation's new antipollution chief, William D. Ruckelshaus, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency: "I am heartily in favor of responsible citizen court actions against polluters—of citizen pressure against government at every level, including the federal government and my own agency."

Pressure corporations to heed environmental dangers. If you're a stockholder in a polluting industry, raise the issue at the annual meeting. If an officer, spearhead corrective action from within. If an employee, try to persuade your employees' association or labor union to bargain for reform (as the United Automobile Workers has begun to do). If a customer, organize a boycott of the firm's products—and tell the firm why.

Participate in responsible, legal, peaceful demonstrations, boycotts, or other mass actions against environmental apathy. Sometimes such tactics serve as the most effective way to dramatize a situation needing correction. That's precisely what Earth Day accomplished.

COLORADANS ORGANIZED

The strongest case to be made for individual social action is simply that it gets results:

Two housewives, Mrs. Janet Adams and Mrs. Claire Dedrich, formed a group called Conservation Coordinators which last year rescued the tidelands of San Francisco Bay from commercial development.

A chemistry professor in Denver, Dr. Ruth Weiner, organized the Colorado Citizens for Clean Air which last year helped rewrite tougher state air-pollution standards.

A woman in Louisville, Ky., Mrs. John Greenbaum, persuaded television station WHAS-TV to donate a five-minute spot twice a week so she could discuss environmental issues.

Dorothy Buell formed the Save the Dunes Council and kept it going until the federal government allocated parkland funds for many of the sand dunes along Indiana's Lake Michigan shoreline, preserving them from industrial development.

Dr. Yocheison doesn't march alone.

ORGANIZATIONS TO CONTACT

Common Cause, 2100 M St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Environmental Action, Inc., 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Room 731, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Friends of the Earth, 30 E. 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

Izaak Walton League of America 1326 Waukegan Road, Glenview, Ill. 60025.

National Audubon Society, 1130 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10028.

National Wildlife Federation, 1412 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Sierra Club, 1050 Mills Tower, San Francisco, Calif. 94104.

The Wilderness Society, 729 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

BOOKS TO READ

Conservation Directory 1970. National Wildlife Federation, \$1.50.

Earth Tool Kit, compiled by Environmental Action, Inc., Pocket Books (scheduled for release in April).

Ecotactics, edited by John G. Mitchell. Pocket Books, \$95.

Environmental Handbook, edited by Garrett de Bell. Ballantine, \$95.

Environmental Quality: First annual report of the Council on Environmental Quality, U.S. Government Printing Office, \$1.75.

User's Guide to the Protection of the Environment, by Paul Swatek. Ballantine, \$1.25.

Voter's Guide to Environmental Politics, edited by Garrett de Bell. Ballantine, \$1.25.

Your Right to Clean Air: A Manual for Citizen Action, the Conservation Foundation, 1717 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Free.

A WORD FOR SCIENCE

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 19, 1971

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on February 15, 1971 the New York Times carried what I believe to be a very timely and perceptive article dealing with modern needs for technology entitled "A Word for Science." The article was written by Robert Bendiner and points up the fact that regardless of any damages which have resulted from man's application of technology, the cures for our environmental and social ills will not be found without new scientific assistance.

The text of the article follows:

A WORD FOR SCIENCE

(By Robert Bendiner)

Until recently rich and revered as the great American faith, science has fallen on lean and hungry days. Some 50,000 assorted scientists and engineers are now walking the streets, driving taxis or running gas stations. Where industry recruiters once stood in line to snag fledgling physicists before they could even shed their commencement robes, nearly half the 1967 crop of Ph.D.'s in physics still

had not found full-time work in their field two years after graduation.

Research projects once welcomed by university presidents for the lush finances they attracted to their institutions are so thinned out by now that the president of the National Academy of Sciences talks grimly of the whole national research structure approaching a "shambles." Government money, long since become the secret ingredient of scientific progress, has in some cases shrunk in absolute terms and in others failed sadly to keep up with inflated costs. And among students themselves the linking of research with defense, of progress with pollution, has so discredited science that it has a hard time competing with Tarot cards and enlightenment by way of the Zodiac.

In this age of radical romanticism a certain denigration of science is inevitable. An electronic rock musician rates ahead of a physicist, rationalism is equated with insensitivity and science is blamed for all the sour products of materialism, instead of materialism being blamed for the misuses of science. Yet to all who want to right the wrongs supposedly fostered by science, particularly to those who want to clean the air, water and earth of this planet, it should be plain that there has never been greater need of the scientist, the engineer and the technician or less sense in their being unemployed for so much as an hour.

We need them, to start with a modest example, to develop efficient machinery for recycling waste. Here would be a triple boon to society: It would dispose cleanly of the rubbish that threatens to bury whole populations alive, it would yield materials better than many ores now being mined to the detriment of the earth above them, and it would preserve those same resources against the day when they might be desperately in demand.

We need scientists, engineers and technicians to develop fuels that can generate more electric power without fouling earth, sea and sky in the process. But why more electric power? Indeed, why not cut back on power and return to a simpler, less demanding, way of life? If only waffle irons and electric toothbrushes were at stake, the argument would be unanswerable.

But the fact is, we need more power to do the very recycling of waste that is so desirable. We need it to operate the vastly expanded sewage treatment plants that a growing population demands. We need it for that immeasurably developed system of mass transportation that our metropolitan areas must have if the automobile is not to make the human lung outmoded. We need it for the herculean clean-up of the nation's lakes and rivers. And, not least, we need it if all who are just emerging from dire poverty are to enjoy a standard of living we have so come to take for granted that many now hold it in scorn (or pretend to). Those who have yet to enjoy it understandably prefer not to knock it till they've tried it.

To achieve these ends—and we are concerned here with keeping the planet livable—we are going to require sources of power that do not themselves add to the world's pollution. And here is opportunity for all the technique we can muster.

European cities, particularly Vienna, have made considerable progress in producing electricity as well as heat from solid waste. We are still not sure about picking the stuff up. Coal is the greatest power source we have, but it is dangerously dirty. Ultimately it will be converted to clean efficient gas—but when? Nuclear fuel promises equally clean and even cheaper power, but atomic plants are still in the Model-T stage. If time, talent and money were concentrated on the breeder reactor, the results could be enormously rewarding.

So it goes. Unlimited cheap fuel with no

pollution whatever is the promise of controlled hydrogen fusion, which is thought to be some thirty years off. But need it be? Likewise off in the distance are such other great potentials as oil from shale and geothermal power.

The importance of all these sources lies in the fact that electricity itself is totally clean and nonpolluting. Let it at last be cleanly produced and cleanliness will follow in space-heating, in industry, in transportation, in everything. The world will be so sanitized that we might almost miss the dirt.

On all these fronts—not to mention fields like biology, medicine and oceanography, which not even the most romantic rebel deplores—there is such great good to be done that funds, far from being begrudged, should be poured out as though our lives depended on it. They do.

ALASKAN NATIVE CONCERNS—II

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I included in the RECORD a statement I made before the trans-Alaska pipeline hearings, along with excerpts from some Interior Department memos and letters. Much of the material in these documents contradicted the conclusion of the Interior Department's draft environmental impact statement that:

The proposed pipeline system would not result in any significant adverse environmental effects that can be related to past or future cultural features of most Alaskans.

On Wednesday, Chief Richard Frank of the Native village of Minto, Alaska—population 160—testified at the trans-Alaska pipeline hearings. Chief Frank's statement is an interesting one and an important one. He talks in fascinating detail of his village's way of life, of how the pipeline could affect and possibly destroy that way of life, and of the almost disastrous effects that the Alaska gold mining of the 1930's had on his village. Chief Frank's statement offers a rare opportunity for us, as Congressmen, to obtain a very real and honest insight into how a policy of the Federal Government could affect in a most direct way the activity of human beings—their culture, their economy, their very way of life.

While Chief Frank was in Washington I had the opportunity to meet and talk with him on several occasions. I think by reading his testimony—which is included below—you will see that he is a gentle, articulate man, totally dedicated to the welfare and concerns of his people. It is a privilege for me to call Chief Frank my friend, and I sincerely urge you to read his statement.

After Chief Frank's statement I have included the statement of David Wolf, an Alaska legal services attorney who is representing five native villages in Alaska, including Chief Frank's village of Minto. I think Mr. Wolf's statement offers some real insight into native concerns from the perspective of an Alaskan attorney who has worked closely with his

native clients for over 2 years, and who genuinely shares their concerns and fears about the proposed pipeline. I urge you to also read his statement with care.

The items follow:

STATEMENT OF CHIEF RICHARD FRANK

My name is Richard Frank, born in 1923 and raised at Minto, Alaska. I am married and have four children, married in the year 1955. I have been the past Chief of Minto and presently am the Vice President of Minto, which we say is the "Second Chief." I've got all my education at Minto.

Chief Peter John, who is presently the Chief of Minto, was originally supposed to appear at this hearing. Chief Peter John is 71 years old and he has a heart condition. He really wanted to make the trip, but he asked the Board of Directors to send a substitute and an alternate, which was myself, and the Board of Directors of Minto approved the trip. He dictated a letter, which was written by his daughter, and we're going to submit it as the written statement for the hearing.

The people of Minto, Alaska, consist mostly of Alaskan Indians in the Tribe of Athabaskan Indians. The population of Minto is 161. We have lived there for many, many years, we can say since time immemorial. Minto, Alaska, is approximately 60 miles northwest of Fairbanks, about 20 minutes flight by small airplane. It is situated on the Minto Flats, which consists of lakes and streams, the major rivers and streams consist of six, run into the Minto Flats, and the pipeline will cross all of them. There's only two people as of now that has steady work, jobs at Minto. One is sort of a seasonal worker. One person is a postmaster and then this other person, the school janitor, which would be under the category of a seasonal worker, works only during the school periods so he's unemployed for three months of the year. The rest of the people are unemployed.

The people of Minto depend on the food that we hunt and trap and fish. We have moose and rabbit, ptarmigans, and we have the wild berries, blue berries, cranberries, and what we call high bush berries. These are the food that we eat and we have fish, for a change of diet.

Hunger still exists in the United States, one of the strongest nations on the earth, and Alaska comes into this category when it comes to hungry children and I have experienced some hungry children, in the small community of Minto, Alaska. We have to hunt moose for food, that is, for meat, a diet of meat, and to go out and hunt, we have to prepare for it, and our children know when we're going out to hunt—they sense it—they know we're going to hunt when they're hungry. To prepare for hunting, we get up in the morning about 5:00 a.m., we're on the trail out there in the sticks about 6:00 on snowshoes looking for fresh moose tracks. We try to get the moose while it's standing, between 6:00 a.m. and 10:00 o'clock, that is, when it's standing up to feed breaking the brush. When they're standing and feeding, they make more noise therefore you can creep up on a moose much easier. Between 10:00 and 2:00 in the afternoon, the moose is lying down and resting and then he's more alert therefore you can't creep up on him. So tradition that we share and share alike. Everybody gets the same amount as your neighbor. This is the way we divide the moose, among our people.

Every year in the months of February and March, the beaver season is open. This is a fur-bearing animal and the fur can be used for selling to the fur buyer for U.S. currency or it can be used for fur hats, mittens, jackets, and parkas. The carcass is used for human consumption, to eat. We trap these animals in a way that we sort of preserve them also. For instance, we take an A area

this year. We'll trap it one year and move to B area the next year and not trap in A area so these animals can grow back up in A area while you're trapping in B area. Also we set traps in a way that we can get the larger beaver and let the smaller ones grow up. I've explained that we put these sets out far from the beaver areas where the larger beavers will go further from his beaver house than the smaller ones will go. Like this we will get the larger beaver and leave the small ones for the next year. We would say that in going at these methods, we are preserving the animals and in comparison we're putting money in the bank. This is what we do when we trap in A area this year and then in B area the next year, this is where we're something like putting money in the bank for next year. And also we don't try to get the little ones. Again this is like saving money in the bank for the next year.

In the 1930s the mining interests moved with dredges, such as the gold dredges, that dug up streams for gold in the headwaters of Minto Flats. After the gold industry moved into Alaska and started digging up a large amount of land to dig for gold and began to move in these great big dredges that did the digging with deep dredges, they sluiced the land. By sluicing the land, they had high pressure water that washed away the soil and let topsoil run down the streams and creeks and rivers. One particular creek, which is the Gold Stream, was being worked near Fairbanks, I would say about ten miles north of Fairbanks, and this stream ran directly in the middle of the Minto Flats which at that time was nice, beautiful, green country with plenty of game and fish. After all the silt came into the Minto Flats, it filled it up with sand and mud and filth.

Before the gold mining came in, it was very easy to live off the land. We did not get anything out of the gold. All it did was make it harder to live off the land.

You may ask why we want our land since we are poor? The land is the only thing we own, it is our way of life, it is the only thing we have to fall back on when nothing else works. Nothing has yet happened on the pipeline which makes us believe the pipeline in the long run will benefit us.

We have been fighting to protect our land for a long time. Eight years ago when I was the Chief of Minto I appeared at a hearing in Fairbanks. The Tanana Valley Sportsmen's Association was going into the Minto Flats with a road for the sole purpose of sports fishing and sports hunting and this road was going directly into the hunting region of the Minto people.

We finally got the opportunity to appear and state our purpose of not giving this road into the Minto Flats. We thought at that time that the influx of hunters would disrupt the hunting and the way of living that would affect the people of Minto, so we decided to stop it. The road was not built. In comparison with today's proposed pipeline, we are faced with something a thousand times or many more times serious, something that would affect our way of living in the sense of hunting, trapping, and fishing.

Recently there was a large earthquake in Los Angeles, California. This earthquake did a lot of damage, to buildings, roads. These buildings and roads and all the damage that was done by the earthquake can be rebuilt by the people in the immediate area. This is their economy, this is their way of living, of rebuilding and of getting paid for it. In comparison if the pipeline was built, and we had a spill in the pipeline, it would pollute the waters and the lakes and therefore it would hurt the animals that live on these lakes and waterways. If you kill off all the animals, they cannot be rebuilt. The land that's been damaged by oil, cannot be rebuilt. These are the things that we fear would be lost forever.

The pipeline will cross six rivers and streams that feed their water into the Minto Flats. The six streams and rivers are the Tovanna River, the Tatalina River, the Globe Creek, Washington Creek, the Chatouka and the Gold Stream. These are the six rivers and streams that feed their waters into Minto Flats.

If we have a break, if there's a break in the pipeline, it will not only pollute the water and the lakes and the Minto Flats area, it will kill off the waterfowls and the beaver and what animals are existing in the area now. Therefore, our main livelihood of food will not exist any more.

In Canada the Canadian Government not only requires the oil companies to put up a bond to protect the Indians, they also require that there be an Indian inspector on oil jobs. This Indian is chosen by the Indians and he can close down the job if the oil companies start hurting the land.

There should be Indian inspectors on the pipeline to make sure it is done right.

The Federal government has required the oil companies to pay the government in case the pipeline breaks but this only protects the government, not the people who live on the land. If the pipeline is built, we want the oil company to pay us if it breaks and kills the animals and fish that we need to live. We want this for all the people in Alaska; we do not want this bond written by government bureaucrats, with a lot of loopholes, legal loopholes; we want it in writing by our lawyers and approved on the local level by our own people. When I say on the local level, I mean all the native villages would have to approve with the oil companies and I don't think they should have the right of writing any kind of agreement with the United States Government. My testimony so far as hunting and trapping and fishing is the way the majority of native people in the outlying areas in the State of Alaska still live today.

The oil companies shouldn't object to this if they are really interested in building a safe pipeline.

STATEMENT OF DAVID WOLF

My name is David Wolf. I live in Fairbanks, Alaska. I am an attorney, and am employed by Alaska Legal Services Corporation which is a state-wide and non-profit corporation which represents citizens who are too poor to employ private counsel. I am the supervising attorney for the Fairbanks office and with five other lawyers am responsible for covering all of Alaska north of Anchorage except the Bethel area.

Over a year ago, we were asked by five interior Athabaskan Indian villages to represent them in their growing concern about the pipeline. One of these villages is the Village of Minto. The Village of Minto sent their second chief, Richard Frank, to Washington to testify at these hearings. Mr. Frank is scheduled to testify later today. The other four villages are the Villages of Allakaket, Bettles, Stevens Village and Rampart.

Because the villages are so poor, it was impossible for any members of the other four villages to send anyone to Washington.

For this reason, I would invite you, Mr. Hearing Examiner, to travel to each of these four villages so that the residents of these villages could testify in person about the environmental problems—indeed the problems of survival that the proposed pipeline will bring to the people in its path.

The Department of the Interior's Impact Statement has ignored the needs of one-fifth of Alaska's population—the first Alaskans. This is a rather serious oversight since the Department is supposed to be the trustee responsible for looking after the best interests of the Indian citizens of the United States. The Indians in Alaska do not live on the reservations—they live on the land their

ancestors used. They have fought in our wars and are an important part of the National Guard—known as the Alaskan Scouts.

Later today, Richard Frank will testify as to how he and his people use the land to survive. I would like to mention some of the things I have seen in my various trips to the other four villages which we represent. These are obvious to any Alaskan who has travelled to the villages.

The inhabitants of these four villages live in log cabins and burn wood for cooking and heating. The foods that I have been served on my visits have been game or fish taken from the land. I have had to help one person clean a moose before we could talk about his legal problems since the moose must be cleaned very quickly after it has been killed or it will spoil.

I have stood on the banks of the Koyukuk River in Allakaket and discussed the pipeline with an elderly resident of this village. He was very concerned about the problem of oil spills for he had been hearing a great deal in the news about the various disasters around the world. During our discussion, he pointed to the river and he said, "That is our life."

In all four of these villages, the people get their drinking water from the river. In all four of these villages, the people catch a large number of fish from these rivers. Yesterday, Congressman Aspin referred to a Department of Interior Report listing the large number of fish caught by the Village of Allakaket during the year 1967. I do not need to refer to the Department of Interior reports because I have seen the rows and rows of fish hanging on drying racks during the summer.

Later today, when Richard Frank of Minto testifies, he will tell you about the Minto Flats area, which has sustained his village ever since the people can remember. The Village of Allakaket also has a flats area near the village which is very similar to the Minto Flats. This is called the Kanuti Flats. The Kanuti Flats are as important to the people in Allakaket as the Minto Flats are to the people of Minto. The Kanuti Flats, like the Minto Flats, are fed by rivers which will be crossed by the pipeline. The pipeline will be upstream of the Kanuti Flats and any damage caused during construction will flow down into the Kanuti Flats. After the pipeline is built and the oil is onstream, these flats will be subjected to the risk of rupture or slow chronic leaks of oil. Such risks threaten trapping, the hunting of water fowl, and the availability of drinking water for the people of Allakaket. The Kanuti Flats are referred to in the Environmental Impact Statement on page 64 as a very good water fowl habitat. This statement in the Impact Report on page 64 also refers to the Ray River as a very good water fowl habitat. The pipeline will cross the Yukon River at the point where the Ray River comes into the Yukon. The people of Stevens Village trap and hunt in the Ray River area and have traplines up the Ray River. The people of Rampart come up to the Ray River at the point of the crossing to hunt moose and to gather firewood. Two residents of Stevens Village have fish-wheel sites in close proximity to the point of the pipeline crossing on the Yukon River. These are threatened by the mere construction of this pipeline.

The Environmental Impact Statement on pages 110, 144, and 194 refer to the fact that the proposed road north of the Yukon will open the country up in such a way to increase the demand for hunting and fishing. This increased demand by people who do not live in the immediate area will compete with the very people who must hunt and fish in order to make a living. On page 144 the Environmental Statement says that these problems could be controlled by proper regulation of hunting and fishing by state author-

ities. In Alaska, we have a very conscientious and diligent Fish and Game Department. They do their best under the circumstances. However, Alaska is a large place and it is impossible for Fish and Game to adequately enforce their own regulations. It is quite easy for anyone to go out into the wilderness and do anything they want with respect to fish and game and the odds are that they will probably not get caught. To expect the Fish and Game Department to protect my clients after the road is built is a pleasant but unrealistic dream.

The Draft Impact Statement concludes that the pipeline poses great, unavoidable dangers to the land, water, and fish and wildlife of the area it crosses, but that national security demands that the pipeline proceed nevertheless.

In many ways, the Draft Statement confirms the worst fears of the villages I represent. They are in the way of "progress"; and they are to be bulldozed aside, ignored, in the rush for black gold.

The Draft concedes that even under the best of circumstances the pipeline will have a fundamental and serious adverse impact upon their rivers, fish and wildlife.

Should the pipeline break, and it is conceded that no stipulation can prevent this threat to a 800-mile pipeline in Alaska, the effects on rivers and streams, and wildlife, will be catastrophic.

Despite these recognized dangers and others, which so clearly threaten the very lives of my clients, it is astonishing and shocking that the Draft blandly ignores these people directly in the pipeline's path.

At page 110, the Draft discusses the impact of the pipeline on the "Culture" of Alaska. It finds that:

"The only identifiable negative cultural influences that could be associated with the implementation of the project would be a reduction in remnant hunting and fishing cultures that still characterize some Native groups."

And again at page 140:

"The proposed pipeline system would not result in any significant adverse environmental effects that can be related to present or future cultural features of most Alaskans."

Do these statements in the Impact Draft mean that the Department of the Interior does not recognize the still existing and viable Indian culture which survives because of the abundance of the land and the ability of the Indians to use it in order to live? I cannot believe that employees in the Department of the Interior are unaware of these problems. It is certainly common knowledge in Alaska.

Fortunately, the Impact Statement we are considering today is still only a Draft. It is not too late for the Department of Interior, supposedly, after all, the guardian of the villages we represent, to take the following important steps in the Indians' interest.

1. Follow the example of Canada in the Northwest Territories and require not only a bond to protect the Indians, but also Indian inspectors chosen by the Indians during construction and after.

2. The Native inhabitants of the pipeline route should actively participate in decisions to be made about their own lives and lands.

(a) Environmental Briefings are required of Alyeska by Stipulation 12 for "Federal employees." Why not for the Native inhabitants, too?

(b) Alyeska is required to "enter into an agreement" with the Secretary of the Interior regarding "recruitment, testing, training, placement and job counseling of Alaska Natives." Why is there no provision for input from the Natives themselves? Is such an agreement already drafted?

(c) Alyeska is required to train an unspecified number of Alaska Natives, and to "do

everything within its power" to secure the employment of those it trains. Why the assumption that all Natives require such training? They do not. Many are capable of any work that the pipeline will require.

Why are Alyeska's obligations to employ Natives described in such vague terms? The obligations should be specific and the village Indians should participate in writing these obligations.

3. Condition the permit so that Alyeska is required to compensate the villages for the value to them of the land that the pipeline, road and appurtenant structures will cause the villages to lose.

4. Broaden the Bonding and Liabilities provisions of Stipulations 5 and 6 so that they protect the Native peoples most likely to need their protection. At present these provisions serve only to protect the United States Government from loss. They should also require Alyeska to compensate the villages along the pipeline route should the construction or operation of the pipeline and road cause damage to the villagers' only assets—the land and rivers. If the oil companies really believe they can build a safe pipeline, then they should not object to this.

POISON ROAMS OUR COASTAL SEAS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress and the American public are now acutely aware of the mercury content found in some of the commercial and sport fish in our rivers, lakes, and seas.

One of the first revelations of this dangerous occurrence was in the outstanding magazine *Sports Illustrated*. In October, Author Robert H. Boyle detailed the scope of the mercury problem and alerted the American people to the very real hazards to health that mercury poisoning poses.

The article had particular impact upon me because of the fact that my congressional district involves the magnificent delta waters that were included within the study made of the effects of mercury on our fishery.

The striped bass is a particularly precious resource to our area having been imported from the east coast in the latter part of the 19th century. The stripers have thrived to the point where they are now the most important game fish to be found in the area.

Mr. Speaker, the people of my district and sportsmen throughout the Nation are deeply concerned about the mercury content of sports and commercial fisheries.

We all owe *Sports Illustrated* and Mr. Boyle a great deal of thanks for bringing this serious situation to our attention so that remedial steps can be taken to insure the continuance of our Nation's vital fishery resources.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to place Mr. Boyle's article in the *RECORD*:

POISON ROAMS OUR COASTAL SEAS

(By Robert H. Boyle)

In the past few years there has been considerable scientific concern about chemical residues in fish, but almost all investigations

have been limited to freshwater lakes and streams. Yet some species of coastal fish have gone into what John R. Clark, curator of the New York Aquarium, describes as "a disastrous crime, a virtual wipeout. The total commercial catch on the Middle Atlantic in 1969 was down to about one-tenth of the 1960 catch. The multimillion-dollar menhaden fishery was nearly eliminated in the late '60s, and weakfish, croaker, spot, porgy and fluke are close to disappearing in the Northeast. Pollution is a major cause. Coastal waters are infested with pesticides, metals and other toxic pollutants, and these poisons can kill fish, their young and the organisms they feed on."

It is also possible that this pollution, unless checked, may kill people. A study sponsored by Sports Illustrated reveals that poisonous chemical compounds in the flesh and eggs of some of the most popular American saltwater sport fishes have reached levels that are alarming to health authorities and fishery biologists. The study, the first ever to involve fishes from the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific coasts of the U.S., was conducted for this magazine by WARF Institute, Inc. in Madison, Wis., a highly respected laboratory that has done research for the Federal Government, various states and private industry.

Specifically, the study shows that the flesh of spotted seatrout from Louisiana, striped bass from California and Spanish mackerel from South Carolina contains more mercury than allowed by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration in fish sold for human consumption.

Other tests disclose that the reproductive process of at least four different fish populations may be threatened by high residue levels of chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides in the eggs. High levels of DDT residues (a combination of DDT, DDD and DDE) are in the eggs of striped bass from California, from the Hudson River, New York, from the Rappahannock River, Virginia, and in the eggs of bluefish caught off the coast of South Carolina. Moreover, the eggs of the California and New York bass have high PCB residues, an industrial compound that has escaped into the environment by accident.

The fish studied were all females close to spawning and were collected last spring and summer by fishermen, biologists and two state fish-and-game departments. The sampling of each species from a given location generally included from five to 15 individual fish. All samples were wrapped in aluminum foil, frozen and shipped by air in containers with dry ice to WARF in Madison where Francis Coon, head of the chemical department, supervised the analyses. A complete list of fish species, location taken, residue data and analytical methods employed in the study is shown below.

In recent months there has been public clamor about mercury residues in fish, residues sufficiently high to close or restrict fishing from such famous bodies of freshwater as Lake Champlain between Vermont and New York; the Lake St. Francis section of the St. Lawrence River between Quebec and Ontario; the Niagara and Oswego rivers and lakes Onondaga and Ontario in New York; the Connecticut River in New Hampshire; the Savannah River and Brunswick Estuary in Georgia; Mobile Bay and the lower Mobile River, the Tombigbee River and the Pickwick Lake section of the Tennessee River in Alabama; the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair in Michigan; and the Wisconsin River from its juncture with the Mississippi River to Rhinelander, Wis. In fact, mercury pollution is a problem in at least 33 states and eight Canadian provinces.

Mercury pollution of fish, shellfish and birds was first discovered in Japan and Sweden in the 1960s. The pollution came from pulp mills, plastic and chlor-alkali plants and mercury-coated seeds. Despite

warnings of mercury contamination elsewhere in the world, nothing was done in North America until last year when Norvald Fimreite, a Norwegian graduate student at the University of Western Ontario, tested pheasants from Alberta. The residues were so high that Alberta closed the hunting season. Still Canadian and U.S. authorities did nothing to try to halt the poisoning. Fimreite then found high mercury residues in fish from Lake St. Clair. The major source of the contamination was a Dow Chemical Company plant at Sarnia, Ontario, which was dumping as much as 200 pounds of mercury a day into the St. Clair River. Subsequent investigations elsewhere have uncovered other polluters. One reason that authorities were slow to act was that everyone apparently believed mercury was too valuable to be thrown away. Another reason was that most authorities mistakenly believed that any mercury released to a waterway would sink to the bottom and be inert. However, Swedish scientists discovered that no matter what form of mercury is discharged to the environment, be it inorganic divalent mercury, phenyl mercury or alkoxy-alkyl mercury, it can be eventually converted by either microorganisms or fish into the most toxic form—methyl mercury.

As a trace element, mercury is found naturally in minute amounts in man. According to Dr. Henry A. Schroeder of the Trace Element Laboratory of the Dartmouth Medical School, the human body contains about 0.2 parts per million of mercury. (Chemical residues are measured by scientists on parts per billion and parts per million basis; in layman's language, one part per million, 1.0 ppm, is the equivalent of one ounce of vermouth in 7,812 gallons of gin—the ultimate dry martini.) The danger to man from eating mercury-contaminated fish or birds comes from raising levels in the body. The World Health Organization has recommended that no human food contain any trace whatsoever of mercury, while Japan and Sweden, both countries with strong commercial fishing interests, have set a standard of 1.0 ppm. In Sweden scientists have criticized this maximum as excessive, and one prominent toxicologist has said that the maximum should be lowered to 0.2 ppm. The Swedish government has stuck by the 1.0-ppm standard but recommended that consumption of fish be limited to one meal a week. In the U.S. the Food and Drug Administration maximum in fish is 0.5 ppm.

The human tolerance level of mercury is not precisely known. From 1953 to 1960, 121 persons in Minamata, Japan were killed or severely disabled as the result of eating mercury-contaminated shellfish from Minamata Bay. The mercury levels in the shellfish averaged 20 to 30 ppm. The mercury had been discharged into the bay over a period of years by a plastics plant. In the U.S. three members of the Huckleby family in Alamogordo, N. Mex. suffered severe brain damage after eating a hog that had been fed grain treated with mercury.

Symptoms of mercury poisoning may occur weeks to months after exposure. The symptoms include a numbness and tingling sensation in the hands and feet, disturbed speech, inability to coordinate muscle movement, impaired vision and hearing and emotional disturbances. The 19th century expression "as mad as a hatter" came from cases of insanity suffered by hatters who inhaled vapors of mercury that was used to cure felt. In severe cases the symptoms of mercury poisoning are irreversible. A report submitted by an international committee in Stockholm last year stated: "In infants born to mothers with large amounts of methyl mercury, the symptoms are somewhat different. Most children had mental retardation and also cerebral palsy with convulsions."

The highest mercury residues found in the SI study were in the flesh of spotted seatrout from Hackberry, Cameron Parish, La. The initial analysis by WARF Institute revealed 2.2 ppm of mercury, four times more than the FDA maximum of 0.5. In a repeat analysis by WARF, the level was 1.8 ppm. The seatrout were procured from a commercial fish company in Hackberry, and they had been caught in adjacent Lake Calcasieu, a brackish body of water connected to the Gulf of Mexico. On the Gulf coast, seatrout are generally not migratory but localized in one estuary. Last July after SI obtained the fish, the FDA, in an entirely unrelated move, halted interstate shipments of crabs, spotted seatrout, redbait and flounder from Lake Calcasieu because of high mercury levels.

The flesh of striped bass from California also surpassed the FDA limit on mercury. The California Department of Fish and Game took the flesh and eggs from 15 different females caught in the Delta near Antioch, composited flesh and egg samples separately and forwarded them to WARF Institute. The department retained the remainder of the flesh and eggs for testing on its own. At WARF Institute initial flesh analysis was 0.70 ppm; the repeat analysis was 0.68. In order to obtain California striped bass for testing, SI agreed to allow the California Department of Fish and Game to review the results before publication and then to comment upon the significance. After reviewing the data, L. H. Cloyd, deputy director of the department, says that the WARF finding "for the level of mercury was consistent with one of our state laboratory reports." Cloyd also points out "the levels of mercury in stripers, as well as in some catfish, sturgeon—and pheasants—have prompted our governor to assemble a special task force of state agencies and cooperating federal agencies to investigate mercury pollution in California."

Mercury in excess of the FDA limit of 0.5 was also found in the flesh of Spanish mackerel caught four miles off Charleston, S.C. Initial analysis by WARF Institute was 0.57 in the flesh; the repeat analysis was 0.56. The Spanish mackerel is a pelagic fish, one that spends its life near the surface of the ocean and is not known to frequent shallow water. The fish ranges off the coasts of the Carolinas and Florida, and it may migrate into the Gulf of Mexico.

Other species had mercury levels close to the FDA maximum. False albacore from South Carolina, another pelagic fish, had residues of 0.40 in the flesh; spotted seatrout from Shell Point Reef on the panhandle of the Florida Gulf coast had 0.40; striped bass from the Hudson River, 0.34; bluefish from South Carolina, 0.31; and white perch from the James River, Virginia, 0.31. Little is known about the natural or normal mercury level in the flesh of fish, but it is probably not more than 300 parts per billion. The lowest level discovered by WARF Institute was 0.10 parts per million found in the flesh of Atlantic mackerel from Long Island Sound, American shad from the James River and spotted seatrout from South Carolina. SI did not ask WARF Institute to analyze eggs for mercury residues.

The WARF Institute analyzed the egg and flesh samples for DDT residues, dieldrin and BHC, all chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides. These synthetic compounds have several factors in common. They do not readily break down in nature; indeed, it takes at least a decade for them to lose their toxicity. They are also highly poisonous to a broad spectrum of living organisms. They are used to attack insect pests because they can penetrate the inexact shell of chitin, a thin layer of hard fatty material that covers an insect body. Once applied, be it on insects, on the ground, on vegetation or in the air, these long-living pesticides are spread by wind and water. Aerial applications of DDT can enter the atmosphere and circle the

earth in only two weeks. Last year Drs. Eugene F. Corcoran and Douglas B. Seba of the University of Miami reported surface slicks containing pesticides washing into Biscayne Bay after heavy rains. These areas were several miles long and from five to 300 feet wide, and they contained 10,000 times more chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides than the water surrounding them.

Once introduced into the food web, chlorinated hydrocarbons are able to move up from phytoplankton to zoo-plankton to fish to bird or mammal, and they become more and more concentrated as they are retained by a higher level of animals. The chlorinated hydrocarbons tend to center in the body fats, such as those in the reproductive organs, and it is generally agreed that these chemicals are to blame for the current decline in North America of the brown pelican, the peregrine falcon and the bald eagle, our national symbol. All have fish in their food web.

In the past two years the FDA has seized shipments of coho salmon from Lake Michigan and jack mackerel from the Pacific near Los Angeles for exceeding 5.0 ppm of DDT residues, and the U.S. Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife has noted DDT levels of from 31 to 45 ppm in the flesh of white perch taken from the Delaware River at Camden, N.J. Last month John MacGregor of the U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries announced that a federal study of fish from Santa Monica Bay contained new research information. The study showed DDT residues in those fish to be astronomically high, ranging from 63 ppm in the lever of Dover sole to 1,026 ppm in the liver of starry rockfish. A major source of the residues was two sewage plants emptying into the bay. The City of Los Angeles plant at Hyperion was releasing one to seven pounds of DDT components per day, while the Los Angeles County White Point plant was daily discharging from 200 to 400 pounds of DDT residues. However, none of the flesh samples tested for SI by WARF Institute approached the federal maximum. DDT residues were detected in the flesh of every species submitted, but the closest to the FDA maximum were the Hudson River striped bass that had DDT residues totaling 2.42 ppm.

The WARF Institute also tested all eggs for chlorinated hydrocarbon residues. Inasmuch as these pesticides have an affinity for fat, it came as no surprise that there were higher residues in the eggs than in the flesh. DDT residues in the eggs can affect reproduction or the survival of young fish. In Jasper National Park, Canada there was a 70% mortality of brook-trout fry hatched from eggs with 0.46 ppm of DDT residues. In Michigan 700,000 coho salmon fry died in hatcheries in 1968. They had been hatched from eggs with DDT residues of 1.5 to 3 ppm. When the larval salmon were three weeks old and absorbed their yolk sac during the so-called "button up" stage they died. DDT residues were in the yolk, and quickly made contact with the central nervous system. Dr. Philip A. Butler of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries Laboratory in Gulf Breeze, Fla. reports that in a joint study with the Texas Department of Parks and Wildlife virtually no young spotted seatrout were observed in the Laguna Madre in 1968 and 1969. The gonads of females had DDT residues up to 8.0 ppm.

Different species of fish seem to have different levels of tolerance to DDT residues in the eggs. Precise levels are simply not known for most marine fish, but based on the above 0.5 ppm seems to be cause for concern and 1.5 ppm serious cause for concern about survival of the young. According to WARF Institute results, the highest DDT residues in eggs were in the California striped bass, 9.05 ppm. Commenting upon DDT residues in California stripers, L. H. Cloyd of the Department of Fish and Game notes: "Numerous studies conducted by our depart-

ment of the levels of recruitment of striped bass demonstrate no adverse effects from the levels of DDT and its metabolites in striped eggs and larvae. We are, however, continuing to investigate this aspect."

Striped bass from the Hudson, which migrate to New Jersey, New York and Connecticut coastal waters, had 7.40 ppm of DDT residues in the eggs. They also had 0.33 ppm of dieldrin. By FDA standards, the eggs of these striped bass should not be eaten. Dieldrin is more toxic than DDT, and the FDA has imposed a maximum of 0.30 ppm of dieldrin on fish products.

The eggs of bluefish caught off South Carolina contain 4.11 ppm of DDT residues. According to Dr. Lionel A. Walford, director of the U.S. Bureau of Sport Fisheries laboratory at Sandy Hook, N.J., where most of the research on Atlantic coast bluefish has been done, these South Carolina bluefish were probably migrating north from Florida when caught. Baby bluefish spawned in Carolina offshore waters in the spring eventually grow up to supply an important sport fishery as far north as southern New England. Striped bass from the Rappahannock River have 2.03 ppm of DDT residues in the eggs. Striped bass from this river and others tributary to Chesapeake Bay, the single most important striped spawning ground on the Atlantic coast, migrate from Virginia to Massachusetts. The majority of fish tested also had traces of BHC, another chlorinated hydrocarbon, in the flesh and eggs. The effect of BHC on fish reproduction is unknown, and the Food and Drug Administration has set no maximum on BHC in fish. As Taylor Quinn of the FDA remarked as this article was being prepared, "It's unusual, to say the least, to find BHC in fish."

WARF Institute also tested all egg and flesh samples for residues of PCBs, the abbreviated name given to the polychlorinated biphenyls, a synthetic chemical compound used by various industries. PCBs are heat resistant and are widely used in the electrical industry as insulating fluids for transformers and capacitors. They are also used in plastics and adhesives.

PCBs have been made in the U.S. since 1929, but they were not identified as such in fish and birds until a few years ago. Chemically similar to DDT, they baffled investigators who reported finding "unknown but chlorine-containing compounds." In 1966 Dr. Soren Jensen, a Swedish scientist, was able to separate the compounds from DDT and identify them as PCBs in a sea eagle and in the bodies of more than 200 fish taken from different parts of Sweden. Dr. Jensen then analyzed eagle feathers in a museum collection. Some of the feathers were collected as far back as 1880, but Dr. Jensen first found PCB residues in feathers collected in 1944. After Dr. Jensen published a paper on his findings, Dr. Robert Risebrough of the Institute of Marine Resources at the University of California at Berkeley found PCBs in a number of Californian, Mexican and Arctic sea birds. He noted that the highest levels of PCBs in birds were from those closest to industrialized areas. In a later investigation he also found PCBs in samples of mother's milk from women in San Francisco and Los Angeles. In a paper in *Environment* early this year he called for the establishment of tolerance limits of the compound in human food. Thus far, the FDA has set no standard.

Another scientist, Robert Huggett of the Virginia Institute of Marine Science, says the toxicity of PCBs to marine animals seems to be about the same as that of DDT. At present, the Virginia Institute of Marine Science is conducting studies to determine the levels of PCBs in estuarine sediments, oysters, fish and crabs in the Chesapeake. The institute is also trying to locate the origins of the PCBs. At the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries lab in Gulf Breeze, Dr. Thomas Duke and associates have found that

only 1.0 part per billion of PCBs in water will adversely affect the growth of oysters.

The precise significance of the WARF findings of PCB residues in the eggs and flesh of the fish submitted by SI has yet to be determined. However, PCBs are present in the flesh and eggs of all samples. The WARF findings, it should be noted, are estimates based on one peak on a gas chromatogram, but scientists who have reviewed the data for SI and who have experience in the field say the estimates are valid. The highest PCB residues in flesh are in the Hudson River striped bass, 4.01 ppm. The California striped bass had the highest PCB residues in eggs, 17.0 ppm. Other egg residues of possible significance were Hudson stripers, 11.4 ppm; South Carolina bluefish, 2.81; and Rappahannock stripers, 2.31.

In assessing the WARF findings for SI, Dr. Robert Smolker, an ecologist at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, said, "I'm horrified by some of the data. I am quite surprised to find such residues in fish from the ocean, but I certainly don't think people should panic." What, then, should the public do or demand? There are a number of steps that can be taken.

For one, the study is merely a first effort, and nationwide monitoring programs of more samples are needed to determine the presence and levels of contaminants in wildlife. Moreover, considerable research needs to be done on the ecological side effects of new pesticides coming on the market. This research is very expensive. It now costs as much as \$10 million to clear a new pesticide for federal registration. As of this year, however, the Department of the Interior has a ceiling of \$3 million in appropriations for all pesticide research, and of that less than \$700,000 is allotted to the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife for fish research. Several scientists have proposed that the additional needed money come not from Government funds but be raised instead by imposing a small excise tax, based on volume sold, on pesticide manufacturers. No scientist queried doubted the need for pesticides; the only question was which pesticides will not damage the environment. At present, problems remain considerable and seemingly insoluble. There has been a great deal of talk about phasing out DDT, but DDT continues to be used on a substantial basis, and the same is true of other persistent chlorinated hydrocarbons. For instance, there has been a rapid increase in the use of two chlorinated hydrocarbons, chlordane and toxaphene, as substitutes for DDT, and both these compounds, which can be discerned in animals only after very involved laboratory testing, are starting to turn up in all sorts of places.

Not long ago Drs. Richard Schoettger and David Stalling of the U.S. Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife pesticide laboratory in Columbia, Mo. began a study of still another chlorinated hydrocarbon, endrin, in fish. They planned to feed the fish food containing endrin residues of 0.1 to 0.5 ppm. They ordered their test fish, channel catfish brood stock from national hatcheries and, as a routine check, they analyzed some of these fish for endrin. To their dismay, they discovered that the catfish already contained 0.5 to 0.88 ppm of endrin, more than was to be given them in the test food. This should not be surprising. Schoettger has yet to find a commercial dry fish food for sale in the U.S. that is not contaminated by chlorinated hydrocarbons.

Besides establishing a constant monitoring program of contaminants in fish and wildlife, efforts should be made to determine harmful levels to various species. Although worrisome, DDT residues in eggs are meaningless until we know that 5.0 ppm of DDT residues in conjunction with 8.0 ppm of PCBs, or whatever the figures may be, kill off a certain percentage of the hatch, be it none, a third or 90%. Then, of course, we need to know what levels may be harmful to humans.

Writing in *Pesticides*, Dr. Robert van den

Bosch of the University of California at Berkeley points out that the public good requires that salesmen for pesticide manufacturers be brought under control. "The salesman is the key to the system, for he serves as the diagnostician, therapist and pill dispenser," van den Bosch says, "and what is particularly disturbing is that he need not demonstrate technical competence to perform in this multiple capacity. In other words, the man who analyzes pest problems, recommends the chemicals to be used and effects their sale is neither required by law to demonstrate (by examination) his professional qualifications (as do medical doctors, dentists, lawyers, veterinarians, barbers, beauticians, realtors, etc.) nor is he licensed. Yet this person deals with extremely complex ecological problems and utilizes some of the most deadly and ecologically disruptive chemicals devised by science."

Instead of permitting salesmen stimulated by commissions and bonuses to sell pesticides to the ultimate user, van den Bosch proposes that they be replaced by professional pest-control advisers who would be subject to examination, licensing and a code of conduct similar to physicians. This done, van den Bosch says, "The company-affiliated salesman, with his built-in conflict of interest and sales motivation, can be phased out of pest-control advisement. Direct contact between the salesman and the lay user of insecticides can be eliminated. Just as the drug salesman deals only with the physician, not with the patient, the salesman of toxic pesti-

cides can be required to deal only with the pest-control adviser."

Sources of harmful pollution—mercury, PCBs or pesticides—must be identified and stopped. Monitoring and source identification must also be conducted on other probable contaminants, including heat from power plants, radioactive wastes or heavy metals. Testifying last August before the U.S. Senate subcommittee on environmental pollution, Dr. Henry Schroeder of Dartmouth dealt with mercury, cadmium, lead, nickel, beryllium and antimony. "I must emphasize that environmental pollution by toxic metals is a much more serious and much more insidious problem than is pollution by organic substances, such as pesticides, weed killers, sulphur dioxide, oxides of nitrogen, carbon monoxide and other gross contaminants of air and water. . . . Most organic substances are degradable by natural processes. Once we control their use, they will leave little or no residue, but no metal is degradable. Once dug from the earth, metals stay with us and what we are now accumulating will be around as long as we are."

Government officials must enforce anti-pollution laws and be on guard against the spread of possible contaminants. There have been all too many instances of cover-up. Last month there was a ruckus when the Canadian government banned woodcock hunting in the province of New Brunswick because the birds were saturated with DDT. The fact is that this danger was known five

years ago when Bruce Wright, director of the Northeastern Wildlife Station in Fredericton, published a paper about DDT and woodcock. Wright says he was told then that publication of his study was "not in the best interests of the province." Wright says government funds for support of the station were later cut. Last year the provincial government finally abandoned using DDT, but New Brunswick will have the legacy for years to come. Soil scientists report that DDT is at least eight inches deep in the forest floor.

Much indiscriminate pollution of U.S. waters could be stopped by enforcement of the Federal Refuse Act passed back in 1899 by Congress. This act, in part, makes it illegal "to throw, discharge, or deposit, or cause, suffer, or procure to be thrown, discharged or deposited either from or out of any ship, barge, or other floating craft of any kind, or from the shore, wharf, manufacturing establishment or mill, any refuse matter of any kind or description whatever other than that flowing from streets and sewers and passing therefrom in a liquid state, into any navigable water of the U.S."

Laws may be passed and laws may be broken. In the end, the enforcement and abatement depend upon public opinion. If one lesson is to be learned it is that we cannot release wide-ranging persistent poisons into the air or water. As Ovid wrote 2,000 years ago: "Ill habits gather by unseen degrees. As brooks make rivers, rivers run to seas."

COUNTDOWN ON CONTAMINANTS

| Species and location where caught | Mercury flesh FDA limit 0.5 | PCB's flesh (estimated) | PCB's eggs (estimated) | Chlorinated hydrocarbons, flesh FDA limit, 5.0 DDT, DDE, DDD; 0.3 Dieldrin | | | | | Chlorinated hydrocarbons, eggs | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---|------|------|----------|-------|--------------------------------|------|-------|----------|-------|
| | | | | DDE | DDD | DDT | Dieldrin | BHC | DDE | DDD | DDT | Dieldrin | BHC |
| Atlantic mackerel (<i>Scomber scombrus</i>) Long Island Sound, Rowayton, Conn. | 0.10 | 0.58 | 1.16 | 0.11 | 0.14 | 0.24 | 0.032 | 0.007 | 0.23 | 0.47 | 0.063 | 0.039 | 0.018 |
| Striped bass (<i>Morone saxatilis</i>) Hudson River, Montrose, N.Y. | .34 | 4.01 | 11.4 | .81 | .86 | .75 | .17 | .048 | 2.11 | 3.20 | 2.09 | .33 | .061 |
| Striped bass (<i>M. saxatilis</i>) Rappahannock River, Tappahannock, Va. | .20 | .56 | 2.31 | .16 | .19 | .13 | .018 | .006 | .60 | .78 | .65 | .053 | .045 |
| American shad (<i>Alosa sapidissima</i>) James River Estuary, Va. | 2.10 | .37 | .056 | .16 | .16 | .20 | .059 | .037 | .025 | .022 | .022 | .005 | .005 |
| White Perch (<i>Morone americana</i>) James River Estuary, Va. | .31 | .77 | 1.59 | .26 | .29 | .16 | .15 | .028 | .39 | .47 | .31 | .39 | .031 |
| Spotted seatrout (<i>Cynoscion nebulosus</i>) in the surf off Charleston, S.C. | .10 | .12 | .19 | .024 | .020 | .024 | .012 | ----- | .063 | .036 | .054 | .009 | 2.005 |
| Spanish mackerel (<i>Scomberomorus maculatus</i>) 4 miles offshore, Charleston | 2.57 | .10 | .56 | .020 | .008 | .016 | 2.005 | ----- | .17 | .12 | .13 | .011 | 2.005 |
| Bluefish (<i>Pomatomus saltatrix</i>) 4 miles offshore, Charleston | .31 | .19 | 2.81 | .045 | .022 | .038 | 2.005 | 2.005 | 2.47 | 1.03 | .61 | .017 | .006 |
| Whiting (<i>Menticirrhus</i> sp.) 2 miles offshore, Charleston | .15 | .13 | .11 | .026 | .022 | .026 | .006 | ----- | .029 | .023 | .031 | .006 | ----- |
| Dolphin (<i>Coryphaena hippurus</i>) 30 miles offshore, Charleston | .20 | .06 | .18 | .021 | .010 | .025 | 2.005 | ----- | .079 | .024 | .086 | .008 | ----- |
| False albacore (<i>Euthynnus aletteratus</i>) 30 miles offshore, Charleston | .40 | .56 | .66 | .22 | .067 | .17 | 2.005 | ----- | .39 | .23 | .18 | .008 | ----- |
| Spotted seatrout (<i>C. nebulosus</i>) Lake Calcasieu, Hackberry, La. | 2.2 | .31 | .72 | .077 | .41 | .11 | .034 | .054 | .11 | .54 | .22 | .011 | .083 |
| Spotted seatrout (<i>C. nebulosus</i>) Shell Point Reef, Wakulla County, Fla. | .40 | .096 | .12 | .041 | .021 | .026 | 2.005 | ----- | .19 | .11 | .047 | 2.005 | 2.005 |
| Silver perch (<i>Bairdiella chrysura</i>) Alligator Harbor, Franklin County, Fla. | .15 | .10 | .10 | .023 | .018 | .022 | 2.005 | ----- | .16 | .087 | .047 | .006 | ----- |
| Striped bass (<i>M. saxatilis</i>) the Delta, Antioch, Calif. | 2.70 | .99 | 17.0 | .45 | .21 | .23 | .021 | .006 | 3.66 | 2.47 | 2.92 | .18 | .10 |
| Steelhead trout (<i>Salmo gairdneri</i>) Cowlitz River, Toledo, Wash. | .12 | .12 | .08 | .011 | .016 | .028 | 2.005 | 2.005 | .009 | .011 | .023 | 2.005 | .005 |

¹ Information about the tests: All the figures shown on the chart are parts per million. WARF Institute's procedures for determining chlorinated hydrocarbon residues are in the "FDA Pesticide Analytical Manual," vol. 1, January 1963, secs. 212 and 311. The mercury analysis follows "The Analyst," vol. 86, p. 608, 1951, modified by Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry with boat technique.

² Repeat analysis 0.56.

³ Repeat analysis 1.8.

⁴ Repeat analysis 0.68.

Note: DDT residues are a combination of DDT, DDE, and DDD. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration has set no tolerance standards for BHC or PCB residues in human food.

ANGELA DAVIS FOR SIMAS KUDIRKA?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the way things have shaped up, a United States-Soviet prisoner exchange would appear

to be in the best interests of international justice—Angela Davis for Simas Kudirka.

Angela Davis, an avowed, native-born Communist, has enjoyed every benefit afforded one in a free country. She has had the privilege of being educated, has held a position of trust as a college instructor, and yet she has abused her constitutionally secured freedoms by speaking out against her country. She has provoked violence and anarchy knowing full well that if the racial war she has

helped incite were to come about, it would be the people of her own race who would suffer most.

Angela Davis continues to be exploited by the Soviet Communists who obviously desire to use their comrade as a pawn to continue their mission to overthrow our Government and colonize our country.

On the other hand, Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian who has lived as a Communist slave, risked his life attempting to reach the United States in an effort

to escape the totalitarian Soviet system for the same individual liberties and opportunities that Angela Davis is dedicated to destroy. Simas Kudirka, like millions of foreign-born Americans, has not known the many freedoms taken for granted by Angela Davis; but he does know from firsthand experience what "communism" in the Soviet Union is all about.

And since the Soviets are so interested in obtaining justice for Angela—which in this instance means treason without punishment—and Angela is an advocate of Communist totalitarianism, it seems only fitting that the two deserve each other.

I feel that most Americans would gladly offer to trade Angela Davis for Simas Kudirka, who has only asked for the same chance at freedom that Angela Davis has spurned.

If this exchange works out it may set an international precedent for similar trades with the Soviets. Whom could the British get from the Russians for Bernadette?

Several newsclippings follow my remarks:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Feb. 17, 1971]

SLAVERY—NATIONS OR INDIVIDUALS?

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, February 16.—Slavery was abolished in the United States more than a century ago, but it still exists in the Soviet Union and no American should forget it. Of course, vestiges of slavery continued in fact in America, but efforts have been and are being made to weed them out, while slavery is being made a way of life in Russia.

Slavery was abolished by the constitution of Vermont in 1777, before Vermont became a state in 1791. In 1780 Massachusetts ended slavery and Pennsylvania launched a gradual program of emancipation in the same year. Other northern states followed.

On Jan. 1, 1863, Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation which freed some 4,300,000 Negroes in the South. It was not until the passage of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution that slavery was abolished throughout the U.S.

Russia has held peoples in slavery under the czars and under communism. This month two captive nations celebrate their independence days in chains—Lithuania today and Estonia on Feb. 24. Also this month, the Captive Nations Committee has issued its own commemorative stamps to remind Americans of the many peoples under Communist domination by conquest rather than inclination.

The civil rights movements, which so many regard as a praiseworthy manifestation of the American conscience, has prompted wide demands for black studies in our schools and colleges, even though most blacks have been on these shores longer than their fellow white citizens and few can, like their fellow white citizens, spot the towns, areas or even the countries from which they came and where they were seized by black masters and sold to white slavery.

However, most of us have no quarrel with learning of any kind. All of it has value. So we say let us have black studies, but let us also know the history of our fellow whites.

How many of us can name the captive nations? They include Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, China, Croatia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, the Ukraine and others.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were seized by Russia in 1940 almost without protest from those fighting the Rome-Berlin Axis or by neutrals like the United States.

Others were seized after the war, but the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Azerbaijan are among territories and peoples conquered by the czars. The Outer Mongolia Republic came after World War II and remains a bone of contention with Red China.

Some blacks are agitating for the release of Angela Davis, the former California Communist college instructor, merely because she is a black. She is awaiting trial for her part in supplying arms and direction of a courtroom outrage, in which several convicts seized a judge and attempted to escape with him as a hostage. They and the judge were killed.

Last December Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian radio operator, who sought asylum aboard an American Coast Guard cutter, was returned to Soviet captivity in a shameful and callous disregard for humanity and American sovereignty. Responsible Coast Guard officers were forced to retire, but the part of Washington officials, especially in the State Department, was not made clear.

Signs calling for the release of Angela are found across the country, but there are none for the release of Kudirka. It is strange that the State Department did not suggest a trade of Davis for Kudirka. It would serve to demonstrate that we have Angela, while we have only a Communist report that Kudirka is alive and well and has not been punished.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 26, 1970]

SOVIET SCIENTISTS SUPPORT ANGELA DAVIS

Moscow, December 25.—Fourteen Soviet scientists with stature in America's scientific community appealed to President Nixon today to safeguard the life of Angela Davis, the black militant Communist accused of complicity in murder.

Signatories of the appeal included Pyotr L. Kapitsa, one of the biggest names in Soviet nuclear physics, and Mikhail Millionshchikov, another prominent physicist.

The appeal, which identified all 14 as members of either the U.S. Academy of Sciences or the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, said in part:

"We Soviet scientists see in Angela Davis a selfless fighter for progressive social ideas, both in science and in social matters, who has always come up against the resistance of conservative forces . . .

"We feel it our duty to safeguard the right of the individual to fight for progress, therefore we appeal to you as the President of the United States to . . . safeguard the life of Angela Davis and give her an opportunity of continuing her scientific work."

Miss Davis was this week extradited from New York City to California to stand trial on charges of furnishing weapons to black militants who fought a gun battle with police at a courthouse in which a judge and three others were killed. She is a former philosophy instructor at UCLA.

Kapitsa was one of several prominent scientists who successfully pressured authorities earlier this year for the release of geneticist Zhores Medvedev from a mental hospital.

Medvedev, who had continued outspoken criticism of Stalin-era repressions although anti-Stalinism is being muted in the Soviet Union was confined for a period even though he was never found insane.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 4, 1971]

RUSSIANS INVITED TO THE DAVIS TRIAL—NIXON AUTHORIZES OFFER IN BLACK MILITANT'S CASE

(By Tad Szulc)

WASHINGTON, January 3.—The United States Government has proposed to 14 leading Soviet scientists that they attend as

"observers" the forthcoming murder trial of Angela Davis, the black Communist militant and philosophy teacher, to assure themselves of the fairness of the proceedings.

The offer, authorized personally by President Nixon, was contained in a letter to the 14 men from the Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Martin J. Hillenbrand.

It was an immediate response to a cablegram sent to Mr. Nixon on Dec. 25 by the Soviet group, which included Pyotr L. Kapitsa, the dean of Soviet physicists, and Mikhail D. Millionshchikov, another prominent physicist, appealing "to safeguard the life of Angela Davis and give her an opportunity of continuing her scientific work."

Officials here said today that the speed of the reply—Mr. Hillenbrand's letter went out on Dec. 27—resulted from the high professional regard in which the 14 Russians are held in the United States.

All of them are members of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and members of either the United States Academy of Sciences or the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. All are winners of the highest Soviet scientific awards. One, Igor Y. Tamm, a physicist, won the Nobel Prize in 1958.

Another consideration in the move by the United States was believed to be that Mr. Kapitsa and several others have also been active in protesting repression in the Soviet Union against liberal-minded scientists and intellectuals.

The Nixon Administration had apparently not planned to disclose Mr. Hillenbrand's letter at once but State Department officials confirmed today reports from authoritative quarters that it had been sent and that the decision to do so had been made by Mr. Nixon.

They said that the letter also expressed the hope that, in turn, the Soviet Government would allow "foreign observers" to be present at trials in the Soviet Union. It did not mention any specific trials, but officials said that the State Department had in mind future trials of accused Jewish hijackers and liberal dissenters.

A CHALLENGE TO SOVIET

The move by the United States was viewed as a challenge to the Soviet authorities to accept the concept that trials in the Soviet Union should be as open as those in the United States are.

State Department officials said that they could not recall a precedent for an invitation to Soviet personalities to observe judicial proceedings in this country.

Miss Davis, a 26-year-old former philosophy instructor at the University of California in Los Angeles, was arrested in New York last Oct. 13. Previously, she had been charged with murder, kidnapping and conspiracy in the escape attempt at a courthouse in San Rafael, Calif., last Aug. 7, in which four persons died.

The escape attempt involved three black prisoners at Soledad Prison, 100 miles from San Rafael, who had been indicted for allegedly killing a white guard.

California authorities charge that Miss Davis was part of a conspiracy to smuggle weapons into the courthouse. Although she was not present during the shooting, California law holds accessories to such crimes equally guilty with the participants.

On Dec. 3, a New York State Supreme Court justice upheld an order to extradite Miss Davis to California. She was secretly flown to San Rafael aboard a military aircraft on Dec. 22, but her arraignment was postponed until Jan. 6.

SCIENTISTS CABLED NIXON

Miss Davis is a member of the Communist party of the United States and a leading black militant.

Within three days of her arrival in San Rafael, the Soviet scientists cabled President

Nixon: "We . . . see in Angela Davis a selfless fighter for progressive social ideas both in science and in social matters.

"We feel it our duty to safeguard the right of the individual to fight for progress. Therefore, we appeal to you as the President of the United States to . . . safeguard the life of Angela Davis and give her an opportunity of continuing her scientific work."

It was noted here that Dr. Kapitsa, who is 77 years old, and Vladimir A. Engelgardt, a biochemist—both of whom signed the appeal to President Nixon—were also among the four prominent Soviet scientists who protested last June the arrest of Zhores A. Medvedev, a biologist who had written a book, published in the West, criticizing genetic theories prevalent in the Soviet Union in the Stalin era.

The two other scientists who acted on Mr. Medvedev's behalf were Andrei D. Sakharov, a physicist, and Boris L. Astaurov, a geneticist. The protest sent by the four to the authorities in the Soviet city of Kaluga reportedly resulted in Mr. Medvedev's examination by a group of psychiatrists from Moscow who declared him normal.

He had been arrested and taken to a mental hospital in Kaluga.

In 1969, Dr. Kapitsa, who won four times the Order of Lenin and is a member of the Presidium of the Soviet Academy of Science, joined Dr. Sakharov in his thesis that the Soviet and American systems of Government must ultimately converge. He did so at a news conference in Washington.

LIST OF SIGNERS

Last autumn, Dr. Sakharov formed a committee of scientists and intellectuals designed to examine openly new scientific and political ideas. The group is considered a forum for those in the Soviet Union favoring intellectual dissent, and Dr. Kapitsa is believed to be aligned with it.

The signers of the appeal to Mr. Nixon, in addition to Drs. Kapitsa, Engelgardt, Millionshchikov and Tamm were:

Viktor A. Ambartsumyan, astrophysicist, full member of the Academy of Science, recipient of two Orders of Lenin.

Lev A. Artsimovich, a physicist, full member of the Academy of Science, specialist in nuclear physics, two Orders of Lenin.

Aleksandr Y. Braunsteyn, a biochemist, full member of the Academy of Science, Stalin Prize.

Nikolai P. Dubinin, biologist, a corresponding member of the Academy of Science, Darwin Medal.

Andrei N. Kolmogorov, a mathematician, full member of the Academy of Science, Order of Lenin, Stalin Prize.

Andrei L. Kursanov, a biochemist, presidium member of the Academy of Science, Order of Lenin.

Aleksandr N. Nesmeyanov, an organic chemist, presidium member of the Academy of Science, three Orders of Lenin, Stalin Prize, Lenin Prize.

Leonid I. Sedov, a specialist in mechanics, full member of the Academy of Science, Order of Lenin, Stalin Prize.

Nikolai N. Semenov, a physicist and physical chemist, full member of the Academy of Science, four Orders of Lenin, two Stalin Prizes.

Aleksandr N. Frumkin, a physicochemist, full member of the Academy of Science, Order of Lenin, Stalin Prize, Lenin Prize.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 7, 1971]

MORE RUSSIANS SEND PLEA TO NIXON ON ANGELA DAVIS

(By Frank J. Priol)

Ten Soviet intellectuals, including the composers Dmitri Shostakovich and Aram Khachaturian and the ballerina Maya Plisetskaya, have written to President Nixon, asking clemency for Angela Davis, the black Communist militant and philosophy teacher.

The letter from the intellectuals, all of them winners of high Soviet awards, was signed Dec. 30, five days after a similar message was sent to Mr. Nixon by 14 Soviet scientists.

In that case, the President responded promptly by inviting the 14 to attend the trial as observers. However, it appears that there may be no space for them in the courtroom now planned for the trial.

No White House response to the second message, which was made public yesterday, has been disclosed. The message was made available to The New York Times by the Novosti Press Agency, the Soviet feature syndicate.

FBI IS CRITICIZED

Contending that before Miss Davis's trial, the Federal Bureau of Investigation "rode roughshod over the young philosopher's presumption of innocence," the intellectuals urged Mr. Nixon "to wield all your influence as chief executive and finally as a lawyer to have justice triumph and the shadow of the gas chamber not obscure the U.S.A. today."

The other signers of the letter were: Ivan I. Artobolevsky, automation specialist, Kirill P. Kondrashin, orchestra conductor, Lyudmila Savelyeva, film actress; Boris A. Rybakov, archeologist; Konstantin A. Fedin, writer; Igor Moiseyev, folk-dance director, and Yevgeny M. Zhukov, historian.

Miss Davis is charged with having supplied the guns that were used in a shootout last August at the Marin County, Calif., Courthouse in San Rafael during which four persons were killed, including a judge. She was scheduled to be arraigned today on charges of murder, kidnapping and criminal conspiracy.

In their letter, the Soviet intellectuals reminded Mr. Nixon of a speech last year in which he quoted Thomas Jefferson to the effect that Americans acted not for themselves alone but for the entire human race.

"Today, Mr. President," the Soviet group said, "the human race is convinced that Angela Davis is about to be tried in effect for the stand she takes in political and racial problems."

The Davis case, the Soviet group charges, "is only the latest link in the chain that starts from the lynching of the Molly Maguire trade union leaders," a secret workers group active in the Pennsylvania anthracite district about 1870. Other links in that chain according to the group's letter were "the frame-ups of Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti and other heroes and martyrs in the struggle for a democratic America."

In what appeared to be an official Soviet campaign in support of Miss Davis, the government press agency, Tass, yesterday issued a long commentary on her case. Describing her as a young Communist and "courageous fighter for freedom," Tass said the charges against her were groundless.

Her trial, the Soviet agency said, come against the background of a campaign of hounding and intimidation of those who press for social changes.

MEETINGS HELD IN SOVIET

According to Tass, there have been meetings in the Soviet Union protesting Miss Davis's trial and demanding her release.

In California, Douglas J. Maloney, Marin County Counsel, said it was unlikely that the courtroom scheduled for Miss Davis' trial could accommodate the 14 Soviet scientists invited by the State Department.

In a letter to the State Department, Mr. Maloney said that 60 of the room's 104 seats had been assigned to newsmen and 40 to the public. He said "extensive and detailed security measures are in effect and they do not

allow for substantial, last-minute changes" that would involve the 14 observers, interpreters, State Department representatives and United States and Soviet security personnel.

If a motion by counsel for Miss Davis is successful, the Marin County courthouse may not be used. Howard Moore Jr., head of the five-member defense team, said he would try to have the trial moved to San Francisco or Los Angeles where, he said, she would have a better chance to be tried by a "jury of her peers."

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 8, 1971]

NIXON INVITES RUSSIANS TO SEE ANGELA DAVIS TRIAL

WASHINGTON.—President Nixon has turned to his advantage what could be viewed as a deliberate attempt by a group of Soviet intellectuals to embarrass him.

By approving a State Department invitation to 14 Soviet scientists and intellectuals to "observe" the California conspiracy and murder trial of black Communist Party member Angela Davis, the President has underscored the openness of American legal proceedings.

At the same time, by suggesting that Americans be allowed to view certain controversial Soviet trials, Mr. Nixon, in effect, nettled the Soviets for the recent, emotion-charged hijacking trials of Soviet Jews.

HIJACK TRIALS IN U.S.S.R.

Even though the Soviet courts commuted the death sentences of two accused hijackers, more such trials are expected.

By indirectly raising the hijack issue in the State Department note, the President stressed official concern here at the harshness of the sentences and the Soviet treatment of Jews in general.

The cable, sent to the President on Christmas Day, signed by 14 leading Soviet citizens, referred to Miss Davis as "a selfless fighter for progressive social ideas both in science and in social matters."

Two days later, Assistant Secretary of State Martin J. Hillenbrand invited the 14 Russians to witness the California trial. The President personally approved the invitation, according to the State Department.

The Soviet signatories are eminent men in their fields, and the State Department regarded their appeal to the President as sincere, though misguided. Included in the Soviet group are those who have openly protested the arrest of Soviet intellectuals for independent thinking.

SERIOUS CONSIDERATION

The State Department believed that the protest should be treated seriously. One of the signers, Pyotr L. Kapitsa, dean of Soviet physicists, had earlier been among four Soviet intellectuals protesting the arrest of biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, who had published a critical essay in the West. He was soon freed.

Should such an invitation be accepted, it would be regarded as something of a propaganda coup by the administration—though there is no precedent for such an acceptance. No one here remembers a similar invitation being proffered or accepted.

"We feel it our duty to safeguard the right of the individual to fight for progress," the Russians wrote. They appealed to the President to "safeguard the life of Angela Davis and give her an opportunity of continuing her scientific work."

ACCUSATIONS NOTED

Miss Davis, accused by California authorities of conspiring to smuggle weapons into the courthouse where a judge was abducted and killed, is a former philosophy instructor

at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Administration officials say that should the delegation of Soviet scientists agree to attend the trial as "observers," they would see for themselves that the trial was conducted in a fair and unprejudicial manner.

Concern that black militants could not receive a fair trial in America was dispelled following a scrupulously conducted trial of Black Panther militants in New Haven, Conn.

BREWSTER COMMENT CITED

Earlier, Kingman Brewster, president of Yale University, expressed reservations over the possibility that black militants could receive a fair trial in America today. Officials here have no concern that Miss Davis would not be afforded the same judicial care given in the New Haven trial.

In addition to Dr. Kapitza, several others in the Soviet group are believed to have publicly aligned themselves with liberal causes in the Soviet Union. All belong to the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and are winners of high Soviet scientific awards. Physicist Igor Y. Tamm is a winner of a Nobel prize for his work. All are honorary members of American scientific academies—either the U.S. Academy of Sciences or the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 16, 1971]

MISS DEVLIN SCORES VARIETY OF TARGETS

(By David R. Boldt)

Bernadette Devlin, 23-year-old Irish revolutionary and member of the British Parliament, raked Queen Elizabeth II, President Nixon, the British and American armies, Soviet Russia and American capitalism last night at the University of Maryland.

Asked during questioning from the audience if she advocated the overthrow of the U.S. government, she said, "I congratulate the gentleman on his astuteness of mind . . . the answer is yes."

She added, however, that her principal concern was to bring about socialist revolution in northern Ireland.

Miss Devlin's principal message was the one she has reiterated during her current speaking tour of American campuses: the conflict in northern Ireland is a working-class struggle and not the religious warfare it is being portrayed in the world press.

She drew a link between the efforts of poor Catholics in Ireland, poor blacks in the United States and poor Vietnamese in Southeast Asia to break free from a capitalistic system that she says robs them of the value of what they create.

The audience crowded the ballroom of the student union, well beyond its posted limit of 600 and hundreds of students sat in lobbies and corridors to listen to a public address system. Many people in the audience gave Miss Devlin an ovation when she finished.

She drew applause after telling the audience that President Nixon would never go on trial as an accessory to "the murder of the Vietnamese people" because "he's not black and he's not a Socialist."

Queen Elizabeth II is "a squatter in Buckingham Palace," which should, instead of being a royal residence, be used to house "100 working-class families," she told a questioner.

The British Army in northern Ireland and the American Army in Vietnam are both seeking, she said, to protect the interests of capitalistic society.

Asked why socialist governments such as those she defends have to keep citizens in with barbed wire, while capitalistic countries have to curb immigration, she said, "I have great criticisms of the Russian system," and described it as not socialism, but "state capitalism."

America had halted Irish immigration, she claimed, when American capitalists discovered they could send their industries to Ireland and exploit the Irish there "without having to pay their fares over."

She received her largest crowd reactions in handling hostile questioners. When some in the audience tried to shout down one of her antagonists, she cautioned, "You ought to let the gentleman make a fool of himself."

WELFARE OR WASTE

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, neither State nor Federal welfare payments ought to come anywhere near being the equivalent of what a man can earn by an honest day's work. To the extent that people are sick, disabled, or mothers with little children are in need, financial assistance is needed but it must not be permitted to get out of hand to the point of encouraging people to stay on welfare and not go to work.

In this connection a recent letter written to the editor of the Manchester, N.H., Union Leader makes the point very well. The letter follows:

WELFARE VERSUS WORKING MAN

To the Editors: My sister-in-law receives \$252 per month from welfare plus \$140 per month from her husband giving her a total of \$392 per month for a family of five.

The total for a year is \$4,804 tax free plus medicaid and furniture allowance.

I work 40 hours a week and my year's salary is \$4,922. Out of this I pay \$254 for S.S., \$204 for taxes, \$75 for union dues, \$125 for Blue Cross, so it gives \$4,254 to support my family of five.

Welfare pays all medical expenses; Blue Cross half. Glasses and dental work are paid by medicaid, while Blue Cross pays for none. Now please tell us whose better off. The one whose on welfare or the working man.

If the Nixon administration's family assistance program can stop this sort of thing and meaningfully encourage people to go to work, it will be a significant accomplishment.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, February 22, 1971

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Preserve me, O God, for in Thee do I put my trust. Psalm 16: 1

Our father's God, we come to Thee with the sacred remembrance that on this day was born the one we call the Father of Our Country. We think of the moral fiber of his mind, his courage when confronted with hardship, his willingness to adventure, his skill in leading men and his attitude in helping to found this our beloved Nation and we are grateful.

Above all we thank Thee for his humble faith which time and again sent him to his knees in prayer as he sought to find Thy way and to walk in it.

May the memory of this great life strengthen our souls and sustain our spirits as we labor to preserve liberty in our land and to proclaim freedom to all the world.

In Thy holy name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 670. An act to authorize further adjustments in the amount of silver certificates outstanding, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 86-417, appointed Mr. BIBLE as a member, on the part of the Senate, of the James Madison Memorial Commission.

The message also announced that the President pro tempore, pursuant to Public Law 91-510, appointed Mr. CASE and Mr. SCHWEIKER as members, on the part of the Senate, of the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations.

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of February 8, 1971, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. ROBINSON) to read George Washington's Farewell Address.

Mr. ROBINSON of Virginia read the Farewell Address as follows:

To the people of the United States:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that,