

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

NAVAL RESERVE CHANGE OF
COMMAND CEREMONY

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 1, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Naval Reserve Group 5-1 Large serving the Baltimore area is one of the Nation's oldest and is its largest Naval Reserve organization. Fourteen commands containing nearly 1,300 enlisted personnel and 200 officers are under its cognizance. It is an outgrowth of the Maryland Naval Militia founded in 1775.

At impressive change of command ceremonies this summer aboard the USF *Constellation* Capt. John H. Hessey IV, USNR, retired, assumed command of the group from Capt. Judson Lord Smith, USNR, retired. The remarks by Captain Smith on that occasion were particularly fitting and extracts appear below:

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY CAPTAIN SMITH,
USNR, RETIRED

For the first time in our country's history, we are drastically cutting back our armed forces and reducing our strength, while at the same time, a possible hostile nation is rapidly building a very large, effective and formidable fleet. Our defense budget in 1953 represented 13.7% of our gross national product. In 1971 it has dropped to about 6%. The Soviets are investing in research and development two times as much as we are. The Soviets are currently building 4 ships to our 1.

We, in the Navy, strongly advocate the blue water option, which is simply maintaining a forward line of defense—a line of defense far from the cities of our heartland. It means using ships, both surface and sub-surface, and the oceans of the world, as our major defensive deterrent.

In the face of these drastic reductions of our regular forces, it would certainly seem that our reserve forces are becoming more vitally important. Just as 50 old U.S. destroyers and the spirit of Sir Winston Churchill went so far in saving the free world in the 1940's, it may well be that strong, highly trained, and operationally ready reserve forces will prove the deterrent to prevent a third world war.

Some of you, I am sure are asking yourself "What is the Naval Reserve—really?" The Naval Reserve is actually many things to many people. I am sure that to some wives it may mean their husbands' freedom for a night out on the town. However, it's a deadly serious business and it means to most of us, enhanced readiness training, the achievement of satisfaction for service to country, the pride in being a navy man, and pride in uniform and in flag & country.

The Naval Reserve's mission is to train our people to that razor sharp edge to operational readiness that enables them to join the fleet on a highly competent basis at any given moment. During the past 2 years, we have instituted new concepts and procedures, and we feel we have made tremendous progress in operational readiness. The moment of truth, and the true test of a navy man is answered by the question: "Do I want to go to sea with him?" The answer as it relates to our people is a strong affirmative.

Our Naval Reserve here in the Baltimore community had its inception about 1775. Men from its various units have fought in

7 wars with distinguished records. High standards have been maintained over the years.

Naval Reserve Group 5-1 Large has the responsibility for training the largest number of naval reserve personnel of any naval reserve command in the country; the numbers run well over one thousand. There are 18 separate commands within the group.

This command was for my predecessors, as it has been for me, a trusteeship. It is a national asset belonging to our Nation and not to any individual. Each of us has attempted to build something finer on our predecessor's foundation.

The Naval Reserve is a tremendous bargain for this Nation. It is comprised of extremely talented people and their dedication is almost unbelievable. Two-thirds of the 35 officers on the group staff serve in a non-pay status. Our petty officers are extremely fine people—competent, talented, dedicated and are very important Americans. We also salute and pay tribute to their unselfish wives.

Possible hostile Nations also maintain very fine Naval Reserve Forces. However, and to paraphrase Mr. Thomas Jefferson and other early patriots, I will bet my bottom dollar; my life, limbs and property on our Naval Reserve people.

SENATOR HOWARD H. BAKER JR.
IN SUPPORT OF THE PRAYER
AMENDMENT

HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 1, 1971

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, recently, I received a letter from Senator HOWARD H. BAKER, Jr., son-in-law of the late Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen who sponsored a prayer amendment identical to House Joint Resolution 191. I got the idea from Senator Dirksen. Senator HUGH SCOTT has introduced a resolution which is very similar and which has 46 cosponsors. Senator BAKER's letter deserves attention, it seems to me. The letter follows:

SEPTEMBER 24, 1971.

HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHALMERS: Please accept my congratulations on your splendid effort with respect to the prayer amendment.

As you know, on February 10 I introduced in the Senate S.J. Res. 32, which is identical to H.J. Res. 191. My proposal now has thirty-seven co-sponsors. You may recall that on October 13 of last year I offered the text of the amendment as an amendment to the Equal Rights amendment, which was then pending on the floor of the Senate. The prayer amendment was agreed to on a roll-call vote of 50-20. Final action on the Equal Rights amendment was never taken.

I want to cooperate with you in any way that I can in this matter. As a result of your successful drive to discharge the House Committee on the Judiciary from further consideration of H.J. Res. 191, the prospects for the amendment appear brighter than at any time in the past.

Sincerely,

HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

POWERPLANT SITING

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 1, 1971

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on many previous occasions I have been privileged to address this body on two national challenges of paramount importance to our Nation.

The pollution of our environment is a primarily challenge to our future. The second challenge, which is inseparable from the first, is to assure an adequate clean supply of electrical energy.

The impending crisis in the supply of electrical energy was made even more acute by a decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in Calvert Cliffs Coordinating Committee against the Atomic Energy Commission. As a result of that decision, a major interpretation of congressional intent regarding the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the AEC has revised its licensing procedures; the true dimensions of the impact of those procedures on the two national goals mentioned above is unknown at this time—it will be significant. In that regard I place in the RECORD a copy of a letter dated October 15, 1971, from the Chairman of the Federal Power Commission to the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Just prior to the Calvert Cliffs decision, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy's Subcommittee on Legislation held extensive public hearings on legislation proposed by the Atomic Energy Commission to amend the licensing procedures for nuclear power reactors under the Atomic Energy Act. The testimony at those hearings almost unanimously supports the need for reform in the procedures for the approval of powerplant siting. This is not a problem which is limited to nuclear plants; it is not a problem within the exclusive province of the AEC, the Joint Committee, or even the Federal Government. My distinguished colleague TORBERT MACDONALD and other Members have labored long this session and in previous sessions to develop a sound legislative framework for overall powerplant siting. I commend them for their efforts and I urge all Members to support legislation which would bring guidance and order to the important policy area of powerplant siting which has been so long neglected that in most of our Nation, the siting approval process is chaotic, confused, uncoordinated, lengthy, and completely unpredictable.

I am convinced that legislation which would establish a workable framework for obtaining timely powerplant siting approvals at the Federal and State levels with due accommodation between licensing procedures and policies regarding energy and the environment is the priority task which must be accomplished if we are to continue to know the blessings

of both a high energy civilization and healthy environment.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., October 15, 1971.

HON. JAMES R. SCHLESINGER,
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN SCHLESINGER: Thank you for your letter of September 14, 1971, and the expressed recognition of the need to find suitable means of conducting prompt reviews of critical nuclear power plants in keeping with the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) and the need to insure an adequate and reliable national power supply. We are also responding to the related letter of September 29, 1971, from Harold L. Price, Director of Regulation. Mr. Price's letter deals with suggested procedures on which we will comment further. However, the material forwarded with his letter also conveys to us the understanding that the Atomic Energy Commission presently anticipates that the revised procedures are expected to cause minimum delays in the readiness for operation of a number of nuclear plants, of from six months to a year or more unless the AEC finds that emergency conditions prevail.

We are greatly concerned about the severe effects on electric power supply in many areas of the Nation if such delays should occur with respect to a number of nuclear plants which are already completed or are nearing completion.

In order to gauge the general effect of such delays, it is necessary to examine the relationship of individual nuclear plants to the available reserve capacity in each region of the country. For this purpose the FPC's Bureau of Power has prepared a Staff Report which is forwarded herewith, and indicates the assumptions on which it is based. Table A of the Staff Report shows the impact that scheduled delays in nuclear plants would have on the anticipated electric power generation reserves at critical periods from now through the winter of 1972-73. The table shows the planned capability, anticipated reserve, and the portion of the anticipated reserve that is due to scheduled nuclear plants in each of the nine Electric Power Reliability Council areas and for the Nation as a whole. From these data it appears that 16% of the Nation's reserve for the summer of 1972 is from scheduled nuclear plants not yet on line and that the resulting potential loss of the anticipated reserves would exceed 40% in several instances. In addition, in many cases we are concerned that the reserve appears to be dangerously low, even with the scheduled nuclear plants. Furthermore, these reserve numbers are also affected by completion dates of new fossil-fueled plants which are not fully assured.

It is our opinion that, in light of this Commission's responsibility for adequate and reliable power supply for the Nation and our joint concern for the discharge of the requirements of NEPA, there must be sufficient reserve of electric power capacity maintained in each major region as an essential feature of our national environmental enhancement policy. It is the intent of NEPA (Section 101 (b)) to "... (2) assure for all Americans safe, healthful, productive, and esthetically and culturally pleasing surroundings; (3) attain the widest range of beneficial uses of the environment without degradation, risk to health or safety, or other undesirable and unintended consequences; ..." In our highly developed society sufficient electric power reserves are essential to public health and safety as well as the other environmental objectives indicated above. In addition to the obvious usage of electricity for major public health facilities such as sewage treatment plants and hospitals, other widely dispersed uses such as highway lighting and residential

food refrigeration depend on a continuous and thus reliable supply of electricity. Furthermore, an adequate supply of electric energy is an essential element of programs of national interest for maintaining a vigorous and stable economy.

We believe that AEC should consider a pending operating license to represent an emergency situation if the absence of the projected nuclear power unit significantly reduces the available electric power supply below a prudent level of reserve on the pertinent system or region and there is no comparable demonstration of significant adverse effects on the natural environment from operation of the plant. It is our judgment that national concern for the consequences of particular power shortages requires that any such serious threat to a prudent reserve level needs to be considered as an "emergency" situation rather than judging that only the occurrence of an actual power shortage or blackout constitutes a condition of "emergency."

The Staff Report provides the basis for our serious concern about the potential effect of AEC procedures and their implementation. As you will see, it analyzes what may be the potential power situation in five significant power regions where the specific capacity reserve conditions at particular times are critical to the overall public interest. The reported specific impacts of the nuclear plants on these local load areas are shown in Table B. We anticipate that each of these situations and others may be referred at an early date by the AEC to this Commission for further review and comment.

The situations described make clear the need to consider seriously any procedural techniques applicable within the principles of NEPA and the Calvert Cliffs decision which can expedite consideration of total environmental factors, including the consequences of non-availability of needed power.

We believe that the Atomic Energy Commission could well conclude that emergency situations exist where it is readily foreseeable that adequate and reliable supplies of electric power are seriously threatened and that expedited procedures for considering potential questions of environmental effect are therefore justified under the provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act and the Calvert Cliffs decision.

As for the suggested procedures transmitted with Mr. Price's letter, we are entirely agreeable to accommodating them and fitting our procedures to those outlined by the AEC. The designated responsible senior officer for the FPC in these matters will be Mr. Frederick H. Warren, Advisor on Environmental Quality.

Please be assured that we stand ready to assist you in any way in which we may be effective in assuring the prompt disposition of these matters.

Sincerely,

JOHN N. NASSIKAS,
Chairman.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION BUREAU OF
POWER

ELECTRIC GENERATING CAPACITY SITUATION
WINTER 1971-72—SUMMER 1972—WINTER
1972-73

The staff of the Bureau of Power has analyzed the possible impact of the Calvert Cliffs decision on the electric generating capacity situation during the winter of 1971-72, the summer of 1972 and the winter of 1972-73. It was recognized that these plants must receive full environmental appraisals consistent with the National Environmental Policy Act and the Calvert Cliffs decision. The results of this analysis show that if nuclear units now nearing completion are delayed tight power supply situations will prevail in some areas of the country.

This analysis has been prepared in two parts. First, the overall capacity situation in the Nation was analyzed. It was found that 16% of the reserve in the summer of 1972 is in nuclear units. This is broken down by regional reliability councils in Table A. A map showing the location of the councils is attached. It is apparent from inspection of this table that some regions are more affected by nuclear delays than others. The regions which seemed to be most severely affected were then analyzed in more detail and critical sub-regions were then identified. It became apparent that five areas in particular, namely New England, New York State, Florida, the Virginia-Carolinas area, and the northern Illinois-Wisconsin-upper Michigan area will have severe power shortage problems during the next 18 months. The detailed analysis of these areas is shown on Table B.

In preparing Table B assumptions were first made as to the reserve required for each area. In areas with adequate transmission lines to neighboring areas a 20 percent reserve was deemed adequate. In the case of Florida, due to inadequate transmission both within the state and to neighboring states, and the relatively large unit size as percent of load, it was judged that a greater reserve was necessary. The assumed scheduling of nuclear units was based on the staff's estimate after consultation with the regional reliability councils. In general, nuclear units were assumed to be delayed a year but in cases where active intervention is presently in progress or expected the anticipated delay was longer. Fossil units scheduled for service during the study period were assumed to be delayed six months. This is to account for the unexpected but usual problems of construction delay, difficulties during start-up of new units and predictable unreliability of immature units. The five critical areas are discussed separately in the succeeding paragraphs.

The New England Power Pool faces a critical power supply situation in the winter of 1971-72. With the Vermont Yankee and Pilgrim No. 1 nuclear units unavailable, the installed New England reserve after taking account of scheduled power supply from systems outside of the New England Power Pool will be 13.3% at the time of peak winter load. Thus, with neither nuclear unit available, this reserve of 1704 MW is 860 MW below the 2564 MW considered necessary to maintain an adequate level of reliability. Stated another way the delayed nuclear units each represents a threat to the needed regional reserve level: Vermont Yankee, 20% loss of reserve; Pilgrim No. 1 25% loss of reserve. During the summer of 1972, the reserve situation is adequate with 21.4 percent reserve even with Vermont Yankee, Pilgrim and Maine Yankee delayed. However, an even more critical reserve situation develops in the winter of 1972-73 when with the three above-mentioned nuclear plants delayed the reserve drops to 1.941 or 14.0%. If, in addition, Salem Harbor No. 4 fossil unit scheduled for October 1972 service should be delayed so as to be unavailable for the winter period, the reserve would be 1476 MW or 10.7%. These levels of reserve would most probably result in power curtailments during the winter 1972-73 and possible curtailments during the coming winter.

Indian Pt. No. 2 (873 MW) represents about 20% of the necessary New York Power Pool reserve which was anticipated to be 4,207 MW during the summer of 1972. The reserve with Indian Pt. No. 2 in service would be 21% of the projected load but it should be remembered that in the past several summers the New York Power Pool, and Consolidated Edison in particular, have had difficulty supplying the load even with slightly more than 21% reserve. If Indian

Point No. 2 is delayed beyond the summer of 1972, the expected reserve would be 16.6%. The problem is further compounded because the New York Power Pool has a total of 986 MW of fossil generation scheduled for June of 1972 and 348 MW of gas turbine capability scheduled for July which has been counted as part of the Pool reserve. If this generation is delayed or experiences difficulties during startup and is not available for the summer peak, the reserve falls to 2,000 MW or about 10%. The result of this reduction in reserves would probably result in power supply problems considerably more severe than New York City has experienced in the past several years.

Florida, due to its lack of adequate transmission within the state and from adjoining states and its unit size, requires more reserve than other areas. With both Turkey Point Nos. 3 and 4 in service, Florida would have 2,280 MW or 19.3% reserve in the summer of 1972 and loss of each unit would represent a reduction of 30% in the desired reserve level or a total of 80% taken together. The 2,280 MW regional level is 1,026 MW less than is desired. Without Turkey Point Nos. 3 and 4, Florida would have a reserve of 894 MW or 7.6%. This is 2,412 MW less than the de-

sired reserve. This low reserve margin would create an even more severe situation than described for New York and chronic power curtailments might be expected during the summer of 1972.

The northern portion of Mid America Interconnected Network (MAIN) Regional Reliability Council which includes northern Illinois, Wisconsin and upper Michigan is another area which will be critically affected. With both Quad Cities Nos. 1 and 2 and Point Beach No. 2 in service, this area will have 3,315 MW reserve or 18.0% during the summer of 1972. This is 368 MW less than the necessary 20% reserve. However, if those three units are not in service, the reserve falls by 52% to 1,604 MW or 8.7% of the area load. In addition, there is a fossil-fuel plant scheduled for service in northern Illinois in April 1972. If this plant is delayed, the reserve margin is further reduced to 764 MW of 4.2%. It should be pointed out that the Palisades Plant, even though not in the MAIN region, is in close geographic proximity and therefore could transmit power to the Chicago area over interconnections in event of emergency. Any delay in that plant further compromises the reliability of electric supply in the Chicago Metropolitan area.

The Virginia-Carolinas area is the fifth area with anticipated critical power supply problems during the summer of 1972. With Surry No. 1 and Oconee No. 1 in service, the area has 2,775 MW or 13.4 percent reserve which is 1,376 MW below the desired 20 percent reserve level. With these two plants delayed, the reserve is reduced by 60 percent of the desired reserve to 1,101 MW or 5 percent of the area load. The problem is further complicated in that there are two fossil-fuel units totaling 1,010 MW scheduled for service in June and July 1972. If both of these plants fail to meet their construction schedule or experience difficulties during start up the area reserve would be 90 MW or 0.4 percent. This situation would most probably result in recurring and widespread power curtailments throughout the summer.

As a result of this analysis, it is concluded that delays in the operation of nuclear units which are completed or nearing completion will cause serious power supply problems in the immediate future, particularly in the New England, New York, Southeast, and Mid-west areas. Consequently, it is apparent that every effort must be made to bring new capacity on line as scheduled.

TABLE A.—IMPACT OF NUCLEAR PLANTS ON REGIONAL RELIABILITY

Reliability council regions ¹	NPCC ²	MAAC	SERC	ECAR	MAIN	MARCA	WSCC ²	SPP	ERCOT	Total
Winter 1971-72:										
Planned capability (MW).....	52,407	32,849	68,892	56,618	30,454	13,503	72,251	29,768	23,487	380,229
Anticipated reserve (MW).....	10,110	9,329	12,498	10,813	8,132	2,341	13,064	9,845	11,095	87,227
Percent projected load.....	24	40	22	24	35	21	22	49	90	6,375
Planned nuclear (MW).....	2,043		2,324	700	902	404				
Percent of anticipated reserve.....	20		19	6	11	17				
Summer 1972:										
Planned capability (MW).....	54,763	34,559	76,836	59,270	34,562	14,522	74,430	32,440	25,448	406,830
Anticipated reserve (MW).....	13,334	4,719	11,190	8,960	6,604	2,372	15,746	5,956	4,596	73,477
Percent projected load.....	32	16	17	18	24	20	27	22	22	12,048
Planned nuclear (MW).....	2,824		5,029	700	2,761	404	330			
Percent of anticipated reserve.....	21		45	8	42	17	2			
Winter 1972-73:										
Planned capability (MW).....	57,488	35,310	78,707	61,373	35,358	15,124	76,098	32,153	25,994	417,605
Anticipated reserve (MW).....	12,062	7,865	14,791	11,965	11,422	3,157	12,775	11,454	12,499	97,990
Percent projected load.....	27	39	23	24	48	26	20	55	93	14,625
Planned nuclear (MW).....	2,835	1,065	5,903	800	3,288	404	330			
Percent of anticipated reserve.....	24	11	40	7	29	13	3			

¹ See attached map for geographic areas of the councils.² Includes Canadian members.

TABLE B.—EFFECTS OF GENERATING PLANT DELAYS ON RESERVE MARGINS

	Winter 1971-72	Summer 1972	Winter 1972-73		Winter 1971-72	Summer 1972	Winter 1972-73
NEW ENGLAND POWER POOL				NEW YORK POWER POOL			
Planned capability (including net of transactions).....	15,694	16,882	17,749	Planned capability (including net of transactions).....	23,534	24,247	25,733
Peakload, MW.....	12,820	12,300	13,846	Peakload, MW.....	18,020	20,040	19,050
Reserve, MW.....	2,874	4,582	3,903	Reserve, MW.....	5,514	4,207	6,683
Percent.....	22.4	37.3	28.2	Percent.....	30.6	21.0	35.1
Necessary reserve at 20 percent, ¹ MW.....	2,564	2,460	2,769	Necessary reserve at 20 percent, ¹ MW.....	3,604	4,008	3,810
Surplus (deficiency), MW.....	310	2,122	1,134	Surplus (deficiency), MW.....	1,910	199	2,873
Vernon (nuclear, October 1971).....	-513	-502	-513	Indian Point No. 2 (nuclear, October 1971).....	-873	-873	-873
Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Corp., Vernon Township, Vt.:				Consolidated Edison Co., Buchanan, N.Y.:			
Net capacity, MW.....	15,181	16,380	17,236	Net capacity, MW.....	22,661	23,374	24,860
Peakload, MW.....	12,820	12,300	13,846	Peakload, MW.....	18,020	20,040	19,050
Reserve, MW.....	2,361	4,080	3,390	Reserve, MW.....	4,641	3,334	5,810
Percent.....	18.4	33.2	24.5	Percent.....	25.8	16.6	30.5
Necessary reserve at 20 percent, ¹ MW.....	2,564	2,460	2,769	Necessary reserve at 20 percent, ¹ MW.....	3,604	4,008	3,810
Surplus (deficiency), MW.....	(203)	1,620	621	Surplus (deficiency), MW.....	1,037	(674)	2,000
Pilgrim No. 1 (nuclear, December 1971).....	-657	-657	-657	Bowline Point No. 1 (fossil, summer 1972).....	-600	-600	-600
Boston Edison Co., Plymouth, Mass.:				(Orange & Rockland Utilities, Inc. Haverstraw, New York):			
Net capacity, MW.....	14,524	15,723	16,579	Net capacity, MW.....	22,774	22,774	22,774
Peakload, MW.....	12,820	12,300	13,846	Peakload, MW.....	20,040	20,040	20,040
Reserve, MW.....	1,704	3,423	2,733	Reserve, MW.....	2,734	2,734	2,734
Percent.....	13.3	27.8	19.7	Percent.....	13.6	13.6	13.6
Necessary reserve at 20 percent, ¹ MW.....	2,564	2,460	2,769	Necessary reserve at 20 percent, ¹ MW.....	4,008	4,008	4,008
Surplus (deficiency), MW.....	(860)	963	(36)	Surplus (deficiency), MW.....	(1,274)	(1,274)	(1,274)
Wicasset No. 1 (nuclear, May 1972).....	-792	-792	-792	Narrows (barge-mounted gas turbines, July 1972).....	-348	-348	-348
Maine Yankee Atomic Power Corp., Wicasset, Maine:				Consolidated Edison Co., Brooklyn, N.Y.:			
Net capacity, MW.....	14,931	15,787	15,787	Net capacity, MW.....	22,426	22,426	22,426
Peakload, MW.....	12,300	13,846	13,846	Peakload, MW.....	20,040	20,040	20,040
Reserve, MW.....	2,631	1,941	1,941	Reserve, MW.....	2,386	2,386	2,386
Percent.....	21.4	14.0	14.0	Percent.....	11.9	11.9	11.9
Necessary reserve at 20 percent, ¹ MW.....	2,460	2,769	2,769	Necessary reserve at 20 percent, ¹ MW.....	4,008	4,008	4,008
Surplus (deficiency), MW.....	171	(828)	465	Surplus (deficiency), MW.....	(1,622)	(1,622)	(1,622)
Salem Harbor No. 4 (fossil, October 1972).....				Northport No. 3 (fossil, June 1972).....	-386	-386	-386
New England Electric System, Salem, Mass.:				Long Island Lighting Co., Northport, N.Y.:			
Net capacity, MW.....	15,322	15,322	15,322	Net capacity, MW.....	22,040	22,040	22,040
Peakload, MW.....	13,846	13,846	13,846	Peakload, MW.....	20,040	20,040	20,040
Reserve, MW.....	1,476	1,476	1,476	Reserve, MW.....	2,000	2,000	2,000
Percent.....	10.7	10.7	10.7	Percent.....	10.0	10.0	10.0
Necessary reserve at 20 percent, ¹ MW.....	2,769	2,769	2,769				
Surplus (deficiency), MW.....	(1,293)	(1,293)	(1,293)				

Footnotes at end of table.

PEOPLE WHO CARE ABOUT PEOPLE

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, on October 20, I placed in the RECORD an article published in the Idaho Daily Statesman, which described the work being done by a remarkable couple in Boise, Idaho, to aid the elderly. I am pleased to say that since that article appeared, these wonderful people have continued their work at an increasing pace.

Once again I wish to commend Mr. and Mrs. Ernest K. Morehouse for their outstanding work for and with the senior citizens of the Boise Valley area. Their efforts indicate what people who care can do to improve the lives of those around them.

I ask unanimous consent that the most recent article on the work of Mr. and Mrs. Morehouse, published in the Idaho Daily Statesman of October 29, be printed in Extensions of Remarks.

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

IDEAS OF "FRIENDS TO ELDERLY" BOOMERANG, BOOM, CREATE NEED FOR VOLUNTEER HELP
(By Carrie Ewing)

Ideas boomerang.

That's what happened when Mr. and Mrs. Ernest K. Morehouse, 2823 Innis, designated themselves as Friends to the Elderly and embarked on the task of collecting and distributing donated used television sets, radios and record players to needy elderly persons.

A second philanthropic effort of a fruit canning project for needy elderly and needy women with children has "gotten out of hand" to the extent the Morehouses are "begging" for help.

They need assistance in carrying out both programs.

The first project caught on so thoroughly that the originators called for help in locating a building of adequate space in which to store and service the sets before they are delivered to a recipient.

That building is at 610 Main, formerly occupied by Ability, Inc., and next door to the former Social Security Building. In storage there now are 145 television sets. Persons wishing to contribute TV sets, radios or record players may contact the Morehouses at their home number to make arrangements for unloading the article. The alley entrance is best, Morehouse said.

"When articles are donated to this extent," Morehouse said Wednesday, "it means many of them need repair. For this we need volunteers. We have access to five or six individuals who have offered their services, now that we have adequate space. But we need more repairmen. Two businesses, Wells Electronic Service, 821 West State, and Bo's Radio and TV Service, 6401 Fairview Avenue, repair two sets each month for us without charge." More volunteer repairmen to offer help during leisure hours, as well as other persons to deliver and pick up the sets, are needed, Morehouse noted.

About 50 elderly persons are awaiting delivery of sets now, and are not able to receive them because help is not available.

Cash contributions are welcomed in order to defray cost of tubes and other parts for the sets.

Peaches, pears and plums—8,000 No. 2½ size cans—will be ready for distribution about mid-November. Most of the fruit was

obtained from growers in Homedale and Emmett for the nominal fee of picking cost of \$1 per bushel. Jay's Fruit Stand, Homedale, donated 100 bushels. The fruit was being held in cold storage because of poor market and low price.

When the Morehouses heard of the possibility of obtaining the fruit, they launched the canning project under the auspices of the Ustick Cannery. Funds were solicited to meet various expenses.

Now, volunteers with cars will be needed to distribute the fruit. The exact time for distribution will be announced later.

Friends to the Elderly, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest K. Morehouse, request that persons who qualify for the fruit or the entertainment articles contact them at their home.

"As soon as we have taken care of the elderly, we hope to include the handicapped, women with children, the shut-ins and the blind in our TV distribution," Morehouse said. "We hope one day to see this program in operation all over the nation."

Incorporation papers for Friends to the Elderly may be drawn up and filed in the next few days, Morehouse added.

NOISE—FOURTH FORM OF POLLUTION**HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN**

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, thousands of our citizens are becoming increasingly aware of a form of pollution which is reaching crisis proportions. Noise pollution is extremely dangerous to our physical and psychological health, and it is thus imperative that we act now to combat it.

Earlier this year I introduced H.R. 6002, the Noise Control Act of 1971. The Public Health and Environmental Subcommittee held hearings on this and other noise abatement bills in June. Chairman ROGERS and his subcommittee have now reported H.R. 11021 to the full Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. I applaud Chairman ROGERS and the other members of the subcommittee for their prompt action in this area and I am hopeful that the Congress will enact such a bill into law at the earliest possible date.

At this point in the RECORD I would like to include a copy of an article which appeared in the September issue of Environmental Science and Technology, "Noise—Fourth Form of Pollution":

NOISE—FOURTH FORM OF POLLUTION

Referred to as unwanted sound, sound out of place, sound without value, or vibrational energy out of control, noise in the environment has reached a level of national importance and public concern. Like other forms of pollution, noise is a by-product of twentieth century technology. But unlike other forms of pollution, noise is not persistent, not cumulative, and not transported over great distances by the atmosphere. Noise dies out rapidly once the noise generation process stops.

To be sure, noise pollution has not reached the crisis stage of the other three forms—air pollution, water pollution, and solid waste disposal. The fact that federal noise abatement programs are not to be transferred to the new Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) (ES&T, August 1970, page 627) does

not indicate that noise pollution and its abatement are unimportant problems. It is merely that the other forms have been seen as demanding more urgent priorities.

Certainly, the public's noise awareness increases each day. It may be true that the man-in-the-street's concern is directed at aircraft noise at this time. But chances are that if he is an industrial worker, he has heard of in-plant noise reduction programs.

In any event, noise is a growing nuisance. Some scientific evidence indicates that noise is harmful to physical and mental health; hearing loss is only one example. Other noise experts believe that man's tolerance to noise is quite high and that most environmental noise conditions can be adapted to without ill effects.

Essentially, noises can be grouped into three types—transportation noises, occupational noises, and community noises. Noises from all these sources have increased over the past ten years and will double in the next ten according to most indications.

TRANSPORTATION NOISE

Although aircraft noises are more often the source of nuisance complaints from the general public, highway noises run a close second, largely because nearly everyone is exposed to them in daily activities. Tire noises are the main problem. Assuming that a highway vehicle—whether a passenger car, bus, or truck—is in a good state of repair, highway noise is attributed to tires on the vehicle operating in excess of 60 m.p.h. At lower speeds, engine noises tend to predominate.

OCCUPATIONAL NOISE

Several industries can be singled out for occupational noisiness, including steel, paper-making, textile, petroleum, and wood products, to mention a few. In general, the noise sources in these industries are the machinery, in plants with metal to metal operating parts, or high-speed equipment such as blowers (petroleum cracking plants), looms (textile plants), or high-speed stamping operations (wood products). In some cases, the personnel exposure time is small. For example, it may be necessary to perform a maintenance check on a particular piece of noisy equipment once each day. But the check might only take 15 minutes. In other cases, however, the operator might be exposed to the noise for the full eight-hour day.

COMMUNITY NOISE

Community noises, both indoor and outdoor, are on the increase. In fact, these noises are beginning to approach in overall severity of those found in mechanized industry. Not only are dishwashers, lawnmowers, air conditioners, and the like recognized noise problems, the simple increase in numbers of such appliances produces a larger noise burden. Community noise exposures can therefore become a problem, if indeed they are not one already.

REGULATIONS

Both federal and state regulations have been enacted to reduce the noise burden. Most are directed at a particular noise source, are limited in scope, and are enforced poorly, if at all. Nevertheless, they are a beginning.

The first federal attempt to control noise of any kind was the 1968 noise standard for the certification of new aircraft (see box, page 722). This was soon followed by the amendment to the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act which regulates occupational noise exposure.

Many states have codes prohibiting excessive noise from transportation sources, mainly highways. Approximately 20 states pay workman compensation for hearing loss damage, but the awards are far from consistent across the U.S. In many cases, the state and local ordinances do not spell out actual decibel violation limits, and the mere

existence of codes does not necessarily mean that they are enforced.

New York was the first state to adopt a highway antinnoise statute in 1965. It defines excessive noise as 88 dBA at 50 ft. for a vehicle traveling at 35 m.p.h.

Perhaps the most comprehensive code is California's. It prohibits noise levels in excess of 82 dBA for passenger cars and 92 dBA for trucks and buses. There is also a California code requiring used cars be certified for noise worthiness before resale.

NOISE REDUCTION

There are essentially three ways to reduce noise. The first approach is to reduce noise at the source. Examples of this are the design and production of quieter aircraft engines, highway tires, industrial machinery, and home appliances.

A second approach is operational in nature. This approach is being followed by major airlines in their normally scheduled flights by following certain noise abatement takeoff and landing procedures at major airports in the country. The enclosure of machinery with sound absorbing materials is an example of the industrial operational noise reduction pattern already practiced by some industries.

The third is personnel protection through the wearing of devices such as ear plugs or ear muffs. In some cases, the second and third approaches are combined to reduce exposure to the lowest practicable levels.

Of course, the ultimate goal is to have remedies for the noise problems and to implement these by installation of new machinery, sound suppressing devices, and improved operational changes.

To attain this goal the federal government will spend approximately \$34.1 million for noise abatement programs in fiscal year 1971, up from \$32 million last fiscal year, when \$29 million went for aircraft noise reduction and \$3 million for all other programs.

FEDERAL NOISE PROGRAMS

Members of the federal noise club include the Departments of Commerce; Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW); Housing and Urban Development (HUD); Interior; Transportation (DOT); Labor; and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). The noise committee of the Cabinet Committee on Environment (ES&T, December 1969, p. 1249) has been actively studying the noise problem. Its goal is to formulate a federal policy on noise, but the proposed and long awaited policy had not yet been adopted at press time.

Commerce, the lead agency for noise in the Cabinet committee, has organized a Commerce Technical Advisory Board which is focusing on the technological, economic, social, and legal aspects of the problem. Jack E. Goldman, a vice president of Xerox Corp., is chairman of the advisory board whose report, "The Noise Around Us: A Program for Progress," will be released this fall.

Each federal department conducts an active research and development program. Not surprisingly, DOT has two noise abatement offices, one for transportation noises in general and another specifically for aircraft noise, in the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA).

Charles R. Foster, head of the DOT Office of Noise Abatement, notes that his office's prime interest is to find technical ways to reduce noise at the source. Foster notes that DOT has a program at the National Bureau of Standards directed toward the design of a quieter tire without sacrificing safety. Truck tires are noisier than those on passenger cars and are replaced more frequently. The so-called footprint configuration, the depth and spacing of slits in the tire, might be redesigned to give better suction and, in essence, less noise.

DOT has contracted Serendipity, Inc. (Eastern Operations Div., Arlington, Va.) to

attempt to come up with a noise pollution level for communities, which will include all transportation noises—aircraft, highway, and others. Serendipity is finding that the noise level from any individual source alone is not the real concern of the public. Rather, it is the incremental decibel change above the background that generally leads the public to complain.

John O. Powers, director of the FAA Office of Noise Abatement, concentrates on aircraft noise reduction and directs R&D to this end. Under an FAA contract, Rohr Corp. (Calif.) has performed a paper study to find the economic and operational impact of retrofitting (modifying the engine after initial production) aircraft to reduce noise. Reducing the noise level 5 dBA on takeoff and 10 dBA on landing is a difference that the general public would actually be able to notice. For a fleet of some 1200 planes, the cost approximates \$750 million. The final Rohr findings are to be released soon.

Eugene L. Newman, chief of Labor's Office of Training in the Bureau of Labor Standards, has long been associated with industrial occupational noise. But Labor's enforcement activities under the Walsh-Healey Act are headed by Robert D. Gidel.

Walsh-Healey covers all government contracts for the procurement of goods, supplies, materials, etc., in excess of \$10,000. Inspectors from the Department of Labor—safety engineers and industrial hygienists—inspected some 4000 locations in 1969, noise being one factor in their inspection. A status report of specific noise violations will be released this fall, along with a list of qualified consultants in the industrial occupational noise area. Newman points out that government contracts cannot be canceled on the basis of these inspections. But after serving notice of violation and failure to comply, Labor can be instrumental in preventing those companies from appearing on the list of eligible contractors for a period of three years.

Other noise abatement programs are in NASA, HUD, and HEW. Alexander Cohen, director of HEW's Bureau of Occupational Health and Safety (Cincinnati, Ohio), heads the federal programs dealing with health aspects of noise. A prime concern of the HUD program is reduction of noise nuisances in multi-family dwellings. NASA's program, the most costly in terms of the federal dollar, is a hardware development program ultimately aimed at the design of a quiet aircraft engine.

INDUSTRY'S APPROACHES

But the federal government does not stand alone in its noise abatement program, other organizations and industries also are involved. Another technical approach to reduce tire noises is spearheaded by John Carter, chairman of a tires subcommittee of the Society of Automotive Engineers. On the international scene, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) plans to issue soon a report "Urban Traffic Noise."

Large industrial companies also are alerted to the noise problem, including Bell, Grumman, Du Pont, and Ford, to mention a few. To some, noise is not a new problem. Du Pont's audiometric testing of employees dates back to 1939. In 1965, Du Pont's Engineering Materials Laboratory began an extensive program directed at the fundamental aspects of structural and materials damping.

Some firms are establishing audiometric testing as part of an employee's routine physical examination. Not only does this type of information prove invaluable in hearing loss damage suits, but it also serves as a baseline against which hearing can be measured during periods of employment. The latter is particularly important because a number of young people already have a degree of hearing loss, according to one study. It might be the case that his employee's hearing would deteriorate more rapidly during his course of employment.

FUTURE LEGISLATION

A coordinated federal approach to noise control is embodied in the proposed clean air amendments, S. 3229, (ES&T, May 1970, p. 378), under which an office of noise abatement and control would be established. In time, this office probably will be set up; it could take a comprehensive look at the myriad federal noise programs now dispersed throughout the federal establishment.

Certainly little will be done to reduce noise pollution until the public becomes aroused. Then the public can bring about the necessary reduction through actions at the federal, state, and local levels.

FEDERAL REGULATIONS

P.L. 90-411. Effective July 12, 1968, commercial aircraft must comply with certain noise levels before certification.

FAA noise standard. Effective Dec. 1, 1969, the standard applies to all new design aircraft of the turbofan variety. Does not apply to existing aircraft.

Walsh-Healey Health and Safety Regulations. Effective May 20, 1969, specifies a maximum allowable level of 90 dBA for a continuous 8-hour day exposure. Applies only to industries holding government contracts in excess of \$10,000.

Federal funding

[All figures in millions]

NASA	\$22.31
DOT	8.85
HEW	1.40
HUD	1.01
Commerce	0.50
Labor	0
Total	34.07

NOISE—USEFUL DEFINITIONS

Sound

Small local fluctuations in atmospheric pressure.

Frequency

The number of times a sound wave repeats itself in a unit of time. In acoustics, the unit of frequency is Hertz (Hz).

Human ear

Responds to the magnitude of these pressure fluctuations and to the rapidity with which the fluctuations occur. Human hearing ranges from 16-16,000 Hz.; it is most sensitive to frequencies from 500-6000 Hz., less sensitive to high and low frequencies.

Decibel (dB)

Unit of sound pressure level.

Decibel scale

Expresses magnitude of the pressure fluctuation, on a logarithmic scale.

C scale (dBC)

Gives a flat response across the entire sound spectrum.

A scale (dBA)

Places less emphasis on low frequency sounds, provides more weight to annoying high frequencies, and in general, correlates well with human response to a variety of noises.

Effective perceived noise decibel (EPNdB)

Unit developed specifically to rate aircraft noise.

EPNdB scale

Developed specifically as a measure of subjective reaction to annoyance of aircraft noise. It is similar to dBA scale but gives more weight to high frequency tones and includes adjustment for effective duration and discrete frequency components.

Sound level meter

Measures sound pressure levels but does not measure the qualities of sound to which humans respond.

Octave band analyzer

An instrument equipped with filters to measure a band of frequencies one octave

wide. For example, the 1000 frequency octave band extends from 707-1414 Hz.

FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT,
SEPTEMBER 1971

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I include a release highlighting the September 1971 civilian personnel report of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures.

The release follows:

FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT,
SEPTEMBER 1971

Total civilian employment in the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches of the Federal Government in the month of September was 2,883,913 as compared with 2,930,599 in the preceding month of August. This was a net decrease of 46,686, due primarily to seasonal employment and summer employment of the "disadvantaged" under youth opportunity programs.

These figures are from reports certified by the agencies as compiled by the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Civilian employment in the Executive Branch in the month of September totaled 2,844,544. This was a net decrease of 45,623

as compared with employment reported in the preceding month of August. Employment by months in fiscal 1972, which began July 1, 1971, follows:

Month	Employment	Increase	Decrease
July 1971.....	2,903,158	20,153	
August.....	2,890,167		12,991
September.....	2,844,544		45,623

Total employment in civilian agencies of the Executive Branch for the month of September was 1,708,671, a decrease of 31,840 as compared with the August total of 1,740,511. Total civilian employment in the military agencies in September was 1,135,873, a decrease of 13,783 as compared with 1,149,656 in August.

The civilian agencies of the Executive Branch reporting the largest net decreases were Postal Service 11,212, Agriculture Department with 8,102, Interior Department with 3,909, Treasury Department with 1,234 and Transportation Department with 1,223.

In the Department of Defense the largest decreases in civilian employment were reported by the Army with 6,737, Navy with 3,831, Air Force with 2,003 and Defense Supply Agency with 1,015.

Total Executive Branch employment inside the United States in September was 2,652,682, a decrease of 46,177 as compared with August. Total employment outside the United States in September was 191,862, an increase of 554 as compared with August.

The total of 2,844,544 civilian employees of

the Executive Branch reported for the month of September 1971 includes 2,529,990 full time employees in permanent positions. This represents an increase of 3,686 in such employment from the preceding month of August. (See table 2 of accompanying report.)

The Executive Branch employment total of 2,844,544 includes some foreign nationals employed abroad, but in addition there were 97,736 Foreign Nationals working for U.S. agencies overseas during September who were not counted in the usual personnel reports. The number in August was 97,714.

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES

Employment in the Legislative Branch in the month of September totaled 31,403, a decrease of 1,103 as compared with the preceding month of August. Employment in the Judicial Branch in the month of September totaled 7,966, an increase of 40 as compared with August.

DISADVANTAGED PERSONS

The total of 2,883,913 reported by the Committee for September includes 25,572 disadvantaged persons employed under Federal opportunity programs, a decrease of 23,265 over the preceding month of August. (See table 4 of accompanying report.)

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I include a tabulation, excerpted from the Joint Committee report, on personnel employed full time in permanent positions by executive branch agencies during September 1971, showing comparisons with June 1970, June 1971, and the budget estimates for June 1972:

FULL-TIME PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT

Major agencies	September 1971				Estimated June 30, 1972 ¹	Major agencies	September 1971				Estimated June 30, 1972 ¹
	June 1970	June 1971	September 1971	Estimated June 30, 1972 ¹			June 1970	June 1971	September 1971	Estimated June 30, 1972 ¹	
Agriculture.....	82,912	84,252	84,590	87,300	National Aeronautics and Space Administration.....	31,223	29,478	29,177	28,400		
Commerce.....	25,427	28,435	28,088	29,600	Office of Economic Opportunity.....	2,387	2,478	2,107	2,500		
Defense:					Panama Canal.....	14,635	13,967	14,049	14,900		
Civil functions.....	30,297	30,063	30,293	31,300	Selective Service System.....	6,665	5,569	5,692	6,500		
Military functions.....	1,129,642	1,052,741	1,065,086	1,051,600	Small Business Administration.....	4,015	4,004	4,020	4,200		
Health, Education, and Welfare.....	102,297	104,293	106,390	102,100	Tennessee Valley Authority.....	12,657	13,612	13,799	13,300		
Housing and Urban Development.....	14,661	16,030	15,902	16,700	U.S. Information Agency.....	9,989	9,773	9,709	9,900		
Interior.....	59,349	57,570	58,022	59,100	U.S. Postal Service.....	565,618	564,782	563,225	590,500		
Justice.....	38,013	42,662	43,071	46,800	Veterans' Administration.....	148,497	158,635	159,298	160,800		
Labor.....	10,217	11,352	11,906	12,100	All other agencies.....	27,420	28,838	30,229	31,200		
State.....	23,618	23,398	23,310	23,700	Contingencies.....				10,000		
Agency for International Development.....	14,486	13,477	13,255	11,100	Total.....	2,552,571	2,520,302	2,527,518	2,589,300		
Transportation.....	63,879	68,489	68,630	71,900	Public service careers (disadvantaged persons in Federal opportunity programs—see table 4, p. 14).....		1,899	2,472			
Treasury.....	86,020	90,135	91,054	100,400	Total.....	2,552,571	2,522,201	2,529,990			
Atomic Energy Commission.....	7,033	6,920	6,907	7,000							
Civil Service Commission.....	5,214	5,324	5,307	5,900							
Environmental Protection Agency ²		5,959	6,332	8,900							
General Services Administration.....	36,400	38,076	38,070	41,600							

¹ Source: As projected in fiscal year 1972 budget document; figures rounded to nearest hundred.

² Established as of Dec 2, 1970, by transfer of functions and personnel from Interior, HEW, Agriculture, Federal Radiation Council, and Atomic Energy Commission.

³ Does not reflect Presidential order of Aug. 15, 1971 for 5-percent personnel reduction estimated by the Director of Office of Management and Budget on Sept. 9, 1971, at 100,000 governmentwide, exclusive of the Postal Service.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1971

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, if I am compelled to be in attendance at the United Nations when the Higher Education Act of 1971 comes to the floor for a vote, I should like to take this opportunity to indicate my position on the various sections of that bill, H.R. 7248.

I am in full accord with the major

thrust and purposes of this legislation as reported out of committee. I am opposed to any dilution of the sex discrimination provisions. I would support efforts to increase the authorization for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by \$1 million, to enable the Commission to assume the new responsibility for investigating sex discrimination.

I regret the committee change in the educational opportunity grant—EOG—program requiring students to get their grants renewed each year, and hope there will be a restoration of the 4-year grant award. Although I support the committee approach to distribution of the EOG's,

I should like to see some change in the formula allowing greater focus on the needy student; for example, that half the funds be targeted to the neediest students, and half to present distribution factors.

I approve the provision for general assistance to public and private institutions of higher education through the general institutional aid program, and the committee grant formula of two-thirds based on capitation and one-third on cost of education, the latter focusing on the needy student population.

I oppose any weakening of the youth camp safety standards.

IMPROVING THE REGULATORY
PROCESS

HON. BROCK ADAMS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, as we all know there has been considerable discussion about the regulatory process and the role of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

I would like to share with my colleagues the views of Mr. John A. Creedy, president of the Water Transport Association. In a recent speech before the annual meeting of the Transportation Research Forum, Mr. Creedy stated that industry in fact supports regulation and feels that it is important to examine the regulatory process to determine where it may be improved and strengthened. He pointed out that—

The alternative—abolishing the ICC—would subject transportation to another form of regulation, the antitrust laws.

He went on to say that this type of regulation would be less effective in preventing serious misuse of economic power and permit the same abuses which brought about the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act.

The text of the speech follows:

REMARKS OF JOHN A. CREEDY, PRESIDENT, WATER TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION, TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH FORUM ANNUAL MEETING, SHERATON HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, PA., OCT. 18, 1971

IMPROVING THE REGULATORY PROCESS

With all the innocence of ignorance, *Fortune* proclaimed last July: "Federal regulation of transportation is a failure."

The violence and broad sweep of the attacks on regulation in the past two years, particularly the attacks from academic quarters, have served the very useful function of crystallizing thinking among the different modes and among the shippers to a very much greater degree than has ever been true before.

There is a simple logic to the case advanced for deregulation. The goal of national economic policy should be the most efficient use of national resources. Competition is the most effective mechanism for assuring the most efficient use of resources. Regulation has artificially interfered with the competitive process and as a result rates are maintained to protect the inefficient. Great inefficiency and misallocation of national resources have resulted. The cure is to remove regulation and allow competitive forces to work their will, subject only to the antitrust laws.

No one can quarrel with the goal that national economic policy should produce the most efficient use of national resources; nor with the statement that competition is the most effective mechanism for assuring the most efficient use of resources.

However, one can demolish successfully the assumptions of the rest of the paragraph and particularly the conclusion that the goals on which everyone agrees cannot be achieved by the regulatory process. There is nothing inherent in the regulatory process that necessarily leads to misallocation of resources and the curtailment of healthy competition. Technology and capable management can achieve and have achieved just as much efficiency—and perhaps more—in transportation under regulation as has been achieved in the unregulated segment of the economy subject to the supervision of the

antitrust laws, including the Federal Trade Commission.

Transportation is far from perfect; its needs are urgent and deserve prompt attention; regulation can be improved. But the facts simply do not sustain broad charges that carriers are holding up rates to protect inefficiency. Far from it. Prices in transportation have risen far less than either the wholesale or consumer price indices. In the past 10 years alone, major cost-saving innovations have been introduced by every mode. In trucking, there has been broad application wherever legally possible of the double-bottom truck system and vast improvement in terminalling and interchange. In railroading, automated classification yards, unit trains, multiple car services, specialized freight cars have all been successful in helping to confine the impact of rising labor and material costs. In water transportation larger and more efficient tows on the rivers have enabled the barge lines to hold rates at least significantly below 1947 levels and containerization has eliminated or greatly reduced handling charges while substantially improving service. Ocean barging, LASH and Seabee barge-on-ship systems are being introduced. Oil pipeline charges per ton mile are less than they were in 1947.

The complaint of misallocation of resources in transportation cannot be documented. There may well be certain railroad branch lines and even, as the result of recent mergers, some main lines, which can be phased out. But there is no over-capacity in transport equipment in any mode. On the contrary, if the transportation industry is to meet the challenge of a 50 per cent increase in capacity in only 10 years as will be required by the normal expansion of the economy, vast new investment will be required. Policies are needed which will encourage the flow of investment into transportation. The deregulation enthusiasts have to concede and do concede that their plans would very likely force investment out of transportation for a long initial period of "readjustment."

The result of this commendable candor is that those who, in the past, have talked loosely about "more freedom" in rate-making are faced with some interesting choices. "More freedom" has the sound of lower rates, but it brings with it also the certainty of higher rates, cessation of services, and unreliability of services.

Old proponents of "more freedom," the railroads, when faced with the logical necessity of giving up rate bureaus and coming under all the antitrust laws, complain that they don't really want all that freedom. Shippers want freedom for rate movement down but not up and certainly few want to discard rate bureaus. Faced with the total chaos that would result from freedom of entry in trucking, the shippers find themselves badly split. The hard core of the deregulation enthusiasts are a handful of very large shippers, who believe they have the economic muscle to take care of themselves under any circumstances, and certain academic economists who have an atavistic desire to see the blood run.

In practice this means that deregulation is unlikely, without rail, truck, water carrier and unanimous shipper support, to have much political chance. It therefore becomes all the more urgent to look at the regulatory process to determine where it may be improved and strengthened. Transportation and its customers will have to live by regulation and accommodate themselves to enlightened regulation as in their best interest.

Support of regulation may seem an unusual position for an industry to take, but the long search for an alternative over many years leads most students of the problem within the industry to this conclusion. The alternative—abolishing the ICC—would subject transportation to another form of regulation, the antitrust laws. A careful study

of these laws clearly demonstrates that great gaps exist in antitrust coverage as applied to transportation. They would therefore be less effective in preventing serious misuse of economic power leading to monopoly than the Interstate Commerce Act. Such gaps would permit the same abuses which required the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in the first place.

How then can the regulatory process be strengthened and improved in the public interest? Perhaps, as a beginning point, one should suggest in all logic that such regulatory agencies as the ICC recognize more fully that they have an important policy function that puts them in a leadership role whether they like it or not. Policy decisions actually made on a day-by-day basis are so fundamental and pervasive as to have the effect of planning. The Commission's historic tendency has been passive. It interprets the law, it judges the merits of cases brought before it and hopes and occasionally prays that the right cases, properly prepared, are brought before it with the right issues sharply focused.

In a fast-moving and changing world that isn't good enough, as some of the Commissioners have fully recognized. George Stafford, Chairman of the ICC, in a speech earlier this year to the Midwest Public Utilities Commissioners, made the following point:

"A regulatory agency, of course, is not primarily a transportation planning body, but I think that we owe a responsibility to the public to see that as large an element of rationality as possible is brought into the workings of the industries we regulate."

Mr. Stafford has coined a happy phrase by suggesting a responsibility for "an element of rationality."

While the regulatory agency may disclaim a planning function, it inevitably exercises one. Decisions in merger cases have the effect of planning the quality of transportation services for whole regions of the country. Decisions on rail rates to a port may have the effect of extinguishing coastwise steamship competition on Great Lakes bulk commodity transportation. Rate increase decisions affect the viability of different transport modes.

Operating authority decisions inevitably affect the level of service throughout the country. To the extent that transportation has a crucial role to play in the efficient performance of the economy, the decisions of the Commission are a crucial factor in determining the degree of competition, the level of the rates, the quality of the service, the adequacy of the capacity, and the incentives or lack of incentives for improvement and expansion. All these are essentially "planning" functions in the most vital sense of that much mis-used term.

Obviously, whether one is planning a military battle or a comprehensive transport system capable of meeting the needs of defense and the economy, the first requirement is reliable intelligence. Clearly, the Commission is faced with gaps in its knowledge which make an overall planning function difficult to perform. For example, two thirds of the trucking industry and about 90 per cent of the water carrier industry are unregulated. Very large segments of transportation are simply blank spaces on the map as far as factual information is concerned. From time to time, the Commission is provided with glimpses of what goes on in the unregulated segment of transportation, but the information is neither comprehensive nor consistent and therefore unreliable for the purposes of planning.

A highly persuasive argument can be made that the Commission already has the authority to require necessary information from carriers exempt from economic regulation of rates. A careful reading of the statutes makes clear that the exemption applies to the regulation of the rates—i.e. to the transportation—not to the carriers. Hence

water carriers which engage in such transportation remain subject to other sections of the act, including, most importantly, full reporting on their operations and activities which has to mean, among other matters, the actual rates charged.

The legislative history of the 1940 act to regulate water carriers clearly establishes that the exemptions from economic regulation were intended to continue until such time as the Commission established the need for and recommended changes. In establishing the need for changes, the Commission was given the authority to require "annual periodical or specific reports from carriers, lessors, and associations (as defined in this section) . . . and to require . . . full, true and correct answers to all questions upon which the Commission may deem information to be necessary, classifying such carriers, lessors and associations as it may deem proper to any of these purposes . . ."

The key question of course is whether water carriers which engage in exempt transportation are indeed subject to the jurisdiction of the Commission in other respects. The simplistic argument to support the view that they are not relies on the language of, for example, section 303(b)—the dry bulk exemption—which being "nothing in this part shall apply to the transportation by a water carrier. . . ." It is fully conceded that nothing in Part III applies to transportation of dry bulk commodities, but clear Supreme Court decisions distinguish between authority over the "transportation" and authority over the water carriers themselves for the purpose of obtaining necessary information.

The Commission in an early case involving McAllister Lighterage Company took the mistaken view that since it did not have authority to regulate the transportation performed, and since it seemed clear to the Commission that the requirements for filing reports "are incidental to and in furtherance of the regulation of transportation," reporting was not intended "to apply to carriers not engaged in transportation subject to the Act." This opinion, delivered in 1948, was never challenged in the courts. Both before and after this opinion, however, the Supreme Court had upheld the Commission on the concept of selective jurisdiction, even when it wanted detailed reporting on amusement parks owned by a water carrier.

For example, in 1912, in the *ICC v Goodrich Transit Company* case, two carriers were involved, one derived 20 per cent of its revenues from regulated activities, the other 1 per cent. In addition, the second carrier operated two amusement parks.

The Commission ordered the water carriers to submit data on both regulated and unregulated activities. The Supreme Court upheld the Commission. The Court stated: "The object of requiring such accounts . . . is not to enable it (the Commission) to regulate the affairs of the corporations not within its jurisdiction, but to be informed concerning business methods of the corporations subject to the act that it may properly regulate such matters as are really within its jurisdiction."

Forty years later, in a case involving private carriage in which an oil pipeline was transporting oil exclusively owned by the company (*Champlin Refining Co v United States*), the Supreme Court held that reporting was required of the pipeline even though the pipeline was unregulated. The court said: "Collection of information has a significance independent from the imposition of regulations, whether or not such regulations ever come forth. Valuation and cost data of companies not subject to rate making may add to the statistical reliability of standards imposed on those companies which are."

Citing another case, the court pointed out that publicity alone may give effective remedy to abuse if any there be. The Court

continued: "Disclosure may alter the future course of a company otherwise disposed to indulge in activities which the statute condemns. Disclosure provides the basis for prompt action should a future change in circumstances make full scale regulation appropriate. Finally, reports may bring to light abuses and thus provide the groundwork for future statutory amendments. We assume the Congress, which passed the Interstate Commerce Act was well aware of these benefits. We conclude, as before, that the Congress did not mean to eschew them by omitting a general provision empowering the Commission to collect pertinent data from all inter-state pipelines."

Another clear indication of Congressional intent as to the Commission's powers to require reporting from exempt carriers was provided last year with the passage of the so-called mixing rule act, H.R. 8298.

The mixing rule act provides a three-year period for study and final recommendations. The Senate Committee, in explaining why broader powers of investigation were not conferred on the Department of Transportation to obtain necessary information from both exempt and regulated carriers, specifically drew attention to the reporting powers of the Commission. The Report states: "the committee notes that several sections of the Interstate Commerce Act, specifically sections 304 and 313 (49 U.S.C. 904, 913), confer the necessary express authority to compel relevant information should this step be required."

Equal regulation accomplished through the repeal of out-moded exemptions has long been advocated by powerful segments of the transportation industry. A minimum requirement would certainly seem to be public disclosure of what is actually happening in the transportation market place. Only partial information is currently available.

Disclosure of transportation rates as distinguished from rate regulations as such would appear to be a minimum step in the direction of improved planning and therefore in the regulatory process generally. Accepted doctrine in this field is overwhelmingly in favor of open pricing. In their definition work entitled "The Control of Trusts," published in 1912, Professors John Bates Clark and John Maurice Clark observe: "The publishing of prices cannot reasonably be objected to on any sound ground of public policy." More recently, Professor Vernon A. Mund of the University of Washington, in a basic text "Government and Business" comments: "Provision to the public of information on prices, sales and supplies is an indispensable condition for the effective functioning of price competition. It is only when buyers and sellers are well informed on market conditions that they can objectively analyze market forces and buy and sell in the intelligent manner." Among the essential conditions for two-sided price competition, Professor Mund lists "publicity on prices and supplies available."

Other commentators have followed the same line of thinking. Professor Alfred Oxenfeldt of Columbia makes the obvious point that "the incentive for price discrimination is greatly increased by an assurance that it will be kept secret."

Factual intelligence on freight rates actually being charged would seem to be the minimum planning information the Commission would need. For example, there is no freight rate price index individually covering all modes similar to the consumers' and wholesale price indices so essential to the determining trend in the economy generally.

It is useful to stress that in collecting rate information the Commission would be serving an important function of improving the vigor of the competitive process.

Normally the regulatory agencies like to see the planning function vested in an authority outside the Commission. Commis-

sioner Eastman did not think the Commission was well adapted for such work. But Judge Henry J. Friendly points out in his excellent book on The Federal Administrative Agencies: "What I think is vital is to recognize that an important part of the planning function must remain with the agencies as an essential part of their adjudicative task; to direct the agencies to apply 'plans', made by others but not having the force of law, to the very issues whose decisions is confined to them would . . . place them in a position of seeming responsibility for the activities they are directed to regulate, without the tools needed for its effective exercise."

It would, of course, be no use to rely on the Commission for additional work in the planning area, if the Office of Management and Budget continues its present inadequate funding of the I.C.C. Proposals have been made to have the funding of the regulatory agencies channel directly through Congress without the intermediary work of the OMB. If no other solution is available to adequate funding, the Congress might well consider taking on directly the funding responsibility for the agencies which are directly responsible to it.

While the propaganda of the critics of the Commission to the effect that rates are held up to protect the least efficient and that competition is handicapped are easily disproved by the facts, at least as they compare with the unregulated segment of the economy, the regulatory agencies no less than the antitrust division of the Justice Department have their problems with encouraging effective competition.

One is struck by the fact that when the intermodal competitive cases are appealed from the Commission to the courts and eventually through the courts to the Supreme Court, the issues have to take their place in the mainstream of national competition policy. The decisions which come down reflect the thinking of those distinguished jurists who are also struggling with competition issues in the antitrust cases of the day. To the extent there is a national competition policy, such a policy emerges from the court decisions.

If the objective of the Commission, no less than the antitrust division of Justice, is to stimulate healthy competition as the most effective guarantee of maximum business efficiency and performance, why wouldn't the same underlying principles work for transportation as for the economy generally? Distinguishing between healthy and unhealthy competition should be no different under regulation than under the antitrust laws. To the extent the antitrust experience is ahead of regulatory experience in this field or vice versa one can borrow from one another. The objective of the Commission, no less than the Justice Department is to stimulate competition. Indeed, the Commission has an opportunity to do a better affirmative job because, under regulation, abuses can be attacked at an earlier stage in the game. The Commission has the power to prevent abuses; the Justice Department can only counter-punch.

The goals are likely to be the same. For example, few would dispute that a proper goal of national policy should be the most efficient use of national resources or that competition is the best method of achieving this goal.

In today's world of sophisticated cost-finding, it would be a difficult but not an impossible task to develop an objective test to determine relative efficiency. Once the most efficient competitor is determined, that carrier should not be precluded from competing by power tactics having nothing to do with efficiency.

Having reached this point one would inevitably find that the anti-competitive power tactics customarily employed in transportation have their counterparts in the unregu-

lated segment of the economy. Indeed, any study which would undertake to compare the anti-competitive acts which had been struck down under the Sherman, Clayton, Robinson-Patman Acts and those commonly practiced in transportation would find a deadly parallel.

What could be more familiar in industry generally than the sharp-shooting practice of the railroads in reducing a rate solely to capture a particular piece of traffic and not making the rate cut evenhandedly to all customers. In a recent Supreme Court test involving traffic in ingot molds, the Court condemned the rail rate cut because it found the water carrier was the more efficient, that the railroads were more economically powerful and that, "in any rate war, the railroads would be able to outlast their competitor" and in the end this "would deprive shippers of cheaper water transportation."

There is, as everyone knows, a vigorous argument over how to measure relative efficiency of competing modes. This question cannot be covered adequately here in the space available. It is, in any event, the subject of a lengthy ICC proceeding, not yet concluded. But the argument, widely advanced, that some form of partial cost should be accepted as the test of relative efficiency seems inherently unsound. The common sense approach is one similar to that an engineer would make: what input of capital, labor and materials is made to achieve the output.

Many people stumble over the complications of public costs. The answer is two-fold. First, as a matter of principle, whenever public costs are financed out of the general revenues, Congress, the only arbiter of this question, has determined that the purpose of the program is to benefit the public as a whole. In such a case, the national overhead cost is irrelevant to the determination of relative efficiency in transportation or in any other industry or in agriculture where national overhead investment for research, development and operations may apply. Second, as an independent study for Water Transport Association has made clear, if public costs were counted against one mode, they would have to be counted against all modes equally. In such a computation the study showed that there would be plenty to count on the railroad side and probably a wash would result.

Hence, as a practical matter, relative efficiency is properly determined by the full private input necessary to produce the output. But this only results in a test of relative efficiency; it is not a rate floor. When the more efficient carrier goes below its full input costs, the competitor can, of course, follow that rate down.

Nor is it difficult to recognize the typical "price squeeze" when it is applied to transportation. A railroad, for example, may control both the rail rate to a river, ocean or lake port and the all-rail alternative. By manipulating either rate, since it controls both, it can shut out the water carrier leg of the rail-water service thus determining the nature and extent of its competition. An aluminum manufacturing company tried the same tactic by manipulating the price of ingot in a situation where it was the sole supplier of ingot both to its own fabricating mill and to a non-integrated competitor. The courts found this device to be an anti-competitive one.

These two examples serve to illustrate that when the issues are stripped to their essentials, an attempt to substitute power tactics for efficiency can readily be recognized whether in transportation or in the economy generally. A conscious effort by the ICC to use rule-making to condemn generally recognized tactics such as are commonly observed in the unregulated segments of the economy could substantially improve competitive conditions in transportation.

There is no easy short cut to the problem of stimulating vigorous competition, although the Commission, from the record appears to have done a more effective job in this area than the antitrust division of Justice in recent years.

Another major field for new thinking by the Commission is the financial health of the carriers generally. Commissioner Kenneth H. Tuggle in a recent speech before the National Tank Truck Carriers pointed out the obvious dilemma of those with a knee-jerk reaction to rate increases who accuse the ICC of being too close to the carriers. Which do they want? A government operated system or a free enterprise system? Commissioner Tuggle points out:

"If the private citizen is to retain his right to own property and to employ that property in service for the public, and to seek a fair return, then our goals take on a somewhat different cast. In the field of transportation, these goals would be, first, that the public obtain the service it needs and wants—whenever, wherever and however called for by a reasonable, significant public demand; and second (as a corollary essential to the achievement of the first) that those persons providing that service obtain a fair return on the property devoted to the service.

"Good service and a fair return. We cannot have one without the other. In my humble opinion, it's as simple as that. One follows the other; round and round they go as counter-balances in an eternal cycle."

All the new thinking on this crucial subject will not originate with the Commission. There are, for instance, a number of rescue operations needed for viable transportation companies, chiefly railroads, and these rescues can best be achieved by a government operation modeled on the old Reconstruction Finance Corporation which helped railroads and other companies essential to the public interest to weather the depression. Also, the Congress can restore tax incentives such as the investment tax credit, to transportation with very constructive results.

But the Commission itself could help by modernizing its approach to cost justification.

The real thief of course is inflation. The companies who sell the things transport has to buy increase their prices until they are able to cover an adequate profit, replacement and expansion of facilities at current prices and all their increased costs. Transport rate levels lag far behind the prices paid for the materials, equipment and facilities purchased by transportation.

The oil pipelines are buried far beneath the surface so no one notices them, but they enjoy a system I greatly admire. Every year the ICC revalues their assets and sets an 8 per cent or more rate of return on revalued assets. Thus they have a built-in annual defense against the inroads of inflation.

The rest of surface transportation has to arrive at some similar built-in defense against inflation.

Interestingly enough, in its famous valuation case during and after World War I, the Commission started down the road to a sound approach to a rate base and rate levels. It was required to value railroad properties on the basis of their replacement value at current prices.

They never carried through, partly, I suspect, because they thought that in a period of rising prices they might be accused of giving the carriers a windfall—an old reflection of the present built-in antipathy of the public to paying a reasonable price for transport. Then prices of transport equipment went down in the 1920's and again in the 1930's and the carriers opposed the idea. Their inconsistency helped to alienate important support, including that of Commis-

sioner Eastman, for the proposition despite its basic validity. The Commission said that using replacement cost would produce unsettling fluctuations in rates at a time when the carriers needed stability. Finally using replacement cost, except in the original valuations when it was discovered that the old records had been destroyed and there was literally nothing else to do, seemed complicated.

But something very fundamental has changed since then. Prices of equipment and facilities don't fluctuate any more—they go in only one direction—up. The time thus may have come to take another look at replacement cost as a standard for rate levels. We have had 30 years of sustained inflation. I know of no economist who does not expect inflation to continue to the end of the century; they only differ on whether it will be creeping inflation or galloping inflation. Willy-nilly we have stability in direction the Commission of the 1920's didn't have—we know which way prices of our equipment and facilities are going—it is up.

Do we any longer have any use for the compromises then adopted: keep the rate base virtually untouched and vary the rate of return particularly if, for example, a rate of return of 12 per cent or more may be politically impossible for surface transportation to achieve?

Is there not now a good case to be made for doing the job properly?

Would it be so difficult? The theory of it is easy to grasp. To simplify the point, we assume free convertibility of capital. I buy today a piece of machinery for \$1,000,000. Let us say that a year from now it costs \$1,200,000 to replace it. What is the value of my investment in that machine at that time? The answer has to be the price I have to pay to replace it. How much is a railroad worth? Precisely what it would cost to replace its service capability.

Now it seems to us that we have to head in that direction if transportation is ever to get on top of the inflation problem. We don't have to do it all at once. There would be least controversy over using replacement cost for freight cars and locomotives, or boats and barges as a standard for reflecting rate levels. There would be some controversy over real estate, but less over terminals and facilities which have to be replaced, expanded and improved.

Most of the critics of replacement cost complain of the complexities of arriving at a current valuation of assets, but we have solved much more complicated problems. Annual revaluations of oil pipelines probably isn't easy either.

There are a variety of indexes for the change in the value of the dollar, for example. We know a 1950 dollar is not the same as a 1970 dollar, and what the change has been. Is there any sensible reason for treating it as if it were the same and not reflecting the amount of the change in the accounts of transport companies?

Many companies outside transportation are beginning to restate their accounts in terms of current price levels as a guide to sound business policies.

An increasing number of companies are publicly reporting current value of assets along side of their conventional financial statements. The critical importance of doing so is the very real danger that companies may declare dividends which, in fact, exceed their income after applying price level adjustments. Such companies, instead of conserving capital, are actually unintentionally distributing liquidating dividends to their shareholders.

Ignoring the inroads of inflation as transportation has had to do—to a very large extent because of an obsolete approach to cost justification of rate levels—has prevented conservation of capital. Transportation has distributed that capital, one might say, to its

customers in the form of freight rates which were too low. And this is a common pricing problem for all of transportation.

A major result of the present system is that modernization is neglected, improved productivity cannot be purchased and a positive incentive exists for a company to hang on as long as possible to the unnecessarily expensive ways of doing things. Encouragement of replacement of production capacity means incentive to improve productivity, to eliminate costly practices and to streamline and modernize generally.

Those who discourage price levels necessary to support investment in productivity improvement in an inflationary economy pay increasingly higher rates because there is no productivity offset.

The time has come for across the board new thinking about our pricing practices that will really help prevent a downward spiral in efficiency. The use of replacement cost is worth exploring because it could be so helpful so quickly.

Let us now venture into an area of Commission activity which would be a substantial departure from past practice but could provide a public interest short cut to solving the knotty problem of improving rail and water coordination in situations in which the public would be greatly advantaged. Never before has there been such an urgent public need for it because of the growing shortage of overall transportation capacity. Never has the economy so badly needed a combination of the best efficiency of low cost rail and the best efficiency of low cost water transportation. Assuming that the transportation industry, working together, can develop a program that will get the railroads over the worst of their emergency financial problems, the economy will still be in trouble if it can't find a short cut to increasing its transport capacity. The Department of Transportation estimates that transport capacity in the nation will have to increase by 50 per cent over the next 10 years if the expanding economy is to be properly served. This is quite a challenge; requiring heavy investment for all modes. Since money for investment is a scarce commodity, there is and will continue to be, intense pressure to use the money in a way that will produce the most efficient result. For vast tonnages, combining rail and water service produces the best efficiencies for the public and could provide the very short cut to increased capacity at lower costs.

Since the Commission has a clear responsibility to see that the public enjoys the benefits of intermodal coordination, it would seem logical for it to institute periodic reviews of the success or lack of success of shipper and carrier efforts to promote coordination. A few show cause orders initiated by the Commission as to why joint rates should not be instituted in particular situations would have a salutary effect on the whole intermodal climate.

What's needed for a breakthrough in intermodal rail-water coordination is the application of the basic principle of fair competition—that the connecting carrier should not be shut out of the business by rate manipulation which represents the abuse of economic power rather than exercise of relative efficiency. The present situation in which, too often, the railroad is, in effect, in a position to determine whether the all-rail service has any competition at all from the water-rail alternative cries out for improvement. Such a situation would be speedily condemned in any other segment of the economy.

The insistence of the railroad that it must get its longest haul is no different from the urge of enterprises in any field to expand their business volume. All are interested in enlarging their share of the market. None has a right to do so by exploiting a position of superior economic power to squeeze a de-

pendent competitor. Success or failure of individual competitors should reflect comparative economic merit rather than comparative economic power.

The Water Transport Association has recently published a study of the possible economies which would result from the combination of Great Lakes vessels and train-load service on grain from Buffalo into New England. This situation appears to be a classic example of what happens when competition is eliminated. Over the past decade, rail rates into New England on grain have steadily risen until they are far and away above the rates on grain from similar origins travelling similar distances into the southeast, where there is active barge and truck competition. The result has been a steady decline of the New England poultry industry. Our study proposes self-unloader service into Buffalo from Toledo and other lake ports, improved efficiency in the transfer of grain at Buffalo, and unit trains from Buffalo to New England. We suggest that a reduction of about 50 per cent in rates would be possible by improving productivity all around.

Instead of presiding over a monopoly of a declining market, we suggest that the railroads, in combination with the lake service, can reverse the decline of the New England poultry industry and develop new and ever-increasing traffic. It is quite remarkable that the New England farmer can be shut out of his own home market by high freight rates which are nevertheless subject to regulation.

Again this is not simply a private matter between railroads and water carriers. The public interest in improved efficiency resulting from competition is very great. The absence of the prod of competition such as exists in the southeast has resulted in severe damage to New England agriculture.

The Port of Buffalo and the water carriers have a right to expect that the rates and services from Buffalo to New England consuming points will be the same, cost and distance considered, as the all-rail alternative. If there is no rate discrimination against the Port of Buffalo, the lake carriers and the port will have an opportunity to assert their best efficiencies in order to participate in the movement. If there is discrimination against the port, then the lake carriers of course will be precluded from competing. We have also, incidentally, suggested the possibility of lake vessel service via Georgian Bay ports connecting with Canadian railroads into New England. We have received some interest from Canadians on this alternative.

Evidence that the issue is not regarded as a private matter comes from the New England Governors' Conference. All six New England Governors requested the ICC and the railroads study the proposal. The ICC was asked to consider the possibility of exercising its power to prescribe joint water-rail rates into New England.

In the light of the long history of difficulty over rail-water coordination, informal discussions with members of the Commission of potentials for lower cost overall transport services in the public interest resulting from combining the best efficiencies of water and rail should work as a short cut for improving coordination not only for the benefit of Buffalo and New England but for all of the Great Lakes region.

Other regulatory Commissions have been successful in moral suasion or jawboning the industries they regulate. They have said: we have the power to institute a proceeding and make you do something you know you ought to do in the public interest, but we would much prefer to have you do it voluntarily. A word to the wise has been sufficient. Costly and time-consuming litigation has been avoided while everyone's right to litigate has been preserved.

We would like to see the Commission take leadership in some of these areas in which very large transport savings appear possible

by issuing some sort of policy statement recognizing the Commission's responsibility for the proper functioning of the industry under the statute. On the New England proposal, perhaps such a policy statement might go something like this:

"Our attention has been called to the concern the New England poultry industry has over the competitive disadvantage under which it suffers because of disparity in freight rates on feed grains as between New England and the Southeast. The National Transportation Policy places a responsibility on the Commission to develop, coordinate and preserve a national transport system by water, highway and rail as well as other means, adequate to meet the needs of the commerce of the country. The railroads and the water carriers are required to provide transportation service upon reasonable request and through routes and rates with common carriers by water are also mandated. It is clearly in the public interest that the best efficiencies of both water and rail services, in combination, be offered to the public. The Commission would be pleased to see both rail and water carriers examine the potential for improving the efficiencies of services into New England and propose joint rail-water rates reflecting the unit train efficiencies commonly available for commodity movements in this and other sections of the country."

If the ICC were to issue a policy statement along these lines it would be very helpful. I doubt very much if the railroads could afford to ignore it. I think something would be done to improve the efficiency of grain transportation into New England via a water-rail route.

An unprecedented announcement by the Commission in August may mean that it is beginning to think in terms of asserting more of a leadership role. On September 16, an informal Commission staff conference was held in the ICC's largest hearing room to discuss the proposal for opening a lake-rail route in order to improve efficiency in the handling of feed grains for the northeast. The proposal and the problems of Northeastern agriculture were fully explored. The Eastern Railroads volunteered to provide an answer within 60 days.

Faced with a similar problem of disparity of freight rates discriminating against the South in the 1930's, the State of Georgia filed a famous complaint case which dragged on for many years but was finally decided favorably for Georgia. Is repetitive litigation always necessary? The water carriers believe it should not be necessary, in a rational world, to go through the ceremonial rain dance of a law suit when the issues and the facts are so clearly laid out. It should be possible for the Commission to exercise its moral authority to bring about a voluntary solution.

In summary, therefore, one concludes that the Commission is an essential factor in the proper functioning of the transportation system in the public interest.

Since, inevitably, through its decisions it exercises a powerful planning function, it should recognize that function in a more formal way and exercise its powers to develop the information it needs both in the regulated and unregulated segment of the transport industry. Needless to say, planning input from the Department of Transportation, the Department of Defense and elsewhere would always be welcome.

The Commission has been as successful, probably more successful than the antitrust division of Justice, in stimulating vigorous competition. It could improve the use of its powers, particularly in the rule-making field, to set as a goal improved efficiency in the use of the nation's transport resources. In identifying anti-competitive devices, it could find many useful analogies from experience in the non-regulatory field since anti-competitive practices tend to be the same in

all areas. As for specific tests of relative efficiency, the Commission has in its final stages a cost-finding proceeding intended to resolve precisely that question.

In discharging its responsibility for assuring the financial stability of the carriers, the Commission should modernize its approach to costs so as to recognize and deal with the problem of inflation. In two current proceedings—the rate structure investigation and the rate base investigation—its information on the relation of rates to costs and its information on revenue and earnings needs should be greatly expanded. As a first step it should be able to eliminate all rates below out-of-pocket costs and gradually increase some rates and reduce others.

Finally, it should assume more leadership in seeing to it that "as large an element of rationality as possible" is brought into the workings of the regulatory process. The exercise of informal powers of suasion to prevent repetitive litigation and assure the public of the most efficient means of transportation must be regarded as a vital aspect of the Commission's responsibility.

"HUNGARY, 1956" BY LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, following is a poem written by one of our colleagues, the gentleman from Maryland, LAWRENCE J. HOGAN. It commemorates the brave struggle of the Hungarian people in 1956, a struggle made futile by the overwhelming might of Soviet oppression and the American willingness to challenge it.

Congressman HOGAN's verse is particularly appropriate at this moment, when the United States is negotiating with the Communist Government of Hungary to return the Holy Crown of St. Stephen which we have held for safekeeping since World War II. The true nature of the enemy with whom we are dealing is clearly revealed in this vivid history of the brief and tragic uprising. One need read no further than these lines to understand why it would be a rank betrayal of the Hungarian nation to surrender the sacred symbol of her sovereignty to the oppressive dictatorship which now rules her land.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will insert our colleague's poem in the RECORD in full.

The poem follows:

HUNGARY, 1956

(By Lawrence J. Hogan)

Under Soviet oppression
And tyrannous aggression
People lived in deep despair
And dark clouds hung everywhere
In this nation without hope or goals.
But, under burned-out coals,
Freedom smoldered there
Beneath that blanket of despair.

Then, just as pressure of stifling suffocation
On a dying fire makes spontaneous combustion,

The long-dormant spark exploded
To enflame a patriotism so long eroded.
Old men and young boys,
Heady with freedom's joys,
Became rag-tag soldiers adrift,—
Gambling God's most precious gift
For a chance to rescue their nation

By risking wild confrontation;
To make a choice
Which is no choice:
Quick, rewarding death
Or slow, living death.

Soft-skinned boys emerge as men
To learn what life might have been.
Old men forget infirmities
And women ignore their frailties,
As an inspired nation arises in bravery
To cast off the chains of slavery
And invest sacrifice and dedication
With prayer and desperation
In a wild gamble to be free—
To make impossibility, reality.
To the world's disbelief
And their own ecstatic relief—
Amazing, odds-defying success
Exhilarating, intoxicating, joyful success.

Freedom! Freedom is to be.
Oh, to be free! To be free!
Hearts throb for love of country
Throats, aching from shouting defiantly,
Constrict and tears leak out of eyes
That had wept so many of despair's cries.

Now come, America, and give your solace
To this proud, brave populace
And rejoice in this heroic spirit
Arising from a coma, and share it.
Come, America, and help this rag-tag army
grow

As France helped you so long ago
By making your revolt her own.
Come help reap what love of freedom has
shown.
Come, America, with your mighty hands of
friendship

To shelter freedom's fire in kinship.
Hear the Freedom Fighter's shout
Don't let freedom be snuffed out.
Come, America, and answer this plea
From a nation hungry to be free.

As days pass awaiting America's hand
An ominous quiet envelops the land.
An eerie clam forewarns of storm
As lines of desperate resistance form.
Suddenly, the bleak November sky
Is pierced by Soviet MIGs' screaming cry.
And into every Budapest street
Firing on all they meet
Russian tanks rumble
To make all opposition crumble.
Tanks take vigil on each corner and wait.
Come, America, the hour is late!

Salvo after salvo of artillery
Bear witness to Soviet villainy.
Buildings crumble or are licked by flames
As cruel retaliation takes its claims.
Wreckage chokes Hungarian streets
And enemy fire cuts off retreats.
Behind blocked windows resisters stare
As smoke and stench of death poison the air.
Freedom Fighters spend dwindling rounds
and wait

In hopeless defiance of their fate
As Soviet soldiers, recapturing a nation,
Bring house-to-house annihilation.
In a last gasp to make fate pause,
Anonymous heroes die in a lost cause.
Come, America, and watch a nation die
As all who love freedom cry!

The Russian shooting decreases
As the last remnant of resistance ceases.
Wisps of tell-tale smoke rise
Where the corpse of freedom lies,
Its acrid smell should shame
The nostrils of all who share the blame.

Where were you, America, as freedom died
To redeem the promise which you lied?
You whose own quest for freedom's chance
Would have failed without the aid of France.
Where were you, America, when children died
in bravery

Fighting a war that could have saved the
world from slavery.

Where were you, America, when the boot of
tyranny stomped out freedom's fire?
You were there, America, as pallbearer at the
funeral pyre!

WHY DOESN'T ANYONE TALK ABOUT
WELFARE FOR THE RICH?

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, at a time when it seems to be acceptable to sneer at and degrade welfare recipients, it is fitting to study Federal programs which restrict competition, lavish tax benefits, and pay cash subsidies to American industry. This is welfare for the rich.

The State of New York and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, are now working on programs to use disadvantaged citizens as human guinea pigs. There is little concern for the physical, psychological, or economic well-being of the poor in our society, but there is an overabundance of solicitude for the fiscal well-being of the oil industry, the airlines, agribusiness, the shipyards, and the utilities.

Some of my colleagues who argue against giving even \$2,400 to a disadvantaged family of four on which to survive for an entire year are strangely silent on the \$1.43 billion cost to the taxpayers for the oil depletion allowance.

Washington Report, the weekly publication of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, recently reprinted an article from the New York Review of Books, describing how business gets richer while poor Americans go hungry. In addition, the October issue of Ramparts described exactly how agribusiness reaps its profits from our subsidy program.

I urge those of my colleagues who have a limited interpretation of the word "welfare" to read the following two articles to broaden their perspective:

[From the Washington Report, Oct. 25, 1971]

HOW CERTAIN GROUPS GET MORE THAN THEIR
FAIR SHARE
REGULATION

The ICC, which acts essentially as a cartel manager for railroads and truckers—fixing prices ("to prevent destructive competition") and excluding new competitors. Over \$2 billion for railroads alone.¹

The FCC, which sets an "allowed rate of return" for the telephone company and proceeds to ignore it. The excess of AT&T's current revenues over the maximum supposedly in force is approximately \$169 million.²

The CAB, which fixes prices and excludes competition for airlines. \$2 billion to \$4 billion³ in excess airline revenues due to restrictions on competition.

¹ This figure is based on the current misallocation of railroad investments, and assumes that railroads would respond rationally to competitive prices. See Friedlaender, "The Social Costs of Regulating Railroads," American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings, May, 1971.

² Calculated from figures in The Wall Street Journal, August 30, 1971, p. 4.

³ Rough estimate by Professor Michael E. Levine, University of Southern California; calculated with reference to the price experience of unregulated markets. Cf. Levine, "Is Air Regulation Necessary? California Air Transportation and National Regulatory Policy," 74 Yale Law Journal 1416 (1965).

TAXES⁴

Special treatment for capital gains. \$5.5 billion to \$8.5 billion, highly concentrated among the affluent.

Deductibility of medical expenses and exclusion of medical insurance premiums and medical care from taxable income. \$3 billion—like all tax deductions, the program has higher benefits for high bracket taxpayers.

Deductibility of property taxes and interest on mortgages on owner-occupied homes. \$4.8 billion—together with other tax aids for homeownerships, this works strongly in favor of upper-middle income groups.

Excess depletion allowance for oil and minerals. \$1.43 billion to corporations.

Extra personal exemption for students. \$500 million, concentrated in higher income groups whose tax brackets are higher and whose children are more likely to be full-time students.

SUBSIDIES

Merchant marine subsidy—to aid inefficient shipyards. An average of approximately \$1 billion a year for the next ten years, including direct budget outlays and higher shipping rates.⁵

Private aviation facilities—making it cheaper for corporations, executives, and flying enthusiasts to own their airplanes. At least \$200 million a year in federal subsidies not covered by user charges.⁶

Agriculture. \$2.64 billion in government payments to farmers under major price support programs, not including cost in higher prices to consumers. Benefits chiefly high-income farmers and agricultural corporations.⁷

OIL IMPORTS

Import quotas that raise the price of oil by over 50 percent. \$5 billion transfer from consumers to oil companies.⁸

(This list excludes lax anti-trust enforcement and other failures of government that are difficult to measure precisely, but which also shift billions of dollars from consumers' pockets to corporations. In addition to these redistributive issues, there is, of course, the separate question of misplaced government spending for military and space programs.)

[From Rampart's, October 1971]

THE AGRI-WELFARE ROLL

The President says he wants to help improve the lot of the small farmer but, as the accompanying chart suggests, farm-support programs, now as in the past, don't help little farmers, but are give-aways to big, wealthy operators, some of them subsidiaries of highly profitable conglomerate corporations.

The biggest payments in 1970 went to J. G. Boswell Co., Kings County, Calif., which controls nearly 150,000 acres of farm land and is the world's largest grower of cotton. In addition, Boswell grows grapes, runs feedlots, produces safflower oil, etc. Boswell still

⁴ The figures are for fiscal year 1969, and are taken from the statement of Hon. Murray L. Weidenbaum, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, before the Subcommittee on Economy in Government, Joint Economic Committee in the Department of the Treasury News (June 2, 1970), quoted in Stanley Surrey, "Federal Income Tax Reform: the Varied Approaches Necessary to Replace Tax Expenditures with Direct Governmental Assistance," 84 Harvard Law Review 352 (1970).

⁵ Estimated in Charles Schultze, et al., *Setting National Priorities: The 1972 Budget* (Brookings Institution, 1971), p. 267.

⁶ Calculated from figures in Schultze, p. 266.

⁷ Fiscal year 1971 estimate; Schultze, p. 300.

⁸ Estimate by the staff of the Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control in the Commission's report, *The Oil Import Question* (1970), paragraph 207.

won't sign with the United Farm Workers, and last year brought in high school football coaches and their teams to pick grapes. Boswell is a director of Safeway and Robert A. McGowan, Safeway's chairman, is a Boswell director. Safeway went out of its way to buy non-union grapes. Boswell employs 15,000 people, has two private planes and a private airport.

Boswell is an old hand at the subsidy game. Two years ago he took advantage of a bounty offered by Australia to grow cotton, and received \$500,000. At the same time, he received \$3 million from the U.S. for not growing cotton on his farms.

Last year Boswell received \$4 million in subsidy payments. To reduce enormous subsidies such as this, Congress passed a law in 1970 limiting farm subsidies to \$55,000 per crop. But the big farmers and the Department of Agriculture got busy and found a way around the new law. Technically Boswell won't receive anything from the government this year. Instead payments will go to 53 investors, who paid Boswell \$1.3 million for a one year's lease to his cotton allotments. In addition, they will pay Boswell to farm the land.

Giffen, Inc., of Fresno County and like Boswell an important cotton grower, has a 100,000 acre farm. A family enterprise, Giffen has the second biggest cotton subsidy in the state, and also grows fruits, sugar and cattle. Giffen is a GOP supporter and contributor. He was in prominent attendance at Nixon's Salute to Agriculture Day festivities on May 7. Like Boswell, Giffen neatly dodged around the new \$55,000 subsidy rule.

The company was assigned a 1971 cotton allotment by USDA of 11,554 acres. That meant Giffen was eligible for subsidies of 15c a pound on cotton grown on those acres. But because of the \$5,000 limitation the firm would have received no benefit from most of the allotment. Fresno County agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, however, approved Giffen's plan to lease most of the acreage in the cotton allotment to smaller growers. The leasing fee was about 6¢ for each pound of cotton yielded per acre. The average cotton yield in Fresno County is about 1100 pounds. Thus a producer would receive \$66 an acre for his allotment. Giffen stands to make \$762,000 a year in lease fees alone, and probably more from the lessees in the form of payments to farm the land.

South Lake Farms, third largest beneficiary of the farm subsidy program, is an important part of the Bangor Punta conglomerate. Among other things Bangor Punta designs sewage treatment facilities, manufactures the chemical Mace, and runs a railroad in Maine. South Lake Farms is held through Producers Cotton Oil Co., which owns or controls 48 cotton gins in the San Joaquin Valley of California and 20 gins in Arizona. South Lake Farms operates about 100,000 acres in the San Joaquin Valley. The corporation also owns several thousand acres of farm lands along the southern California-Arizona border, and maintains substantial interests in Thunderbird Farms, Arizona Farming Co., and Painted Ranches, all in Arizona.

South Lake grows a variety of crops, including cotton, sugar beets, what, safflower, tomatoes, etc. Its immediate parent, Producers, is of considerable importance because it finances other California cotton growers, then processes and markets cotton products.

Probably Bangor Punta is best known for its public security division, Smith & Wesson, the fire-arms maker. Smith & Wesson also makes Mace, Pepper Fog, plastic helmets, gas masks, sirens, handcuffs, radar systems, and suspect identification systems for police.

Tenneco, Inc., which received \$1.1 million in farm subsidies last year, is a conglomerate which in 1970 grossed \$2.5 billion and had a net income of 157.8 million. The company

was founded on and is best known for its natural gas pipeline operations. It has extensive oil and gas holdings in the North Sea and Indonesia. Through a series of subsidiaries Tenneco aims to build an integrated farm-to-market agricultural system, selling products under the Sun Giant brand. The company owns or controls 1.6 million acres of land in California, Arizona and New Mexico. It farms much of the California land, runs ranches on lands in the southwest, and is developing new towns and suburban subdivisions on other holdings. In addition to these holdings, Tenneco controls Houston National Bank and its various realty ventures, owns the Newport News Shipbuilding Dry Dock Co., and has a 24 percent interest in Philadelphia Life Insurance.

Some of the other large beneficiaries of farm subsidies include U.S. Sugar Corp., in which the Mott family has a 24.76 percent interest. Stewart Mott, the New York liberal philanthropist is a company director. The Salyer Land Co., fourth biggest recipient, is a family enterprise, also based in California. The company controls some 60,000 acres, much of it in cotton and grain. John Wayne and his partners will haul in \$218,000 this year in subsidies for several cotton ranches they run in Arizona, and Senator Eastland and his family will continue to receive substantial amounts, this year calculated to run around \$160,000.

TEN LARGEST U.S. FARM PAYMENTS—1970

State, farmer, and amount:
California, J. G. Boswell Co., \$4.4 million.
California, Giffen, Inc., \$4.0 million.
California, South Lake Farms (Bangor Punta), \$1.8 million.
California, Salyer Land Co., \$1.5 million.
California, H. M. Tenneco, \$1.3 million.
Hawaii, Hawaiian Com & Sugar Co., \$1.2 million.
Hawaii, Walalua Sugar Co., Inc., \$1.1 million.
California, Vista del Llano Farms (Anderson Clayton Co.), \$1.1 million.
Florida, U.S. Sugar Corp., \$1 million.
California, S. A. Camp Farms Co., \$903,650.

ITEM VETO IS ECONOMIC WAY TO RUN OUR GOVERNMENT

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced over a period of Congresses a bill to allow for a Presidential item veto of selected appropriations. The bill in this Congress is House Joint Resolution 299, pending in the House Judiciary Committee. I believe in this period of rapidly escalating costs of government, there exists a real need to cut Federal spending wherever possible.

The National Federation of Independent Business has just conducted a poll on businessmen on my bill and 77 percent of those polled are in favor of an item veto.

I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD editorials from the Nebraska City, (Nebr.) News-Press and WRTH of St. Louis, Mo., in support of the legislation:

CURING THE SPENDERS

Seventy-seven per cent of the independent businessmen in Nebraska and 72 per cent of those queried in Iowa believe it is time for a basic change in the federal government's appropriations process.

The federal government now is spending well above \$1,000 a year for each man, woman and child in the United States.

Giving the president selective veto power over appropriations, proposed as a constitutional amendment by Representative Charles E. Bennett of Florida, has won endorsement from 77 per cent of the business people polled by the National Federation of Independent Business.

Instead of the president facing the decision of either accepting or rejecting an appropriations bill in its entirety, Representative Bennett's proposed amendment would give him an "item veto" and allow him to red pencil any individual appropriations he finds objectionable. These appropriations could be restored by the usual veto-over-riding process, a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress.

The federation's poll shows only 17 per cent of the business owners opposing this bill and 6 per cent undecided.

Federal government spending in fiscal 1971 soared to \$211 billion, and it is headed toward \$230 billion in the current year. Washington outspent federal revenue by \$79 billion in the last 10 years.

Independent business people have been outspokenly critical of federal expenditures, and several years ago supported the proposition that federal spending should not exceed income except in time of war. But the question remains: How to restrain Congress, which passes all of the spending authorizations?

Congress for years has been disregarding presidents and the people in voting huge appropriations. For this reason, Congress will be reluctant to give the president the right of "item veto" in appropriations bills. Getting this sensible proposal before state legislatures will be no easier than it will be in Nebraska to get the partisan legislature proposal on the ballot.

ITEM VETO FOR THE PRESIDENT

Authorization for all federal spending is made in appropriation bills passed by Congress. The President has the choice of accepting and signing each or vetoing it. He cannot veto individual expenditures he may dislike. It has long been suggested that the President should be able to exercise an "item veto" so that objectionable appropriations could be removed, subject to an over-riding two-thirds vote of each House.

Representative Charles Bennett of Florida has proposed a resolution to give the President this power. WRTH believes it makes little sense not to afford this opportunity to the Chief Executive. The Federal government is now spending well above one thousand dollars a year for each person in the United States and it's about time for a basic change in the appropriations process. At least eight presidents have asked that the Constitution be amended so that they can exercise selective veto of Congressional appropriations.

WRTH believes the "all or nothing at all" approach to the problem puts the President at a great disadvantage. We feel the "item veto" would go a long way toward ending the "pork barrel" appropriations and costly riders tacked on to bills by an unrestrained Congress.

CONGLOMERATES: FARM THREAT

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, the countryside is in a sorry state of affairs. I

can scarcely go to a single community in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District without seeing boarded-up storefronts.

There are some communities where more business places are abandoned than are open.

Nick Kotz, of the Washington Post, recently wrote a series of articles on the death of the countryside.

These articles were summarized in an editorial which appeared in the St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press of October 24.

Mr. Speaker, our countryside is in serious trouble, but too many people fail to recognize the problems. To help them come to an understanding of the problems, with your permission, I would like to insert this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and urge my colleagues to read it carefully.

It points out a challenge Congress must face:

CONGLOMERATES: FARM THREAT

Huge conglomerate corporations, some with billions of assets at their disposal, are driving the family farm out of existence in California.

Will this same story be repeated in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa and the rest of the Midwest? There is growing danger that it will, according to a carefully researched series of articles by writer Nick Kotz of the Washington Post, recently appearing in the Pioneer Press. The militant National Farmers Organization (NFO), the Farmers Union and, to a lesser extent, the conservative American Farm Bureau, share these fears but are divided as to the best defensive course of action.

What is at stake is not only the fate of struggling individual farm families, but the survival of rural life in America as it has existed, including the small towns which get their lifeblood from independent land operators in their territory.

Even the big, highly efficient family farms are increasingly in trouble. They must compete with corporations which can produce crops at a loss while making profits from other sources, including land speculation, capital gains, and tax benefits connected with business ventures in oil, manufacturing, chemicals, or almost any imaginable industrial field.

"The farmhouse lights are going out all over America," says Oren Lee Staley, president of the NFO.

The decline of rural population of course is not new. In the past 50 years some 40 million Americans have moved from rural to urban life as the industrial society has developed. A million individual farms are being eliminated every 10 years. Fewer than 3 million now remain.

But until recent years there was a common public belief, encouraged by farm economists, that once the inefficient operations were squeezed out, agriculture would in the future be dominated by big but individually or independently owned farms. The common view was that these could compete successfully with corporation farming.

However, the shaking out of small farmers from the rural economy has been accompanied simultaneously by continued growth of vertically integrated corporate farming, such as giant supermarket chains producing their own eggs and poultry and canning companies raising their own fruits and vegetables. In recent years has come the super-giant conglomerate which may own not only food chains, canneries and farms but also oil wells, chemical plants making pesticides, tractor factories, feed mills, textile mills and

so on. As a side line such a conglomerate also may speculate in huge land purchases, running tax-loss farms while waiting for inflation to increase the value of the property for resale.

The Federal Trade Commission has charged two big corporations with trying to monopolize the production of lettuce and other fresh vegetables in California. Corporate ownership of cotton production is widespread. Midwest dairying, cattle and hog raising and growing of corn, soybeans and wheat remain the last main holdouts for the independent farmer. There are signs of corporate expansion in cattle and hog feeding. Huge Texas feedlots run by corporations have replaced some smaller Midwest feeders. Hog growers are being invited by corporations to give up their independent operations and raise hogs on contract in ways similar to what has happened in poultry production.

Such developments account for the growth of the NFO, more militant and aggressive than the older farm organizations. It advocates federal laws barring conglomerate corporation farming, closing tax-loss loopholes, and more effective methods by which farmers can negotiate advance prices for their products the way organized labor negotiates wage contracts.

The whole agriculture problem is immensely complicated and difficult. The Midwest has become the last fortress of independent farming and even here the future is impossible to predict. The vast economic forces involved are difficult to control. But if the conglomerate movement continues to gain momentum in agriculture in the direction of present trends, America's traditions of rural and small town life face a crucial struggle for survival.

GEN. STEPHEN JONES
CHAMBERLIN

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the recent death of Gen. Stephen Jones Chamberlin who passed away on October 23 at the age of 82.

General Chamberlin entered the U.S. Military Academy from Kansas in 1908, graduating in 1912 as a second lieutenant of infantry. During his military career he served in campaigns on the Mexican border and in both World Wars. For his contribution in managing the transport of one and a half million American soldiers to Europe in World War I, he was awarded the Army Distinguished Service Medal and the Navy Cross.

General Chamberlin was dispatched to Australia in December of 1941 where he served as Chief of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces in Australia. After the fall of the Philippines, General Chamberlin became General MacArthur's Chief of Plans and Operations for the conduct of the Pacific campaign from New Guinea to Tokyo. In recognition of his direction of the evolution of master strategy of the Allied campaign, he was awarded three additional Army Distinguished Service Medals, a Silver Star, and an array of foreign decorations.

After the surrender of Japan, General Chamberlin was Chief of Staff to the Supreme Commander of the American Forces in the Pacific. Returning from the war in 1946 he became Director of Military Intelligence for General Eisenhower. He retired in 1951 capping a 43-year career as commanding general of the 5th U.S. Army.

General Chamberlin served bravely and ably in the cause of freedom. We grieve his passing. An obituary from the Santa Ana Register follows:

[From the Santa Ana (Calif.) Register, Oct. 25, 1971]

MACARTHUR AIDE GENERAL CHAMBERLIN DIES IN NEWPORT BEACH HOSPITAL

NEWPORT BEACH.—Retired Lt. Gen. Stephen J. Chamberlin, a 43-year Army veteran and deputy to Gen. Douglas MacArthur during World War II, died at Hoag Memorial Hospital Saturday following a brief illness. He was 82.

Chamberlin, a native of Kansas, was graduated from West Point in 1912 as a second lieutenant in the infantry and served in campaigns along the Mexican border.

He was awarded the Army Distinguished Service Medal and the Navy Cross for his contribution in managing the transport of 1.5 million American soldiers to Europe during World War I.

After the outbreak of World War II, he was sent to Australia where he served as chief of staff for the U.S. army forces there and later became MacArthur's chief of planning and operations for the conduct of the Pacific campaign from New Guinea to Tokyo.

Chamberlin was awarded three additional distinguished service medals, the Silver Star and a number of foreign decorations, including the British Legion of Merit, for his direction of the master strategy of the Allied campaign.

Following Japan's surrender he was made chief of staff to the supreme commander of American forces in the Pacific until 1946 when he became director of military intelligence for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

At the time of his retirement in 1951, Chamberlin was commanding general of the 5th Army.

Services will be held Tuesday at St. George's Episcopal Church in nearby Leisure World with burial with full military honors Thursday at Arlington National Cemetery.

He is survived by his widow, Sarah, of Laguna Hills, a daughter, Mrs. Sally Bowman of Pacific Palisades, and a son, Stephen Jr. of Boston.

OPPOSITION TO THE WYLIE AMENDMENT—HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 191

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, October 31, an editorial entitled "On School Prayer—A Threat to Religion" appeared in the Los Angeles Times. The author Philip B. Kurland, a professor of law at the University of Chicago carefully examines within the editorial the controversy surrounding the proposed school prayer amendment and concludes that at best its enactment would invite State-imposed religious dogma and religious strife; at worst, he says, it assures them.

Professor Kurland also states that the Members of the House in voting on this issue next Monday should base their choice on reason and should not merely respond emotionally to the irresponsible rhetoric which has demanded so much of their attention.

I would like to commend this article to each of my colleagues in the hope that a greater magnitude of reason will prevail:

ON SCHOOL PRAYER—A THREAT TO RELIGION
(By Philip D. Kurland)

Certainly the American people can, by constitutional processes, choose to allow compulsory prayer ceremonies in their public schools. That is what the proponents of the constitutional amendment now pending in the House of Representatives are seeking to accomplish.

But before the American people or their representatives make that choice, they ought to be informed of the issues so that the choice may be a reasoned one and not simply a matter of emotional response to irresponsible rhetoric. The question is not whether we "restore God to the classroom."

The proposed amendment, House of Representatives Joint Resolution 191, is itself short if not clear. It reads: "Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the rights of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building which is supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer."

While the language is vague, its apparent purpose is to permit schools to impose a requirement of prayer ceremonies on students, although it could be interpreted to allow students who dared to do so to remove themselves from the company of their fellows while such school exercises took place. There is also a negative pregnant in the proposed language that could expand the present constitutional inhibition. Should the amendment become law, denominational prayers in legislative halls and executive mansions would become at least constitutionally suspect.

The reason for the existent constitutional rule that now prevents such school ceremonies was stated by Mr. Justice Frankfurter in his opinion in *McCullum v. Board of Education*.

"The secular public school did not imply indifference to the basic role of religion in the life of the people, nor the rejection of religious education as a means of fostering it. The claims of religion were not minimized by refusing to make the public schools agencies for their assertion. The non-sectarian or secular public school was the means of reconciling freedom in general with religious freedom. The sharp confinement of the public schools to secular education was a recognition of the need of a democratic society to educate its children, insofar as the State undertook to do so, in an atmosphere free from pressures in a realm in which pressures are most resisted and where conflicts are most easily and bitterly engendered. Designed to serve as perhaps the most powerful agency for promoting cohesion among a heterogeneous democratic people, the public school must be kept scrupulously free from entanglement in the strife of sects. The preservation of the community from divisive conflicts, of Government from irreconcilable pressures by religious groups, of religion from censorship and coercion however subtly exercised, requires strict confinement of the State to instruction other than religious, leaving to the individual's church and home, indoctrination in the faith of his choice."

But, say the supporters of the proposed amendment, these defects implicit in the

utilization of the public academy for instilling religious faiths are not relevant to the proposed amendment. First, they say, because there is no coercion on the public school student authorized by the amendment. Second, they say, because the only prayers authorized are "nondenominational" prayers, thereby eliminating fear of sectarian conflict.

Neither answer is accurate. There is coercion and there is an invitation to sectarian strife. For we must remember that if public education is free it is also compulsory except that students may attend private schools, most of which, at the elementary and high school level, are religiously controlled.

The coercion may be more subtle than physical compulsion to be present during the engagement in these exercises. As the same justice pointed out in the same case.

"That a child is offered an alternative may reduce the constraint; it does not eliminate the operation of influence by the school in matters sacred to conscience and outside the school's domain. The law of imitation operates, and non-conformity is not an outstanding characteristic of children . . ."

That there will be sectarian strife is almost as readily assured. What is a "nondenominational prayer"? Who will frame it? What religions can accommodate their teachings to it? As the American Council on Education noted some years ago: "The notion of a common core suggests a watering down of the several faiths to the point where common essentials appear. This might easily lead to a new sect—a public school sect—which would take its place alongside the existing faiths and compete with them." Do we want a state religion? No one reading today's newspaper headlines should think so.

At least some leaders of some of the churches recognize the dangers and deplore the possibilities of "nondenominational prayer." In 1962, Father Gustave Weigel, a learned Catholic student of the problem, pointed out: "The moral code held by each separate religious community can reductively be unified, but the consistent particular believer wants no such reduction."

And the official magazine of the United Presbyterian Church said at the same time: "If you have faith-in-general, you have no faith to speak of. Faith has to be something-in-particular. A nondenominational prayer is doomed to be limited and circumscribed. If prayer starts soaring, it starts to be controversial, which is the one thing a nondenominational prayer dares not to be."

The Supreme Court, in the *Vitale* case, which the proposed amendment seeks to overturn, said: "It is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by government."

Are the American people, who have already turned over control of so much of their activities to government, prepared to reject this precept about the proper role of government in specifying religious activities? Thoughtful evaluation rather than visceral reaction suggests that the *Vitale* rule is one of the bulwarks of America's freedom from the ills that continue to plague those countries where "toleration" rather than "freedom" is the guide to government action in the field of religion.

If, as has been suggested, the churches are losing their holds on the minds and hearts of young Americans, they will not be succeeded by rote recitations of "nondenominational" prayers which can reflect neither the words nor the spirit nor the teachings of any religion. "Nondenominational" prayer will not "restore God" to the classroom: it will degrade religion not exalt it.

If this is what the American people want, but only then, they should support the proposed amendment. If they have any notion of

the real meaning of religious belief and our history of developing religious freedom, they will recognize the proposed amendment as antireligious, not pro-religious.

At best, the proposed amendment invites state-imposed religious dogma and religious strife; at worst, it assures them.

CHILDREN'S CATASTROPHIC HEALTH CARE ACT OF 1971

HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced an important measure, the Children's Catastrophic Health Care Act of 1971, that I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues. The bill is identical to that introduced this summer by the distinguished chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor-HEW, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), who has provided such outstanding leadership in the health and child welfare field.

Mr. Speaker, few dimensions of the national health crisis are more acute than those affecting our children. Childhood illnesses affect many millions of American families each year, and, aside from the tragedy of human suffering involved, the spiraling costs of medical care and treatment of afflicted children pose a catastrophic economic burden on all but a handful of such families.

As one example of the impact of such catastrophic childhood illnesses, a recent survey revealed that birth defects alone currently affect some 2.5 million Americans under the age of 20. Of this total, there are 1,170,000 suffering from mental retardation of prenatal origin; 300,000 suffer from congenital blindness and lesser visual impairment; and another 300,000 suffer from congenital deafness and lesser hearing impairment. Still another 300,000 suffer from genitourinary malformations, some 200,000 have muscular dystrophy, and another 200,000 have congenital heart and other circulatory disease. Other types of birth defects included in the 2.5 million total include clubfoot, cleft lip/palate, diabetes, malformations of digestive system, speech disturbances of prenatal origin, cystic fibrosis, and many others.

Mr. Speaker, the "Children's Catastrophic Health Care Act of 1971" would become a new title V of the Social Security Act, replacing the present title V—Maternal and Child Health and Crippled Children's Services. It would significantly expand present crippled children's programs and also be maternal and infant care program authorized under the present language of title V. It would also continue other title V programs that are important in the health care field. The cost of such programs authorized under this legislation would continue to be provided through the regular appropriations process, not through payroll deductions or taxes. States would continue to share the cost of their expanded crippled chil-

dren's programs. The proposed new legislation would eliminate the arbitrary eligibility standards of the States and would provide for sufficient funding to insure that all eligible children receive the degree of treatment they need. Eligibility would be based on a national eligibility standard based on the income of the family.

Specifically, Mr. Speaker, under this bill a child would be eligible for free catastrophic health care and services whenever the cost of his treatment became prohibitively expensive. If the family has a taxable income of \$15,000 a year or less, the program would pay all of the child's annual medical expenses which exceeded 5 percent of the family's income. A family earning more than \$15,000 a year would become eligible when their child's medical expenses exceeded the sum of 5 percent of the first \$15,000 of their income and 10 percent of all income above \$15,000. Thus, no family in America would be financially ruined by the medical bills brought on by catastrophic childhood illnesses, defects, or injuries.

During the first year of the program, all children under the age of 7 would be covered. In succeeding years, benefits would be available to these children and all new babies, hence in the second year all children under the age of 8 would be covered, in the third year all children under the age of 9 would be covered and so on until in 1983, all children under 13 years would be covered under the program.

The bill would also expand existing title V maternal and infant care programs—now serving only 33 States—to all 50 States. It would further provide maternal care to all low-income mothers and health care to all of their infants during the first year of their lives.

Mr. Speaker, the Children's Catastrophic Health Care Act of 1971 provides a way to build upon an already proven system to provide comprehensive health care to all children suffering from major defects, diseases, or injuries. It also provides a comprehensive maternal and infant care system for all low-income mothers and their children. It offers an immediate and effective method of dealing now with the most urgently serious health care problems of our children—our most precious human and national asset.

RENEWAL OF BROADCAST LICENSE: A BACKGROUND PAPER

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I have just come from a meeting of the Arkansas Broadcasting Association. They are disturbed by recent decisions of the FCC which appear to be unreasonable and threatening to the survival of the industry.

A fact sheet was distributed at the meeting. I submit it for the consideration of every Member of Congress.

RENEWAL OF BROADCAST LICENSES—A BACKGROUND PAPER

The survival of the free broadcasting system is at stake. Every station is affected by the license renewal problem. A clear and reasonable license renewal policy must be developed and, in order to ensure a permanent national policy, it must be made law by the Congress. It is essential that every broadcaster do his part to help create a climate in which the license renewal issue can be successfully resolved. The time is now.

Set forth below are some viewpoints that we urge you to disseminate in every possible way, including the following:

1. In conversations with and letters to your Congressmen and other government officials who may have some influence on the resolution of this issue.
2. As background material for editorials, discussion or interview programs, etc. on your station.—The Fairness Doctrine may apply and you should be prepared to present opposing views.
3. As background for editorials or columns by newspapers in your cities.
4. As a basis for your own speeches or discussions with influential people in your city. (Business, labor, civic, media, religious, etc.)

In presenting any of these viewpoints, the focus should be kept on the public's interest in continuity and responsibility in broadcast licensees.

WHERE WE ARE AND HOW WE GOT HERE

For more than 40 years, the policy of the FCC and its predecessor, the Federal Radio Commission, was consistent.

In the landmark WBAL case in 1951, the FCC reaffirmed its policy that the past performance of a broadcaster was the most reliable indicator of his future performance.

In the WHDH case (1969) the FCC, giving no credit to the licensee for past performance, took the license away and awarded it to the competing applicant. It was a unique case with many overtones beyond how the licensee had operated the station. The vote was 3 to 1. Thus—on this precedent-setting case—3 of 7 Commissioners did not vote and each of the 3 who voted against renewal had a different rationale.

The Pastore Bill was introduced to restore the situation to what it had been before the WHDH decision. It became a political hot potato when it was wrongfully branded a racist bill.

Realizing the chaos that would occur, the FCC stepped in and issued a policy statement governing hearings on competing renewal applications. They stated that if a licensee could prove that he had performed with "substantial" service the hearing would end right there. In the absence of such a showing, the license would be subject to a full hearing. The FCC issued a proposed rule making defining "substantial" service. The vote was 6-1.

This past June the Court of Appeals threw out the policy statement, saying that any challenger was entitled to a full hearing on his application. Further, Judge Skelly Wright stated that "superior" service should give the licensee "a plus of major significance" and listed a variety of elements that, in his opinion, should be included in the definition of "superior" service.

The Court of Appeals decision, written by Judge Wright, implies that a significant percentage of licenses should be turned over to newcomers at the end of the three year license period. We believe wholesale changeovers of licenses would be catastrophic in terms of broadcast service and dangerous to our free system of broadcasting. Such a policy would (1) destroy the independence of broadcasting and gradually reduce it to an arm of government (2) result in changes in broadcast programming which would be re-

sented by the vast majority of the people in this country.

THE POWER TO ISSUE OR WITHHOLD A LICENSE IS THE POWER OF LIFE AND DEATH OVER A BROADCASTING STATION

The power to choose licensees or impose conditions on licenses contains the power to control the broadcasting system. It is in everybody's interest that such power be exercised fairly and with restraint to provide a stable, responsible broadcasting service as free as possible from government control. We believe a policy that resulted in licenses being auctioned off to the highest bidder (not necessarily the highest bidder in monetary terms but in promises) would tend to produce exactly the opposite result—instability, loss of freedom, and irresponsibility.

Thus, the importance of this issue to the public cannot be underemphasized. The public's interest in free programming and news coverage rests on an unimpaired broadcasting industry.

CONTINUITY OF LICENSES IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY ITSELF

Continuity in licenses is a virtue, not a drawback. Continuity of licenses builds responsible broadcasters. They participate in community affairs and are an important contributing part of that community. Those who have been licensed for many years have become trusted voices in the community.

Lack of reasonable assurance that a license will be renewed will lead to a lack of responsibility and open the door for the entry of quick buck artists. How will an applicant who displaces a current licensee operate when he knows the very same thing could happen to him at the end of the three year period?

THE GOVERNMENT WOULD END UP WITH CONTROL OF PROGRAMMING

Broadcasters seek to present programs which will appeal to the public. The principal purpose of rating services, which the industry supports, is to find out what the public wants in its radio and television programming. The fact that the majority of all Americans voluntarily listen to some radio or watch some television every day—a daily national audience for radio and television is typically one hundred fifty million people—is conclusive proof that broadcasters reflect the peoples' wishes. (Sure, some people listen or watch simply because it is there, but those enormous figures cannot be explained by that reasoning.)

Under the philosophy expressed in Judge Wright's decision, the government should require a station to meet "quantitative and qualitative" standards if the government is to renew the license. That means imposing some government body's standards of programming. In other words, direct public influence would be replaced by the judgment of the government as to what the public should see and hear. Such government judgments would inevitably reflect the tastes, preferences and general philosophy of those sitting on the regulatory body and the political party in power. This is the very reason the framers of the Communications Act sought to preclude censorship of broadcast programming.

The real question is: who will most accurately reflect the desires of the American people—the broadcaster whose goal is to seek out those desires and serve them—or a government body under heavy pressure to "use" the broadcasting system to "educate the people," "improve their tastes," etc.?

No one denies that allowing the broadcaster control of programming may result in some abuses—but on balance the possibility of occasional and isolated instances of abuse is a small drawback compared to the threat of government control and dictation of programming.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS—OF WHICH BROADCASTING IS AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT PART—WOULD BE DANGEROUSLY IMPERILED

Radio and television are the principal and most trusted news suppliers to the American people. Further, broadcast news has been steadily improving. There is more of it and the quality and range is markedly better than it was a few years ago—particularly at the local level.

Broadcast news freedom would be seriously endangered by an uncertain or potentially punitive license renewal policy. For example, if you were a newspaper editor and your newspaper required a license renewal every three years—and that license might readily be given to another applicant if the government was displeased—could you do a probing news job? Would you have to walk on eggs when dealing with political figures or important institutions? Could you engage in investigative reporting? Could you produce controversial or courageous documentaries?

THE LICENSE RENEWAL PROCEDURE SHOULD NOT BE USED AS A DEVICE TO RESTRUCTURE OUR PRESENT BROADCASTING SYSTEM

If basic changes in America's broadcasting system are needed, it is the job of Congress to undertake those changes, after careful balancing of the public interest issues and with preservation of constitutional protections. License renewal procedures should not be used as a device to engineer social changes that a majority of the FCC or a particular judge regard as desirable.

THE FCC ALREADY HAS THE POWER TO DEAL WITH ERRANT LICENSEES

It can revoke a license for violation of law or FCC regulations. It can impose fines. It can issue cease and desist orders. It can issue short term licenses. It can take a licensee's past practice into account at license renewal time. Plenty of power is already available to the FCC for legitimate regulation. Throwing open licenses to all comers every three years is unneeded overkill.

It is sometimes claimed that the FCC has never revoked a license. That is not true. Over the years the FCC has revoked a number of licenses. But the real reason that large numbers of licenses have not been revoked each year is that, except in cases of serious violations, the licensee was told to correct the situation or face revocation—and he did. So the number of licenses revoked is no indication that the FCC did not use its power or was derelict in its duties.

BROADCASTERS ARE NOT SEEKING LICENSES IN PERPETUITY

No broadcaster believes that an unworthy licensee should be renewed. In fact, we urge stronger policing of bad actors. They are a small minority which give broadcasting a bad name and bring undesired discredit to the good operator.

IF A LARGE NUMBER OF LICENSES WERE SWITCHED EVERY YEAR, LICENSES WOULD ALMOST INEVITABLY BECOME POLITICAL FOOTBALLS

In the past, the record in this respect has been good. The FCC has been left alone to do its job. Ex parte pressures have been negligible. Mass license changes would create great temptations and opportunities. The pressure to favor political friends and large contributors would be tremendous. Appointments to the FCC itself would likely become more political. The situation would be tailor-made for corruption.

THE WAY WOULD BE OPENED FOR BLACKMAIL AND EXTORTION

Indeed, these have already developed as a by-product of the WHDH case. Stations have been approached—typically at the last minute and with no prior contact—with threats to file petitions to deny or competing appli-

cations unless demands are met. Some of these demands have included cash payoffs, "gifts" or "donations" to specified business or charitable organizations, deposits in certain banks, the hiring of certain individuals, programming changes to favor the particular group, sometimes "control" of a certain amount of programming.

BROADCASTERS ARE SERVING MINORITY GROUPS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

Some minority group leaders charge that broadcasters do not serve their particular group. Yet a recent poll by the Harris organization reported that Blacks rate television as the American institution most strongly committed to Black equality, the institution that "really cared most" about Blacks. Television was rated ahead of the U. S. Supreme Court and the Congress—as well as newspapers, local government and all other categories. In radio, many stations are Black oriented in programming and heavy in Black talent. A small but growing number of radio stations is Black owned. In television, Blacks are the heaviest viewers.

There is almost no evidence that the Black community as a whole shares the extreme views of broadcasting expressed by some Black leaders, who, typically, have no broadly-based mandate from the people they claim to represent.

LICENSE CHALLENGERS ARE SEEKING TO GAIN FOR THEMSELVES THE FRUITS OF OTHER MEN'S LABOR . . .

In some stations, because of market size and other factors, it is easy to make a substantial profit. But the success of nearly all radio stations and the great majority of television stations is the result of hard work, good management and risked capital against heavy competition. These owners and managers have built successful stations by their own efforts.

Often those who challenge licenses are speculators hoping to get a valuable property for nearly nothing. They have not sought the licenses of marginal stations which would have required work and investment on their part to make them successful.

It should also be noted that none of the applications filed in the wake of the WHDH decision was on behalf of applicants who were members of minority groups. They were businessmen who apparently saw an opportunity to obtain a license of tremendous value for little investment.

A STATION'S ABILITY TO FUNCTION WOULD BE DESTROYED . . .

The licensee cannot function as an on-going organization without reasonable assurance of renewal.

Programming would be severely affected. How could a licensee contract for any programming or talent beyond his license period without such assurance? The nearer the licensee was to the end of his three year period, the more difficult the situation would be.

An uncertain license would seriously limit his ability to hire, train, promote, and retain employees. It is difficult to see how employee retirement plans and other employee benefits could be begun or continued. Union relations would be harmed and the continuity of union contracts imperiled. An uncertain license period would likewise militate against improving equipment and broadcast facilities such as towers, antennas, cameras, etc.

An uncertain period would severely affect the ability to secure bank loans (or for that matter a *succeeding* licensee's ability to make long-term real estate commitments, such as the building of a new business or studio building (or even long-term leases) nearly impossible.

BLOW THE WHISTLE ON STREET
CRIME

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, this Thursday I will be conducting a town hall meeting for my constituents on the subject of a practical way to combat urban crime. Everyone in New York City is alarmed by the continuing increase in street crime. We are all afraid and frustrated, afraid that we or our neighbors will become victims and frustrated by the apparent inability to do anything about it. Many have left this city because of the danger and many others are forced to stay indoors as much as possible.

Despite all the rhetoric about street crime there are few practical suggestions on what the average citizen can do. I would like to make one. It is simple. It involves the cooperation of private citizens amongst themselves as well as with the police. It is a plan that has worked with considerable success in one neighborhood of the city and that has had the enthusiastic support of the police in that area. Here it is:

In any given block all the residents "arm" themselves with a whistle and with the following instructions: anytime you see something suspicious going on, blow your whistle loud and clear. Other residents of the block know that when they hear the whistle they should blow their whistles and dial 911.

Such a plan has already been put into operation by the Bank-Bethune Street Block Association in Greenwich Village. The experience of the Bank and Bethune Street residents has been noteworthy. One criminal has actually been apprehended by the residents themselves and several other potential crimes have been aborted. Most remarkable of all, the Bank-Bethune Street Block Association has not had a single false alarm since July. On one night when the whistles blew on Bethune Street about 100 residents poured out onto the street, overcoats covering their pajamas, to chase off a potential robber.

The shrill din of many whistles going off to alert neighbors to potential crime is probably by itself enough to scare off most criminals. Such reaction is also likely to deter further crimes in the area once it is known that the residents are alert and prepared to act on a prearranged system of signaling each other. The sense of community solidarity that develops in an area where citizens join together in an effort to protect others as well as themselves, and a close working relationship with the local precinct are other benefits of this plan which aids residents and merchants alike.

The Bank-Bethune Street Block Association purchased a large quantity of whistles and distributes them through a local shop at cost. I would encourage other groups of citizens to form block associations or use existing associations to purchase whistles for self-protection. Frustration and fear need not be our

only reaction to crime. People must be led to believe that they themselves can improve the quality of life through action. The use of whistles as a signal against crime is a simple response that can involve everyone in his or her community, it is a communal activity that defies despair.

FBI

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, the much ballyhooed conference by the Committee for Public Justice concerning the FBI produced about as much real substance as the typical Halloween goblins so prevalent around the Nation at the end of October each year. As predicted, a group of professional critics of law enforcement in general and the FBI in particular met with some disgruntled former FBI employees and some noted apologists for criminals and radicals and spent 2 days at Princeton University talking to each other about the great horror personified by the FBI.

I think it is extremely fitting that this conference was scheduled for Halloween weekend. Its producers and participants hoped to picture the FBI as the greatest of specters threatening all aspects of life in our Nation. But the charges raised, and particularly the support of these charges, had less substance than the mythical witches and goblins which are supposed to abound during this period. So flimsy are the accusations that they hardly veil the FBI's long record of protecting this Nation from crime and subversion and preserving the individual rights of law-abiding citizens.

If anyone needs proof that the conference failed in its aim to discredit the FBI, they need only look to the pages of certain Eastern newspapers which glory in any anti-FBI statement which they adorn with large headlines. Even these papers devoted very little space to the warmed-over charges which have been repeated with such frequency by the anti-FBI professionals that they have become more than just boring.

In reading the various news reports about this conference, I did note one interesting fact—a fact which I feel is very revealing of the character of many of the participants in the conference sponsored by the Committee for Public Justice. This fact concerns the assertion by Harvard Law School Prof. Vern Countryman that he prefers bombings to the use of informants. Professor Countryman was asked if he would rather have people killed in a bombing than to have the FBI use informants in so-called political groups. The professor responded:

There are worse things than having some person killed—(for example) having a whole society intimidated.

The ludicrous nature of Professor Countryman's statement is illustrated by the fact that he made it. Obviously he is not intimidated nor are the Jerry Ru-

bins, Mark Rudds, William Kunstlers, Rennie Davises, and numerous others of this ilk who have traveled this great country exhorting revolution. The inhuman character of his statement needs no comment.

There is one other point which came out of the news reports of this conference which I think deserves mentioning. This concerns the assertion by Yale Law School Prof. Thomas I. Emerson that political ideology was far in the background in the case of the Ku Klux Klan where the immediate problem was crime and terror. But Professor Emerson evidently takes an entirely different view where the Black Panther Party is concerned, apparently seeing no crime and terror involved in the many attacks on law enforcement agencies with which this group has been identified. Can there be any doubt whatever of the prejudices of such a person?

The Princeton conference concluded by issuing an appeal for Congress to convene a national commission of inquiry to check the operations of the FBI. I see no need whatever for such a commission. The President, the Attorney General, the courts, other law enforcement agencies, the news media, and the general public daily are judging the activities of the FBI, and it is my belief that each of these groups and individuals continues to give this organization very high marks. I might add that it has been my experience that so-called commissions usually are an exercise in futility—they produce long-winded reports with high-sounding recommendations of very little practicality. I see no reason for this country wasting taxpayers' money to comply with the prejudiced desires of a few very prejudiced individuals.

Mr. Speaker, it was widely reported prior to the convening of this conference at Princeton University on October 29, 1971, that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover had declined an invitation for FBI participation. Typical of the items written in this regard is one which appeared in the San Diego Union of October 24, 1971. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include this article at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I think it would be beneficial to all of us in this body to read the letter which Mr. Hoover wrote to the chairman of the conference, Duane Lockhard, declining his invitation to participate in the conference. Excerpts from this letter have been published, but I believe we need the benefit of the entire letter. I ask that this be published immediately following the aforementioned newspaper article.

The material follows:

[From the San Diego Union, Oct. 24, 1971]

RAMSEY CLARK: HOOVER'S FORMER BOSS SPEARHEADS "INQUIRY" ON FBI

(By Ray McHugh)

WASHINGTON.—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover says he welcomes public discussions, such as an "inquiry" at Princeton University into the activities of his organization next week-end.

Hoover is polite.

The Princeton deck is stacked against the FBI, and one of the principal reasons for this is Ramsey Clark, former attorney general and a Hoover critic.

The conference at Princeton appears to be the climax of an increasingly bitter "lib-

eral-intellectual campaign against the director and the FBI. It could be a significant meeting in light of Washington rumors that Hoover, 78, is contemplating retirement, perhaps on his next birthday Jan. 1. Reports have it that he would remain on the scene, however, as a consultant.

Although he raised no objection to the Princeton study, Hoover declined an invitation to attend or to send an FBI representative.

FBI'S REFUSAL EXPLAINED

Any FBI official, he said, would be caught "in the role of defendant before even the first fact is brought out, and condemned by the judges before the trial begins."

In a letter to Duane Lockhard, chairman of Princeton's politics department and chairman of the conference, Hoover said the ultimate verdict of a fair public scrutiny "must be that the FBI is a lawfully composed and operated public agency, staffed by honest and reasonably intelligent citizens doing a difficult job in the best way they know how, and, moreover, doing it quite as well as it could be done by anyone else."

"While it may be quite true that we deserve some criticism," he wrote, "I think we also deserve an 'acquittal.'"

The "inquiry" at Princeton, scheduled Friday and Saturday, is sponsored by the "Committee of Public Justice," an organization announced a year ago by Clark.

Its goal, he said, is to analyze the "role of the FBI in American life."

The bureau is braced for some strong criticism. The committee, a New York organization, is sprinkled with the names of liberals and Kennedy-era figures whose distaste for Hoover and his bureau is well documented.

HOOVER CRITICIZES RAMSEY

The committee came to public attention last November at a press conference held by Clark, a man Hoover has called the worst of 18 U.S. attorneys general he has served under, "a jellyfish."

Clark said the committee is concerned with "political repression" and charged the FBI with "a lack of objectivity." It gave undue investigative attention to the Communist party and the Black Panthers, he said.

Five months later the committee announced its inquiry of the FBI in concert with the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University.

Burke Marshall, deputy dean of Yale Law School and former assistant attorney general in the Kennedy Administration, together with Roger Wilkins, another Kennedyite and former Justice Department employe, denied to reporters that the committee is out to "get" the FBI. He acknowledged, however, that most of its members and the conference panelists are critics of the bureau.

Marshall also has acknowledged that the study will include an examination of documents stolen in the burglary of an FBI office at Media, Pa. These documents have been distributed to FBI and Nixon administration critics.

ENTERTAINERS AMONG SPONSORS

Members of the executive council and sponsors of the committee include Clark; Marshall; Blair Clark, a 1968 campaign manager in former Sen. Eugene McCarthy's presidential bid; Norman Dorsen, general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, another frequent FBI critic, and Lillian Hellman, a woman associated with several identified anti-government organizations.

Activists from the entertainment world also are sponsors, including conductor-composer Leonard Bernstein and actors Warren Beatty, Candice Bergen, Marlon Brando, Shirley MacLaine and Paul Newman.

The following papers and authors are listed in a program for the meeting at Princeton:

Political Uses of the FBI—I. F. Stone; In-

sider's View—William Turner; Civil Rights—John Doar, Dorothy Landsberg; Informers—Frank Donner; Selling of the FBI—Robert Sherrill; The British Analogy—C. H. Rolph; Organized Crime—Fred J. Cook; Bill of Rights—Tom Emerson; History—Vern Countryman; Budget—Walter Pincus; Electronic Surveillance—Victory Navasky, Nat Lewin; Data Collection—Aryeh Neier, John Elliff.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
Washington, D.C., October 7, 1971.

Mr. DUANE LOCKARD,
Department of Politics, Princeton University,
Princeton, N.J.

DEAR MR. LOCKARD: Thank you for your letter of September 28, 1971, extending to me an invitation for a representative of the FBI to "strongly defend the Bureau and its role" during the forthcoming October conference which will, in your words, focus "primarily on the Federal Bureau of Investigation." We were aware of the plans for the conference, having read the announcements in the press, and some related remarks, critical of the FBI, attributed to persons who apparently will be among the "judges" hearing this case. For example, the press reported, and attributed to persons who appeared to be both spokesmen for your group and "judges" at the inquiry, that "... the study could be criticized as being stacked against the FBI," that the FBI is not a "disenthralled seeker of truth," and that "the FBI for reasons I find unfortunate became ideological some time back and this put a scale over its eyes."

While I should like to believe that the correlation between your own words casting us in the role of a defendant, and the critical remarks made by some of the "judges" before the fact-finding inquiry had even begun is one of pure coincidence only, you will understand from that coincidence why I immediately recalled with some amusement the story of the frontier judge who said he would first give the defendant a fair trial and then hang him.

We acknowledge and appreciate your invitation to "defend," but we are declining in view of our serious doubt that any worthwhile purpose could be served by an FBI representative attending an inquiry casting him in the role of defendant before even the first fact is brought out, and condemned by the "judges" before trial begins. It simply is asking too much that any FBI representative appear personally under those circumstances. For that reason I shall try to explain briefly in this letter some of the facts of the FBI "defense," hoping that they will be considered material during the deliberations of your group and in any public reports which you may issue later.

Basically, our position is that the FBI need tailor no special "defense" of its own for this occasion. The basic facts on how the FBI is organized and how it discharges its duties have been so well known for so long, and to so many responsible persons, that they are obvious to all except those who are so blind that they do not wish to see.

The duties assigned to us seem as good a place as any to start. We are well aware that some complain of these claiming infringement on what they contend to be their rights and liberties. There are bank robbers who believe that we should not investigate bank robberies, and thieves and others charged with crimes after investigation who condemn us in court and out. More recently there are those who bomb, riot, and destroy both human life and property for what they claim to be more sophisticated reasons and who resent our investigations as an intrusion into what they esteem to be matters of their own conscience only. We frequently are the targets of personal abuse, of the most vile invectives at the command of both the totalitarian right and the totalitarian left. Yet, neither these nor those who appear to sympathize with them seem willing to publicly admit the basic and obvious fact that

our investigative duties are not of our own choosing. They were delivered to us, with the requirement that we take all necessary action, by laws passed by the Congress and by rules and regulations laid down by the President and the Attorney General. We are forever in the unenviable position of the policeman being assaulted by the mob. He neither enacts the law nor judges the legality of it, but it usually is he, and he alone, who must dodge the brickbats hurled by those protesting against it. Any genuine fact-finding inquiry concerning the FBI will admit and underscore these facts.

In performing the duties assigned to us, we are not at all a law unto ourselves as some of our critics would have the American people believe. There are many who monitor us in some way or other; they are a system of checks and balances on the manner in which we perform our duties. Senators and Representatives are interested in how we work. They are free to express their interest and they often do so, individually or collectively. We must investigate our cases to the satisfaction of the Department of Justice, and within the context of such rules as it lays down for us. Our work must satisfy the United States Attorney, who makes an independent decision on whether the case we bring before him will or will not be prosecuted. The United States Magistrate exercises a supervisory authority to accept or reject the adequacy of our reasons shown for asking for an arrest warrant or a search warrant. Our cases which pass the inspection of our monitors up to this point then go before the Federal courts in the uncounted thousands. I am sure you will agree that our work is carefully evaluated in those forums.

In sum, we say that there are many who exercise some official vigilance over the manner in which the FBI performs its duties, that they are to be found in each of the three branches of Government, and that our performance has won the approval of the great majority of them. If your group doubts that the FBI has performed so well, we suggest a fact-finding poll of all living Presidents, Attorneys General, United States Senators, United States Representatives, United States Attorneys, United States Magistrates (and former Commissioners), and Federal judges, with all questions and all answers spread upon the public record so that the people of this nation might see for themselves. Perhaps we are mistaken, but we do believe that if this were done the "defense" of the FBI would be made by others highly qualified, and that it would be one on which we could rest our case.

If it be thought inappropriate to question some, such as the Federal judges, because they must remain impartial at all times, your group could accomplish the same fact-finding results by conducting a review of all reported Federal court decisions in cases investigated by the FBI during the past decade, or as far beyond that as you wish to go to make certain that your study has the necessary depth. You can list and cite for public view all such decisions, calling particular attention to those in which the courts have disapproved our action, and showing of the percentage of those cases against the total of all that we have brought to the courts. I assume here that you would also call public attention to those decisions in which the courts have spoken well of FBI work. Further, we suggest that you consider, and report on, the Miranda Rule, the Malloy Rule, the Jencks Rule, the rule on fair lineup, the arrest and search and seizure requirements of the Fourth Amendment, and all the many other rules laid down for control of the Special Agent or other law enforcement officers investigating a criminal case. You will find that we have set an excellent record for obedience to them. With relatively few exceptions our work has met with the approval of the Federal Judges. The

few exceptions concern us for we know that law enforcement, dealing constantly with those human rights held most sacred, theoretically has no tolerance for error. We know, of course, that we do err, but it is our request that the error be viewed in context and that we be granted the same tolerance extended to others for an occasional mistake.

We venture to suggest one condition which should be set on such polls. If one person in a group is to be polled, *all* should be polled and all should be reported openly and completely. Honest fact-finding admits of nothing less. If the FBI, investigating a criminal case, were to bring a witness against the accused and in any manner deliberately hide the many who would testify in his favor, you would be outraged and justifiably so. We would feel a sense of outrage at similar conduct directed against us. The technique of making one dissenter appear to be representative of a large group which, in fact, is not in agreement with him is a technique of deception and one which any court of inquiry ought to abhor.

I have been speaking of the fact that we try hard to merit the approval of the many who officially monitor our work, and apparently with a reasonable degree of success. We do more than that; we try to improve the investigatory process in those areas in which we are allowed some discretion. Examples of our innovation in this direction are in the public record and should be among the facts of official interest to your group. I shall call a few to your attention.

For centuries the common law which we brought with us from England has held that an officer lawfully may shoot a fleeing felon to prevent his escape. We found that power unnecessary for our particular purposes, and rejected it. The FBI rule now is, and long has been that a Special Agent or other FBI officer may shoot only in self-defense or the defense of others. If the observance of this rule allows a fleeing felon to escape, we hopefully will apprehend him another day. The rule innovated by the FBI, on its own initiative, raises the sanctity of a human life a notch above that required by the law. We consider this to be significant and hope that you agree.

We have innovated improvements in other areas. During the past decade, Presidents, Governors, Attorneys General, legislators, and others have emphasized the need for police training and education. The FBI saw that need a long time ago. Our FBI National Academy, a 12-week course for selected police officers from states, counties, and cities, and some from friendly foreign nations, opened in 1935 and has been in continuous operation since that time. It is now being substantially expanded. More than 5,000 officers have received this instruction and we have been led to believe that at least the great majority consider it a contribution to better law enforcement.

In a quite different area, the FBI Laboratory has innovated for more effective and humanitarian law enforcement. During recent years, the Supreme Court and the lower courts have emphasized the humanitarian approach toward proving criminal cases more by physical evidence and less by confessions taken from the accused. We like to believe that they have done so on learning that the FBI Laboratory, established in 1932, proved that in many cases it can be done. Scientific examination of evidence leads to proof of guilt or innocence quite independent of anything said by the accused. We are as proud of the cases showing innocence as of those showing guilt and have not been reluctant to say so. That fact should be of interest to your group, for it is another example of professional and humanitarian law enforcement at its best.

Possibly even more important, we have innovated our own rules to better protect the

constitutional rights of the accused. I am sure that at least most of those who attend your conference hailed as a great step forward the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Miranda* case which, briefly stated, grants the accused in custody a right to say nothing and a right to a lawyer. Do they know, also, that for decades prior to the Supreme Court edict in *Miranda*, all Special Agents of the FBI were, by our own house rule, over and above the requirements of the courts, advising criminal subjects of those same rights? The Supreme Court willing took cognizance of that fact in the text of the *Miranda* decision in remarks quite laudatory of the FBI. Please note those remarks in *Miranda v. Arizona*, 384 U.S. 436, at 483 (1966), where the Court, speaking through Chief Justice Warren, stated, in part, that "Over the years the Federal Bureau of Investigation has compiled an exemplary record of effective law enforcement. . . ." I suggest that no fact-finding investigation of the FBI would be complete without calling public attention to those words of the Supreme Court.

We have innovated other rules which should commend themselves to you. For example, in recent years the Supreme Court has strongly emphasized the desirability of making arrests and searches by warrant, a protection for the citizen (and the officer) against overreaching by the officer whether by honest mistake or otherwise. That rule has been the FBI rule and practice for decades.

In short, we in the FBI have ourselves innovated on our own initiative, above and beyond the legal and administrative requirements laid down upon us, rules and practices designed for more lawful and humanitarian enforcement of the criminal law. This is a part of our "defense" and we hope that your group will consider it a fact worthy of being brought to public attention.

To do the work of the FBI we have assembled a staff which I believe is so capable that any deep and fair fact-finding study will find it to be one of outstanding honesty and ability. We have sought to develop and enforce work rules to guarantee the taxpayer a day's work, and even a little more, for a day's pay. We have tried to keep our employees free of the corrosive influence of bribery which sometimes has weakened an otherwise honest and effective law enforcement agency. We have admittedly demanded of FBI employees a standard of morality which could be approved by the majority of the American people. On a few occasions we have been told by those who officially monitor us that we have been too strict, but I submit to public judgment the view that in a law enforcement agency, a tax-supported institution, if there is to be error it should be on the side of being too strict rather than being too loose.

It is precisely in this area of employee relations that we have had a few of our most vocal critics. I think it inevitable in any large organization; some will disagree with the rules and some will disobey them. Yet, in our view, discipline is an absolute necessity. An undisciplined law enforcement agency is a menace to society. And discipline, I should add, must have many facets, not the least of which is to curb the enthusiasm of an overzealous Special Agent or official who, in his pursuit of the alleged criminal or subversive, tends to rationalize toward the belief that the end justifies the means, bitterly condemning the curbs on his zeal as a handcuff on what he alleges to be modern and efficient law enforcement. I trust that you will agree.

Here I may as well frankly recognize the fact that your group probably will hear criticism from former Special Agents of the FBI. I trust that you will review that criticism, and report it in proper context. Neither

you nor I, nor any other person, can manage a large organization to the total satisfaction of all employees. You have the opportunity of placing this criticism in proper balance if you will take full note of the evidence favorable to the FBI. There is an organization known as The Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI, wholly private and in no way a part of the Government, whose members number in the thousands. It is unique, I believe, in the annals of Government employment. The organization exists, or so I have been told, because its members are proud of having served in the FBI. If your scales of justice are well balanced, I am sure that you will find that the views of these many greatly outweigh those of a dissident few and I think that fairness requires that the views of the many be so well represented in your inquiry that the difference in weight is made obvious.

Somewhat related to these problems is that of decision making. I believe it my duty to encourage a full expression of employee views on FBI problems, and I do so encourage, quite contrary to statements made by some of the critics. I believe it my duty, as the appointed head of the FBI, to review all views and make the final decision, except where it should be referred to higher authority. I believe it the duty of the employee, once the final decision is made, to either faithfully carry out the directive or marshal convincing proof that it is in error. I submit for judgment the belief that there is no other way to operate an efficient law enforcement organization.

Perhaps the earlier reference to enforcement of the law within the strictures of the law brings up the subject of wiretapping. Being sure that it will come up at your conference, I would like to ask a favor of your group in the interest of fairness. I would think they would wish to show in their report, if such be issued, that Federal law permits wiretapping under controlled circumstances. Further, that in each and every wiretapping, regardless of circumstances, the FBI first obtains the written approval of the Attorney General. Also, that with respect to the wiretapping which occurred before passage of the present Federal statute, the FBI followed the opinions of a long line of Attorneys General that wiretapping was legal. Your attention is called to 63 Yale Law Journal 792, where the then Deputy Attorney General of the United States said, in part, that "It has long been the position of the Department of Justice that the mere interception of telephone communications is not prohibited by Federal law . . . every Attorney General, commencing with William D. Mitchell in 1931, has endorsed the desirability and need for the use of wire tapping as an investigative technique in certain types of cases." All these facts may be well known to your group, but for some reason they often are omitted in public charges that wiretapping by the FBI is without lawful basis. Some critics would have the public believe that the FBI has acted totally outside the law, when the fact is that we simply followed the legal advice given to us by the Attorney General. Your group can set the record straight for all to see, and I hope that you will do so.

These remarks cover the salient points of our "defense" and perhaps not so briefly as either of us might have wished. Obviously they do not cover everything. The ingenuity and then tenacity of our critics preclude a total answer. Were I to attempt to answer all charges I would be debating in this forum or that every day of the year, to the neglect of my duties. If I were to attempt to so answer, any critic could make any charge, even one totally fabricated, and force me into a forum of his own choosing. The result is that many charges must go unanswered. Some are false on their face, some are false by twisted innuendo, and some could be proved false

only by the use of information which must be kept in confidence for legal or investigative reasons. This is not to deny that we, and I, have made mistakes. The judges and others sometimes have so advised us. We are only human.

One final thought. No remarks in our "defense" will still the voices of the critics, and these are not intended to do so. The critics have their rights of free speech under the First Amendment and I am sure they will continue to use those rights to the hilt. In at least many cases, we are denied an effective answer. As the Supreme Court has said so perceptively, "... it is the rare case where the denial overtakes the original charge. Denials, retractions, and corrections are not 'hot' news, and rarely receive the prominence of the original story." *Rosenbloom v. Metro-media*, 39 L Ed 2d 296, 313 (1971). I hope that in bringing charges against us, if such be the case, you will bear in mind this handicap under which we must labor and bring it to public attention. Elementary fairness seems to so require. Moreover, a public official such as myself cannot successfully sue for libel or slander, even when the charges made against him are totally false, unless he can prove that those charges were made with actual malice. This is extremely difficult to prove, as anyone familiar with the recent court decisions on libel and slander well knows. The result is that in so many cases of criticism my only recourse is that of taking some personal pleasure in knowing that the critics have abundantly proven, in the reams and volumes that they have published, that one of their principal charges—that I am beyond criticism—is totally false.

I suggest that if evidence like that which I have briefly described here is fully developed and exposed to public view, the ultimate "verdict" must be that the FBI is a lawfully composed and operated public agency, staffed by honest and reasonably intelligent citizens doing a difficult job in the best way they know how and, moreover, doing it quite as well as it could be done by anyone else. While it may be quite true that we deserve some criticism, I think we also deserve an "acquittal." I think any deep and fair inquiry will command this result, and I remain hopeful of its despite the obviously partisan statements made by some of your group in announcing that the inquiry would be held.

Very truly yours,

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER,
Director.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF SERVICE BY THE NAVY ESO

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, recently, on Friday, October 8, the U.S. Navy Electronics Supply Office celebrated its 25th anniversary. The occasion was marked by a public ceremony in which many prominent civilian and Navy personalities participated.

I was privileged to speak at the afternoon, open-air ceremonies and to attend the 25th anniversary ball in the evening at the Great Lakes Officers Club.

The commanding officer of the Electronics Supply Office, Capt. R. A. Jones, was assisted in the arrangements by Mr. R. M. Samuel who served as the 25th anniversary ceremony chairman.

Among those who participated actively

in the celebration were: Rear Adm. Draper L. Kauffman, commandant, Ninth Naval District; Rear Adm. Kenneth R. Wheeler, commander, Naval Supply Systems Command; Rear Adm. H. H. Loeffler, president, Exeter Paper Co.; Rear Adm. D. H. Lyness, commanding officer, U.S. Naval Supply Center; Capt. W. L. Talbot, commanding officer, U.S. Naval Training Center; and two former commanding officers of the ESO, Capt. W. F. Harvey and Capt. J. H. Garrett, Jr.

The principal address given at the afternoon ceremonies was by Rear Adm. Draper L. Kauffman who presented dramatically the role of the U.S. Navy Electronics Supply Office. His remarks are presented at this point for reproduction as are the congratulatory messages from Adm. Charles K. Duncan, Adm. B. A. Clarey, and Adm. E. R. Zumwalt, Jr.:

REMARKS OF REAR ADM. DRAPER L. KAUFFMAN

I am happy to be here today to help you celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Navy Electronics Supply Office.

For a few minutes, however, I would like to invite your attention from Buckley Road in North Chicago to the oceans and the seas. Nine years ago this summer the Soviets conducted their major naval exercise of the year in the North Atlantic Ocean and the Norwegian Sea. The exercise was a limited operation designed to improve the ability of Russian naval forces to protect their homeland. Only 4 surface warships, 20 diesel submarines, and a small number of land based patrol planes were involved. In April of 1970, only 9 years later, the Soviets conducted another naval exercise, which they called, appropriately, "ocean". This exercise was global in scope. It involved the Baltic Sea, the Norwegian Sea, the Barents Sea, the Black Sea, the Philippine Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, the Sea of Japan, plus the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. In terms of geographical scope, Operation Ocean was the largest exercise conducted by any nation in naval history. It included about 150 surface ships, 50 submarines—many of them nuclear powered—and several hundred planes.

Contrasted against this truly dramatic growth of Soviet sea power, budgetary limitations have forced a reduction in the size of the U.S. Navy. Between June of 1969 and June of 1971, the size of the fleet has been reduced by about 20%. Thanks to the quality of our technology, we have probably not yet lost the edge. To maintain that edge in the future, however, our Navy must continue to develop more effective hardware, better trained personnel, and an even more responsive supply system.

And now, we move from the oceans and the seas back to the electronics supply office. When I speak of navy hardware, one word blinks on and off like an neon sign: Electronics, one cannot over emphasize the importance of electronics in modern warfare. As Admiral Zumwalt recently said, "Electronic warfare of all types is receiving renewed attention. I am convinced that the key to naval warfare of the future lies in the utilization of electronics, both active and passive." Electronics is an abstract word, so what do we include within its meaning? We include sensing devices to detect enemy movement; navigation and search systems to get us to the right place and to find the right object at the right time; communications systems to provide us input for making decisions; command and control systems for coordinating and directing our forces; surface missile systems to extend the deterrent range of our ships. To catalog all the examples I could put under the word electronics, I would need another electronic device—a computer. ESO makes excellent use of com-

puters in performing its primary mission of supporting the fleet with electronic repair parts. This is particularly important in maintaining critical weapons systems of our Sixth and Seventh Fleets, who operate constantly under the electronic shadows of Soviet ships, submarines, trawlers, and planes.

Today, then, against the background of growing Soviet seapower and the vital role of electronics in modern warfare, I believe it is appropriate to look at ESO from the viewpoint of the fleet—the ultimate recipient of the electronic repair parts. From the customer's viewpoint, what kind of job is ESO doing?

Rather than take an opinion survey of ships captains and supply officers, I decided to measure ESO's performance against two indicators: Initial support and operational support.

Our fleet of Polaris submarines is one of our most important assets in maintaining world peace. ESO's performance in initial support of Polaris submarines with electronic repair parts has been truly outstanding. From March of 1968 through May of 1970, 14 Polaris submarines were deployed with 100% of the electronic repair parts aboard. Since then, the Navy has begun replacing the Polaris missiles with Poseidon missiles. Despite the logistics problems inherent in changing from one missile system to another, ESO's performance in supporting the Poseidon program has also been outstanding. Submarines with Poseidon missiles installed are being deployed with 99% of the electronic repair parts aboard. Knowing Captain Jones and his desire for perfection, I expect that figure will soon reach 100%.

In the area of initial support for new ships and ships undergoing overhaul, ESO has an enviable record. These ships are being deployed with 95% of the electronic repair parts aboard. Here, too, I'm sure ESO is seeking improvements.

The second indicator of performance is operational support. How good a job is ESO doing in having the right part in the right place at the right time? Consider the following figures: when equipments break down aboard ship and electronic repair parts are needed, 80% of these parts are available within minutes from the ships storeroom; 14% of the required parts are available from the point of entry stock point within 10 days; 5% of the parts are available from another stock point within a few more days. Only one percent of the time does the requirement have to be filled by ESO placing an order with industry for direct shipment to the end user. This is the kind of support that enables the fleet to maintain combat readiness.

When combat readiness is impaired by a failed item, however, and a casualty report is transmitted, ESO computers respond within minutes to search system assets for the needed item. If the item is available in stock—and it usually is—the shipment is on its way to the customer within hours. If the item is not available in stock, a computer program monitors progress on the needed part until all actions have been completed.

I might add that the material effectiveness of the two primary stock points that support the Polaris submarines is close to 90% and the supply availability of the ESO stock points in filling demands of all ESO managed items is about 85%. While it is not cost-effective to stock all electronic repair parts that might fail, ESO is striving to achieve a finer balance between dollars invested and optimum electronics support to the fleet.

Viewed from the fleet, then, ESO is doing a superb job in initial support and operational support.

Finally, I would like to thank everyone who had a part in building ESO into this fine organization. To the former commanding officers of ESO, to the former employees of ESO, to Admiral Wheeler, to Captain Jones, and to the current employees of ESO—I thank you and I salute you.

Now, I have been given the pleasure of reading to you the inspiring letters from three truly great naval officers:

1. From Commander in Chief Atlantic, and Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic fleet dated 22 September 1971—Dear Captain Jones, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Navy electronics supply office, it gives me great pleasure to extend my congratulations and best wishes to you and the dedicated people of ESO for the continuing contribution made to the readiness posture of the Atlantic Fleet.

As the number and complexity of electronic equipments and weapons systems within our Navy continue to increase, the task of supporting these systems becomes more and more challenging. I am confident that ESO will meet this challenge with the same dedication and vigor as admirably displayed during the past twenty-five years.

Again, congratulations.

Sincerely,

CHARLES K. DUNCAN,
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

2. From Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet, dated 15 September 1971—Dear Captain Jones, as Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, I take great pleasure in extending my warmest congratulations to you on the silver anniversary of the Navy Electronics Supply Office (ESO).

During the past quarter century, ESO, exercising resourcefulness and perseverance, has provided essential support to our Nation's primary weapons systems, thereby making an outstanding contribution towards the national defense.

Born during an area of electronic development, ESO has evolved from a humble beginning in the early years of World War II to a mature, dynamic organization staffed by personnel of the highest degree of professional competence. Through hard and diligent work of all at ESO, the Navy's major electronics systems which are the sensing and defense systems of modern ships and aircraft have been kept in the highest degree of material readiness.

ESO has contributed much to the strength of our Navy through professional excellence and over the years, has done a great deal to promote the Navy's image through extensive involvement in community affairs in the Chicago-Great Lakes area.

As the Navy's inventory manager for electronics repair parts, the importance of your mission cannot be overemphasized. Using the most modern management techniques, you have met the challenges of the past three decades in an exemplary manner and, now, during a period of dynamic change, must stand ready to once more apply your managerial expertise to supporting our leaner and more efficient Navy.

It is my sincere desire that this celebration of ESO's silver anniversary will give impetus to even greater accomplishments during the years ahead.

Sincerely,

B. A. CLAREY,
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

3. From Chief of Naval Operations dated 23 September 1971—

DEAR CAPTAIN JONES: To the officer, enlisted, and civilian team at Navy Electronics Supply Office, I wish to extend hearty congratulations on the occasion of your silver anniversary. For plank-owner and newcomer it is a proud moment to reflect on the activity's many significant accomplishments in a quarter century of "service to the fleet."

From 1946, managing bits and pieces of early radar, to the present life cycle support of major sensing and defense systems, the electronics supply office has played a vital role in naval operational readiness in both peace and war.

This memorable occasion is a tribute to the dedication and professionalism of all those

who have served at ESO over the years. My best wishes for continued success.

Sincerely,

E. R. ZUMWALT, Jr.
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

Mr. Speaker, in paraphrasing my own words expressed on that occasion, I recalled that the impact of the ESO on Illinois can be measured in substantial economic benefits, including more than \$178 million in salaries and benefits to personnel during the past 25 years, plus almost \$300 million for various electronic parts supplied by Illinois electronic manufacturers and vendors—about 15 percent of the total dollars awarded in the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, contracts for the ESO have been let to various minority business enterprises, including the first Navy contract to a minority group-owned company, when on July 12, 1969, the ESO awarded a \$128,000 contract to Soncraft, Inc. Total ESO contracts to minority group companies now total about \$337,000—I am told.

But the principal impact which ESO has had upon me in my experience with it in recent years has been the dedication of the people who make up ESO, from the commanding officers to the most unskilled employees. The record of savings which have been effected through improvements developed by military and civilian personnel at the ESO are estimated to total more than \$54 million. These items for improved operations have included development of a new computer program to load data regarding transferred items into the master data bank, and development of a new technique to test and restore expensive traveling wave tubes and an improved procurement action which is estimated to have saved the fabulous sum of \$10 million. These are savings which have been accomplished through the initiative and resourcefulness of individuals at ESO, and which are examples of the dedication of all who make up this organization.

Mr. Speaker, I took occasion also to mention my individual contacts with Dan Oliver, Don Cudahy, and Bob Hoard who represent civilian employees in the American Federation of Government Employees. Also Allan Kaplan, national vice president of the AFGE for this region, and John Crutcher, who is the highly motivated and effective coordinator of the Equal Opportunities Committee at ESO.

Beyond that, I mentioned the names of just a few who have helped accomplish savings from which the taxpayers have benefited, such as George Funk, Joe Gray, Dick Endeans, Jim Wright, Chris Popoff, Bill Bennett, Tom Evans, and Clare Alexander.

Mention also was made of the many community activities in which the ESO has participated. The relations between the ESO and the adjoining and nearby civilian communities have been excellent, from which both the civilian groups and the Navy have benefited.

Mr. Speaker, I concluded that there were many signs indicating that an enduring peace is closer to our grasp than at any previous time in our history. I know that we all hope and pray that this

is true. Meanwhile, the U.S. Navy—including the essential support of the ESO—can contribute substantially to the realization of this goal.

Mr. Speaker, the military and civilians of the U.S. Navy Electronics Supply Office deserve our warm congratulations for their 25 years of service to the Nation.

I am sure that my colleagues in the House of Representatives join in communicating our best wishes for many more years of service, and for their significant role in continuing a strong and effective Navy.

PRAYER AMENDMENT REINFORCES RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the great fear sought to be generated by some religious leaders at the expression of "nondenominational prayer" simply does not seem to frighten off those American people who want their children to pray.

Most Americans in their deep religious convictions want prayer for their children in school. Even though the prayer is not of their own religious preference, the majority of people of all religious faiths would, I believe, prefer that their children pray a nondenominational prayer to a supreme being than not to pray at all.

After all, American people who want freedom to pray in school want their children to pray to God and not to some church hierarchy, or denomination.

The prayer amendment, House Joint Resolution 191, does not repeal the first amendment. It merely reinforces the first amendment.

The problem which some churchmen have allowed themselves to become exasperated over was not caused by the people, nor by the law, nor by this Congress, but rather by illegal and officious intermeddling of Federal judges in the field of religion for which they were neither qualified nor authorized by the Constitution they swore to uphold. Inasmuch as the Federal judges have read into the first amendment what was not there nor intended, then Congress has the duty of correcting the judicial infringement of religious freedom by strengthening the first amendment—

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion . . .

To tell the Federal judges that their antiprayer-in-school rulings are wrong, and that their decisions are not wanted by the people, this House Joint Resolution 191 very positively says:

Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the right of persons . . . to participate in non-denominational prayer.

I think that the letter from Rabbi Schneerson, which I had extended with my remarks of October 29 on page 38398, most poignantly explains the value and need of prayer to the child in school. I include several paragraphs of

Rabbi Schneerson's letter following my remarks:

1. It has been argued that the child attending public school is in the category of a "captive", since his refusal to participate in a prayer would "stigmatize" him. His participation would therefore be involuntary and an encroachment on his freedom.

In my opinion, the notion of "captivity" as applied in this case should lead to a conclusion which is quite the reverse, for the following reasons:

The child attending public school knows that his attendance is compulsory, because his parents and the government consider his education of the utmost importance. Together with this comes the recognition that what is really important and essential to his education is taken care of in the school. The child's instinctive feeling and inference from this is that anything that is not included in the school curriculum is of secondary importance if, indeed, of any importance at all. Hence, if religion (prayer) is excluded from the school, the child would inevitably regard it in the same category as an extra foreign language, or dancing, or music lessons, which are not required by the school but are left to the parents' free choice, and which the child, not illogically, considers a burden or even a nuisance. In other words, the present system of the public school education is such that it *impresses* upon the pupil the belief that everything connected with religion, such as knowledge of God's existence, etc., is of little consequence, or of no importance whatever.

It will neither interest nor impress the child if he were told that the exclusion of prayer from the school is due to the principle of the separation of State and Church, or to a constitutional technicality. The reasons or explanations, even if they be actually conveyed to the child from time to time will not nearly impress him as much as the plain fact itself, which reasserts itself *each and every day*, that nothing can be very important to his education if it is not included in the school program. Such a situation can only reinforce the child's attitude of indifference, or even disdain, to any religious beliefs.

The above would be true even in the case of a child who comes from a religious home and background. How much more so in the case of children whose parents and homes are not permeated with the religious spirit, or where religion is something which is practiced once a week, on the day of rest, or only on holidays and special occasions. This, after all, is the kind of home from which the vast majority of the public school children come, inasmuch as the truly religious parents make every sacrifice in order to provide their children with the religious education and environment of a parochial school.

IRAN

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the sound and strong progress made by America's good friend Iran under the progressive leadership of the Shah is one of the most impressive stories of modern times. I am happy to note an interesting and well-written article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on Friday, October 15, about Iran. It is entitled "Prosperity, Vitality Mark Iran's 2,500th Year." I am pleased to submit it for reprinting in the RECORD:

PROSPERITY, VITALITY MARK IRAN'S 2,500TH YEAR

(By John K. Cooley)

TEHRAN, IRAN.—"A splendid work was ordered, very splendid did it turn out," Emperor Darius the Great of Persia inscribed on a tablet just a little less than 25 centuries ago.

If he could return this month for Iran's 2,500th birthday celebrations at Persepolis, Darius's pride in this strong, vital, and prosperous nation would be more than matched by his astonishment.

With about half this year's record oil revenues of over \$1 billion spent before the occasion on new highways, space age telecommunications, and other infrastructure projects that go far beyond embellishment, Iran's Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi too has reason for satisfaction.

His country has become an Asian power, commanding respect and admiration from its neighbors and the world's big powers alike. Even more satisfying to him personally seems to be the success of his "White Revolution," a revolution from above, which his foes and many friends told him, when he began it in 1962, would never work.

"If there is to be a revolution in this country," the Shah who has ruled since 1941 once said, "I will be the one to lead it."

During the past decade the Shah has been as good as his word. Above all, he has successfully abolished the centuries-old, degrading relationship between landlord and peasant. Three and a half million farmers now own their own land. Nobody works as a serf.

NOW THEY READ

"Of course, my life is better," a peasant in a village near Shiraz tells you, astonished that even a foreigner should ask such a naive question. "Ten years ago, I could neither read nor write, nor could my wife. Our children were not in school and they worked here on the land with us—another man's land. I got one-fifth of the fruit of it each year, if I was lucky. Sometimes there wasn't much fruit.

"Now our farm belongs to us. We have machines for the work. All my children have gone to school. My eldest daughter has married an engineer in the city.

"My wife and I vote for our village council. We can write and read because a young man from the Education Corps (the national service group of young men drafted for military duty who are assigned to adult education) taught us to." Independent observers believe literacy in Iran's cities is now above 65 percent and that in rural zones above 30 percent—more than three times what they were a decade ago.

The Shah's land-reform program, which he had to pursue over the determined and sometimes violent opposition of big landowners, led into the other 11 points of the "White Revolution."

FORESTS ACQUIRED

First came public ownership of Iran's forests; then sale of inefficiently operated, state-owned industries to private corporations and industries (and ex-landowners) to raise funds for development; incentives to labor and profit sharing of up to 20 percent for workers in Iran's burgeoning industries.

In an interview here the Shah took a leaf from the Marxists' books. "The exploitation of people by people," he said, "simply cannot be in our country. . . . With the participation of the worker in the net benefits, there is no more a question of exploitation, because he will also have something at stake. At the same time, in a free society, you have to give a little credit for the man who brings you the capital and the know-how."

The Shah's other points, also all realized or still in the course of realization: equal voting rights for women; formation of the

Education Corps and a public health corps; village Courts of Equity where the farmer or townsman gets a fair hearing in minor grievances or disputes; nationalization of Iran's resources, precious in a country that is about 80 percent desert; physical reconstruction in cities and countryside and complete administrative reforms.

FREEDOMS STRESSED

To his Iranian opponents, mainly among the approximately 30,000 Iranian students abroad, who tax him for absolutism and tight control through SAVAK, his secret-police organization, the Shah would reply that there is freedom of choice, from elections in village councils and farm cooperatives on up to the Parliament or Majlis—and that the spread of education means this freedom will be exercised.

"I do not support the Shah; I support his ideology," said a young former Tudeh (Communist) Party member. Thousands of other Iranian intellectuals have agreed, and Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveida's government has been successful in persuading them to return from jobs abroad to bring home their needed skills.

"I think the brain drain in reverse has started. . . ." the Shah told me. "Our own people are coming back and some people from other Asian countries are already coming to our country to work because of the opportunities here." Iranians make one of the many comparisons with East Asia's most highly developed country, Japan.

The road up for ambitious Iranians appears to be the path of technocracy. Prime Minister Hoveida himself made his career in the National Iranian Oil Company, which, two decades after Iran's nationalization of its oil resources, now is accustomed to dealing with the problems which arise from success, not from failure.

ECONOMY MINISTER RECRUITED

Mr. Hoveida personally recruited for the government the Economy Minister Muzeghar Hussein Ansary. He persuaded Mr. Ansary, engaged in a million-dollar business in Japan, to take several ambassadorial and now governmental posts that have led him to the top.

The philosophy activating Iran's unique mix of humane socialism and state capitalism seems to be, "think big and spend big." The new price agreement with the Western oil companies reached here last winter, and big new oil and natural gas sales to Japan, the Soviet Union, and India may soon give Iran nearly half again as much revenue. But independent economists here believe expenditures will exceed public savings by as much as \$1.4 billion this year.

About \$800 million of this will be covered by foreign loans and the rest by domestic borrowing. Last month Prime Minister Hoveida announced a "more guns and more butter" budget (The "guns" category being mainly at least two additional squadrons of U.S.-made Phantom F-4 fighter-bombers, bring the total to around 140, and the new naval ships). Parliament, controlled by his ruling Iran Novin Party, which was successful after a rather apathetic election campaign last summer, promptly endorsed it.

TIGHT MONEY CONTINUED

This heavy spending on defense and development means continued tight-money policies. "In reality," explains a Western economist here, "Iran has two separate economies: oil and services, Agriculture, where about 85 percent of the population works, generates only about 15 percent of the gross national product." This, by conservative estimates, is now growing at about 12 percent a year.

Therefore, after a decade of intensive industrialization, reflected both in big and spectacular projects such as the steel mill the Soviet Union is helping to build at Isfahan

in exchange for huge Iranian shipments of natural gas to the U.S.S.R., and the assembly plants for automobiles, trucks, and farm machinery, there will be new stress on agriculture.

Some critics of Iran's boom feel that dangers lie ahead. First, there is the heavy dependence on foreign borrowing, despite the great increases in oil revenues. Second, they say, authority for making decisions about agriculture appears badly diffused.

Education of the new peasant landowners in profitable use of their new land is not going ahead fast enough to keep them on it. Tehran, Tabriz, Isfahan, Bandar Abbas, and many other Iranian cities have a growing urban proletariat and unemployed fringes. Ex-peasants and detribalized former shepherds or nomads who come to seek the good life often find only a dismal slum existence.

CONTRAST EMERGES

In Tehran, the problem is stark and visible in the crowded southern quarters of the city south of Sepah Square, where the new telecommunications building roughly divides the Tehran of the successful "new" people from that of the poor.

Even here, the Shah's secular modernism has largely won out against the more reactionary men and doctrines of Shi'a Islam, Iran's state religion. But from the vast majority of Shi'a Muslims to the perhaps half a million of the minorities—Jews, Christians, and the Zoroastrians, who in their fire temples still practice the state religion of ancient, pre-Islamic Iran—religion is still important. Especially among the poor and the lower middle class, if not among the growingly affluent middle class and the elite.

Though the main Shi'a religious shrines are across the border in Iraq, the one Arab country with which Iran, through a water boundary dispute and mutual political suspicion, is on bad terms, a kind of secondary spiritual and intellectual center lies outside the six main university cities of Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Meshed, Ahwaz, and Tabriz, though none of these in their pursuit of modern disciplines neglect Iran's artistic or religious culture.

REFINEMENTS OF PAST

That center is the city of Qum, south of Tehran, on the edge of one of the two great deserts and about halfway between the two main mountain ranges of Alborz and Zagros. In Qum a religious college trains Shi'a scholars and village mullahs, religious teachers. Modern-minded Iranians sometimes joke about the dour conservatism of its alumni, who frown on things like miniskirts.

Despite impatience to enter the jet age, the past's refinements surround you in Iran, as the approximately 60 foreign heads of state and their representatives and other guests are discovering at the Persepolis festivities Oct. 11-17.

The Western word "paradise" came from the name of the ancient, walled-in hunting preserve of the Achaemenid emperors. The southern kingdom of Phars, which extended outward from Persepolis and Pasargadae, Cyrus's first capital, gave us "Persia" and the name of the main language of Iran, Farsi (Turkish, Turcoman, Kurdish, and Arabic are a few of the others used by fewer than one-third of the 30 million Iranians).

Iran, in Farsi, means the land of the Aryans, the proto-people who apparently moved down from central Asia and became a civilizing force. "Shahanshah, Aryamehr," the official title of the Shah, means "King of Kings, Light of the Aryans."

TITLES BESTOWED

To a foreigner, this may sound grandiose and presumptive. Many Iranians, including sophisticated ones, think that the Shah has earned it through his career of unrelenting work for his country. With their love of

titles, they called his father, who rose from a simple private soldier in a Russian Cossack regiment in an Iran practically partitioned between British and Russian spheres of influence, Reza Shah the Great.

When Britain and Russia both invaded Iran in 1941 in order to win the war against Nazi Germany, Reza Shah abdicated and turned the kingdom over to his son, Mohammed Reza, who has built it into the strong and independent nation it is.

Harvard University historian and Iranologist Richard N. Frye wrote, after the Shah's coronation with his beautiful Empress Farah at Persepolis in 1967:

"The strength, economic progress and independence of Iran may serve as a beacon to her neighbors, but unless the country can assume an intellectual and ever spiritual leadership by breaking its past isolation and sense of uniqueness, no one will listen."

The Persepolis commemoration symbolizes an effort to do just this.

The world is listening, and watching.

GROSS IMMORALITY

HON. DELBERT L. LATTA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. Latta. Mr. Speaker, the November 8, 1971, issue of Newsweek magazine carries an article by Stewart Alsop concerning the most recent Cooper-Church amendment which I believe is worth reading.

It is as follows:

GROSS IMMORALITY

(By Stewart Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—What in hell has happened to this country's sense of simple fairness? More specifically, what in hell has happened to the Democratic Party's sense of national responsibility?

These anguished questions must now be asked, as a result of the Senate vote on the foreign-aid bill, and above all the Cooper-Church amendment to that bill. The amendment failed by one vote. It required an end to all logistic support for South Vietnam. If it had become law, it would, of course, have ensured the occupation of South Vietnam by the North Vietnamese Army and the installation of a Communist regime in Saigon.

Those favoring the amendment included every single Northern Democrat except Henry Jackson. Yet by the standards of this country's past, a vote for the amendment can only be described as an act of gross immorality.

Here a personal word seems called for. Some months ago, The New York Times described me as a "dedicated supporter of the Indochina war," and others seem to have that impression. The fact is that I was—and in writing—highly dubious about the American commitment in Vietnam long before Sen. William Fulbright was leading the fight for the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

CHECKING BACK

Way back in February 1964, for example, I wrote in The Saturday Evening Post, "Direct intervention in South Vietnam, this time without U.N. support, could mean a war as long, as unwinnable, and as internally divisive as the Korean War—perhaps more so." Two themes, I find on checking back, are tediously repeated—that it is an "American delusion" to "suppose that air power can be substituted for . . . infantry" (June 1964); and that it is also a delusion that regular U.S. troops can deal effectively with an essentially political war in an alien culture.

In early 1966, after the commitment of U.S. combat troops, I wrote that our intervention was based on a "great miscalculation," and in 1967 I wrote from Vietnam that "The American combat troops . . . in the populated areas are like blind giants, stumbling among pygmies, stepping on some and killing them, being pinched and pricked and bitten by others." Therefore it would be a "tragic error" to commit American troops to the pacification mission.

In September 1969, in a column proposing rapid withdrawal of ground troops from Vietnam, I wrote that "the war . . . is poisoning the body politic of the United States; . . . it is better to risk military disaster in Vietnam than political disaster in the United States." This theme has also been tediously repeated in this space.

All this is not to suggest that I have always been right about Vietnam—I have often been wrong. It is to suggest that I am not a "dedicated supporter" of the war, with a deep emotional commitment to our involvement there. And this seems a necessary prelude to what is after all a most serious charge—that those who voted for the Cooper-Church amendment, who include several men I deeply respect, thereby committed a grossly immoral act.

LAVISH SUPPORT

Consider certain undisputed facts. First, the North Vietnamese have been, and are still being, lavishly supported logistically and economically by the Soviet Union and China. Their support has been estimated on the order of \$2 billion to \$3 billion a year, but such dollar estimates mean little. What means a lot is that the North Vietnamese Army has been equipped with very fine weapons, including tanks, anti-aircraft guns, and infantry weapons better than we have been able to supply to the South Vietnamese.

Second, there were over 100,000 North Vietnamese regular troops in Laos and Cambodia before so much as an American or South Vietnamese platoon crossed the border into either country. And this Communist invasion of Laos and Cambodia was in support of a larger invasion of South Vietnam.

Third, the U.S. Army, inevitably, remade the South Vietnamese Army in its own cumbersome image. The South Vietnamese are now as dependent on logistic and economic support from this country as a baby on its mother.

Fourth, the U.S. Army in Vietnam has already for all practical purposes ceased to be a fighting army. And yet, as our Army has withdrawn, the security situation in South Vietnam has steadily improved, as almost everyone who has had a first-hand look agrees. The reason is obvious—the South Vietnamese, as John Kennedy once remarked have to fight their own war if they are to survive, and that is just what they are at last doing.

The President proposes rapidly to reduce the American commitment to between 30,000 and 50,000 support troops—the figure should be much closer to 30,000, if the generals can be badgered into cutting back the vastly extravagant U.S. staff and personnel system. The men remaining in Vietnam will continue for a time to give the South Vietnamese a minimum of air and helicopter support, on which we have also made them dangerously dependent. These men will all be professionals and volunteers—and what, after all, are professional soldiers for, if not to take some risks in the national interest?

The Northern Democrats, and the eleven Republicans, who voted for the Cooper-Church amendment, voted quite simply, to cut the South Vietnamese off at the knees. The chief excuse for so doing is that the South Vietnamese have failed to produce a model democracy, and thus the South Vietnamese people lack a "choice."

SILLY CHARADE

The attempt to produce an American-model democracy in wartime Vietnam was a silly charade from the beginning, put on for purely U.S. domestic political purposes. In fact, the South Vietnamese do have a choice. Just about every able-bodied man in the country is now armed, and if they want to choose the Communists, all they have to do is turn their guns the other way.

For this country to remove the choice, forcing the South Vietnamese to surrender by cutting off all logistic support, would be a signal to the whole world, and especially to Moscow and Peking. The President has repeatedly told his Congressional leaders that the Communists' interest in serious negotiations "ebbs and flows." It ebbs *fast* when the new isolationists seem to be winning control of Congress.

But that is not all. To force those who have fought on our side to surrender would be a terrible betrayal, an act of gross immorality. It is hard to believe that men of the stature of Edmund Muskie and Edward Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale could vote for such an act, however politically expedient such a vote may be.

HUNGARY'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, on November 4, 1956, the hordes of the Soviet Red army launched a new treacherous attack against the Hungarian people and its democratic government freely established during the days of independence. During the ensuing unequal struggle, the fate of the Hungarian freedom fighters, and that of the Hungarian people, was sealed in spite of the fact they fought like heroes who earned the veneration and respect of all mankind.

And so it was that still another page in the bloody history of Communist savagery and aggression was turned while the free world looked on in sympathy, but helpless. The real heroes are, indeed, those who have given their very lives for their fellow man in the unshaken belief that freedom cannot survive by the mere paying of lip service or the demagoguery that is spawned in a society lured into a complacency that it is invulnerable to invasion by alien powers.

Although perhaps of some inspiration to the people who have escaped the chains of Communist suppression that still bind their countrymen, I feel it is vitally important to instill in our own people that these repetitious commemorations of the demise of once free nations are painfully realistic examples of the fate that awaits those who take their freedoms for granted and abuse them with impunity.

Of the Hungarian Revolution, Archibald MacLeish, writing for *Life* magazine, declares:

We do not speak of a Hungarian Revolution. We speak of the Hungarian agony.

His thought-provoking observations follow, as reprinted in the *Faklyalang Hungarian Torchlight*:

We do not speak of a Hungarian Revolution. We speak of the Hungarian agony.

From the moment when the Communist regime in Budapest fired upon an unarmed crowd and turned its quarrel with the Hungarian people from a political quarrel which it could not win into an armed revolt which, with Soviet aid, it could not lose, the suppression of the Hungarian resistance was inevitable. The world seemed to feel that it had no choice, short of atomic war, but to sit back and watch, in horror and disgust, the brutal, methodical destruction of an angry people by overwhelming force and conscienceless treachery.

It is understandable, certainly, that we in the United States should feel ashamed by our inability to act in this nightmare. Nevertheless, we should not forget, in all the suffering and pain, that we owe the people of Hungary more than our pity. We owe them also pride and praise. For their defeat has itself been a triumph. Those Hungarian students and workers and women and fighting children have done more to close the future to Communism than armies or diplomats had done before them. They have given more and done more. For what they have done has been to expose the brutal hypocrisy of Communism for all of Asia, all of Africa, all the world to see. So long as men live in any country who remember the murder of Hungary, Soviet Russia will never again be able to pose before the world as the benefactor of mankind. The Hungarian dead have torn the mask off. Their fingers hold its tatters in their graves.

Mr. Speaker, unfortunate as it is, these words are not immortal and, I feel, they should be repeated frequently lest we forget the nature of our adversaries: complacency, apathy, communism.

FARM CREDIT ACT OF 1971

HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to express my support for H.R. 11232, the Farm Credit Act of 1971. It is an indication of the very widespread approval this bill has found that the Committee on Agriculture reported it to the floor on a vote of 28 to 0.

The provisions of this bill are far-reaching; they are fair; and they are based on needs that we on the committee have investigated during weeks of hearings on this subject.

The main provisions are these:

The statutory authority of the farm credit system are completely rewritten, modernized, and streamlined.

Federal land banks and production credit associations are authorized to make nonfarm housing loans in rural areas.

The present limitation on land bank loans is raised from 65 percent to 85 percent of the appraised value of farms or ranches.

First-lien security requirements on Federal land bank loans, provided for in the present law, are retained.

A system of joint security is authorized, making each of the three branches of the farm credit system—the land banks, the intermediate credit banks, and banks for cooperatives—obligated for the liabilities of the others, provided the directors of the farm credit

banks and the central bank for cooperatives the farmer.

The former voting median percentage requirement for cooperatives to be eligible to borrow from banks for cooperatives is reduced from 90 percent to 80 percent.

New authority for financial related services available to borrowers is limited to services necessary for on-farm operations.

Authority for land bank and production credit association loans, other than for housing, to persons other than farmers is limited to the furnishing of services directly related to on-farm operating needs.

Country banks are protected by a provision assuring that obligations issued by the farm credit system will be subject to the same limitations in regard to rate, amount, and maturity as those imposed on its member banks by the Federal Reserve Board.

Improvements are made with regard to the internal administration of the system.

These major points reveal the sweeping nature of this legislation and reflect the extremely involved subject matter the committee has been investigating for the last several weeks.

I believe this bill is essentially good and fair legislation, with input being drawn from many quarters and with the committee having worked very hard to digest the information and present its legislative recommendations.

I urge my colleagues to vote with me for passage of this legislation. It is in the best interest of the farmer, of rural America, and by extension, of the Nation at large.

THE UNITED NATIONS VOTE

HON. BEN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most disturbing events in recent weeks was the decisive vote to expel from the United Nations' membership the Government of Nationalist China and to substitute the Government of Communist China.

The vote was disturbing to me, because the United States had requested, in an effort to protect the membership of Nationalist China, that the expulsion of a regular member should be considered a serious question which would require a two-thirds vote to be effective. The General Assembly of the United Nations rejected the request. Thus, membership in that international organization and expulsion from membership has now become a matter subject to the whim of a simple majority of the member nations.

There is another disturbing aspect of this incident which I find both frustrating and irritating. To me, the request that both Communist China and Nationalist China be recognized as members was not an unreasonable request. When we consider that this country contributes in excess of 30 percent of the costs of

operating the United Nations and its many subagencies, while other nations in the General Assembly whose financial contribution is minuscule in comparison have the same vote, the realization that many member nations have a population less than an average congressional district in the United States, a sense of injustice is unavoidable.

The fact that the Soviet Union participated in the voting and the debate, while in arrears on her contribution in excess of \$87 million, only heightens my feeling that an injustice has been done.

The spectacle of delegates to the United Nations whose countries have, over the years, enjoyed considerable financial support from this country displaying undisguised glee at the defeat of the United States by dancing about the Assembly Hall after their vote only serves to rub salt into an already raw wound.

Someone has suggested that perhaps Albania, which was obviously in the driver's seat on the Red China debate, should also buy the gasoline if the United Nations is to drive roughshod over other nations.

The repercussions from the action of the United Nations General Assembly could have seriously weakening results on that world body's operations.

I do not think the United States should withdraw from the United Nations. I do think, however, a reassessment of our role and our support to that organization will undoubtedly occur.

A critical examination of the degree of good will created abroad through our foreign assistance programs is likewise in order—of the 59 United Nations members which voted to expel Nationalist China, all but eight have received U.S. foreign aid totaling \$47.6 billion. The results of the vote prove conclusively that we are not buying any friends, and the imposition of wage and price controls likewise proves we can spend ourselves into economic disaster.

It appears that we have come to the point in our Nation's history when an "agonizing reappraisal" of the U.S. role in the world today, the effectiveness of our past and present international policies and the future policies which we should pursue is the need of the hour.

**NEW YORK STATE CONCERNED
OVER METHADONE RECLASSIFICATION**

HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, FDA spokesmen have indicated that methadone would gain new-drug approval within the next month. This announcement has come in the wake of considerable apprehension expressed by myself, several of my distinguished colleagues in the House, and other governmental and private organizations throughout the United States.

It is evident that methadone does have

definite therapeutic benefits in the treatment of hard-core narcotics addicts. However, diversion of the drug under current experimental protocols has caused several problems: black market sales, addiction of those on the street not enrolled in maintenance programs, creation of hard-core addicts resulting from faulty or incomplete screening at clinics, accidental child poisoning, and death from overdose.

Obviously, FDA hopes that NDA status will improve the control of distribution and utilization of methadone. However, approval of an inadequately regulated and enforceable NDA could be wrought with the same shortcomings that plague the existing protocols. Also, without additional statutory authority, FDA may find that their power to enforce the NDA is limited. It is essential that legislative action on the regulation of methadone precede or at least be simultaneous with the approval of the NDA.

Recently the New York State Public Health Council, a policymaking body, sent a telegram expressing their concern over the reclassification of methadone to Dr. Charles C. Edwards, FDA Commissioner, and the President. The comments of New York State on this issue are especially pertinent because New York has been a leader in the development and use of methadone maintenance.

[Telegram]

Dr. CHARLES C. EDWARDS,
Commissioner, Food & Drug Administration,
Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare, Rockville, Md.

New York State Public Health Council at its monthly meeting today expressed its serious concern over rumored removal of present status of methadone. This would result in lack of control that would be impossible for any one State to regulate and would jeopardize present successful programs.

NORMAN MOORE, M.D.,
Chairman, Public Health Council.

**RESOLUTION ON ALASKA LAND
DISTRIBUTION**

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, land distribution in Alaska is a very important part of Alaska's history culture. Questions have been raised concerning the distribution of land in villages that were set up by Presidential order. The Bureau of Land Management was given the responsibility of distributing the land in these villages. A serious question has risen as to the role of the governing bodies of the villages.

The southeastern Alaska community action program and the rural community action program feel that the village government should play a more active role in determining the distribution of the land in the village. What they are asking is that the BLM seek the village's advice and then get the village consent before distributing any land.

Because I believe this to be an impor-

tant issue, I am inserting a resolution that was passed by southeast action community action program and rural community action program board of trustees and sent to me.

RESOLUTION No. 15

Whereas the villages of Southeastern Alaska were established by Presidential Order; and

Whereas the Bureau of Land Management is charged with the responsibility of the disposition of lands within the townsite and the proposed townsite; and

Whereas Bureau of Land Management currently appears to be pursuing a policy of arbitrary disposition of lands within those townsites without any prior consultation or consultation or consent of the villages involved; and

Whereas the establishment of the townsites and proposed townsite were made specifically for the purpose of assuring to the Native peoples land for their use;

Now therefore be it resolved, by the Board of Directors of Southeast Alaska Community Action Program (SEACAP) that it strongly protest the manner in which the Bureau of Land Management has disposed of lands within village townsites to non-Natives without the consent of the governing bodies of the villages and that it strongly urges the Bureau of Land Management to cease the distribution of any further lands to non-Natives without first obtaining the advice and consent to the villages governing bodies.

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be transmitted to our Congressional Representatives in the Senate and House.

THE CANNIKIN TEST

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, this week the Cannikin nuclear explosion will occur on Amchitka Island in the Aleutian Island chain despite the protestations of environmentalists across the country. President Nixon, in approving the blast last week, has ignored the warnings of ecology-minded citizens and individuals. The dangers to fish and wildlife on Amchitka Island and in the surrounding waters have been well defined by groups such as the Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club, yet these imminent dangers have been dismissed by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The justification offered by the Atomic Energy Commission for the Cannikin test, is, at best, questionable. To state that the explosion of a 5-megaton warhead is necessary to convince the Soviet Union of the desirability of serious negotiations with the United States at the SALT talks seems to be contradictory to the very purpose of the SALT talks themselves. While both the Soviet Union and the United States have expressed interest in reaching an agreement banning all underground nuclear blasts, neither country seems to be committed to the actual implementation of such a ban. Certainly the Cannikin test this week and the future underground tests planned in Nevada call into question the sincerity of the United States desire to stop all nuclear testing.

I have joined with several other Members of Congress in a lawsuit against the Environmental Protection Agency to try to prevent the Amchitka test. I was certainly disheartened when this suit was not litigated by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. I do not consider the senseless destruction of fish in the Aleutian waters to in any way justify the minimal informational gains which the Atomic Energy Commission purports will be made from the Cannikin explosion. The decision on the part of the Nixon administration to go ahead with the test on Amchitka Island is one further example of the mistaken priorities of this administration.

Many of my constituents have taken the time to write to me regarding their distress at the Cannikin test. I applaud these constituents for their very justified concern. Below are the names of those constituents who most recently sent me a petition deploring the Amchitka test. I join with the following residents of my district in condemning the Cannikin explosion:

LIST OF CONSTITUENTS

Mrs. Alice Moore, Mrs. Mary Muise, Mr. Stephen Smith, Mr. Ronald Bolduc, Mrs. Madge Fleet, Mr. Ted Lazardakis, Miss Sandra Saunders, Mr. Thompson, Miss Carol Rothbun, Miss Larina Tremblay, Miss Margaret Lessor, and Miss Alice Hick.

PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, equal rights and equal justice for all are two of the basic precepts passed on to us through the English judicial and political system. These are precepts which our countries have strived to perfect and carry out. These are precepts which have allowed our nations to remain strong and united. But they must be applied to all of the people and not to just a chosen few. To set aside one group of people to be treated differently, to give them a separate set of laws, and to look down upon them will begin the disintegration of the system of justice and humanity we have tried to create.

We have learned these lessons through long experience and through mistakes that have changed the course of history. But we have learned and now we must again apply what we have learned.

To give equal rights and justice to a people is to give them their pride and their dignity. It is to take away their bitter hatred and desire for violence and revenge.

That is why I have sponsored a resolution calling for peace in Northern Ireland and the establishment of a united Ireland.

The six-point document asks for:

First. Termination of the current internment policy and simultaneous release of all persons detained thereunder.

Second. Full respect for the civil rights of all the people of Northern Ireland and

the termination of all political, social, economic, and religious discrimination.

Third. Implementation of the reforms promised by the Government of the United Kingdom since 1968 including those reforms in the fields of law enforcement, housing, employment, and voting rights.

Fourth. Dissolution of the Parliament of Northern Ireland.

Fifth. Withdrawal of all British forces from Northern Ireland, and the institution of law enforcement and criminal justice under local control acceptable to all parties.

Sixth. Convening of all interested parties for the purpose of accomplishing the unification of Ireland.

I also urge that commonsense prevail on both sides in Northern Ireland. There are many ready and willing to make concessions to the Catholic minority, but they too must make an effort. To look at it realistically, there would be nothing to gain by the Catholic minority if the British troops left at this point and there were wholesale civil war. Undoubtedly the Protestants, with a 2 to 1 advantage, a military background, available military weaponry, and economic staying power, would win, causing a crushing economic blow to the society in general and certainly not resulting in any of the liberties and rights being demanded.

The Protestants must make concessions. They must allow proportional representation in Northern Ireland, an enlargement of the two houses of Stormont and a coalition government in order to give the minority a decent share in the present Protestant monopoly.

These concessions by both sides would ultimately lead to the release of interned IRA members and the removal of British troops from Northern Ireland.

NATIONAL CANCER ATTACK PROGRAM: LET US GET ON WITH IT

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, this body soon will have before it a proposal to create a national cancer attack program with greatly expanded funds for the research needed to obliterate this most dreaded of diseases.

As one who, like Marquis Childs, has kept vigil with this killer, I echo his plea: Please, let us get on with it.

I commend Mr. Childs' article to the attention of my colleagues:

THE NEW BATTLE AGAINST CANCER

(By Marquis Childs)

A killer stalking the land defies all the barriers of law and order. It is cancer, and those who have felt the killer strike with the stealth of an assassin in the night know the sense of helplessness, pitting hope against despair, of the ordeal of watching and waiting.

There is hope, or at any rate, progress. In the remarkable articles written in Newsweek of his own confrontation with what at first appeared to be fatal leukemia Stewart Alsop

described the advances that have been made in "taming the beast." Eight forms of cancer are now, if not curable, subject to treatment giving at least considerable remission. The most notable progress has been in leukemia that is becoming increasingly prevalent.

But the beast is far from tamed. The attack of the scientific community has been hampered by limited funds and by bureaucratic complexities. Now a proposal is before Congress to create a National Cancer Attack Program with greatly expanded funds both for research and for the application of research. It has passed the Senate by a vote of 79 to 1.

The appropriation for the current fiscal year would be \$400 million, \$500 million for 1973 and \$600 million for the year ending June 30, 1973. One of the prime movers in persuading President Nixon to go for this expanded attack was his good friend, Elmer Bobst. It approaches what Bobst, Mrs. Mary Lasker, the formidable crusader for improved medical care and research, Laurance Rockefeller, and many others have long hoped for. That is, in effect, a Manhattan Project that would do for cancer what the wartime project achieved in five years in splitting the atom, opening the way for the atomic bomb.

At this point is a basic division among cancer researchers. Spending large sums of money is not the answer, say the critics. Research can proceed only within the limits of resources available. There are only just so many front-rank seekers after the cause and the cure of the killer and no amount of money can speed their efforts.

Nonsense say the advocates of the proposed attack program. If billions can split the atom and other billions can send men into space to land on the moon, the mysteries of cancer will respond to a massive search. The analogy with splitting the atom and with space will be proved out.

The measure passed by the Senate provides not only for greatly increased scientific and technical manpower but for construction of new facilities. In short, the whole framework would be expanded as rapidly as possible.

Unfortunately, the proposed program, which originated with a distinguished commission, has stirred the kind of political, bureaucratic tempest that so often clouds the issues. On one side, so far as an observer on the sidelines can judge, are those who believe that research directed by the National Cancer Institute in the National Institutes of Health is proceeding independently with all possible speed. Among this number are many deans of medical schools with research grants from the Institute.

On the other side are distinguished cancer specialists, the American Cancer Society, and other individuals and groups long advocating a bold new approach. One argument is that the emphasis on research into causes is so dominant that the cure is lost sight of. No one really knows the cause of diabetes but insulin is a cure reducing this killer close to zero.

One charge is that the White House wants to concentrate control of the program for political ends. The bill makes the President responsible for the budget, with the director of the National Cancer Institute, which would still be within the framework of NIH, responsible to the chief executive and to a national cancer advisory council.

The charge of politics sets the blood boiling of the advocates of the new program. No President could play politics with cancer. Eliminating the layers of bureaucracy through which research must filter is bound to speed the whole process.

As one who has just observed a long vigil, with the killer finally triumphant, there is only one thing to say: Stop the bureaucratic quarreling and get on with it, get on with it, get on with it.

CONGRESSMAN DERWINSKI—"NATIONALITIES MAN OF THE YEAR"

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, recently our colleague who represents the Fourth District of Illinois, Mr. DERWINSKI, was honored as the "Republican Nationalities Man of the Year" for Illinois. In addition to the generous remarks addressed in honor of Congressman DERWINSKI, he received a plaque from the Republican State Nationalities Council of Illinois, of which Mr. Myron B. Kuropas is president.

The important statement Mr. Kuropas addressed to the some 3,000 persons gathered to honor our colleague, Congressman DERWINSKI, was stimulating and highly significant.

I am pleased to include in the RECORD Mr. Kuropas' remarks for the edification of the Members of this body as well as the many others who will glean these pages and benefit from Mr. Kuropas' words and from our colleague's fine example:

REMARKS OF MYRON B. KUROPAS

Time does not permit us to list all of his many achievements and his great contributions to good government in America. His record is well known both in Washington and in Illinois. We know, for example, that it was Congressman Derwinski who took a strong stand on the Captive Nations issue and was one of the leaders in the Congressional effort to pass a law designating the third week in July as Captive Nations Week. We know that he was one of the co-sponsors of the Ethnic Studies Heritage Bill when it was first introduced in the House and we know that he has pledged himself to its eventual enactment.

We also know that Congressman Derwinski is an American who is proud of his own ethnic heritage and isn't ashamed to admit it. Today, of course, more and more Americans are realizing that the melting pot is a myth and that what we really have in the United States is a mosaic of nationalities, proud to be American but committed to the preservation of the cultural wealth of their forebearers. The acceptance of this fact of life is, as I have indicated, a relatively new phenomenon in American life. For far too many years there were those in America who seemed threatened by our foreign-born population and who demanded the total rejection of one's ethnic past through a process which was euphemistically called "Americanization". It was during this period that people like Congressman Derwinski stood alone, a voice in the wilderness, proclaiming that America's many and varied nationalities were not a threat but an asset that should be recognized and nurtured.

Finally, we know that Congressman Derwinski is a sensitive human being, willing to respond to individual and group needs. He has worked with us not only during elections but between elections as well. There is hardly a nationality group that has not been directly helped by some action, some intervention, some gesture on the part of Congressman Derwinski. No group has ever been too small nor any request too big for this magnanimous man to consider, despite the fact that most of us don't even live in his Congressional district.

No man in Illinois is more deserving of this, our first Man of the Year Award, than Congressman Derwinski. But let there be no

mistake. Let no one say that we are honoring him simply because he is an ethnic. Let no one say that we are honoring him because he was willing to take a stand on ethnic issues when recognizing ethnic needs were not very fashionable. And let no one say that we are honoring him because he has responded to our needs.

We are honoring Congressman Derwinski tonight because he has demonstrated, in both word and deed, his strong commitment and undying faith in the American principle of equal rights and opportunities for all of us, regardless of race, creed or national origin. We are honoring Congressman Edward J. Derwinski tonight because we believe he is one of the great Americans of our time, a man who serves as our model of what being a true American is all about.

On behalf of the Republican State Nationalities Council of Illinois, it is my great honor and privilege to present to you, Congressman Derwinski this token of our esteem and to wish you many, many more years of productive service to our great country.

SAIPAN LEGISLATURE ASKS FOR JET SERVICE

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, one of President Nixon's most important goals is the establishment of a viable, healthy economy in the Pacific Trust Territories.

With increasing jet air travel to this Pacific area, the people of the Trust Territories are anxious to help in the economic progress of their island areas.

Consequently it is with satisfaction that I bring to the attention of the House the unanimous resolution adopted by the 23d Saipan Legislature on September 22nd requesting the U.S. Government to bring Pan American World Airways services to the island of Saipan. This is a demonstration of the foresight, the determination, and the spirit of initiative characteristic of the residents of Saipan.

Copies of the resolution, signed by the Honorable Vicente T. Camacho, speaker, and Daniel T. Muna, legislative clerk, have been forwarded to President Nixon, the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, the Secretary of State, the chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and Pan American World Airways. Its text is appended.

The legislature's resolution points out the need for improving the economy of Saipan by actively promoting tourism and recites that the Government of Guam in March of this year formally recognized Pan Am as the carrier who had done most in promoting travel to Guam.

Basically, what the people of Saipan want is for a U.S. carrier to provide jet air service to Saipan. This is something that should have been provided long ago. As a matter of fact, Pan Am now overflies Saipan over once a day in each direction on its Tokyo-Guam route. Pan Am has asked to be permitted to provide this badly needed service for Saipan.

As one who has long taken a deep interest in the problems and achievements of the good people of Saipan and the

other islands of the Trust Territories, I believe the time has come to heed the pleas of the people of Saipan and help them in their efforts to improve their economy through the availability of U.S.-flag carrier service.

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS, 23RD SAIPAN LEGISLATURE, FIFTH REGULAR SESSION, 1971, SAIPAN, MARIANA ISLANDS

A Resolution respectfully memorializing and requesting the United States Government to act favorably on the application of Pan American World Airways to serve the Saipan-Japan route

Be it resolved by the Twenty-third Saipan Legislature, that:

Whereas, it was recently announced that the Civil Aeronautics Board had granted approval to Japan Air Lines to make flights from Tokyo to Saipan, Mariana Islands District in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; and

Whereas, by granting Japan Air Lines landing rights in Saipan on its flights from Tokyo, an air route between Tokyo and Saipan was established; and

Whereas, it is recognized that the United States of America has under consideration applications by several United States air carriers to serve this route, but so far no United States air carrier has been selected; and

Whereas, after more than a quarter of a century of dormancy, the economy of Saipan has started to grow, primarily because of its most promising industry—tourism; and

Whereas, the number of tourists visiting Saipan has increased from approximately 100 in 1965 to almost 20,000 in 1970, of which more than 15,000 were citizens of Japan; and

Whereas, the tourist potential of Saipan is widely recognized as the most promising industry for a durable, stable and viable economy for the area and its inhabitants; and

Whereas, it is noted that the tourist industry in the United States Territory of Guam has gone from almost nothing to well over 125,000 visiting tourists since direct service from Japan to Guam was inaugurated by Pan American World Airways in 1967; and

Whereas, we, the elected leaders in the Saipan Legislature, believe that in selecting a U.S. air carrier to serve the route between Saipan and Japan, the wishes of the people directly involved in the responsibilities and the benefits that will result from such services should be given the greatest weight; and

Whereas, this body believes that in choosing an air carrier to serve the route between Saipan and Japan, the qualifications, experience and general know-how of that carrier should also be taken into consideration; and

Whereas, on the basis of meeting this criteria, Pan American World Airways can connect Saipan to its world-wide air service system; is unmatched as the world's most experienced airline; and stands out in the matter of performance, as is exemplified by the magnificent work it has already done in promoting tourism to the U.S. Territory of Guam, for which Pan American World Airways was recognized by the Government of Guam in March of this year as the carrier that has done the most towards promoting travel to Guam; and

Whereas, Pan American Airways has provided air service to Japan since 1947, and has over the years, maintained a veteran professional staff in Japan in sales promotion and public relations, executives and other personnel, that is unmatched by any other U.S. air carrier; and

Whereas, in order to facilitate the building of the infra-structure to accommodate the anticipated influx of tourists, we, the elected representatives of the people of Saipan, urge that Pan American World Airways be selected to serve the route between Japan and Saipan; now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Twenty-Third Saipan Legislature, Fifth Regular Session, 1971, that the Government of the United States be and hereby is respectfully memorialized and requested to act favorably on the application of Pan American World Airways to serve the Saipan-Japan route; and

Be it further resolved that certified copies of this Resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States of America, the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, the Secretary of the Department of State, the Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the President of Pan American Airways, Inc. Passed and adopted this 22nd day of September, 1971.

FLAWED PESTICIDE BILL

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing in the Washington, D.C., Evening Star of Tuesday, October 26, 1971, entitled "Flawed Pesticide Bill."

That editorial points out some of the real and significant defects of the pesticide bill, H.R. 10729, shortly to come before the House for consideration.

The article follows:

FLAWED PESTICIDE BILL

The recent postponement of debate on the Environmental Pesticide Control Bill was fortunate, because it gave House members more time to ponder this flawed product of their Agriculture Committee. Those representatives who have more than a token concern for environmental protection should prepare to ask some sharp questions when the measure reaches the floor—probably sometime this week.

The committee has diluted and otherwise altered the Nixon administration's admirable pesticide proposal to a point at which its worth is dubious. Vital safeguards have been removed and there is even a provision to reward the chemical industry for its bloopers.

But there is an alternative; most of the objectionable features are removed in a substitute bill offered by Representative John G. Dow of New York, and the House should give it preference over the one reported by the committee.

Some states are far ahead of the federal government in setting pesticide control standards, but the committee bill would put the kibosh on that. It provides that no state could impose stricter regulations than those approved at the federal level, and this is viewed with alarm in states (such as New York) which have superior programs in operation.

The administration wanted to establish three categories for pesticides: General use (for safe chemicals), restricted use and use by permit only. The last would have been usable under sort of a prescription system, applying to pesticides that are either extremely toxic to people or dangerous to the environment. And that most needful third classification was lopped off altogether by the Agriculture panel. There is no permit provision in the committee's bill, and this would negate the permit systems in effect in some states. The State of New York, for example, has issued 15,000 user permits.

There are other gross deficiencies. The government, rather than the chemical manufacturer, would have the responsibility of proving a pesticide to be harmful. Under present law, it is the manufacturers' obliga-

tion to prove his product harmless, and that's the way it should remain. And there's an incredible provision under which the government would indemnify chemical firms for their stocks on hand, in case they had to cancel out a product because of proven harmful effects. As if that weren't enough the bill restricts the availability of information about pesticides and shoves the public further back from decision-making processes.

Some pesticides must be used, judiciously, until research produces less poisonous ways of dealing with destructive insects. The bugs cannot be given carte blanche. But Congress has a responsibility to pass control legislation weighted more in the public interest than in the interests of pesticide manufacturers and users. The Agriculture Committee's bill fails that test.

THE U.N.'S MISTAKE

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I have just read what I think is an excellent analysis of the action of the United Nations in expelling Taiwan. I agree with the Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel of October 27—this was a grave error:

THE U.N.'S MISTAKE

In voting to expel Nationalist China, the United Nations has committed a grave error which will return to haunt it.

For the first time in its 26-year history, the world organization has taken the drastic step of ousting a member. It acted not because Taiwan perpetrated aggression or some heinous crime against humanity, but to appease a great power—Communist China.

Taiwan was sacrificed because Peking demanded it as a price for entering the United Nations. Any organization that victimizes a small member to mollify a large applicant has, we submit, compromised its honor and perhaps its future.

As bad as what the General Assembly did was the way it did it. The membership overrode the sensible United States contention that expulsion was an "important question" requiring a two-thirds majority.

If throwing a state out of the international community is not an important question, what is?

Nationalist China was the victim Monday night of a shouting, unruly simple majority. In the future it might be the turn of Israel, Portugal, South Africa or some other small country on the hate list of the Communist, Afro-Asian and have-not bloc that dominates the General Assembly.

Fortunately, Taiwan is a tough-minded, self-reliant state that will survive the UN action. (Whether the weakened United Nations will itself survive is another question.) Taiwan also has a defense treaty with the United States. This remains valid and should deter Communist China from taking encouragement from the UN vote and trying to invade the Nationalist-held island.

To no one's surprise, many disgusted members of Congress are threatening to withhold funds from the United Nations. While we share their disgust over the China vote, we hope they will not abruptly withdraw support from the organization, which is deeply in debt and near bankruptcy.

Admittedly, the United Nations has not justified the high hopes placed in it at the close of World War II, but it is the only peace-keeping body we have. It is a useful place where countries can blow off steam (which sometimes averts war), reach ac-

commodations in the corridors, and get health and development aid. It can't be improved by killing it.

The China debate, however, has focused attention on the fact that the United States pays for more than a third of UN activities. Why? There is no good reason. This country has far less than a third of the world's wealth, income, population, or resources.

Congress should, we think, carefully reconsider America's UN contributions. Then it should whittle down our percentage—but gradually so as not to cripple the good work that is done by the organization.

And since "important questions" now can be decided by close votes—the key measure on Peking carried 59 to 55—isn't it time for fairness in the distribution of votes?

Under the incredible fiction that Byelorussia and the Ukraine are independent nations, the Soviet Union cast three votes. The General Assembly has ruled that there is only one China and Taiwan is part of it. Well, everybody knows there is only one Soviet Union, and Byelorussia and the Ukraine are part of it with infinitely less independence than Taiwan. Why not expel them?

It will be interesting to see if the howling majority that ran the United Nations Monday night has the courage to apply its logic to Russia. We doubt it.

PUGET SOUND: FISHERIES CAPITAL

HON. FLOYD V. HICKS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. HICKS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following: As you may remember, Congresswoman HANSEN and I joined in arranging the serving of specially raised salmon from Puget Sound to our House colleagues in the House dining room last July. These salmon were raised as part of an experimental aquaculture marketing venture by the National Marine Fisheries Service in conjunction with Ocean Systems, Inc., at Manchester, Wash., in my District.

The following article by Peter Tonge published in the October 29 Christian Science Monitor describes the use of aquaculture techniques in developing salmon that have been transplanted into rivers depleted of their natural fishing stock. Studies have shown that aquaculture of these salmon is the most efficient medium for the production of animal protein yet available. The richness of the Puget Sound estuarine environment and the fisheries science resources available at the University of Washington, make the Sound the Nation's center for salt-water aquaculture development. I am pleased to bring this article to your attention.

PLATE-SIZE SALMON

(By Peter Tonge)

SEATTLE.—Here in a canal linking Lake Union with Lake Washington, some of the largest salmon in the Pacific make a sharp left turn, as they approach the University of Washington, into a small pond—once the water hazard of a local golf course.

They've been doing it for 25 years now. And though Mother Nature would never have selected such a place, the salmon—thousands more than the small pool could ever hope to accommodate—call it home.

It all seems so strange. But unusual, even great things are happening in the salmon world.

The fish themselves are getting bigger by the year. Pacific salmon now inhabit the Atlantic; they thrive in the once almost fishless Lake Michigan. Atlantic salmon, too, are returning in impressive numbers to the fished-out St. John River in Canada's New Brunswick Province.

A serious attempt has begun to rear the pink-fleshed fish—and the white, too—in pens, in somewhat the same way as chickens are raised.

HOMING INSTINCT

Moreover, according to the Governor of Hokkaido, the fish has "averted World War III." He was jesting, of course, but he was pointing up the importance of the salmon just the same.

Those who watch the annual return of salmon to the university say it's as if a traffic light had been placed there to direct the coho, chinook, sockeye, and chum, into the fishing school.

That's where Prof. Lauren R. Donaldson awaits them. It was he who started it all. Back in '42 he released several thousand little fish or smolt as they are called, into the pool. "Ridiculous," exclaimed the doubters. But the homing instinct of these remarkable fish prevailed and back they came when they matured to spawn in the pool.

Since then they've been getting bigger by the year. They also mature faster. Selective breeding has made this possible. Where it takes the average salmon four years to reach maturity, the Donaldson strains return in two to three years.

Meanwhile, Dr. Donaldson has been passing on his techniques to others. He also sent two million eggs of his super strain of chinook to Japan (hence the jesting reference to World War III) and others to Nova Scotia and elsewhere. It was he, too, who stocked Lake Michigan.

BREAK WITH TRADITION

Now the Donaldson approach is being used to build up the declining Atlantic salmon. The St. John River had lost most of its fish even before the Mactaquac Dam—built in 1968—threatened to terminate the salmon run altogether. Now, however, a fish hatchery, just below the wall, releases half a million young smolt into the St. John every year. Soon this figure could be boosted to around one million.

Says a satisfied New Brunswick official: "We'll soon have the best salmon river on the Atlantic seaboard."

Meanwhile, in a total break with tradition, salmon are being farmed in the Seattle area. The National Marine Fisheries and a private company, Ocean Systems, have begun pilot projects using Donaldson fish. Nets are suspended from floating barges to form the pens in which the salmon are housed.

So far the results look encouraging, good enough "to try going commercial next year," according to Jon Lindberg of Ocean Systems.

Feed conversion rates have been much higher than for land-bound livestock. On average, the salmon put on a pound of weight for every 1½ pounds of feed consumed.

AVAILABLE ALL YEAR

A major advantage of raising salmon this way is that they can be harvested at any age. The result: Plate-sized salmon—something that is not available in the wild where mature salmon returning to spawn are around 10 pounds in weight.

"Today you eat a piece of salmon," says Mr. Lindberg. "Tomorrow you'll have a whole one to yourself." Moreover, these salmon will be available all year round, no longer just a seasonal dish.

Mr. Lindberg admits pen-reared salmon will be a luxury item; an expanded source of gourmet seafood, something to compete with trout.

Test marketings in the United States and Europe have proved encouraging. One batch of 200 were sent to a Congress restaurant. That number was expected to last two days but the fish-loving congressmen cleared the lot in one day.

Which suggests the scheme has government approval anyway.

COMMENTS OF FORMER SECRETARY RUSK

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, as one who believes firmly in the principle of universality, I was deeply disturbed by the vote in the United Nations General Assembly to expel the Republic of China from membership.

More disturbing to me, however, is the reaction to this vote which has been manifested by many in the Congress. However we as individuals may feel about the expulsion of Nationalist China, I firmly believe that nothing could be more damaging to our genuine national interest than for us to undermine the foundations of the United Nations by sharply reducing our commitment to this organization. While none would dispute the need for improvement and reform in the U.N., a strong multinational organization is a critical element in the creation and maintenance of a just, peaceful, and humane world. For only by working together will the nations of the world ever be able to resolve the conflicts which divide.

Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, in a recent letter carried by the Washington Post, reiterates the indispensable role which the U.N. has and should continue to play in our efforts for understanding. The importance of continued American support for, rather than abandonment of, this organization and its ultimate goals is absolutely essential. I believe that the cogent and thoughtful comments of former Secretary Rusk are especially worthy of my colleagues' attention:

FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE RUSK ON THE U.N.

To say that the writer has played a certain role in assuring the United Nations membership of the Republic of China on Taiwan since 1949, would perhaps be an understatement. I yield to no one in sadness and chagrin that the U.N. General Assembly has voted, in effect, to expel a loyal U.N. member and a friend of the United States.

I am deeply disturbed, however, by many suggestions, particularly in the Congress, that the United States should now sharply curtail its support for and participation in the United Nations. Calm and sober reflections surely would indicate that a vigorous and effective U.N. is in the deepest national interest of the United States. Tens of millions of lives were lost to give us a chance to pick ourselves up out of the catastrophe of World War II and start over again. The charter of the U.N. profoundly reflects the simple and decent purposes of the American people with regard to our relations with the rest of the world. Although disagreements among the great powers have at times frustrated the Security Council in carrying out its assigned mission, there have been many occasions

when the U.N. has served effectively to prevent, limit or end outbreaks of armed conflict. The United Nations, and its specialized agencies are making a tremendous contribution, day by day and week by week, to the necessary work of the world which affects in constructive ways the daily lives of our citizens.

On the immediate horizon are important tasks which the U.N. has undertaken which could make an important contribution to the possibilities of peace and, perhaps, to human survival. I have in mind the 1972 Conference in Stockholm on the Human Environment, a 1973 Conference on the Law of the Sea and the dedication of 1974 as U.N. Population Year. The record of the U.N. in deepening and strengthening international law is not perfect, but is encouraging; there remains, however, much unfinished business in that direction which can only be accomplished by the nations of the world in concert rather than by unilateral, bilateral or even regional action.

Diplomacy has striven for centuries to find ways to reduce the role played by anger, affronted dignity or desire for revenge in the relations among states. What was once a constructive object of diplomacy has now become a sheer necessity in a period when thousands of megatons are lying around in the hands of frail human beings.

It is too frivolous to say that we should pick up our marbles and go home just because others are not willing to play the game our way. The real issue is whether the human race, infinitesimal mites on a speck of dust in the universe, can find a way to live in peace. The harshest realist must now acknowledge that the family of man has come into being because we are at long last faced with certain problems which we must solve together or go down together. In this effort, the U.N. must play an indispensable role. Of course, it needs reform, improvement, more efficiency, a deeper sense of responsibility and changes in a number of directions which need not be detailed here. But all this means that we should support it and improve it—not abandon it.

We have not yet seen the end of the painful experience which he witnessed last Monday night. When the delegation from Peking arrives, its members will be lionized by our news media and may do and say a good many things which we shall not like. It behooves a great nation like ours to conduct itself with dignity, to remain true to our own purposes and to continue to work toward that consensus in the U.N. which is required if the Charter is to succeed and we are to build a world of peace.

MORE SUPPORT FOR PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Samuel A. Jeanes, pastor of the First Baptist Church at Merchantville, N.J., directed to my attention a copy of the letter he had addressed to our colleague from Ohio, Congressman WYLLIE, in support of his resolution, House Joint Resolution 191, proposing a constitutional amendment to permit participation in voluntary, nondenominational prayer in the public schools. As you know, that measure will be taken up in the House for a vote on November 8.

Although Dr. Jeanes' letter has already been inserted in the RECORD for the bene-

fit of all the Members, his comments are so pertinent and on target that I am compelled to highlight them for your consideration.

On the nature of the support of the proposed amendment:

The polls that are taken clearly indicate that the American people in overwhelming numbers, want to permit voluntary prayer in their schools. . . . All the American people want is the opportunity for their children to offer voluntary prayer in their schools which was the practice for many, many years. The passage of H.J. Res. 191 could grant this permission and certainly bring to an end the misunderstandings which have led to many excesses.

On the opposition of certain church organizations which purport to speak for their members:

It is unfortunate that some religious bodies have been mounting pressure upon the Congress to thwart the will of the majority of the people. My attention has been called to statements from the American Baptist Convention of which I am a member . . . May I call your attention to the fact that such resolutions are followed by a statement of explanation which says: ". . . To be sure, resolutions passed by the American Baptist Convention cannot be said to represent the conclusions of all American Baptists, or even all the American Baptists attending the Convention . . ."

There is no reason to believe that even half of the churches had delegates at the Convention session when this resolution against prayer in the schools was adopted. Furthermore, as a rule the delegates who do go to Convention sessions have no authority whatsoever to commit their congregations on any issues. Neither are any scientific efforts made to poll the thinking of the churches or their membership on such questions.

On the matter of what the proposed amendment does not do:

The proposal before you does not require prayer, but it certainly does not prohibit it. Neither does it grant authority to any official body to determine the form or content of the prayer.

On the very important issue of whether the American people are competent to amend the Constitution or modify an interpretation of the Supreme Court:

It should be remembered that the prayer decision of the Supreme Court was based upon their interpretation of the Constitution. However, the Constitution is an instrument ordained, not by the courts, but by the people. The courts may interpret it, but the people have a right to amend it. It should say clearly what the people want it to say.

In conclusion, Dr. Jeanes says:

The passage of H.J. Res. 191 will give the world a moral witness that declares that for Americans, God is important. And it will reaffirm what the Supreme Court itself has said that "we are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being."

DOUBLE STANDARD

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, I would call the attention of my colleagues to a column written by Mike Royko in the Chicago Daily News which highlights the

accomplishments of President Nixon during his first 3 years in office as contrasted by the nonaccomplishments of the Kennedy administration. Royko wrote:

I imagine that if a President named Kennedy had done these things, his followers would be singing songs from "Camelot" while the workmen began carving his handsome likeness into Mount Rushmore.

And said Royko:

And now we have Senator Edward, and he appears to be another in the line of late-blooming Kennedys. In 1968, when he hadn't really done anything except sit there and look handsome, he could have had the Democratic nomination for the asking. That might be the situation again in July of next year.

The full text of the column follows:

NAMELY, IT'S ALL IN THE NAME
(By Mike Royko)

Imagine for a moment what the public's feelings might be for a President named Kennedy—any first name will do—who managed to accomplish the following by the end of his third year in office:

Took a full-blown war left over from two previous administrations and whittled it down, with a possible end in sight.

Came to grips with an inflation left over from two previous administrations by imposing the most far-reaching government controls since the days of FDR.

Tried to improve relations with China by sending an emissary there and planning to make a visit himself.

I imagine that if a President named Kennedy had done these things, his followers would be singing songs from "Camelot," while the workmen began carving his handsome likeness into Mt. Rushmore.

On the other hand, try to imagine how people would feel about a ski-nosed President named Nixon if he did any or all of the following:

Backed an invasion of Cuba that was foolish in the first place, and fell flat on its face in the second place.

Sent troops in growing number to take part in a civil war in Southeast Asia.

Failed miserably to get a legislative program through Congress.

Appointed his own brother as U.S. attorney general.

If someone named Nixon built that kind of record, his name might not even show up in the polls.

As it is, he is not doing very well, despite a surprisingly good three years. (They must have been fairly good, because the right wing is upset with him.)

His support has fallen since the beginning of this year, and he was barely getting by even then.

At the same time, Sen. Edward Kennedy has taken the lead in the polls as the Democrats' choice to run for the Presidency next year.

Mr. Nixon's problem has never changed. He is still the man who can't be trusted, regardless of what he does. Only this week, a new book came out, written by Phillip Roth, the author of "Portnoy's Complaint."

The book, a satirical study of somebody known as "Trick E. Dixon," is called "Our Gang," and the dust jacket says:

"The hero—or villain—of 'Our Gang' is Trick E. Dixon, self-pronounced legal whiz, peace-loving 'Quaker,' and somehow President of the United States. 'Tricky,' as imagined by Roth, is a hypocritical opportunist . . ."

Which the real Trick E. Dixon may well be. It is hard to forget that he made it into Congress through scurrilous campaign tactics, built his name in the Senate by Red-baiting, and has gone in for such things as a "Southern Strategy."

Presumably, he has never changed, because a man never changes, unless his name is Kennedy, in which case he can change faster than Clark Kent.

Thus, John F. Kennedy, a lazy, girl-watching senator, whose only known position on most issues was to be absent from roll call, suddenly was trotted out as a tower of statesmanship as he used his old man's dough to blitz one state primary after another.

His brother, Robert, whose Red-baiting credentials included a stint working for Sen. Joe McCarthy, didn't have the stomach to take on President Johnson until Eugene McCarthy landed the first blow. Then Robert Kennedy became an instant symbol of courage and hope.

And now we have Sen. Edward, and he appears to be another in the line of late-blooming Kennedys.

In 1968, when he hadn't really done anything except sit there and look handsome, he could have had the Democratic nomination for the asking. That might be the situation again in July of next year.

Unlike Mr. Nixon, Edward Kennedy is considered capable of great change and growth.

Mr. Nixon has been viewed with more contempt for having been an eager, but incompetent, football player at Whittier College than Edward Kennedy has for cheating in some of his college exams.

And you still hear some people asking if you would buy a car from somebody like Mr. Nixon.

I wish that the same people, just once, would ask if you would ride in a car with Edward Kennedy.

SICKLE CELL ANEMIA: AN INTERESTING PATHOLOGY

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, regretfully, it is axiomatic in the United States today that a problem is not really a problem if it effects only poor people or only members of minority groups. That is why it took Congress so long to fund bilingual education programs. That is why it took Congress so long to enact lead-based paint poisoning prevention legislation. And that is why it is still taking Congress so long to fight sickle cell anemia.

When Congress debated appropriations for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare this summer, it failed to earmark a single penny for sickle cell anemia detection, treatment or research. There has been no action in the House of Representatives on legislation to establish a Sickle Cell Anemia Institute or to set up pilot sickle cell anemia screening and treatment programs.

Sickle cell anemia is not a glamorous disease. To most of our citizens, it lacks the trauma of cerebral palsy, the heartbreak of polio, the horror of leprosy or the pathos of birth defects. Movie actors and politicians rarely succumb to sickle anemia like they do to cancer or to heart disease.

Dr. Robert B. Scott, writing in the Journal of the American Medical Association last year, stated:

In 1967 there were an estimated 1,155 new cases of SCA, 1,206 of cystic fibrosis, 813 of muscular dystrophy, and 350 of phenylketonuria. Yet volunteer organizations raised \$1.9 million for cystic fibrosis, \$7.9 million for muscular dystrophy, but less than \$100,000 for sickle cell anemia. National Institutes of Health grants for many less common hereditary illnesses exceed those for SCA.

A hereditary disease, it strikes approximately one out of every 500 black babies born in the United States. Most of them die before reaching their 20th birthday. An estimated 10 percent of the black population carries the sickle cell trait and may pass it on to their offspring.

Amazingly, the Department of Defense does not even consider sickle cell anemia adequate grounds for a draft deferment or for a discharge from the armed services on medical grounds. A young man will be excused from military service if he wears braces on his teeth, but not if he has sickle cell anemia. Even as young recruits die from this disease shortly after entering the service, the Pentagon treats it only as a minor problem, nothing to be seriously worried about.

For most Americans—even those who have heard about sickle cell anemia—it remains an almost exotic disease, one which is occasionally mentioned in the press, but which is never three-dimensionalized or humanized.

The October issue of Ramparts carried an impressive article by Michael G. Michaelson on sickle cell anemia. Although I may not agree with everything Mr. Michaelson writes, the article adds sensitive, human perspectives to this critical issue. I commend it to my colleagues:

[From Ramparts, Oct. 1971]

SICKLE CELL ANEMIA: AN "INTERESTING PATHOLOGY"

(By Michael G. Michaelson)

Invariably the patient is black, invariably young, perhaps your own age, in fact, a thought which may disturb you when they bring her out on stage for you to see, for you to question. She (or he) has been wheeled from her hospital bed for your convenience, your medical education. It is a lecture in biochemistry, most likely, and you have been reading about blood and about hemoglobin, the molecule red blood cells contain; the protein with a backbone of iron, the carrier of whatever pure oxygen can be sucked from polluted air. By now you know hemoglobin well, you have memorized it: its four polypeptide chains, two alpha, two beta (the "globin" part of the molecule); its four iron-containing "heme" groups; its fetal and adult forms; its electrophoretic patterns; its abnormal varieties: hemoglobin C and M and E and—this is the powerful one, the terrible one—hemoglobin S. One of its black victims is in front of you now, probably frightened, sitting before strange, mostly white, mostly male, faces. She is in a wheelchair, looking up for a moment, meeting your curious stares, then looking down at the floor.

"Tell these young doctors something about yourself, Miss Williams," the instructor says, smiling. "Tell them why you are in the hospital."

This is an exercise in "clinical correlation," an attempt on the part of the medical school to demonstrate that the "basic science" courses of your first year or two are not irrelevant or as sterile as they seem. This is what the catalogue calls "contact" with pa-

tients, "early exposure" to "clinical material." You have been looking forward to it, bored by years of organic chemistry and physics, lectures and diagrams. You are nervous, perhaps, like Miss Williams, but you are proud of your knowledge, and confident, like a doctor. You observe her closely: her arms and legs are long and skinny and gangling; her abdomen is short but full and protruding; her legs are heavily bandaged; her eyes are yellow; intravenous fluids run into her arm; she is dressed in a limp hospital nightgown; she is weak and difficult to hear.

"I have sickle cell disease," she says quietly. "Sickle cell anemia." Then she tells you her story, which typically goes something like this:

She is twenty-four years old and has been in the hospital eighteen times. She would get tired easily ever since she was a child; she did not develop as rapidly or as well as the other children; she would often get colds and more severe respiratory infections. At age seven her tonsils were removed. At age eight she was hospitalized for a month with severe joint pain, fever, and heart murmurs, diagnosed incorrectly as rheumatic fever. At twelve she developed ulcers on both ankles which would not heal, even now, twelve years later. She then began having periodic attacks of severe, incapacitating pain in her bones and joints, her back and her abdomen. These "crises" would last about a week, leaving her exhausted, weaker than ever, and sore all over.

When she was fourteen her appendix was removed. At sixteen her spleen was removed. In the last eight years she has had six more hospital admissions for the treatment of her recurrent leg ulcers which have eaten down to the layer of muscle and bone. Two admissions for pneumonia, two for long episodes of fever, chills, night-sweats and diarrhea. Now, she tells you, she is urinating blood, and her belly is swelling like a balloon and her heart, her doctors have told her, is too big and is getting tired. She can not sleep lying down, but only on three pillows, and she wakes up at night gasping for breath. Her eyes have been yellow for six years and her liver, she knows, is not working right. In her life she has received (if she remembers right) eighty-six transfusions of whole blood.

"Thank you, Miss Williams," the instructor says, and you awkwardly mumble thanks too, as she is wheeled back to the hospital.

In the brief discussion that follows, you learn that there is no cure for sickle cell anemia, nothing, in fact, that substantially helps a patient endure a crisis. You learn that very few patients with the disease—which strikes one Black in five hundred—manage to survive to the age of thirty. You guess, as you leave the lecture room with friends for lunch, that Miss Williams, with the soft voice and the memories of pain and the present of pain, will be dead before you practice medicine. But in fact, she is dead much sooner than that.

II

These days sickle cell anemia has a certain *chic* in academic medical circles. The disease has always been considered "interesting pathology," but never, until very recently, has it been considered very important. The distinction is real and its consequences disturbing.

Sickle cell anemia is one of the very few fatal diseases which is known (that is, thought) to be caused by a demonstrable inherited abnormality—an identifiable, highly specific, biochemical aberration in the molecular structure of hemoglobin. As a consequence, it has for two decades been waved by medical scientists before the noses of their occasional critics; evidence that modern medical science is figuring things out, making progress. But if the disease has provided some comfort for chemists and first-year medical students, it has been relentless with victims, the hundreds of thousands of Blacks who, as they suffer and die, give their

bodies as subjects for the scientists and exhibits for the students. Although the disease is found in one of five hundred black babies, and although these children survive only an average of twenty years, and although very much more is understood of the genetics, chemistry and epidemiology of sickle cell than of other serious diseases of childhood, physicians and researchers within the white establishment have virtually ignored it. Their own children are safe.

Right now in the United States some fifty thousand Blacks are dying of SCA; nearly two million have "sickle cell trait," a milder form of the disease which usually (but not always) leaves them symptom-free but which enables them to pass the trait or the disease on to their children. "In 1967," according to an article published last year in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, "there were an estimated 1155 new cases of SCA, 1206 of cystic fibrosis, 813 of muscular dystrophy, and 350 of phenylketonuria. Yet volunteer organizations raised \$1.9 million for cystic fibrosis, \$7.9 million for muscular dystrophy, but less than \$100,000 for SCA." In fact, the figure for sickle cell anemia was closer to \$50,000.

There was no nation-wide organization devoted to sickle cell anemia until last year; no celebrity has ever done a sickle cell telethon or chaired a committee. The Research Grants Index of the National Institutes for Health for fiscal year 1968 indicated that grants for much less common childhood illnesses greatly exceeded those for SCA. In one year research into cystic fibrosis, for example, received 65 NIH grants, although this disorder is found in only one of three thousand births (98 percent of cystic fibrosis victims, it is worth noting, are white). The same year there were 41 grants for phenylketonuria affecting one in ten thousand (again, all of them Whites), a disease which can be detected and controlled by diet, and which is not fatal. Yet there were fewer than two dozen grants for research into sickle cell anemia. A review of the facts, even the editors of the conservative *AMA Journal* were forced to conclude, "clearly focuses a spotlight on public failure to recognize the importance of combating sickle cell anemia..."

The *Journal* had found it "incredible . . . that very few people in the black population at large have been offered pertinent information about sickle cell anemia and the mode of its transmission." But the Black Panthers, for instance, do not find it incredible; they find it, on the contrary, to be expected and have launched a major drive through their People's Free Clinics to provide the black community with information about the disease along with free diagnostic blood tests. Black Panther leaflets distributed in Philadelphia and other cities, in an attempt to provide "pertinent information" about SCA and the times and places for blood tests, are headlined in large block letters above pictures of normal and sickled red cells: Black Genocide.

Perhaps because of the notoriety, doctors are finally beginning to take an interest; the research on SCA is picking up and money is starting to flow. In his "health message" of a few months ago Richard Nixon announced that he would request six million dollars in congressional funds to "combat sickle cell anemia. A deputy director of the National Heart and Lung Institute was named May 12, as coordinator of a new federal sickle cell disease program. Physicians are suddenly competing with one another in attempts to invent and patent new and better and cheaper screening tests and effective therapeutic procedures. School systems, the United States Army, pharmaceutical houses and medical technology companies are entering the field.

But Dr. Roland B. Scott, a black physician working on sickle cell research for twenty

years, a generation before it became fashionable, has never received a federal penny for his efforts. Now chairman of the department of pediatrics and director of the Sickle Cell Center at Howard University, he has offered this evaluation of the current boom: "All is chaos now, with a lot of researchers running around flag-waving, headline-grabbing, trying to qualify for the therapy and screening jackpot, with the government looking for quick results for high visibility in 1972. But it'll fade away, and we blacks will be left with the problem."

Almost certainly he is correct. The current enthusiasm for sickle cell anemia may in the end reveal less about this killing disease than about contemporary American medical politics. It may be part of the larger effort to "save" not black children but an obsolete and elitist system of medical care which has oppressed patients of all races and classes (though especially women, third world people, and the poor, of course) for a century and which is now, at last, on the verge of collapse. And if past experience is an index, the current fad can be expected, as Dr. Scott suggests, to come and go, leaving the black people of this country in their usual condition of ill-health and powerlessness, while providing their (largely white) professional and corporate "benefactors" with new avenues for advancement and prestige, profits and power.

III

Any issue, however, isolated, which even for a moment appears to bring Richard Nixon and the Black Panther Party to the same side of an argument surely merits careful analysis. In the case of sickle cell anemia, the discussion seems to require at least a brief review of the disease state itself, its biochemistry, genetics, and medical "history." And this must be placed in the context of the now much-publicized "crisis" in medical care, the rise in the last ten years of a liberal medical elite and more recently, the emergence of a broadly based insurgent radical health movement.

The distinguishing characteristics of sickle cell anemia were first described in the medical literature in 1910 by James B. Herrick, a prominent midwestern cardiologist. He wrote of a twenty year old West Indian student whose symptoms involved "a secondary anemia . . . strikingly atypical in the large number of nucleated red cells of the normoblastic [immature] type and in the tendency of the erythrocytes [red blood cells] to assume a slender, sickle-like shape." Herrick was perplexed by this "most bizarre group of symptoms," and he could offer no definitive diagnosis, although he suspected syphilis.

The cases accumulated. Dr. Emmel (1917) was the first to use the term "sickle cells" repeatedly; Mason (1922) the first to refer to "sickle cell anemia"; Graham and McCarthy (1926) the first to point out that this anomaly of red cells afflicted only Blacks. In 1927 and 1930 further studies suggested that the sickling of red cells occurs when the hemoglobin they contain passes from the oxygen-saturated state to the unsaturated (reduced) state. The abnormal hemoglobin would apparently alter the shape of these red cells, distorting their normal disc-like, biconcave "doughnut" configuration and producing, somehow, the characteristic physical symptoms. The disease was labelled a "hemoglobinopathy" and passed on, in effect, to the biochemists.

In 1949 Linus Pauling reported that normal hemoglobin (A) and hemoglobin derived from sickle cell patients (S) demonstrated different patterns of "electrophoretic mobility," molecular movement in an electrical field. Ingram (1961) perfected the electrophoretic technique and was able to show that hemoglobin S differs from A only in the replacement of a single amino acid (glutamate) in the alpha chain of the normal molecule by another (valine) in the abnormal

molecule. It is this single amino acid in hemoglobin's total 287 which is wrong; this one which exacts so high a price.

The original difficulty, however, is genetic: every child receives from his parents two genes which determine the kind of hemoglobin the child's body will synthesize. Only hemoglobin S will sickle when deprived of oxygen, and only the black population (less than two percent of SCA's victims are non-black, usually of Mediterranean origin) carries this particular abnormal gene in its "genetic pool." If both parental genes are for hemoglobin S (the homozygous state, SS) the child will suffer from the disease. If only one gene is abnormal (heterozygous, AS), the child will have the trait and will be able to transmit the S hemoglobin to his own children, although he will not, most likely, be fatally ill himself.

Under certain circumstances these heterozygotes were well off. It has been suggested, and is generally agreed, that sickle cell trait confers upon its bearers a protection against malignant forms of malaria. On the African continent, particularly where malaria is endemic, the AS hemoglobin type represented a protective evolutionary adaptation: When heterozygotes married, they would, according to Mendelian genetics, bear children one quarter of whom would inherit two "normal" genes for hemoglobin (AA), and most of these would die of malaria; another quarter would be homozygous for sickle cell (SS) and would die of that disease; one half, statistically, would be heterozygous (AS), without the disease, but bearing the trait, and therefore protected against malaria. The neat evolutionary scheme, however, made no provisions for slave ships.

In the United States resistance against malaria is not a significant advantage, since malaria is not a significant threat. But evidence is beginning to mount that sickle cell trait, which affects nearly two million Blacks in this country, is less harmless than was formerly believed. Last year the *AMA Journal* and *Lancet*, a British medical journal, published reports of bleeding episodes and sudden death in patients undergoing "routine" surgery, due apparently to respiratory depression during surgical anesthesia. The *Journal of the National Medical Association* published a similar report more recently. An editorial in *The New England Journal of Medicine* on May 14, 1970 noted that although the trait has "generally been regarded as a benign condition," there have been "occasional reports of splenic, pulmonary, pituitary or cerebral infarction, as well as priapism, hematuria, hyposthenuria, avascular necrosis of bone and retinal hemorrhage," indicating "that in certain unfavorable circumstances these patients may experience the severe vaso-occlusive episodes, characteristic of homozygous sickle cell anemia." The "unfavorable circumstances" included surgical anesthesia, airplane flights, athletic and military training and severe infections—all conditions involving increased bodily demands for oxygen, decreased environmental oxygen tension, or both. Most dramatic were these four case reports of black recruits "undergoing Army basic training at a post at an altitude of 4060 feet. All were apparently healthy and had no family history of anemia. . . ."

Case 1: "W. J., a 21-year-old man collapsed and lost consciousness after a 40-yard low crawl and a 300-meter run during his 1st day of training. After admission to the hospital he regained consciousness and complained of shortness of breath and faintness. On examination he was acutely ill. . . . One hour later he became hypotensive and combative and lost consciousness. Despite vigorous treatment for hyperkalemia [an electrolyte imbalance] and hypotension, he remained comatose. Nasal hemorrhage increased. He died 24 hours after the initial collapse. At autopsy, the lungs were heavy,

and serosanguineous [thick bloody] fluid flowed from the cut surfaces. The bowel was filled with dark bloody fluid. The vessels in all microscopic sections were packed with sickled red blood cells. . . . Hemoglobin electrophoresis revealed SA hemoglobin."

Case 2. "M. T., a 19-year-old soldier, collapsed while running a mile during his 21st day of training. Upon arrival at the medical clinic no pulse or spontaneous respirations were present. Resuscitation was successful. . . . Complete unresponsiveness was the only positive physical finding. . . . Bright red blood was oozing from the gastric aspirate; blood oozed from venous puncture sites, and a lower-gastrointestinal-tract hemorrhage developed. . . . There was no urine output. Bleeding continued; hypotension [low blood pressure] followed, and despite volume and fluid replacement, the patient died 25 hours after he collapsed. . . . Hemoglobin SA was found on electrophoresis."

Case 3. "V. H., a 21-year-old man, complained of faintness after a 20-yard crawl during his 1st day of training and suddenly lost consciousness. He was dead on arrival at the medical clinic. . . . Histologic sections of all organs displayed massive congestion of the vasculature, with sickling of virtually all red blood cells. Hemoglobin electrophoresis of post-mortem blood revealed SA hemoglobin."

Case 4. "L. T., a 21-year-old recruit, complained of faintness and numbness of the legs and lost consciousness while running once around his barracks after arriving for training. On admission he had regained consciousness and complained of pain and weakness in the legs. He was in no acute distress. . . . General physical and neurological examinations were unremarkable but he suddenly became apneic [ceased breathing]. . . . He died 8 hours after collapsing. . . . A sickle cell preparation at autopsy was positive."

The Army was unimpressed by the reports. Although a number of physicians suggested that Blacks with sickle cell trait be draft-exempt, the military still does not require even diagnostic screening tests of new recruits. A Fort Dix pathologist wrote the *New England Journal* to complain that evidence supporting a relationship between sickle cell trait and the sudden death of Army recruits was "insufficient," and a Defense Department spokesman has insisted that "personnel found to have the trait are still considered qualified for general duty." While Army spokesmen suggest that coincidence or drug abuse might have been implicated in the reported deaths, the Black Panther Party Newspaper suggests that "the racist U.S. power structure has no intention of ceasing this form of genocide." On May 22, 1971 the paper announced that "Therefore the Black Panther Party is initiating a program to help research really begin that can eventually discover the cure and prevention of Sickle Cell Anemia."

IV

The motivation and the aim of the Panther program seem unimpeachable. For years sickle cell patients have been paraded before beginning medical students as evidence that biochemistry is relevant, that genetics can be fun. Yet for all this "understanding," no treatment or effective palliation exists for the disease, and no real effort has been made to increase public awareness of its nature: if recent samples are representative, less than one-third of the black population of this country has ever heard of it. Finally, one black person in ten carries a gene for hemoglobin S, unaware of that fact and of its possible consequences.

But in the light of what is known of sickle cell anemia and, more important, of what is not known, serious questions arise. Granted the obvious truth that black people, like all

people, have a right to all information which relates to their health and well-being, how is such information likely to be used? Blacks with sickle cell trait should of course know that if they bear children with another heterozygote there is a 25 percent chance that those children will suffer from sickle cell disease and die. But what are the limits of "genetic counseling?" Where does advice and information end and compulsion begin? Perhaps Blacks with the trait should be exempted from military service. But should they be excluded from professional sports? From riding airplanes? Will their insurance rates be raised, as, for example, the premiums of people with even mild diabetes are raised? (Here it should be emphasized that sudden death in sickle cell trait remains an exceedingly rare phenomenon; heterozygotes have a normal life expectancy and are not invalids.) As a health worker at the Mark Clark People's Free Health Center in Philadelphia I have participated in the Panther screening program, and I hope to continue to do so. But there have been painful moments when I have wondered if, in telling someone in otherwise perfect health that he or she had "sickle cell trait," we were not forcing that person to pay a price in anxiety and confusion disproportionate to what she had gained: Would she get sick? Probably not. Could we help her? No. What should she do? Nothing; except avoid marrying someone else with the trait; or have no children; or adopt children; or have children at her own risk; that is, at theirs.

More troubling, I think, is the Party's statement that its program will "help research really begin that can eventually discover the cure and prevention" of SCA. Such a goal is unquestionably admirable. But the level of hope and expectation it reflects, as is the case with most claims made of and by "modern medical science" (whether for wonder drugs or organ transplantation), seems to be dangerously inflated. Although, on the one hand, a cure for sickle cell anemia might appear to be close because its specific "cause" has been identified, that same fact reasonably may, on the other hand, give rise to a sobering skepticism. Precisely because so much is known about the disease and has been known for some time, the lack of therapeutic progress thus far is especially discouraging.

According to the elegant, even seductive, theory of sickle cell pathophysiology, the various but typical symptoms of the disease are related to the unique property of hemoglobin S: under conditions of low oxygen concentration the molecule forms crystals called "tactoids" which stretch the cells to their abnormal elongated shape, predisposing to circulatory obstruction in small vessels where blood cells pass one at a time. This sickling phenomenon occurs more easily with higher percentages of S hemoglobin (i.e., SS rather than AS), in acidic solutions, and under conditions of stasis (slow or stopped blood flow). Thus tissues which normally contain relatively acidic blood which is relatively low in oxygen (e.g., kidneys, lungs) are particularly susceptible to this vicious circle: sickled blood cells become trapped in small capillaries, leading to stasis, deoxygenation, increased acidity, and increased sickling; the sequence is repeated until blood clots, disrupted (occluded) circulation, pain, swelling, hemorrhage, and tissue death occurs.

What initiates such a crisis remains (significantly) unknown; infection, stress, high altitudes have been implicated. But since sickling is a reversible phenomenon, at least in test tubes, it has seemed reasonable to believe that a crisis could be relieved by the administration of high-concentration oxygen, anti-coagulants (to break up clots), whole blood transfusions, antacids, and so on. These have all been repeatedly tried; and they have all miserably, and significantly, failed. Recent trials with urea (a chemical

which returns sickled cells to normal shape in test tubes) have seriously endangered some patients and have been implicated in the death of at least one child.

Even if sickling could be reversed in a patient's circulation, it is impossible to predict whether or not the disease would thereby be "cured." Juvenile-onset diabetes, for example, is another disease characterized by a specific chemical difficulty, an inability of the body to secrete insulin. Until this was discovered and insulin made available on a mass scale, its victims died in childhood. Now they live longer but eventually succumb to degenerative changes of the nervous and circulatory systems which fatally persist despite insulin therapy. The biochemistry has been "corrected," but the disease state progresses, apparently unimpressed. Even if sickled cells could be "unsickled," then, victims of SCA might still be in trouble.

Finally there seems to be the assumption underlying the Panther program that if more money and more data and research subjects were provided, a cure would somehow follow. Contradicting this are not only the rather depressing results in the case of SCA, outlined above, but the fact that those childhood diseases which have received money more extensively—cystic fibrosis, muscular dystrophy, and many others—are as mysterious as ever, as incurable. Then heart disease, stroke, and cancer—well-known scourges of the white middle and upper classes, which have been funded astronomically relative to SCA—might be mentioned as examples of more spectacular failures.

This is not to argue that research into sickle cell anemia should not be energetically pursued, or that education and screening programs should not be carried out. As an organizing and fund-raising tool, the People's Fight Against Sickle Cell Anemia is of unquestionable value; and the history of the white medical establishment's neglect of SCA could hardly be more educational. But the new emphasis on sickle cell screening should not be allowed to deflect energies from other screening programs for lead poisoning and anemia (both of which more commonly afflict black people than SCA and which can most often be successfully treated) and from efforts to provide free, dignified "primary" medical care, Pap tests, pre-natal care, and so on.

The liberal medical establishment's new enthusiasm for this "interesting pathology" of Blacks should not be allowed to obscure the fact that it has done so little, and is still doing little to prevent the malnutrition which causes anemia, the peeling lead paint which poisons babies, the rats and the roaches. And when money for SCA begins to appear—if in fact it ever does (reportedly Nixon has earmarked the federal research funds for white friends in the South, part of the Southern strategy for 1971)—it should be regarded with a certain caution. Because as Nixon and the doctors enter the sickle cell sweepstakes, armed with programs and patents and promises, a new set of dangers presents itself: that black people will continue to be used, as they have traditionally been, as "research and teaching material" by white doctors; that whatever research does take place will be designed by and for physicians and will have as its primary aim professional advancement in academic medical circles rather than increasing the likelihood (however slim) of direct therapeutic benefit to the masses of black people; that "genetic counseling" from outside the black community might evolve into social control or economic sanction.

v

The most far-reaching consequences of the sickle cell controversy seem to me not "medical" in the strictest sense, but social and political. It is no accident that the current explosion of interest in sickle cell anemia

is taking place in the midst of the most significant turbulence in the history of American medicine.

Today the failure of this country's "health care system" is a widely acknowledged, abundantly documented, and massively publicized fact. The American Medical Association, remarkable even in this country for its history of self-interest and exploitation, is beginning at last to disintegrate. Public dissatisfaction with doctors and hospitals is rising, especially (and encouragingly) among the middle classes.

As the crisis intensifies, medical image-makers have begun to sense that the status and economic privileges of physicians in this country can be saved only by rapid ledger-deman. Galled by the AMA's failure to take a more "liberal" stance on matters of medical politics—group practice, health care for the poor, national health insurance—medical school based physicians have begun to take the initiative. Always somewhat alienated from community practitioners, whom they consider rather dull and unscientific, these academic medical men, armed with liberal rhetoric, corporation consultants, cost-benefit economics and computers, are maneuvering for control of medical practice.

The pattern is not without precedent. What is happening today in American medicine happened in almost every other sphere in the 1930s: promises of a "new deal" are being made in an elegant attempt to dissipate energies for genuinely radical alternatives. Medicine's lag of forty years, however, has not been detrimental for the movement, but providential. For in that time period the deficiencies of corporate liberalism—centralized bureaucracy wholly unaccountable to the public, a distorted sense of priority which places profits and power before service to people, institutionalized depersonalization bordering on mass schizophrenia—have become evident enough. And as AMA conservatives and the urban academic medical elite fight it out, the discontent swells.

It is a perfect moment for the radical health movement—a coalition of consumers, community people, health workers and "professionals" dedicated to providing free medical care to all people in their local communities, ending economic and status distinctions among health workers, taking profits, racism and sexism out of health care, calling for community control of all health institutions (including the new liberal medical empires). On June 15 the Medical Committee for Human Rights launched a National Health Crusade which has been gathering a remarkable momentum; it is based upon these principles:

1. End profit-making in health care. Health care is a service, not a business.
2. Pay for all services with a progressive tax on total wealth. One without loopholes that makes corporations and the rich pay their share.
3. Provide complete and preventive care with no charges for health services.
4. Administer medical centers locally through representatives of patients and health workers.
5. Create a federal non-profit corporation to produce and distribute drugs and medical supplies.

People's Free Medical Centers, similar to those of the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords, and Young Patriots and other community groups (there are now an estimated 200 functioning or in preparation throughout the country) are an integral part of this health movement's efforts to revolutionize "medical care" not merely in the narrow sense but as part of a larger effort at restructuring and making "healthy" a social order which is conspicuously unwell. These health centers are "counter-cultural" in the best sense, providing radical alternatives to existing medical (and social) institutions

and ideologies. They constitute an active focus for community organizing, education, cooperative work, the formation of new kinds of relationships, communication, sharing, play, love. Someday they may include day care centers, recreational facilities, places for old people to live and work and be and feel useful. They are, I believe, precious revolutionary resources.

The liberal medical elite, for its part, will fight to subvert this program and prevent community-worker control of its own institutions; it will try to head off any counter-institutional development which threatens to disrupt the white-male-professional dominated hierarchy of medical care in this country. And it is in this context that the sudden discovery by the medical establishment and Richard Nixon of sickle cell anemia becomes rather more clear. Their recent infatuation with SCA is an attempt to prove that American doctors are responsive to the needs of the black community; it is an attempt to deflate pressures for radical change, and perhaps the beginning of an attempt to gain control of People's Medical Centers; it is, as Dr. Scott has suggested, although not in so many words, a rip-off.

I am not suggesting that government and/or medical empire money and equipment (if and when it becomes available for SCA) should not be accepted. It should be accepted, with a knowing smile, with both hands out for current liberal with militant demands for more. For the current liberal enthusiasm about sickle cell anemia leaves deliberately unexamined the real roots of the black community's chronic ill health. It does not get at poverty or vastly inadequate nutrition, at racism or peeling lead paint, capitalism or rats, at the absence of easy access to free, dignified medical care, at professionalism or sexism, at what a doctor "is," indeed at what a human being is, and can be, and must be. The health movement is beginning to get at those things, and shall continue to as it grows and struggles to serve the people, as the workers at the Mark Clark Center say, body and soul.

CHAIRMAN MILLS SPEAKS ON AMERICA'S FUTURE

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on October 18 I was privileged to be in attendance at the biennial session, Supreme Council of the 33d and Last Degree, grand commander's dinner of Scottish Rite Masons, held in Washington, D.C. Several of us from the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction were privileged to be on hand.

On that occasion, two of our colleagues from this body were among three distinguished citizens who received the Grand Cross of the Court of Honour awarded by the Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite of the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States. The Grand Cross of Honour is the highest Masonic award conferred by the Southern Supreme Council. The three members who received the award that evening brought to 11 the holders of the Grand Cross out of nearly 600,000 members in the Scottish Rite for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States.

Our two colleagues who received the award were the Honorable WILBUR MILLS, chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, and the Honorable JOE WAGGONER, JR., the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana. The third recipient was Gen. Bruce C. Clarke, U.S. Army, retired, of Washington, D.C. All three are holders of the 33d degree in Masonry.

The list of other honorees for high national Masonic awards also included four U.S. Senators and one former Senator, 10 Congressmen, two Governors, four generals, two college presidents, as well as outstanding judges, bankers, businessmen—all being recognized both for their public service and Masonic activities in many capacities.

U.S. Senators named to receive the rank and decoration of Knights Commander of the Court of Honour were LLOYD M. BENTSEN, JR., of Texas; QUENTIN N. BURDICK, of North Dakota; ROBERT J. DOLE, of Kansas; HENRY M. JACKSON, of Washington, and former Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, of California.

Congressmen included were: CARL B. ALBERT, of Oklahoma, 33d; JOHN W. PATMAN, of Texas, 33d; JOE L. EVINS, of Tennessee, 33d; GEORGE H. MAHON, of Texas, 33d; HERBERT R. ROBERTS, of Texas, 33d; KEITH G. SEBELIUS, of Kansas, KCCH; DAVID T. MARTIN, of Nebraska, 33d; DAVID N. HENDERSON, of North Carolina, KCCH; EDMOND A. EDMONDSON, JR., of Oklahoma, KCCH; and JAMES R. MANN, of South Carolina, KCCH.

Honorees also included Governors John A. Long, of Colorado, 33d; and Stanley K. Hathaway, of Wyoming, KCCH.

Typical of other prominent Masons recognized were: Gen. Frederic C. Weyand, of Hawaii, KCCH; Lt. Gen. Willard Pearson, NATO, of North Carolina, KCCH; Edd H. Bailey, president, Union Pacific Railroad, of Nebraska, 33d; President Arthur L. Mallory, Missouri State College, Missouri, KCCH; President Truman G. Blocker, Jr., University of Texas Medical School, Texas, KCCH; Chief Justice Orris L. Hamilton, Washington Supreme Court, Washington, KCCH; Dr. Kenneth E. Raschke, Commission of Higher Education, of South Dakota, 33d; Stephen D. Betchel, of California, 33d, president of Betchel Corp., an international construction company; Judge Elmer E. Robinson, of California, 33d, former mayor of San Francisco; and Benjamin H. Swig, of California, 33d, a hotel owner and internationally known philanthropist.

The 33d degree is the highest degree of the Scottish Rite, awarded only for outstanding public and Masonic achievement; while the rank and decoration of KCCH—Knight Commander of the Court of Honour—is a national recognition of high ability and services, sparingly awarded.

During the dinner, Chairman MILLS was the main speaker. His theme was the necessity of individual effort in America, required to bring this great Nation to the highest fulfillment of its goals of equal opportunity and achievement for each citizen. In seeking the

realization of these goals Chairman Mills stressed the partnership of people and government, each contributing what can best serve the welfare of the Nation, neither seeking a disproportionate share of the bounty without just effort and without the exercise of responsibility for its use and proper distribution.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the message of Chairman MILLS to his fellow Masons is one that offers practical and substantive advice to all of us. For that reason, I wish to place it in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN WILBUR D. MILLS

Tonight has a very special meaning for me. As a Thirty-Third Degree Mason I have been long and intimately involved in this great and ancient order. The fact that the Masonic Order is one of the oldest fraternal organizations in the world speaks well for the integrity and zeal which has always marked our efforts in the promotion of brotherhood and the fostering of high moral conduct among our members. I believe that we have been most practical in our striving toward that "religion in which all men agree, that is to be good men and true." Recognizing that God is the "Great Architect of the Universe" we revere our symbols and rites based upon the tools and practices of the building professions. Our practicality is further demonstrated by the millions which we spend annually for hospitals—homes for widows and orphans and the aged—relief for those in distress—and in the provision of scholarships for deserving students.

I am proud, as I know you are, that the Founding Fathers of our country, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, were members of our great Order. With these ancient roots in our own national history, it is gratifying to note that in the past ten years our membership has increased by nearly one million. Those high moral tenets which have made our Order so viable are likewise the sustaining hope of our great Nation.

America is moving, and moving fast. But where are we going and how are we getting there? The pace of change in technology, life style, world events, science, and every other aspect of our existence is accelerating at an almost unbelievable rate. One unfortunate byproduct of this rapid rate of change is a loss of perspective. We can become so tangled in the onrush of the new and different that the proper role to be filled by the individual is often obscured. It is time to step back and examine the state of life in America.

We are witnessing around us the emergence of a great moral concern. A concern for everything—hunger, pollution, war, population growth, racism, poverty—nothing is left out. These issues dominate newspaper headlines, news broadcasts, campaign speeches, campus debates, and ordinary conversation. All would agree that this emerging concern for community and quality of life is much needed and perhaps long overdue.

But has this awareness and involvement become so publicized and generalized that the attitudes and expectations of the individual have suffered? Individual achievement and responsibility appear to be casualties of the new universal concern.

Many Americans seem to have been propagandized into a belief that society owes them something. I am not here referring to the poor or members of a minority group—which our government, like our organization, is constrained to help—but to average citizens, from every area and income group. Many have come to expect more from the United States than they are willing to give in return. Their individual resources are

channeled into beating the system—trying to get something for nothing.

This can take many different forms. A business executive who cheats on his income tax is an illustration. He is merely demonstrating his unwillingness to assume his fair share of the burden of supporting government and society. He will honestly lament the existence of slums in the city where he works, but he isn't willing to provide the tax dollars so necessary for urban renewal. It is all too easy for him to rationalize that his rates are too high, tax money is wasted, and everyone else is doing the same thing.

News stories are not necessary to inform us of the abundance of shoddy merchandise flooding our markets. Some products fall apart, others are actually harmful. Recently a government agency revealed that toys injure 700,000 children annually. Every day new foods are declared to be absolutely lacking in any nutritional value. Many manufacturers seem to be content to produce a product which will generate the greatest profit, regardless of its quality. Profit is the name of the game.

The producer of the non-nutritional food is genuinely concerned about malnutrition and hunger existing in an affluent society. The manufacturer of shoddy merchandise is genuinely concerned about the cynical attitude of so many toward big business which provides so much for so many. This type of attitude and behavior is not unique to our age or our society. Every society in every time period has had those who tried to beat the system—get as much as they could, giving as little as possible in return. What is so alarming is that this attitude or way of life has become so widespread. Often, it is not recognized for what it is, because it takes so many different forms. The actions of each of these individuals is both distressing and paradoxical. These individuals express genuine concern for community and the plight of those less fortunate than themselves—yet their actions exacerbate these very problems, or create others into which vital and limited resources must be diverted.

Another closely related by-product of this broadened, much publicized, almost institutionalized concern is the depersonalizing effect it has. Issues and problems become so analyzed, discussed, generalized and abstracted that they have become just that—an abstract issue to be discussed. We are overpowered with statistics, studies, reports, and ideological approaches. The plight of the individual as he is affected by these problems is lost or obscured.

Crime is perhaps the most poignant example of this phenomenon. We are bombarded with news stories of crime waves and lawlessness, statistics and theories of causes, preventions and cures. It makes a great campaign issue, a stimulating subject for the after-dinner speaker, and merits high priority of the average citizen's list of most pressing problems.

Yet the human element of crimes is sometimes forgotten, suppressed or ignored. It would not be stretching the point too much to say that crime has become completely dehumanized. There is a dehumanizing effect of the penal process itself on those punished for crimes. And on the other hand, occasional news stories remind us of the tragic and brutal effect crime has on its victims. We were shocked and outraged at the story of the woman whose screams were ignored by passersby and nearby dwellers as she was beaten to death. Sometimes reports of bizarre crimes such as the lunch-counter owner who was shot and killed because he didn't have any pie, often become identified in the public's mind with crime in general. Since there is probably no prevention possible against such irrational behavior, it is

widely feared that no defense to crime is possible.

There is at least one specific area where a spotlight on the individual, human participants in crime, would be beneficial. And that is business or corporate crimes. Few people think of violations of pollution laws and building codes, tax evasions, noncompliance with health and safety requirements, or production of shoddy merchandise as crime. Yet the effects of these crimes reach millions, consumers and non-consumers alike. Violators, when caught, may suffer no embarrassment or meaningful retribution. It is just one more business expense. There is little or no peer disapproval; rather it is viewed as an acceptable method of operation—"Take what you can get from society, it owes you that much." It is similar to those ghetto dwellers who view theft as a permissible means of supplementing income. In both situations, the peer community may tacitly approve of such lawless action, but decry the other fellow's. The chairman of the board is the first to condemn the hoodlum who stole his spare tire, and the ghetto thief is the first to condemn the business which charges fifteen dollars for a five dollar shirt that comes apart at the seams the first time it is washed.

Peer group pressure and disapproval are one of the most effective deterrents to these types of crimes. It is time that individuals stopped rationalizing that such behavior is an acceptable part of the game. The individual must recognize his own behavior for what it is and for the effects it has.

This depersonalization of issues and problems has also helped to foster a depersonalization of responsibility for problems. Everything is always the other guy's fault. We are willing to direct our attention and concern toward these burning issues, but let it be clearly understood that we are cleaning up somebody else's mess. Recognition of our own contributions to the problems is a vital prerequisite to any true solution. Solutions become more meaningful and pressing when they are sought to remedy undesirable situations we have created ourselves.

One of the most desperately needed yet most gratifying means of fulfilling our duty to society and those in need is a donation of time and money to charitable causes and organizations. That is perhaps the primary reason why the public knows the Masons. Our benevolent activities and contributions have given tangible benefits to millions. The virtue of and need for this kind of activity is self evident.

But let's not let these good works eclipse a more important opportunity and responsibility we have to make a meaningful contribution to society. It is a responsibility which all men share. That duty is to reaffirm, by our conduct, our belief in God, our national values, and our national ideals. Let us demonstrate our awareness of the responsibilities and duties which each man owes his community. And let us expect the same from others. Let us recognize that the actions of each individual directly affect the problems for which we have demonstrated concern. This is not a substitute for community involvement but it should be a personal prerequisite to it. When we each learn to fulfill our own responsibilities to society and strive to achieve our own personal goals in a way which is compatible with these responsibilities, the problems of society will diminish accordingly.

In short, our present need as a Nation is a practical moral approach to the solution of our problems—not only our social—but also our economic problems. It is my belief that the highest morality available to man lies in devising social and economic systems that help the people to realize their potentials. Thus, our welfare goal must be to increase

the ability of the poor to contribute to society through the means of income supplements—rather than having the means become the end, with the income supplement doing no more than providing bare subsistence and at the same time perpetuating the role of the poor as second class citizens.

Reaching toward this new morality, however, demands that we employ our resources to maximize our capacity for economic growth. Our resources are not unlimited—we cannot achieve all our aspirations at once and overnight. We must recognize this as a Nation and as individuals, and it is immoral for us to delude ourselves or those whose needs are so pressing into thinking that we can. As we look to the Federal Government more and more for effective action on those many fronts which have previously been the domain of the State and local governments, we must constantly be on guard against the creation of a "coercive society".—We must not win the battle but lose the war.

Recognizing that even the most optimistic view of our gross national product for the next five years falls far short of the cost estimated for full realization of our social goals, we must approach with great caution any program which would divert our resources from the private to the public sector of the economy and interfere with the continued natural growth of free enterprise. I am therefore pleased that the Ways and Means Committee, in its articulation of the President's tax proposals, has gone a long way, not only in encouraging business investment in the tools of production—but has gone further than the Administration proposed in leaving in the hands of the consumer the additional purchasing power needed to absorb that production.

Here, both the producer and the consumer will benefit. If all benefit went to either party, then there would, of course, be no incentive to increase trade, and the resulting imbalance would preclude the needed orderly growth of the private sector of our economy.

Let each of us, then, exhibit to the world a renewed faith and confidence in America's ability to solve the problems which so concern us. Let us, as Masons, be zealous in propagating this faith and confidence among all our fellow citizens. Let us have done with abstraction and get on with the job of eliminating concern by solution. Let us, as a Nation, solve our social and economic problems simply by employing those tools vested in us by the Great Architect of the Universe.

POSTAL EMPLOYEES' RIGHT TO STRIKE

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, last year we enacted a bill into law that was hailed as the Magna Carta for postal employees. In addition to making the Postal Service an independent establishment, it also created the right of Federal employees to organize themselves into unions and bargain collectively through their organizations with the Postal Service on the same basis as employees in private industry, at least it was so alleged.

In fact, however, while the act did in fact bring postal employees within the realm of the National Labor Relations Act, it at the same time deprives them of

the most fundamental right that any trade unionist possesses—that is the right to strike. Without that right, the union is for all forms and purposes a paper dragon and has no means of bringing any economic pressure whatsoever on an employer. A concurring opinion in a recent District Court decision presented this basic principle in these words:

"It is by no means clear to me that the right to strike is not fundamental. The right to strike seems intimately related to the right to form labor organizations . . . A union that never strikes, or which can make no credible threat to strike may wither away in ineffectiveness. That fact is not irrelevant to the constitutional calculations. Indeed, in several decisions, the Supreme Court has held that the First Amendment right of association is at least concerned with essential organizational activities which give the particular association life and promote its fundamental purposes."

So in fact what we did by enacting the Postal Reorganization Act was hold out a short piece of bait to the employee in withholding the most basic fundamental right employees in a true free collective bargaining situation have anywhere—that is the right to strike. The bill that I am today introducing would remove the employees of the Postal Service from the prohibitions of the United States Code against their participation in a strike.

At the same time the bill would place the employees of the independent Postal Service under the same restrictions that the rest of the employees of the United States free enterprise system are under. When under the National Labor Relations Act a "national emergency" is involved, the Taft-Hartley Act sets forth a complete procedure. These procedures are admittedly subject to much scrutiny presently and hopefully they will be revised in the immediate future to provide better protections. The fact remains that they are the procedures under which all the employees subject to the National Labor Relations Act in the entire country are bound by. It therefore constitutes a complete act of discrimination to say to the Postal employees that:

Yes, you are entitled to all the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act except your right to strike. But we don't believe that you are responsible enough to assume that right. So, therefore, we are going to set you out in a very special category.

I am, therefore, introducing today this bill to remove the postal employees from this special category and to grant them full parity with the rest of the employees in the private sector of our economy, and I ask unanimous consent that the attached section-by-section analysis be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 1. States that the act shall be known as "The Postal Reorganization Act Amendments of 1971".

Section 2. This section, by striking the reference to Sec. 3333 would remove the requirements that every Postal employee take an oath not to strike. By adding the proviso at the end of the subsection the applicability of Section 7311 is removed insofar as Postal employees are concerned. This is the prohibition against striking. The section contains various other prohibitions but the courts have invalidated all but the strike prohibitions.

Section 3. This section removes Postal employees from the applicability of criminal penalties (Sec. 1918, Title 18 U.S.C.) which may be imposed against employees of the Federal government for striking. The remainder of that section has also been invalidated by the courts.

Section 4. This section would repeal that portion of Chapter 12—"Employee-Management Agreements" entitled "Labor Disputes" and which sets forth the machinery for mandatory arbitration in the event of an impasse between labor and management which in an ordinary non-governmental situation might, but not necessarily, lead to a strike. Since this was inserted in the Postal Reorganization Act as an alternative to the right to strike it is logical to eliminate it when the strike restrictions are removed.

Section 5. In striking Sec. 1207 the provisions for mediation were also removed. This section would merely make the general law provisions of conciliation applicable to the Postal Service. Please note that it also contains the Taft-Hartley provisions for handling "National Emergency" strike situations.

ALASKA REINDEER HERDERS SEEK CHANGES

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, recently, I received two resolutions which had just been adopted by the Reindeer Herders Association. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the ideas expressed in these two resolutions.

Resolution No. 1 explains the association's support of a fencing program on the Seward Peninsula to prevent overgrazing and intermingling. According to the association, the Soviet Union, Norway, Finland, and Sweden are now using this type of method and are having great success with it. The association feels that, if used properly, this new method of herding will increase the productivity of reindeer breeding.

Resolution No. 2 asks that the United States enter into an exchange program with such reindeer countries as Russia, Norway, Finland, and Sweden. This program would, the association feels, allow these countries to exchange methods and ideas on reindeer herding in a manner that would improve the process for all.

I am inserting a copy of each of the resolutions for my colleagues' inspection:

RESOLUTION NO. I: FENCES

In order to promote better reindeer herding on the Seward Peninsula and improve the utilization of the present range lands, the Reindeer Herders Association recommends that the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Bureau of Land Management, and the State of Alaska with the assistance of the Reindeer Herders Association and the individual herders, construct barriers or fences that will prevent herds from overgrazing and intermingling.

Passed by the Reindeer Herders Assn. on September 22, 1971.

RESOLUTION NO. II: AGRICULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Whereas, the Reindeer Herders Association is interested in the development of the reindeer industry as well as promoting friendship & unity with our arctic neighbors.

Whereas, the Soviet Union and Scandinavian countries, namely, Norway, Sweden, Finland, are recognized as the leading competitors in the reindeer industry,

Whereas, the exchange of ideas and knowledge in the industry between the Alaska reindeer herders and herders of the above mentioned nations will be to the benefit of all involved,

Now therefore, the Reindeer Herders Association recommends that the U.S. Government, the State of Alaska, and the Reindeer Herders Association enter into an exchange program with the Soviet Union and the Scandinavian countries, namely, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, whereby the reindeer herders of Alaska visit the above mentioned countries and have those herders of Russia, Norway, Sweden, and Finland visit Alaska.

Passed by the Reindeer Herders Assn. on September 22, 1971.

FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL PESTICIDE CONTROL ACT OF 1971

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, because official business may require my attendance at the United Nations when the Environmental Pesticide Control Act comes up for a vote, I should like to take this opportunity to indicate my position on this legislation.

Legislation is urgently needed to replace the existing Federal insecticide bill—FIFRA—which only regulates the labeling and sale—not the use—of pesticides. However, the bill as reported by the committee is deficient in a number of important respects.

I therefore want to state my support of the substitute bill to be offered by Congressman Dow, designed to improve the standards for protection of public health and the environment and to allow the States to provide stricter regulation, if necessary, for the general use of pesticides.

The committee bill closes the door on State initiatives, forbids tougher State regulation, and would wreck the programs in several States that have developed strong programs and effective implementation.

The committee bill limits information available to the Environmental Protection Agency by requiring the EPA Administrator to ignore established research data, shifting the burden of proof to EPA to determine that the pesticide is environmentally unsound. The Dow substitute would require the pesticide manufacturer to submit to EPA any data in his possession which may indicate whether or not the chemical would cause environmental damage.

Furthermore, the Dow amendment would permit EPA to deny registration on the basis that a particular pesticide is not essential. This is current practice, but the committee bill prohibits denial of registration on this basis.

Another important factor is that the committee bill restricts court challenges to chemical manufacturers, claiming that EPA represents the public interest, whereas the Dow amendment permits appeals of EPA orders by representatives of public interest, environmental and health groups, or whatever groups feel adversely affected.

These are a few of the major reasons

for my support of the proposed Dow amendments to the bill at this time.

THE HUNGARIAN SYMBOL OF EVENTUAL FREEDOM

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on October 29 Senator ROBERT DOLE of Kansas submitted a concurrent resolution in the Senate expressing the sense of Congress that the great national treasure of Hungary, the Holy Crown of St. Stephen, continue to remain in the safekeeping of the U.S. Government until the people of Hungary are again directed by a free and representative government. Joining Senator DOLE in cosponsorship were Senators THURMOND, BUCKLEY, BENNETT, ROTH, and TOWER. On the House side Congressman LARRY HOGAN introduced a similar resolution recently and was joined by 24 Members who are concerned that the Hungarian hope for eventual freedom will suffer a demoralizing blow if the crown is turned over to the Hungarian Communist regime. Needless to say, the living symbol of Hungarian freedom, Cardinal Mindszenty opposed the transfer of the crown, but his departure from Hungary removed a major obstacle to any proposed negotiations.

Columnist Paul Scott in his nationally syndicated column of November 1 commented on this issue. I insert his column of that date in the RECORD at this point:

HOLY CROWN OF ST. STEPHENS

(By Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON.—Secret diplomatic maneuvering is now underway for the State Department to turn over the Holy Crown of St. Stephens to the Communist Government of Hungary.

The historic crown, the oldest Christian symbol of freedom and authority in Europe, was entrusted to the U.S. government in 1945 to keep it out of the hands of attacking Russian armies and until Hungary is a free nation again.

The return of the Holy Crown and its jewels is being engineered by Dr. Henry Kissinger, the President's chief foreign policy adviser, and is an integral part of President Nixon's new policy of accommodating Moscow and Peking to obtain a lowering of East-West tensions.

Under the Kissinger plan, the Holy Crown is to be returned to Hungary before the President visits Moscow. The return could come as early as this Christmas if a U.S.-Hungary claims settlement agreement can be worked out before then.

The return of the Holy Crown is to serve as a public gesture to Moscow and the other Soviet bloc nations that the U.S. government fully recognizes communist control over Hungary and the other Captive Nations of Eastern Europe.

Given to King Stephen of Hungary by Pope Sylvester II in the year 1,000 A.D., the Holy Crown is a national treasure of immense historic and symbolic significance to Hungarians and American Hungarians who believe that government power is inherent in the Holy Crown itself. To many Hungarians, the Holy Crown represents that Hungary always would be a Christian nation.

Discussions on the arrangements for the return of the Holy Crown are now going on in Budapest between Hungarian officials and

U.S. Ambassador Alfred Puhán. The arrangements are expected to be completed soon unless Congress bars the move.

Twenty-five lawmakers led by Representative Lawrence Hogan (R. Md.), a leading Catholic layman and former FBI agent, has introduced a concurrent resolution in Congress designed to block the return.

Their resolution expresses the sense of Congress that the Holy Crown should remain in the U.S. until Hungary once again functions as a constitutional government established through free elections.

The House legislators, who are from politically strategic states ranging from New York to California, and Massachusetts to Pennsylvania, are now pressing for public hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The Hogan group's objective is to expose the Kissinger plan before it can be consummated and rally public and congressional support against the return.

Their argument against the return is that it would be taken by persons behind the Iron Curtain as a breaking of a sacred trust and a sign that the U.S. has given up hope that Hungary and the other Captive Nations will ever be free. As one member of the Hogan group put it:

"The return of the Holy Crown would be a symbol that the U.S. believes Communist rule will go on indefinitely in Hungary and the other Eastern European nations."

State Department officials so far have been able to delay public hearings by declining to answer the committee's request for the Nixon Administration's position on the resolution.

THE NEW POLICY

The significance of the present U.S.-Hungarian talks to return the Holy Crown is that they began shortly after President Nixon made his decision to support the legalization of Communist control over all the people and nations seized during and since World War II.

Although never announced by the President, this new doctrine of writing off the Captive Nations of Europe and Asia was secretly made known to Soviet and Chinese leaders several months ago and shortly after the decision was made.

Administration insiders say the new Nixon policy had a lot to do with those invitations from Moscow and Peking for President Nixon to visit those countries next year. Another sign of the policy is the red carpet treatment that the White House accorded President Tito when the Communist boss of Yugoslavia visited Washington last week.

It was Tito who encouraged Nixon during their meeting last year in Belgrade to give "legal recognition" to the territorial changes that took place in Europe after the Second World War.

MINDSZENTY EXILED

The pressured exile of aging Cardinal Mindszenty recently from his self-imposed asylum in the U.S. Embassy in Budapest was part of the new Nixon policy toward the communists. As a symbol of a free Hungary, the Communist government there wanted Cardinal Mindszenty removed from the country. The Nixon Administration agreed and put pressure on Rome to force Mindszenty to leave.

Significantly, one of the charges leveled against Cardinal Mindszenty, when he was jailed after the Communists took over Hungary, was that he had urged the U.S. to protect the Holy Crown or turned over to Rome for safekeeping. Cardinal Mindszenty was freed from jail by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters during the October, 1956 uprising. He was forced to seek asylum in the U.S. Embassy when Soviet troops crushed the rebellion.

Now living in exile in Austria, Cardinal Mindszenty's private plea to his supporters here is to do everything possible to keep the Holy Crown out of the hands of the communists. One of his long-time supporters here, former Speaker John McCormack, is

telling members of Congress that "the return of the Crown to the present Hungarian government must be stopped."

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, on November 8 the House will be presented with an opportunity to vote on House Joint Resolution 191. As a person firmly committed to the American ideal of religious liberty, I must oppose House Joint Resolution 191, for it threatens what I hold dear.

I favor voluntary prayers in the public schools and in other public buildings. I oppose Government interference with and control over religion. Nothing in the 1962 and 1963 decisions of the Supreme Court contradicts my position. Everything in House Joint Resolution 191 does.

What the Supreme Court said is that under the first amendment Government cannot conduct religious exercises. I do not believe that Government should have any role in a person's religious life. Prayer is something holy, sacred, and personal. The only kind of prayer that counts is voluntary prayer, prayer that comes from the person's heart, not prayer forced from a person's lips.

That is why Supreme Court Justices of three major faiths—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—have opposed prayers by Government and favored prayers by people. Under the first amendment, the activity of praying is reserved to the people. I believe that the history of government and the history of religion show the wisdom of our first amendment.

I cannot subscribe to any measure that would seek to create a governmental religion, even if in a watered-down form. I am opposed to governmental religion, and I am opposed to watering down religion. That is why thoughtful representatives of three major faiths, as they analyze House Joint Resolution 191, are coming to the conclusion that a measure that at first looks proreligion is, after all, really antireligion.

In my state of Ohio, religious liberty has long been held dear. In 1869 the Cincinnati School Board banned religious exercises in the public schools. It was about this time that President Grant, a native of Ohio, made clear his position that matters of religion should be kept out of public schools. And in 1925 the Governor of Ohio vetoed a bill prescribing Bible-reading in public schools. He said:

It is my belief that religious teaching in our homes, Sunday schools, churches, by the good mothers, fathers and ministers of Ohio is far preferable to compulsory teaching of religion by the state. The spirit of our federal and state constitutions from the beginning . . . [has] been to leave religious instruction to the discretion of parents.

The Supreme Court decision of 1962 and 1963 announced no novel doctrine to those in Ohio who had studied their State's history. In this tradition, the Catholic Times of Columbus, Ohio, pub-

lished an editorial on October 10, 1971, which reflects this Ohio heritage and the thinking of thoughtful representatives of major faiths; it is as follows:

THE PRAYER QUEST

All of the really nifty proposals for constitutional amendments seem to come from Ohio or receive more than a fair share of support from Ohioans. It is evident that there are still many people who believe in legislated morality in our lovely state.

Back in 1917 members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, with headquarters in Westerville, rejoiced when the Eighteenth Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress. The Amendment was fully ratified on January 16, 1919, and by reason of its own terms became effective one year later.

It turned out to be the worst constitutional mistake in the history of the nation, but United States citizens suffered the effects of prohibition for more than 13 years before the Twenty-first Amendment repealed it.

The problem of prohibition came from the attempt to impose the moral views of a vocal minority on an entire populace. It made crime out of non-crime and forced the production of alcoholic beverages to go underground. Loads of good people became "criminals" and organized crime received fantastic impetus.

The most recent move for amendment action came from a petition drive in Cuyahoga Falls. This drew a response from Representative Chalmers Wylie, who obtained 218 signatures to force a prayer amendment bill out of committee. This amendment would assert that "persons lawfully assembled in any public building supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds" could not be refused the right to participate in non-denominational prayer.

The bill in question had remained in committee because no one could resolve the question, "What does a non-denominational prayer look like?" The answer is, of course, no one knows, because it is impossible to compose a prayer that is not denominational.

If this amendment is proposed congressionally and ratified so that someone or some group is authorized to compose an accepted set of "non-denominational prayers," it could provoke one of the biggest controversies this country has ever witnessed. It would bring up the question of the civil government meddling in the affairs of religion. The official recognition of certain prayer formulas would also carry the connotation of establishing a kind of religion.

We all know the reason why these petitions, legislative moves in various states and at least eighty proposed bills in both houses of Congress keep coming up—the 1963 Supreme Court decision about prayers in public schools. But the interesting thing is that the Court didn't really forbid prayers in public schools. The decision simply declared that no child could be compelled to participate in prayer against his or his parents' will.

Meanwhile, the First Amendment upholds what still seems to be an adequate defense of religious rights. The present proposal would not only confuse the issue, but actually contradict it.

On October 21, 1971, the Daily Record of Wooster, Ohio, published an editorial in opposition to House Joint Resolution 191, entitled "Let's Let Well Enough Alone." I have known the publishers of this newspaper for nearly 50 years, and I can attest to the fact that they run an excellent newspaper. The following editorial is an example of that excellence:

LET'S LET WELL ENOUGH ALONE

It comes as a sort of shock to see the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs opposing the proposed prayer amendment to the constitution.

The proposed prayer amendment seems harmless when it says: "Nothing contained in this constitution shall abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building which is supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds to participate in nondenominational prayer."

But the Baptist Committee wants it defeated. It says the proposed amendment by authorizing participation in nondenominational prayer opens the door for government to determine what is acceptable prayer.

The Baptist's fears might be justified. Perhaps we should let well enough alone.

Article 5 of the Baptist resolution opposing the proposed prayer amendment says:

"We affirm the right of school children or any other segment of the population to engage voluntarily in their own prayers without government authorization or supervision. The right, we believe, is protected adequately by the First Amendment as it now stands. 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . .'"

The Baptists go on to say:

"It is our opinion that the proposed amendment is offered in view of a misinterpretation of the so-called 'prayer and Bible reading' decision of the Supreme Court in 1962 and 1963 which properly prohibited government intrusion into the religious activity of school children. At no time has the Supreme Court prohibited voluntary prayer but has only ruled against governmentally prescribed prayer and governmentally sponsored religious exercises."

We're inclined to go along with the Baptists. The government took itself out of the religion problem with the First amendment which also guarantees freedom of press and expression and the right peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress of wrongs.

The first amendment as it now stands has protected us for a good many years. Let's work within this amendment and not give the government or anyone else the right officially to say what "prayer" really is.

ORLANDO DAY NURSERY AND KINDERGARTEN FOR WORKING MOTHERS ONLY

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, the Orlando Day Nursery and Kindergarten, at 100 West Anderson Street—adjoins the parking lot of Orlando Utilities Commission—phone 422-5291, is sponsored by the United Appeal, the Downtown Kiwanis Club, and an association of ladies from many churches—president, Mrs. Edward Helvenston.

It was started 50 years ago to provide for working mothers, a Christian home during the day for their children. It has grown into the largest day-care center in Florida with the most modern facilities, teaching equipment, and methods.

The building was specifically designed for play and learning in separate facilities according to age groups. There are acres of shaded playgrounds with the finest and most modern equipment for supervised play with a purpose. It is heated and air conditioned.

All appropriate areas are taught, including music, with no extra charge. The most modern of audiovisual equipment is used to supplement and aid the trained

teachers, and all the facilities of the Orange County Media Center are used. Field trips are provided so that the children can learn about people and things as they are actually done.

Visitors are always welcome to observe and to counsel with the staff about their children except between 1 and 3 p.m., when they are sleeping.

The children are fed breakfast, a full lunch, and two supplements each day. The food program is supervised by the nutritional counselors of the State food service. The school is open from 6:45 a.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Friday.

The rates are based upon the ability of parents to pay according to their income and the size of their family. The rates are from as low as \$4 weekly to a top of \$12 weekly. The second child in the family is only charged for at half the rate of the first. The donations of time and money of these dedicated organizations and people make it possible for working mothers to give their children the same advantages available to other children regardless of their financial ability to pay.

PRESIDENT ASKED FOR ASSISTANCE TO BLACK-OWNED AIRLINE

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that many Members of the Congress are unaware of the existence of an airline which is black-owned and black-operated.

This airline, Enterprise Airlines of Oakland, Calif., needs assistance, and in light of the massive assistance given by the administration and the Congress to such firms as Lockheed, would appear to be fully justified in gaining support.

Just recently, Mr. Speaker, the Federation of Democratic Clubs of Contra Costa County, Calif., adopted a resolution requesting the Congress and the President to give this call for assistance some consideration.

I am pleased to include the text of that resolution in the RECORD:

OCTOBER 27, 1971.

RICHARD M. NIXON,
President of the United States, The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I ask that you consider the following resolution passed by the Federation of Democratic Clubs of Contra Costa County California:

"Whereas, the Congress of the United States, with the approval of the President, has seen fit to support Lockheed Corp., in the amount of \$250 million, and

"Whereas, it is the expressed intent of the Congress and the President to assist business ventures undertaken by the minority members of our society, be it

"Resolved, That the Congress of the United States and the President supply financial assistance to the only black owned and operated airline in the United States, Enterprise Airlines, Oakland International Airport, P.O. Box 2602, Oakland, California 94614."

This resolution was proposed by the Treasurer of the Federation, Richard Leland, and seconded by the following:

Benjamin Marshall, Vice President, 572 6th St., Richmond, CA.

Sybil Galazin, 14th CD co-chairman, 1470 Creekside Dr., Walnut Creek, CA.

Jim Boman, Controller, California Democratic Council, 2641 San Carlos Dr., Walnut Creek, CA.

William S. Dickinson, Assembly candidate, 4261 Brentwood Circle, Concord, CA.

Sincerely,

NIC WALKER,
President, Federation of
Democratic Clubs, Contra Costa, Co.

QUAKERS OPPOSE PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 27, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, as evidenced by the following statement, our friends of the Quaker faith of this country are opposed to the proposed constitutional amendment regarding prayer in public buildings.

The statement follows:

PRAYER AND BIBLE READING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(NOTE.—A statement of the Friends Committee on National Legislation approved by the Executive Council, September 12-13, 1964, after opportunity for study and comment by the General Committee. This Statement was reconsidered and reaffirmed by the FCNL Administrative Committee on November 14, 1970.)

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court on prayer and Bible reading in public schools have evoked widespread discussion and caused many to suggest that the original Bill of Rights be amended.

Friends and others can make a real contribution to public understanding by describing the Supreme Court's decisions accurately, by interpreting the reasons for the Constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state, and by focusing attention on the fundamental question of how moral and religious values are communicated to children and advanced in our society. We urge all concerned Friends to obtain and read the testimony given before the House Judiciary Committee, April 22 to June 3, 1964 on various proposals to amend the Constitution.

WHAT DID THE SUPREME COURT SAY?

The First Amendment to the Constitution says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ." The Supreme Court in three cases decided in 1962 and 1963 held that under the First Amendment, state or local governmental units cannot require the reading of a nondenominational prayer, the recitation of the Lord's Prayer or the reading of scripture from the Bible as a part of a devotional exercise in a public school.

Teachers in our public school system, the Supreme Court indicated, cannot be required, as a part of the regular school program, to conduct religious devotions or indoctrinate students in a particular set of religious beliefs. The Court opinion in the Schemp case stated:

"While the free exercise clause clearly prohibits the use of state action to deny the rights of free exercise to anyone, it has never meant that a majority could use the machinery of the state to practice its beliefs."

However, the Supreme Court specifically said that its decisions do permit the study of the Bible and of religion when presented objectively as part of a secular program of

education. It is here that great deal more can be done to interpret the great significance of the Bible and religion in the history of our civilization and their place in art, literature and music. Some states and localities are actively working on programs to infuse moral and spiritual values in their educational systems within the Constitutional framework.

The Court's decisions were confined to prescribed religious exercises in public schools. Nothing was said about the use of mottoes on our coins, chaplains in the military services, opening prayers in Congress, or other similar practices. The fear that these may also be prohibited soon has led to much of the drive for enactment of a Constitutional amendment. But we question the wisdom of attempting to establish the appropriate line between church and state by means of a detailed amendment to the Constitution.

WHY SEPARATE CHURCH AND STATE?

In the early days, Friends suffered much from laws favoring the established church which required compulsory tithes, compulsory church attendance, and compulsory oaths. They felt these laws violated their religious convictions. Friends were among the first to advocate a greater measure of religious toleration and religious liberty for people to worship God according to their own consciences.

The Supreme Court has noted that "The place of religion in our society is an exalted one, achieved through a long tradition of reliance on the home, the church, and the inviolable citadel of the individual heart and mind. We have come to recognize through bitter experience that it is not within the power of government to invade the citadel, whether its purpose or effect be to aid or oppose, to advance or retard."

Political decisions are generally taken by majority rule in this country. But religious observances are not properly determined in this manner. If the school authorities were to be permitted to require certain religious exercises, on this premise the devotions would be Quaker, Catholic, Mormon, Jewish, or other depending on the majority religious view in a given school district. Or religious exercises would be so watered down and generalized as to become relatively meaningless in purpose or content. A religious liturgy designed to appeal to all and offend none lacks the note of commitment which is an essential part of religion.

The Court's decisions underscore that religious instruction is the sacred responsibility of the family and the churches. The state and its agencies should not be expected to carry out this task.

HOW IS TRUE RELIGION ADVANCED?

Young minds become aware of the glory of God and the needs of their fellow men, not by recitation at routine exercises, but through the example of a committed life, the inspiration of a gathered meeting for worship, the constant nurturing of a tender spirit, and experience which stimulate growth toward spiritual maturity.

We are gravely concerned about the erosion of the moral base of our national life and the increasing secularization of our country, but we do not believe such trends can be stopped by Constitutional amendments.

We cannot be satisfied with form or symbols in the absence of substance, and no child or parent should be encouraged to believe that perfunctory exercises in the classroom are the substance of religion. Friends have always insisted that religion is a matter not only of belief but of experience.

Nor does the example of European countries with established churches, where only a small percentage of the population participates in church life, give us any encouragement that official sponsorship of religion will

stimulate real religious growth. Indeed, this experience seems to confirm the wisdom of the First Amendment's provision that freedom of worship shall be maintained unhampered by state interference or favoritism.

COMPLEX ISSUE REQUIRES STUDY

We encourage Friends and others to think deeply about the complexities of the church-state issue. While the state must not establish any religion, it must also refrain from interfering with the free exercise of religion. These two objectives are difficult to attain simultaneously. The majority group, prohibited from holding its religious exercises in the public schools because this is an "establishment of religion," is prevented at that moment from "freely exercising" its religion within the public school system. But free exercise can be expressed by the voluntary acts of the religious groups, without the compulsion or the interference of the state.

In the light of the serious issues raised, we urge that Congress not take action until there has been more time for full public discussion and consideration of this difficult question.

In reconciling differences, both majority and minority groups need to be more sensitive to the faith and cherished beliefs of the other. Only in a spirit of mutual understanding and toleration can we hope to achieve the freedom of religion for all which is the Constitutional ideal.

NO REAL SUBSTITUTES

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a Member who opposed the original bill giving the President authority over wage-price controls and maintaining my absolute conviction that our country cannot in the long run prosper under any lasting or ponderous restrictions, I join the Members in trusting that the real success of phase II will be a phaseout rather than permanent control.

An editorial in the Calumet, Ill., Index of October 20 commented that the real cause of the pressure on the dollar and the economy is unrestrained Government spending which continues to grow.

The editorial follows:

NO REAL SUBSTITUTES

As wage and price controls tighten their grip and pressure increases for exemptions of modifications of the rules, the ultimate corollary of controls should be kept in mind—shortages and most likely rationing. The longer the controls are imposed, the more likely is the prospect of fewer necessities and luxuries of the kind people now take for granted.

Under a system of frozen prices, goods that cannot be produced profitably will no longer be made. As rent control goes contrary to the realities of the marketplace, there will be fewer places to rent. Freezing wages, salaries and income of all kinds eventually kills incentive. And, so in the end, controls bring not stability, not progress, but a downward curve in productive activity.

There are no substitutes for curbing excessive government spending which is the breeder of inflation and is the one thing that must be controlled and not hidden in tricky government bookkeeping. Until government spending is brought under control, all other controls will prove futile. They will merely lead to less freedom and opportunity.

PRAYER AMENDMENT PROTECT
FREEDOM OF RELIGION

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the proposed prayer in schools amendment to the Constitution represents one of the most important pieces of legislation to come before Congress in this decade.

All Americans should have an opportunity to express themselves on this key issue of prayer and freedom of the individual.

What worries me the most is the fact that we are teaching our children in school that prayer is wrong and should be forbidden. Children spend about one-half of their time in school. I cannot imagine any harm that comes from kindergarten children saying a short prayer before they have a snack. We teach children right and wrong in school and under our present system they have the impression it is wrong to pray.

The prayer amendment reads:

Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building which is supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer.

It does not concern Bible reading in school or private religious courses. The amendment concerns only the right to pray—one of our basic religious freedoms.

We have in this country today a Supreme Court that has assumed legislative functions. The Court's rulings in favor of Federal controls could make the Federal Government all powerful. The Supreme Court overstepped its historical boundaries and began making law when it ruled that children could no longer pray in public schools.

I feel the Court has misinterpreted the constitutional question. Why must any one be denied the right to speak to God at any time, anywhere and under any circumstances? Let us review the history of this country.

When the Virginia settlers came to Jamestown in 1607, their first building was a church. The first book published in America was a prayer book. The Liberty Bell has a Biblical inscription.

Proclaim liberty throughout the land upon all inhabitants thereof. (Lev. 25:10).

In America's political and civic life our leaders have constantly expressed their reliance on Almighty God for direction and protection. From the very beginning Congress has begun each session with the word of God. All oaths of office from the presidency to alderman end with the final supplication "So help me God." The sessions of the Supreme Court are declared open by the Crier in a short ceremony, the final phrase of which is "God save the United States and this Honorable Court."

America's first document, the Mayflower Compact written in 1620, begins "In the name of God, Amen." Thomas

Jefferson concluded the Declaration of Independence with an expression of the new Nation's dependence upon God:

With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our Sacred Honor.

Abraham Lincoln said in the proclamation of April 30, 1863:

And whereas it is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, . . . and to recognize the sublime truth, announced in the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord . . .

Carved in the stone blocks of the Washington Monument are Bible verses including:

Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it. (Proverbs 22:6).

Inscribed on the aluminum cap of the marble pyramid are these words: "Praise be to God." Behind the Speaker's rostrum in the congressional Chamber a marble panel is inscribed in gold letters with our National motto "In God We Trust." The Great Seal of the United States bears these words "Annuit Coepit" (He has favored our undertaking.)

Today, churches and Christian institutions across our country confirm the deep-seated belief in God and in Christian teachings.

The law as expressed by the United States Constitution is clear in its protection of American religious freedom. The first amendment to the Constitution reads:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

In 1962 the Supreme Court interpreted the first amendment as not permitting the following prayer:

Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our Country."

The prayer has been composed by a committee of religious leaders. It was made available by the State of New York for an entirely voluntary recitation by pupils and teachers in its public schools. Eleven of the 13 State court justices who reviewed the case held that the school board could authorize the voluntary recital of the prayer. The Supreme Court's reversal of this decision was not based on any valid historic or legal precedent.

The second prayer in school case also came from New York and concerned kindergarten students repeating these two prayers on a voluntary basis.

God is Great, God is Good, and we thank him for our food. And Thank You for the world so sweet, Thank You for the food we eat, Thank You for the birds that sing—Thank You, God, for everything.

The Supreme Court refused to hear the case. That refusal had the legal effect of upholding the New York Court of Appeals decision to make the prayers illegal.

In De Kalb, Ill., kindergarten children repeated this poem before their morning snack:

We thank you for the flowers so sweet; We thank you for the food we eat; We thank

you for the birds that sing; We thank you for everything.

This poem does not mention God, but there is an implication that "you" represents God. The U.S. court of appeals ruled that this poem could not be allowed even though the teacher testified that it was used in a program of good citizenship to teach social manners.

It is my feeling that the courts have pushed this issue to the extreme. Thomas Jefferson said:

On every question of construction, carry ourselves back to the time when the Constitution was adopted, recollect the spirit manifested in the debates, and instead of prying what meaning may be squeezed out of the text, or invented against it, conform to the probable one in which it was passed.

We have proposed the constitutional amendment for this very reason. Our forefathers intended our country to be a religious nation. The Constitution and our national heritage clearly point out this determination.

In the history of our Nation there have always been the passive and meek, who would let tyrants run over them. Today we see the Supreme Court bullying and cowering the American people by telling children it is wrong to pray in school.

Fortunately in this country we still have a Republic that belongs to the people. We fought for a discharge petition in Congress, which brings the prayer amendment out on the floor of Congress.

There are those who say God should be taken completely out of school and that prayer must not be allowed. But the future of this country depends upon God's guidelines and inspiration.

EQUALITY OF WOMEN

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, I have worked all my life to promote the equality of women and equate their socio-political and economic standards with those of our male-dominated society. The equal rights amendment which recently passed in the House of Representatives was a major victory for the women's movement and of great satisfaction to me personally. So was the article which appeared in the Sunday New York Times of October 31 written by Jane Fonda.

Miss Fonda is famous in her own right as an actress and outspoken supporter of a variety of causes. Her political activism emanates from her deep desire to unshackle our country from a war which is chaining our limbs into immobility, and a passionate concern for underprivileged members of our society. Her article has presented us with a candid, very personal assessment of one woman's realization that a disparity does exist in our culture between the successful male-dominated world and the female opting for her rightful position in that world. Her comments are so sensible

that one wonders how anyone could disagree with her consensus. And yet there are those who would find her views unreasonable and inapplicable. It is for the myopic nonbelievers, much more so than for the rising ranks of supporters, that I insert her article in the RECORD in its entirety:

[From the Sunday New York Times, Oct. 31, 1971]

JANE FONDA: "I WANT TO WORK WITH WOMEN"

(By Jane Fonda)

(NOTE.—On "The Great American Dream Machine," Wednesday night at 9 on WNET/Channel 13, Jane Fonda acts six different aspects of "Fascinating Woman," ranging from housewife to Playboy Bunny. This segment was produced and directed entirely by women. While working on it, Miss Fonda spoke of women in our society to her producer, Barbara Gordon, and NET's Dassey Hagen. This article is adapted from her observations.)

We women think that we are in control of our lives, that we are defining ourselves when, in fact, none of us are. Our lives are defined by men, directly by men—the men we live with, or the men we love, or the men we're married to, or the men we work for—and, indirectly, through television, film, radio and other media, which are controlled by men.

We put ourselves into roles and play roles that have been fitted out for us. We buy the lies and the promises of what it means to be a wife, secretary, nurse, hippie, sexy woman, Air Force pilot—whatever it is, it's always what we are told we will be. And then the reality, and the reality, no matter what you are, no matter what color, what age, no matter what you do, is that none of us determines our lives. And most of these roles, because they are defined by men, are oppressive for women. I don't feel that this means we have to stop being wives, or being any of these things; it means that we have to gain strength to redefine these roles for ourselves.

There's nothing the matter with being a wife; on the contrary, it's marvelous. It's just that being a wife should no longer mean, for the majority of women, that they're slave labor, that they work longer and harder than the men, under the most abominable conditions so that they can rarely leave home and rarely have the time for an outside life or any kind of new and stimulating experience. They do the same thing over and over again; they keep the fireside burning while the men have all the exciting, meaningful experiences—and they get a pittance for an allowance.

It's slave labor for slave wages, that's really what it is. No human being should have to do that. And we women buy it because that's what we've been told for centuries we are. So it never occurs to any of us that there is another way to live.

I am economically independent, I have many advantages that most women don't have, and because of my films I am famous. And yet I have discovered that my own life has been determined by men from the time I was born. That all the insecurities I have and that I share with other women—the various hangups, the lack of confidence—all of these are not special with me. Other women have them and feel the same way about themselves. It is because of the kind of things we feel we have to be, and we're told what we have to be, by men. We have to look a certain way, we have to behave a certain way, we have to be such and such and so and so.

For example, men see me coming and they say, "Echh, bring me back the old-time movie star. We want a body and a face, we don't want this uppity woman."

Now that is symptomatic of our society, that women cannot be aggressive, cannot be intelligent, cannot be outspoken, and women can certainly not be in charge. And this is what we have to begin to change.

We have certainly messed up the world about as far as it can go with men in the leadership role. I think the time has come. . . well, Daniel Ellsberg said it on the Dick Cavett show a while back, "We should start listening to women." And they should. Men are going to have to start listening to us.

Where are the women cycle killers? Where are the women who lurk in the dark alleys to murder? Where are the women who sit around the SALT-talk tables and plan the future nuclear wars? "Where are the women at the Rand Corporation who have corporate debates on whether the nation?" And that's a direct quote from a man in the Rand Corporation who wrote me, "We have corporate debates to decide whether the nation." Really.

Over the centuries we've been told that we are kind, considerate, more humane, more emotional, that we trust our instincts, that we're docile, compassionate—all of those things. And it's true. We have been told this so much that we have internalized these attributes. And that's great. We are more human, we are more compassionate, we are more sensitive, we are more emotional, we do trust our instincts more, we are less militaristic. And I believe that when, through struggling together, we gain our rights, the world will truly be a much better place.

And what I think is exciting about the women's movement is that it unites us all. Women who are becoming involved in the movement are beginning to discover that no matter what nationality, what race, what age we are, what job we do or what class we're from—we are all united. There is a common culture.

The important thing is that women begin to understand that what they've always considered their individual, personal hangups and problems—so awful that "I can't possibly tell anybody else because if anybody else knew about them they would hate me, and I know that nobody else has the kind of complexes I do"—are really the same things we all have. They only manifest themselves differently.

Why is it that few women are really fulfilled and happy with men, really feel good about themselves, really control their lives? It's not just an individual problem, it's a social problem. Okay. So then we have to begin to look at it in a whole different way, and decide what we are going to do about it. Obviously we can't do anything about it individually. But what happens a lot of times, women will look to women who are successful, who have made it in a man's world, and say, "But ah—you've made it. All you have to do is be a little more such and such and so and so and you can make it."

Well, first of all, that's not true. Most of the time to make it in this society you have to make it on a man's terms; in a way, you have to become a man. That means that we have to rob ourselves of our own attributes as women. Women do things differently. And they usually accomplish more when left alone and they're not made to feel inferior by men.

I thought, like a year and a half ago, that I understood the women's movement and I supported it although I never saw it as my movement. I saw it as a movement of other women who were oppressed. Well, my whole thought and thinking changed, I guess, about three months ago. I began to realize that this particular revolution is not only their revolution, it's my revolution, too. I mean, if I don't fight it, nobody else is going to.

Suddenly I could view my entire life in a totally social context. I was able to understand, for the first time, my mother; I was able to understand my sister, myself, my

friends, the women I know. I was able to seek out women, not just because there weren't any men around to talk to, but because I really preferred to talk to women. I prefer to spend time with women. It interests me more right now. I don't mean that I'm a separatist—that I don't want to have anything to do with men—no. But in terms of learning, of growing and moving forward and gaining strength, it is from women and not from men that I get these.

At the time, I was working on a film, "Steelyard Blues," in which I was virtually the only woman. I was playing a bit part, which meant that since I wasn't the star, they didn't have to treat me the way they probably didn't want to treat me, but normally had to. I was becoming sensitized at that particular time to the way men treat women, things I had never noticed before—a lack of respect, a glossing over. Like when a woman starts telling a story, the men interrupt and finish it because they assume that no one will really understand or find amusing or interesting the way the woman tells it. And so the man has to take over and tell it his own way.

I've noticed, for example, how you're sitting at a table and a woman will be talking and you begin to find that you're bored with what she's saying, you're slightly embarrassed by her, and you begin to realize that the reason is not because of what she's saying, but because the men at the table aren't paying any attention to her. And we're so used to defining what we find interesting or intelligent through what the men find interesting or intelligent that if the men aren't listening to the woman, we don't listen to the woman. But take the men away, and you'll find that, 99 per cent of time, what she's saying is interesting, meaningful and intelligent.

As I started becoming aware of all these things, I stopped being liberal about it. I began to say, "Hey, wait a minute, guys. Look what you're doing to me." Or, "Look what you're doing to her, and I'm not going to take it any more." Of course, I'm hated. Right? Hated. "Hah, Jane Fonda's lost her sense of humor." Or, "What's happened to Jane Fonda? Oh, she's impossible." Interestingly enough, with women I'm perfectly funny. I mean, women think I'm funny. And with men who are not oppressive I think I'm quite funny, but it's like a guy has his foot on your neck and he's shoving your face in the quicksand and if you don't laugh, you have no sense of humor.

That's a warning to all women: When you begin to become righteously independent and struggle for your freedom and the right to define yourself, this is what happens. First they'll accuse you of losing your temper, then they'll say that the only reason you're doing it is that you're frustrated, because you haven't had a good time with a man lately—all you need is a good man and you'll get over it. And when it's all over, they'll say to you, oh, something like I hope you find that what you're angry about isn't what you think it is, because what it really is is Freudian hangups with your father, early childhood problems and such things. In other words, it's just an individual psychiatric or psychological problem. It has nothing to do with social problems, so don't try to generalize.

Well, bull. It is a social problem. It is something we all share together, and until we begin to realize that, we're not going to be able to gain any power, or any strength at all.

Most of what I've said would be terrifying to the kind of women it is important that we reach—women in the Midwest, women who are not at all movement-oriented. But it's important that we overcome what the media has done to the women's movement. It's made us look like hysterical, angry, aggressive, frustrated women, bra-burning and all that kind

of thing. All that has nothing to do with what the women's movement is about. The women's movement has to do with our needs, our daily needs in our lives.

At this particular moment in my life, I don't want to work with men. I have discovered that what happens when you're an actress is, you mouth dialogue written by a man, a man photographs you and a man directs you, so all the way around you're being defined by a man. You sit on the set and you look out at a sea of male faces. I don't want men to write women's parts any more. Or, I don't want it for me. So, as much as possible—it doesn't mean I'll turn down all parts directed by men—but as much as possible, I want to work with women.

FIRMS IN TWO STATES TOLD TO HALT AIR POLLUTION

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the Environmental Protection Agency has been working effectively to bring firms and industries from all over the Nation into compliance with pollution standards. Together with State officials, Federal authorities are taking a firm line in protecting our environment. The administration should certainly be commended for this progress as it is undoubtedly its leadership which has encouraged and supported such efforts. The following article from the Baltimore Sun of October 21, 1971, is evidence of its commitment:

FIRMS IN TWO STATES TOLD TO HALT AIR POLLUTION

(By James MacNees)

Maryland officials are studying recommendations and time schedules set down by the federal government for abatement of air pollution along the West Virginia, Western Maryland border.

The pollution, emanating chiefly from the Mount Storm electric generating plant in West Virginia, has damaged and killed thousands of Christmas trees in Western Maryland.

William D. Ruckelshaus, director of the Environmental Protection Agency, said sulfur and dirt from the Mount Storm plant and the Westvaco Pulp Mill, at Luke, Md., "result in excessive levels of pollution which adversely affect the welfare and may adversely affect the health of persons [with heart or respiratory disease] in the area."

DAMAGE STUDIED

Among the effects observed in an agency two-year monitoring program are:

Vegetation damage (with serious loss to Maryland tree growers); serious impairment of recreational facilities (especially in the Deep Creek region), excessive dirt and deterioration of property; interference with comfortable use of property (some residents say they have not been able to open their windows for years) and a "general reduction of the quality of the otherwise scenic rural environment."

Mr. Ruckelshaus noted in his report that the Westvaco plant is now implementing a program of compliance with Maryland's air pollution regulations and that "the State of West Virginia has no air pollution control rules or regulations, presently in effect," which are capable of reducing the hundreds of tons of fly ash and sulfur spewing from Mount Storm daily.

1973 DEADLINES

The agency director ordered that fly ash and sulfur pollution from both facilities be drastically reduced no later than January 1 and February 1, 1973, respectively.

He said both should submit firm plans and time schedules to their appropriate state agencies within three months.

The electric company is ordered to reduce its sulfur emissions to a rate no greater than if it burned coal with a 1.7 per cent sulfur content. At present the boilers of the huge plant burn "anything that is black" according to local sources. Much of its coal is purchased from Western Maryland operators.

The Virginia Electric Power Company was told to provide continuous monitoring of its tall chimneys and to notify West Virginia authorities if its sulfur emissions exceed 14 tons an hour.

A third generating unit now under construction "will substantially increase" discharge of sulfur, Mr. Ruckelshaus said. He ordered that emission controls be constructed to hold these pollutants within federal air pollution standards.

PROGRESS IN CANCER RESEARCH

HON. WILLIAM R. ROY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, the obvious concern of Congress this session and especially in recent weeks is stepping up the attack on cancer. The following article from the November issue of Fortune magazine provides one of the best single summaries of the progress in cancer research.

The summaries follow:

CANCER CELLS BEGIN TO YIELD THEIR SECRETS; NEW TECHNIQUES OF INVESTIGATION ARE SHOWING NOT ONLY HOW A CELL TURNS CANCEROUS BUT ALSO HOW IT CAN BE MADE NORMAL AGAIN

(By Gene Bylinsky)

Within the past year or so, the long, frustrating, and at times seemingly hopeless search for the causal mechanism of cancer has taken a new and promising turn. In three separate laboratories, scientists have succeeded in demonstrating that a protein continuously generated by a virus turns a normal cell into a cancerous cell and keeps it that way. Even more significant, they showed that it is possible to reverse the course of cancerous transformation by inactivating, or damaging, the cancer-causing substance.

These discoveries—at the University of Washington, the University of California at Berkeley, and the Salk Institute in La Jolla—are immensely important steps in our understanding of cancer. The finding that cancer cells can be made normal again shows that cancer is *not* an inexorably progressive disease that can be stopped only through eradication of every malignant cell. In the view of some scientists, the discoveries open the door to truly effective control of cancer, or at least some cancers, by means of interference with the disease at its core—in the complex process of cancerous transformation of cells.

The search for cures will be significantly reinforced as a result of the coming expansion of the attack on cancer. Some of the plans presented by President Nixon and various members of Congress call for the creation of a "conquest of cancer" agency that would incorporate the National Cancer Institute. The new agency's director would report to the President. Great infusions of money are foreseen; five years from now, the federal

cancer-research program may be financed at the rate of \$1 billion a year—approaching the rate of spending on space exploration in the early 1960's.

Despite the recent advances in cancer research, giant steps as dramatic as moon landings cannot be precisely scheduled, of course. The basic knowledge that made moon landings possible emerged during the preceding centuries of scientific advance; what remained was to build an engineering superstructure on that scientific base. In cancer research an ocean of ignorance about the functioning and growth of the mammalian cell remains to be crossed. But the additional money can help. For example, basic research would be advanced through creation of facilities for mass-producing materials the researchers need to work with, such as cancer cells and viruses grown in laboratory cultures. Additional funds will also go into efforts to treat cancer more effectively with means already at hand. The new program will seek, among other things, better ways of treating cancer patients with radiation, for instance with atomic-particle accelerators. Diagnostic methods will be improved by large-scale tests, including tests of large numbers of blood samples for suspected cancer agents.

UNTIL NOW, A SEARCH FOR A NEEDLE

Perhaps more important than the prospective influx of money into cancer research is the influx, already well under way, of outstanding scientists from other fields. The newcomers include several Nobel Prize winners. At Berkeley, Melvin Calvin, who won the prize for his work in photosynthesis is investigating the role of chemicals in cancer causation. Another Nobel laureate is James D. Watson, who along with Francis Crick deciphered the double-helix structure of the heredity-determining DNA molecule. Watson has done more than anyone else to advance the science of molecular biology and tell us how a normal cell functions. Now, as director of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory on Long Island, Watson heads a team of young scientists whose aim is to trace the biochemical steps that result in malignant transformation of the cell. One of the most eminent of the scientists who preceded Calvin and Watson in cancer research is biologist Renato Dubecco of the Salk Institute, a former colleague of Watson's at Indiana University.

These scientists and others have brought into cancer research a highly logical and elegant method of probing the mysteries of the cancer cell. The method involves the use of viruses as investigative tools. This approach, which made possible those dramatic discoveries on the West Coast, represents a big upward jump from the imprecise methods of the recent past. Maurice Green, director of the Institute for Molecular Virology at St. Louis University's school of medicine, speaks for many scientists when he says: "Until now, the search for cancer causation has been a search for a needle in a haystack, with a lot of wild reports. Now, for the first time, we have a rational approach to chemotherapy of cancer and to an understanding of the basic processes involved."

This kind of confidence and the new method of studying cancer both stem from molecular biology's spectacularly successful recent past. Molecular biology deals with life processes at their most basic level, inside the cell. Major advances in partially deciphering what goes on at this level were achieved through studies of interactions between bacteria and viruses that attack them. Some of these viruses integrate their genetic material with the genes of bacterial cells, and then behave as if they were part of those cells. Thus a convenient mechanism is created for analyzing the results of intrusion of new genetic material into a cell. This is of vital importance in cancer research because vi-

ruses that cause cancer integrate their genetic material into mammalian cells.

THE WHEELBARROW AND THE CADILLAC

There is a great deal of difference, to be sure, between bacterial and mammalian cells. One scientist likens the difference in complexity to that between a wheelbarrow and a Cadillac. A bacterial cell has only a few thousand genes; a mammalian cell has millions. But there are important similarities between bacterial viruses and some cancer-causing viruses—they are exceedingly simple in their genetic structure. Some known cancer viruses probably have fewer than ten genes. The workings of these genes can be traced even inside the mammalian cell.

In incorporating their genes into a cell's genetic apparatus, cancer viruses act very much unlike ordinary infectious viruses such as mumps or polio. While these viruses simply kill or damage cells as they make more virus particles, the cancer viruses work much more subtly. They introduce their genes into the cell's genetic machinery and then subvert it—like a band of rebels taking over a radio station. When the cell divides again, it reproduces those cancer-virus genes as if they were its own.

Each gene can set in motion the intricate subcellular machinery that leads to assembly of a particular protein. This can be either a structural protein or a protein that acts as a chemical catalyst, known as an enzyme. Thousands of different proteins and enzymes are being manufactured inside a cell all the time. The viruses under study make only a few proteins and enzymes. These have now been definitely shown to be perpetrators of the cancerous transformation of cells. So the task of unraveling the processes of cancer causation has become much narrower and much more specific than in the past. The task now is to determine exactly how the substances manufactured by the viral genes can subvert the cell's complex regulatory apparatus. The viral genetic material is quantitatively insignificant compared to the cell's own genetic endowment. Yet those viral genes, perhaps outnumbered a million to one by the cell's genes, propel the cell on its reckless, cancerous course.

In their terrible efficacy, the intruding genes operate through the same kinds of control mechanisms that operate in a normal cell. The key material is DNA, or deoxyribonucleic acid, the master chemical of life. The DNA of the genes, through a sister substance called RNA (ribonucleic acid), controls the structure and function of the cell. DNA and RNA molecules are very complex, made up of thousands of small units, or chemical bases, strung like beads on a thread. The sequence of these bases—there are four different kinds—constitutes the genetic code. It is unique for each species of virus just as it is unique for each species of living thing.

To produce proteins, DNA "transcribes" portions of its code onto strands of messenger RNA, which move from the nucleus into the cytoplasm, the cellular liquid that surrounds the nucleus. These messenger RNA strands are met by tiny bodies called ribosomes, which let an RNA message strand flow through them, much as an audio tape goes through a player. In the process the RNA message is decoded. The sequence specifies the order in which amino acids, the building blocks of proteins, are to be assembled to make a specific protein. Another type of RNA molecule, called transfer RNA, ferries the amino acids specified by the message to the ribosome workbench for assembly into a protein, a process called "translation." When viral genetic material incorporates itself into the cell's chromosomes, it can use this control system to prescribe production of new proteins. In so doing, the alien genes can disrupt the normal machinery of both transcription and translation.

The techniques of molecular biology make

it possible to find out, in great detail, what is happening even at that complex, submicroscopic level. Each gene prescribes a unique messenger RNA. Strands of it correspond to strands of the genetic DNA that spell out the sequence of chemical bases in the RNA. Scientists can fish various messenger RNA's out of the souplike interior of the cell by employing the DNA that produced them as a sort of magnet. That enables the researchers to determine whether a particular protein was produced by the cell's DNA or by the viral DNA. In this way, the association of a specific virus with a specific cancer can be established.

FROM THE EDGE OF LIFE

Certainly viruses are not the sole suspects in human cancers. Chemicals and radiation can also induce cancers. So, apparently, can disruptions in the intricate regulatory mechanism of the body. Hormonal imbalances, metabolic alterations brought about by the process of aging, defects in the body's immunological defense systems—all can create susceptibility to cancer. Cancer, in other words, is probably a disease of the organism as much as it is a disease of the regulatory mechanism of the cell. At the root of cancerous transformations may well be a combination of various interacting factors. But it may be that cancer never occurs without the presence of one crucial factor, viral genes incorporated in the chromosomes of the cell. When mice that normally have a low incidence of leukemia and show no presence of viral particles are exposed to x-ray or known cancer-causing chemicals, many of them suddenly start producing leukemia virus particles and later develop leukemia. The chemicals and x-ray thus seem to activate a hidden virus-making mechanism. Injected into healthy mice, these particles will cause leukemia. On the other hand, healthy mice kept in cages with leukemic mice do not get leukemia.

But while the mechanism of the causation is far from simple and straightforward, it is well established by now that a virus is a causal agent in at least some mammalian cancers. In the laboratory more than a hundred different viruses have been observed to transform cells in culture (including human cells) or cause cancers of different types when injected into animals. A few cancers in wild animals are known to be caused by viruses. When scientists begin to detect similar virus particles in cancerous tissues of human beings, suspicion naturally mounts that viruses are responsible for these cancers.

Viruses are among the strongest of all biological entities. They bridge the gap between the nonliving and the living worlds. Outside a cell, a virus particle is as inert as a rock. It comes to life only inside a cell. Viruses have all sorts of shapes. Some experimental animal-cancer viruses currently under intensive study are icosahedral particles, with twenty triangular faces. Other viruses, such as influenza, look like balls of cotton. Certain bacterial viruses are shaped somewhat like tennis rackets, while particles of the tobacco-mosaic virus look roughly like cigarettes. Whatever its shape, a virus particle consists of a core of genetic material, either DNA or RNA, usually enclosed in a coat of protein. A virus particle is thus a genetic message encapsulated by nature to survive outside the cell.

Virus particles have no means of locomotion, and when they enter an organism they are bumped around in the body fluids. Some particles become attached to cell surfaces and then enter the cells, shedding all or most of their protein coats as they do so.

GENETIC DYNAMITE

Scientists have made some imaginative attempts to explain why certain viruses produce cancer—and why viruses exist at all. One such hypothesis was recently proposed by Howard Temin, a young biologist at the University of Wisconsin. In Temin's vision

of what goes on, there exists in the genetic system of cells a region of DNA whose job it is to transmit genetic information from cell to cell, mainly during the embryonic development of an organism. Temin calls this gene system a "provirus." In normal development of the organism, the DNA provirus of a cell would act as a sort of template for the synthesis of an RNA copy of itself. The RNA copy—not enclosed in a coat like a full-grown virus—would then enter another cell and there act as a template for a synthesis of a DNA copy of itself. This DNA copy would then become incorporated into a chromosome of the second cell, imparting to it properties of the first cell.

If Temin is right, the provirus is genetic dynamite, for it possesses the genes that control the multiplication of a cell. According to Temin's hypothesis, damage to provirus genes leads to cancer, or at least certain types of cancer. When the provirus is altered, or abnormally incorporated, its genes start altering the cell's responses to growth controls. This hypothesis may explain why such diverse factors as viruses, chemicals, and radiation all can produce cancer cells of similar types. Viral genes that penetrate a cell may have a special chemical affinity for the provirus region, and the damage may be concentrated there. Chemicals and radiation may similarly affect the provirus. Some cells are killed, while others survive with their provirus genes damaged. In Temin's hypothesis, then, cancer is not a purpose of the provirus but an accidental effect. He views disease-causing viruses as abnormal variants of the provirus particles.

Somewhat similar to Temin's is an older hypothesis put forward by Robert J. Huebner and George Todaro of the National Cancer Institute. They suggest that the cells of all or most vertebrates may carry as part of their evolutionary inheritance a normally suppressed set of "oncogenes," or cancer genes. In this hypothesis, these genes can produce cancer when subjected to abnormal stimulation.

In either hypothesis, cancer viruses would not normally be spread from organism to organism, the way common contagious diseases caused by viruses are spread. But neither could cancer viruses, with rare exceptions, be controlled by conventional vaccines. If viral genes are part of the cell, a vaccine—a weakened or killed virus—would not be recognized as foreign, and the body would mobilize no immunological defenses against it.

In the search for new understanding of cancer, two DNA viruses have proved especially useful. They are known as polyoma and Simian Virus 40 (SV40). Polyoma was first isolated in mice and found to produce many different cancers in laboratory animals; hence its name, which means "many tumors." SV40 was first isolated from the kidney of a monkey. The two viruses are nearly identical in size and properties and are the smallest and simplest of all known cancer viruses—each has at the most only ten genes. Particles of these viruses are so small, in fact, that about 30 million viral particles would fit into a space no larger than the period at the end of this sentence.

The discovery of polyoma and SV40 about ten years ago sharply accelerated cancer research. Scientists soon showed that viral genes greatly stimulate the synthesis of DNA. Normally, the start of DNA synthesis in the cell signals the beginning of the cycle that leads to cell division. Most of the body's cells are quiescent most of the time. Their DNA synthesis is restrained by internal factors in the cell, by substances in intercellular fluid such as hormones, and by contact inhibition, or by their proximity to neighboring cells. In cancer cells these controls are decisively weakened. Other differences between normal and transformed cells soon came to light. Particularly interesting was the discovery of

an antigen on the surface of tumor cells. An antigen is a foreign substance, often a protein, whose presence calls forth the production of defensive molecules called antibodies. Experiments in Sweden and in the U.S. revealed that an animal given a mild dose of polyoma or SV40 develops an immune response that can kill cancer cells encountered later in life. The findings supported the suspected viral involvement in cancer—the viruses produced the same antigen in different species of animals, thus indicating that the same agent was at work.

To relate the transformation of cells to particular viral genes, researchers made use of temperature-sensitive mutant viruses. A whole range of such mutants can be produced, each with one malfunctioning gene, or, more precisely, with a protein that does not work properly when the temperature of the transformed cells is raised above a certain point. In 1965, Michael Fried at Cal Tech isolated a mutant polyoma virus that was sensitive to heat in its ability to replicate. At 88 degrees Fahrenheit, the virus produced either transformation or productive infection (in which virus particles are made without turning the cell cancerous), depending on the type of cell. But when Fried tried to introduce the virus into normal cells at 102 degrees, it could neither produce copies of itself nor transform the cells.

Now that there seemed to be little doubt that a viral gene kicked off cancerous transformation, work began in a number of laboratories to find out if a viral gene has to keep producing some substance to maintain the malignant state. An alternative possibility was that viruses acted in a hit-and-run fashion, that once the viral genes initiated the carcinogenic process, they were no longer needed to maintain it. In that case, viral involvement in cancer would be difficult to prove. Worse still, the hit-and-run mode of viral operation would have impaired the chances of trying to control cancer at the molecular level.

The strenuous search for a mutant that would show the need for continuous operation of a viral gene finally paid off late last year. Walter Eckhart, a member of Dulbecco's team, studied some mutants developed earlier, and found that one of them, called ts-3, had the properties he was looking for. It transforms cells at 89 degrees but fails to do so at 102 degrees. What's more, when the transformed cells are heated to 102 degrees, and kept at that temperature for a few days, they start losing the typical roundness of cancer cells, flatten out, and become normal in their functions again. But lowering the temperature to 89 degrees turns these cells cancerous again. The higher temperature obviously inactivated a substance, produced or altered by a polyoma gene, that was directly responsible for maintaining the cancerous state.

These findings were confirmed by experiments with the other large group of viruses, and may be more directly related to some human cancers. Working with an RNA virus that causes cancer in chickens, Peter Vogt at the University of Washington and G. Steven Martin, a young British virologist who was then a visiting scientist at Berkeley, independently found a temperature-sensitive mutant that serves as an on-off switch for transformation of cells. Martin thinks that the cancer-producing substance is probably an enzyme; enzymes are particularly sensitive to heat damage. It is likely that a number of intermediate steps are involved between the production of a substance by the viral gene and cancerous transformation. One possibility is that the viral substance alters a normal cell protein or enzyme, and that the altered protein's malfunction leads to cancer.

UPSETTING THE CENTRAL DOGMA

The great mystery about RNA tumor viruses until last year was how they replicated

in the cell. It had been clear that they worked differently from noncancerous RNA viruses such as polio. Upon entering a cell, the polio RNA goes directly to the ribosomes, which read the message and translate it into proteins and enzymes as if it were the cell's own messenger RNA. These viral proteins are then assembled with the viral RNA into complete viral particles, ready to leave the cell again. Cancer-causing RNA viruses, in contrast, establish a stable relationship with the cell; their genetic material is passed from one cell generation to another just as with DNA cancer viruses. In other words, RNA cancer viruses seem to act like DNA cancer viruses, in that they appear to incorporate their genetic material into a cell's chromosomes. To do that, however, the RNA viruses would have to violate what has been called molecular biology's "central dogma," which says that DNA made RNA and RNA made protein.

A number of scientists speculated that reverse transcription, or flow of information from RNA to DNA, must be at work in the RNA cancer viruses. Then last year occurred one of those episodes in science where two investigators make the same discovery almost simultaneously. Howard Temin at Wisconsin and David Baltimore at M.I.T. found evidence that reverse transcription does indeed underlie the replication of RNA cancer viruses. The discovery involved finding an enzyme that helps reverse the flow of genetic information. While in normal transcription a portion of the master chemical DNA is transcribed into an RNA message by a DNA gene, the Temin-Baltimore enzyme, "reverse transcriptase," takes a message (RNA) and makes a gene (DNA) out of it.

Their finding turned conventional biological thinking upside down. It not only indicated that the flow of information from DNA to RNA was a two-way street, but also implied the existence of a reliable test by which RNA cancer viruses might be identified, since only the RNA cancer viruses relied on the reverse flow of genetic information.

Recent evidence indicates that the enzyme capable of reverse transcription in the test tube also is found in normal embryonic and regenerating cells, where it might be involved in basic life processes such as differentiation, development of memory, and other functions. Widespread occurrence of the "reverse transcriptase" enzyme would support Temin's protovirus hypothesis. Recently isolated inhibitors of the enzyme will soon be tested on patients at the National Cancer Institute in the hope that they will become a harbinger of a new molecular treatment of cancer.

THE DYNAMIC SHEATH

There are other points at which it may be possible to disrupt the mechanism of cancer. After the structure and the exact function of the cancer-causing substance are determined—a task Watson has set for his team—specific drugs could be designed to counteract it and thus enable the cell to return to its normal state.

Another point of attack might be the membrane of the cancer cell. There is a direct connection between the membrane and the cancer-causing substance whose presence has been demonstrated through the use of mutant viruses. Renato Dulbecco, Walter Eckhart, and Max Burger, a Princeton biochemist, recently showed that at the high temperature, when the product of the temperature-sensitive cancer gene is not working, the surfaces of the virus-infected cells are the same as those of normal cells. But when the cancer protein or enzyme goes into action at the lower temperature, the cell surfaces acquire the characteristic features of cancer cells. Among these features are exposed "binding sites," as they are called. Such sites exist in normal cells, too, but they are normally covered up and appear only during cell division. Burger has proposed that surface alterations in dividing cells, both normal and cancerous, serve as signals that set off synthe-

sis of DNA in the nucleus. That, in turn, leads to cell division.

As a result of these and other studies, the cell membrane is now being viewed as a much more complex structure than it had been thought to be. Says Gerald Edelman, a young biochemist at Rockefeller University who is mapping the surface of the cancer cell: "We can now conceive of the membrane as not so much a structure but maybe a mosaic, a code—a dynamic sheath in which specific molecules are sticking out and moving about. We are just beginning to investigate the relationships between them."

The structure of the membrane is of tremendous importance to immunology because the body's defenders against disease—antibodies and lymphocytes—interact with the cancer cell at its surface. Edelman, who two years ago deciphered the structure of an immunity molecule, is now working with proteins derived from green plants. These substances bind cancer cells into clumps, apparently by locking together the millions of cellular binding sites. By using the plant proteins to study the distribution of binding sites, researchers will be able to get a clearer idea of how a cancer cell can best be attacked with specially designed drugs. These may come long before the events inside the cell are fully understood.

ON THE TRACK OF A CANCER SUSPECT

The story of how one virus was tracked down as a strong suspect in human cancers spans more than a decade and involves the efforts of scientists on four continents. This suspect belongs to a group of common herpes viruses. One of them produces cold sores, another is responsible for chicken pox. In nature, herpes-type viruses are believed to cause malignant tumors in frogs and chickens.

As long ago as 1904, a British doctor in Uganda described a case of a malignancy of the jaw in a child. It was not until 1958, however, that the widespread character of the disease was recognized. Denis Burkitt, a British surgeon in Uganda, sent doctors and hospitals in central Africa copies of a leaflet describing the tumor and showing pictures of afflicted children. Burkitt then followed up his survey with a 10,000-mile safari. With two colleagues he visited more than fifty hospitals. The tumor, he found, occurred in heavy-rainfall areas all across equatorial Africa. At first he thought a mosquito might be spreading a cancer-causing virus. But the tumor, now known as Burkitt's lymphoma, was found to occur infrequently in children in other parts of the world, including the U.S., Great Britain, and New Guinea. Even so, Burkitt still thinks that in Africa a mosquito may be involved, though indirectly. Malaria, that is, may predispose many African children to the tumor by damaging their lymphoid tissue.

ONE OF THOSE FORTUNATE ACCIDENTS

After Burkitt published his findings, the Imperial Cancer Research Fund dispatched a team to Uganda to try to isolate the suspect virus. In electron-microscope photographs, they spotted the herpes virus. But because the cold-sore herpes occurs so widely, they concluded that the virus they found probably had nothing to do with Burkitt's lymphoma.

Identification of a virus closely associated with Burkitt's lymphoma came about chiefly through the persistence of another British physician, M. Anthony Epstein. In cultivated tumor cells, Epstein found particles that were somewhat smaller than the known herpes viruses. Gertrude and Werner Henle of the Children's Hospital in Philadelphia subsequently showed that the newly found virus was different in its immunological properties from other herpes viruses. By that time, the particles had been spotted in tissues obtained from Burkitt's tumors in other parts of the world as well. The virus has come to be known as the Epstein-Barr virus. (Barr was Epstein's laboratory assistant.)

The mere presence of a viral particle does not imply a causative role for it; viruses often are found in human tissues as harmless "passengers." Since suspect viruses cannot be injected into people, there is no way of proving through controlled experiment that a virus causes a human cancer. Still, powerful new research techniques (see the accompanying story) now strongly implicate the Epstein-Barr virus not only in Burkitt's lymphoma but also in a cancer of the postnasal area and in that widespread nonmalignant disease of young people, infectious mononucleosis.

The virus was linked to mononucleosis through one of those fortunate accidents that seem to dominate the history of medicine. The Henles had routinely tested the blood of a young woman, a laboratory technician, for antibodies against the Epstein-Barr virus. The girl's system was not producing such antibodies. Shortly afterward, however, she came down with mononucleosis, and then her blood contained antibodies to the virus. The Henles went on to test a large number of college students. Those who had shown no clinical signs of mononucleosis had no antibodies against the virus. But those who later developed clinical signs of mononucleosis started producing large quantities of antibodies.

HORIZONTAL HOPES

Bits of evidence kept piling up. The Henles showed that patients with Burkitt's lymphoma and the postnasal cancer also make large amounts of antibody to the virus. Even more persuasively, George Klein, of the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm, showed that the Epstein-Barr virus induces cancer cells to make an antigen that appears on the surface of cells of Burkitt's lymphoma, and that this antigen-inducing property passes from one viral generation to another. The viral information that appears to be integrated in the cellular control mechanism—a hallmark of a cancer virus.

There is a good possibility that the Epstein-Barr virus can spread horizontally (from organism to organism like any other infectious virus), as well as vertically (from cell to progeny cell). So it may be possible to attack the virus with a vaccine. It should work against all three diseases—the two cancers and mononucleosis. Preliminary work on a vaccine has begun under government contract at Pfizer and Merck.

BPW'S SALUTE TO WOMEN

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has recently completed a weeklong observance of National Business Women's Week, an occasion designed to dramatize the outstanding achievements and countless contributions of women to the business and professional life of the Nation.

As a longtime member of a Business and Professional Women's Club and as a former State legislative chairman of the New Jersey federation, I am especially pleased to bring this significant occasion to the attention of our colleagues in the House. I am proud, too, to add that no affiliation with any organization has brought me more satisfaction and greater personal reward, both in terms of the organization's achievements and of lifelong friendships with wonderful people, than has my association with BPW.

The BPW's "Salute to Women" this year comes at a particularly opportune time—just a matter of days, in fact, after this House for the second time in 2 years passed the equal rights amendment to the U.S. Constitution. No organization in America has worked harder or more effectively on behalf of this vital effort to win for women their long denied right to equality under the law than has the National Federation of Business and Professional Women and their many State and local affiliates. The encouraging victory we won in the House belongs in no small part to the dedication and perseverance of BPW women in New Jersey and throughout the country.

Because I shared so deeply the convictions of my fellow members of BPW about this great issue, the equal rights legislation was one of the first bills I introduced after being elected to Congress.

It is reminiscent, too, of another great legislative victory won by business and professional women—the enactment, after many years of struggle, of equal pay for women legislation at both the State and Federal levels. Here, also, I was privileged to work closely with BPW women, both in Trenton as author of New Jersey's Equal Pay Act and in Washington as a sponsor and active supporter of national equal pay legislation.

Our collaboration, Mr. Speaker, has continued to be fruitful during the years of President Nixon's administration. The federation has strongly supported my efforts to persuade the President to take affirmative action on the many forms of discrimination which afflict women. A distinguished former president of the federation, Virginia R. Allan, served as chairman of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Opportunities, which produced an excellent report and recommendations that continue to serve as guidelines to needed action.

The strength and effectiveness of the federation, as with most national organizations, depends on leadership and participation at the State and local levels. In this respect, we in New Jersey have been especially fortunate. Our State federation presently boasts an active membership of 3,500 women. And our State president, Mrs. Mildred C. deSimone of Millington, has given the State federation the kind of imaginative and creative leadership that has come to be a tradition in New Jersey.

Mr. Speaker, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has prepared a fact sheet about the organization which I am sure will be of considerable interest and utility to our colleagues and I include it herewith as a part of my remarks in the RECORD.

BPW HIGHLIGHTS

Founded: The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc. was founded in 1919 as an outgrowth of the previous year's meeting of the War Work Council of the YWCA. To enable a broader peacetime program, the Federation was incorporated in 1921.

Objectives: To elevate the standards for women in business and in the professions; to promote the interests of business and professional women; to bring about a spirit of cooperation among business and professional women of the United States; to extend opportunities to business and professional women through education along the

lines of industrial, scientific and vocational activities.

Membership: BPW has approximately 180,000 members. Membership is open to all women who are actively engaged in business or the professions, upon invitation from a local club. Clubs are in operation in every U.S. Congressional District, with more than 3850 local clubs under 53 state federations, including all 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

"Nike" Emblem: The emblem is the Nike, Winged Victory of Samothrace. It was selected in 1921 because it symbolized progress, to which the Federation is dedicated. The emblem also includes the Wand; the Winged Staff of Mercury; the Torch of Wisdom; the Scroll; and the Ship of Commerce.

Publication: National Business Woman is the official magazine of the National Federation.

Congress of Career Women Leaders: The Congress of Career Women Leaders is sponsored by the National Federation. National organizations serving career women are invited to send delegates to this meeting for discussions that center on the future of the working woman and her organizations. The first Congress was held in Washington, D.C. in October, 1962 and the eighth Congress will be held in Washington, D.C. in October, 1971.

International Federation: The National Federation is a member of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women formed at Geneva, Switzerland, in August, 1930, as an outgrowth of BPW-sponsored goodwill tours. Austria, Canada, France, Italy, Great Britain and the United States were the first member countries. By 1939 there were 24 clubs, and at the beginning of this decade, there were 28 member clubs and 14 associate clubs. The Twelfth Triennial International Congress will be held in Edmonton, Canada in 1971.

Legislative Conference: The National Federation sponsors a Legislative Conference biennially in Washington, D.C. to give BPW members the opportunity to meet their legislators and to discuss current legislation. The conferees attend seminar sessions on topics of special interest to BPW members, tour one or more government departments or agencies, and meet informally with their U.S. Senators and Representatives.

National Business Women's Week: Since 1928, a week has been set aside each year for observance of National Business Women's Week. During the third full week of October, clubs and state federations spotlight the contributions made by women in all phases of economic, social, cultural, business, and professional life. The 1971 National Business Women's Week will be observed October 17-23.

National Convention: The National Convention is held annually, each year in a different region. In addition to giving members a voice in the National Federation's future, it affords members the opportunity to meet one another. The 1970 Convention was held in Hawaii, the 1971 Convention will be in Cleveland, Ohio, and the 1972 Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Nike and Samothrace Clubs: The Nike Club for high school girls and the Samothrace Club for college women resulted from the Federation's desire to help young women prepare for their future roles in the business and professional world. The clubs are organized and sponsored by local BPW clubs whose members share their knowledge and leadership with Nike and Samothrace members.

State Commissions on the Status of Women: In 1963, Dr. Minnie C. Miles (1962-1963 National President), Virginia R. Allan (1963-64 National President) and Esther Peterson of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, met with President Kennedy to encourage the creation of State Commissions on the Status of Women. With his endorsement, the state federations sug-

gested to governors that the commissions be created. BPW members assisted in organizing the commissions, and they continue to work with them and their various committees. Commissions have been established in all 53 state federations.

Women in policy-making positions: Since its founding, the Federation has been vitally interested in the appointment of women to policy-making positions. In 1964, a nationwide talent search was launched to develop a "womanpower" pool of highly qualified people to fill top jobs in the federal government. A resolution was passed at the 1969 National Convention calling for the organization to petition President Nixon "to make generous use of the talents available to him and his administration by significant appointments of qualified women to high level, policy-making, advisory, judicial and executive posts." Since then the Federation has intensified efforts to propose and endorse women for policy-making positions by establishing a "Talent Bank" to seek names of women who could qualify for top federal positions.

Business and Professional Women's Foundation: Since its founding in 1919, the National Federation has worked to expand educational opportunities for women and to support research on working women's problems and possible solutions. In 1956, to meet the need for increased activity in these areas, the Federation established the Foundation as a tax-exempt educational corporation to serve all working women.

The Foundation library fills requests for up-to-date information on working women. A unique tape collection records the voices of prominent women. A bibliography is published yearly on various subjects affecting working women. Periodic surveys determine the problems and the progress of employed women. Research grants enable scholars to study the world's career women, and fellowships are awarded by the Foundation for graduate study. The newest scholarship, the Career Advancement Scholarship, permits women to continue their education or training so they will be eligible for employment or will be prepared for advancement in a business or profession. Other activities include seminars and conferences.

A portion of each BPW member's dues goes to the Foundation's support. Other financial support comes from bequests, contributions, grants, legacies, gifts of property and life insurance.

Fifty years of progress: To quote President Richard Nixon, "For fifty years this fine organization has given leadership and direction to the American woman, and enhanced her partnership in the progress of our society. Its mark on history is perhaps best defined by the accomplishments of the women whom it has encouraged and supported."

In this era and those to come, the National Federation pledges continuing service to all employed women of this great nation.

THE FOREIGN AID REVIVAL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, to most Americans, defeat of the foreign aid bill went down in history as the most responsible action by the Senate in many a day. That is if that body does not recant and revise the funneling of U.S. tax dollars into the international Socialist movement through newly devised procedures and operations by the old shell game with

just new titles and without the knowledge of the American people.

A week before the Senate defeat of the foreign aid bill there was talk of ending the itemization of foreign aid grants and substituting a new pretext of estimation and approximation. Apparently, public opinion has become so unfavorable to the continued squandering of the drained off wealth of the American people that the international experts have felt that new people fooling procedures were needed when the foreign aid bill as such was killed, which even they realized was merely a matter of time under public opinion dissatisfaction.

Any blueprint for the new foreign aid program can be expected to follow the 400-page report commissioned by World Bank President Robert S. McNamara as "a new approach for aid for the 1970's."

In short, U.S. foreign aid will be handled through international banking institutions rather than through a politically responsive Congress.

The recently extended Export Import Bank bill, H.R. 8181, should serve as an example of what is to come. The Bank's obligations were exempted from the debt ceiling limitation as well as removed from the combined budget of our country.

How the people's money and credit are used is none of the people's business. The people be hanged so long as the internationalists carry out their blueprint.

For background reference, I include my remarks of January 16, 1969; September 24, 1969; October 6, 1969; and October 8, 1969, as follows:

FOREIGN AID: A SHELL GAME

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the taxpayers' resentment against the wasteful extravaganzas called foreign aid has all but driven the program underground. A con artist's reflex would be that what the people do not see or keep up with, they will not worry about.

So foreign aid is now passé—the giveaway program must be dressed up; that is, revitalized for easier acceptance by the public as a responsible program for the new President.

The question is: Will it be different, or merely the same Fabian redistribution of the wealth by different people, using a new approach to be called "loans to the poorest countries," utilizing Mr. McNamara's World Bank.

Yet, this ambitious program commits the U.S. taxpayers' dollars to 40 percent of the aid loans given to "poorest nations."

Why such minimal publicity to the terms and interest rates and what countries are eligible? Who will define a "poorest country?" By what criterion? Mr. McNamara?

Will foreign aid be "revitalized," or like a shell game using sleight of hand merely be passed on to the American people under a different name?

Mr. Speaker, I include Richard Halloran's two articles from the Washington Post for January 10 and 12, 1969, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 10, 1969]

NIXON URGED TO REVITALIZE FOREIGN AID (By Richard Halloran)

A presidential advisory committee of influential bankers, businessmen, educators, and prominent private citizens yesterday urged President-elect Nixon "to reorganize and revitalize U.S. development assistance" to foreign nations.

The committee, chaired by Cornell University President James A. Perkins, warned that "in America today a mood of malaise and

withdrawal is enfeebling U.S. development assistance efforts."

A committee report said that "reestablishment of the U.S. role as a pace setter in peaceful development cooperation is a historic imperative."

The essential condition for strengthening the U.S. development assistance program," the committee said, "is that the new President commit himself to it as a key instrument of his foreign policy."

NIXON NONCOMMITTAL

Mr. Nixon so far has been somewhat non-committal on his foreign aid views. He has said: "Neither abroad nor at home can we expect our civilization to be secure in a sea of angry exiles."

But he has also indicated that he intends to be selective. "Let us help our friends who help themselves," he has said, "but let us not help any who help our enemies."

The presidential committee, appointed by President Johnson in March 1965, includes Ford Foundation Vice President David E. Bell, a former aid administrator; former World Bank President Eugene R. Black; Tuskegee President Luther H. Foster; Rockefeller Foundation President J. George Harrar; Notre Dame University President Theodore M. Hesburgh; and Hewlett-Packard President William R. Hewlett; associate of Undersecretary of Defense-designate David Packard.

Bank of America President Rudolph A. Peterson, Chase Manhattan Bank President David Rockefeller, and Columbia Broadcasting System President Frank Stanton.

LABOR NOT INCLUDED

AFL-CIO President George Meany and Communications Workers of America President Joseph A. Beirne disassociated themselves from the report. There was no public explanation why.

The committee recommended that Mr. Nixon adopt a seven-point program.

The first called for a "streamlined successor to the present Agency for International Development," possibly to be called the Development Cooperation Fund. It should be authorized, the committee said, to make long-term loans on liberal terms for capital assistance, to grant funds for technical assistance, and to make grants for reconstruction and emergencies.

The committee recommended that three present features of AID policy be carried forward—comprehensive country analyses and encouragement of self-help, integration of capital and technical assistance, and coordination of agricultural assistance with other aid.

Secondly, the committee urged that contributions to multilateral agencies be expanded as rapidly as they can handle it. "The U.S. should welcome the leadership of a strengthened World Bank" the report said.

LIMITED MILITARY AID

The separation of military from development assistance was the committee's third recommendation. Further, it urged that military assistance be limited to countries where there is an emergency and then only for a limited period.

The committee's fourth suggestion was the establishment of an Overseas Investment Corporation to take over investment guarantee and investment promotion functions from AID.

The new corporation would also "undertake new initiatives for more rapid extension of private investment in less developed countries." Mr. Nixon has strongly endorsed this principle.

The committee fifthly, recommended that U.S. support focus on assistance in agriculture, population control, strengthening scientific and professional institutions, education, and broadening popular participation in development.

The report's sixth point strongly urged that funds for economic aid be restored at

least to the share of national income reached in 1965, before the foreign aid program was slashed. It said further that the U.S. should "expand assistance in the future as our income and tax revenues rise."

Lastly, the committee called for long-term innovations, including more access to funds from the International Monetary Fund, the International Development Association, and the World Bank.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Jan. 12, 1969]

WORLD BANK SET TO PUSH AID FOR POOR NATIONS

With economic aid efforts among the richer nations faltering, the World Bank will be among the main, perhaps the major, sources of aid to developing nations this year.

Robert S. McNamara, former Secretary of Defense who became Bank President last March, has set an ambitious program. He has spent his first months in office feeling his way along, formulating procedures, reorganizing the bank staff, trying to open up new sources of capital and turning the bank into new functions related to development.

Now, having been on the job for almost a year, he is ready to push ahead, aides say. In contrast, American economic assistance programs are a question mark, as are those of other advanced nations.

President-elect Nixon has been cautious in comments on aid. The mood of the Congress promises to be no more enthusiastic than it has been the past couple of years when it cut the relatively modest aid proposals of the Johnson Administration.

AID NEED MOUNTS

Yet, the need for huge amounts of economic aid appear to be mounting in geometric proportion. The English novelist and scholar Lord C. P. Snow, said in a recent speech a sea of famine in less developed nations will put the richer nations in a state of siege by the end of the century.

He foresaw this unless richer nations make concerted efforts to assist poor countries, the poor countries revolutionize their agricultural production and the enormous rise in world population be checked.

Among the foremost tasks of the World Bank, officials say, is to make the rich nations, and particularly their financiers, realize the enormity of their developmental problem and how it is in their best interests to attack it vigorously.

CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

This will require some changes—a widening, perhaps—in outlook, getting away from the strictly investment-return attitude and undertaking projects that may be riskier than those in past years.

One official uses the city of Calcutta as an analogy. It has about 35 per cent of Indian real capital but is in grave danger of being choked to death because of the starvation and poverty surrounding it.

If the owners of this real wealth do nothing about over-all economic development, they stand to lose everything.

Some responsibility for persuading the richer nations of the magnitude of the problem and the urgent need for large-scale action will fall on the Pearson Commission.

Organized by McNamara in 1968, it is headed by former Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson. It is making a long-range study how young nations develop to mark out guidelines that will be valid to the end of the century.

During 1969, the Bank intends specifically to determine whether it can raise more funds in world capital markets, and be less dependent on the U.S. This has already started with a loan last fall from West Germany.

The Bank will be looking at capital sources in other European countries and Japan. The Bank borrowed \$1.63 billion, for a net in-

crease (after repayments) of available funds totalling \$600.6 million.

The Bank will try to increase the figures, though it declines to say how much, in 1969. McNamara said he wants to double the Bank's lending by 1973. In 1967 it lent \$1.224 billion.

Another major problem is replenishment of funds for the International Development Association (IDA), the Bank's arm for long-term, low or nominal interest loans to the poorest countries, as opposed to the more conventional, stricter terms of the Bank itself.

IDA is running low on funds and 18 countries have promised to put up \$1.2 billion to refill the coffer. Of this, the U.S. is committed to 40 per cent. Congress, however, has not appropriated the money and whether or when it will remain IDA's major concern as it heads into 1969.

Eight other countries have put up their shares without waiting for the U.S. The agreement will remain in effect only if 12 come through and if total pledges come to \$950 billion. The U.S. share is necessary for this.

Still another major concern of the Bank is to discover ways to break strangleholds that stop economical development. Financing projects, says one official, is just not enough. The Bank must find ways to help entire economies to expand.

INTERNATIONAL ASSESSMENTS OR WORLD TAXES

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a cadre of international money manipulators, headed by former Canadian Prime Minister, Lester B. Pearson, has unveiled their interesting plan to assess all industrialized nations at least 1 per cent of the gross national product to assist the World Bank in leveling the wealth of the world by subsidizing unfair economic advantage against productive nations.

Interestingly enough, the figures of the OED for last year indicate that \$12.9 billion was contributed to the wealthy few in countries poorer in comparison by 16 major non-Communist nations.

The full study, which is to be released at the World Bank meeting on October 1, should prove most enlightening; especially their program to use the SDR's, "paper gold," as a source of new funds for the international bankers. The suggestion of multinational corporations to be chartered by the UNO looms as the latest portent in massing power into the hands of an international few. And all of this, of course, under the guise of relieving poverty of nations.

I include herewith a news report from a local paper setting forth the gist of this intriguing world cartel blueprint:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 23, 1969]

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO LAUNCH NEW MOVE TO AID DEVELOPING NATIONS

(By A. D. Horne)

A major effort to renew the industrialized nations' lagging commitment to aid the developing world will be launched here next week by a prestigious international commission headed by former Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson.

The end-product of a year long study, the commission report has attracted intense interest in advance of its publication Oct. 1 during the annual meeting of the World Bank.

The report, early drafts of which have been circulating among government officials who deal with international economic policy, is expected to set forth a new rationale for the developed nations' efforts to channel government funds and private investment to the poorer nations, and to make 80 specific recommendations on ways to increase the effectiveness of such aid.

Sources familiar with the report's contents say the Commission has accepted as a

starting point the 1968 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) target for industrialized nations to send the poorer nations aid and private capital equal to at least 1 per cent of their own gross national product.

Last year, according to Organization for Economic Development figures, the 16 major non-Communist aid-giving countries sent \$12.9 billion to the poor nations, or 0.77 per cent of their own combined GNPs. This percentage has generally declined since 1961, although the 1 per cent target has been widely accepted.

The Pearson Commission, informed sources said, has attempted to make this 1 per cent measure more meaningful by suggesting specific goals within it.

One hint was provided last week by the Commission's West German member, Wilfried Guth, who told a Nobel Foundation conference in Sweden that the report will urge specific allocations for research and education to the poor countries based on each developed nation's budget in this field.

The report is also said to endorse the "Horowitz Plan," advanced by Bank of Israel governor David Horowitz, which would cope with the rising cost of development loans through international subsidies to offset high interest rates to the poorer nations.

Some experts see a significant new source of funds for international development in Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), the "paper gold" which the International Monetary Fund will begin activating next week. The 10 major nations which worked out the SDR system as a safety valve against gold price rises resisted attempts to link the new currency—\$9.5 billion is to be created in three years—with development efforts. The Pearson report, it is understood, will endorse the principle of linking SDRs and development aid, while leaving open whether this should be done through the World Bank's International Development Association or otherwise.

The Commission also will make recommendations in the trade and investment areas. One idea mentioned in the report, although not a recommendation, is United Nations chartering of multinational corporations presumably less vulnerable to expropriation than direct investors.

The report will come at a critical time for the United States, now re-examining its aid and trade policies under domestic and international pressure.

The Pearson report was commissioned by World Bank President Robert S. McNamara in August, 1968. The Commission members—Chairman Pearson, Sir Edward Boyle of Britain, Roberto Campos of Brazil, former U.S. Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon, W. Arthur Lewis of the West Indies, Robert Marjolin of France, Saburo Okita of Japan and Guth—served as individuals, not as representatives of their governments.

WORLD BANK MANIFESTO—INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS' GOALS

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, what Member of this body, to the knowledge of his constituents, would vote to:

First. Permit an international body to assess taxes on U.S. citizens?

Second. Place U.S. foreign aid under an international oversight committee?

Third. Deliberately further retard an already lagging U.S. economy?

Fourth. Turn over to an international body, control of all U.S. business engaged in world trade?

Fifth. Interject bankers into the field of human reproduction and fertility?

Sixth. Discard any consideration of balance of payments, with other countries?

Seventh. Eliminate all protective tariffs on imports?

Eighth. Render this body subservient to an international organization of world bankers?

Yet, if the same objectives and purposes are written in palatable language, thinly disguised and labeled as "progressive," and "mature," and "humanitarian" many will so vote.

The full program of international planning for foreign aid, trade, and investment was proclaimed to the people of the world last week by Robert McNamara, the baron of that financial-industrial complex known as the World Bank.

Mr. McNamara is perhaps best remembered from his preinternational days for his successes with the Edsel automobile, TFX, the war in Vietnam, and for his parting comment—that his greatest achievement as Secretary of Defense was forcibly integrating all military installations and off-base facilities.

Mr. McNamara's vision of a new egalitarian world by increasing taxes from productive peoples, by eliminating waste, mismanagement and corruption, and full implementation of international guidelines will not be reassuring to the American people.

He now complains that despite his efforts, the United States' economy continues to advance too rapidly, therefore his international superintendents must discover new devices to siphon off U.S. capital and investments. Accumulating and retaining profit in any country is regarded—like patriotism and nationalism—as international immorality in the eyes of the World Bank.

The World Bank has sent its 400-page program to the U.S. President and we can expect to be called upon to stamp approval on the world plan to equalize wealth and potential among nations.

Taxpayers in the United States are to be expected to double foreign aid—in the name of relieving world poverty. Tariffs to protect U.S. industry and agricultural products are not to be countenanced by the World Bank.

An intensive public relations program to repeal the Hickenlooper amendment can be anticipated and must be recognized as a power move by the international banker-investment cartel to fully internationalize industrial trade.

On every point of the World Bank recommendations, U.S. interests and sound economy must give way to programs geared only for world redistribution of wealth.

With the good, decent, hard-working, U.S. taxpayers, workers and farmers already reeling from the most severe Socialist retrogression ever thrust upon the American people, the World Bank faces a real challenge to make their destructive ambitions acceptable to the politician, who is answerable to his people at home. Already the American people stagger under the heaviest taxes ever borne by them; inflation continues and worsens; high interest rates and a near unavailability of investment capital already plague the private sector. The industrialist and the farmer, finding their domestic market saturated by cheap foreign imports, already appeal for relief by demanding protection of their livelihood through imposition of duties and tariffs.

Nevertheless, the internationalists with their power to confuse, persuade and maneuver should never be underestimated, and the American people should be watchful to see that their wishes—and not those of the world bankers—are enacted into law.

Mr. Speaker, I include several news reports as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 5, 1969]

A CHALLENGE TO REVERSE CURRENT U.S. TRENDS

(By A. D. Horne)

For the United States, the Pearson Commission report published last week poses an across-the-board challenge to reverse cur-

rent trends in trade, investment and foreign aid policies.

The 400-page report, commissioned by World Bank President Robert S. McNamara in August 1968, will be the starting point for President Nixon's Task Force on International Development headed by Bank of America president Rudolph A. Peterson, which is to present its recommendations for "a new U.S. approach to aid for the 1970s" to the White House next February.

The Pearson task force—nine businessmen, four academics, two lawyers and a cardinal—will have to address itself to the forces which have succeeded in trimming back the flow of American capital to the developing nations: the coalition of budget-cutters trade protectionists and balance-of-payments watchers. Because this the constituency which must be sold on any new policy, and because its own composition reflects this constituency, the task force appears unlikely to call for sweeping changes that will cost money.

Yet it is just such changes that the Pearson Commission has urged. Because most of its 68 formal recommendations flow from the mainstream of the last 10 years' international discussions, conferences and reports, the Commission has disappointed some specialist who had hoped for new ideas. Yet, while the Commission's report may seem conventional, its recommendations call for radical departures from present practices.

TRADE

"Trade is not a substitute for foreign aid," the Pearson report declares, yet "in the long run, only the evolution of their trade with other nations, together with a growing capacity to substitute production for imports, will enable the developing countries to grow without the help of concessional finance."

To expand the developing nations' export earnings—90 per cent of which are based on primary products, and more than 50 per cent of which are based on a single product in nearly half the countries—the Commission recommends:

Elimination of imports levies by the developed nations on "products of special interest" to developing countries, and elimination of quotas now restricting at least 30 per cent of the imports of "manufactures and semi-manufactures" from the developing countries. "The developing countries have every reason to be concerned about the rebirth of protectionist sentiment in some of the major industrial countries."

Creation of the developed nations of "a generalized nonreciprocal scheme of preferences for manufactured and semi-manufactured products from developing countries, including processed goods, before the end of 1970."

TOTAL NET FLOW OF RESOURCES TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND MULTILATERAL AGENCIES

	[In billions of dollars]					
	Average 1950-55	1956	1961	1963	1967	1968
Official development assistance—						
Grants—	1.9	3.3	5.2	5.9	6.6	6.4
Loans—	1.2	1.9	4.5	4.4	4.4	4.1
Private flows—	.5	.5	.6	1.5	2.3	2.4
Total—	1.6	2.9	3.1	2.5	4.2	5.8
Total—	3.5	6.2	9.2	8.6	11.2	12.8

Source: OECD, DAC, unpublished preliminary data for 1968 and earlier annual reviews.

(This goal of trade preferences for the poorer nations has been discussed and endorsed at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, or UNCTAD, in 1964 and 1968.)

Use of foreign aid to create buffer stocks of commodities as protection against sharp price drops. (The Commission warns, how-

ever, that any effort to raise long-term commodity prices by restricting production would only encourage wider use of synthetic substitutes.)

International agreements among the developing nations to reduce multilaterally by the end of 1970 their own tariff barriers against each others' products.

PRIVATE INVESTMENT

The Commission rejects the view, most recently stated by the Latin American nations in the "Consensus of Vina del Mar," that foreign investment takes more out of developing nations than it puts in. "In our judgment," the Commission concludes, "available facts do suggest that direct foreign investment has added substantially to the real national income of developing countries."

While governmental aid remained static through the 1960s, private foreign investment in the developing countries doubled, from \$2.9 billion in 1958 to \$5.8 billion last year. The Commission, seeking ways to promote even higher capital flows to the developing countries suggests:

Foreign investment agreements "involving politically sensitive activities, such as mining and public utilities," should provide for renegotiation after a minimum term.

"Developed countries should, as far as possible, keep aid policy and disputes concerning foreign investment separate." Although not a formal recommendation, this sentence in a paragraph decrying "interventions by the large industrial powers on behalf of their investors," is a polite call for repeal of the U.S. Hickenlooper Amendment.

"Tax concessions to attract foreign companies" should be used sparingly, but developing countries should "strengthen their investment incentive schemes" and "structure their tax systems to encourage profit reinvestment by foreign companies."

Balance-of-payments restrictions hindering bond issues of the developing nations should be eliminated by the developed countries. "We recognize the very great weight of balance-of-payments considerations," the Commission declares, "but . . . we do not consider it acceptable that efforts to help developing countries should be the first casualty . . ."

Private export credits to the developing countries, which reached a level of \$1.3 billion in 1966-68, have "created serious balance-of-payments problems for developing countries" and have been "a major reason" for several debt crises. The danger of export credit finance the Commission warns, is that "it provides a temporarily painless way of financing projects conceived by over-optimistic civil servants, by politicians more concerned with immediate political advantage than with political future economic problems, and by unscrupulous salesmen for the manufacturers of capital equipment in developed countries."

AID GOALS AND TECHNIQUES

The Commission endorses the UNCTAD goal of pegging total flows of public and private capital to the developing world at 1 per cent of the developed nations' gross national products by no later than 1975—an estimated target of \$23 billion compared to last year's total of \$12.8 billion, which represented 0.77 per cent of a combined GNP of roughly \$1700 billion.

"So far this target has had little operational significance" in the main aid-giving countries, the Commission concedes. In part, it suggests, this is because the target makes no distinction between public aid and commercial transactions. It therefore proposes an additional target for official development assistance only—0.7 per cent billion (0.39 per cent of GNP) to \$16.2 of GNP by 1975, to be monitored by the 16 major non-Communist aid-giving nation's Development Assistance Committee (DAC).

This new target would raise total development aid from last year's \$6.4 billion, and

the U.S. share from last year's \$3.3 billion (0.38 per cent) to \$8.2 billion.

(In fact, by 1971 U.S. official aid will have dropped to \$2.8 billion on the basis of decisions already made.)

"The primary purpose of the additional development aid which we are recommending for the 1970s," the Commission says, "should be to help bring as many less developed countries as possible to a level of growth of at least 6 per cent per year" that "would transform the economic outlook in a developing country." (Although GNP statistics in many countries are unreliable, the World Bank credits the developing countries with an average GNP gain of 5 per cent during the 1969s.)

A further goal is to make this 6 per cent growth rate "self-sustaining"—that is to gradually end aid as each country becomes able to maintain its growth without it. "By the year 2000, aid would largely have disappeared."

While finding no support for charges of large-scale "waste, mismanagement or corruption" of aid funds, the Commission concedes that much has been given for the wrong reasons and without "any consistent economic criteria." It outlines a strategy for relating increased aid to economic performance:

Creation of "new multilateral groupings," supported by the World Bank, to "provide for annual reviews of the development performance of recipients and the discharge of aid and related commitments by donors."

Aid-giving nations should try to put appropriations on "at least a 3-year basis," should shift emphasis from individual projects to program aid and should act jointly to end the self-protective "tying" aid to purchase in the donor country.

A minimum of 20 per cent of official aid, roughly double the current ratio, should be channeled through multilateral institutions such as the World Bank group and the special country consortia by 1975.

The World Bank's soft-loan affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA), should be expanded to a \$1.5-billion-a-year level by 1975. (It is currently receiving \$400 million a year.) The flow of contributions to IDA should be regularized, possibly by allocating to it part of the developed nations quotas of the new Special Drawing Right ("paper gold"), or by linking to it interest repayments on past aid loans.

DEVELOPMENT DEBTS

The developing nations now owe the developed nations roughly \$50 billion, and paid debt service charges totaling \$4.7 billion in 1967. If the scope and terms of new loans remains unchanged, the Commission warns, "by 1977 debt service would considerably exceed new lending" in most parts of the developing world.

A factor in this debt crisis is the current hardening of aid terms by donors, both in higher interest rates and in reduced ratios of grants to loans. The Commission hopes for maintenance of the present grant ratio but also backs soft loans for creating "greater awareness of efficiency and development criteria."

It proposes to limit future aid loans to 2 per cent interest (the 1963 U.S. rate, now raised to 3.5 per cent), with 25-40 year maturity and a 7-10 year grace period.

POPULATION, EDUCATION

"No other phenomenon casts a darker shadow over the prospects for international development than the staggering growth of population," the Commission declares. Its main proposal is for the World Bank and World Health Organization to "launch immediately a wide-ranging international program for the direction, coordination and financing of research in the field of human reproduction and fertility control."

In education and research, the Commission recommends:

More aid for new techniques rather than classical methods, and more scholarships for use in the developing countries to halt the "brain drain" that has been accelerated by "indiscriminate scholarship awards for study in advanced countries."

Aid-giving countries outside the United States should earmark 5 per cent of their public research budgets to the problem of developing countries; the U.S., with higher R & D spending, should match the total of the other donors.

THE FUTURE

The Commission calls for several international conferences, including a DAC meeting of "major aid donors and recipients" next year to work out improved aid procedures, and a World Bank conference also in 1970 to "discuss the creation of improved machinery for coordination" of aid, trade and other international economic policy.

Besides the U.S. Peterson task force, a U.N. study headed by Prof. Jan Tinbergen is already in progress, and an international development conference has been convened for next February at Columbia University. While the Pearson Commission has been dissolved, chairman Pearson is likely to find himself busy as the international debate which his report was intended to stimulate begins to take shape.

THE COMMISSION

The eight members of the Commission on International Development were chosen both for personal prestige and for geographical reasons.

Its chairman, former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson of Canada, was selected by President Robert S. McNamara of the World Bank, which financed but did not otherwise control the Commission. Pearson, in turn, then chose the seven other Commission members—five from the five leading aid-giving nations and two to represent the developing world, a deliberate imbalance to forestall dismissal of the Report as just another in a series of pleas from the poor nations to the rich.

Members from the developed nations are: Sir Edward Boyle of Great Britain, a Conservative member of Parliament and former minister of education; C. Douglas Dillon of the United States, former under secretary of state and treasury secretary; Wilfried Guth of Germany, former German executive director of the International Monetary Fund; Robert Marjolin of France, former vice president of the European Economic Community; and Saburo Okita of Japan, president of the Japan Economic Center.

Members from the developing nations are: Roberto Campos of Brazil, former ambassador to the U.S. and planning minister, and Sir Arthur Lewis of the West Indies, professor of political economy at Princeton University. None of the Commission members speak for their nations.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 5, 1969]

THE PEARSON REPORT: THE END OF AID

A year ago, upon taking office as president of the World Bank, Robert McNamara looked around the world and perceived a crisis of vast dimensions. The rich countries, particularly the United States, seemed to be getting fed up with helping the poor countries, and in turn the poor were becoming increasingly resentful of their inadequate growth and were blaming the lag on the stinginess, if not the malice, of the rich. To Mr. McNamara these trends portended a calamitous combination of economic distress and political tension, and he resolved to act.

Essentially, his hope was to clear the air, that is, to provide the basis of a fresh consensus of rich and poor alike, in order to narrow the economic and political gaps between them. And so he picked up a proposal originally made by his predecessor, George Woods, for a "grand assize" of world development. To carry it out, he turned to former Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pear-

son, who worked up a commission and began picking the best development brains available. The Pearson Commission report came out last Wednesday.

The Pearson Report is 400 pages long, including appendices. It reads like . . . well, like a long report; no one is apt to confuse it with *Portnoy's Complaint*. Its purpose is to build confidence in international cooperation to bring about effective evolutionary change. Its basic economic premise is that, in a world of alarming discrepancies in economic capacity, no country's poverty can be eased by its own efforts alone. Its political premise is that, in a world shrunk to "village" size, no country's affluence can be safeguarded for long if its neighbors are in distress. This is the new post-imperialist internationalism; it cannot be denied.

As befits a project with a hortatory purpose, the Pearson Report is positive and upbeat (and therefore controversial) both in its assessment of past achievements in development and its forecast of future possibilities. Since it was written not to be admired or even much argued about but to be acted on, its tone is such to stimulate governments, planners and investors, not to offend or discourage them. Hence, in one conspicuous instance of misemphasis, it does not give population control the urgent priority it requires. The report is an establishment pronouncement, not a maverick critique. It pursues economic development, bypassing questions of the desirability or unavailability of radical political and social change.

Development is not the moon; the Pearson Report brings back no hitherto unknown "lunar rocks" in its recommendations. Of these recommendations there are hundreds, not very selectively arrayed. The thrust of all of them is to bring most poor countries to a point where, by the end of the century, they will no longer need aid. Their growth will be "self-sustaining." To accomplish this, the report insists that their growth rate be raised to an average 6 per cent a year, which is a lot. This will require aid donors to give more; the United States Government, relatively a laggard now, will have to double its effort. Recipients will have to perform more efficiently, and to be judged on their performance. Poor countries will have to improve conditions for private investment. Rich countries will have to let the poor sell them more of their goods. The multilateral sources and administrators of aid, like the World Bank and the aid-India club, must be strengthened—to spare rich countries like the United States, and the poor countries they help, the harshest of the political frictions inherent in any face-to-face dealing of patron and client.

For a report like this, its excellence is incidental; implementation is crucial. Like a bee that stings once and dies, the Pearson Commission expires with its report. Implementation falls to others, to governments and to outfits like the World Bank. That means, principally, deciding which of the Pearson recommendations require priority application and organizing an appropriate onslaught. Common humanity and narrow self-interest demand that the job be done. The Pearson Report, clearly and comprehensively, shows how the job can be done. It points a passable way toward the reduction of world poverty and the end of aid.

FOREIGN AID FALLS TO A LOW ESTATE

The widening gap between the developed and developing countries has become a central issue of our time. The effort to reduce it has inspired the nations left behind by the technological revolution to mobilize their resources for economic growth.

It has also produced a transfer of resources on an unprecedented scale from richer to poorer countries. International cooperation for development over the last twenty years has been of a nature and on a scale new to history.

The transfer of resources that gave substance to this international cooperative effort began after the war and increased rapidly in the late 1950s. By 1961, almost \$8 billion, or nearly 1 per cent of the gross national product (GNP) of the high-income, noncommunist nations, was flowing into low-income nations. There were also additional transfers from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

Though after 1961, the total flow failed to grow as rapidly as the economies of the wealthy nations, the absolute level did steadily increase until by 1968 it had reached a total of \$12.8 billion in public and private resources from the noncommunist countries alone.

The experience which we have gained in the last two decades bears out the premise—and the promise—of the effort that has been made. Economic growth in many of the developing countries has proceeded at faster rates than the industrialized countries ever enjoyed at a similar stage in their own history.

The fears that economically underdeveloped parts of the world were incapable of growth, or that their political problems would be so great as to preclude any economic advance, have proved to be unfounded. Many of the developing countries have shown themselves capable of a major development effort.

A SPIRIT OF DISENCHANTMENT

However, international support for development is now flagging. In some of the rich countries, its feasibility, even its very purpose, is in question. The climate surrounding foreign aid programs is heavy with disillusion and distrust. This is not true everywhere. Indeed, there are countries in which the opposite is true. Nevertheless, we have reached a point of crisis.

The question which now arises is whether the rich and developed nations will continue their efforts to assist the developing countries or whether they will allow the structure built up for development cooperation to deteriorate and fall apart. The signs are not propitious.

In the last years of this decade, the volume of foreign official aid has been stagnant. At no time during this period has it kept pace with the growth of national product in the wealthy nations. In fact, the commitments by the United States, which has been much the largest provider of aid funds, are declining. There, and in some other developed countries, we have encountered a spirit of disenchantment.

Some of this is due to the fact that attitudes in donor countries often have been affected by misconceptions and unrealistic expectations of "instant development" when we should have known that development was a long-term process. There has also been strong criticism of waste in the use of aid in the developing countries and complaints that aid activities lead inevitably to entanglement in political conflict and military hostilities in which recipient countries may become engaged.

COMMITMENTS AT HOME

A good deal of lateral aid has indeed been dispensed in order to achieve short-term political favors, gain strategic advantages or promote exports from the donor. Much foreign aid was granted in the 1950s to enable some countries to maintain large armed forces rather than to promote economic growth. In none of these cases was the promotion of long-term development a dominant objective of the aid given.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that hopes of satisfactory development progress were disappointed or that aid given as "defense support" has on occasion led to greater involvement in a deteriorating security situation affecting the recipient country. Nor is it surprising, either, that there should often have been criticism because of misconcep-

tions of what this kind of aid was meant to achieve.

There has also been a lessening of support for genuine development aid, in part at least due to the increasing complexity and seriousness of domestic problems—the deepening commitments to abolish poverty and deal with such questions as civil rights, economic discrimination and urban and environmental problems.

It is not only among the developed countries that the climate has deteriorated. On the developing side, too, they are signs of frustration and impatience. In much of the developing world there is a sense of disillusion about the very nature of the aid relationship.

Our travels and studies have convinced us that we have come to a turning point. On all sides we sense a weariness and a search for new directions.

The period of development cooperation began with a number of presuppositions on both sides. Some—as we have seen—were unrealistic and unfortunate. Development was often seen in new nations as the economic continuation of the political struggle for independence; as an important means of creating a new national identity or of breaking old and restrictive ties. The elimination of alien rule was thought by many to open the way to early and easy prosperity.

The nature of the obstacles which stood in the way of quick results, or the decisions which had to be taken to achieve any results at all, were not always understood. The need for export growth was underestimated, agricultural development was usually neglected. Development was also too often only seen as a consequence of decision-making at the top. The vital need to bring about mass participation in development was at times sacrificed to the enrichment of special groups or individuals.

Donors and recipients alike tended to view the modernization and development of low-income countries as an attempt to repeat the Industrial Revolution in quick time. They focused inordinate attention on individual investment projects and relatively little on the causes and results of stagnation.

Recipients as well as donors also tended to expect too much too soon from aid supplementing the national development effort. A dramatic change in the lives of hundreds of millions of people was expected from a relatively modest flow of resources, much of which was offset by unfavorable trends in the terms of international trade.

WORKING FROM WITHIN

The understanding of these problems, however, has grown. Past approaches have been modified and coordinated and better results are being secured. The developing countries have more and more come to recognize that their economic policies must look outward and strive for competitive strength; that agricultural growth is indispensable in order to raise levels of living for the large majorities of their populations and to provide markets for their growing industries.

The most cumbersome controls have been relaxed, and much more attention is paid to the mobilization and allocation of resources through incentives to individual effort. Above all, it is realized that development must come from within, and that no foreign help will suffice where there is no national will to make the fundamental changes which are needed.

It has become very clear that the impact made by the contribution of resources from outside depends on the efficiency with which the recipient uses his own resources and on his overall economic and social policy. Both sides have learned that cooperation for development means more than a simple transfer of funds. It means a set of new relationships which must be founded on mutual understanding and self-respect.

Good development relations also require

the acceptance of a continuing review of performance on both sides, not dominated by either the donor's or the recipient's immediate political or economic interests or pressures. Aid, to be effective, requires less uncertainty and more continuity that is often the case today. It cannot be disrupted or cut off without harmful results to the recipient's capacity to plan for the future.

Wealth does not entitle a rich and powerful country to dominate another country's national life as a consequence of the aid it may have given. On the other hand, it is impossible for any country to transfer public funds abroad without being able to satisfy its citizens that these funds are being effectively used to reach acceptable development goals and that the receiving countries are making strong efforts of their own to improve their situations. The "development relationship," which is at the heart of efficient aid policy, must be based on a clear division of responsibilities which meets the needs of both parties.

In recent years, the volume of aid has stagnated, the terms have hardened and the conditions have become more restrictive. This is happening at a time when the success of many developing countries has greatly increased their capacity to utilize additional resources effectively. To overcome the obstacles and take advantage of the opportunities for further growth will require that aid, trade and investment policies are integrated in a single strategy which rests firmly upon the performance of the developing countries themselves and the sustained commitment of the richer countries.

[From the Washington Star, Oct. 4, 1969]

SOUTH AFRICA PRESSING THE UNITED STATES FOR COMPROMISE ON GOLD ISSUE

(By Lee M. Cohn)

South Africa is stepping up pressure on the United States to compromise on the role of gold in International Monetary Reserves.

Negotiations between the two countries here this week made little apparent progress, but Nicolaas Diederichs, South Africa's finance minister, told a news conference yesterday that there is "a greater willingness, a greater desire on the part of the Americans to come to some agreement."

U.S. officials concurred that they want to strike a bargain. They scoffed, however, at the idea that South African maneuvers have pushed the United States into a defensive position.

Gold talks took place privately during this week's joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which ended yesterday with the formal approval for creation of a new kind of monetary reserves called Special Drawing Rights (SDRs).

South Africa abstained from the nearly unanimous vote for SDRs, which have been nicknamed paper gold.

The gold issue was sharpened when the United States and other leading countries last year established a two-price system, with monetary gold pegged at \$35 an ounce and the price of gold for industrial and artistic use allowed to fluctuate freely on the market.

A key part of the system is the understanding that almost all newly mined gold is to be sold on the markets not to central banks or the IMF to expand monetary reserves. By compelling sales on the market, the United States hopes to hold the market price down close to \$35.

Creation of SDRs supposedly will make purchases of real gold for reserves unnecessary. The importance of gold as a reserve would diminish gradually as SDRs accumulated.

But South Africa, the world's biggest producer of gold, is resisting and demanding the right to sell some of its gold to central banks and the IMF as a means of holding the market price up.

Diederichs reiterated that South Africa

has sold gold to central banks despite the U.S. position that they should not buy.

Besides direct sales, Diederichs confirmed that South Africa has used IMF transactions to channel gold to central banks of some countries.

Members borrowing South African rands from the IMF, along with other currencies have converted the rands into gold on some occasions. This process helps South Africa unload gold without the risk that additional supplies may depress the market price.

Britain and France reportedly have been among the countries acquiring gold in this manner. U.S. officials played down the size and significance of these transactions, maintaining that they do not imperil the two-price gold system, but they conceded that a clear agreement on South African gold sales would help overcome "suspicions" that the two-price system might be undermined.

Diederichs indicated he believes the ability of South Africa to sell gold to central banks strengthens his bargaining position.

"I see no reason why we cannot carry on in that way," he said.

Negotiations are expected to continue through correspondence and later perhaps in meetings between U.S. and South African officials.

Treasury Secretary David M. Kennedy told a news conference the United States wants to settle the issue but is determined to protect the two-price gold system.

On another question, Kennedy predicted that the next movement of interest rates will be downward but indicated he does not expect a sharp rate decline soon.

Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, the IMF's managing director, told a news conference the two-price system has proved to be workable, and added that South Africa has had no problem in disposing of its gold.

Gold will remain "for quite a while the basic stander of the monetary system," he said.

Schweitzer indicated he has no objection to conversion of rands borrowed from the IMF into gold.

On the forthcoming increase in IMF quotas, Schweitzer said the present \$21 billion total probably will be expanded by about \$7 billion or \$8 billion.

He said he is confident that West Germany will resume supporting the mark within 1 percent of a fixed par value as soon as possible, after temporarily letting the rate float freely in the markets.

Germany's action letting the rate float may take some of the steam out of proposals for making the currency system more flexible, he said.

WORLD BANK CAMPAIGN

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week, I commented on the manifesto which came out of the World Bank Convention here in the District of Columbia—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 6, page H9129.

Itemizing the international bankers' programs, I suggested that no Member, to the knowledge of his constituents, would vote for such proposals.

I further remarked that if the same objectives were written in palatable language, thinly disguised, and labeled as "progressive," "mature," "flexible," and "humanitarian," many would feel constrained to so vote.

Past experience proves that the international bankers use their full power to confuse, persuade, and maneuver the American people to accomplish international aims.

The internationalists erupted into operation almost immediately. Yesterday, I received a leatherbound volume entitled "Economic Foreign Cooperation" which even bears my name, stamped in gold, on the cover. The book explained that underdeveloped nations do not like the word "aid," and henceforth the word "cooperation" should be used when referring to "our economic foreign programs." The book is illustrated with cartoons and

written in a vocabulary and style addressed to about 10-year-olds—apparently the intelligence level that the senders must regard Members of Congress as possessing.

The World Bank coterie, through its former president has also recommended an inducement to Hanoi to end the war earlier; the "inducement" being a cool \$1 billion foreign aid package to Southeast Asia. What Congressman could vote against a billion dollar expenditure—not called "ransom" or "blackmail," but for "peace through economic cooperation?"

The former World Bank head indicates that North Vietnam might be interested in joining international organizations—the Asian Bank, the World Bank.

Mr. Speaker, it becomes more and more imperative that our colleagues become alerted to crafty promotions if they are to continue representing their constituents rather than the predetermined programs of the powerful World Bank cartel.

I insert a news clipping from the Christian Science Monitor:

SOUTHEAST ASIAN AID PACKAGE URGED AS INDUCEMENT TO HANOI (By William C. Selover)

While President Nixon is concentrating on finding an end to the Vietnam war, Eugene R. Black, former World Bank president, has come up with what he thinks is an "inducement" to Hanoi "to end the war earlier."

This "inducement" is a cool billion-dollar aid package to Southeast Asia, designed to spearhead economic development in the area.

Ironically, Mr. Black makes his report, "Alternative in Southeast Asia," published by Praeger, at a time when he is no longer a part of the administration, when public enthusiasm for massive foreign-aid programs is at an all-time low, and when his voice remains largely unheeded.

He started his thankless task back in April, 1965, when President Johnson appointed him special adviser and asked him to come up with a plan for postwar development.

JOHNSON ROLE RECALLED

In his now-famous Johns Hopkins University speech, Mr. Johnson called on Mr. Black to devise a grand plan: "The task is nothing less than to enrich the hopes and the existence of more than a hundred million people," Mr. Johnson said.

He sent Mr. Black and a task force tramping throughout Southeast Asia with a few specific suggestions, spelled out in typical Johnsonian superlatives:

"The vast Mekong River can provide food and water and power on a scale to dwarf even our own TVA.

"The wonders of modern medicine can be spread through villages where thousands die every year from lack of care.

"Schools can be established to train people in the skills that are needed to manage the process of development."

Mr. Black believes that the American presence in Asia must be reduced dramatically following the war. He believes Mr. Nixon's suggestions for postwar Asian policy are valid.

WHAT SUGGESTION MEANS

"In the wake of a cessation of hostilities in Vietnam," he reports, "I think we will have to substitute for an overwhelming American presence a multilateral framework for a policy of regional cooperation."

In other words, he suggests that Americans concentrate on bolstering regional unity—in an area which could thrive on such unification—and at the same time renounce what he calls "our present policy of overinvolvement in the affairs of Southeast Asia."

While such pronouncements are common on Capitol Hill these days, representatives of international finance have not been heard to take such a clear line.

"Everybody's tired of the war," Mr. Black says in his soft Georgia accent. "Businessmen would like to see it over."

He added: "Financial people are worried that we are spending this much money; they would like to see it spent in this country."

In every country Mr. Black visited in East and Southeast Asia, leaders asked the American banker if the United States would lose interest in the area following the war.

REGIONAL COOPERATION

Mr. Black assured them he would be very much surprised if it did. But he hoped continued interest would be in the form of contributions to regional banks and investments in developing projects.

Already, study of the postwar task has resulted in several examples of regional cooperation, including the Asian Development Bank which was an outgrowth of this program. The Mekong committee, according to Mr. Black, is also "extremely active" in making plans for long-term development.

Mr. Black is particularly interested in involving Japan in future regional economic pacts, as well as the Soviet Union, and even North Vietnam. "It is quite possible North Vietnam could benefit from the aid," he says.

"North Vietnam might be interested in joining international organizations, the Asian Bank, the World Bank—they might come in on a multilateral basis."

Furthermore, he said, they might "get power from the Mekong power plants."

But he also warns that it would be a great "setback" to regional cooperation if the Communists won the war. He agrees with the Nixon attempts to gain peace in the area. The lack of support for Mr. Nixon in this country, he says, "is going to make it very difficult to make peace." Those advocating deadlines for unilateral withdrawal, he says, "are playing into the hands of the North Vietnamese."

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

RECYCLING "MYTHS" SHOULD BE EXPLODED

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, recycling has been very much in the press lately. Probably the biggest recycling project anywhere has been going on in my district for years. I refer to the use of waste from sawmills, plywood mills, and logging operations, for the manufacture of pulp and paper.

Years ago my district was studded with sawmill waste burners which burned the slabs, edgings, and other waste which developed from manufacturing rectangular lumber from round logs.

Today, this former waste is a valuable raw material and amounts to well over 70 percent of the material furnished the pulp mills in the Pacific Northwest. In fact, only 19 percent of the raw material for the pulp and paper industry in the Northwest comes from whole trees—and these trees are the low quality trees or thinnings which used to go to waste in the forest.

A great deal of misunderstanding has grown up over the last few months about recycling paper and saving trees. The following editorial by Albert W. Wilson, editor of Pulp and Paper magazine, does a good job of explaining the situation. I commend it for your reading.

RECYCLING "MYTHS" SHOULD BE EXPLODED

(By Albert W. Wilson)

Well-meaning ecologists in hundreds of cities and towns who demand the recycling of waste paper into more paper must get their heads down out of the clouds. They must realize this removes waste paper from our obnoxious, squalid and stinking waste stream for only a short time. However, reflect on the brain power and hundreds of millions of dollars devoted each year for many years to renew and reuse our resources—re-forestation and salvage of wastes, even sawdust and decayed trees. You need no crystal ball to foresee scientific breakthroughs which will not only increase, but upgrade, reuse of waste paper.

RECYCLING BREAKTHROUGHS WILL COME

Consider Newark, N.J. publisher, Richard B. Scudder, who used spare time to study papermaking and find expert assistants until he developed the first successful process for deinking paper to make more quality newsprint. I recall other attempts which failed in Indiana and upper New York. Still our biggest newspapers, loudest and most vitriolic in their attacks on our industry's efforts to conserve, are chewing up trees that take 80 to 120 years to mature. If Connecticut was blanketed by forests, just one such paper could denude it in 30 years. At least one such big newspaper boasts of using deinked paper, but only token amounts. Mills will be found to make any quality of recycled paper if customers are willing to pay for it.

Fred Crysler, executive vice president, Container Corp., head of our industry's Solid Waste Council, warns that it would be wasteful and impractical for government to make all mills install deinking and recycling systems and haul wastes to remote locations. There are mills where forest resources, including waste, are cheaper to use than waste paper. We might double waste paper reuse in 20 years, but if paper production also doubles, it is expected to do just that, municipal wastes will still be 50 percent paper.

WHAT CAN BE DONE WITH WASTE

New methods of incinerating without polluting could be a better answer than making more paper. A longer range solution is to recycle paper by burning to recover energy and CO₂ or recycling paper into building materials or compost. Incinerated refuse also requires much less land fill space. Wood fibers are renewable, biodegradable and tremendously versatile in ways they can be recycled—all based on modification of Nature's own recycling system. This horrifies Sierra Clubbers who want to lock up forests. They can throw the key away, but the forests will die and rot. They grow again but not as healthy as managed forests.

A wise Alabaman told me cutting down

trees is the way to grow bigger and better trees. "Touch-not-Nature" ecologists would ban packages, even refuse grocery bags, and bring back the noxious pollution of all—entrails, skin, bones, other sour wastes which filled garbage cans in the "good old days," now disposed of at process or packaging plants.

BIGGEST HOAX PERPETRATED BY INDUSTRY

Our own industry has perpetrated the greatest of all hoaxes—the fairy tale that every ton of recycled paper saves 17 trees. I was present 16 months ago at the paper industry meeting which birthed this phoney. It spread like wildfire in speeches and editorials by what Look publisher Sheppard calls the Disaster Lobby. Anyway, one or two western trees, not 17, make a ton of pulp or any number in other regions. The 17 trees is like googols of unarguable statistics which some corporations and newsmakers toss off. But for many years 20-22 percent of paper furnished in the United States has been waste paper, not trees. In the Pacific Northwest, mills use 72 percent sawmill-plywood waste; use in the South and East also is substantial. Paper executives complain to me privately that they don't get credit for this salvage of wood wastes which has been going on for 40 years, not for many years of recycling waste paper. This is a far better record than present recycling of only one percent of bottles and aluminum cans.

WHY WE ARE RECYCLING

But the public should realize we are not in the business of "saving" trees per se. What for? Trees die like any other living thing—from old age, disease, blowdown, fire, lightning, even too much shade. Nature continuously changes from an early successional to a climax forest. Weyerhaeuser, for example, is increasing fiber production over 30 percent per acre per year. It will plant 60 million seedlings this year. The Forest Service says 15 percent more land now grows trees than ten years ago, despite urban sprawl, reversion to farms, airports, highways. In large part this is a tribute to the South's Third Forest program. This kind of "savings" is in the public interest. No other industry has paid so much to increase its raw material base for future generations.

CATCH 44

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, on October 8, I spoke before the Massachusetts Broadcasters Association concerning the future of the broadcasting industry as we know it today. One of the challenges I mentioned that the broadcasters will have to deal with is that from the audience who are dissatisfied with one or another aspect of the broadcasting performance. The question as I posed it was how to be responsive to a multitude of demands and still maintain control over the program day.

One of the best solutions to this problem that I have heard of comes from WGBH Educational TV in Boston. This station airs a half-hour show each week-night entitled "CATCH 44." The time is made available, according to David Ives, president of WGBH Educational Foundation:

To any established community group that feels it has something useful to communicate. The program is usually live, but occasionally pre-taped. WGBH supplies production assistance if a group wants it, but

most of those that appear prefer to take care of everything themselves.

Mr. Speaker, WGBH is to be congratulated for their farsighted approach to broadcasting. I would urge all of my colleagues to take a few moments to read the following explanation of "CATCH 44" and the list of some of the groups which have appeared on the program:

CATCH 44

Catch 44 is a revolutionary concept in television programming. It is unusual—unprecedented. WGBH-Boston is the only television station in the country doing it.

Just what is it we're doing? What's the purpose? It's this:

To find a way, while meeting our responsibilities as broadcasters, to give air time without traditional restrictions, to the people of our community. We don't want them to feel suppressed or managed. We do want to give them a sense of freedom—and the responsibility that goes with it.

Here's how—and why—Catch 44 happened.

Until a few years ago, it never really occurred to anyone, except political candidates, that they should have air-time to themselves. But then came participatory politics. As people clamored to be heard, to speak for themselves, they turned to the media. First they went to print, and underground newspapers and magazines sprouted all over the land. TV was the next logical step. And those of us who were running television—although we should have been—were not prepared.

Traditional TV was about—never you. Traditional TV was for the community, never of the community.

Blacks were the first group to demand—and get—air time of their own. The next groups demanding air time were the "radical-hip" people. Then came Kent State and Cambodia. WGBH-Boston planned "crisis-roundtables" around these events—opened programming to help deal with the anxieties and frustrations of our community.

After this, we began to get requests for air time from all kinds of groups. They didn't want debates. They didn't want speaking contests. They wanted to speak for themselves—to reach others like themselves, or to persuade other people to their point of view.

As the requests came in from the Right, women's groups, senior citizens, anti-war groups—we began to detect a pattern. We were hearing from groups and people who felt they were unreflected on TV—their world was neither recognized nor shown.

So we began looking for a formula for "do-it-yourself" television. But we had to ask:

How do we provide for fairness?

How do we prevent unjust personal attacks?

How do we avoid needless offense in matters of taste and language?

How do we guard against having the air-time seized by those who would incite violence?

How do we give time—and at the same time—control it?

The answer is unique in television.

It's CATCH 44. And the rules are what make it work.

Until now, because of broadcast law, whenever members of the public appeared on the air, the professionals have treated them with mistrust. Broadcasters have always had to use "filtering" devices as safe-guards—moderators, reporters, editing, tape delay, rigid formats, and so forth.

But CATCH 44 operates on a basic trust of the public. We outline to each group our basic responsibilities. And we ask them to share these with us. They accept the responsibilities by agreeing to abide by the rules. When they say they will, we believe they will. And to date—they have.

Here are the rules they promise to observe before going on the air:

HOW TO PLAY CATCH 44

Catch 44 is a way you can use television to speak out on your own to anyone who wants to listen—about the things you feel are important.

It is founded on belief in the value of free expression, and on trust in those who use it to be honest and fair.

By our license from the Federal Communications Commission, we at Channel 44 are ultimately responsible for what is said on CATCH 44, as we are for everything we broadcast. This puts us under several obligations.

We must offer a variety of viewpoints in the series as a whole, and so we shall ask what in general you would like to present—before we decide whether we can schedule a program for you.

We must make sure that CATCH 44 observes the basic rules of fair play and decency. Sometimes, when dealing with a volatile public issue, we may choose to tape the program ahead of airtime. More often, we shall broadcast it live. In all cases, we shall ask everyone who takes part to sign an agreement to follow these few rules:

1. Don't attack identified private persons, unless they have become publicly associated with the issues being discussed.

(By "private person," we mean any person who is not a government official or a candidate for office. We also mean any non-governmental group, organization, or business. For example, you may attack the position of a school board member or a police chief—being a governmental official. But ordinarily you may not attack a teacher or a patrolman—being a private person.)

2. Don't use the airtime to incite violence.

3. Don't use language or gestures that people would consider obscene, indecent, or profane.

4. Don't use the airtime to appeal for money or promote commercial ventures.

The only catch to CATCH 44 is this: If you break the rules, you are cut off the air and forfeit your remaining time.

Otherwise, the time is yours to use as you choose. We will help you in any way we can to prepare for your presentation. Among other things, if you want the aid of a professional moderator, CATCH 44 will provide one.

We don't hold each group accountable for observing the FCC's Fairness Doctrine. That we accept as the station's responsibility.

Fairness is served not within each program, but by the series as a whole.

CATCH 44 is on WGBX-TV, Channel 44, on prime-time air, five times a week, every week-night from 9 to 9:30.

When a group gives one viewpoint on an issue of controversy, the CATCH 44 producers find counter-groups to offer contrasting views of that issue on other CATCH 44 programs. In this way, regular viewers have the chance to compare differences of opinion before making up their own minds.

Finally, CATCH 44 just might be the answer to a more general problem of fairness—a problem confronting everyone who controls or manages television today.

If only the professionals determine how the society will be reported and reflected, they may well go on excluding, quite unconsciously, the many views, life-styles, and community backgrounds different from their own. Even the most honorable, fairminded manager can't be and see all sides, all points of view, all of the people.

CATCH 44 can.
Because it is the people.

NAME OF SHOW, IDENTIFICATION, AND DATE OF ORIGINAL BROADCAST

Socialist Workers Party, November 2, 1970.
Young Americans for Freedom, November 2, 1970.

Navy League, U.S. Navy Steel Band, November 5, 1970.

Hippocrates Health Institute, organic foods, November 6, 1970.

Off the air because of transmitter trouble, November 9, 1970.

Cambridge Housing Convention, housing, November 10, 1970.

Webster Lewis Quintet, music, November 11, 1970.

John Birch Society, political, November 12, 1970.

Pre-empted for Boston Symphony Orchestra, November 13, 1970.

Homophile League of Boston and Daughters of Bilitis, homosexuality, November 16, 1970.

My Friend the Policeman Program in Roxbury, kids meeting Policemen, November 17, 1970.

Association Promoting the Constitutional Rights of the Spanish-speaking (APCROSS), Spanish speaking variety program, November 18, 1970.

WGBH Senior Citizens Committee, problems of the elderly, November 19, 1970.

Yoga class with Mrs. Ruth Bender, exercises, November 20, 1970.

Project Concern in South End, drug rehabilitation, November 23, 1970.

Pregnancy Counseling Service, abortions, November 24, 1970.

Bike Freaks, motorcycle riding, November 25, 1970.

Columbia Point Education Committee, educational, November 26, 1970 (repeat).

Astrology with Mrs. Francis Sakoyan, November 27, 1970.

Cambridge Police, crime prevention, November 30, 1970.

Allston-Brighton Headstart Mothers, preschool program in education, December 1, 1970.

Webster Lewis Quintet, music, December 2, 1970 (repeat).

Institute of Contemporary Art and The Children's Museum, art, December 3, 1970.

"Juche", a revolutionary commune, December 4, 1970.

Value of Life Committee, anti-abortion, December 7, 1970.

Mass Transition, drugs, rehabilitation, January 8, 1971.

Small Business Administration, January 11, 1971.

ACT and FIT, problems with commercial children's TV, January 12, 1971.

Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), information show in Spanish, January 13, 1971.

J. R. Mitchell Quintet, black music, January 14, 1971.

The Volunteers for Health Awareness, stop smoking, January 15, 1971.

School Volunteers for Boston, January 18, 1971.

South Shore Jewish Community Council, condition of Soviet Jews, January 19, 1971.

National League of Families of POW's and M.I.A.'s, January 20, 1971.

The Boston "Phoenix", underground newspapers, January 21, 1971.

Diet Workshop of Newton, January 22, 1971.

Big Brother Alliance, summer program for black students, January 25, 1971.

Female Liberation, women's liberation, January 26, 1971.

Roxbury Teen Education Center, February 15, 1971.

Project Rap in Beverly, drugs, February 23, 1971.

Diet Workshop, February 17, 1971 (repeat).

Sanctuary, runaways, street kids, drugs, February 18, 1971.

Anabasis House, street kids, drugs February 19, 1971.

Students International Meditation Society, transcendental meditation, February 22, 1971.

Boston Big Sister Association, February 23, 1971.

Wildlife Survival Project, supporting protective legislation, February 24, 1971.

Turned-On Crisis Panel, how do drugs get on the street, February 25, 1971.

Project Rap in Beverly, drugs, February 26, 1971.

Cambridge Community Schools, after school activities, March 29, 1971.

Student Mobilization Committee to End the War, March 30, 1971.

Mass. Police Legislative Action Committee, March 31, 1971.

Students for a Just Peace, anti-S.D.S. at Harvard, April 1, 1971.

Mass. Council to Repeal the Draft, April 2, 1971.

Boston Lawyers Vietnam Committee, April 5, 1971.

Chinese Community Show, in Chinese and English, April 6, 1971.

New England Woman's Coalition, Womens Lib, April 7, 1971.

Office of Economic Opportunity, April 8, 1971.

Wake Up America Committee, pro-Administration on the war, April 9, 1971.

East Boston Drug Action Council, April 12, 1971.

Belmont Dramatic Club, community theatre, April 13, 1971.

Roxbury Ecumenical Center, community health program, April 14, 1971.

Youth Voter Participation, political, April 15, 1971.

International Student's Association, April 16, 1971.

Project Concern, Inc., Needham, international medical service organization, April 19, 1971.

Committee to End Lead Poisoning, April 20, 1971.

East Boston Neighborhood Council, Against Logan Airport, April 21, 1971.

Music and Arts Development, state of the musical arts in Boston, April 22, 1971.

Armenian Clergymen, commemorating Armenian Martyrs Day, April 23, 1971.

Young American's For Freedom, pro-administration on the war, April 26, 1971.

Catholic Guild for the Blind, April 27, 1971.

Students International Mediation Society, April 28, 1971 (tape).

Dance Free, expressive movement, April 29, 1971.

Junior League of Boston, their decorator Show House, April 30, 1971.

Boston University Communications Class, skits, May 3, 1971.

East Pakistan, current situation in East Pakistan, June 17, 1971.

Boston Committee of Friends of Micronesia, political situation in Micronesia, June 18, 1971.

Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement, Polaroid policy in South Africa, June 21, 1971.

Elite Fashion Club, fashion training for blacks, June 22, 1971.

Cambridge Concerned Citizens, up-coming elections, June 23, 1971.

Cambridge Opera Company, June 24, 1971.

Careabout Turnabout Project, generation gap regarding drugs, June 25, 1971.

Representatives of several Homosexual Groups, homosexuals need to express themselves openly, June 28, 1971.

Children of Portugal II, music of Portugal, June 29, 1971.

Cambridge Montessori School, Perceptual education, June 30, 1971.

South End Action Program (SNAP), youth tutoring youth, July 1, 1971.

U.S. Coast Guard Auxiliary, safe boating practices, July 2, 1971.

PROGRAM ORDER

(Week of October 18-22, 1971, Monday-Friday, 9:00 p.m.)

Monday, October 18—*Cambridge Tenants' Organizing Committee*:

This committee was formed by tenants in their own apartment buildings to protest

high rents and poor services. They will be discussing their attempts to solve these problems.

Tuesday, October 19—*LIBRA* (taped): This newly formed group of former prison inmates and community members, works from outside to encourage prison reform. They will be discussing racism in jails, and the steps people can take to help released inmates.

Wednesday, October 20—*Catch 44 Special, Peaceful Movement Committee—Concord Reformatory*:

This discussion with inmates, prison officials, and outside citizens will be taped live from the Reformatory. Their subject will be the prison situation.

Thursday, October 21—*Wellesley-Weston Hotline*:

Hotline staff members will discuss the various aspects of hotline activities, what kinds of people run hotline and what their goals are for the future.

Friday, October 22—*Young Women's Christian Association*:

This will be a discussion by Y staff members of the changing community priorities and the Y's new commitments in this direction.

Week of October 25-29, Monday-Friday
9-9:30

Monday, October 25—*Movement Lab* (Originally aired 10-14-71):

The dancers and director of Movement Lab will perform, and discuss their commitment to their group, which explores the separate elements of expressionistic modern dance.

Tuesday, October 26—*The Massachusetts Association for Mental Health*:

Members of this group will report on conditions within several mental health hospitals in Massachusetts. They have been organizing volunteer committees to visit these facilities and make constructive suggestions. Participants include Dean Stephen Trachtenberg of B.U. and Dr. Jonathan Cole, Superintendent of Boston State Hospital.

Wednesday, October 27—*People's Action in Cambridge Education*:

This organization composed of parents and students concerns itself with the quality of education in Cambridge. Three students and two parents will review the educational system, discuss some of their solutions to current problems, and urge greater student participation.

Thursday, October 28—*Cambridge Property Owners Association*:

This organization formed to represent the concerns and interests of landlords and other property owners will be using time on Catch 44 to explain rent control.

Friday, October 29—*The De Cordova Museum*:

Staff members of the museum will discuss its relevancy today, with various artists from the Boston Community.

1972 LEGISLATIVE POLICY STATEMENT OF ALASKA MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, with the new year only 2 months away, it is time to begin thinking about what Congress can do next year. There are many areas of legislation that we have failed to act

on, and should be considered for the future.

The recent passage of the Alaska Native land claims bill is a big victory for the Alaskan people. However, we must not stop here. Alaska, perhaps more than any other State, lacks some of the necessities of a progressive life. Roads, harbor development, electric power, and communications are just a few areas where more work is needed.

The Alaska Municipal League is a group of people dedicated to the improvement of Alaska's towns and cities. They have been very influential in the past, and will continue to be so in the future. They have recently issued their proposed 1972 policy statement for Alaskan development.

I would like to have this statement included in the RECORD so that all Members of Congress can see these proposals, and seriously consider each one. I believe they are, as always responsibly considered and drawn, and hope all Members will find time to consider them.

The statement follows:

ALASKA MUNICIPAL LEAGUE,
Juneau, Alaska, August 23, 1971.

Re Proposed 1972 Policy Statement.
To All League Members:

Enclosed herewith are copies of the League's proposed 1972 Policy Statement as drafted by the Legislative Committee at its meeting in Palmer.

We wish to stress that this is a proposed draft only for your review and suggestions. The final statement must be approved by the delegates at the Conference in Ketchikan, October 27-29, before it becomes the official policy statement of the League. Prior to its submission for this approval, the statement must undergo the following procedure:

1. Circulation to all League Members 60 days prior to the annual business meeting;

2. Further review by the Legislative Committee in context with suggestions received from League members;

3. Review, debate, and revision by the Conference State Policy Committee.

The next meeting of the League Legislative Committee will be held in Ketchikan, October 25-27, immediately preceding the annual Conference. The League Board of Directors has decreed that any suggestions to be considered by the Legislative Committee at that time must be submitted to the League office at least thirty days prior to the October 25 meeting. We ask that you take particular note of this fact. If you have any corrections, additions or deletions to the proposed policy statement which you want considered by the Legislative Committee, they must be submitted to the League office by September 25. Otherwise your proposals should be presented to the Conference State Policy Committee on Thursday, October 28.

We earnestly solicit your criticism of and suggestions on the enclosed proposed policy statement. We ask you to review it carefully and assist us in making it a policy statement which all League Members can support.

DON M. BERRY,
Executive Director.

PART III. ALASKA MUNICIPAL LEAGUE— FEDERAL

1. *Oceanographic Research*—To urge immediate further federal aid and effort to help develop a sound and comprehensive oceanographic research and development program in Alaska.

2. *Land Withdrawals*—To support legisla-

tion prohibiting any federal agency within the Department of the Interior, Department of Agriculture, or Department of Defense from withdrawing from public domain any lands lying within the State for proprietary purposes; i.e., such as leases or rentals to private individuals of corporate entities without prior concurrence of the State of Alaska, but excluding from such consent the Bureau of Land Management Disposal Program under the homestead, homestead, small tract or related acts concerning tracts of 160 acres or less.

3. *Special Assessments*—To urge Congress to make necessary federal laws consenting to the assessment of all federally-owned property or property under deeds restricting the conveyance or alienation except by the consent of the Secretary of the Interior for special improvement such as water, sewers, and streets, which benefit the property, and with the consent of a majority of the residents of such an area making the area eligible for re-subdivision and rehabilitation programs.

4. *In Lieu of Tax Payments*—To urge Congress to adopt and inaugurate a complete system of payment in lieu of taxes to the states and local governments for tax-exempt federally-owned property.

5. *Small Boat Harbors*—To urge the United States Corps of Engineers to liberalize their present regulations governing the cost participation constructing and expanding boat harbors in Alaska.

6. *Fisheries*—To urge (1) immediate further federal aid and effort in fisheries research and marketing and the expanded harvest of all types of sea products in Alaska, and (2) expansion of the territorial limits of U.S. jurisdiction for fisheries purposes to the 200 mile or continental shelf limit, whichever is greater.

7. *Electric Power Developments*—To urge Congress to give immediate consideration to assist the State of Alaska in fully developing its electric potential in the State either on State level or local level.

8. *Highway Construction*—To urge adoption by the United States Department of Transportation of modified federal-aid highway construction standards to suit Alaska conditions.

9. *Public Works Programs*—To urge Congress to broaden criteria for participation in federal programs providing for matching funds or grants so that the entire State of Alaska may be aided by these programs and that any grants be on a block basis.

10. *Youth Training*—To encourage Congress to broaden the Youth Opportunity Program, and to allocate additional funds to educate and train disadvantaged people and school dropouts in Alaska and request the Alaska Congressional Delegation to continue efforts to obtain and enlarge programs which would have a tendency to keep our young people in Alaska.

11. *Alaska Highway*—To urge that Congress cooperate with Canada to pave the Alaska Highway immediately and to appropriate necessary money.

12. *Surplus Property*—To urge Congress to pass legislation enabling all agencies of political subdivisions and of the State to receive surplus property for all public purposes on an equal basis with others, but with disposal at point of origin given first priority.

13. *Native Housing*—To urge an immediate solution to the native housing problem arrived at cooperatively by the people of the State of Alaska and the federal government, whether the housing problem is in the remote areas or in the cities.

14. *Increased 701 Study Fund Local Participation Grants*—To support reinstatement of the advance planning grant program.

15. *Native Claim Settlement*—To urge action by the federal government for an ade-

quate, early settlement of native claims in Alaska.

16. *Federal Subdivisions*—To support legislation requiring any federal subdivision to conform to local subdivision standards and regulations.

17. *Common Use of Health Facilities*—To support legislation requiring use of community hospital facilities to the full extent that is medically feasible rather than continue present discriminatory practices against native peoples by forcing transfer of these residents of Alaskan communities to distant federal facilities, and also support use of government medical facilities by non-target group peoples where local facilities are not available.

18. *National Municipal Policy*—To support the national policy of the National League of Cities insofar as it is consistent with the best interests of local government in Alaska.

19. *National County Policy*—To support the national policy of the National Association of Counties insofar as it is consistent with the best interest of local government in Alaska.

20. *Communications*—To urge the establishment of an adequate satellite system of communications for Alaska.

21. *Federal Revenue Sharing*—To urge Congress to enact a comprehensive program for Federal revenue sharing directly to the state and local governments, with need, as well as population, being used as a standard of distribution.

22. *Feasibility and Planning Studies for Local Public Facilities*—To urge the practical availability of Federal funding for feasibility and planning studies for local public facilities—particularly maritime facilities, including the establishment of a revolving fund for such purposes to be reimbursed from project construction monies.

THE TRAP IS SET TO SUSPEND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, following the President's declaration of an emergency on August 15, I made inquiry as to whether the declaration triggered the emergency plan prepared pursuant to Executive Order 11490 of October 28, 1969—see my remarks of September 27, page 33523. The finger is on the trigger, it just has not been squeezed—yet.

The reply from John W. Dean III, Counsel to the President—

Since the 1950 emergency declared by President Truman has continued in effect (see OP. AG. No. 35, P. 6-8) . . .

Is most thought provoking. I include Mr. Dean's letter:

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, October 22, 1971.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RARICK: The President has asked me to acknowledge receipt to your recent letter regarding the effect of the national emergency declared on August 15, 1971 in Proclamation 4074. You inquire whether this declaration is a directive for the effectuation of any emergency plan prepared pursuant to

Executive Order 11490 of October 28, 1969, which assigned to Federal agencies various tasks involved in planning for emergencies.

The recent declaration by the President is not intended as an instruction to any government agency to take any specific action. In general, it simply makes available for future action, statutes which require the existence of a national emergency for their implementation. Since the 1950 emergency declared by President Truman has continued in effect (see Op. A.G. No. 35, P. 6-8), the declaration of August 15 does not significantly change the legal picture from what existed prior to that date.

If I can be of any further assistance, please so advise.

Sincerely,

JOHN W. DEAN III,
Counsel to the President.

MINORITY BANKS: A WELCOME SIGN

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend to my colleagues in the Congress an excellent article entitled "Minority Banks" which appeared in the October 1971 issue of Black Enterprise. Written by Thomas W. McMahon, Jr., executive vice president of Chase Manhattan Bank and chairman of the Urban Affairs Committee of the American Bankers Association, the article explores the growing importance of minority banks in community development.

The establishment of Minibanc, an investment company designed to provide capital to minority banks in the United States, is a promising sign of future growth and expansion of this exciting economic movement.

The article follows:

MINORITY BANKS

(By Thomas W. McMahon, Jr.)

The American Bankers Association recently announced the establishment of an investment company to supply needed capital to the nation's minority owned banks.

This investment company, MINBANC Capital Corporation, was originated by the ARA Urban Affairs Committee, on which I am privileged to serve as chairman. Its eventual goal is to supply \$10 million in capital to viable banks controlled by blacks and other minorities.

Stock in MINBANC is being offered to nearly 14,000 commercial bank members of the ABA. MINBANC's investments will in turn normally be limited to non-voting securities of minority banks.

WHY MINBANC?

MINBANC comes on the scene at a time when increasing attention is being focused on minority banks—some of the attention being positive and some negative.

On the positive side, many see minority banks as a way of quickly delivering more badly needed working capital to disadvantaged communities. Reinforcing this view is the current federal effort to generate \$100 million in additional deposits for minority banks. Indeed, President Nixon, in commending the ABA for initiating MINBANC,

stated that, "It is particularly appropriate that a capital corporation to strengthen minority financial institutions be established now, when the government is trying to increase deposits in these same institutions."

On the other hand, there are those who question the ability of these smaller banks to compete with larger institutions and their ability to absorb the necessary risks of lending to new community ventures. In addition to problems of sufficient markets and competitive size, questions are also raised regarding the amount capital and depth of management skills available.

MINBANC was conceived with an eye toward both the promise and the problems of minority banks, but it is by no means seen as a panacea for community economic development. Rather, it is directed toward a specific difficulty raised by the rapid growth of minority banks—lack of adequate capital.

In determining the need for, and the appropriate capitalization of MINBANC Capital Corporation, the American Bankers Association conducted a series of analytical studies which compared the financial structure of 23 minority-owned banks with the structure of commercial banks of similar size, as measured by total deposits.

The studies showed that the minority-owned banks have a pressing need for additional equity capital. A major contributing factor to this need has been the rapid growth in deposits experienced by minority-owned banks over recent years. The studies indicated that the minority-owned banks are more than twice as highly "leveraged" as the average commercial bank of similar size. The ratio of total liabilities (primarily deposits) to liquid capital base (banking assets minus liabilities) was 29.7 to 1, compared to 12.7 to 1 for other banks in the study. Moreover, the minority-owned banks had, on the average, relatively lower earnings as well as lower loss reserves than the other commercial banks.

BEYOND CAPITAL

Of course, capital by itself can't make a business a winner any more than sheer looks can crown a contestant in a beauty pageant. You additionally need talent and a good market—factors with which the ABA is also striving to help.

To assist in meeting the growing management needs of minority banks, the ABA in 1969 began the Minority Banker Training Program. So far it has provided on-the-job training at major commercial banks for 60 minority bankers, selected by the National Bankers Association. After one year of training, the participants are employed by minority-owned banks where they can implement their new banking skills. This year, 39 individuals are participating.

Another primary criterion for success is need. For this reason, eligibility for assistance by MINBANC is being limited to minority-owned banks which have been operating for at least three years. There will thus be clear evidence of ability to raise some capital in each bank's own community and of capacity to meet needs in these communities with a full range of banking services. At the same time, commercial banks investing in MINBANC will increase other means of support such as technical assistance, loan participations and various correspondent banking services that smaller banks normally cannot handle.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—MINORITY OR MAJORITY

A final, often asked, question is to what degree minority banks can really solve problems of economic development for the minority community. Are banks a viable concept? Alternatively, can the government and

corporations just support minority banks with deposits and capital, and then go home feeling satisfied?

My answer to the first question is that minority banks are indeed a viable concept when they meet a real need, just like any other banks. Moreover, in many cases the management will possess a keener community understanding that will assist marketing and overall service. Yet it is important to remember that the days of racially protected markets are over, and any bank must be able to serve both minority and majority.

Important as they are in community economic development, minority banks are certainly not the answer to all problems. Their efforts must be buttressed by other financial institutions, such as the current \$1 billion program being carried out by the ABA over five years for "soft loans" to minority businesses. At the same time, companies in many fields must come up with more help in such areas as management, accounting, marketing and the purchase of goods and services. Governmental support programs must be expanded, streamlined, and made more realistic. With this type of broad support, minority banks can play a most important role as catalysts for the development of their communities.

It is only by aiding the profitable and realistic development of capital resources by minority businessmen that minority banks can themselves set a firm base for their own future prosperity. This is the idea behind MINBANC. But success will require long and hard labor by many, both minority and majority.

MORE ON PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I have just received the following letter from Tilford E. Dudley, director of the Washington Office of the Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ. The letter, together with the enclosed statement give further indication of the growing concern of church leaders with respect to the so-called prayer amendment:

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION,
Washington, D.C., October 29, 1971.

Re: The Prayer Amendment.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: You will soon be considering the proposed constitutional amendment permitting devotional prayer in the public schools. I'm sure you are interested in the position of church bodies.

Enclosed is the resolution of the Executive Council of the United Church of Christ, adopted October 13, opposing the amendment because it might be "interpreted as over-riding or reversing the Supreme Court decisions . . . banning prescribed prayers in public schools."

The United Church of Christ is a Protestant denomination formed by the merger of the Congregational and the Evangelical & Reformed Churches. It has 7,000 local churches with about 2,000,000 members. Its top deliberative body, the General Synod with about 700 delegates, meets biennially. The Synod elects the Executive Council, both its 21 members and the 4 church officers who are members ex officio. The Executive Council is empowered to act for the Synod between Synod sessions.

The Division of Christian Education of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries adopted a statement opposing the amendment on October 19. It said the practical effect of the proposal would "signal the end of . . . the historic neutrality of government toward religion" and require the government to become a theological arbiter. It said the public schools "should save the learning needs of children, not their devotional needs."

On June 10, 1963 the U.C.C. Council for Christian Social Action adopted a similar statement, saying that "devotional activities . . . should not be included in the curriculum of the public schools."

Respectfully yours,

TILFORD E. DUDLEY,
Director, Washington Office.

Enclosure.

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION,
EDWARD A. POWERS, GENERAL SECRETARY

Statement Adopted by the Divisional Committee on Christian Education, October 19, 1971

The Division of Christian Education of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries is deeply concerned about the proposed Wylie "Prayer" Amendment (H.J. Res. 191) calling for the legitimation of "nondenominational prayer" in publicly funded facilities.

The historic neutrality of government toward religion stated in the "no establishment—free exercise" clauses of the present Bill of Rights has kept national public life free from sectarian controversy and permitted the fullest latitude for the voluntary profession and practice of religious freedom. The practical effect of the proposed change would signal the end of this American tradition and could bring about a scramble for state approval by one religious denomination or another. To assume that consensus can be achieved about a non-denominational prayer is unrealistic in the light of American cultural diversity and religious pluralism. Its adoption would require the government and the courts to become theological arbiters, judging which prayers addressed to the Deity are acceptable to the state and which are not. Nothing could be more alien to the spirit of prayer than to shape it to the requirements of the state.

Though we are concerned about the integrity of religion, we are equally concerned about the integrity of the schools. It is no secret that the backers of the proposed change hope and intend to upset the present constitutional prohibition on official prayer in the public schools. It is worth noting that there is no such prohibition on voluntary prayer by believing individuals when they deem it appropriate nor can there be any such prohibition of a voluntary act in accordance with the free exercise clause of the First Amendment.

The schools have a monumental educational task in these days of rapid change and social upheaval. Diverting them from that task and adding theological concerns to their educational agenda would be tragic. The public schools, in a religiously pluralistic society, should serve the learning needs of children, not their devotional needs. If anyone imagines that the religious groups of America could agree on "non-denominational" prayer or accept the state's definition without conflict, he does not understand the dynamics of religious commitment. The public schools must not become the arena for such controversy. For the integrity of the schools as well as the integrity of religion, we urge the defeat of this proposed change in the Bill of Rights.

RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Resolution Adopted by the Executive Council of the United Church of Christ, October 13, 1971

The Executive Council of the United Church of Christ supports the Supreme Court decisions banning prescribed prayers and prescribed Bible reading in the public schools, calls attention to the aspect of the Supreme Court decision which affirmed the freedom of the schools to engage in the study of religion, and opposes House Joint Resolution 191 which seeks to amend the United States Constitution. The Executive Council believes this proposed amendment has the danger of being intercepted as over-riding or reversing the Supreme Court decisions and permitting prescribed prayer in public schools.

At the same time, believing that the health of our communities depends upon widely shared and deeply held moral values resting upon fundamental convictions about the meaning of human life and that our society's well being also requires scrupulous fairness to all such convictions and full religious liberty, the Executive Council

(1) strongly supports efforts of schools to increase and improve the teaching of moral values and the appreciation of the role of religion in the development of our heritage, and

(2) urges the Instrumentalities, Conferences and churches of the United Church of Christ to work to help the public understand both the scope and the limitations of the Supreme Court decisions concerning prescribed prayers and prescribed Bible reading in the public schools.

COAL STRIKE SETTLEMENT NEEDED

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, Cleveland is the center of the vegetable greenhouse industry of America, an industry run by small businessmen and which supplies a large proportion of the winter vegetable crop for the tables of America.

This year's crop is in immediate and serious danger, because of the coal strike in which 100,000 of America's 140,000 coal miners are idled.

Coal is needed to heat the greenhouses. But because of the strike, several greenhouses have completely exhausted their supplies of coal. One of these small businessmen contacted me today and told me that he has 6 tons of coal left. From previous experience with November weather in the Cleveland area, he needs 200 tons for this month if he is to save his crop from being destroyed.

As we approach winter, the economic damage of this strike will spread, hitting small firms and individual homeowners.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that industry, labor, and the Federal mediator involved in settling this labor dispute will redouble their efforts to reach an equitable agreement as soon as possible, and provision will be made for protecting the health of the people and maintaining vital services—including greenhouse crops.