

dent and Vice President of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SLACK:

H.J. Res. 997. Joint resolution to establish a Joint Committee on Aging; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H. Con. Res. 475. Concurrent resolution to seek relief from restrictions on Soviet Jews; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HOGAN (for himself, Mr. COLLIER, Mrs. GRASSO, Mr. HOSMER, Mr. HUNT, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. MINSHALL, Mr. PRICE of Texas, Mr. RARICK, Mr. SCHMITZ, and Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin):

H. Con. Res. 476. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen should remain in

the safekeeping of the U.S. Government until Hungary once again functions as a constitutional government established by the Hungarian people through free choice; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MORSE:

H. Res. 726. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives relating to the situation in northern Ireland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. HICKS of Washington presented a bill (H.R. 12071) for the relief of Djordje Kovac, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

171. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Senate of the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass., commending the action of the House in defeating the proposed amendment to the Constitution on prayer in public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

172. Also, petition of the City Council, New York, N.Y., relative to allowing servicemen scheduled for discharge to take the civil service examination at their military bases; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### PHARMACISTS TO BE HONORED BY U.S. STAMP

#### HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, last April 26, I spoke on the Senate floor and urged that a commemorative postage stamp be authorized to honor the Nation's pharmacists.

Happily, this has come to pass.

In a release issued over the weekend, the U.S. Postal Service announced that such a stamp will be featured in the 1972 series of new stamps.

As one who worked in a drug store for a number of years, I am personally delighted by this news. It is most appropriate that tribute will be paid in this way to the Nation's 100,000 pharmacists.

Having been associated with many people on this project, I wish in particular to commend former Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, Acting Postmaster General Merrill A. Hayden as well as the members of the Postal Service's advisory committee who approved the recommendation for the issuance of this stamp to honor the pharmacists.

In addition, I wish to recognize the dedicated efforts of Mr. Irving Rubin of Port Washington, N.Y., editor of the *Pharmacy Times*, who provided untiring support.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article published yesterday in the *Washington Sunday Star* be printed in the *RECORD*.

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

[From the *Sunday Star*, Dec. 5, 1971]

A STAMP FOR PHARMACISTS  
(By Belmont Faries)

A commemorative stamp will be issued next year in tribute to the service role played by the nation's 100,000 pharmacists, the U.S. Postal Service announced yesterday.

There will also be two new denominations in the regular series, a 7-cent and a 14-cent for the preferential rate for educational materials.

The pharmacy stamp will be keyed to the theme "Partners in Health," the announcement said. Design of the stamp and date and place of issuance will be announced later.

Requests for a stamp honoring the druggists of America reached the Post Office Department at least as early as 1934, and there have been several campaigns by organizations in the field since.

The effort that led to the 1972 stamp was initiated by Irving Rubin of Port Washington, N.Y., publisher of *Pharmacy Times*, who enlisted the aid of such major pharmacy organizations as the American Pharmaceutical Association and the National Association of Retail Druggists and an even more effective advocate, Senate Minority Leader Robert P. Griffin.

Sen. Griffin, who worked for seven years as a drug store clerk while still a student and knew, as he noted in a Senate speech, something about the important role of the retail pharmacist in his neighborhood and community, took up the matter personally last April with Postmaster General Winton M. Blount. He later entered his letter strongly urging a stamp honoring the nation's pharmacists in the Congressional Record.

As used in the stamp request, the "Partners in Health" theme referred to the role of the pharmacist in the community. The Postal Service announcement, however, seemed to relate it to the other health professions, mentioning that a stamp honoring doctors had appeared in 1947, dentists in 1959, nurses in 1961 and a postal card for hospitals this year.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, in addition, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the U.S. Postal Service release be printed in the *RECORD*.

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

#### U.S. POSTAL SERVICE PRESS RELEASE

A postage stamp in tribute to the service role played by the nation's 100,000 pharmacists will be issued next year, the U.S. Postal Service announced today. Two new regular stamps also will be issued.

The commemorative stamp will be keyed to "Partners in Health." A stamp honoring doctors appeared in 1947. There was a stamp in 1959 to salute the 150th anniversary of the American Dental Association. In 1961, nurses had their stamp, and earlier this year American hospitals were commemorated with a postal card.

Design of the pharmacy stamp and date and place of issuance will be announced later.

Two regular postage stamps intended to meet the preferential rate for educational materials also will be issued next year.

The stamps will honor:

Benjamin Franklin. His myriad interests included advancement of education and service as the first Postmaster General. The denomination will be 7 cents.

Fiorella La Guardia, who in three terms as

New York City mayor brought sweeping reforms to the city and reorganization of its government. New Yorkers called him with affection "The Little Flower." This will be a 14-cent stamp.

The special fourth class rate which the new stamps in the Prominent American series will cover is 14 cents for the first pound, 7 cents for each additional pound or fraction. Mailed under this rate are books, non-commercial films and similar educational materials.

The Postal Service also announced that the Family Planning stamp planned for issuance this year will be postponed until 1972 and that the Folklore series, reported as a set of two stamps for 1972, will consist of only one stamp, featuring Tom Sawyer.

### DEVALUATION OF THE DOLLAR AND OUR FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

#### HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the world marketplaces and currency exchanges seem to be confirming in a way that no administration official seems willing to do, reports that emerged last week from Rome that the American mission had indicated its willingness to devalue the dollar by as much as 10 percent. A Congressman in such a situation is invariably torn between a desire not to say or do anything which will further encourage speculation and sow the seeds of doubt about something as delicate as the stability of a currency and at the same time a constitutional obligation to participate in such an obviously important decision on the part of this Government as to devalue our currency. That is why I did not rush to judgment last Thursday or Friday; but since the bankers and businessmen of the world seem to have taken the rumors at face value and seem to be making such a devaluation near inevitable, I think it is time for those in positions of responsibility in this area to at least underline the seriousness of what has been going on this past week. Actually, what has transpired these few days is only the culmination of what has been apparent for some time now; namely, a complete erosion of this country's trad-

ing position. Last week's moves have in fact been forced upon a government which has been unwilling until now to face reality and rethink wornout policies and practices in the area of international trade. No nation, not even the powerful United States, of seemingly unlimited wealth, can afford to import more than it exports month after month while at the same time maintaining year after year one of the largest handout programs known in the history of mankind. No nation can fight a war year after year to the tune of billions, demand the domestic economy to make sacrifices long overdue and at the same time continue to allow the multinational corporations, the currency speculators, and the international bankers to operate completely free of restraint, untouched by political considerations of the 20th century, allowed to live in a world as close to the 18th century idea of "laissez faire" as is humanly possible. The international business community has got to address itself to the fact that the primary obligation of a government responsible to the people who elect it is to preside over a healthy domestic economy. No political party today can eschew a policy of full employment. The 1930's saw to that and yet day after day we are being asked to do just that, to refrain from doing anything to attack the staggering unemployment in this Nation that might possibly interfere with the completely one-sided free-trade world we live in. I know of no other nation in the world whose political leaders can afford such a policy. How much more will the dollar have to be devalued? How many more years of trade deficit are we going to have to endure? How many more jobs in this country are going to be lost to cheap, foreign imports? Before this country adopts a measure of restraint—that is all we are asking for—and ask the rest of the world to cooperate with us in a period of sacrifices and austerity on the international front to match that being asked of our people on the domestic front under phase II and, before that, phase I. I am telling you today that phase I and phase II are doomed to failure unless we have a phase I and a phase II on the international front. What is so sacred about foreign trade that it cannot be touched, while domestic trade is subjected to all kinds of regulations in the name of a healthy economy? These are some of the things which I hope are being discussed in Rome while the dollar is being devalued, because a nation in our position cannot make such concessions every day of the week without getting a very definite and tangible quid pro quo.

Mr. Speaker, let there be no mistake about it. We are living through days that will shape the very future of our economy for years to come. The stuff of which history is made. Let us live through it—Congress and the Executive—with our eyes wide open. Let the public know the implications of these high level meetings. If it is time for the Nation to pull its belt in, and the President said it was on August 15 and many times since, let our actions live up to our words and let us leave no stone unturned, even those along the interna-

tional boundaries, in our efforts to bring order out of chaos and restore our economy to a healthy condition. Moderation is the order of this day instead of the runaway unemployment figures, the runaway import figures, and the runaway balance of payment deficits we have been experiencing for some months now. Let us not be accused in years to come of lacking the determination and follow-through to take all of the measures necessary to achieve our objective. Let us not be content with halfway measures. A 10-percent surcharge or a 10-percent devaluation is nothing more than a stop-gap reaction to a crisis situation years in the making and which demands far more farseeing solutions and systematic treatment than such knee-jerk reactions. It is time for Congress to begin deliberating forthwith about the economy in toto. It is time we ended this sorry spectacle of having one committee making its own way in the area of wage and price controls for our domestic economy while the committee with responsibility for trade matters is tied up on other matters and cannot concurrently explore what needs to be done at the same time as far as foreign trade is concerned. Time is running out and we are not seizing opportunity today the way we should be. We will have more than the historians to answer to if such is the case, for not going after the whole picture and settling for dramatic gestures and token moves on a couple of fronts.

#### NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THIS

### HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, we in Minnesota are very proud of the high regard accorded our politicians, George Thiss, who served as chairman of the Minnesota Republican Party from 1965 until June of this year, has exemplified, and helped to maintain that tradition.

Being State chairman of a political party is a trying, and often unrewarding job. I was delighted to see the Minneapolis Star recognize the contribution of Mr. Thiss in the following editorial which appeared on December 1:

#### NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THIS

Minnesotans quite rightly take pride in the generally high level of politics this state enjoys. One of the reasons for this solid standard is that both major parties have had articulate, savvy state chairmen.

It is a difficult task to speak day in and day out for either party. The job requires both a grasp of basic issues and surface intraparty rivalries. A state chairman must be diplomat as well as a partisan spokesman, able to put the best face on any situation.

But to be effective in Minnesota he must have integrity, especially in dealing with the news media and the general public. George Thiss, who left the Republican state chairmanship last June, met those exacting requirements.

In his new job as executive director of the Upper Midwest Research and Development Council, he will draw on his practical knowledge of regional economics and sociology and his past academic background as assistant headmaster of Breck School. Thiss will be

able to apply his talents over the larger Upper Midwest of which Minnesota is but a part.

We wish him well in his new nonpartisan enterprise.

#### CONCERN OVER INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT

### HON. JAMES W. SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to an article dealing with the critical and continuing unemployment problem which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on Friday, November 26, 1971. On August 6, 1971, I placed in the RECORD results of a poll of my constituents that indicate inflation and unemployment were their most serious concerns. This article, written by William H. Kester, the Post-Dispatch's financial editor, documents their concern over increased unemployment. Mr. Kester notes that the unemployment rate for the Nation and St. Louis was 3.5 percent in 1969 when Mr. Nixon took office. The unemployment rate for the first 10 months of this year averaged 6.2 percent in the St. Louis area and 5.9 percent in the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the results of my questionnaire I have received a number of letters urging my support of the President's plan. Judging from the vacillation of the Pay and Price Board, I am not quite reassured that there even is a plan to support at the moment. It seems mere trial, error, and wishful thinking. Unemployment continues to rise, and in the St. Louis area has now risen above the national rate. I insert in the RECORD at this point the St. Louis Post-Dispatch article which documents that sad fact:

#### UNEMPLOYMENT RATE HERE ABOVE NATIONAL AVERAGE

(By William H. Kester)

With the number of jobs in the St. Louis area declining in the last 12 months, the unemployment rate has risen and is above the national rate, a comparison shows.

The Missouri Division of Employment Security reports that there were 975,400 jobs in the metropolitan area in October, down 17,100, or 1.7 per cent, from the year-earlier total of 992,500.

The number of jobs is employment plus those workers on strike. Workers involved in work stoppages are not counted as employed or unemployed in the report, but are counted as part of the labor force.

There were 975,100 employed and 300 on strike last month. A year earlier, the employment figure was 982,200 and the number on strike was 10,300, primarily those at General Motors and the Alton Box Board plants in the area.

Unemployment last month totaled 53,600, or 5.2 per cent of the labor force, compared with 50,400, or 4.8 per cent a year earlier, the agency said.

Because these figures are not adjusted for seasonal variations, they cannot be compared with seasonally adjusted ones for the nation—the rates usually reported.

The seasonally adjusted unemployment rate in the St. Louis area, based on adjustment factors calculated by the Federal Re-

serve Bank of St. Louis, was 6.2 per cent last month and 5.8 per cent a year earlier.

By comparison, the national unemployment rate, adjusted for seasonal variations, was 5.8 per cent last month and 5.5 per cent a year earlier.

In the first 10 months this year, the adjusted unemployment rate averaged 6.2 per cent in the St. Louis area and 5.9 per cent in the nation.

Reflecting the slow economic growth of the St. Louis area in recent years, the unemployment rate has risen faster than the national rate. For example, the local jobless rate was below the national average in 1966, 1967 and 1968, equal to it in 1969, but above it in 1970 and 1971.

Here are the unemployment rates by years:

Year	[In percent]	
	St. Louis	United States
1966.....	3.3	3.8
1967.....	3.4	3.8
1968.....	3.4	3.6
1969.....	3.5	3.5
1970.....	5.4	4.9
1971.....	6.2	5.9

(a) average for 10 months of seasonally adjusted rates.

In April and May 1970, unemployment in the St. Louis area soared as a result of layoffs at plants affected by the strike of Teamsters against truck lines. Apparently, the relative impact of the truck strike was greater here than in the nation as a whole. Unemployment rose sharply here in those two months.

Nonfarm employment here has grown about 19 per cent from the 1957-59 average, compared with an increase of 35 per cent for the nation as a whole, the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis reports.

While employment has declined in the last year in the St. Louis area, it has increased nationally. The national October employment total was 80,065,000, an increase of 1,149,000, or 1.5 per cent, over the year-earlier level of 78,916,000. The national employment figures include workers on strike.

Reflecting the decline in job opportunities in the St. Louis area in the last 12 months, the labor force has declined 13,900, or 1.3 per cent. The labor force consists of those employed, unemployed and on strike.

As was reported earlier, the decline in employment here in the last two years has been widespread. Only one of 21 manufacturing industries had more workers in September than two years earlier. Employment in September 1969 was a record high.

#### THE WAGE-PRICE FREEZE PROVES EFFECTIVE

### HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, uncertainty by many Americans as to the effectiveness of the freeze phase of President Nixon's new economic policies has been reflected in the letters of hundreds of my constituents.

As with most tasks of analysis, it has taken time for all of the economic indicators to be reported.

Now that they are in, it is clear for all who have eyes to see, that the freeze has had a positive effect in our economy; that it has worked.

The stated goals of the freeze were to stabilize prices, restore consumer confi-

dence, improve the employment picture, and to stimulate the economy generally without increasing the rate of inflation.

From all of the indicators I have seen, the President's program has worked and the Nation is now on its way to the goal of prosperity with peace, without inflation.

Here are the facts:

#### DATA

#### PRICES

The Wholesale Price Index (WPI) dropped .3% in September and again by .1% in October.

The important industrial commodities component of the WPI dropped by .1% in September, and by .3% in October (seasonally adjusted)—the October drop was the largest decline in 11 years.

Of 3885 prices tabulated in a special Department of Commerce wage-price freeze survey, 87% showed no change in price from August to September during the freeze. 6% actually declined, while fewer than 8% increased.

The rate of inflation as measured by the GNP deflator has been dropping steadily. In the first quarter of 1971 it was at a 5.2% annual rate; 2nd quarter, 4.1%, and third quarter, 3.0%.

#### CONSUMER CONFIDENCE

The Sindlinger Consumer Confidence Index shows that consumer confidence is steadily increasing. It was 117.7 immediately before the imposition of the freeze; 120.6 on October 6; 123.0 on October 20; 126.7 on November 3; and 127.9 on November 10. It continues to climb.

The McGraw-Hill Survey of Plant and Equipment Spending Plans for the Fall of 1971 shows an anticipated increase in capital spending of 7%—representing the first real increase in capital investment since 1969.

#### EMPLOYMENT

Total employment since June increased by 1.4 million jobs. Unemployment rate in the survey week immediately prior to the freeze was 6.1%—presently 5.8%.

—All important married men category reached a low 3.0%—the lowest in a year.

—Total employment increased by a substantial 300,000 jobs from September to October.

#### INTEREST RATES

Interest rates have been declining over a broad front during the freeze, indicating a lower level of inflationary expectation.

[In percent]

Item	Rate before freeze	Present rate
Treasury bills.....	5.37	4.12
Corporate bonds (AAA).....	7.71	7.26
Municipal bonds.....	6.17	5.24
Prime rate.....	6.00	5.50

#### RETAIL SALES

Retail sales for October running close to 12% over October of 1970.

Extension of consumer installment credit for September reached a \$12 billion annual rate—an all time high record.

Consumers are now buying more and saving less. Saving as a percent of disposable personal income dropped from 8.2 to 7.7% from the 2nd to the 3rd quarter of this year.

#### HOUSING STARTS

Private housing starts in 3rd quarter were at annual rate of over 2.1 million. Rate of housing starts in first 10 months of 1971 is at a higher annual rate than any year in history. This means more sales of consumer goods like furniture and appliances.

#### AUTOMOBILE SALES

Automobile sales reached a record all-time high during month of October—more than 1 million new cars sold.

Mr. Speaker, we all agree that the freeze was strong medicine. I think the President deserves tremendous credit for having the courage to proscribe it.

As important has been the spirit of cooperation of the American people to make the wage-price freeze as effective as it has been.

There is every reason to predict that the postfreeze initiatives will work as well, if not better.

All Americans are desirous of prosperity in a full generation of peace. To me, the foregoing data suggests that we are on the right road toward that goal.

#### AMERICAN AIRLINES HAILS PROBABLY THE WORLD'S BEST SKIING

### HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of Sunday, December 5, carried a ski advertisement by American Airlines reporting on the excellent skiing which exists in Utah along with the facilities which exist in my State.

For the benefit of so many of my colleagues and their families who are becoming very sophisticated in their skiing preferences, I am submitting here part of the American Airlines ad:

AMERICAN AIRLINES WOULD LIKE TO TAKE YOU OFF THE BEATEN TRACK—UTAH

Utah isn't one of those places thousands of skiers fly to each winter.

It's one of those places they fly over. What most people don't know is that Utah probably has the world's best skiing.

One reason is the snow. A light, dry powder that most professional skiers consider the best in the world. (As much as 40 feet of it falls each year.)

Then there's the ski runs; some of the best in the country. For beginners as well as experts. And practically all of them are within a 45-minute drive of Salt Lake City.

But what's nicest of all about Utah are the prices. They're unbelievably low. A lift ticket, for instance, runs \$4 to \$5 less than at most major ski areas.

#### FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT, OCTOBER 1971

### HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

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

#### FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT, OCTOBER 1971

Total civilian employment in the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches of the Federal Government in the month of October was 2,872,638 as compared with 2,883,908 in the preceding month of September. This was

a net decrease of 11,270, 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 October totaled 2,833,064. This was a net decrease of 11,475 as compared with employment reported in the preceding month of September. Employment by months in fiscal 1972, which began July 1, 1971, follows:

Month	Employment	Increase	Decrease
July 1971.....	2,903,151	20,157	
August.....	2,890,160		12,991
September.....	2,844,539		45,621
October.....	2,833,064		11,475

Total employment in civilian agencies of the Executive Branch for the month of October was 1,698,188, a decrease of 10,478 as compared with the September total of 1,708,666. Total civilian employment in the

military agencies in October was 1,134,876, a decrease of 997 as compared with 1,135,873 in September.

The civilian agencies of the Executive Branch reporting the largest net decreases were Agriculture Department with 3,123, Department of HEW with 1,762, Interior Department with 1,721 and Postal Service with 1,222.

In the Department of Defense the largest decreases in civilian employment were reported by the Navy with 754 and Army with 510. The largest increase was reported by Air Force with 529.

Total Executive Branch employment INSIDE the United States in October was 2,643,149, a decrease of 9,528 as compared with September. Total employment OUTSIDE the United States in October was 189,915, a decrease of 1,947 as compared with September.

The total of 2,833,064 civilian employees of the Executive Branch reported for the month of October 1971 includes 2,532,253 full time employees in permanent positions. This represents an increase of 2,263 in such employment from the preceding month of September. (See table 2 of accompanying report.)

The Executive Branch employment total of 2,833,064 includes some foreign nationals

employed abroad, but in addition there were 97,173 foreign nationals working for U.S. agencies overseas during October who were not counted in the usual personnel reports. The number in September was 97,736.

**LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES**

Employment in the Legislative Branch in the month of October totaled 31,512, an increase of 109 as compared with the preceding month of September. Employment in the Judicial Branch in the month of October totaled 8,062, an increase of 96 as compared with September.

**DISADVANTAGED PERSONS**

The total of 2,872,683 reported by the Committee for October includes 23,426 disadvantaged persons employed under Federal opportunity programs, a decrease of 2,146 from the preceding month of September. (See table 4 of accompanying report.)

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

**FULL-TIME PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT**

Major agencies	Estimated				Major agencies	Estimated			
	June 1970	June 1971	October 1971	June 30, 1972 <sup>1</sup>		June 1970	June 1971	October 1971	June 30, 1972 <sup>1</sup>
Agriculture.....	82,912	84,252	84,267	87,300	National Aeronautics and Space Administration.....	31,223	29,478	28,591	28,400
Commerce.....	25,427	28,435	28,035	29,600	Office of Economic Opportunity.....	2,387	2,478	2,086	2,500
Defense:					Panama Canal.....	14,635	13,967	14,020	14,900
Civil functions.....	30,297	30,063	30,142	31,300	Selective Service System.....	6,665	5,569	5,730	6,500
Military functions.....	1,129,642	1,062,741	1,068,118	1,061,600	Small Business Administration.....	4,015	4,004	4,008	4,200
Health, Education, and Welfare.....	102,297	104,283	106,463	102,100	Tennessee Valley Authority.....	12,657	13,612	13,780	13,300
Housing and Urban Development.....	14,661	16,030	15,989	16,700	U.S. Information Agency.....	9,989	9,773	9,675	9,900
Interior.....	59,349	57,570	57,956	59,100	U.S. Postal Service.....	565,618	564,782	563,122	590,500
Justice.....	38,013	42,662	42,936	46,800	Veterans' Administration.....	148,497	158,635	159,948	160,800
Labor.....	10,217	11,352	11,928	12,100	All other agencies.....	27,420	28,838	30,024	31,200
State.....	23,618	23,398	23,224	23,700	Contingencies.....				10,000
Agency for International Development.....	14,486	13,477	13,175	11,100					
Transportation.....	63,879	68,482	68,532	71,900	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>2,552,571</b>	<b>2,520,295</b>	<b>2,529,832</b>	<b>* 2,589,300</b>
Treasury.....	86,020	90,135	91,629	100,400	Public Service Careers (Disadvantaged persons in Federal opportunity programs—see table 4, p. 14).....		1,899	2,421	
Atomic Energy Commission.....	7,033	6,920	6,887	7,000					
Civil Service Commission.....	5,214	5,324	5,273	5,900	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>2,552,571</b>	<b>2,522,194</b>	<b>2,532,253</b>	
Environmental Protection Agency <sup>2</sup> .....		5,959	6,483	8,900					
General Services Administration.....	36,400	38,076	37,709	41,600					

<sup>1</sup> Source: As projected in 1972 budget document; figures rounded to nearest hundred.

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.

**NEW DIMENSIONS FOR CAREER TRAINING**

**HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, we are frequently reminded by journal articles about unemployed college graduates and Ph. D.'s that our educational system is sadly out of balance. For some time now, our young people have been placed under tremendous pressure from parents, teachers, and society in general to "go to college." Our youth has been brainwashed into thinking that the only educational alternatives after high school are college or nothing. There is, of course, a wide range of alternatives available to most of our Nation's youth in 1- or 2-year courses in both public and private institutions.

Two steps must be taken immediately to bring our educational system into bal-

ance and maximize the utilization of our vast pool of talented manpower. We must somehow see to it that the full range of post high school educational options are well known and, second, we must begin to remove the ridiculous stigma attached to not "going to college."

I am submitting for the Members' attention an article that elaborates on these points and suggests one approach to a solution:

**NEW DIMENSIONS FOR CAREER TRAINING**  
(By Galal J. Kernahan)

Some people think they can see themselves in a mirror. They are mistaken. They can best see themselves when gazing out a window.

What they want to be—or fear they might become—in the world somewhere out there reveals more than a looking glass ever could.

A 17-year-old girl waits outside the counselor's office. Within her view across the school grounds, the world rushes by on an expressway.

She sees herself going to college, but she can't really see herself in college. The expense. The tedium. She wants to be out. She wants to be making a living. She wants to

make her own way. And she needs to . . . for herself, her family and, in ways she hasn't even thought of, for American society and this nation's economy.

A job soon? But what marketable skills has her college-bound academic program provided her?

The young, black Marine is off-duty at Da Nang in Vietnam. He has time on his hands. When he isn't looking vaguely out the window, he mechanically turns over one card after another from the deck on the table. Commercial transports lift into the sky and wheel off toward Okinawa, first leg of the journey home for returning servicemen.

In six months, he'll be on one of those planes. Going home to what? A good job? Or a long, indeterminate stretch of unemployment? What has he got to sell to an employer? Service in a controversial war? Some ribbons and a good conduct discharge? With that, and luck, he might be able to push a broom.

Can he withstand the resentment eating at him . . . resentment that, multiplied, builds into racial bitterness or an unremitting pressure toward the bottle . . . or the needle?

The son of the government official in a city in India watches what flows down the street

in front of his home. He is 20 and soon will be leaving for America for technical training. This is what his family wants so, as has always been natural for him, this is what he wants.

But it will be a very different life. His excitement is tempered with misgivings. He knows others who have come back trained, yes, but hurt and disillusioned.

The American consulate has been helpful, but it is hard for him to conceive of doing all the things he must do in a strange land without the advice and guidance of his family. Find a place to live? Buy some kind of transportation, get a license, learn to cope with freeways? Open a bank account? Get properly started in the right school? Understand language and customs "from the inside" where words and actions mean things quite different from their face value?

These three situations point up dimensions of American education until recently too little understood. Each could easily move toward an unhappy ending. Each could produce deep, angry frustration marking the persons involved for life and hurting this country.

It is not that America is without educational resources to give these stories endings full of success and satisfaction. The resources are here, but the process of making available precisely the right educational experiences for the person involved is where problems lie.

American Educational Dimensions, Incorporated, of Orange, California, in solving these problems performs a remarkably effective service for our country.

How is this being done? Think, again, of the girl waiting near the administrative offices for her interview. Her counselor knows that about four-fifths of the students are in traditional academic programs, that only about two fifths will matriculate and only one-tenth will earn a bachelor's degree. Last year, nationwide, two-fifths of the graduates left college to face unemployment or severe underemployment.

Speaking of the huge numbers of young people going on to college, U.S. Commissioner of Education S. P. Marland, Jr., says, "Too many take this step, I fear, because a pernicious conformism infecting our society forces them to flock to campuses to get credentials many really don't need—or, at least, shouldn't need. Given the inflexible law of supply and demand, the flood of bachelor's degrees has inevitably reduced their value as an entree to a good, professional job primarily because there simply aren't that many jobs in the American economy that require a college education."

But the high school guidance personnel are in a bind. They are caught between a discipline-related workload and the demand (from parents, to a large extent) for higher education-oriented counselling.

Fortunately, more and more are turning to A.E.D. for help. One way American Educational Dimensions responds is to provide "Career Days" presentations on high school campuses. Students learn about a wide variety of careers where there are jobs and short-term special training—not four years or more of college—are needed.

A.E.D. administers career interest and vocational aptitude tests on the basis of their own top work choices to students, and then offers individual interviews to those students and their parents to interpret test results. Complete guidance and assistance in everything from the securing of financial aid—if necessary—to placement in accredited technical schools is offered.

These schools have an excellent record of steering their students to jobs. They have to or they don't survive. They are finely attuned to the job market.

The girl waiting to talk with the counselor is lucky. A.E.D. will put a wide window on the future before her at her high school's

"Career Day." And she will see herself more hopefully and clearly than she ever imagined.

The Marine in Vietnam will see an end to his boredom and anxiety, too. Through the services of A.E.D., it won't be long before he will get a clear picture of good jobs for which he can train. He has not only the opportunity for thorough testing but, once his choice is made, he can go into a "prestart program" of correspondence instruction that will be topped off with technical training at an accredited school.

Such a procedure benefits everyone. Base commanders know that the more of their men planning and studying for a specific civilian career the less succumb to resentment, racism, alcoholism and narcotics—the curses of military life in too many places. And for every veteran who can end-run what happens in too many cases—the mustering-out line that automatically merges with the line going into the unemployment office—Americans can feel pride in another inroad on one of our most shameful problems: young veterans coldly rejected from earning opportunities for lack of saleable skills.

As the War in Southeast Asia winds down and the men assigned to bases both in the U.S. and overseas continue to turn over, it is absolutely essential that young men have the opportunity to match themselves to and train for jobs that will really be there when they enter civilian life. This is one of the tasks to which A.E.D. has dedicated itself with programs which include, in some cases, bringing civilian career training schools right on to U.S. military installations.

A.E.D. offers a unique range of services to the America-bound foreign student. It includes steps that will halt a phenomenon which has tended to damage both the countries from which overseas students have come and our own nation. Too many satisfied and successful students have stayed in the U.S. creating a "brain drain" for home countries in need of their educated skills. Those experiencing frustration and unnecessary failures in American schools and society have gone home with a bitter picture to share.

Not only will A.E.D. provide aptitude, language proficiency and other testing and counseling, but it will establish acceptance by the preferred institution, coordinate air transportation and lodging—within the rental range desired—before the foreign student leaves for America.

On arrival, he is met, taken to his lodgings, introduced to banking services, presented to officials of his school, aided in getting a driver's license and given four days of special orientation to everything from supermarket shopping to Americanisms that might be a complete mystery to him on the basis of formal English instruction he might have had before. All this is designed to assure his student days will be pleasant and successful.

To assure that he meets his obligation to return with his talents to his native land, two steps can be taken in accord with his government. The air ticket he purchases can be a non-redeemable round-trip ticket. A bond may be posted to be refunded to him or his family only on his return.

William Anthony, president of American Educational Dimensions, Incorporated, believes that a better job of matching educational resources to the needs of students and of society will provide the answer to a host of personal as well as larger economic problems.

"I find myself in agreement with so much of the diagnosis being given today. Men in Congress, business and educational leaders, manpower specialists and economists all concur that too few of our systems and career-preparation patterns harmonize well. Their maladjustment leads to great economic and social loss—to say nothing of the

personal toll taken on individuals of the generation now seeking to enter the civilian work force.

"Our A.E.D. programs are precisely designed to defer to all the human factors while applying practical systems to help people prepare for and enter the kind of productive careers that will provide them with satisfaction and strengthen society."

## BURLINGTON NORTHERN HEAD SAYS AMTRAK TRAINS ARE STAGECOACHES

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, Louis Menk, chairman of Burlington Northern Railroad and an Amtrak board member, has said Amtrak long distance trains are "stagecoaches" and should "die an honorable death," according to the December Newsletter of the National Association of Railroad Passengers. This organization suggests that Burlington Northern is running its trains so late that "perhaps Menk is helping to kill passenger service."

This is strange to us in Congress, Mr. Speaker, because Mr. Menk is not adverse to seeking Federal aid for the freight operation of the railroads. Yet, he makes such statements when serving on the board of an organization, Amtrak, which is charged with promoting passenger train service.

I insert the NARP editorial at this point in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

### ABOUT BURLINGTON NORTHERN'S "STAGECOACHES"

Louis Menk, chairman of Burlington Northern (BN) Railroad and an Amtrak board member, has told *Forbes Magazine* that "The long-distance passenger train is in the same position now as the stage-coach once was to railroading; it is time to let it die an honorable death."

Perhaps Mr. Menk is helping to kill it. Data released by Amtrak shows the BN Chicago-Seattle trains to have a 61.1% on-time (within six minutes of schedule) performance record. The other 38.9% of the time, BN's trains are late an average of 76 minutes per train.

In testimony before the House Interstate & Foreign Commerce Committee, NARP Chairman Anthony Haswell said that such on-time performance is "incredibly poor" and "nothing less than 95% should be considered acceptable."

Maybe Menk and BN want the trains late. Maybe if trains are run like stagecoaches, they will indeed die.

While Menk makes sounds like an ever-eager pallbearer, he is readily accepting cold cash from the supposed corpse. By Menk's own admission to the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Amtrak will save BN \$42 million annually. For this reason alone, Menk should be more gracious to Amtrak and its long-distance passenger trains.

Presidents of freight-hauling railroads should call Mr. Menk and politely ask him to shut up. The problems that confront passenger trains—such as high terminal costs, antiquated work rules, worn-out equipment, and a grotesque imbalance in government transportation policies—are also hurting freight operations. Any improvements that can be made in the context of passenger service are bound to benefit freight service.

To say that passenger trains have no future is to suggest that railroading has no future. If that is Mr. Menk's belief, then he should get out of railroading and become president of a coal-hauling barge line. Chances are the barges won't run on time, either.

## DANGEROUS TOYS

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I bring to your attention the following two articles concerning the product safety of children's toys. The first article is written by Carol Young, staff writer for the Bureau of Product Safety concerning bicycles and other toys and the hazards related to these toys. The second is written by Nancy L. Ross, Washington Post, Sunday, December 5, 1971, and discusses the delays in banning toys by the Food and Drug Administration.

Along with the information that I presented in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD previously—Monday, November 29, 1971, pages 43349 through 43352—and these two new articles, I hope that parents and gift givers alike will be able to make better decisions concerning this problem.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that all who have problems concerning harmful toys will report them to the Food and Drug Administration Bureau of Product Safety—Mr. Malcolm W. Jensen, Director—and that people of Massachusetts contact Mr. Robert W. Kilpatrick, Product Safety Control, U.S. Food and Drug Administration, 585 Commercial Street, Boston, Mass. 02109 or by calling Mr. Kilpatrick, telephone number: Area Code (617)-223-3171.

The material follows:

#### PLAYING SAFE IN TOYLAND

(By Carol Young)

Gifts of toys are tokens of love. It is important that they be chosen with care. It is tragic when a toy, meant to bring happiness, seriously injures a child.

Protecting children from unsafe toys is one of the responsibilities of FDA's Bureau of Product Safety. The Child Protection and Toy Safety Act of 1969—which became effective in January 1970—empowers the Food and Drug Administration to remove and keep from the market toys and other children's products with electrical, mechanical, and thermal hazards.

How big is the hazardous toy problem? How many children are injured? Toy-associated injuries accounted for less than 5 percent of over 120,000 reported injuries in and around the home compiled for a year's period from FDA's injury surveillance system. This system includes reports from 130 hospitals in 31 States.

Bicycles were involved in the majority of the toy-associated injury cases. Other vehicle-type toys, such as roller skates, sleds, and tricycles were linked with most of the rest of these injuries. Dolls, homemaker items such as toy stoves and irons, stuffed animals, chemistry sets, and molding equipment accounted for less than 1 percent of the reported cases.

Almost half of the total reported injuries to persons involved live animals, personal use items, and environmental factors. Next in number were injuries associated with buildings and their fixtures and furnishings.

No law can protect a child completely from all dangers. Complete surveillance of the toy market is impractical due to its size. There are approximately 1,200 toy manufacturers in the country producing an estimated \$2.5 to \$3 billion in toys each year and there are approximately 83,000 entries of imported toys each year.

With limited money and manpower resources diverted from other product safety programs to toy safety activities, FDA has obtained voluntary modifications or removal of 24 toys from the market. In addition, about twice this number are now under investigation for possible voluntary action. FDA also conducted a retail level toy survey across the country in December which resulted in the banning of 39 toys from sale.

Protecting children from unsafe toys is a parental as well as a governmental responsibility. Consumers should exercise sound buying judgment. Consideration should be given to the age and size of the child, his ability, and the area in which he plays with his toys. The ages of other children in the family also should be considered. A toy that is safe for one child may be dangerous in the hands of an unsupervised and less skillful younger brother or sister.

Toy buyers in the family should reject those with obvious hazards—sharp points; rough or unfinished surfaces; small, detachable parts that may be swallowed; brittle plastic or glass that breaks easily and leaves sharp edges that may cut; poorly constructed toys with sharp spikes or pins that are exposed when the toy is pulled apart by a curious child; toys with triggers, gears, or other parts activated by a spring or motor that may pinch fingers or catch hair.

Toys that feature exposed flame in use or are made of combustible materials should be avoided. Chemistry sets, rocket kits, and similar toys should be bought only for children old enough to handle them wisely. The minimum age recommended by the manufacturers of such toys should be heeded.

Since wires can wear through, electric toys such as trains and "home appliances" for little girls should be checked periodically. Such toys should not be purchased for the very young. A child should be shown how to insert a plug safely into an electrical outlet and how to unplug the cord.

Special care must be taken with toys that have trailing loops and cords. A child should be taught never to put these loops or cords around him in such a way that they may trip or choke him. Toy arrows should be tipped with some soft substance that cannot be removed. Care must be taken with suction tips. They can come off and expose dangerously sharp ends.

Care also must be taken with balloons—they can choke a child if accidentally taken into the windpipe. Whistles and toy instruments should not have parts (mouthpieces for example) that can be easily detached. Children should be taught to sit or stand still when playing toy musical instruments. A push or fall can cause serious mouth or throat injury.

A large number of bicycle injuries result from misuse and could be prevented if parents took the time to teach their children some of the commonsense rules for riding. Bicycle riders should be taught to obey all appropriate traffic regulations, lights, stop signs, and one-way streets; to slow down at intersections, look both ways, and proceed with caution; to give pedestrians the right-of-way; to ride single and single file; to "play it straight" in traffic and leave stunt riding and racing for open areas free of traffic; and to never hitch a ride on other vehicles.

In a special study conducted on bicycle injuries, "horseplay" and colliding with obstructions were the two leading factors found to contribute to accidental injuries among the group studied.

Parents should make certain that a bicycle is the right size for the child to handle prop-

erly and that it's equipped with headlight and reflector, if it's to be ridden after dark. It also should have a bell or horn, chain guard, brakes, pump, and mirror. And it should be kept in good condition.

FDA currently is developing safety standards for electrical, mechanical, and thermal toys and will insure compliance by monitoring factories and retail outlets where toys are sold. The Agency also is working with manufacturers to correct possible structural or design hazards reported by consumers.

With these activities, and with consumers exercising sound judgment in making their selections, and giving proper instruction to children to use toys and games as they were intended to be used, toys can be the source of enjoyment instead of tears.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 5, 1971]  
PLAY ANYMORE THE FDA'S SEARCH FOR TOYS  
THAT HURT

(By Nancy L. Ross)

Last year at this time Consumers Union was engaged in an eleventh-hour court battle to force the Food and Drug Administration to remove eight toys it deemed particularly dangerous from store shelves before Christmas. The FDA finally issued a list of 39 banned toys, including several named by CU, on Dec. 21, 1970.

Stung by public criticism, the agency set up a comprehensive program to find, review and, where necessary, recall or ban outright hazardous playthings. During the past twelve months, its Bureau of Product Safety, working under the Child Protection and Toy Safety Act, which went into effect in January 1970, has passed on nearly 1,000 toy samples. Of these it has either banned or asked the manufacturer to redesign some 250.

In addition manufacturers have voluntarily corrected 100 more toys. For example, Etch-A-Sketch, a popular toy whose glass surface shattered, injuring children on at least 22 reported occasions, was redesigned with a shatter-proof plastic top. Thus it does not appear on the banned list.

In some cases only relabeling was required. Lawn darts, for example, which are known to have caused two deaths through pierced skulls, were not withdrawn from sale; rather, they were simply relabeled for adult use.

How effective has this voluntary program been in eliminating dangerous toys from among the 5,000 new ones that come on the market each year, from stores whose inventory may list 12,000 separate play items? How effective has this program been in reducing the number of toy-related injuries which the U.S. Public Health Service estimates total 700,000 annually. And what about the millions of possibly dangerous toys still in home toy boxes?

At a press conference Nov. 5, FDA Commissioner Charles C. Edwards summed up his agency's efforts thus: "I would not presume to say that we are satisfied with our accomplishments, but I do think we have made a significant start."

An antipodal viewpoint is that of Edward M. Swartz, the Ralph Nader of the toy industry. In a telephone interview from his Boston law office, the author of "Toys That Don't Care," said, "The situation is no better. (The FDA) has moved against certain toys, but others just as dangerous have replaced them." He called manufacturers' response to the question of safety "totally self-defensive and totally irresponsible."

The toy industry, which recently put Swartz's picture on a trade magazine with the caption, "Will the Spoiler Spoil Christmas for 1971?" has begrudgingly started to change its attitude. Toy Manufacturers of America, Inc., whose members account for more than 85 percent of the approximately \$3 billion plus annual dollar volume of toys sold in the USA, now points with pride to its 10-month-old Toy Safety Assurance Program.

With the aid of Arthur D. Little Co., consultants, TMA will establish standards to be submitted late this year or next to the National Bureau of Standards. Once reviewed by consumer, retailer and federal groups, these standards will form the basis of a voluntary product standard issued by the Commerce Department. The process is slow and bureaucratic, the final result inevitably a compromise.

With the same breath TMA maintains toys are not as dangerous as the government estimates indicate. (The accuracy of the 700,000 figure will be tested scientifically for the first time next year when the FDA's National Electronic Injury Surveillance System becomes fully operational. The system, inaugurated last July, receives daily reports of home accidents from the emergency rooms of 119 hospitals and uses the data to make projections for the entire country.)

Toy wholesaler and retailer Lloyd Raport feels caught in between government, consumer and industry pressures. Raport, who is president of Juvenile Sales, a suburban Washington chain, criticized some public interest groups for acting last year "without adequate research." He is now cooperating with four groups to spot unsafe toys. He faulted the FDA, once it had done its own testing, for not notifying him and others like him of which toys it had found dangerous. He promised to get a copy of the FDA list and remove any offending toys from his own stock.

Raport has gone a step farther and of his own accord banned from his shelves projectiles like slingshots and peashooters which he considers dangerous even though they do not now appear on FDA's list. (The agency is still working on velocity and sharpness standards for projectiles, and punctures as well as standards for cribs, bicycles and other toys.)

Consumers Union, unlike last year, is adopting a "wait and see" attitude on enforcement of the FDA ban. The organization has decided instead to press the agency of what it considers long overdue regulations on thermal-electrical toys.

FDA engineers cite the very technical nature of the standards as a reason for the delay. The standard, as now proposed, would allow, for example, a maximum of 140 degrees F. for unmarked metal surfaces, higher for non-heat conducting materials like wood. Eighteen months ago Consumers Union called public attention to children's ovens in which the temperature can rise to 660 degrees. Such items are still on the market.

With its equivalent of 15 toy inspectors nationwide, the FDA cannot police Christmas shopping. Malcolm Jensen, director of Product Safety, admits some of the banned toys are probably still being sold in the stores. So, unless consumer vigilantes take it upon themselves to clear the shelves of unsafe toys a la Carrie Nation, the burden of trying to assure safety falls this year as it always has on parents.

Fortunately, all parties interviewed agree, the publicity on this issue has made the buying public more aware this year. The major TV networks have carried stories as have newspapers. Swartz helped put together a four-page color spread in Life magazine. And consumer groups have put out guidelines on what to avoid when buying toys.

#### LABOR UNIONS

**HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Mr. Arthur J.

Grice, of Falls Church, Va., who recently retired from Federal service after 36 years of combined military and civilian service, has asked that I insert in the RECORD the text of a letter he wrote recently to the President expressing his concern about the excesses of certain leaders of the labor movement in the country. While I do not agree completely with Mr. Grice's position, I do believe he has made some excellent points that will be of interest to all who read this RECORD.

FALLS CHURCH, VA.,  
November 22, 1971.

President Nixon,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I want to commend you for your forthright speech to the Labor Union Leaders at their Convention last Friday, and especially your remarks to Mr. Meany (that's a good name for his Disposition). Sometimes I think that He thinks that He is President of the U.S. and he gets so upset if anyone dares speak of him or his unions in a derogatory manner.

I recently retired from the Federal Government Services, (22 years 3 Months in the U.S. Navy and 14 years in the Library of Congress) so I never became a Union member. I was in favor of the Labor Unions and what they were doing back in the thirties, because they were trying to get the Employees better working conditions; Shorter Hours, Outlaw Child Labor, better lighting and air conditions in Industry Buildings, more and better Safety Controls and the like. These progressive moves did not make the Management go Broke or cause Inflation.

For the past twenty years or more the Labor Union Leaders have become Big Bosses and keep demanding More and More and usually its Pay Raises. They aren't as interested in working conditions and safety precautions as they are the Pay Hikes every year or so. When I refer to the pay raises I don't mean an average decent raise, I mean they want from 20 to 40 percent raises each time a year or so rolls by. So it turns out that the only Reason for the big Labor Union Leader to stay in office is to Obtain high Raises for the Employees. That's why they get so angered anytime someone mentions Wage and Price Controls or Guidelines. I think that the Management could have an agreement directly with the Employee Guaranteeing them a continuous Raise according to the climb in Prices (Monitored by the Government) then there would be no need for the employees to Support those Expensive Labor Leaders. Can anyone imagine the cost to the employees in Union dues to take care of all the numerous buildings, the Ivory Towers of the Heads of the Labor Union Leaders and most of all the Disgraceful Salaries The Leaders receive.

If the Union Leaders really want to help the country, why don't they get together and say to the Management "we want a Decrease in pay of 30% and we want Management to lower the prices of his Product or Fares 30%. His employees would then have the same purchasing power; in addition the Management would be able to sell more of his Products abroad and this would enable him to Hire more people, aiding the Unemployment Problem. This would also ease the Inflation Problem.

It seems to me that The Labor Union Leaders have gotten too big for Their Britches and are causing too much anguish for the country by continuously demanding high Raises every Year or eighteen months. I have often said that I believe the Labor Union Leaders have caused the Presidents more worry and fret during the last twenty years

than Russia with all its Mighty Power for War. It's a shame that because of the High Wages Demanded by the Union Leaders, we are unable to sell our products abroad, and in fact the man on the street has to buy many of his Products that were made in: Italy, Germany, Japan and elsewhere because the Producer here in the U.S. cannot sell his products at such low prices and pay the high Wages demanded by the Labor Union Leaders.

What the Union Leaders Realize but never tell their Employees is that when they go out on strikes demanding such high raises they are contributing Much to the Misery and Poverty Problems Because: Millions who are not getting these raises in pay suffer. People with low incomes, Retired people, people on Social Security and those who worked hard all their life to have a few savings for their old age find they can afford very little at present day prices. If the Doctors, Nurses, Hospital attendants, and the Armed forces went on a Long Strike I can imagine the Loud Grumbling of the Union Leaders "Those People have no regard for Humanity".

Now; when one complains about a Situation, He or She should always come up with a Solution if possible. I know that my Recommendations will Scare the Pants off Congressmen and probably the administration, because the Big Union Leaders have tried to convince all political Leaders that they cannot win an election without the backing of the Union Leaders. (I am sure this is not so if the Congress and the Administration would explain to the Unions what is really being done to them by the Union Leaders) My solution is "outlaw the unions, they have out lived their Services to the Nation and are Making a Mockery of our Government. The same way that the Government can Control Monopolies from Merging and becoming too big for the good of the Nation, they can Do away with the Unions or at least Outlaw Many of their Actions. Why should one Union go on Strike in Support of another. I know the Union Leaders Must have a System because it seems that they arrange the Strikes Consecutively, and at least every eighteen months it's time for the first Union Striking to start the whole shebang again.

The Union Leaders even take it upon themselves to Decide who should sit on the Supreme Court. They say the Nominees are not Qualified. Well what are the Union Leaders qualified for. Why don't they spend some of their time in the Plants, Factories, or other places where their Members are employed and ask them to do a better job. Has anyone bought a automobile, had an Electrical job performed, purchased an appliance or used the transportation Systems and gotten one hundred percent Perfection? Usually when you buy a car you can bet your life you will make several trips back to the Dealer before the car runs and performs well. I have heard of the Labor Union Leaders making no Statements regarding the half-Vast performance of the union members who are building these Products and maintaining the Services such as the Teamster Union.

As a closing note, I would say that the Congress, the Administrations, and yes, all of us are partially to blame for this Growth of Power of the Labor Union Leaders. We have let them go from "asking for Raises etc" to "I Demand that you Give me this, that and the other" or I will Close down The Country. In the same way that the Police Force in Washington Showed the Demonstrators Recently that they were not going to shut down the Government work, The Federal Government should show the Union leaders that They are not going to Shut down the progress of this Nation.

Respectfully yours,

ARTHUR J. GRICE.

## VENEREAL DISEASE

## HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, I was recently impressed with the action of station WNEW in New York City which, under the direction of Bob Kivelson, has devoted approximately \$16,000 worth of prime time during the week of October 17-23 to bring to the public's attention the alarming increase in venereal disease.

The station devoted its entire Sunday news closeup hour to the subject of venereal disease on October 17. During that time Dr. Vernal G. Cave, director of the Bureau of Venereal Disease Control, New York City Department of Health, and two of the bureau's epidemiologists, George Buynoski and Mrs. Barbara Spillane, discussed the problem with Mike Stein, the news director. The panelists also took calls from listeners which were aired live. Moreover, after the program was off the air, the panelists stayed on the phone for another hour to answer questions from concerned listeners.

Throughout the week of October 18 through October 23, the questions and answers on the subject of venereal disease were aired every hour around the clock, 24 hours a day on WNEW-AM/FM. The material for the campaign was provided by five or more members of the venereal disease staff who were brought in from the various clinics in New York City to man the phones and answer the listeners' questions. Each of the station's normally scheduled programs participated in the campaign by announcing that the department of health representatives were available during their show. In addition, to give this material the largest possible exposure, Metromedia promoted it on its own air, on its television station WNEW-TV, and in newspapers and magazines.

The result—an estimated 15 million listeners that week received the venereal disease message.

I believe that WNEW deserves a public commendation for its action. I am certain that much good was accomplished during its week-long campaign in New York City and I believe that other stations throughout the Nation could profitably emulate the station's example.

For the information of my colleagues, I am inserting in the RECORD the introductory material used by WNEW to kick-off this outstanding program:

## VENEREAL DISEASE

Good evening, I'm Bruce Charles and this is Sunday news close-up. Tonight WNEW begins a week-long examination of the problem of venereal disease. And calling venereal disease a problem is putting it mildly. For the blunt truth is that venereal disease today has reached epidemic proportions. Someone is infected by it every two minutes. Or, to put it another way, thirty people will have contracted some form of V.D. before this program is over. Some of them will go blind. Others become insane. Some may even be killed by venereal disease. And the real tragedy is that none of it needs to happen. V.D. is easily prevented. Once contracted, the

cure is simple and painless if caught early enough. Then why is V.D. on the increase? One of the reasons is that it's the disease no one wants to talk about. The social disease that people are ashamed to discuss. Well, we intend to break through that barrier tonight and all this week on WNEW. Joining our news director, Mike Stein, in the studio tonight are three people whose careers are devoted to the prevention and cure of V.D. They are Doctor Vernal Cave, director of the Bureau of Venereal Disease Control of New York City's Department of Health; George Buynoski, senior epidemiologist of the bureau, and Barbara Spillane, also an epidemiologist with the bureau. We're going to talk to them about V.D. But far more important, we're going to let you talk to them about V.D., to call us here in the studio and ask your own questions. Now here's Mike Stein.

## THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS, VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE U.N.

## HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 3, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, John Salzberg, executive secretary of the American Association for the International Commission of Jurists, has addressed himself to the human rights violations inherent in the tragic East Pakistan situation. In a letter to the editor of the New York Times printed September 20, 1971, and in a statement delivered before the Consultation on the American Response to Events in East Pakistan held in Washington, D.C., November 10 to 12, Mr. Salzberg expressed the International Commission of Jurists' resolve to press for more effective United Nations action when violations of human rights are reliably indicated.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this action. The New York Times' comment cited in Mr. Salzberg's statement illustrates that the grossest human rights violations can be forgotten. The Times referred to the rights violations in East Pakistan as "crimes against humanity unequalled since Hitler's time." A November 10, 1971, Times dispatch from Jakarta, Indonesia says:

In 1965, more than 100,000 suspects were believed jailed and as many as 300,000 killed following the Suharto take-over and the banning of the Communist party.

One hesitates to compare crimes against humanity when dealing with incidents involving hundreds of thousands of deaths; but it is sad but true that we do not have to look back to Hitlerian Germany for inhumanities on the scale now occurring in South Asia.

This points up the fact that there must be an effective U.N. institutional mechanism to, in Mr. Salzberg's words, "utilize the techniques of quiet persuasion, mediation and conciliation which are generally not available. . . ." Concern over human rights violations must be institutionalized. Otherwise the positive benefits of the nongovernmental organizations' intervention mentioned by Mr.

Salzberg not only will be for naught but even the fact of a gross violation of human rights and lessons we can learn from such incidents—such as that of 1965 in Indonesia—will be overlooked even by those—such as the Times—sympathetic to improved U.N. performance in the area of human rights.

The several articles follow:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 20, 1971]

## PAKISTAN AND THE U.N.

TO THE EDITOR: The tragic developments in East Pakistan dramatize the weakness of the United Nations in situations in which gross violations of human rights are alleged to have occurred. The U.N. has persisted in treating the problem as solely a humanitarian one, providing relief assistance to the victims. Such relief assistance is, of course, an immediate necessity, but as long as the human rights of the people of East Pakistan are ignored, a solution of the problem will be impossible.

As representative of the International Commission of Jurists I spoke before the U.N. Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities last month, urging that it consider whether there was a consistent pattern of violations of human rights in East Pakistan, from whatever source. The Economic and Social Council has authorized the subcommittee to report such situations to the Commission on Human Rights. Earlier, 22 international nongovernmental organizations made the same request.

The subcommittee's response to my statement was disappointing. Although officially a body composed of independent experts, most members were bound by their governments' wishes. Branimir Jankovic of Yugoslavia was the only member to assert that the subcommittee could not ignore a situation involving the lives of so many people. The Pakistani member argued that the situation was political and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the subcommittee. Don't all massive violations of human rights have political implications?

I believe the U.N. must improve its capacity to investigate massive violation of human rights, a capacity now subject to the whims of international politics. The U.N. has thoroughly investigated racial discrimination in South Africa and the alleged violation of human rights in the Israeli-occupied territories. These were considered politically acceptable topics. Yet in other situations of at least comparable magnitude in terms of human suffering the U.N. remains mute.

What hope is there that the U.N. will take a more forthright stand on the question of massive violations of human rights? It has finally adopted procedures for reviewing the communications on human rights sent by individuals and groups. However, the subcommittee will be responsible for the initial recommendation, and the political factors that led to its reticence in the case of East Pakistan may prevail.

The General Assembly will be considering at this session a proposal adopted by the Economic and Social Council for a High Commissioner for Human Rights. The independence of his office may enable such a commissioner to take initiatives the political organs would hesitate to do. In the long run, member states of the U.N. must recognize that governments are not immune from criticism when they flagrantly violate the rights of their citizens. Otherwise the U.N. will lose the support of its real constituency, the people of the United Nations.

JOHN SALZBERG,  
Executive Secretary, American Association  
for the International Association  
of Jurists, Inc.



[From the New York Times, Nov. 10, 1971]

JAKARTA OPENING POLITICAL PRISONS

(By James P. Sterba)

JAKARTA, INDONESIA, Nov. 9.—The Indonesian Government, appearing confident of political stability, says that it is speeding the release of thousands of political prisoners jailed without trial in 1965 when General Suharto assumed power following an abortive Communist coup.

Government officials say that by the end of December, they will have released this year about 50,000 people suspected of having been Communist sympathizers, leaving 35,000 suspected Communist leaders and activists still jailed.

In 1955, more than 100,000 suspects were believed jailed and as many as 300,000 killed following the Suharto take-over and the banning of the Communist party.

Since then, the Command for Security and the Restoration of Order has made almost daily arrests of persons suspected of being Communists or believed associated with the attempted coup.

CATEGORIES OF PRISONERS

Since 1965, the prisoners have been classified in categories—A, B or C, depending on the Government's degree of suspicion. Minor suspects, forming category C, will all be released by the end of the year, according to the Attorney General, Brig. Gen. Sugih Arto. Two years ago, General Arto said, 69,000 prisoners were in category C.

President Sukarno, the Indonesian independence leader, surrendered his powers to General Suharto, the Defense Minister at the time, after an attempted coup of 1965. President Suharto has since then officially followed a policy of nonalignment and has sought accords with the West and with China. Mr. Sukarno died last year.

About 5,000 prisoners in category A, having had "prime suspect" roles in the attempted take-over, will remain in jail awaiting trial. Over the last six years, only about 30 of these suspects have been tried every year.

The 25,000 to 30,000 others are classified as category B, "hard-core activists," or are unclassified.

A THIRD SENT TO ISLAND

Because there were too many of these prisoners to try, and also because the Government appears to have little evidence on them, about a third have been transferred to Buru Island in the remote eastern region of Indonesia. Government officials say the rest will be screened and either moved to Buru or gradually released.

On Buru Island, the prisoners have reportedly been given land and equipment to set up farming communes. The Attorney General said their wives would be allowed to join them soon but that many of the wives were afraid to go because they did not think they could ever return.

About half the wives, General Arto said, told him that they planned to divorce their husbands. Two officials of the International Red Cross visited Buru Island earlier this year and pronounced the prisoners in good health and well fed. Thus far, reporters have not been allowed to visit the island.

General Arto said that the Buru Island prisoners were growing food on more than 1,000 acres and had built a hospital staffed by six doctors and 24 nurses.

THE UNITED NATIONS RESPONSE TO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN EAST PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF THE UNITED NATIONS CAPABILITY TO DEAL WITH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

(The following speech was delivered by John Salzberg, Representative to the United Nations for the International Commission of Jurists, before the Consultation on the American Response to Events in East Paki-

stan which was held in Washington, D.C., November 10-12, 1971. The speech outlines the efforts to bring before the UN the reports of violations of human rights in East Pakistan. The failure of the United Nations to respond to these efforts illustrates the critical need for the UN to improve its capacity to deal with violations of human rights.)

Since March 1971, an estimated 200,000 persons have been killed in East Pakistan as a consequence of the dispute between the elected leaders of East Pakistan, the Awami League and its leader Sheikh Mujib Rahman, and the government of Pakistan. *The New York Times* has referred to the violations of human rights in East Pakistan as "crimes against humanity unequalled since Hitler's time." The press has been replete with various accounts of the atrocities. If these accounts be true, then it is apparent that the Pakistan army has pursued a deliberate policy of brutality against the peoples of East Pakistan, particularly Hindus, members of the Awami League, and students and faculty members of the universities. Responsible journalists and political leaders, such as Senator Edward Kennedy have termed the Pakistan army's policy as one of genocide. This policy, according to recent press accounts, is continuing in effect at the present time. In fairness, it should be mentioned that it has also been reported that Awami League militants have been responsible for atrocities committed against sympathizers with the government of Pakistan.

What has been the response of the United Nations to these various reports of gross violations of human rights in East Pakistan? What has been the response of this world organization, which was established by the peoples of the United Nations with one of the basic reasons for its establishment being "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." The United Nations is committed under Article 55 of the Charter to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." Furthermore, under Article 56, "All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55." Are the United Nations human rights Articles applicable to the situation in East Pakistan? Has the United Nations in the course of its twenty-five year history developed machinery for the effective application of these human rights Articles in cases such as East Pakistan? This speech describes the United Nations response to the reports of human rights violations in East Pakistan since March 1971 and suggests possible future United Nations action.

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS' APPEAL TO THE SUBCOMMISSION ON DISCRIMINATION AND MINORITIES TO CONSIDER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Ambassador S. Sen, the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, brought the question of respect for human rights in East Pakistan before the United Nations for the first time in a speech he delivered to the Economic and Social Council on May 12th, 1971. Ambassador Sen stated that "the large-scale massacre, senseless killings of unarmed civilians, including women and children, brutalities and atrocities committed on a massive scale, widespread burning and destruction of property and the multitude of indignities inflicted on the people of East Bengal constitute a problem of such magnitude that international conscience must be roused and international effort must be made to restore some semblance of civilized existence in this part

of the world." He called on the Economic and Social Council to express its opinion on the events in East Pakistan. The Economic and Social Council did not respond to India's appeal, nor have other organs of the United Nations responded to similar appeals by India.

Certain international non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council thought that perhaps an intervention on their part regarding the situation in East Pakistan might evoke a different response. India's intervention could be interpreted as being motivated by political purposes vis-a-vis Pakistan, whereas a non-governmental intervention could only be interpreted as a humanitarian action.

Twenty-two international non-governmental organizations (NGO's) submitted on July 20th a written communication to the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, calling upon that organ to examine at its session to be held in August "all available information regardless the allegations of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedom in East Pakistan" and "to recommend to the Commission on Human Rights [its parent body] measures which might be taken to protect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of East Pakistan" This nongovernmental initiative was led by Donald Keys, Representative to the United Nations for the World Federalists, and by the International Commission of Jurists. The twenty-two international organizations represented a variety of religious, educational, youth, legal, social and civil organizations. Dr. Homer Jack, Secretary-General of the World Conference of Religion for Peace, lobbied persuasively on behalf of the NGO petition at the Sub-Commission's session.

The Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities was the most appropriate United Nations organ to consider this communication. The Commission on Human Rights had authorized the Sub-Commission in 1967 "to bring to the attention of the Commission any situation which it has reasonable cause to believe reveals a consistent pattern of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms." In addition, the Commission authorized the Sub-Commission to prepare a report "containing information on violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms from all available sources." The Economic and Social Council approved these decisions and, in addition, authorized the Commission on Human Rights "to make a thorough study of situations revealing a consistent pattern of violations of human rights and to report, with recommendations thereon, to the Economic and Social Council." Surely, in the light of these resolutions and the Sub-Commission's special concern for discrimination and minorities, that organ was obliged to give serious consideration to the reports of human rights violations in East Pakistan.

The Sub-Commission was also an appropriate organ to consider in East Pakistan situation in terms of its composition. Most United Nations organs are composed of representatives of states: the representatives are, of course, bound to follow their governments' instructions. The Sub-Commission is composed of individuals serving in their personal capacity. Hopefully, they are less influenced by political considerations which all too often influence the views of representatives of governments when considering human rights questions at the United Nations.

As the Representative of the International Commission of Jurists I spoke before the Sub-Commission on August 16th and appealed to the members to consider the reports of violations of human rights in East Pakistan. Reports of violations from various

sources were cited, but no judgment was made on the actions of the government of Pakistan or of the Awami League. I emphasized that the Sub-Commission did not have to make a final judgment on the situation, but in terms of its authorization by the Economic and Social Council was only obliged to decide whether the situation appears to reveal a consistent pattern of violations of human rights on the basis of available information.

The Sub-Commission responded with silence. Although officially a body composed of independent experts, most members were apparently influenced by their governments' positions. The only member to speak in favour of considering the events in East Pakistan was Mr. Branimir Jankovic of Yugoslavia who said that:

"It did seem . . . that when faced with a situation affecting tens of thousands of persons, members were inclined to suppress their feelings and consciences. But in such a situation, the Sub-Commission should not remain silent. It was true that, being a body of experts on human rights, it could not deal with the political aspects of the question. Nevertheless, it could not ignore the mass destruction of human life, particularly when women, children and old people were involved."

One member noted in private that members could not take action necessary to their government's position without jeopardizing their chances for renomination to the Sub-Commission by their governments.

The NGO intervention was not without some benefits both in connection with the situation in East Pakistan and with respect to the general capability of the United Nations to deal with violations of human rights. In connection with East Pakistan, the oral intervention of the International Commission of Jurists forced the Pakistan member of the Sub-Commission to answer the charges of violations of human rights and, to that extent, made the Pakistan government accountable to the United Nations for its actions in East Pakistan. The report of the Sub-Commission to the Commission on Human Rights describes the discussion which took place, and the Commission on Human Rights might decide to give the matter further consideration when it meets in February.

In connection with the general capability of the United Nations to deal with violations of human rights, the NGO written communication and oral intervention establishes a precedent for NGO's in the field of human rights violations. Generally, NGO's are not permitted to submit as official UN documents statements referring to violations of human rights in specific member states of the United Nations. This type of communication is normally treated as a confidential communication, seen only by the UN Secretariat and the member state concerned. In this case, however, the NGO statement was circulated to all member states of the United Nations.

The oral intervention by the International Commission of Jurists went further than the written statement in that it cited specific reports of violation of human rights. The NGOs will want to make judicious use of this precedent when situations occur that are similar to the situation in East Pakistan. In view of the reluctance of governments to report on human rights violations by other states, in many cases, NGO interventions may be the only way in which some situations of gross violations of human rights are brought to the attention of the United Nations.

**PAKISTAN'S RESPONSIBILITIES AS A STATE PARTY TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION**

Completely unnoticed by the press and critics of Pakistan's policies is the fact that

Pakistan is a state Party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention which has been hailed by scholars in the field of international human rights as the most advanced UN convention in the field of human rights. The Convention defines the term "racial discrimination" as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life." The Convention clearly applies to the situation in East Pakistan whose people are of a different ethnic origin from the people of West Pakistan. Under the Convention each state Party "undertakes to engage in no act or practice of racial discrimination against persons, groups of persons or institutions and to ensure that all public authorities and public institutions, national and local, shall act in conformity with this obligation." The Convention specifies a variety of rights that state Parties are obliged to guarantee including "the right to security of person and protection by the State against violence or bodily harm, whether inflicted by government officials or by any individual, group or institution." The Convention also guarantees political rights such as the right to vote and to stand for election and equal treatment before the courts.

The Convention provides for a Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination which consists of eighteen experts who serve in their personal capacity. The Committee is to review reports submitted every two years by the states Parties to the Convention and may request additional information from the states Parties. Furthermore, the Convention provides that "if a State Party considers that another State Party is not giving effect to the provisions of this Convention, it may bring the matter to the attention of the Committee." If the dispute between the two states Parties is not resolved, an *ad hoc* Conciliation Commission may be established which will investigate the situation and make "such recommendations as it may think proper for the amicable solution of the dispute."

Indian and Pakistan are both states Parties to the Convention. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has met twice since the events of March 1971 and will meet again in February 1972. The Committee considered the Pakistan report at its April session and decided the report was inadequate and requested the government of Pakistan to submit additional information. The Committee did not specify in what particular areas the Pakistan report was deficient. Pakistan failed to submit the supplementary report requested in time for the September session of the Committee. The Committee did not make any mention of this omission in its report to the General Assembly. Clearly, the Committee could have given detailed instructions to Pakistan on the information desired, as it did with Greece. Also, it could have drawn attention to the General Assembly the fact that Pakistan had not submitted its supplementary report. In contrast, the Committee did draw to the General Assembly's attention the situation in Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, as reported by Syria; and the situation in the U.S. Panama Canal Zone, as reported by Panama.

The states Parties to the Convention (now totaling fifty-six) have also been remiss, since none of them have submitted a complaint that Pakistan is not respecting the Convention. If any of the states Parties were to initiate such a complaint it would bring into being the Conciliation Commission which would investigate the facts fully and make recommendations. One wonders why

India has not made such a complaint. A complaint under the Convention is certain to bring about an investigation since the Conciliation Commission would be established even if Pakistan objects to its creation. Furthermore, the Commission's recommendations would have greater influence with Pakistan as compared with recommendations by UN organs (which in any case are not forthcoming) since the Commission is provided for under a Convention of which Pakistan is a state Party.

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR EAST PAKISTAN**

The UN Secretary-General noted in his recent introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization that problem "to which as yet no acceptable answer has been found in the provisions of the Charter, is the conflict between the principles of the integrity of sovereign States and the assertion of the right to self-determination, and even secession, by a large group within a sovereign State. Here again, as in the case of human rights, a dangerous deadlock can paralyse the ability of the United Nations to help those involved."

The United Nations has been a fervent advocate for the right of self-determination for colonial territories but has refused to consider the application of this right to peoples living within a sovereign independent state. The UN did make an exception in the case of the Black Africans in the Republic of South Africa who have been subjected to gross discrimination including the exercise of their political rights. Should not the United Nations make provision for the exercise of the right of self-determination for similar situations in which the persistent persecution of a people voids a state's claim to its territorial integrity?

Krishna Menon, the former Foreign Minister of India, spoke in September before the UN's Special Committee on Colonialism as the representative of the World Peace Council. He appealed to the Committee to consider the situation in East Pakistan which he considered a case of one country oppressing another. He asserted that the people of East Pakistan have the same right of independence as do any other people. The Special Committee did not respond since the General Assembly has not classified East Pakistan as a colonial territory.

**PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE**

The United Nations has so far failed to give any serious attention to the human rights implications of the events in East Pakistan. The UN has taken various measures to provide relief both to East Pakistan and to the East Pakistan refugees in India. These measures, however, are not directed at the *fundamental* requirement for resolving the conflict, which is *respect for the human rights of the peoples of East Pakistan*.

NGO representatives to the UN can continue to press for UN consideration of the reports of violations of human rights in East Pakistan. The Committee on Racial Discrimination will be meeting in February and should require Pakistan to file a full report. The Commission on Human Rights will also be meeting in February. The Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities will be meeting in August. A working group of that organ will meet just prior to the session to sift through the communications from individuals and groups alleging violations of human rights and to indicate to the Sub-Commission whether any situation appears to reveal a consistent pattern of violations of human rights. The Sub-Commission may refer such situations to the Commission on Human Rights, which can conduct a thorough study of such situations and make recommendations to the Economic and Social Council. To make these procedures operative for East Pakistan, it is important that communica-

tions be sent to the UN from persons who have witnessed atrocities in that area.

The International Commission of Jurists continues to press for a more effective UN in the field of violations of human rights. We are presently urging the UN to create an Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights. This proposal is presently before the General Assembly. The High Commissioner would be able to take initiatives with respect to difficult human rights situations. He would utilize the techniques of quiet persuasion, mediation and conciliation which are generally not available to a legislative body. He would be less susceptible than other UN organs to political considerations.

Secretary-General U Thant has expressed his own personal conviction on the importance of the respect for human rights in the work of the United Nations and the need for a more effective UN in the field of violations of human rights:

"I feel more strongly than ever that the worth of the individual human being is the most unique and precious of all our assets and must be the beginning and the end of all our efforts. Governments, systems, ideologies and institutions come and go, but humanity remains. The nature and value of this most precious asset is increasingly appreciated as we see how empty organized life becomes when we remove or suppress the infinite variety and vitality of the individual.

"In this connexion I feel obliged to mention a problem which has been almost daily in my mind during my time as Secretary-General. I refer to the violation of human rights within the frontiers of a State. Theoretically the United Nations has little standing in such situations—and they are all too common. Legally the membership of the United Nations has done an admirable job on human rights. The necessary texts exist. But practically where does an individual or a group of individuals find recourse against oppression within his own country? World public opinion has become an increasingly important factor in such problems. I myself have privately done the best I could in many such situations, knowing full well the weakness of my own position, and I know that many national leaders have done the same. But this can never be enough, and the time has surely come when Governments in the United Nations must make a determined effort to give justice a world-wide dimension."

#### PRAYER FOR THE POW'S AT CHRISTMAS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Armed Forces Journal the Armed Forces Chaplains Board has written a special prayer for the prisoners of war who cannot be with their families this December to celebrate the Festival of Lights and the Birth of Christ. This is the Prayer:

#### CHRISTMAS AND CHANUKAH IN HANOI

Our Father God, as you are mindful of our POW'S and the daily burden they bear, Grant them an equal measure of courage and hope in their God and County. Hasten their release and Return them safely to family and home. Hear the prayers of your people Who ask that even amid the din of conflict We may keep step with the distant drumbeat of Your promise of Peace on Earth among men of Good Will. Amen.

The prayer is the Journal's December editorial and it makes a request in which I join that this be brought to the attention of the reader's chaplain, rabbi, or minister or priest. It suggests that he be asked to include the prayer and his own thoughts on our prisoners of war and their families in the Chanukah or Christmas services at each reader's church or synagogue.

The Journal continues as follows:

This December, as many as 1,499 American Servicemen will spend Christmas in Communist prison camps: 785 in North Vietnam, 254 in Laos, 560 in South Vietnam and Cambodia. Of these, we know that 378 have been captured in North Vietnam; but the North Vietnamese admit to holding only 338 prisoners. We know that 82 men have been captured in South Vietnam and Cambodia: the Viet Cong will admit to holding only one. We know that three men were taken prisoner in Laos: the Communists will not admit to holding any.

What these numbers mean is that, while you and we are observing our Christmas or Chanukah, one thousand two hundred and sixty other American families will *not* know whether or not their husbands, their sons, or their fathers are alive—or dead. Fourteen hundred and ninety-nine Americans: 1,136 missing in action, 339 acknowledged to be prisoners, and 124 whom we know were captured, but of whom no further word has been heard.

Some of these men, like Navy LCDr Everett Alvarez, will be spending their *seventh* Christmas in Hanoi. Seven years . . .

Even for the few families who know that their loved one is imprisoned, this December will be bleaker than any in years.

The mail getting through from (and presumably to) our prisoners of war is at its lowest ebb since 1968. Each month, now, the trickle of letters gets smaller and smaller. So far this year (as of 28 October, the last date for which an authenticated count could be made as we went to press 23 November), only 469 letters have been received by the families of our POWs. Only 170 letters have gotten through in the last six months! Even though the Communists admit holding 339 men prisoner, only 195 have been heard from this year, and only 50 of them in the last six months. Even though the Communists admit holding 339 men prisoner, only 331 have ever gotten a letter through to their families.

Even forgetting that fewer and fewer letters are getting through as 1971 draws to a close, the mail POW families are getting this year is only *one-fifth* of what got through in 1970 (2,646 letters from 330 different POWs). It is only *half* the mail they received in 1969 (942 letters from 293 different men). Only *one letter* has ever been received from any of the 91 men known to have been captured in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. (In case you didn't know, North Vietnamese and Viet Cong held prisoner in South Vietnam are allowed to receive, not only mail, but visitors as well.)

The mail our POW families are now getting is only *one-eighth* of what they should be receiving by North Vietnam's own commitment at the Paris peace talks early last year, when they announced that they would let each prisoner send one letter every month. It is less than *one-forty-third* the number of letters POW families should be getting under ground rules agreed to by the North Vietnamese when they signed the 1949 Geneva Conventions (which provide for two letters and four postcards from each prisoner every month). Yet the flow is getting thinner as Christmas and Chanukah draw near . . .

Christmas isn't getting any brighter for the 1,499 families who wonder when their Serviceman will be home, if he is still alive. Nor is it very pleasant for the men held prisoner in Hanoi.

Talk, as we did just before this issue went to press, with Air Force Capt Wesley Rumble. He was captured in April of 1968 when his F-4D was hit over North Vietnam. He was released in August of 1969: that was *two and a half years ago, the last time North Vietnam released an American prisoner of war.*

Captain Rumble had a "good" Christmas in Hanoi three years ago. He and his three cellmates got to play ping pong—for about one minute, while Japanese press photographers took pictures of "Christmas in Hanoi." As soon as the pictures were shot, the ping pong table was taken back to the guards' recreation room and Captain Rumble was taken back to his cell.

He had a "great" Christmas dinner: an orange, a bowl of soup, some bread, a salad plate, and "something else"—meat? "I don't remember, I don't think so. It's been so long. There was something else. Actually, it was a pretty good meal, one of the best I had there, including the ones before they let me out. I wasn't used to so much food; I couldn't eat all of it."

Captain Rumble remembers one other detail: his Christmas dinner was cold. "Far colder than normal. But after we saw the Japanese photographs of it, taken before we got to the mess hall, we figured out why: the dinner was really for their benefit. We just got to eat it."

Christmas decorations? Yes, POWs have those, too—the ones they make on their own. Captain Rumble and his cellmates made some. But they had to take them down, and the guards took them away. All of the 30 to 45 American POWs in his compound got to enjoy them later—for about one minute each, as each man had his photo taken by the Japanese press in a special, gaily decorated room—the one where the guards had hung Captain Rumble's Christmas decorations.

A minute of ping pong, a minute of Christmas, a cold meal—Christmas in Hanoi. For 1,499 Americans. Or is it 339? Or 473?

*There's so little any one of us can do. But maybe if all of us did something . . . if all of us prayed together for these 1,499 men and their families. If you took the "editorial" above to your chaplain, your priest, your minister, your rabbi . . .*

Maybe, just maybe, Christmas and Chanukah would be a little brighter in Hanoi this December. And maybe, *next* December . . .

Mr. Speaker, I hope that all Americans will ponder upon these words and give their special prayers this year for the prisoners of war, the men missing in action and their loved ones.

LUCIA EVANGELISTA HINES AND  
JEROME HINES DAY

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, on November 22, 1971, the friends of Lucia Evangelista and Jerome Hines, the renowned opera stars, held a testimonial dinner in their honor. The occasion was an impressive outpouring of their fellows citizens' deep affection and admiration for this remarkable couple who have given so generously of their superb talents and precious time to countless charitable causes over the years.

In recognition of their selfless service, the Board of Trustees of the village of South Orange proclaimed November 22

as Lucia Evangelista Hines and Jerome Hines Day. I am pleased to insert at this point in the RECORD the proclamation designating the day as a tribute to these outstanding citizens and residents of South Orange:

LUCIA EVANGELISTA HINES AND JEROME HINES DAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1971

Whereas, The Board of Trustees of The Village of South Orange has been advised by The Friends of Mr. and Mrs. Jerome Hines Committee that on November 22, 1971, the Committee, with appropriate ceremony will honor Lucia Evangelista Hines and Jerome Hines;

Whereas, as artists, citizens and benefactors of innumerable charities of all races and creeds; and

Whereas, they have given unselfishly of themselves to raise funds for the many schools of our district; and

Whereas, they have furthered the causes of the Salvation Army, New Jersey Association for Retarded Children (Essex Unit), Marylawn of the Oranges, B'nai B'rith and Hadassah, etc.; and

Whereas, as artists and citizens of our town for the past fifteen years, they have also worked to bring concerts and operas to our Village in the endeavor to raise funds for the Salvation Army, Hadassah, B'nai B'rith, Marylawn, New Jersey Association for Retarded Children and the underprivileged children of Newark;

Now, therefore, I, John J. Francis, Jr., President of The Village of South Orange, on behalf of the Board of Trustees and the Residents of the Village in recognition of the honor bestowed on Lucia Evangelista Hines and Jerome Hines, do hereby proclaim that Monday, November 22, 1971, be designated as Lucia Evangelista Hines and Jerome Hines Day, as a tribute to outstanding citizens and residents of South Orange.

#### RECENT PRICE LEGISLATION

### HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is my policy to publish a monthly newsletter at my own expense to keep my constituents advised of my activities in their behalf. The following is the text of my latest Washington Report:

CONGRESSMAN BOB PRICE, WASHINGTON ACTION REPORT

#### RECENT PRICE LEGISLATION

A bill to sever all U.S. connections with the United Nations, including getting the U.S. out of the organization and moving the headquarters out of the U.S.

A Constitutional amendment to prohibit busing as a means of achieving racial balance in schools. This would preserve the neighborhood school concept.

A welfare bill which would require able-bodied individuals to take a job or job training rather than a guaranteed annual income.

A bill to reinstitute the bracero program which allows Mexican citizens to cross the border and work for farmers and ranchers who are unable to find employees elsewhere.

Legislation to repeal the 10 percent excise tax on farm trucks, under 10,000 pounds gross weight.

The domestic Exploration Investment Tax Credit which would provide a tax credit to encourage additional domestic oil and gas exploration and secondary recovery operations.

Combatting animal waste pollution is a growing problem for many rural communi-

ties. Thus, to obtain the advice of many concerned individuals, Congressman Price took the lead in convening a nationwide symposium on the problem. More than 200 individuals attended the symposium including Tom Herrick of Amarillo, Doug Florence of Stratford, A. L. Black of Friona.

Among conclusions of the symposium participants were recommendations for instituting systems of federal and state tax credits for animal pollution abatement; intensifying academic, private, and government pollution control research programs; and emphasizing the need for all levels of government to cooperate better with the private sector regarding animal waste disposal problems.

With the help of U.S. financial, industrial, and military assistance, the Republic of Korea has become the showcase of Democracy in Asia. Its ability to maintain and safeguard its hard won freedoms from renewed aggression, however, depends heavily on the strength and effectiveness of its armed forces.

Bob Price is an expert on air weapons systems. His experience, which includes combat service in Korea as a jet fighter pilot, enables him to evaluate the capabilities of strategic aircraft.

A life-long farmer and rancher, Bob Price is not a stranger to the problems and challenges of agriculture. As a member of the House Agriculture Committee, he makes a special point of meeting at every opportunity with farmers, ranchers, and agri-businessmen.

These many different discussions enable Congressman Price to speak authoritatively in Committee and on the floor of the House about the role of government in solving the varied problems facing farmers and ranchers today.

Area residents come to Washington individually and in groups to discuss legislation with Congressman Price. He is always interested in hearing the views of those who are directly affected by laws enacted by Congress.

In deciding how to vote, Congressman Price listens to testimony in committee, reads letters from home, and carefully studies all possible consequences of proposed legislation.

Congressman Price is now working to obtain the first Economic Development Administration business development loan for Moore County.

The proposed American Beef plant in Moore County will process 2,000 head of cattle a day, employ up to 1,100 people and have a payroll of \$10 million a year when it reaches full capacity. This is the type of industrial development Congressman Price is bringing to our area.

When American Zinc Company announced closing of its Dumas plant, almost 400 industrial jobs were lost.

With area and business leaders Bob Price helped get Moore County an eligibility rating for special government industrial financing programs provided solely to counties with high unemployment.

In record time, Congressman Bob Price pushed the eligibility rating through the Departments of Labor and Commerce.

The Northwest Texas Congressman is also a sponsor of legislation which will give business an income tax credit to relocate in rural areas and provide job training for local residents.

### WHELOCK WHITNEY NAMED INVESTMENT BANKER OF THE YEAR

### HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, another Minnesotan has been recognized for

leadership in the Nation's business community.

Whelock Whitney was recently named by Finance magazine as the "Investment Banker of the Year." Whelock Whitney has made many important contributions to the Twin Cities as a businessman and a humanitarian. I commend to my fellow Members the article in the Minneapolis Tribune which was printed on December 5 highlighting many of Whelock's interests and activities including the efforts contributing to his latest award:

WHITNEY ESCAPES THE "STOCK" IMAGE—"INVESTMENT BANKER OF YEAR" DARES TO BE UNCONVENTIONAL

(By Jim Fuller)

Whelock Whitney somehow does not seem the sort of man that a national magazine would choose to honor as "Investment Banker of the Year."

He sometimes prowls his Downtown Minneapolis office not only in shirt sleeves, but also shoeless. He is given to bright ties and wide suspenders patterned in brilliant primary colors. Someone gave him some incense, so he lit a stick in his office one recent day for the appreciation of a visitor.

A life-long Republican with a silver-spoon background, Whitney has frequently and sometimes very publicly denounced Vice-President Spiro Agnew as a threat to world peace and domestic tranquility. He has appeared at rallies and worn black armbands to attest to his longstanding opposition to the Indochina war.

On the other hand, Whitney also is chief executive officer of Dain, Kalman & Quall, Inc., one of the most successful regional investment firms in the business. And last week he closed out a year as president of the prestigious Investment Bankers Association of America (IBA), having accomplished something that seemed unlikely at best a year ago.

That major accomplishment was the merger—to take place Jan. 1—of the 634-member IBA and the 457-member Association of Stock Exchange Firms (ASEF), by far the biggest and most important trade organizations in the investment field.

It was largely that achievement that led slick, but sturdy, old Finance magazine to name Whitney Investment Banker of the Year last week.

To outsiders, the merger of a couple of trade associations won't mean much. But to the investment business, it is a major step toward ending what has been regarded as a dangerous confusion of positions.

The industry was hit hard by the bear market of the past two years. Some firms collapsed and others merged, and there were howls from investors, regulatory agencies and Congress. For some time, industry leaders have known that some unity of thought had to be achieved if they were to put their house in order—and save themselves from what they feared might be harsh new governmental regulations.

Instead of a united front, however, the industry has so far met its critics at congressional hearings and elsewhere with a babble of conflicting voices and opinions.

Whitney, a self-confessed "sports nut," put it this way: "We've been like a football team with 11 quarterbacks. Such a team wouldn't win many games—and neither do we."

In spite of the general agreement on the need for better coordination—and the economies a consolidation of organizations would bring—there was considerable opposition a year ago to the Whitney merger proposal. The IBA, largely representing securities underwriters, and the ASEF, representing brokers, both were founded in 1913, and their parallel but separate traditions were highly regarded in many executive offices, despite some overlap in membership.

More important, ASEF members were at first adamant against merger as long as commercial banks were to be members of the proposed new organization, and the IBA had a number of commercial banks on its rolls.

Whitney enlisted support from influential members of both organizations and named IBA Vice-President Philip Baker to head that group's merger study committee, while Baker's counterpart in ASEF, Dwight Faulkner, led a similar study unit.

A compromise was reached under which bank bond departments could remain in the new organization, and Whitney, aided by Baker and Faulkner (both top New York investment men) and others, did a selling job that ended last Wednesday. On that day the IBA voted 377-27 to approve the merger, a move that followed by a few weeks a similar vote by the ASEF membership.

Whitney said he hopes the new organization, named the Securities Industry Association, will be joined by the National Securities Traders Association within a year. That would complete the unification of the industry's major trade groups.

At the start of his year as IBA president, Whitney set himself another goal—to revive the flagging spirits of the country's stock brokers. He began by arranging talks before groups of registered representatives, but as the securities business picked up during early 1971, Whitney found the brokers "going from 1970 despondency to 1971 euphoria."

"Instead of enthusiasm, they needed dampening down, if anything," he observed, so he switched his speaking efforts to college campuses.

The year produced, he said, "many interesting scenes in the campus setting."

Whitney said he was encouraged by the fact that "young people are getting less turned off by business" than they seemed to be a couple of years ago, although he conceded that "maybe that's because jobs are scarce."

In addition to the college appearances, monthly executive board meetings, frequent trips to sell the merger idea and handle other normal IBA presidential duties, Whitney's appointment calendar shows that he attended 17 major meetings, most of them district IBA meetings, between March 14 and last week.

If the hectic schedule has had any physical effect on the 45-year-old Whitney, it doesn't show. He looks younger than he is, and he moves, intellectually and physically, with the energy of a man in his twenties.

However, he admitted that the year as IBA head took some toll. Harder than the traveling, he said, "was what happens when you're home." He spoke of constant interruptions while trying to concentrate on the business of Dain, Kalman & Quail, and the frequent calls to travel on short notice.

He usually was able to continue his twice-weekly squash matches ("I like competition"), but his other sports, civic and business activities suffered somewhat. He is a director and a great fan of both the Twins and the North Stars, and was instrumental in getting both teams going in the Twin Cities, but he hasn't seen his usual quota of games this year.

To make time for the IBA duties, his family and his own business, he admitted, he cut back on his attendance to the business of the 12 or 13 other companies he serves as a director. His involvement in civic and political activities also slipped considerably.

Despite his absences, Dain, Kalman had what Whitney termed "an excellent year," a fact he attributed to the firm's other executives. In fact, the company earned \$1.4 million in the first nine months of this year, compared with \$396,740—most of that in the fourth quarter—for all of 1970. Last year was, of course, a very bad one for most investment houses.

Now, while he feels the industry as a whole is "still a long way from solving its problems," Whitney is looking forward to turning much of his considerable energy back into some favorite activities closer to home.

He is concerned about human rights and about the environment—to the point that he recently wrote and forwarded to John Gardner, head of Common Cause, a "presidential speech" in which he suggested that "pollution stamps" be sold and used in the manner of Christmas Seals, but to fight pollution.

His "pet project," he said, is the Johnson Institute, an organization that offers help to alcoholics and drug users ("a perplexing problem") and which he serves as president. He intends to spend more time now selling fellow executives on the need for establishing rehabilitation programs for alcoholic employees, he said.

And then there is politics.

Whitney ran unsuccessfully against Eugene McCarthy for the U.S. Senate in 1964, and he has served as mayor of Wayzata. He calls himself "an independent Republican"—and there is no doubt that his refusal to follow a straight party line has won him considerable animosity among GOP regulars. His mail after an anti-Agnew speech last year proved that.

Nevertheless, he admitted that he has not given up on politics. While generally satisfied with the performance of Democratic Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale, Whitney said he is "disappointed" with the "anti-business" stance of Gov. Anderson. When pushed, he conceded that "I wouldn't foreclose the possibility of my seeking office again and added that "if I do, it probably would be for governor."

He does not expect to get Republican endorsement for any statewide office, he said, but would run as a Republican in a primary election.

Whether or not he seeks office again, he said, he will push for a stronger system of primaries for both parties "so that we can let the people decide who the candidates will be, instead of letting a handful of party officers make the decision."

### THE GREEK DICTATORSHIP—A MATTER FOR NATO

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, when the NATO Council of Ministers meet in Brussels this week, an effort will be made to admit on the agenda the question of the Greek dictatorship.

A sorely troubling aspect of American policy on Greece, a policy which generally supports the junta, is that we again seem indifferent to the destruction of democracy and fundamental human rights as long as military loyalty is assured. Our policy shrugs off the announced purposes of NATO in a manner which is, to say the least, short-sighted.

Now comes Sir Hugh Greene, Chairman of the European Atlantic Action Committee on Greece, with a probing memorandum which penetrates to fundamentals and is well worth our attention.

I insert the memorandum in the RECORD.

The memorandum follows:

### THE GREEK DICTATORSHIP—A MATTER FOR NATO

In this memorandum we present a collation of separate arguments, some of them nonetheless substantial for having been used before, others relatively new to the discussion of this problem. Together they amount in our view to an unanswerable case for the NATO Council of Ministers to give serious and immediate consideration to the existence in their midst of an intransigent dictatorship, and to make it known that they do so. At the same time we believe that this memorandum effectively refutes the well-worn argument that NATO (and the USA at its head) has no legitimate basis for interesting itself in the Greek problem or that such interest would be interference in the internal affairs of another country. On this issue, the Danish and Norwegian Governments, who have pressed for action within NATO and will do so again, are right.

#### A. THE PURPOSES OF NATO

1. The words of the Preamble to the North Atlantic Treaty are well-known and eloquent:

The Parties to the Treaty "are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law".

(In Greece, democracy has been destroyed, individual liberty does not exist, and the only law is martial law, in force for nearly five years now without a break.)

2. In Article 2, the Parties make a specific undertaking:

They "will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being."

(In 1971 Greece has no free institutions, and innumerable utterances of the junta's leaders have served only to obscure the principles of democracy. We refer later in this text to the question of stability.)

3. The President of the United States of America reaffirmed these ideas on the 20th anniversary of NATO (1969):

"NATO means more than arms, troop levels, consultative bodies, treaty commitments. All of these are necessary. But what makes them relevant to the future is what the alliance stands for. To discover what this Western Alliance means today, we have to reach back not across two decades but through the centuries, to the very roots of the Western experience.

"When we do, we find that we touch a set of elemental ideals, eloquent in their simplicity, majestic in their humanity; ideals of decency and justice, and liberty, and respect for the rights of our fellow men. Simple, yes; and to us, they seem obvious. But our forbears struggled for centuries to win them, and in our own lifetimes we have had to fight to defend them.

"These ideals are what NATO was created to protect."

4. President Nixon's words are a useful reminder that NATO is more than a simple defence alliance which might be expected to be indifferent to the regimes of its members so long as their military loyalty was assured. The NATO information service itself has stated unequivocally that NATO "is not solely a military alliance designed to prevent aggression or to repel it should it occur; it also provides for continuous co-operation and consultation in political, economic and other nonmilitary fields." (January 1971).

5. Clearly the North Atlantic Treaty constitutes an expression of faith in Western civilization. NATO exists to ensure the conditions necessary for the protection of that civilization. It is toward that end that the military defence of the geographical area is intended to be a means.

6. These points have been underlined in two official NATO reports:

(a) In May 1956 the Committee on Non-Military Co-operation ("The Committee of Three") stated that the successful accomplishment of NATO's task "will depend largely on the extent to which member governments, in their own policies and actions, take into consideration the interests of the Alliance."

(b) Later in its Report the same Committee made it clear that (i) "in developing their national policies, members should take into consideration the interests and views of other governments, particularly those most directly concerned, as expressed in NATO consultations, even where no community of view or consensus has been reached in the Council"; and (ii) "both individual member governments and the Secretary-General should have the right to raise for discussion in the Council any subject which is of common NATO interest and not of a purely domestic character". (See (d) below.)

(c) In December 1967 the "Harmel Report" on Future Tasks of the Alliance stressed again that where the allies do not agree "the practice of frank and timely consultations needs to be deepened and improved." Obviously this practice is impeded if the very issues on which the allies disagree are excluded from the agenda of the Council of Ministers. Certainly there are pressures in the direction of unanimity, but the existence of a formal veto is not well established and disagreed positions have more than once been recorded in communiques.

(d) The two extracts (b) and (c) above appear in the respective reports in the context of foreign policy. However, the Greek dictatorship is emphatically NOT a purely domestic matter, since concern has been expressed throughout the NATO countries and by some NATO governments at Greece's violations of the terms of the Treaty, to the extent that this problem could be viewed as a disruptive force within the Alliance. The problem therefore has foreign policy implications for the other members of the Alliance, and the statements of the two reports above may properly be extended to cover it.

#### B. THE DILEMMA OF GREECE

7. The State Department of the USA has felt this dilemma most acutely:

(a) In a letter addressed to members of Congress in August 1969 it was put this way: "On the one hand we see an autocratic government denying basic civil liberties to the citizens of Greece. We think such an internal order does not coincide with the best interests of Greece, whose stability in the long run, we believe, depends upon the free play of democratic forces . . . On the other hand, Greece is a NATO ally which has scrupulously fulfilled its treaty obligations . . ." (in the military sense only of course).

(b) The dilemma was stated again in the first paragraph of the official State Department publication "Greece-US Policy" (in the GIST series): ". . . how to support our mutual interest in Western security in the Eastern Mediterranean, while encouraging the return to representative government we believe is necessary for Greece's long-term stability and progress."

(c) Thus, although reasons of short-term stability have been adduced for friendly treatment of the regime (in the vain hope that this would lead to some kind of normalization), it is in fact recognized clearly that a threat to long-term stability is involved.

8. Up to the present date, in spite of its awareness of this dilemma, NATO has chosen the view that it has to do with military realities alone, and has failed to attach due importance to the need, observed in Para. 7 above, to assist in the restoration of the freedom of the people of Greece who themselves (and not their self-imposed dictators) are the true allies of NATO. For we must not

forget that it was a democratic government in Greece that signed the Treaty and that committed the country to participation in all the NATO programme.

#### C. WHY NATO CAN AND SHOULD ACT

9. For a guide we could do worse than to consult parliamentary opinion in the NATO countries. During 1971 two events greatly clarified the direction in which this was moving:—

(a) On 3rd August the United States House of Representatives voted by 122 to 53 to suspend military aid and arms sales to Greece under the present regime. The final position of Congress as a whole is not yet clear owing to the disenchantment which has led the Senate to throw out the entire foreign aid programme. Several Senators expressed their revulsion at a programme which served to prop up repressive regimes in different parts of the world, and the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations is on record as saying (November 1971): "Congress will insist on a foreign aid programme that aids people, instead of dictatorships". The NATO Council of Ministers could draw useful inferences from these events.

(b) In September 1971, at its annual meeting in Ottawa, the North Atlantic Assembly (regarded by the NATO Committee of Three in 1956 as making a valuable contribution "to the development of public support for NATO and solidarity among its members") passed a resolution on Greece which went further than previous ones, first in stating that policies of friendly persuasion have failed, and second in recognizing the threats that the continuing dictatorship poses both to the moral credibility and to the internal cohesion of the Alliance. This resolution explicitly recognized too that "Greece's membership of the North Atlantic Alliance gives Greece not only rights but also responsibilities, one of the most important being to end the political injustice which characterizes Greece's internal situation". The weight of this resolution, with its request to the Governments and Parliaments of the NATO countries to use their influence for the restoration of democracy in Greece, should serve as a pointed reminder to the NATO Council of Ministers that the Greek dictatorship is indeed a matter for NATO.

10. The interests of NATO are affected in several ways, and it should be pointed out that the matter of military aid to Greece, on which the U.S. House of Representatives has set an example, does fall clearly within the domains of NATO. In December 1966 the Council of Ministers recommended wide participation in a programme of aid to Greece and Turkey. It was agreed that this programme should be extended to cover the period 1966-70, and since then there has been no further extension. Thus the sanction for providing aid within the framework of NATO would appear to have lapsed—if this is so, a formal acknowledgement of it would be in order, while if there is any doubt about it a call to reconsider the recommendation would equally be in order. In this latter context, the threat to the long-term interests of the alliance (see above), could be aired for discussion in a way which would show that the NATO Ministers had fully faced their responsibilities. As stated above, (Para 6.c) the recording of a disagreement on the subject would not be at variance with precedent.

11. More than once, the NATO Ministers have stressed that peace and security in Europe depend *inter alia* upon "the rights of its peoples to shape their own destinies". This was reaffirmed in the Declaration attached to their communique of December 1969. The people of Greece do not have this right; and this fact alone demands the attention of the Council of Ministers.

12. In spite of a remark made earlier in 1971 by the new Secretary-General of NATO that the present Greek leaders "are not bent

on exporting their system", it should be remembered that there have been intermittent signs of a revival of fascism in Greece's NATO neighbours. The people responsible have without doubt derived comfort from the type of regime in Greece (witness the slogan "Ankara—Athens—Rome" that appeared in the streets of some Italian cities at the beginning of 1971), and it is not for lack of effort on the part of that regime that these clumsy attempts, unthinkable a few years ago, have failed to gain much momentum. In this context, we quote again from the Harmel Report of 1967: "The ultimate political purpose of the Alliance is to achieve a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe accompanied by appropriate security guarantees."

13. Another cause for NATO's concern is the effect that the dictatorship in Greece has had upon a) the armed forces and b) public opinion within Greece itself. Detailed analysis and documentation on these points exists, but here a few brief quotations will serve to show the implications for NATO.

(a) The following is from a speech made in the United States (and subsequently written into the Congressional Record: October 1971) by one of the most highly decorated Greek officers and most loyal servants of NATO, now living in exile and deprived of his nationality, General Orestis Vidalis: "The Armed Forces are thus transformed from a national institution, the servant of all the people, to a political instrument serving the dictator in enslaving the people by force. This all leads to an unbearable burden that the Armed Forces cannot carry without sacrificing their military competency, cohesion and efficiency. At the same time, they lose the support of all political shades of a frustrated population and, as a result, the reserve potential of the Nation becomes worthless."

(b) Given the role of America in Greece since World War II, it is natural that the majority of Greeks regard NATO as very nearly synonymous with the United States. Thus we make no excuses for including the following extract from the October 1971 Declaration of 183 former Greek Deputies in Athens, including the leading members of both main political groupings, on the occasion of the visit to Greece of the Vice-President of the USA:

"This friendship (between the Greek and American peoples) is based on common ideals. It has been strengthened in our own century in common struggles in the cause of democracy and against totalitarian systems. Yet this friendship, indispensable for the security of the Free World, has been shaken in the heart of the Greek people and is in danger of disappearing, on account of the support given by the United States to the present regime in Greece."

(c) In May 1971, Newsweek quoted a foreign diplomat in Athens on the same subject:

"Greeks from all walks of life believe that the USA is behind their unpopular regime. . . . For the first time in their lives they are becoming hostile to America."

Similarly, the propaganda use to which the Greek regime puts every manifestation of NATO co-operation with Greece (official visits by high-ranking officers etc.) plays an important part in demoralizing the people, sowing the seeds for their antipathy to NATO, and thus undermining the Alliance itself.

14. Much has been made of the principle of "non-intervention in the internal affairs of any state by any other state". But there is more than one interpretation of this phrase, as the following quotations eloquently attest:

(a) "We have adopted an Alice in Wonderland approach in which we believe that we stop interfering by giving (the Greek regime) arms. I would like to think that the

proper way to stop interfering is to stop giving them arms." (Senator Claiborne Pell in the US Senate, October 29th, 1971).

(b) "We reject any interference in the internal affairs of Greece. But even more so do we reject the support given—on the pretext of non-intervention—to a regime which has deprived the Greek people of their freedoms. This is the most dangerous kind of intervention in the internal affairs of a country, since it undermines the system of security of the Free World. When this system is turned into a system of protection of governments that do not spring from the free will of the people, the very existence of the Free World crumbles." (Declaration of 183 former Greek Deputies in Athens, 15th October 1971).

We believe that these two arguments speak for themselves, and clearly point up the moral duty and practical need for the NATO ministers to place on record that they have at least directly confronted the problem of Greece.

#### D. CONCLUSION

It is generally recognized that the policy of friendly persuasion of the Greek junta has already failed. We are convinced that the above arguments a) provide all the necessary "legal" justification for the matter of Greece to be examined by the NATO Council of Ministers, b) to show it to be imperative for the Ministers to accept that the Greek dictatorship thus falls within their responsibility and for them to go on record as expressing their concern, and c) touch on the reasons why such an expression may have really positive consequences. In this latter context we would underline two points. First, informed commentators have repeatedly stressed that the great majority of the officer corps of the Greek armed forces are more deeply committed to the Western alliance than they are to the leaders of the present regime; if made to understand that the alliance has reservations about continued full co-operation with the junta as such, they in their turn will opt for full co-operation under a more healthy system of government. Second, as indicated by the Declaration of former Deputies twice quoted above, which concludes with a resolve "to work together for the restoration of free institutions", there does exist today the necessary solidarity in the political world of Greece to ensure a smooth transition to a new democracy, in which Greece will again be able to conform to the Preamble and Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

### CELLER PROPOSES MAJOR ANTI-TRUST REFORM

#### HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on December 2, 1971, I introduced H.R. 12004, a bill to amend the Sherman and Clayton Antitrust Acts, to create an Office of Industrial Organization to Control Concentration of Economic Power.

The bill proposes a major reorganization of antitrust law enforcement to insure the maintenance of competition.

I am today inserting into the RECORD a copy of a detailed press release I issued simultaneously with the introduction of the bill.

The release follows:

### CELLER PROPOSES MAJOR ANTI-TRUST REFORM

Representative Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), Chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary, and of its Antitrust Subcommittee, today introduced a bill that would bring a sweeping revision in antitrust law enforcement. In introducing the bill Chairman Celler said, "We must at this moment in our economic history take every measure to insure the maintenance of competition within a truly free enterprise system." Mr. Celler's bill, the "Corporation Control Act," repeals some parts and amends other sections of the antitrust laws. In addition, Mr. Celler's bill would transfer to an agency, to be created, all outstanding authority in the Federal system over corporate combinations, mergers, acquisitions, or joint ventures.

The new agency will be the "Office of Industrial Organization" to be headed by an Administrator, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and who will rank at Cabinet level.

Chairman Celler said his bill would consolidate and simplify the Government's organization to attain antitrust policy objectives by the centralization of functions that are now fragmented. The powers that are transferred to the new Administrator will enable him to foster competition, and, at the same time, to prevent and to dissipate undue concentration of economic power in interstate and foreign commerce.

Chairman Celler's bill is a result of the Antitrust Subcommittee's investigation in the 91st Congress of mergers and acquisitions by conglomerate corporations. The report, "Investigation of Conglomerate Corporations," dated June 1, 1971, contained an outline of the legislation recommended by Chairman Celler. The report contains a detailed analysis of mergers and acquisitions, and other business practices of the six companies selected by the Subcommittee for intensive study.

The "Corporation Control Act" would add to the traditional prohibitions of the antitrust laws a new administrative control that would be lodged in the Office of Industrial Organization. This positive administrative safeguard would require approval by the Administrator in advance of any merger and acquisition in commerce, and for any combination or joint venture by corporations.

The "Corporation Control Act" deals with problems of "aggregate" concentration in the economy generally, as well as problems of concentration of economic power in particular markets. Mergers, acquisitions, and combinations among "major companies" are a primary concern. A "major company" is a company that falls in any one of the following classes:

(a) Any company engaged in manufacturing or mining included in a list of the largest two hundred (200) corporations, ranked according to sales or assets;

(b) Any company engaged in banking, insurance, transportation or utilities included in a list of the largest one hundred (100) corporations, ranked according to revenues or assets;

(c) Any company with annual sales or assets in excess of two hundred fifty million dollars (\$250,000,000);

(d) Any company with assets in excess of twenty-five million dollars (\$25,000,000) that has in excess of fifteen percent (15%) of total annual sales in any concentrated market.

A "concentrated market" is one in which total sales exceed \$100 million in a year when any four companies account for combined sales in excess of 50 percent of such market.

The "Corporation Control Act" prohibits four classes of action:

1. Monopolization or attempts to monopolize. Any corporation that accounts for 50 percent of the annual sales in any market, or

which has the power to exclude competitors, or to fix prices in such market is deemed to have monopoly power.

2. Mergers or acquisitions where the effect may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce in any section of the country.

3. Corporate combinations or joint ventures whose effect may be to restrain trade or commerce unreasonably.

4. Interlocks by common directors, officers, or employees between competing corporations, or between corporations that are customers, suppliers, or sources of credit or capital.

In addition to his approval power, the Administrator is charged with enforcement of the "Corporation Control Act." He will investigate and hold hearings for this purpose. Judicial enforcement of the "Corporation Control Act" is in United States District Courts, in actions brought by the Attorney General, when authorized by the Administrator. Actions brought in the District Courts are required to be expedited in every way, and appeals from a District Court decision are only to the United States Supreme Court.

Inasmuch as the "Corporation Control Act" supplements antitrust prohibitions with affirmative administrative controls, private actions by third parties are not authorized. The provisions of section 1 of the Sherman Act, applicable to contracts, combinations and conspiracies in restraint of trade, as well as the provisions of the Clayton Act against exclusive dealing and discriminatory pricing, however, remain in force under the Department of Justice and will continue to be the basis for private antitrust actions.

It is anticipated that extensive hearings will be held on the proposal so that all points of view may be reflected in the testimony.

### WOMEN'S MARCH FOR LIFE

#### HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have become increasingly troubled in recent years by the growing disrespect for human life and disregard for our Constitution. I refer specifically to the opinion that existing abortion laws should be liberalized to allow abortion on demand. Such a view contradicts a fundamental constitutional principle that no citizen shall be denied his rights without due process of law. There can be no more basic right than the right to life and yet abortion proponents seek to abolish that right in favor of abortion on demand.

Opposition to this abortion on demand psychology and concern for the sanctity of life were demonstrated on the steps of the Capitol recently by the men and women who participated in the Women's March for Life. At the end of the march they presented me with an antiabortion resolution and I now insert the resolution and accompanying statement into the RECORD:

Congressman Hogan, We are marching today to defend the rights of those who cannot defend themselves—the unborn babies. In all the medical textbooks—up until the present time, when they are being "revised" and rewritten—it is stated that life begins at conception. We know that a baby's heart beats at three weeks after conception—that at six weeks his internal organs are present,

and his nervous system is intact and he can feel pain at seven weeks—before most mothers are even sure they are with child. Yet there are those who would kill him because he is an inconvenience to them.

Some women say he is a part of their bodies, but he is a unique human being, who, by eight weeks even has his own unique fingerprints. His cells, which all contain his genetic code, are completely different from her cells, which all have her genetic code.

If, after he is born, these mothers still do not want their offspring, I can assure them that there are many couples who would welcome him.

Society is facing many serious problems today. But a just society cannot solve social problems by killing human beings. Therefore, we of the Women's March For Life, would like to present you with this Resolution:

Whereas, Women are traditionally the guardians of life; and

Whereas, Today, as never before, our concern and compassion are needed, for often it seems that life was never cheaper; and

Whereas, Both the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution specifically protect the right to life in that both amendments declare that no person shall be deprived of life without due process of law; and

Whereas, the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees to every person the equal protection of the laws; and

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States no where qualifies life as being of any specific age, state of dependency or degree of genetic perfection or acceptability in order to share in the promise, pledge and protection of the Republic; and

Whereas, the Federal law criminally prohibits all abortions in Washington, D.C. not necessary for the preservation of the life or health of the mother; and

Whereas, The Supreme Court of the United States has recently held that this Federal law protecting the unborn in the District of Columbia is not unconstitutionally vague; and

Whereas, Abortion on demand has become rampant in Washington, D.C. during the last nine months, with more than two thousand unique and irreplaceable human lives currently being destroyed by criminal abortion each month; and

Whereas, Bills are pending before the 92nd Congress of the United States to deprive the unborn child of his constitutionally protected right to life and equal protection of the laws; and

Whereas, The Constitution has placed a duty on members of Congress to protect inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and

Whereas, President Richard M. Nixon, as Chief Executive of the United States, is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and all Federal laws, including the law to protect the unborn child from death by abortion in the District of Columbia; now, therefore, be it

**Resolved,** Women's March For Life petitioners members of the 92nd Congress of the United States of America and the President of the United States of America to be solicitous of the rights of the unborn child and to emphatically reject all bills which invidiously discriminate against the constitutional right to life of the unborn child, and Women's March For Life petitioners members of Congress and the President of the United States of America to demand that the law to protect the unborn child be enforced in the District of Columbia; and, be it further

**Resolved,** That a copy of this Resolution be delivered to all members of the 92nd Congress of the United States of America and to the President of the United States of America.

Congressman Hogan, We know that you have been prominent in the defense of the

unborn baby. We are confident that you will work to see the defeat of any bills which would allow a baby to be killed in his mother's womb. We thank you for your continued fight and for meeting us here today.

### LET US FREEZE GOVERNMENT, TOO

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this administration has asked the American people to join in the fight against inflation by accepting stringent Government controls on wages and prices. On the whole, the public has responded admirably. But if the Government can demand the cooperation of individuals, it must be prepared to keep faith with them by tightening its own belt and applying the same stringent standards to Federal expenditures.

Following is an editorial originally published as a full-page advertisement in three major Washington, D.C., newspapers by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and reprinted in the Chamber's Washington Report on October 31, 1971. Mr. Speaker, I will insert it in the Record. It is my belief that everyone involved in policymaking decisions in Government should read it.

The material follows:

#### LET'S FREEZE GOVERNMENT, TOO—

A MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS

Under the current program of controls and freezes, you are:

Asking working men and women to make sacrifices in holding down wage demands.

Asking businessmen to make sacrifices in holding down prices.

What sacrifices will government make? Government surely doesn't want to ask others to make sacrifices it isn't prepared to make itself. If your program to control inflation is to succeed, government must do two things:

1. Cut federal spending.
2. Restrain the creation of money through the Federal Reserve System.

It is unfair to control the economic decisions of people—while letting federal spending run rampant. Government must do its part—it, too, must show self-discipline.

To halt inflation, Federal Government spending must be frozen—better yet—CUT, and the money supply restrained. Economic controls deal with the result of inflation. Frozen or reduced spending is one sure way to reduce inflationary pressures. As wage and price increases are deferred, so too should spending for new federal programs be deferred.

It is also time for Congress and all agencies of government to evaluate existing programs by their measurable results and get rid of the deadwood programs that have a proven record of ineffectiveness. Congress too seldom reviews the need for legislation previously enacted.

Will you, Mr. President and Members of Congress, face up to these needs?

Only you have the authority to investigate, hold hearings, ask questions and sit in judgment of these spending questions. If you don't know where and how to stop spending, then you should set up the proper mechanism to find the answers.

If the citizens of the United States must struggle under economic controls then government should, in all equity, retain its own actions, with emphasis on reduced spending and a restrained money supply.

It is time for government to cooperate with the American taxpayer in this fight against inflation.

Mr. President and Members of Congress, the responsibility is yours.

### VETERANS DAY

HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, on November 11, I joined with several of my colleagues in introducing legislation to restore November 11 as the official date for observance of Veterans Day, one of this Nation's most important memorials.

At that time, I cited the historical significance of the date as being a principal reason for its official redesignation, and I mentioned the lack of meaning and symbolism that many people, especially veterans, felt when Veterans Day was celebrated this year on October 25.

Meaning and symbolism are two of the most important elements in a national observance of this kind, and in my recent remarks I sought to persuade my colleagues that all symbolism and almost all meaning had been removed from this memorial when Congress voted—before I was privileged to serve here—to make Veterans Day a day of convenience rather than a day of respect and gratitude and reflection.

No words of mine can be so persuasive, however, as those spoken by Mrs. Lucius Majette of Winston-Salem, a constituent of mine who was in Paris at the time the World War I armistice was signed on November 11, 1918. On November 11, 1971, Mrs. Majette said, rather defiantly:

Nobody is going to tell me November 11 isn't Veterans Day.

Changing it, she said, would "be like changing Judgment Day."

Similar opinions were expressed all across the country this year by veterans' groups, people like Mrs. Majette who can still attach personal significance to the date, and thousands of other Americans for whom Veterans Day just did not mean as much this year as they thought it should have.

At this time, I include in the RECORD two articles that appeared in recent editions of the Winston-Salem, N.C. Journal, one dealing with Mrs. Majette, the other reporting various reactions to this year's Veterans Day observance:

SHE WAS THERE—SHE KNOWS: "NOVEMBER 11 IS ARMISTICE DAY"

(By Joe Pichirallo)

"Why, I put my big old flag out there the other day," she said, "and everybody wanted to know why."

Her puffed, white cheeks turned pink. Nov. 11 is Armistice Day, she said, "and it'll always be, as far as I'm concerned."

Mrs. Lucius Majette of 1924 Brantley Street is mad at President Nixon—so mad that at



the age of 75, she's going to write him a protest letter. He's made a dreadful mistake.

He signed a bill which has moved Veterans' Day to the fourth Monday in October. Rep. Wilmer Mizell, D-N.C., has introduced a bill to return the observance to Nov. 11.

Neighbors of Mrs. Majette put up their flags this year on Oct. 25.

But not Mrs. Majette. She displayed her flag last Thursday—Nov. 11.

"Nobody's going to tell me Nov. 11 is not Veterans' Day," she said yesterday at her home.

"Be like changing Judgment Day."

Besides, she said, she was there, in Paris, "when they signed it."

Mrs. Dodge Glenn Majette served with the Red Cross for 14 months, mostly at a canteen for U.S. soldiers in Lyons, France, during World War I.

Her late husband, an employe of Imperial Tobacco Company for 45 years, served there at the same time with the 81st (Wildcat) Division.

Yesterday, the chunky, peppery old woman sat against the edge of her easy chair, a satin black and white bow in her gray hair. ("My only problem," she said, "is I can't stop talking.")

Staring as if she could see Paris right there in her living room, she recalled the commotion caused by the signing of the Armistice on Nov. 11, 1918. ("Most exciting day I ever had.")

She had been about to get a new assignment and had gone shopping in Paris with a girl friend when "all of a sudden, it sounded like all hell had broke lose."

There were loud cheers as people—"so many, looked like they came out of the ground"—jammed Paris streets. Cars were overturned, windows smashed, all kinds of noise, she said.

"And I never got kissed so much in my life. From men, women, children. Why, I was fixing my hat every 10 minutes," she said, a merry twinkle in her light blue eyes.

She interrupted her reminiscing to get out her flag.

She's very proud of the American Flag.

She placed the flag gently in its holder outside her house—just as if it were last Thursday.

She refused help to furl it.

"I'm used to doing it," she said, neatly rolling up the 3x5 foot flag. "We don't want to get him wrinkled," she said in warm motherly tone.

On the flag's box is a list of holidays to display it.

One of them is "Veterans' Day, Nov. 11."

"That's what it is," said Mrs. Majette. "Why don't they leave Armistice Day like it was."

FOR MANY, ARMISTICE DAY STILL NOVEMBER 11

"Our Armistice Day is Nov. 11," said Paul Andre, Ohio quartermaster of the Veterans of World War I. "It always was, and it always will be."

Members of Andre's group and many other veterans, particularly those who fought in World War I, are marking Veterans Day on Thursday even though the legal date of the holiday was Oct. 25.

Veterans Day—called Armistice Day until a few years ago—traditionally marked the anniversary of the end of World War I. Congress changed the date to the fourth Monday in October to provide an extra three-day weekend.

The official ceremonies held Oct. 25 were highlighted by a wreath-laying at the Tomb of the Unknowns at Arlington National Cemetery in Washington. Some antiwar groups also demonstrated that day, joining veterans' parades in about a dozen large cities.

#### BOYCOTTED CELEBRATION

Many veterans' groups, however, boycotted the Oct. 25 celebrations.

In Cambridge, Mass., Chapter 464 of the World War I veterans announced ceremonies

for Thursday and a spokesman said: "This organization does not intend to allow a great day to be juggled around to a date that means nothing. Our services may be simple, but they will be held. To hell with phony holidays."

The Department Council of Maine Veterans of World War I planned a wreath-laying ceremony in Portland at 11 a.m.—the exact time the armistice took effect.

"You have to be one of us to realize what this really means," said William P. Shapleigh, the council adjutant. "One hour before noon the curtain came down, and it looked like we'd all be going home."

#### MEANS NOTHING

Shapleigh said his group didn't participate in Oct. 25 ceremonies. "That means nothing to us," he said. "Any move . . . to change history by legislating new dates for the observance of patriotic holidays is a tragic mistake."

The convention of the Indiana Department of the American Legion passed a resolution urging that Nov. 11 be kept as Veterans Day and a group spokesman said most Indiana towns would observe the holiday on Thursday. "Oct. 25 was a holiday only for governmental offices and schools," said Art McDowell, legion spokesman, on Wednesday.

"The business and industries didn't take a day off. There was no three-day holiday as promised. So in Terre Haute, Fort Wayne, New Albany and other cities, the parades and speeches will be tomorrow."

#### MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON ON THE SUBJECT OF NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

#### HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Committee has recently completed its hearings on the subject of national health insurance. I would like to bring to the attention of our colleagues the comprehensive statement delivered before the committee by the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. HARRINGTON).

In preparing for his committee appearance, Representative HARRINGTON made an exhaustive study of two major areas of health care that have not been given adequate attention in any of the major health care proposals: Care for the mentally ill and custodial care. The information he provided the committee reveals the critical need in this area and suggests how serious the omission of such coverage would be in any national health insurance program. In his statement, Representative HARRINGTON has also made some cogent comments on the crisis in health care delivery in the United States and provided an interesting analysis—with recommendations—on why hospital care costs have skyrocketed in the past decade.

If indeed we are to enact legislation that will relieve Americans of ruinous personal health care costs we must include adequate provisions for mental and chronic care. It is tragic enough for a family to have a member suffer from a mental illness, mental retardation, cancer, or any of the other afflictions requir-

ing long-term medical care, without also having to suffer a protracted and devastating financial hardship.

Congressman HARRINGTON offered the Ways and Means Committee a number of recommendations. He urged that the following provisions for mental illness should be included in any bill reported out of the Ways and Means Committee:

1. Full coverage of 90 days of hospitalization, per benefit period;
2. Further hospitalization if the patient's doctor of peer group review determines it is necessary;
3. A review every 30 days of extended hospitalization;
4. Coverage of "active" treatment only;
5. A minimum of 20 visits to a psychiatrist on an outpatient basis, per benefit period;
6. Full coverage of all prescription drugs;
7. Full coverage of community mental health center assistance, and strong provisions providing federal funding for continuance of such centers;
8. Full coverage of home visits by qualified staff members of clinics or comprehensive mental health centers;
9. Full coverage for 90 days stay in day mental hospital with same provisions for extension as full time hospital, per benefit period.
10. Full coverage for 90 days stay in night mental hospital with same provisions for extension as full time hospital, per benefit period.
11. A five year study to determine costs of mental health insurance with an eye toward removing restrictions if data demonstrates feasibility.

In the area of chronic care, Representative HARRINGTON has recommended:

1. That national health insurance provide unlimited nursing-home care.
2. That national health insurance provide for transient and permanent half-way house care.
3. That national health insurance pay for the care of the severely and mildly retarded and that such insurance cover the cost of special training and education.
4. That national health insurance be redefined to include social services necessary for decent health care.
5. That the chronically ill—not in custodial care—be provided with the at-home constant services, medication and equipment they require to maintain themselves, and that such services be provided to everyone regardless of ability to pay.

Like Congressman HARRINGTON, I am a cosponsor of the Health Security Act of 1971 introduced in the House by our distinguished colleague from Michigan (Mrs. GRIFFITHS) and by the senior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY). But, I agree with our colleague from Massachusetts that this legislation falls short of providing adequate treatment for the mentally ill and provisions for custodial care for the chronically ill.

I recommend Representative HARRINGTON's statement to our colleagues, and I am submitting its full text for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I hope that the Ways and Means Committee is able to act on his recommendations.

STATEMENT OF HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON BEFORE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

#### INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman, thank you for allowing me to appear before you today.

You are holding extensive hearings in an area of primary concern to every American—health, and I am hopeful that the informa-

tion you have compiled will result in legislation which will give all Americans the decent health care they deserve.

I have co-sponsored the Kennedy-Griffiths bill because I believe the problem of health care is so acute that only a comprehensive, compulsory national health insurance system will solve it. The abysmal failure of the present system to give proper health care to the poor, the elderly, and the middle class at reasonable cost necessitates a dramatic change. The Kennedy-Griffiths bill is a start in the right direction and I commend Senator Kennedy and Congresswoman Griffiths for the leadership and initiative they are showing on this critical matter. I intend today to suggest several areas where their bill should be expanded—but none of these suggestions are in any way intended to detract from their achievement in putting together a first-rate piece of legislation in an area of great complexity.

I do not intend to take up the Committee's time with a repetition of the statistics which demonstrate the overwhelming need for the Kennedy-Griffiths bill. Instead, I will address myself to three areas where I believe further attention is needed. They are adequate treatment for the mentally ill, provisions of custodial care for the chronically ill, and comprehensive health care planning.

#### MENTAL ILLNESS

The majority of those suffering from mental illness are the poor. They have been the subject of much discussion before the Committee, since it is they who also receive the worst health care. Discussion has centered on ending discrimination against general health care for the poor but little has been said about mental health.

Those with the least education and the lowest income have the highest rates of admission to state and county mental hospitals and to out-patient psychiatric services. Within this group, older citizens (those over 55) have the highest rate of mental illness with women at a rate almost double that of men.

Nor are the poor the only group in need in this area. To an increasing degree our large labor unions have gotten involved in the problem of mental illness among their members. The United Auto Workers Health program is a model in this field, and as International President Floyd Smith of the IAM points out...

"As industry becomes increasingly automated more jobs become monotonous, boring and frustrating. They not only provide no satisfaction, but, by decreasing the worker's sense of personal contribution, undermine his sense of individual worth. As the environment for humans in industry becomes more sterile the climate for alcoholism, drugs and antisocial behavior becomes more fertile. This entails a significant loss not only for workers individually but for the nation's productive capacity as a whole. . . .

"Along with other labor organizations, our union has tried to negotiate pre-paid psychiatric care provisions in collective bargaining contracts. We have had some success. But our efforts are little more than a band-aid where major surgery is required. Just as physical health care is too enormous for privately negotiated insurance plans the problems of mental health cannot be solved without establishing a comprehensive base of government support for a wide range of services."

The simple fact is that very few Americans today can afford private psychiatric care out of their own incomes.

In fact, 10 per cent of the total population—or 20 million people—have been or will be hospitalized for mental illness at some time during their lifetimes. In 1969, one out of every three hospital beds in the United States was a psychiatric bed. It has also been estimated that up to 25 per cent of the popu-

lation will need some kind of psychiatric care during their lifetimes. We are therefore talking about between 20 and 50 million people.

Why then is it that every bill before your Committee discriminates against the mentally ill? The answer is twofold.

First: American society does not like to think about mental illness. It is not considered a "real" illness. If the sick person would only "exercise some self control and pull himself together" he'd be fine. This arrogant, frightened, ignorant viewpoint is false and unjust. The advances made in medicine—particularly in pharmacology—linking mental illness with physiological problems and the evidence of the effectiveness of psychotherapy demonstrate that mental illness is indeed real.

Second: There is a great fear that the cost of treatment for mental illness—if it were available to everyone—would be prohibitive. Studies made of different national health insurance plans have shown no marked increase in the use of psychiatric facilities. The increases have been offset by a corresponding decrease in the number of visits to the regular family physician. (Doctors report that a high percentage of their patients are suffering from psychosomatic complaints.)

Studies of the various group practice prepayment plans providing comprehensive outpatient psychiatric care have shown that about 5 to 20 persons per 1,000 enrollees receive some out-patient psychiatric care each year. Average number of visits per patient ranges generally from 7 to 15, and total visits per 1,000 enrollees range from about 50 to 170. Total visits for psychiatric care comprise from 1 to 4 per cent of total visits for all conditions, including preventive care.

Hospital admissions for mental conditions generally range from about 2 to 4 per 1,000 covered population annually and comprise about 2 to 3 per cent of all hospital admissions. Days of care for mental conditions range from about 25 to 60 days annually per 1,000 population, and comprise about 5 to 7 per cent of the days of care for all conditions. The average per diem cost of care for mental illness is lower than that for all conditions (since there are no charges for operating room, anesthesia, x-ray and laboratory examinations) and the overall cost of hospital care runs about 3 to 5 per cent of that for all conditions.

There is no good reason—from the data shown—why insurance coverage of hospital and outpatient care for mental conditions should not be as extensive as that for general illness.

The problem is that such coverage is now limited to a small percentage of the population. And in many cases, persons with a history of mental illness cannot receive adequate coverage.

I have received several letters from the parents of mentally ill children. These letters show so clearly the need for adequate coverage, that I would like them to be placed in the hearing record at this point. The unnecessary pain and suffering to which our present health care system subjects children and their parents is so horrible that it must be changed. The letters speak for themselves.

Your Committee, Mr. Chairman, has a unique opportunity to do a service to Americans by allowing them the same right to mental health as is now claimed for physical health.

Let me briefly summarize the provisions for mental health care in the National Health Insurance Partnership Act, the National Healthcare Act of 1971, the AMA Medically Plan, and the Health Security Act.

#### THE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PARTNERSHIP ACT OF 1971

The National Health Insurance Partnership Act of 1971, does not require than an approved basic health care plan include outpatient or inpatient psychiatric services. Sec-

tion 603 of the bill, setting forth the benefits which must be included in an approved employer-employee-financed health plan, states that a plan must include "physician's services (except when provided by a psychiatrist) to an inpatient of a hospital," and "physician's services (except when provided by a psychiatrist), . . . for a person who is not an inpatient of a hospital." Similar restrictions on coverage of psychiatric services would apply to benefits under the Family Health Insurance Plan, proposed under Title II of the bill.

#### THE NATIONAL HEALTHCARE ACT

The "Minimum Health Care Benefits" spelled out in the National Healthcare Act of 1971, include three visits per year to a physician in his office or in an ambulatory health care center. Presumably, these visits could be used for treatment by a psychiatrist. This plan also covers the first 30 days in a general or psychiatric hospital per illness and full charges for physicians' services while institutionalized. Over a six-year period following enactment of the proposed legislation, additional benefits would be phased-in. Additional visits to a physician for treatment of mental disorders would be unlimited in number and would be subject to a 50 per cent co-payment by the patient.

#### THE AMA "MEDICREDIT" PLAN

The Health Care Insurance Assistance Act of 1971 embodies the "Medicredit" approach to health care financing supported by the American Medical Association. Under the bill, a qualified private health insurance policy eligible for Federal income tax credits would have to include at least the following benefits relating to mental health care: (1) 60 days of inpatient hospital care for psychiatric treatment; (2) outpatient diagnostic tests and emergency services; and (3) psychiatric care by a physician regardless of where the services were provided—number of visits unspecified.

#### HEALTH SECURITY ACT

The Health Security Act of 1971, introduced into the House by Representative Martha Griffiths and into the Senate by Senator Edward Kennedy, would provide for 45 consecutive days of psychiatric inpatient care during a benefit period. Covered services do not include institutional care of a person as a psychiatric patient unless that person is receiving active treatment (as opposed to maintenance or custodial care) for an emotional or mental disorder.

Psychiatric services to an ambulatory patient are covered only for active preventive, diagnostic, therapeutic, or rehabilitative service with respect to mental illness. If the patient seeks care in the organized setting of a comprehensive health service organization, or a hospital outpatient clinic, or other comprehensive mental health clinic, there is no limit on the number of consultations. The care of a psychiatric patient in a mental health day care service is covered for up to 60 days. If the patient is consulting a solo practitioner, there is a limit of 20 consultations per benefit period. Psychologists' services are covered if they are part of institutional services or are furnished by a comprehensive health service organization. Services of independently practicing psychologists are not covered.

Of all the legislation the Health Security Act has the best mental health provisions. I am in full sympathy with the requirement that time in a mental hospital should be spent on "active" treatment. Custodial care, which I shall discuss elsewhere, should no longer be tolerated for the mentally ill. I can understand why a 45 day limit has been placed on hospitalization, but I cannot wholeheartedly approve. There is no such limit for physical illness. If a patient requires active treatment after 45 days why should he be penalized. I would suggest that ideally,

no limit be placed on the number of days allowed in a mental hospital. However, I realize that one reason for such a limitation is to create an incentive for moving people out of the hospital and to encourage the use of community mental health centers. I applaud these objectives and endorse them.

Nevertheless, there will be some small number of persons who will require extended hospitalization. I would therefore suggest a minimum of 90 days of active treatment. If the limit were 90 days almost every patient (not just a majority) would be covered. If the patient cannot respond at the end of 90 days, I further suggest that either on the doctor's recommendation or by some type of peer group recommendation or some other method, the patient be allowed to continue active treatment, subject to a review every 30 days. I know that there are problems in peer group review, and I am not advocating this as a solution to the problem. I don't have enough expertise to offer the ultimate answer to the proper review mechanism. I hope the Committee will look into it.

Mr. Chairman, the number of patients being discussed here is very small, the cost is very small—to us—but it would be disastrous to their families if they had to bear the burden. Statistics clearly show that the number of hospitalized patients is dropping, and gives further evidence that the cost of adequate hospitalization for those who need it is not beyond the resources of this nation.

The number of inpatients in State and county mental hospitals as of June 1970 was 338,592. This represents a drop of 35,192 patients, or a 9.5 per cent decline over the past year. Thus, for the 15th consecutive year, the population of these institutions has declined. Accompanying this trend is the number of net releases from mental institutions. The number has tripled from 126,000 in 1955 to 395,000 in 1970. 1970 was the first year that the number of net releases exceeded the number of admissions.

The cost per day for the average resident patient in State and county mental hospitals has risen from a figure of \$12.59 per day in 1969 to \$14.89 per day in 1970. Compare this to a cost of approximately \$85 per day in our best private mental hospitals, and we can see that the treatment in the mental hospitals cannot possibly be as good as the average patient needs. Yet, there are many families that cannot afford even the cost of the state hospital, who are afraid to put a member into a state hospital, but have no choice. When the cost for a year's stay in such a hospital is \$5,434.85 it is clear that most families simply can't afford to pay.

A second area in the coverage of mental illness also concerns me. This is the restriction on the number of visits allowed to a psychiatrist. The Kennedy bill places no limit on the number allowed if the psychiatrist is part of a health maintenance organization. The limit is 20 if he is in private practice. I recognize that this provision seeks to provide incentives for the formation of HMO's, and that is an effort I fully support. This recognition of the worth of HMO's is one of the important innovative features of the Kennedy-Griffiths bill. But it will take us some time to reach that goal and in the interim I am concerned at the plight of those who find no HMO available to them, or who for some other reason will be continuing treatment with a single practitioner. Ideally, there should be no limit on private visits in these circumstances. If the person is sick he should be allowed to see his doctor.

Realistically, I know that there are strong inclinations to limit the visits. As I have demonstrated, when the private plans began covering subscribers for psychiatric visits there was no overwhelming increase in the number of persons seeking such visits, and the cost did not become staggering. If the Committee is convinced that some control is necessary, I would ask two things—first,

limit the visits to no less than 20, as we see in the Kennedy bill. Second, require that a study be made within 5 years of the cost and utilization of psychiatric services. At that time revise the restrictions in light of the data. I think we will see a considerable loosening of restrictions against mental health coverage. Let us not shut the door once and for all in this Congress.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we must at all costs preserve the community mental health centers. Approximately 400 mental health centers are or will be in operation in the near future. At the present time, funding for these centers is on an extremely tenuous basis, with legislation providing such funding running out in the next two years. It is essential for progressive and good mental health, that these centers remain open. They have contributed immeasurably already to keeping patients out of the hospital and to providing adequate outpatient care. If national health insurance does not provide some form or reimbursement to these facilities, and does not make it a clearly mandated goal that these facilities shall continue in operation, we will have lost one of the best, most economical, and most farsighted health organizations in existence.

To summarize, at a minimum the following provisions for mental illness should be included in any bill reported out of this Committee:

1. Full coverage of 90 days of hospitalization, per benefit period;
2. Further hospitalization if the patient's doctor or peer group review determines it is necessary;
3. A review every 30 days of extended hospitalization;
4. Coverage of "active" treatment only;
5. A minimum of 20 visits to a psychiatrist on an outpatient basis, per benefit period;
6. Full coverage of all prescription drugs;
7. Full coverage of community mental health center assistance, and strong provisions providing federal funding for continuance of such centers;
8. Full coverage of home visits by qualified staff members of clinics or comprehensive mental health centers;
9. Full coverage for 90 days stay in day mental hospital with same provisions for extension as full time hospital, per benefit period.
10. Full coverage for 90 days stay in night mental hospital with same provisions for extension as full time hospital, per benefit period.
11. A five year study to determine costs of mental health insurance with an eye toward removing restrictions if data demonstrates feasibility.

Mr. Chairman, President Kennedy in his Message on Mental Illness and Mental Retardation in 1963 stated:

"Mental Health Services should be financed in the same way as other medical and hospital costs. At one time this was not feasible in the case of mental illness, where prognosis almost invariably called for long and often permanent courses of treatment. But tranquilizers and new therapeutic methods now permit mental illness to be treated successfully . . . within relatively short periods of time—weeks or months, rather than years."

President Kennedy was right eight years ago. Is the Congress ready to act now? I hope so.

#### CHRONIC ILLNESS

The second area of concern to me is the care—particularly custodial care—of the chronically ill. The image conveyed to the American public is that the Congress is seriously considering legislation which will provide comprehensive health benefits for everyone. That image is false. These bills do not cover everyone, and it is my intention today to bring to light and to discuss the fact that those needing custodial care are not

even being considered for coverage under any national health insurance proposal.

Let's not fool ourselves, but most of all let's not fool our constituents. Some people are not going to get the right diseases. Some people are going to need longer term care than the Congress or the President wants to give them. And these are generally the people with the least political clout—the aged living in nursing homes, the mentally retarded, the mentally ill who require a sheltered environment and have no home to return to. If it is indeed too expensive to provide these individuals with adequate health coverage, let's drop our mantle of hypocrisy and admit that there are limits to what we can do. If we can afford to provide them with coverage then let's demolish once and for all the idea that "custodial" care is not "health" care.

Our society has consistently differentiated between health services and social services. It is time to take another look at our definition of services and determine how and why we ever got into such a silly bind. It is increasingly clear that better health—and less expensive health care—may come for many in a middle ground between home and hospital. It has been estimated that 10 per cent or more of the chronic long-term patients in the Massachusetts state mental hospitals could be released if they had foster homes or half-way homes to which they could go. Studies of the severely retarded have demonstrated that with adequate training and education, most can learn to function on a minimal level. Yet we spend twice as much as we need to keep such individuals in state facilities simply because we lack the funds and imagination to look for and use the alternatives.

I would like to see any health care bill reported out of this Committee include unlimited coverage for custodial care—defined as nursing homes, half-way houses, foster homes, and where necessary institutionalization. The emphasis should be permanently on alternatives to institutionalization.

A look at the statistics of the numbers of chronically ill proves the need for both home care and "custodial" care coverage.

It is evident that Americans are living longer. Since 1900, the life expectancy for the American male has risen from 48 years to 67 years and for American females from 51 to 74 years. Yet the United States currently ranks 22nd in the male life expectancy and 7th in the female life expectancy of all the major industrial nations of the world. A male in Sweden can expect to live five years longer than the average American male and a female in the Netherlands can expect to live nearly two more years than the average American female. Of course, part of this is due to American affluence and our way of life, but the major reason for their longevity is their nation's health care system.

Since 1901, the United States has had 40 Nobel prize winners for medicine. We have prevented or controlled formerly fatally infectious diseases such as pneumonia, typhoid fever, and tuberculosis. Yet, these other nations have a more comprehensive health care and health delivery system which provides their people with adequate care at a cost that is not prohibitive. To these nations, health is of the first priority.

With these advances in medical sciences, more and more Americans are reaching the ages at which they become vulnerable to arthritis, emphysema, rheumatism, heart disease, cancer, multiple sclerosis, Parkinson's disease and other chronic illnesses.

Of the 22 million Americans suffering limitations from chronic illnesses over 12 million are severely enough affected that they had to discontinue their major activity (job, housework, or studies). An additional four million are disabled to the degree that they could hold no job at all.

Nearly 11 million Americans suffer from arthritis alone. Rheumatism afflicts another 6 million. Heart diseases have stricken nearly 15 million Americans with another 13 million suspected sufferers. Over 500,000 people suffer from multiple sclerosis. Parkinson's disease which is primary among the crippling neurological diseases afflicts over one million individuals, and 50,000 more Americans will be afflicted with this disease every year.

Diseases such as diabetes, which afflicts nearly three million citizens, can be controlled if diagnosed—but nearly half of the sufferers do not know they have it.

The incidence of chronic respiratory diseases, particularly emphysema, has been recognized by health authorities as a growing menace because of the increasing contamination of our environment. In the last five years, emphysema cases have risen over 109 per cent. People affected by bronchitis and/or emphysema number well over four and a half million. The number of deaths per 100,000 caused by emphysema has increased from 5.4 in 1960 to 11.1 in 1970, more than a two-fold increase in just one decade. Because their disease is progressive and their ability to breathe is affected emphysema patients need continuous care, beyond the hospital. Home care is essential and expensive. In time, with enough research, there might be a cure. Until then, the needs of the afflicted must be met.

Over 800,000 persons suffering from chronic illnesses are strictly confined to their homes. A typical case was related to me in a letter from Mrs. Eva M. Rees, Executive Director of the Visiting Nurse Service of New York. Mrs. Rees wrote:

"Mrs. D., a woman of 45, has multiple sclerosis. Her illness has progressed to a point where she is unable to do any self care. She is completely dependent on helping persons for bathing, toileting and nutrition. Her husband works, her 3 sons are of school age, and with no other family members available, a home health aide was essential for her care. Mr. D's income was inadequate to meet medical expenses and they were therefore able to qualify for Medicaid assistance and home health aid services was provided 8 hours a day, 5 days a week. With changes in eligibility, however, the Ds no longer qualified for Medicaid assistance and although several voluntary agencies tried to provide assistance, this 45 year old woman had to be sent to a nursing home where she will likely remain until she dies."

This kind of governmental insensitivity is cruel to both the patient and her family, and results in a much more costly form of treatment. It would be both more humane and less expensive to stay at home.

This Committee has already heard the projected cost of hospitalization for the next few years. People who suffer from the chronic illnesses will be forced to meet these costs. Yet, the incomes of families with a severely chronically ill person are less because of the inability to work. When the chronically ill person is the head of the family, disruption of earned income may be acute. When another member of the family is the one afflicted, earning losses may not be quite as severe, although other expenses may be incurred in the forms of attendant care, house-keeping, or special equipment.

According to the Social Security Survey of the Disabled, the median family income of disabled adults in 1965 was \$5,270—compared to an average family income of \$6,817. And families with a severely disabled adult had incomes of \$3,156—an amount bordering on the poverty level. These people must meet costs estimated at between \$900 and \$1,000 a month.

Home health care must be provided for the chronically ill. But adequate custodial care deserves equal consideration and action. More than one million Americans are in nursing homes.

270,000 mentally retarded individuals are confined to institutions.

Ten per cent of all persons suffering from multiple sclerosis will need the full range of custodial care.

A percentage of individuals suffering from other illnesses which I have discussed will need custodial care.

Let me use cancer as an example. Victims of cancer, which kills two out of every three people it attacks, in almost all cases undergo a long-term treatment period and they or their families must face astronomically high costs.

In a letter that I received from Mr. Richard T. Mayes, Treasurer of the Children's Cancer Fund of America, he says:

"The problem of how families of average means can pay for custodial care of the critically or chronically ill short of help from the national Treasury is beyond the scope of this organization to even suggest a solution. Private or charitable organizations could not even scratch the surface of meeting the expense of medical and custodial care for the millions of children threatened or afflicted with cancer in its many forms.

"I can say quite frankly that all the funds that this small but devoted hard working group can generate in a single year would not be adequate to pay the expenses for more than few victims being treated for any serious cancer illness, of children up to age 14 years."

The initial tests and follow up diagnosis and treatment for children suspected of cancer costs between \$1,000 and \$5,000 in New York City. Therapy alone in a hospital will cost \$200 a day for a period of two or three weeks. That, Mr. Chairman, will cost a family around \$4,000. After the therapy is the survival period, this may last two, maybe three years. This will include numerous visits to the hospital and much custodial care. The cost for the family if the child will survive two and a half years, which is the average, is \$35,000. In any NHI proposal, there must be adequate provision for custodial care for the victims of these diseases. The costs are too prohibitive for adequate care.

For elderly patients, help is no easier to find. Dr. Lichtman, director of the DeWitt Nursing Home in New York, has reported that not more than twelve people in all of New York City were certified by the Social Security Administration for any type of custodial care in an extended care unit.

The costs of care cannot be counted in terms of pure dollars. Over 224 million days of work were lost in 1963 due to chronic conditions. A total of 6.2 million man years were lost that year because of death illness. The value of this work in terms of 1963 price value minus one-fourth of the man years that would probably be non-productive was \$23.8 billion.

Mr. Chairman, there is a special area of chronic illness that I would like to discuss now. This is the case of the mentally retarded—who under all NHI proposals are not adequately covered. Over 6 million Americans are mentally retarded. A mentally retarded child is born every five minutes. Over 20 million family members are affected directly—that is almost one in every five families.

Yet, Mr. Chairman, at least one third of the mentally retarded presently in institutions, if they receive the proper care soon enough, can be productive self-supporting members of society. But institutional care with costs nearly ten dollars a day and there are 270,000 retarded persons in institutions. This money goes for food, clothing and shelter. Little, if any, effort is made at education or training. A father making thirty dollars a day might have to pay one-half of his wages just to keep his child alive. To expect parents to meet these costs at the expense of the rest of the family—which in three-fourths of cases is poor—is incompre-

hensible. The mentally retarded have a fundamental human right, to proper health care. The fact that he needs more help, both financially, educationally and medically, is all the more reason to help him.

Most mental retardation originates in the prenatal period or in early childhood. The need for increased prenatal and well-baby care is covered under the Griffiths bill and the other proposals. The question is what happens when the retarded baby grows up. Will the family have to assume all costs. Or will the State simply pay to put him away in an institution where there is little or no hope of improvement.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That national health insurance provide unlimited nursing-home care.
2. That national health insurance provide for transient and permanent half-way house care.
3. That national health insurance pay for the care of the severely and mildly retarded and that such insurance cover the cost of special training and education.
4. That national health insurance be re-defined to include social services necessary for decent health care.
5. That the chronically ill—not in custodial care—be provided with the at home, constant services, medication and equipment they require to maintain themselves, and that such services be provided to everyone regardless of ability to pay.

Chronically ill Americans have been one of the most neglected groups in our history. With over a million Americans in nursing homes, over 250,000 mentally retarded receiving custodial care, with over 22 million Americans limited in their activities by chronic illnesses, it is time that we end the discrimination against those who are sick. Any health legislation must include measures for them. Any program that will purport to end the crisis in the health system and does not include adequate health care for the chronically ill, the mentally ill, and the mentally retarded—any one who needs custodial care—is betraying the confidence of the American people.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that: in any health insurance legislation that this Committee proposes you remember the American people—the working man who has a family to support—and include an amendment that would adequately cover those Americans in need of custodial care. The structure of the health care system and any requirements of the financial support mechanism must be subject to the needs of the patient whether they be physical, mental, emotional, or socioeconomic.

#### HEALTH PLANNING

The third area I wish to discuss is that of proper health planning. We now face a crisis in health delivery. For too long we avoided dealing with the inadequacies of our health care delivery system by simply pricing health care beyond the means of a substantial segment of our population. Now that we have begun to recognize our national responsibility to overcome financial barriers to proper medical treatment, we find that we do not have a system capable of furnishing treatment to all of those who need it.

The Kennedy-Griffiths bill's emphasis on HMO's is a critical first step in establishing this system. I believe that other steps must be taken as well to create a genuine system in place of the uncoordinated, archaic, unresponsive machinery we now have.

WBZ Radio and TV in Boston have put forth two editorials on health care entitled the National Urban Coalition "Counterbudget and Our National Health." Both editorials are concerned with health planning and I would like to quote them:

"'Counterbudget' sets two fundamental objectives which we agree should guide the hunt for a new national health program. One

is to assure access to adequate health-care facilities to all Americans. The second is to provide more efficient organization and utilization of those facilities, to control costs.

"... Simply adopting an insurance program won't do anything to assure a change in the distribution of health care. Very simply the spread of manpower and facilities is more important than financing in determining the number of people who get health services and the quality of the care they receive.

"Counterbudget' notes that the most pressing supply need is for manpower. There just aren't enough trained people to care for Americans today. The poor suffer most because doctors and other health personnel are less willing to practice in the inner cities and rural areas. But everyone suffers at least somewhat, due to higher costs for health care.

"The Coalition recommends steps to increase the supply to doctors and dentists. But it feels the most urgent manpower requirement is for more nurses and so-called paramedical personnel—doctors' assistants, dental technicians, mental health workers and neighborhood health aides.

"This is something that involves government at every level and private interests as well. But in the federal budget alone, the Coalition study urges an 80 per cent increase in support for health manpower development over the next five years. It also means a chance for better health for millions of Americans. Let's get moving on it."

The problem is more than inadequate manpower utilization. It is also improper utilization of existing facilities.

For instance, the North Shore Children's hospital in Salem has many empty beds and has had to close an entire floor. Yet, this is one of the finest children's hospitals in New England. The reason is not that children are healthier than ever before. The reason is that other hospitals which may be a few minutes closer to home are taking children, while they delay admission of adults who also need care. Many hospitals in the Salem area could simply convert their children's wings into adult care units and transfer the children to the North Shore Children's Hospital.

What we have here is in fact a form of "competition" between hospitals which results in an under-utilization of a very fine hospital and a downgrading of health care for adults in the area. The hospitals in an area should coordinate their services so that costs can be cut and the quality of care can be improved. The situation which the North Shore Children's hospital finds itself in is patently absurd, and until we as consumers demand that the narrow self-interest of the medical profession give way to sound management and planning, we will pay the price.

There are complaints from other sections of the country that hospital beds are empty. We also hear the cry that there is a tremendous doctor shortage. Both of these facts are true. But, here again, sound planning would alleviate a lot of the problem. With an increased emphasis on ambulatory, preventive medicine, fewer hospitals will have to be built and an increasing number of hospitals will have empty beds. We could save millions of dollars by determining those areas where increased out-patient care will cut the number of hospital beds needed, and by planning for the utilization of the money previously spent on construction, we would use existing facilities to their better ends.

I am no expert in the field of health planning. I can't pretend to offer the Committee any concrete solutions. Several people, including Professor Elliott Krause at Northeastern University, are working on the solutions and I suggest that the large and complex body of information on this be studied by the experts and implemented. It is possible to point to failures in the health care

system and to lessons we might learn from those failures. The August 1970 issue of Hospitals, the Journal of the American Hospital Association, provided the following information about the true reasons for the rise in hospital costs.

Hospital per diem costs rose continuously throughout the decade, but during the post-Medicare period, they rose 34 percent more rapidly than during the pre-Medicare period. While labor costs rose more rapidly than non-labor costs during the pre-Medicare four years, they rose substantially less rapidly than non-labor costs during the post-Medicare period. The rate of growth of hospital assets also sharply accelerated in the post 1965 years.

Admissions to hospitals also rose throughout the decade, by 21 percent over the 1961-69 period. But the supply of hospital beds (certainly one major indicator of the supply of hospital services) more than kept pace, rising 25 percent over the same period. While the rate of increase in supply of beds was about the same during the four year periods before and after Medicare (12.4 percent after), the rate of increase in admissions to hospitals sharply declined in the years after Medicare and Medicaid took effect (admissions in 1965 were up 13.2 percent over 1961; in 1969 they were up only 6.8 percent over 1965). In other words, during the post-Medicare period, the number of beds increased substantially more rapidly than admissions.

Occupancy rates have risen throughout the sixties, reaching 78.8 percent in 1969. But almost two-thirds of the increase has come in the last four years, i.e., since Medicare. The Hospitals statistics indicate, however, that the increased occupancy rates of the latter period are virtually entirely due to a sharp hike in the average length of stay of patients in the hospital (7.6 days in 1961, 7.8 days in 1965, 8.3 days in 1969). It may be possible to speculate that with Medicare or Medicaid insuring that a patient's full stay in the hospital would be paid for, the hospitals took advantage of the situation and hold onto patients longer, thus increasing their income. (It costs the hospital almost as much to maintain an empty bed as a full one, but with an empty bed, there is no income to offset the expense). In any case, hospitals' patient loads are still far below capacity, even after the increase in occupancy rates of the last decade. One would not expect the relatively small hike in occupancy rates of the last few years to have had a major impact on prices.

From the Hospitals figures, it seems clear that hospital prices did not rise under the impact of a soaring demand. Rather the critical feature of the post 1965 period was that Medicare and Medicaid, like Blue-Cross and other insurance plans, paid hospitals whatever they claimed as their true costs for providing patient care. The costs (the "price" paid by the reimbursement agencies and the basis for the price paid by patients who pay their own bills) were not set in a free marketplace, where the supply and demand argument might have some relevance. Instead, the hospitals were able to set their cost virtually arbitrarily. Equipment, higher salaries for everyone, building renovation and expansion—hospitals can add them into their "costs" and get reimbursed.

Medicare and Medicaid have driven hospital costs up. But not by stimulating consumer overuse (relative to supply) of hospitals. Costs rose because the hospitals appropriated money for their own benefit.

Obviously, we need far greater controls over the costs of medical care. We must develop some kind of standard by which to judge the validity of medical charges. Because health care is complex—no two people react exactly alike to the same illness—we cannot have standards that are so rigid they allow for no leeway. But we cannot

maintain a blind, unquestioning attitude toward medical costs.

One solution—and this is simply a suggestion from a lay man—might be the one stressed by the National Advisors Commission on Health Manpower in 1967. This would be for insurance organizations—whether they be private or the Federal government—to provide incentives to economize by their payment schedule so that the most efficient producers of care receive the greatest net income. Conversely, those who are least efficient should be penalized for their inefficiency. By setting reasonable standards, those who exceed them would receive a bonus and those who cannot reach would have fees reduced. Such economic incentives might have startling and pleasing results.

I urge the Committee to include a good planning program in any legislation reported out. Without decent planning we will be throwing money down the drain and will perpetuate a health system which does none of us any credit. It is time for the overview. We have done enough one-step problem solving with the result that our health care system is fragmented and crumbling. Let's put it back together again on a stronger foundation.

Thank you.

#### THE AMERICAN LEGION

### HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, E. Davis McCutcheon, of Pass Christian, Miss., was one of Louisiana's delegates at the historic convention which founded the American Legion.

Recently he gave a speech about this convention to the Joe Graham Post in Gulfport, and because I feel it is a rare firsthand account of the event, I want to insert Mr. McCutcheon's remarks in the RECORD at this point:

#### THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION (By E. Davis McCutcheon)

Thank you, Mr. Commander and Founding Member of the Legion—It was my pleasure and privilege to have been one of the twelve delegates, appointed by Governor John M. Parker, to represent the state of Louisiana at the Caucus of the American Legion held in the Shubert-Jefferson Theatre in St. Louis in May of 1919.

It was at the Caucus that the Legion was born—but the actual beginning took place in a historic meeting held in Paris shortly after the signing of the Armistice. In his book, *The American Legion Story*, Raymond Moley, Jr. says:

"There can be no question as to the fatherhood of the idea or to the initiator of the chain of circumstances which led to the formation of The American Legion. The honor belongs to Theodore Roosevelt, Jr."

The honor belongs to Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., eldest son of the illustrious "Teddy" Roosevelt, President of the United States, 1901-1909, who called the Paris meeting which was attended by twenty officers of various divisions of the Army. It was at this meeting that plans were formulated for the organizational meeting in St. Louis which was attended by 1100 delegates from all parts of the United States.

The greatest tribute that I have ever seen paid to any one man occurred at the St. Louis Caucus. The name of Roosevelt was placed in nomination to be the First Tem-

porary Commander. The nomination was seconded by Colonel Luke Lee of Tennessee. Roosevelt was on his feet immediately to say "I wish to withdraw my name." His words were drowned out by the deafening roar of applause from the 1100 delegates. For twenty minutes the ovation continued, but Roosevelt was firm in his decision. When he was finally able to talk after the noise subsided, he said:

"We must never give the impression that any one would use this great organization for personal political gain. I know that no one in this audience has any such feeling but we must create the impression all over the country today on which this organization will carry on and serve a great purpose for years in the future."

Roosevelt stood by his declared decision and Lieutenant Colonel Henry D. Lindsey, of Texas, became the First Temporary Commander—a Southern Democrat, nominated by a Yankee from Maine and seconded by a Yankee from Ohio.

The first National Commander was Franklin D'Oiler, of Pennsylvania, 1919-1920.

Later in the St. Louis Caucus, the following preamble to the Constitution was adopted:

For God and Country, we associate ourselves together for the following purposes:

To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America;

To maintain law and order;

To foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent Americanism;

To preserve the memories and incidents of our Associations in the great war;

To inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state, and nation;

To combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses;

To make Right the master of Might;

To promote peace and good will on earth;

To safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy;

To consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness.

The St. Louis Caucus had its moments of excitement, turmoil, dispute and self-expression. I remember, on one occasion, when a former high ranking officer took the stand to nominate someone for office and started out by saying, "I place in nomination the name of a man who distinguished himself on the field of battle, a man who . . ." and on and on until a former buck private in the balcony cried out "Cut out all that stuff—name the man."

I think it may interest you to know how the name "Post" was adopted as a designation of individual group units of the Legion. The Army representatives wanted the name to be "Dugout"—for instance "Dugout Number 114" or "Dugout No. 127" etc.—but the Navy ex-service men present said "No—let's call them Lookouts!" It appeared that a deadlock would develop until one of the delegates suggested the name "Post" which could not be identified with either the Army, the Navy, or the Marine Corps. This was the name that was adopted.

Let's go now to the National Convention of the Legion that was held in New Orleans in 1922 during the Prohibition Era. I was one of a group sworn in by Chief of Police Guy Molony, an ex-service man. Our job was to aid the police department in the preservation of law and order. At our first assembly, Guy Molony told us "if you see anyone point a pistol at another person, pull the trigger, and kill him, it shall be your duty to put the offender under arrest—anything short of that, use your own judgment."

I remember well an incident that attracted nation-wide publicity. At 11:00 A.M. on the first day of the convention a delegate stood at each of the windows on one side of the Roosevelt Hotel (then known as the Grunewald Hotel) on each of the twelve floors of the hotel. At a given whistle signal, probably blown by a top Sergeant, each man by each

window took a sharp knife and ripped the bottom of a pillow taken from the room of the hotel. The resulting snow storm of feathers was beautiful. Today this would be called damaging to the ecology.

Again in 1968, a National Convention of the American Legion was held in New Orleans and many of you here present probably participated in it. By now the delegates had reached the age of maturity and understanding and the Convention, under the able guidance of Albert La Biche, was very business like and very successful.

To go back to the formative days of the Legion, it should be recorded that it was built on a solid foundation as shown by the fact that it has survived and prospered for more than fifty years and is still a dominant force for good in the daily activities of our American Way of Life.

The Washington Star welcomed the Legion "as an agency for the promotion of the best in our national life."

The New York Times exclaimed "Justice, Freedom and Democracy, without partisanship. The idea is noble. It should prevail!"

And Woodrow Wilson said:

"I am happy to have this opportunity to address a word of greeting and comradeship to the men who have served in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps and are now banding themselves together to preserve the splendid traditions of the service . . . the spirit of their service, and the continuation of that spirit in the American Legion, will make it always an inspiration to the full performance of high and difficult duties."

The American Legion—a great organization—dedicated to unselfish principles, was born in St. Louis 52 years ago—may it always continue to grow in the perpetuation of the high ideals on which it was founded.

#### A NEW LANDOWNER

### HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. Speaker, because of my involvement in the effort to preserve the family farm and restore economic stability in rural America, I was particularly interested in an article written by Peter Barnes which I am inserting into the RECORD today.

I fully endorse Mr. Barnes' excellent article both for its overview of rural problems and for its suggestions for reform. The article follows:

#### A NEW LANDOWNER

(By Peter Barnes)

Not long ago the Bureau of the Census published some disconcerting statistics. The number of poor Americans in 1970, it reported, was 25.5 million—more than the number in 1960. The incidence of poverty was particularly high in rural America, where 19 percent of farm families and 10 percent of non-farm families were earning less than \$3,100 a year.

These statistics come as no surprise to anyone who has travelled through the small towns and backwaters of northern New England, Appalachia, central California or the South. Yet they should cause all of us—particularly Democrats—to sit up and take note.

We applauded the ringing promises of Lyndon Johnson to build a Great Society, and the pledge of Sargent Shriver to wipe out poverty by 1976. But something obviously went wrong—something more fundamental than the election of Richard Nixon. Despite billions spent by the federal government on

social programs, despite the longest uninterrupted period of economic growth in America's history, very little new wealth trickled down to poor people, least of all to the rural poor.

What went wrong, or rather was wrong from the very beginning, was the basic assumption that poverty in affluent America is primarily a cultural, racial and geographic problem. This assumption underlay the various anti-poverty and regional development programs of the 1960s.

The failure of these programs makes unmistakable what should have been recognized long ago: that poverty in America is above all an economic problem, a result of flaws in the distributive system that prevents the nations' vast productive wealth from being equitably shared.

These flaws can perhaps be boiled down to a few short sentences: wealth in America flows to those who own capital and land, and to those who have economic power. Most poor Americans do not own anything that produces income, and are not employed in industries where labor unions have demanded a healthy slice of the economic pie. Hence they remain poor.

This analysis leads to an inescapable conclusion: if poverty in America is ever to be eliminated, there must be a fundamental restructuring of the economy so that ownership of land and capital, and power in the economic marketplace, are much more widely distributed.

Let's look again at rural America. Not only did poverty fail to disappear in the 1960s; the economic conditions necessary to make poverty disappear actually worsened. Thus, the number of independent farm owners decreased dramatically, while the accumulation of land by giant corporations markedly increased. By the end of the decade nearly 10 million persons had been economically driven from rural areas to the slums and barrios of our cities. Despite the rhetoric of the war on poverty, in other words, the total impact of federal policies in rural America was actually to create more poor citizens.

#### RURAL AMERICA

Tax laws, crop subsidies, water subsidies and labor policies also encouraged the emergence in some parts of the country of a form of social and economic organization that can only be described as corporate feudalism. This form of social organization, if allowed to persist and expand, will not only perpetuate a kind of serf-like status for millions of poor Americans. It will also hasten the demise of small town businesses and the rural middle class, remove control of rural communities from the communities themselves to far-off corporate board rooms, and generally preclude the revitalization of rural America along democratic lines.

What should the Democratic Party do? It should propose and seek enactment of a comprehensive program for land reform. The guiding principles behind this program should be these: land should belong to those who work and live on it; holdings should be of reasonable, not feudal proportions; and small-scale farming should be made economically viable.

These are not revolutionary concepts, nor are they alien to the Democratic Party. They are squarely in the tradition of Jefferson, Jackson, Bryan and Roosevelt. They were recognized in the Homestead and Reclamation Acts, and have been urged by the United States upon Japan, South Vietnam, and dozens of other nations in Asia and Latin America.

A comprehensive land reform program should include at least the following principal elements:

Enforcement of the 160-acre limitation in reclamation areas by federal purchase and resale of excess landholdings. Legisla-

tion to this effect has been introduced by Senator Fred Harris, Representatives Robert Kastenmeier, Jerome Waldie and others, and been endorsed by the AFL-CIO, the National Farmers Union, the Sierra Club, the National Education Association and Common Cause.

Establishment of appropriate acreage limitations for landholdings outside reclamation areas. The size of the acreage limitation would vary with the type of crop grown. All land owned or controlled by a single individual or corporation in excess of the appropriate acreage limitation would be subject to a federal excess land tax. Revenues from the excess land tax would be used to help poor persons acquire land.

Vigorous application of existing antitrust laws to agriculture and enactment of new laws barring vertically integrated conglomerates from engaging in farming.

Restructuring of tax laws and subsidies to favor small-scale rather than corporate farming.

Greatly increased credit and technical assistance for agricultural cooperatives.

New laws assuring small farmers and cooperatives a fair return for their labor and greater power in the economic marketplace.

The long-term benefits of land reform would be so enormous as to defy simple categorization. Racial tensions would be eased; urban overcrowding would be reduced; welfare rolls would shrink; alienation of workers from their work would diminish; more citizens would enjoy economic independence; the environment would be protected and democracy strengthened.

#### CBS NEWS ON THE BLOOD CRISIS

### HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, every time a surgeon performs an operation requiring a blood transfusion he takes a chance that the patient may contract hepatitis. Since the best practical test for the presence of this disease is only 25 percent effective, the doctor is forced to choose between the risk to his patient of contracting hepatitis, or the risk of not providing the blood he needs.

The CBS radio network program "Outlook" recently featured a story which dealt concisely with this operating room dilemma, and the shortage of voluntary blood in general. Through articles and comments such as this, the public's awareness of this serious condition is growing, but nothing has been done about it yet.

The National Blood Bank Act, H.R. 11828, which I recently introduced attacks this problem head on. It would establish a national program to recruit voluntary donors so we can phase out commercial blood. It would also require the labeling of blood so that doctors can understand more fully the risks involved.

I intend to reintroduce this bill this week, and will be happy to include any of my colleagues who may care to join me.

The article mentioned above follows:

#### CBS OUTLOOK

The other day at Cook County Hospital in Chicago, I watched an eighteen-year-old

girl undergoing an operation to enlarge a faulty heart valve. During the two-hour surgery, she was transfused with three pints of blood. The chances were, with blood from a commercial blood bank, one in ten that she would contract hepatitis. Dr. Constantine Katoulis, Chief of Cardiovascular Surgery, who was in the operating room with me, said, 'It's the lesser of two evils. The risks of not operating are greater than the risks of contracting hepatitis.'

"But why does there have to be such a risk? Well, for the past quarter century, the American Red Cross at the government's request has tried to organize blood banks with voluntary donors. They have managed to collect less than half of the seven million pints needed annually. Hospitals supplement that with replacement blood from patients and their families, and 20% of the blood supply comes from commercial banks which buy it for \$5.00 a pint and up from people who need the money. Such donors conceal past illnesses. The spread of drug addiction has increased the danger of hepatitis. Skidrow blood, drug-addict blood, does find its way into the nation's blood supply. Why doesn't the United States have, as other Western countries do have, an adequate supply of voluntary blood? Many say, 'Because of the apathy of the American public.' But that is disputed by some, like Leo Purlis, the Community Services Director of the AFL-CIO. He says that no real effort has ever been made to mobilize the American public and that, he says, is at least partly because it's been resisted by organized medicine. Well, why should organized medicine resist? Dr. Aaron Josephson, who runs the Red Cross Blood Bank in Chicago, a blood bank that was prevented for four years from starting because of opposition of the local medical society—Dr. Josephson says that members of the medical society, themselves involved in blood banking, have insisted that paid donors could meet the need, although they have now admitted that they can't. And so today, fewer than 10% of the potential blood donors among the 200,000,000 Americans give blood and Purlis says that if the Red Cross undertook a dynamic nationwide program, the Red Cross would be flooded with free blood. Now the Red Cross admits that the resistance of the supporters of free enterprise has slowed its efforts. And under the pressure of the growing hepatitis menace, the Red Cross has now moved to expand the supply of voluntary blood. Last week, it announced an intensive nationwide campaign for more donors, calling on its Chapters to help recruit donors for community non-profit blood programs, whether or not they're Red Cross programs. This has been long in coming, and if it succeeds, then the United States will finally join the other Western countries where blood is considered a necessary service and not a commodity to be bought and sold."

#### WAYS OF ALIENS TO ENTER THE UNITED STATES

### HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the alien wishing to enter the United States has numerous ways of achieving his goal.

Perhaps one of the easiest is by jumping ship. Every year, the figures go higher and higher in this area.

And the ship jumper may not necessarily be a person only seeking a good job

in America. Not long ago, a mainland Chinese who had joined a ship's crew in Hong Kong deserted in Vancouver.

American and Canadian authorities trailed him constantly as he made "drops" of packages across the continent. He and a companion finally were apprehended in New York.

The fact that the man was from mainland China and was apparently smuggling in narcotics gives us another dimension of the problem of illegal immigration—the possibility that Communist spies are entering America and bringing with them narcotics.

In fiscal year 1970, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's official statistics, 8,548 crewmen are known to have deserted ship in the United States. How many more deserted in Canada and were unreported to Canadian authorities is anybody's guess.

Of the known deserters from ships in American ports, 5,699 were from Europe and 1,962 from Asia, principally Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Curiously, however, INS keeps records on deportations to Taiwan and Hong Kong, but does not break down the number of deserters who started out from Hong Kong, on the doorstep to Red China.

The number of known deserters is not high, but it is steadily rising and poses another problem to the American economy.

#### THE NEED TO BAN LEAD-BASED PAINT: THE FAILURE OF LABELING LAWS

### HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the children of this Nation are being plagued by a devastating yet totally preventable disease. It is known as childhood lead poisoning. And its primary cause is the ingestion of lead-tainted paint and plaster fallen from dilapidated dwellings.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's own figures underscore the extent of this dread disease. In its May 1971 report entitled "Towards a Comprehensive Health Policy for the 1970's: A White Paper," the Department revealed these grim statistics:

Paint with lead in it poisons about 400,000 children (predominantly poor) annually. It is estimated that 16,000 of these children require treatment; 3,200 incur moderate to severe brain damage; and 800 are so severely brain damaged that they require care for the rest of their lives.

To this we must add yet another somber statistic: the 200 youngsters who die each year as a result of this deadly menace.

On November 2, the Food and Drug Administration published in the Federal Register a petition intended to get at the root cause of childhood lead poisoning. This petition, submitted by five child health advocates and myself, would ban lead-based paint from all household uses,

under the authority of the Federal Hazardous Substances Act.

At the same time, however, the FDA published another proposal as well. This one, initiated by the FDA itself, would merely require that paint with a lead content in excess of 0.5 percent bear a warning label.

Interested persons have been given until December 28 to comment on either or both of these proposals.

It is my firm belief that a mere labeling requirement is totally insufficient to protect the health of our children. The inadequacy of labeling laws has been well evidenced by the recent findings of the New York City Bureau of Lead Poisoning Control. Under the provisions of the New York City Health Code, it is unlawful to sell paint with 1 percent lead unless specific warning labels are attached. Yet, on November 17, Health Services Administrator Gordon Chase announced that one out of every 12 New York City retail stores recently checked by the Bureau of Lead Poisoning Control was in violation of this ordinance.

Add to these violations the fact that once a paint is used on a wall the occupant does not know whether or not it

contains lead, and the result is a tragic likelihood that this disease will continue unabated.

What is needed is clear: Lead-based paint must be banned.

At this point I include in the RECORD some recent press releases from the New York City Bureau of Lead Poisoning Control detailing violations of section 173.3 of the New York City Health Code pertaining to lead-based paint:

HEALTH SERVICES ADMINISTRATION,  
The City of New York, September 1971.

DEAR FRIEND: As I wrote you in July, the regular printed edition of HSA's Newsletter is a casualty—we hope a temporary one—of New York City's financial crisis. But our belief that you would still want to know about our programs and progress was substantiated by the interest you showed in my informal July report to you on HSA's latest activities. Since then, we've launched some new programs, like ambulatory detoxification for heroin addicts, and revised some old systems, like restaurant inspections, as well as confirmed, dramatic improvement in the efficiency and effectiveness of our rat control program.

In my last letter, I reported that HSA had prepared a list of important phone numbers telling you where to call for information on health services, from abortions to vital sta-

tistics. We've had over 300 individual requests for some 1,500 copies of the list. For those of you who already have the directory, the new number for Family Planning (Information on Family Planning Projects) is: 966-3828, ext. 68. This is also the number for Maternity & Infant Care. If you don't have the directory, but would like a free copy, send a postcard asking for "Where to Go," to HSA, Public Information, Room 620, 125 Worth Street, New York 10013.

Lead found in paint: Since most children who contract lead poisoning have eaten chips of paint containing lead, the Health Department regularly tests interior household paints for excessive lead content as part of its lead poisoning prevention program. A series of recent tests of various household paints found 22 out of 146 cans tested with a lead content above the legal level of 1.0%. (Under Section 173 of New York City's Health Code, it is illegal to sell paints with a lead content above 1.0% unless the label on the paint can warns that the paint contains lead and should not be used for interior surfaces.) The cans, representing 16 different brands of paint, had levels of up to 13.5%. We informed the manufacturers of the paints by letter of the Health Department's findings and told them to remove the paints from the market. All have agreed to do so. At the same time we released a list of paints to the press. The paints found to have an excessive lead content are as follows:

Brand name	Color	Manufacturer	Lot/Code number
1. Adelphi	Rich orange	Adelphi Paint & Color Works, Inc.	None.
2. Adelphi	Black enamel	do.	Do.
3. Mirrolac	Bonfire red	Devco Paint—Division of Celanese Coatings Co.	1034.
4. Magicote Enamel	Lettuce green	Eagle Paint & Varnish Corp.	053082.
5. Frisco	Tangerine	Frisch & Co., Inc.	None.
6. Japalac	Bud green	Glidden Co.	2C27A/Y-1212.
7. Interlux	Green	International Paint Co.	65C/OC77.
8. Mercury	Buttercup yellow	Mercury Paint Co.	3084.
9. Kot-A-Tile	Brite cherry	Paint Fair	None.
10. Florflux	Tile red	Patterson-Sargent	4038A/23891.
11. Peerlux	Orange	Peerless Paint & Varnish Corp.	9873.
12. Pleasant	Flame orange	F.O. Pierce Co.	0525A3.
13. Pleasant	Autumn yellow	do.	0524A5.
14. P.V.A.	Olive green	Pentagon Chemical & Paint Works	1467.
15. P.V.A.	Golden yellow	do.	LJ23.
16. Seal Luxe	Tropical orange	Seal Rite Paint & Chemical Corp.	3013SG-8G-HF.

**Ambulatory detoxification program:** In July, HSA launched an ambulatory detoxification program aimed at reaching 36,000 heroin addicts a year—the largest program of its kind in the nation. The program will be in full operation by early 1972, with 13 clinics each performing 5,000 detoxifications annually, plus three mobile units with a combined capacity of 7,500 detoxifications annually. The program will provide approximately 72,500 detoxifications annually and will reach 36,000 addicts a year, on the assumption that each addict will be detoxified an average of two times a year. Two clinics are already in full operation, one run by St. Mary's Hospital in Brooklyn, the other by the New York Medical College Department of Psychiatry in Manhattan.

Patients treated in the program will be given decreasing daily doses of methadone over a seven-day period, until they are drug-free. Patients who come to be detoxified will be encouraged to seek longer-term treatment.

The entire program is supervised by HSA, which negotiates contracts with hospitals and other medical institutions that wish to set up detoxification clinics. Jim Kagen is overall director. Carl G. Hooper is the program's Director of Operations. Overall medical supervision is by the Department of Health.

**Rats: Six-month report:** A six-month report on HSA's Rat Control Program shows that we have made impressive productivity gains over last year. The increase in efficiency and effectiveness is due to our comprehensive program of inspections, garbage removal,

extermination and community education. The Rat Control Program operates in five target areas of the city—Harlem, the Lower East Side, South Bronx, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and Brownsville.

Comparing the first quarter of 1970 (January-March) with the month of June 1971, the premises inspected per man day dose from 5.5 to 17.7, while the cost per premise inspected dropped from \$10.00 to \$3.11. The number of premises exterminated per man day rose from 2.3 to 9.8, with the cost dropping by about four-fifths. The number of man days per ton of refuse removed dropped from 10.8 to 3.5, with the cost per ton removed dropping from \$216 to \$70.

In addition, the actual work accomplished by the program increased impressively. Comparing January-June 1970 with the same six month period in 1971, the number of premises inspected went from 11,575 to 30,281; the number of premises exterminated went from 15,648 to 34,207; and the number of tons of refuse removed went from 2,412 to 8,449.

HSA is now putting into operation a number of new procedures to make further improvements in the Rat Control Program's effectiveness. These include a block recidivism study to determine the rate at which blocks deteriorate after being treated by the program; computerization of the reporting and billing system; and a career ladder program for field personnel.

**Comprehensive approach to alcoholism:** This summer, the city's first comprehensive alcoholism treatment service involving a voluntary hospital was created. The new system

combines under single management facilities for the initial detoxification stage of treatment, and facilities for long-term outpatient care. In the past a major problem in treating the city's 300,000 alcoholics has been the fragmentation of facilities, which meant that many alcoholics who were detoxified never went on to receive long-term treatment.

The new system was made possible by combining the facilities of Columbus Hospital, at 227 East 19th Street, and the ACCEPT clinic of the New York Council on Alcoholism, at 29 East 22nd Street. Columbus Hospital has set up a ten-bed detoxification unit which can handle 500 patients a year. The ACCEPT clinic handles approximately 1,000 people a year on an outpatient basis. The program is financed by private, city and state funds.

**New restaurant inspection system:** A new inspection system, designed to increase speedy compliance by restaurants with New York City's Health Code, went into effect July 26. Any restaurant which does not quickly correct significant violations will have its name released to the public, another major innovation of the new system.

Under the new procedures, a Health Department Sanitary Inspector who, during an initial inspection of a restaurant, discovers major Health Code violations—for example, the presence of roaches around food, or inadequate food storage conditions—will inform the restaurant owner that there will be a compliance inspection at a fixed date one to three weeks later. If the violations have not been corrected by then, the owner will have to attend an administrative hearing.



Following the hearing, the names of all restaurants without a valid reason for non-compliance will be released to the press, along with the nature of the violation, and a final date for compliance will be set. Failure to correct the violations by that date will result in closing down the restaurant.

The new system contains fewer compliance inspections than previously, cutting the time restaurants have to correct violations by one-third. It is just the first step in the direction of tougher enforcement. Another step planned for the end of 1971 is a posting system, in which all restaurants will have to show a "scorecard" of the latest inspection to anyone who asks to see it.

Times reprint: Enclosed with this report is a reprint of an article which appeared in the New York Times in July, analyzing President Nixon's health insurance bill. If you

agree with our analysis, and are concerned about the question of health insurance, you should write your Congressmen and let them know, since Congress will be considering several health insurance bills this year.

Sincerely,

GORDON CHASE,  
Administrator.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK,  
HEALTH SERVICES ADMINISTRATION,  
August 22, 1971.

HSA LISTS SIX HOUSEHOLD PAINTS WITH  
EXCESS LEAD

Several more household paints have been found by the Health Department to contain lead levels above the 1.0 percent legally permissible level for paints intended for use on interior surfaces, Health Services Administrator Gordon Chase announced today.

Mr. Chase said that certified letters have been sent to all the paint companies, informing them of the findings of the Health Department tests. "If the companies do not voluntarily remove the paints from the market, we will take legal actions against them," Mr. Chase said. "In the meantime, we are releasing the names of the paints containing excess lead in order to protect anyone who has already purchased these brands."

Of 70 cans tested, representing 24 companies, 16 cans contained more than 1.0 percent lead. Some paint had a lead content of up to 13.5 percent. Under section #173.13 of the New York City Health Code, it is illegal to manufacture paints with a lead level above 1.0 percent unless the label on the paint can warns that the paint contains lead and should not be used on interior surfaces.

The paints containing excess lead are:

Brand name	Color	Manufacturer	Lot/Code Number
1. Adelphi	Rich orange	Adelphi Paint & Color Works, Inc.	None.
2. Adelphi	Black enamel	do.	Do.
3. Mirrolac	Bonfire red	Devoe Paint—Division of Celanese Coatings Co.	1034.
4. Magicote Enamel	Lettuce Green	Eagle Paint & Varnish Corp.	053082.
5. Frisco	Tangerine	Frisch & Co., Inc.	None.
6. Japalac	Bud Green	Glidden Co.	2C27A/Y 1212.
7. Interlux	Green	International Paint Co.	65C/OC77.
8. Mercury	Buttercup	Yellow Mercury Paint Co.	3084.
9. Kot-A-Tile	Brite Cherry	Paint Fair	None.
10. Florflux	Tile Red	Patterson-Sargent	4038Q/23891.
11. Peerlux	Orange	Peerless Paint & Varnish Corp.	9873.
12. Pleasant	Flame orange	F. O. Pierce Co.	0525A3.
13. Pleasant	Autumn Yellow	do.	0524A5.
14. P.V.A.	Olive green	Pentagon Chemical & Paint Works	1467.
15. P.V.A.	Golden yellow	do.	LJ23.
16. Seal Luxe	Tropical orange	Seal Rite Paint & Chemical Corp.	3113SG-8G-HF.

Dan H. Still, Director, Control Unit, Bureau of Lead Poisoning Control, said the results of the recent tests show that the problem of excessive lead in paint is widespread. "The problem really is national in scope, as many of the paints sold in New York are manufactured outside the city," Mr. Still said. "In the absence of federal regulations prohibiting the manufacturing of paint containing lead, all we can do is continue our testing program to make sure that paint with excessive lead is not offered for sale in the city."

The Health Department regularly tests household paints for excessive lead content. An earlier check showed three companies manufacturing paint with excessive lead. All three companies agreed to remove those paints from the market.

The paint testing program is part of an overall effort to prevent lead poisoning in children. Most children contract lead poisoning as a result of eating chips of paint containing lead.

For further information contact: Naomi Feigelson—566-8040.

HEALTH SERVICES  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK,  
October 27, 1971.

HSA ANNOUNCES EMBARGOING OF LEADED  
PAINT, PLUS LIST OF NEW VIOLATORS

Health Services Administrator Gordon Chase announced today that HSA's Bureau of Lead Poisoning has embargoed paint supplies sold in retail stores containing unacceptable levels of lead according to the New York City Health Code. The Health Code, section 173.3, stipulates that paints containing in excess of 1.0 percent lead are in violation of the law, unless specific warning labels are attached.

Mr. Chase said that earlier this year 23 paint manufacturers were informed by the Health Department that certain colors produced by their companies were in violation of the law for containing unacceptable lead levels, and they were asked to remove the

paint from the market and stop distribution voluntarily. Previous spot checks had not uncovered violations. However, a recent Health Department spot check revealed that illegal paint was still on sale despite warnings to the industry as well as the companies. Five paint manufacturers were repeat offenders, and seven new companies were also found in violation.

"The industry was put on notice to remove this paint from the market three months ago," Mr. Chase said. "It is both disappointing and shocking that a number of paint companies continue to show such a lack of concern for the law and for the health and well-being of city residents."

Dr. Vincent Guinee, Director of HSA's Bureau of Lead Poisoning, said the Bureau's new survey showed 20 of 89 cans of paint contained greater than 1.0 percent lead. The five repeat offenders are: Patterson-Sargent; F. O. Pierce; Pentagon Chemical; Frisch and Co.; Adelphi Paint. The seven new violators are:

Brand	Color	Manufacturer	Lot/code No.
1. Magic Lux	Jade green	Hoboken Paint Co., Inc.	None.
Do	Sunbeam	do.	Do.
2. Adams <sup>1</sup>	Burnt orange	Pentagon Chemical & Paint Co., Inc.	GR-23.
Do	Golden yellow	do.	G-46S.
Do	Olive green	do.	3544.
3. Rite-on-Green	Green	Sapolin Paints, Inc.	3543.
4. Pittsburgh	Lawn green	PPG Co.	98606E.
Do	Chartreuse	do.	60457K.
Do	Lagoon green	do.	95024E.
Do	Jonquil yellow	do.	5066799.
5. Art-Tex	Canary	Art-Tex Adhesive Products, Inc.	None.
6. World of Color	Forest green	T. C. Dunham Co.	Do.
7. Vinaloid	Tangerine	Four Square Paint Co.	Do.

<sup>1</sup> Label shows only "Adams" without mention of Pentagon as manufacturer.

The Health Department regularly tests household paints for excessive lead content. To date the Bureau of Laboratories has tested 234 cans of paint, 43 of which were found to have illegal lead levels. The paint testing program is part of an overall effort to prevent lead poisoning in children, Mr. Chase said. Most children contract lead poisoning as a result of eating chips of paint containing lead.

For further information contact: Naomi Feigelson, 566-804.

HEALTH SERVICES  
ADMINISTRATION,  
THE CITY OF NEW YORK,  
November 17, 1971.

HSA ANNOUNCES LEAD PAINT EMBARGOES

Health Services Administrator Gordon Chase announced today that one out of

every twelve retail stores checked recently by the Bureau of Lead Poisoning Control was found in violation of the Health Code, section 173.3. Five hundred forty-one stores have been inspected to date.

As a result of store inspections by the Bureau from October 13 through October 28, 1971, paint was embargoed at 44 locations. Of those 44, Chase said, 40 embargoes were placed against three repeat offenders. They

were Adelphi Paint and Color works, 18 embargoes; Pentagon Chemical and Paint Works, 12 embargoes; and Frisch and Company, 10 embargoes. (A summary of embargoes by company and a breakdown of inspections by borough is below.)

All of these companies have been notified by letter that they were violating the Health Code and were given the chance to remove the paints voluntarily, Chase explained. When subsequent checks showed that the companies had not complied voluntarily, the embargoes were issued.

"According to the New York City Health Code, it is unlawful to sell paint with 1.0% lead unless specific warning labels are attached," Chase said. "Continuing surveys on our part show that the sale of such paint is widespread. Lead poisoning is a serious problem in New York and we would hope that manufacturers and store owners would willingly remove paints with an excess of 1.0% lead from the shelves. If they don't, however, we will continue to embargo the paint."

According to Dr. Vincent Guinee, Director of the Bureau of Lead Poisoning Control, its primary goals are to locate children who are at high risk of getting lead poisoning and to keep parents informed concerning sources of lead which are potentially dangerous to children.

"Last year," Guinee said, "more than 2,600 children in New York got lead poisoning, most of them from nibbling on paint chips peeling off apartment walls. Lead poisoning can cause brain damage, and in severe cases can lead to death. There are no noticeable symptoms in the early stages of the disease, and the only sure way to find out if a child has lead poisoning is to take a blood test."

The Bureau of Lead Poisoning Control, established January 1970, regularly tests household paints for excessive lead content.

To date, The Health Department's Bureau of Laboratories has tested 234 cans of paint, 433 of which have been found to have illegal lead levels.

The paint testing program is part of an overall effort by HSA and the Bureau of Lead Poisoning Control. Chase pointed out that New York City's Health Department gives free blood tests to children at city clinics and urged parents who think their child may have lead poisoning to bring him or her for a free blood test right away. The public should call 349-2255 for information on lead poisoning tests.

SUMMARY OF EMBARGOES OF ILLEGAL PAINT FROM OCT. 13, 1971, TO OCT. 28, 1971

Name of company	Number of embargoes	Number of cans
Adelphi Paint & Color works	18	299
Pentagon Chemical & Paint Works	12	62
Frisch & Co.	10	122
Hoboken Paint Co.	2	8
Glidden-Durkee	1	2
Benjamin Moore & Co.	1	2
Total	44	495

  

	Stores inspected by borough	Embargoes in each borough
Manhattan	150	15
Bronx	147	10
Brooklyn	80	4
Queens	129	15
Richmond	35	0
Total	541	44

**"COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN ASIA," AN ADDRESS BY ADM. JOHN S. MCCAIN, JR., COMMANDER IN CHIEF, PACIFIC**

**HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., the dynamic U.S. commander in chief, Pacific, made a very thought-provoking address at the American Legion Convention in Houston, which I think is worthwhile reading for all Members of Congress.

I am, therefore, placing his speech in the RECORD, so all Members may have an opportunity to see it:

COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN ASIA

(By Adm. John S. McCain, Jr.)

The United States of America has always had lovers of liberty. We can thank God that we have had in this great land men and women who understand that we must fight, toll, and sacrifice for freedom, to pass the torch of liberty intact to the next generation of Americans. The rights enjoyed by all Americans are a legacy secured by such men and women. And in the forefront are members of the American Legion, other distinguished veterans' organizations, the Armed Forces of our Nation, and especially the men and women who have given their lives or personal freedom for their fellow men.

I think our greatest asset as a people and country is the tradition of citizen-soldier defense. Service to country is the foundation of our democracy and the fulfillment of America's promise of freedom for mankind. For 195 years a tide of courageous countrymen and women have honored a common cause in our continuing struggle for national existence, human liberty, social decency, and political equality. Our nation's faith and confidence in the Armed Forces was shaped on the anvil of the American Revolution. A timeless tradition was forged in the freedom fires of our Independence to keep our people safe and vigilant against marauding forces.

Today the United States leads an alliance of free nations of the world. Its purpose is to achieve peace through maintenance of a strong deterrent force unless or until effective arms control agreements that reduce the threats we face are concluded. It is obvious any country with the global interests of the United States has to be interested in an issue anywhere that could plunge hundreds of millions of people into war. We live in this troubled world, and we cannot get out of it. We will not survive if we do not rise to the security challenges facing our nation.

Never before in the history of mankind has the world been more dependent upon the acts of men of peace, or more reliant on brave men to defend it. This is the foremost reason why our nation must maintain vigilant, realistic war deterrent forces.

The stark reality is that man faces a perpetual problem—a problem that man has faced from the stone age and through the centuries. And that problem is finding a way that all nations and all households can be free from the scourge of war, so that the men, women and children of this planet can live in peace.

The threat of communist aggression in Asia affects the peace of the area and the problem of collective security throughout this vast region. Its significance is underscored by the fact that in my area of responsibility, the United States Pacific Com-

mand, live more than one-third of the people on earth. It is also an area of riches and poverty, of peace and war, of ancient civilizations, nationalism, and competing ideas.

Its political spread surprises many. For there are actually 27 different national flags represented in this area . . . flags of large and powerful nations, and flags that few of us have ever seen; flags of nations friendly to us and those of nations openly hostile; flags of long and firmly established nations and flags of newly created and politically unstable nations.

As the Commander in Chief of all United States Pacific Forces, I have the responsibility for the defense of our national interests from Southeast Asia to Northeast Asia and in the entire Pacific. I constantly move about this vast area of the world to visit all the subordinate commands. In geography, the Pacific Command covers about two-fifths of the earth's entire surface, some eighty-five million square miles of ocean, continents, and islands. It extends from the shores of California to India, an East-West span of about ten thousand miles. Its North-South axis extends from the Bering Sea to Antarctica.

The Pacific Command headquarters in Honolulu has been set up as a fully integrated "team" representing all the services—for no longer can sharp lines of distinction be drawn between "land warfare," "sea warfare," and "air warfare." The Pacific Command "team" utilizes the specialized skills of Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine personnel. It is the first such unified command to conduct major command operations.

I might point out that this concept has worked in practice far beyond the expectations of those who originally set it up to deal with the complex problems of the Pacific area. I also want to stress that this "team" includes dedicated, skilled civilians.

Before reviewing the security situation in East Asia, I should like to add a most heartfelt word of appreciation of the caliber, loyalty, patriotism, and skill of the more than 800,000 servicemen and women who compose our nation's largest unified military command.

The American in uniform has youth, intelligence, aggressive curiosity, and a firm determination to defend his heritage. He is a skilled, resourceful, and disciplined individual. He has a lasting spirit of pride and honor—in himself, his fellow soldiers, sailors, marines and airmen and in his country. He possesses stamina and courage, a fearless virility and a sacrificial heart. Whether on Yankee Station in the Tonkin Gulf, in South Vietnam, or in Korea, he is carrying out and supporting the policies of our Government.

In the Pacific, we are facing the whole gamut of threats, both active and potential, that the communists have at their disposal. A glance at a map shows that, of the communist nations in the world, the four which present threats to Free World security—Communist China, the Soviet Union, North Vietnam and North Korea—border the Western Pacific.

As President Nixon indicated in his 1970 foreign policy report to the United States Congress, "The balance of nuclear power has placed a premium on negotiation rather than confrontation." At the same time, however, we must be aware of the continuing global threat from the ambitions, goals and activities of communist countries. Only a firm, positive posture backed by adequate military capabilities can assure the security of this region, and with it, that of the Free World.

There have been many "trouble spots" across the globe since VJ-Day in 1945, a day we thought would bring peace to the world.

But what may be surprising to many is that there have actually been some one hundred "shooting wars" during that period, and countless additional "incidents" and "crises." In 1970 alone there were 30 trouble spots. The United States was directly involved only in those conflicts that threatened our national interests or that of our allies.

Today we have the war in Southeast Asia, the border conflict between the Soviet Union and Communist China, the very dangerous situation that exists in the Middle East, and the continuing question of the two Germans. Another challenge is the expanding projection of Soviet power worldwide through military, political, psychological, and economic means. Especially foreboding is the challenge provided by the recent emergence of Soviet seapower throughout the oceans of the world. And finally, the critically important effort of the forum for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in which the United States and the Soviet Union are participating at the conference table has great significance.

The strategy of Realistic Deterrence is designed to systematically diminish the likelihood of outbreak or continuation of conflict. A new defense policy, the strategy takes a prudent middle course between the two policy extremes of world policeman and new isolationism. It is a positive, active policy. Realistic Deterrence emphasizes measured, meaningful involvement and vigorous negotiation from a position of strength. The strategy focuses major attention on a Total Force Concept. In practical terms, it means spending for new weapons and systems and manpower requirements for our Armed Services will be carefully weighed against anticipated needs. In this context, the strategy places greater reliance on the willingness and capabilities of "friends and allies" to play a larger role in their own defense. The U.S. will maintain sufficient strength which will be meshed with other nations in a partnership to make peaceful settlements of disputes more profitable than a shooting war, for both friends and their adversaries.

In an area as vast as the Pacific Command, the United States deterrent posture demands a high degree of mobility and a carefully planned deployment. It calls for a flexibility and a versatility that allows for discriminating application of military force. Finally, we must have adequate strength in forces and weapons, for in some areas in this world that is still the only language that is fully understood and respected.

There have been a number of examples in recent history when U.S. deployed military capabilities have served to snuff out incipient explosive situations. In the Near East the landing of our Marines at Lebanon is one such example. In the Far East, the firm action of our Seventh Fleet during the attacks on Quemoy and Matsu was another. Much closer to our own shores, our military deployment to the Dominican Republic was a major factor in resolving that situation.

But the most dramatic—and possibly the most critical—example in recent history was the so-called "Cuban confrontation" in which the two major nuclear powers faced each other eyeball to eyeball, each knowing that the other could press the nuclear trigger.

Here we virtually mobilized our forces. Our air power took to the skies on a 24-hour alert. We moved Army and Marine units to within easy striking distance of Cuba. Our Navy formed a quarantine cordon around the island. All of this the Russians knew. They knew as well that we would not back away from our stance. It was the physical deployment of our air, land, and sea forces—just as much as the readiness of our long-range missiles—that led the Russian leadership to order their missile-carrying ships to turn back.

To understand the threat we face in the

Pacific fully, it is necessary to review three major developments that have virtually rewritten the textbooks on both military strategies and on political alignments.

The first of these developments is the revolution in military weaponry resulting from the much publicized "technological explosion" of the past few decades.

The second is the rapid segmentation of the world's peoples in more and ever more independent nations.

The third is the continuing aim of some communists to impose their system on mankind, by any means—political or military, open or subversive.

Let me discuss these one by one.

We all know that modern technology has created what might be termed the "ultimate weapon" in that it could destroy any spot on earth in a matter of minutes. That, of course, is the nuclear armed ballistic missile. We have this in two forms, the Minuteman, launched from protected silos deep in the earth . . . and the Polaris launched from atomic-powered submarines deep beneath the surface of the sea. These have been well publicized.

Less well known are a host of weapons, both offensive and defensive, covering a broad spectrum of military uses. Let me give just a few examples:

In the air we have the "Side-winder" attack missile which seeks out its flying target by "homing" on the heat of jet exhaust. Quite literally, this follows the enemy aircraft and climbs right up its tailpipe before it explodes to destroy its target.

An example in ground warfare hardware is a new counter mortar radar which detects incoming rounds and calculates the exact firing positions of enemy mortars for returning fire directly onto the target.

Another advance in aerial technology is a reconnaissance aircraft that can photograph minute detail from positions many miles high, making it extremely difficult for an enemy to conceal his installations or his moves.

A highly ingenious and interesting defensive weapon, developed for the jungle fighting in Vietnam, is commonly called the people sniffer. In principle it detects, chemically, the presence of human bodies, no matter how dark the night, how silent the approach, or how thick the jungle.

No discussion of modern weapons can ignore the impact of the computer—on guidance systems, on fire control, on communications, or navigation. But there is one area in which no computer, no technological breakthrough has been able to change a fundamental of warfare as old as warfare itself.

And that is the decisive "weapon" in all warfare is the man on the ground with the gun on the spot. Whatever preliminaries may be carried out through the use of technological triumphs, it is that man on the ground with the gun on the spot who must occupy and hold the disputed areas. That is as true today in Vietnam as it was in the time of the Roman legions, or of the caveman who started all warfare as such with his club.

But there is one big difference. No matter how slowly he may crawl through the jungle, or edge his way forward to attack, the modern U.S. soldier, the man with the gun, rides to the scene of his combat job . . . in a jet aircraft, in a fast transport, in a truck, or, now for the first time in a major war, in a helicopter. In fact, I might add, wherever you may be in Vietnam today, you are certain to see helicopters overhead . . . carrying troops, delivering supplies, replenishing ammunition, ferrying wounded.

But when he gets there, this man with the gun still uses his own two feet when confronting his enemy in combat—to do his part of the job that eventually settles all wars.

Not only have military textbooks had to be rewritten through the inventiveness of man, but also political textbooks . . . through

the burgeoning desire of man to be free and to govern himself.

Nowhere has this been more significant than in the Afro-Asian area which includes nearly a third of the total land mass of the earth.

At the close of World War II this area was largely under the colonial control of seven European nations . . . Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Belgium and Spain. If there was trouble in the Congo, let us say, that was the responsibility of the government in Brussels . . . rioting in India had to be contained by the troops of Britain. Rebellion in Algeria was a problem for Paris, not for the world. All this has changed.

Today some 50 new nations, in all stages of development and representing all degrees of stability, occupy this same area. There are 50 governments to deal with, many of them wholly new to governing. Any one of these could trigger a "crisis", some of them have already done so.

The expanding membership of the United Nations dramatizes this segmentation into more and more self-contained units. At its founding in 1945, the United Nations consisted of 51 nations, most of them long established, many of them strong politically, economically, and militarily. Today the United Nations' membership totals 127, or 76 more than the original number. Almost all of these new members are also "new nations." Some are smaller in population than our major cities. Yet each has a voice in the General Assembly equal to our own. Collectively they form uncertain and constantly shifting alignments between the Free World, the communist-dominated world and the so-called "uncommitted" bloc of nations.

Whatever its shortcomings as an international peacekeeping force, the United Nations still provides a forum for discussion, a common meeting ground, and a mirror of world opinion without which international relationships would be even more difficult to reconcile than they are now.

To supplement the United Nations, various military alignments have been set up by the Free World to provide a certain degree of "collective" security in the face of the avowed ambitions of communism to dominate the world politically, militarily, and economically.

As you well know, to safeguard the countries bordering European communist countries, there is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, made up of 12 West European nations, Turkey, Canada, and the United States.

In the Western Hemisphere there is the Organization of American States, or "OAS," consisting of the 21 republics which share this area. This is, of course, more political and economic in character, than military.

United States participation in the Central Treaty Organization is less direct but still a factor, supporting the four nations which form the alliance.

Finally, we come to the two security pacts of direct concern to the Pacific Command. The Manila Pact—the South East Asia Treaty Organization—is made up of nations whose major concern is the containment of communist activities in Southeast Asia. The eight SEATO nations include the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines. SEATO is very, very important in spite of what you may read or hear. And if we did not have SEATO we would have to invent this organization. In the three years that I have had this command, I have found that in order to solve problems you just have to establish channels of communication. This is an important function of SEATO. It is especially invaluable as we face the continuing crises confronting us today. The other pact, ANZUS, is made up of the three English-speaking nations which have major commitments and responsibilities in the Pacific

area . . . Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. This involves many matters of mutual concern, both military and political.

One further security bulwark has been erected toward achieving greater stability along the eastern coast of Asia. This area is stabilized by U.S. mutual assistance pacts with Japan, Republic of Korea, Republic of China, and the Republic of the Philippines.

All of these political-military groupings are defensive in nature.

Communism has changed radically in the past 18 years. At the time of Stalin's death the Communist "bloc" of nations was, in reality, under a single dominant leadership. It extended from Europe to the Pacific as a contiguous geographic area. In it lived about a third of all the people on earth. Today, this erstwhile "bloc" is split into factions as vitriolic toward each other as they are toward the Free World. Instead of a single communist leadership, there are now 14 separate leaderships. Although they may have individual interpretations as to how they want to expand, and at whose expense, the ambitions of the major communist leaders still pose a constant and serious threat to the Free World. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the areas which fall within the Pacific Command, for here are the most aggressive communist nations.

Without doubt the leaders of Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam are the most formidable problem Free World diplomacy has ever faced. They do not think or react in the psychological and political sense which you and I understand. They are insensitive to life and property. Theirs is a long-range goal of territorial and ideological conquest. And to achieve this objective they are ruthless and resolute, patient and persistent.

The fact that the leaderships of the four communist powers in Asia are divided by differing motivations and ambitions increases the difficulty of predicting what they might do in the way of possible military adventures.

We have fought two major wars with the communist powers in this area. Two of these nations have taken aggressive action which led us into wars not of our own choosing. These, of course, are North Korea and North Vietnam. I plan to discuss Vietnam with you a little later.

The Soviet Union's primary immediate objective is to have the countries of the area look to the USSR rather than China for leadership, inspiration and help.

Backed by impressive economic and manpower resources, Soviet Far Eastern military strength remains a major threat. In the Far East, the Soviets have an army of a quarter of a million troops; an air force comprised of over a thousand jet bombers and a rocket force of hundreds of nuclear-tipped missiles. The threat posed by their modernized Pacific Fleet is increasing steadily. Presently, in the Pacific, they have over 50 major combatants and more than 100 submarines, many of them missile-equipped. Their navy also has hundreds of other craft involved in many types of missions.

The intense rivalry between the Soviet Union and the Communist Chinese is a match of dangerously militant challengers for supremacy of the communist world.

In competing with Peking for leadership of the communist world, the Soviets can be expected to continue to assist their North Korean and North Vietnamese communist allies by providing large quantities of weapons, equipment and supplies. The Soviets appear to support containment of the Vietnam conflict, to reduce possibilities of its leading to general war. For this and other reasons of their own, rather than through any lack of opposition to U.S. objectives, they appear to favor dialogues concerning a Vietnam settlement on Hanoi's terms, however.

The growth of Soviet military offensive

capability continues unabated. The Soviets have been strengthening their military forces on land, on the sea, and in the air for some time. One striking example of their expanding strategic offensive forces momentum is that the Soviet Union has forged ahead of the U.S. in numbers of strategic land-based missiles. As Secretary of Defense Laird has reported, the monster Soviet SS-9 Intercontinental Ballistic Missile system deployed or under construction is estimated to have increased from 230 a year ago to about 300 today. In addition, 29 or 30 Polaris-type ballistic missile submarines are now operational or under construction and at present construction rates, will exceed the U.S. fleet of nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines in 1974.

The Soviets, pressing southward since the days of the Czars, have emerged as a naval power. They have finally succeeded in operating fleets in the great oceans of the world. Soviet naval and air maneuvers have been made in the Norwegian Sea, the North Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, the Sea of Japan, and the Philippine Sea. Moreover, approximately 20 nations in these areas are welcoming Soviet flag visits. Clearly, the Soviets do not use their navy in a parochial sense. They have grasped the significance of seapower and its importance to trade, fisheries and oceanographic research.

Certainly the major potential source of danger in the Western Pacific is Communist China. While the motivations and intentions of the Communist Chinese leaders are matters of conjecture, their capabilities can be fairly accurately measured.

The Communist Chinese Army at 2.5 million officers and men is the largest standing army in Asia and it is equipped with modern weapons. Communist China's air force numbers nearly 4,000 combat aircraft, including MIG-21's and other sophisticated weapons systems. The navy is limited but growing, and includes the world's fourth largest fleet of 40 attack submarines and a growing missile patrol boat force. Another half-million men make up an impressive paramilitary force.

The Peoples Republic of China has extended territorial claims to parts of India and have occupied Tibet. Their forces also have clashed with Soviet troops—on the Kazakhstan-Sinkiang frontier, which featured major fighting, comparable to that of March 1969 on the Ussuri River frontier, 2,000 miles to the east.

As to intentions, the Chinese Communist forces appear at present, in spite of Peking's bombast about nuclear war with both the U.S. and Russia, to be defensively oriented in make up and deployment. However, their nuclear capability will before long be able to span most of Asia and the Soviet Union.

The Chinese moved closer to the day when they will launch their first ICBM with the successful orbiting of their first satellite. This event proves the Chinese have the capability to put in orbit a considerable payload. It also confirms their technological progress and, as Secretary Laird has pointed out, we must credit them with the near term capability to fire their first ICBM. They could have an operational ICBM capability in the mid-1970's. They have worked on an MRBM (Medium Range Ballistic Missile) capable of delivering a 20 kiloton warhead up to 1,000 miles for a number of years, and appear to be capable of a limited deployment at any time, even this year.

Regarding their nuclear weapons capability, the Chinese Communists detonated ten nuclear devices from October 1964 to the end of September 1969. Six of those tests involved thermo-nuclear devices.

The Chinese Communist strategic nuclear threat to the United States, for many years to come, will be far too small and will lack the accuracy to pose a threat to our strategic

offensive capability. However, even a small and relatively unsophisticated Chinese Communist nuclear force could threaten their neighbors and our forces on mainland Asia and in the Western Pacific.

It appears that Communist China presently seeks to dominate its neighbors through political pressure, subversion and so-called "wars of national liberation"—rather than by military conquest. It has been cautious in risking its own resources; however, to expand its influence it may add nuclear blackmail to its pressure on its neighbors. Communist China's continued support of insurgencies and "wars of liberation" remains a paramount threat to U.S. interests in East Asia and the Western Pacific despite hopes for improved relations.

Turning to the Republic of Korea, the North Korean threat has not diminished in the last two years. Continued infiltration of the South, the brazen capture of the Pueblo, and the shoot-down of an American plane many miles from North Korean air space, reflect a truculence that could escalate sharply into major war.

North Korea makes no secret of its goal to unify Korea by force under its control during the next few years. Clearly, North Korea will not scruple at even the most flagrant measures to achieve its objective. Hundreds of North Korean-initiated incidents have erupted in the Republic of Korea. During 1968, there were 220 major incidents provoked by North Korea along the Demilitarized Zone. The trend in 1969 and 1970 was down. Nevertheless, the threat of the Pyongyang regime persists and is underlined by its continued efforts to infiltrate armed bands along sea routes into the South.

Comparing the forces of both North Korea and the Republic of Korea we find that the North Korean Army is considerably smaller than the Republic of Korea Army of over half a million men. The North Koreans have a large guerrilla-type commando force. North Korea's Navy is also smaller than the Republic of Korea's force but North Korea has a large fleet of patrol and coastal craft which are frequently used to land guerrilla forces on the coastline of the Republic of Korea.

On the air power side, the Republic of Korea is at a clear disadvantage since the North Korean's force outnumber it about three to one in combat aircraft. North Korea's jet capable airfields are about double those facilities in the Republic of Korea. However, the United States can provide the balance of air power from aircraft currently deployed in the Pacific.

A most positive development in Northeast Asia is the Republic of Korea's improved relations with Japan, resulting in closer economic ties and a beneficial commercial exchange between the two countries.

Economically, Japan is now third among the nations of the world. Following a long period of reconstruction and domestic investment and development, Japan is now turning its attention and resources toward assisting the economic and social development of the free nations of Asia. Japan remains firmly aligned with the free nations of Asia. This is exemplified by the November 1969 agreement between President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato on the reversion of Okinawa to Japan by the end of 1972 and the indefinite continuation of the mutual security treaty between our two nations.

Moving south is another area of communist pressure: the Taiwan Strait. A communist Chinese attack on Taiwan in view of our firm commitment under the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954 and of our combined defense capability would be a foolhardy venture. But the possibility can never be excluded. "Liberation" of Taiwan continues as a cardinal Chinese Communist objective.

Significant Chinese Communist military force is tied up on the mainland coast opposite Taiwan. Opposite Communist China

is a significant Republic of China Army, an air force of over several hundred fighters, and a small navy of destroyer-types and patrol craft. Facing the Republic of China defense on Taiwan is a communist army of over 150,000 men, an air force of over 1,000 fighters and bombers, and a significant naval force including destroyer-types, submarines and a large coastal patrol force.

The South China Sea separates the Philippines from the mainland communist aggressive threat. Conscious nevertheless of the long-term danger, the Philippine Government provides important bases in support of the Free World stand in Vietnam, and ultimately, the security of the Philippines themselves. The HUK rebellion is a constant reminder of communist insurgency.

In Indonesia the Suharto Government has made definite progress in raising the country up from the depths to which it sank under Sukarno. Effective measures have been taken to prevent the Peking-oriented communist party of Indonesia from reviving on an important scale. Economic recovery and development are underway and there has recently been a marked resumption of American and other foreign investment in Indonesia's vast oil and other resources. While remaining unaligned, Indonesian foreign policy has been marked by growing readiness and desire to work with other free nations of the area for mutual economic, social and security interest.

In Malaysia a generally promising course of development was briefly interrupted by 1969's communal disturbances and riots. However, another similar outbreak is becoming less likely. Despite communist efforts to exploit racial unrest, the 1971 anniversary of the riots passed without serious incident. Nevertheless, the still unsettled situation provides fertile ground for communist subversion.

While Singapore has thus far remained little touched, extension of communist inspired instability to that tiny island nation would imperil freedom of passage through the Malacca Straits which are crucial to Asian petroleum imports for its industry. The new accord reached by Britain, Australia, and New Zealand provides for continued defense arrangements to protect Singapore and Malaysia. Its significance is that the British will keep a military force in Southeast Asia to help maintain the peace of the region.

Turning now to Burma, we have a country which is presently suffering from a stagnant economy and insurgent control of large areas of the country. Chinese Communist aid to insurgents in the northeastern areas of the nation poses an ominous threat. A Communist Chinese goal may be to connect their road system with the Burmese system which would open new avenues of approach to Thailand and Laos. The next 12 months may be critical in determining the nature and probable success of their intervention in Burma. The Burmese Army is hard pressed to deal with internal security, and it would be unable to offer effective resistance to a major attack by Red China.

The insurgency in North and Northeast Thailand is supported and encouraged by Peking and Hanoi. The Royal Thai Government is moving to meet the threat. The outcome is not yet clear, but there is ground for confidence that unless the external basis of the insurgency is magnified, the Thai authorities will, with continued U.S. material and advisory assistance, progressively bring the insurgency under control.

Regarding the situation in Laos and Cambodia, President Nixon has reported how the North Vietnamese sent tens of thousands of troops into all three countries of the Indochina peninsula across every single common border for the past eight years. It is a fact that North Vietnam has systematically and repeatedly invaded Laotian territory since

1962 in violation of international agreements and the sovereignty of the people of Laos.

Communist forces in Laos include some 100,000 North Vietnamese regulars and 45,000 Pathet Lao troops that have dealt serious setbacks to the Laotian Armed Forces. The importance of the communist occupation of the long eastern flank of Laos is found in the fact that Ho Chi Minh trails run through this area into key points that give them access for operations against South Vietnam and Cambodia and potentially Thailand.

In Laos, we are primarily concerned with interdicting the enemy's support efforts channeled toward South Vietnam and Cambodia. By contributing to his capability to carry out his intentions in South Vietnam and Cambodia, we are directly supporting the Vietnamization program and decreasing the danger to our troops as they are redeployed.

The enemy has two jet capable airfields in southern North Vietnam. These are Bai Thuong and Quan Lang, and they give the enemy the flexibility of rapidly deploying his aircraft to and from these airfields. As an example of this enemy option, recently a North Vietnamese MIG-21 aircraft attempted to attack American aircraft in Laotian skies. Enemy aircraft also have tried to lure our planes over enemy anti-aircraft and SAM missile emplacements on the Laotian-North Vietnamese borders. The enemy has frequently fired upon our aircraft flying in Laotian airspace.

In North Laos the capabilities of our Laotian allies are limited and the initiative is with the enemy. North Vietnam will undoubtedly attempt to more firmly establish Laos as a sanctuary for its operations in the south. As long as American lives are involved, we will continue to deny the enemy any respite in this area. Further, the Republic of Vietnam, with the Lamson 719 precedent, will also deny the enemy this assurance.

The Chinese Communists have been building a road network through Northern Laos. In the near future they will have established an all weather motorable road which extends from Communist China in the north, Dien Bien Phu to the east, all the way across Laos to the Mekong River, which is in itself a great water highway. Although making no overt threats, it is obvious that the Chinese Communists intend to use this road and to apply pressure on both the governments of Laos and Thailand. It will be definitely extend their capability to support year round insurgent operations, and has already virtually cut off Northwest Laos from the rest of the country.

Some 55,000 communist troops are waging aggression against the people and Republic of Cambodia. This follows Hanoi's consistent pattern of aggression in Indochina. Events of the past year in Cambodia emphasize, again, the regional nature of the war. For well over five years the enemy was afforded the luxury of free access to sanctuary areas and lines of communication in Cambodia. From these bases he attacked the Neutralist Government of Laos, supported insurgency in Thailand, and posed a serious and increasing threat to the Vietnamization program.

One of the great acts of moral courage and discipline in our search for a just peace in Southeast Asia was when President Nixon ordered the 1970 Cambodian operation. The President's move into communist sanctuaries was bold and decisive. The purpose was to protect allied forces by destroying enemy sanctuary areas and supply caches. We did this. Subsequently, all U.S. ground forces were withdrawn from Cambodia. We are out.

Now to get into positions to threaten the southern half of South Vietnam, Hanoi must cover a large amount of ground that is un-

friendly. This is a new stress on Hanoi's home front. The resources the Chinese Communists and the Soviets are willing to divert and the problems of transportation, communications, and the exigency of the weather have a great bearing on North Vietnam's ability to launch new offensive operations against South Vietnam.

Previously, the enemy took areas in Cambodia of use to them in their assaults on South Vietnam. The key to the whole thing for Hanoi was its input of supplies and materials from the sea at Cambodia's deep-water port of Kampong Som. This vital sea and land funnel has been denied them by the Khmer government. Without such input, then Hanoi's ability to mount high level attacks on the Southern third of South Vietnam is greatly diminished. Moreover, as Secretary of Defense Laird has indicated, the South Vietnamese Armed Forces are free to operate in a combat role in the former communist sanctuaries of Cambodia.

The 1970 allied Cambodian operation must be considered one of the most consequential events of the war. This is true for a number of reasons.

First, for the Army of the Republic of Vietnam, the Cambodian operational success offers proof that it has finally arrived. Today one of seven South Vietnamese men is under arms in defense of his country. He serves in the largest Asian Army outside of Communist China. He has proven he can hold his own and defeat the enemy.

Second, Cambodia demonstrates that the North Vietnamese Army and communist Viet Cong are not the world's most efficient army as some self-appointed critics have claimed. Hanoi's army certainly has been efficient in terms of its callous indifference to battlefield losses, estimated to be over 750,000 killed in action since this war began. And the loss of their Cambodian sanctuary bases and supply caches proves conclusively that they are not independent of an expensive logistics system either.

Third, what is not so apparent to the public is the fact that the enemy has been steadily pushed off the backs of the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese people.

The geographical progress since 1967 in reducing the threat to Saigon, and indeed the whole of South Vietnam, is readily apparent today. Hanoi's leaders have been dealt a succession of crippling blows to their ability to attack South Vietnam.

Cambodian troops, meanwhile are taking the war to the enemy. When I was in Phnom Penh for consultations with Cambodia's Premier Lon Nol and other top government and military leaders, I also had an opportunity to examine firsthand several Cambodian fighting units. I came away impressed with their growing ability and determination to counter North Vietnam's aggression. The Cambodian forces are putting U.S.-provided small arms equipment to good use in their efforts against the communist forces illegally present in their country.

In February, thousands of South Vietnamese troops with U.S. air support moved against the North Vietnamese presence in Laos which relates directly to Hanoi's aggression against South Vietnam. Men and supplies to support that aggression have been pouring from North Vietnam through Laos into South Vietnam for years, and they also were going into Cambodia, all by the way of the Ho Chi Minh trail. The South Vietnamese operation into Laos was developed with a limited objective to destroy supplies stockpiled by the North Vietnamese in the mountainous region of Laos. The Lamson 719 operations, as the Vietnamese call it, also intended to prevent the launching of a 1971 communist offensive in the northern areas of South Vietnam and to permit the Vietnamization program to continue.

The Ho Chi Minh trail—actually a network of roads—is the jugular vein connecting North Vietnam with its forces in Cambodia and South Vietnam. This is Hanoi's vital pipeline, and we have disrupted North Vietnam's logistics flow toward its forces in Cambodia and South Vietnam. It will result in saving U.S. lives and insure orderly continuation of our redeployment program. It was not the intent to block the Ho Chi Minh trail in the sense of permanently sealing off all infiltration routes to the south, and the success of the operation should not be measured in this context. The objective was to disrupt the traffic flow.

The South Vietnamese Army took the initiative from North Vietnam's forces by meeting them head on, with confidence, in enemy-occupied territory along route 9 and in the Tchepone area. They deployed a professional military force, faced hard fighting, and gave a good accounting of themselves against a much larger enemy force. Many enemy units were battered. Although they took some lumps, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam, with U.S. air support, bested a number of first-line North Vietnamese battalions. A fact often overlooked is that the South Vietnamese had a very effective operation underway in Cambodia at the same time. In Cambodia, using their own air power, South Vietnam's forces in the CHUP plantation area have also done very well in the other phase of their double-barreled disruptive incursions against Hanoi's supply caches and transport network. There is no doubt the total effort in Laos and Cambodia by South Vietnam's forces has denied the enemy vital resupply efforts and materiel they would otherwise have used against Allied forces. However, the real results—like in last year's successful Cambodian incursion—will not be apparent until later this year, when the rainy season ends.

On this note and in the face of conflicting reports, I would like to briefly review the recent history of both allied and enemy operations.

There have been three major enemy initiated offensive operations and three major allied initiated operations beginning with and since the enemy Tet offensive of 1968. And in each operation, the enemy suffered a major defeat. The Tet offensive of 1968, in itself a cease-fire violation in which 68,000 enemy troops were involved, was a triple disaster—it was a military defeat for the enemy; it alienated large segments of the South Vietnamese population; and 40,000 enemy soldiers were lost.

Continued disasters for the enemy in his "Little Tet" operation of May 1968 and his Tet 1969 offensive led him to reassess his entire tactical operation. He returned to guerilla war tactics and again emphasized resolutions toward a "protracted war."

The first of three recent allied operations was the May-June 1970 Cambodian cross-border operation. This was another major defeat for Communist forces in Indochina and set the stage for accelerated American troop withdrawals. In addition to over 31,000 enemy killed in this operation, vast sums of military supplies were captured or destroyed.

In the South Vietnamese cross-border operations in the CHUP Plantation area of Cambodia which began on the 4th of February, over 5,000 of the enemy have been killed and 10,000 of his forces have been tied down. The military objectives were accomplished. This was the first of its two-fold success.

The second success story to be told here—and one that I have seen very little mention of in the press—is that this operation was completely supported by South Vietnamese efforts. They flew the air support. They flew the logistics support.

Regarding the ARVN cross-border Lamson 719 operations into Laos, we know that enemy materiel losses were staggering. He lost an amount of food that could have fed

139 battalions at two pounds per man a day for 30 days. Individual weapons were captured or destroyed that could have equipped 14 battalions; and 20 battalions could have been equipped with crew-served weapons captured or destroyed.

Even more important than these statistics is the fact that the enemy's sanctuary has been struck, and he will never be certain it can't or won't happen again.

Hanoi's massive effort to push war materials down the Ho Chi Minh trail during the now concluded six-month dry season was severely limited by U.S. planes and the South Vietnamese ground operation into Laos. Only about one out of each eight tons of supplies North Vietnam put into the trail got through to its troops in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

An indication that Hanoi may be thinking about a protracted war is found in their installation of an extensive petroleum pipeline from Vinh, North Vietnam, which extends into Laos by way of the Mu Gia and Ban Raving passes and into known enemy resupply bases. The petroleum pipeline was interdicted in the South Vietnamese Lamson 719 operation but has since been rebuilt. It releases substantial numbers of enemy trucks from their former mission of moving petroleum drums for other purposes.

The North Vietnamese also use the rivers and streams of Laos for their resupply efforts. They have built a bamboo pole pipeline—a long network of bamboo poles lashed together to guide barrels and plastic bags which "free float" munitions and supplies. This bamboo pole pipeline channels containers into prepared lagoons used as holding and sorting basins.

In summary, throughout Southeast Asia, the enemy is faced with problems that he has not encountered in the last decade. In Laos, he was forced to expand his lines of communication in an effort to compensate for the loss of the Cambodian port of Kampong Som, disruptions to his lines of communication by the cross-border operations into Cambodia, and the need to resupply his forces in the south. Operation Lamson 719 disrupted the enemy's 1970-71 logistics timetable. The effects of this disruption upon North Vietnamese plans may be amplified by the need for Hanoi to anticipate possible future ARVN out-country incursions. In Cambodia, the change of government in 1970 obliged the enemy to reassess the situation and reorient his efforts in an attempt to replace vital supply lines. To accomplish this, he diverted main force units from South Vietnam, further limiting his offensive capabilities. The enemy's future military effectiveness throughout southern Indochina is directly related to his ability to solve the serious logistical problems which he now faces.

Regarding the future of Cambodia and Laos, President Nixon has said we are exploring "methods through which the neutrality of countries like Cambodia and Laos, who cannot possibly defend themselves" will be "guaranteed without having the intervention of foreign forces."

Successes in the Vietnamization program and regional cooperation among Asian allies will advance progress toward United States goals in Indochina. Our goals remain: to end American casualties; to continue the withdrawal of our forces; to accelerate Vietnamization progress; and to successfully implement the Nixon Doctrine throughout East Asia and the Pacific.

In South Vietnam the President's policy is sound. The current plan for reduction of men is both safe and reasonable, particularly in view of our success in Cambodia. It will speed up Vietnamization to insure continued U.S. redeployments from Southeast Asia, and to reduce American casualties. As President Nixon has said, there will be a reduction by December in our authorized strength in Viet-

nam to our new goal of 184,000—a cut of nearly 365,000 Americans.

Vietnamization as a path to peace in Vietnam fulfills four purposes: Self-determination for the South Vietnamese people. Honors our obligations to the Vietnamese. Systematically reduces American ground combat involvement. Helps restore the credibility of our actions at home and abroad.

Throughout the Republic, the Vietnamese soldier is taking over the combat readiness and combat action in this war. The Republic of Vietnam Armed Forces continue to train themselves, accept new combat responsibilities, and set out in their combat actions with a renewed determination to defeat the enemy. The Republic of Vietnam Army continues to seek out the enemy and preempt him at every opportunity, defeating his forces and destroying his caches before they can launch their next attack.

Simultaneous with this is the turnover of military equipment and bases for their operational and logistical growth.

Let me at this time touch on just a few significant Vietnamization illustrations:

First, the economy: over 95 percent of essential roads and waterways are now open. Rice production is moving towards self-sufficiency. The big problem, however, is control of inflation to insure the economic stability of Vietnam.

South Vietnam's government has been and continues to grow in strength. Locally elected governments are spreading throughout the country. Nine of 10 hamlets now have popularly elected officials, and more important there has been a noticeable increase in the number of citizens willing to seek office.

The Pacification Program has shown considerable progress within the past two years. Almost 94 percent of the population now live in relatively secure areas. Another factor showing the progress of the government is the Chieu Hoi program. This program, which started in 1963, provides amnesty to enemy forces desiring to come over to the side of the South. In 1970 alone, 32,000 enemy defected from the Viet Cong or the North Vietnamese to the side of the Republic of Vietnam.

The next element of Vietnamization is a stronger national police for the internal security of the Republic. Greater emphasis has been placed on training and strengthening of the police for local security. Since these men are from the hamlets and villages to which that are assigned, they know the villagers within that area and are therefore able to identify enemy personnel. They have been greatly instrumental in rooting out the Viet Cong infrastructure. Police substations have been established in villages and hamlets where elections have been held to provide greater security to the people of South Vietnam.

Turning now to the military improvement and modernization efforts, we find that this program is ahead of schedule.

The Republic of Vietnam's Armed Forces have grown from 274,000 men and women under arms in 1960 to today's 1,200,000. This includes 400,000 Army regulars, 40,000 Navy, 40,000 Air Force, 12,000 Marines, 500,000 territorial force troops, and about 215,000 paramilitary forces including civilian irregulars and national police.

The goal however is *quality* and not *quantity*. General Abrams and his staff greatly emphasize the necessity for developing quality manpower and leadership within the armed forces of the South. Since June 1969, when President Nixon ordered the first American troop redeployment and made Vietnamization a priority mission, South Vietnamese infantrymen have replaced American troops in these key regions:

The capital military district, including defense of Saigon.

The Mekong Delta.

The coastal belt along the South China

Sea running from north of Da Nang to the eastern flank of the Demilitarized Zone.

The Central Highlands.  
Demilitarized Zone.

Since U.S. redeployment began about 24 months ago, 100 American military installations have been turned over to the Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese Air Force—gaining strength in both equipment and technical proficiency—now has 32 squadrons of more than 800 aircraft including jet and propeller-driven bombers, helicopters, AC47 gunships, C47 transports and light single-engine reconnaissance planes. Among its 40,000 airmen are 1,200 trained pilots and 1,500 more scheduled for training. Their combat sortie rate within the past year has increased 67 percent for fixed wing aircraft and a threefold increase for helicopters.

One of the problems we are now faced with is training time. Training is not an overnight accomplishment. It takes time. For example, it takes 12 months to train a jet pilot in just the basic skills of flying his aircraft. It takes six months to train a mechanic to maintain that jet aircraft. Before either of these can start his training, 30 to 36 weeks of English language instruction is required.

The U.S. 7th Air Force has transferred to the Vietnamese Air Force over 400 helicopters, A37 jet fighter bombers and AC47 gunships. Approximately 7,200 of the Republic of Vietnam's military personnel are being trained in the United States this fiscal year. Most are associated with air operations. The number is nearly five times that of two years ago.

Probably the most rapid progress in Vietnamization has been made by the U.S. Naval Forces in Vietnam. This is the brown-water navy that patrolled the Mekong Delta rice bowl south of Saigon and screen infiltration corridors for enemy troops and equipment leading from Cambodia into the western delta. This is now the responsibility of the South Vietnamese Navy.

The South Vietnamese Navy has reached a strength of 40,000 men and 1,500 vessels. It operates almost entirely in the Mekong Delta which contains more than half of the country's population south of Saigon.

Since the Vietnamization program began, the U.S. Navy has given the South Vietnamese Navy 810 combatant and logistic craft, including 850 river patrol boats. More than 6,000 Vietnamese have been trained to meet U.S. Naval standards of operation, and the command of two major bases has been given to the South Vietnamese Navy. Significantly, no U.S. patrol boat operating in Vietnamese waters today has an entirely American crew.

U.S. Coast Guard has phased out its Vietnam-based combat operations. Coast Guard Squadron One has turned over all of its 26 patrol vessels to the Vietnamese over a 15 month period. The squadron was mostly involved in patrol and surveillance work along the South China Sea coast. Now there are only a few advisory and technical personnel remaining.

The added significance to what I have just mentioned is this. It is relatively easy to just turn over equipment and bases, indiscriminately, but this is not the case in Vietnam today. The Vietnamese Armed Forces are capable and well trained to maintain and continue the fight with the equipment and operational facilities they are receiving. In addition, the men in the field, including the Regional Forces and the Popular Forces, are being equipped with the best weapons. Over 96 percent of the Republic of Vietnam's Armed Forces are using the M-16 rifle, and they are proving they can use it very well.

Enemy aggressiveness continues to be the determining factor in the Allied search for a just peace in Vietnam and the entire Indochina area. As Secretary Laird recently stated to the House Armed Services Commit-

tee, in South Vietnam, the major threat to friendly forces is posed by Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army forces just north of the DMZ, in the southern Laos panhandle and in the northern two provinces of MR 1. The principal communist threat in South Vietnam is the enemy's continued capability to launch a major, multi-regimental level operation. The enemy's actions in Indochina demonstrate that his ultimate objective of trying to put North Vietnamese leadership in South Vietnam remains unchanged.

Hanoi is greatly concerned about the progress of the Pacification and Vietnamization programs. Our intelligence reveals that Hanoi's objectives are to wear down the resolve of the Free World, discredit the Pacification program, disrupt the Vietnamization progress, and most importantly, to exert pressure on United States and world public opinion.

As President Nixon has reported to the American people, the enemy's three basic strategies have failed. He has not won and cannot win a military victory or a political victory in South Vietnam. And he cannot achieve a political victory in the United States.

United States troop withdrawals are predicted on reduction in intensity of actions by the enemy, progress in the Vietnamization program and progress at the Paris talks.

The communists have been warned by the United States Government that the timing of American troop withdrawals will depend on the current military and diplomatic situation. President Nixon has stated:

"If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam, I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation."

President Nixon's fulfilled pledges and his plan to further reduce the total U.S. troop commitment in South Vietnam—responsible, disciplined acts of statesmanship—are a result of the confidence that Pacification and Vietnamization are succeeding. The South Vietnamese are developing the capability for their own defense. Combat action has declined for our forces. The South Vietnamese are doing more. The North Vietnamese are able to do less. Our troops continue to perform a necessary though unpleasant function. We will need an effective military force in South Vietnam in the months ahead to safeguard our continued redeployment permitted by progress in the Vietnamization program. We are well on the way toward ending our ground combat role. I believe our objectives, in the long run, will prove successful.

It would be unrealistic to hope that a Vietnam settlement, when achieved, will end the threat of aggressive communism. Backed by U.S. ground, sea, and air power, our allies must develop and maintain conventional forces to help deter the aggressive ambitions of their communist neighbors.

At the heart of the Nixon Doctrine—which has been readily recognized and accepted by our allies—is the principle of partnership, of shared responsibility for peace and security. The President has stated the United States will keep its treaty commitments with the expectation that our friends and allies will assume greater responsibility for their own defense.

This evolutionary development is a major change in U.S. foreign policy. Its significance is two-fold: It means continued U.S. leadership of the Free World but with a reduced American presence. And secondly, this new phase in American foreign policy will mean a future savings to us all in terms of American lives as well as dollars.

Although some question the need for a strong, realistic war-deterrent force, I would remind all that no battles have been fought on Continental United States soil since the Civil War. In World War II the mood of the

country reflected the knowledge that the Republic was beset by trials as grave as any it had faced in its history. There was an unquestioned acceptance of the need to sacrifice to insure the survival of an ideal. We felt intuitively that our society offered man his best hope of a way of life by which he could fulfill himself in freedom.

Over the decades since then, however, the issues have been many and complex, and the rightness of our actions on the world scene has not been so easily demonstrated as in World War II. There is some disenchantment with the military today among certain groups, giving rise in turn to criticism not notable for its amiability. In point of fact, even a superficial look at recent history gives us reason to be proud of what our defense forces have accomplished over these years.

It is easily forgotten that United States strength and commitment were indispensable elements of the economic and political resurgence of Western Europe. The United

Far East, and the fact that freedom survives under the shadow of aggressive communism is testimony to the effectiveness and perseverance of our armed forces.

Despite the determination of world powers to extend by force a political system which scorns freedom, the Free World alliance remains a symbol of hope to nations where freedom has died.

MRS. JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the death of Harriet McCormack, beloved wife of our former Speaker, John McCormack, after a long and tragic illness, has brought great sorrow and a profound sense of loss to me personally and to all those who have had the privilege of knowing the McCormacks.

Mrs. McCormack truly exemplified the most noble qualities of the time-honored role of wife and helpmate. Anyone who has ever known John McCormack knew of his total devotion, his deep admiration and respect, and his abiding love for his wife. Their romance was a storybook tale that began more than half a century ago. While visiting friends at Nantasket Beach in 1917, the young John gave a tiny, pretty, blue-eyed girl a hand putting up an automobile top in a rainstorm. It was love at first sight, a love that seemed to grow ever stronger with each passing year.

Harriet Joyce was a professional singer with a promising operatic career. A rich contralto, she had signed a contract with the Metropolitan Opera. But in 1920, she gave up her singing career for a greater one, dedicating her life and love to John McCormack, the promising young lawyer and veteran who would become one of the successful and respected politicians of our times.

It is truly said, and I am sure John McCormack would be the first to agree, that behind every great man there is a great woman. Harriet was with him every step of the way. He sought her advice, respected her opinions, and from her deep faith in him, drew much of the

strength and self-confidence which made him outstanding in the political world. Their love was a living legend in Washington, for they preferred each other's company to all the glittering social scene of the Capital. In all the years of their married life they never spent a night apart.

A woman of deep serenity, quiet grace, and profound religious faith, Harriet McCormack was a life-long inspiration to her husband. Their marriage carried out the highest ideals of the Christian family and set an example seldom matched except in fiction and poetry. Perhaps the poet Wordsworth came closest to expressing the precious relationship they shared and cherished. In "She Was a Phantom of Delight," he wrote:

And now I see with eye serene  
The very pulse of the machine; . . .  
A perfect Woman, nobly planned,  
To warn, to comfort, and command;  
And yet a Spirit still, and bright  
With something of angelic light.

And from "Weak Is the Will of Man":

Tis hers to pluck the amarantine flower  
Of faith, and round the sufferer's temples  
bind  
Wreaths that endure affliction's heaviest  
shower,  
And do not shrink from sorrow's keenest  
wind.

As a former constituent of Speaker McCormack's, as a fellow Bostonian, as a member of the Massachusetts delegation and of Congress, on which he has left the indelible imprint of a lifetime's brilliant, loyal, and loving service, I share his sorrow in his terrible loss. If there is any consolation in his grief, I hope it might be the knowledge that his wife's memory will glow warm in the hearts of those who knew and loved them both, inspiring us with the qualities she gave of so abundantly during her lifetime.

THE LATE HONORABLE THOMAS  
JEFFERSON MURRAY

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the late Tom Murray was elected to the 78th Congress and continued to serve for 24 years, much of it as chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

His record in the Congress speaks for itself. Above all, he practiced restraint in his legislative philosophy, while devoting himself assiduously to improvement in postal service and fair treatment for all civil service employees.

It happened that Tom came to Congress when I did. He always practiced the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, concerning himself with the evils of big government and excessive Federal spending. His influence in the Congress had a wholesome and stabilizing effect.

Tom Murray was a great patriot, a defender of the flag, and a staunch supporter of adequate national defense. In

CXVII—2834—Part 34

many ways he was an ideal Congressman in all matters relating to the cause of good government.

To me Tom was a personal friend. I always profited from his advice and his leadership. He was truly a great American.

UNITED STATES ASSISTS TO PLACE  
A RUSSIAN ON THE MOON

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, many informed Americans will recall the space exploration hysteria of the early 1960's—a costly crash mobilization to head off Russian space superiority.

Then followed the hysteria to ratify a Soviet-United States outer space treaty to prevent the Russians from beating the United States to the moon and arming it with a nuclear device.

Almost as if the U.S. moon shot was delayed until after our leaders signed away our advantage to place an ABM on the moon, on July 20, 1969, U.S. astronauts landed on the moon. Eight Americans on four different trips have been to the moon and explored that celestial body. Russia has to this day failed to place man on the moon.

Now we learn a proposed U.S.-U.S.S.R. joint-manned space flight is under discussion. Because of the dismal failures of the Soviet space program—despite our exchange of sophisticated data, the furnishing of electronic computers, and even giving the Russian scientists tours of our space center—the Russians are disappointed at their loss of face as well as at U.S. space superiority.

So, following traditional U.S. political fashion to prevent U.S. domination in any field, our President and our diplomats seek to bolster the Soviets' inferiority of mechanical achievement under socialism by integrating a U.S. space flight with a United States-Russian crew so our Soviet friends can fulfill their goal of placing a Communist on the moon.

A question remaining is why just Russians? Why not Africans or Red Chinese? But then this United States-Soviet progress is all in the name of peace and expansion of world brotherhood for open trade; and when the plan is announced in 1972, it is hoped to gain votes for President Nixon's candidacy.

I ask that related news clippings and the text of the Treaty on Outer Space be inserted at this point:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Dec. 3, 1971]

UNITED STATES AND SOVIET PLAN JOINT SPACE  
FLIGHT

Moscow.—American and Soviet scientists plan to sign an agreement within the next two months on a joint manned space flight, a U.S. Embassy official disclosed today.

The agreement was discussed between Soviet and American scientists during the past few days in Moscow. It was the third session between specialists of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Jack Tech, a science attache at the U.S.

Embassy, said the scientists released the following statement:

"The main purpose of this third working session was to discuss the technical details of space hardware compatibility and to discuss a joint American-Soviet space mission. It is intended to sign final agreement within two months. Details will not be given out until then."

In Washington, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration had no immediate comment. But a spokesman said Dr. James C. Fletcher, administrator, probably would have a statement later. Officials indicated they were surprised at the announcement from Moscow.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 4, 1971]

UNITED STATES-SOVIET SPACE LINKUP SEEN  
NEAR

(By Robert G. Kaiser)

Moscow.—An American official indicated here today that the United States and Soviet Union are near a formal agreement that could lead to a meeting in space between astronauts from both countries.

In a statement read to reporters by telephone, the U.S. science attache here, Dr. Jack Tech, said "it is intended to sign a final agreement within two months. Details will not be given out until then."

Answering questions, he acknowledged that the agreement would concern a program to link up Soviet and American spacecraft. Docking in space would presumably involve manned ships.

Later, however, a U.S. embassy spokesman said reports of an imminent agreement were premature. Whether this meant Dr. Tech's statement was wrong or only premature itself could not be ascertained.

After a meeting in Houston last June, American and Soviet officials indicated that they were proceeding toward a program that would involve the docking of spaceships from the two countries.

It was announced at that time that the two countries were proceeding on the assumption that the first experiments would involve the docking of an American spacecraft with an orbiting Soviet laboratory, and vice versa.

Assuming no new difficulties, then, a more complete agreement in the near future would not be surprising. Nevertheless a formal plan to bring Soviet and American astronauts together in outer space would have symbolic importance—and might also be politically useful for the Nixon administration in next year's elections.

Even if an agreement is signed within two months, however, it is expected to take several years to achieve an actual Soviet-American rendezvous in space.

A delegation from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has been meeting here since Monday with space officials from the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Sources close to the delegation would only say tonight that it was a misunderstanding to think that an agreement had already been reached.

The NASA working group here is led by Robert Gilruth, director of the Houston Manned Spacecraft Center. He could not be reached for comment.

At a reception for a group of visiting American governors here in October, Soviet cosmonaut Andriyan G. Nikolayev told several Americans that U.S. astronauts would work in space with their Soviet counterparts. "We speak the common language of space," Nikolayev said on that occasion.

U.S. and Soviet space officials agreed here last January that "space cooperation is in the interest not only of the Soviet Union and the United States, but of people everywhere."

[In Washington, a NASA spokesman said the talks in Moscow have not ended, adding: "After the talks have ended, they will be



subject to recommendations and approval." Any understanding as to a test mission would come later, he said.]

[Legislature on Foreign Relations, 1969]

#### J. SPACE

##### 1. TREATY ON OUTER SPACE<sup>1</sup>

Text of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies; Treaties and Other International Acts Series 6347; Signed at Washington, London and Moscow on January 27, 1967; Ratification advised by the Senate April 25, 1967; Ratification by the President of the United States May 24, 1967; Ratifications of the Government of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics deposited with the said Governments at Washington, London, and Moscow October 10, 1967; Entered into Force October 10, 1967; Proclaimed by the President October 10, 1967

The States Parties to this Treaty.

Inspired by the great prospects opening up before mankind as a result of man's entry into outer space,

Recognizing the common interest of all mankind in the progress of the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes,

Believing that the exploration and use of outer space should be carried on for the benefit of all peoples irrespective of the degree of their economic or scientific development.

Desiring to contribute to broad international cooperation in the scientific as well as legal aspects of the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes,

Believing that such cooperation will contribute to the development of mutual understanding and to the strengthening of friendly relations between States and peoples,

Recalling resolution 1962 (XVIII), entitled "Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space", which was adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly on 13 December 1963,

Recalling resolution 1884 (XVIII), calling upon States to refrain from placing in orbit around the Earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction or from installing such weapons on celestial bodies, which was adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly on 17 October 1963,

<sup>1</sup> The following countries, as of December 31, 1968, have signed: United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Chile, Mexico, China, Italy, Honduras, Ethiopia, Ghana, Cyprus, Canada, Bulgaria, Australia, Denmark, Hungary, Iceland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Romania, Poland, Tunisia, New Zealand, Colombia, Finland, Panama, Laos, Greece, the Philippines, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, the United Arab Republic, Haiti, Luxembourg, Vietnam, Venezuela, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, El Salvador, Thailand, Sweden, Ecuador, Togo, the Dominican Republic, Switzerland, Burundi, Ireland, Cameroon, Indonesia, Bolivia, Botswana, Lesotho, Korea, the Congo (Kinshasa), Uruguay, the Central African Republic, Rwanda, Nicaragua, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Ceylon, France, Gambia, Guyana, Holy See, India, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, San Marino, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, Upper Volta, Morocco, Uganda, Libya, Nigeria, Malagasy Republic, Barbados, Mali, and Spain have acceded.

Thirty-three countries have ratified.

Taking account of United Nations General Assembly resolution 110 (II) of 3 November 1947, which condemned propaganda designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, and considering that the aforementioned resolution is applicable to outer space,

Convinced that a Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, will further the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Have agreed on the following:

#### ARTICLE I

The exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interests of all countries, irrespective of their degree of economic or scientific development, and shall be the province of all mankind.

Outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, shall be free for exploration and use by all States without discrimination of any kind, on a basis of equality and in accordance with international law, and there shall be free access to all areas of celestial bodies.

There shall be freedom of scientific investigation in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, and States shall facilitate and encourage international cooperation in such investigation.

#### ARTICLE II

Outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, is not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means.

#### ARTICLE III

States Parties to the Treaty shall carry on activities in the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, in accordance with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international cooperation and understanding.

#### ARTICLE IV

States Parties to the Treaty undertake not to place in orbit around the Earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, install such weapons on celestial bodies, or station such weapons in outer space in any other manner.

The moon and other celestial bodies shall be used by all States Parties to the Treaty exclusively for peaceful purposes. The establishment of military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of any type of weapons and the conduct of military maneuvers on celestial bodies shall be forbidden. The use of military personnel for scientific research or for any other peaceful purposes shall not be prohibited. The use of any equipment or facility necessary for peaceful exploration of the moon and other celestial bodies shall also not be prohibited.

#### ARTICLE V

States Parties to the Treaty shall regard astronauts as envoys of mankind in outer space and shall render to them all possible assistance in the event of accident, distress, or emergency landing on the territory of another State Party or on the high seas. When astronauts make such a landing, they shall be safely and promptly returned to the State of registry of their space vehicle.

In carrying on activities in outer space and on celestial bodies, the astronauts of one State Party shall render all possible assistance to the astronauts of other States Parties.

States Parties to the Treaty shall immediately inform the other States Parties to the Treaty or the Secretary-General of the United

Nations of any phenomena they discover in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, which could constitute a danger to the life or health of astronauts.

#### ARTICLE VI

States Parties to the Treaty shall bear international responsibility for national activities in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, whether such activities are carried on by governmental agencies or by non-governmental entities, and for assuring that national activities are carried out in conformity with the provisions set forth in the present Treaty. The activities of non-governmental entities in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, shall require authorization and continuing supervision by the appropriate State Party to the Treaty. When activities are carried on in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, by an international organization, responsibility for compliance with this Treaty shall be borne both by the international organization and by the States Parties to the Treaty participating in such organization.

#### ARTICLE VII

Each State Party to the Treaty that launches or procures the launching of an object into outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, and each State Party from whose territory or facility an object is launched, is internationally liable for damage to another State Party to the Treaty or to its natural or juridical persons by such object or its component parts on the Earth, in air space or in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies.

#### ARTICLE VIII

A State Party to the Treaty on whose registry an object launched into outer space is carried shall retain jurisdiction and control over such object, and over any personnel thereof, while in outer space or on a celestial body. Ownership of objects launched into outer space, including objects landed or constructed on a celestial body, and of their component parts, is not affected by their presence in outer space or on a celestial body or by their return to the Earth. Such objects or component parts found beyond the limits of the State Party to the Treaty on whose registry they are carried shall be returned to that State Party, which shall, upon request, furnish identifying data prior to their return.

#### ARTICLE IX

In the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, States Parties to the Treaty shall be guided by the principle of co-operation and mutual assistance and shall conduct all their activities in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, with due regard to the corresponding interests of all other States Parties to the Treaty. States Parties to the Treaty shall pursue studies of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, and conduct exploration of them so as to avoid their harmful contamination and also adverse changes in the environment of the Earth resulting from the introduction of extraterrestrial matter and, where necessary, shall adopt appropriate measures for this purpose. If a State Party to the Treaty has reason to believe that an activity or experiment planned by it or its nationals in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, would cause potentially harmful interference with activities of other States Parties in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, it shall undertake appropriate international consultations before proceeding with any such activity or experiment. A State Party to the Treaty which has reason to believe that an activity or experiment planned by another State Party in outer space, including the moon and other celestial

bodies, would cause potentially harmful interference with activities in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, many request consultation concerning the activity or experiment.

## ARTICLE X

In order to promote international co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, in conformity with the purposes of this Treaty, the States Parties to the Treaty shall consider on a basis of the equality any requests by other States Parties to the Treaty to be afforded an opportunity to observe the flight of space objects launched by those States.

The nature of such an opportunity for observation and the conditions under which it could be afforded shall be determined by agreement between the States concerned.

## ARTICLE XI

In order to promote international co-operation in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space, States Parties to the Treaty conducting activities in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, agree to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations as well as the public and the international scientific community to the greatest extent feasible and practicable, of the nature, conduct, locations and results of such activities. On receiving the said information, the Secretary-General of the United Nations should be prepared to disseminate it immediately and effectively.

## ARTICLE XII

All stations, installations, equipment and space vehicles on the moon and other celestial bodies shall be open to representatives of other States Parties to the Treaty on a basis of reciprocity. Such representatives shall give reasonable advance notice of a projected visit, in order that appropriate consultations may be held and that maximum precautions may be taken to assure safety and to avoid interference with normal operations in the facility to be visited.

## ARTICLE XIII

The provisions of this Treaty shall apply to the activities of States Parties to the Treaty in the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, whether such activities are carried on by a single State Party to the Treaty or jointly with other States, including cases where they are carried on within the framework of international inter-governmental organizations.

Any practical questions arising in connection with activities carried on by international inter-governmental organizations in the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, shall be resolved by the States Parties to the Treaty either with the appropriate international organization or with one or more States members of that international organization, which are Parties to this Treaty.

## ARTICLE XIV

1. This Treaty shall be open to all States for signature. Any State which does not sign this Treaty before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this article may accede to it at any time.

2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.

3. This Treaty shall enter into force upon the deposit of instruments of ratification by five Governments including the Government designated as Depositary Governments under this Treaty.

4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5. The Depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification and of accession to this Treaty, the date of its entry into force and other notices.

6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

## ARTICLE XV

Any State Party to the Treaty may propose amendments to this Treaty. Amendments shall enter into force for each State Party to the Treaty accepting the amendment upon their acceptance by a majority of the States Parties to the Treaty and thereafter for each remaining State Party to the Treaty on the date of acceptance by it.

## ARTICLE XVI

Any State Party to the Treaty may give notice to its withdrawal from the Treaty one year after its entry into force by written notification to the Depositary Governments. Such withdrawal shall take effect one year from the date of receipt of this notification.

## ARTICLE XVII

This Treaty, of which the English, Russian, French, Spanish and Chinese texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Treaty.

DONE in triplicate, at the cities of Washington, London and Moscow, this twenty-seventh day of January one thousand nine hundred sixty-seven.

### CHINESE-AMERICAN PARENTS FIGHT FOR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, everyone in America is watching the courageous fight of the Chinese community in San Francisco. They are determined to maintain quality education for their children. The Chinese have a tradition of strong family devotion. They are keenly concerned with the future of their children.

When the courts were determined to ruin their schools, this group would not take it lying down. I was impressed with the analysis written by Joseph Alsop in his Washington Post column of December 3.

Here are the key paragraphs from Alsop's column. Let us all pray for these fine Chinese-Americans who are in the vanguard in this fight for freedom of the individual:

## NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

There are—or rather there were—three markedly superior public schools in San Francisco. Their names were Commodore Stockton, Washington Irving and Spring Valley. The overwhelming majority of their

pupils came straight from the darkest depths of Chinatown, but they were what the social pseudo-scientists now call "high achievers."

Commodore Stockton School is also a memento of the era of total exclusion. It was established because most West Coast school systems used to be sternly segregated, not for blacks, but for the "Orientals." But now the San Francisco school system has been subjected to forcible homogenization, by a general order requiring forced school busing.

To this order, the Chinatown community in San Francisco has responded with active fury. A hero came forward, in the person of a shrewd, sensible and ambitious lawyer, Quentin Kopp. With all but unanimous Chinatown political support, lawyer Kopp has now won a place on San Francisco's board of supervisors.

This was a reward, in effect, for the anti-busing suit brought by lawyer Kopp on behalf of pupils in the three dominantly Chinese public schools. On appeal for a stay of execution of the federal court's busing order, the suit has already reached the Supreme Court of the United States.

Justice William O. Douglas essentially refused the stay of execution, essentially on the ground that everybody had to be forcibly homogenized, whether they liked it or not. Shortly, the Chinese suit will reach the U.S. court of Appeals in California, which is likely to make the same findings as Justice Douglas.

Hence the Chinese suit is likely to reach the Supreme Court, once again, and in answer-yes-or-no form, during the next year. Until then, despite the poverty of the great majority of Chinatown's new immigrants, San Francisco's Chinese are mostly sending their children to private schools organized and paid for by the Chinese community.

All this is interesting for two reasons. First, it suggests how vastly more complex the school problem is than most people suppose. Secondly, it offers any persons who like political betting a very good long shot.

Here the point is that the Senate Republican whip, Sen. Robert Griffin of Michigan, and the House Republican leader, Gerald Ford, long ago went to Attorney General John Mitchell to plead for "positive administration action."

It is pretty clear, in fact, that the President means to make forced school busing one of the major shows of the 1972 campaign.

Yet Senator Griffin has already mentioned the anti-busing suit brought by the Chinese in San Francisco, as the ideal opportunity for the Justice Department to intervene as "amicus curiae." The reasons are obvious. The Chinese-Americans used to be a rigidly excluded minority. And no one can deny their skin color is not caucasian.

Even Northern states like Michigan will also be deeply affected.

One must add that this is a tragic business. The gullt, ridden American liberals have approached this problem without the briefest look at the hard facts; with a great burden of sentimental preconceptions, and without even asking the blacks in Harlem, for instance, whether they really want busing. (They do not, as the record shows.)

### PRIME MINISTER GANDHI'S STATEMENT CONCERNING WAR

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, war has broken out between India and Pakistan

for the third time in 25 years. We must all deplore this tragic development; enough suffering has already occurred in South Asia without a major war further contributing to the bloodshed and destruction.

However, despite my disappointment that American peace-making efforts failed, I am appalled by the vindictive attitude taken by the State Department toward the government of India. Statements issued by that agency over the weekend would have us believe that India is guilty of unprovoked aggression.

As is to be expected in light of our past efforts in South Asia, the State Department's attitude is myopic and heavily slanted in favor of the Pakistani dictatorship. A brief review of the facts will show that complete blame for the outbreak of hostilities can in no way be laid on India's doorstep.

The current crisis in the Indian subcontinent was initiated last March by the brutal attack on the civilian population of East Pakistan by Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan. Seeking to suppress the popularly elected Awami League, the Pakistan Government has, since March 25, been conducting a genocidal war against the Bengalis which has driven over 10 million refugees into India. Led by the United States, the developed countries have poured millions of dollars worth of refugee aid into the region. Despite this, the strain of 10 million refugees on the Indian economy and the region around Calcutta has been intolerable.

Mrs. Gandhi has been warning the world for months that India could not be expected to tolerate this threat to her internal security. Only an equitable settlement of the Pakistani Civil War, enabling the refugees to leave India, could avert extreme Indian action to relieve this intolerable strain on her resources.

The United States, in response, has failed to alter its friendly policy toward the Pakistani government. We have taken no concrete action which would end the suffering in Bangla Desh and relieve the strain on India's economy. Why should the State Department then be shocked and hurt that India has rejected its eleventh hour mediation efforts? The administration's bias in favor of the Yahya Khan regime and its ambivalent attitude toward the genocidal rampage underway in East Pakistan are plain for all to see. The State Department cannot regain its credibility in South Asia until it ceases to embrace the Pakistani dictatorship and takes a strong and morally correct stand against the bloodshed in Bangla Desh.

Mr. Speaker, Prime Minister Gandhi outlined over the weekend to her parliament the issues and causes of the current war as India sees them. As we review the State Department's morally outraged statements on the South Asian crisis we would do well to keep Mrs. Gandhi's eloquent speech in mind. Under unanimous consent, therefore, I include her remarks to the Indian Parliament at this point in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 5, 1971]

TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER GANDHI'S STATEMENT TO PARLIAMENT CONCERNING WAR BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

NEW DELHI (Reuters).—Following is the text of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's statement in Parliament today:

This morning the Government of West Pakistan has declared a war upon us.

Last evening the West Pakistani Air Force violated our air space wantonly and attacked a large number of our airfields.

Simultaneously, their ground forces shelled our positions along the western border. Their propaganda media have made totally baseless allegations that India had launched an assault.

The news reached me just as I was leaving Calcutta. Immediately on my return I took counsel with my colleagues and with leaders of the Opposition parties. We were all of the mind and united in our resolve that the nation's freedom should be defended and unanimous that the aggressor should be beaten back. I am sure that the same sense of solidarity will mark our work in the difficult days ahead.

A state of emergency has been proclaimed. We are approaching the House to adopt the Defense of India Bill.

Our feeling is one of regret that Pakistan did not desist from the ultimate folly, and sorrow that at a time when the greatest need of this subcontinent is development the peoples of India and Pakistan have been pushed into war.

We could have lived as good neighbors but the people of West Pakistan have never had a say in their destiny. In this grave hour our own dominant emotion is one of confidence and faith.

For more than nine months the military regime of West Pakistan has barbarously trampled upon freedom and basic human rights, committed heinous crimes, unmatched for their vindictive ferocity.

Many millions have been uprooted, 10 million have been pushed into our country.

We repeatedly drew the attention of the world to this annihilation of a whole people, to this menace and to our security. Everywhere the people showed sympathy and understanding for the economic and other burdens and the danger to India.

But governments seemed morally and politically paralyzed. Belated efforts to persuade the Islamabad regime to take some step which would lead to a lasting solution fell on deaf ears.

The wrath of the West Pakistan Army has been aroused because the people of Bangla Desh have stood and struggled for values which the army is unable to comprehend, and which it has suppressed in every province of Pakistan.

As the Mukti Bahini's [Liberation Forces'] effectiveness increased, the West Pakistani army became more desperate. Our tradition is to stand not with tyrants but with the oppressed. And so the anger has been turned upon us.

West Pakistan has escalated and enlarged the aggression against Bangla Desh into a full war against India.

War needs as much patience and self-restraint as does peace. The military regime of West Pakistan will go all out to sow suspicion and rumor in the hope of fermenting communal tension and internal trouble. Let us not be taken in by their designs. We must maintain unity and a sense of high purpose.

We should be prepared for a long struggle. High production, agricultural and industrial, is the foundation upon which defense rests. The courage and fighting capa-

bility of the Jawans [soldiers] have to be backed by the dedication of the farmer, the worker, the technician and the trader.

The business community has a special responsibility to resist the temptation to hoard or to charge higher profit.

Artists and writers, teachers and students, the nation looks to you to defend our ideals, to keep high our morale.

To the women of our country, I make a special appeal to save every possible grain and rupee, to avoid waste. The sacrifice of each of us will build the nation's strength and enduring power.

We have stood for peace but peace itself has to be defended. We are fighting to safeguard our territorial integrity and national honor. Above all, we are fighting for the cause of human freedom.

SENATE SHOULD START OVER ON CAMPAIGN SPENDING

HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the House-Senate conferees' defusing of the Senate's proposed \$1 checkoff on tax returns to finance presidential campaigns of its partisan explosiveness by delaying its impact until 1976 should not be allowed to obscure the considerable remaining problems inherent in such an approach to reform of campaign spending.

In this regard, I recommend to the attention of my colleagues a recent editorial published in the Detroit Free Press.

The editorial follows:

[From the Detroit Free Press, Nov. 29, 1971]

SENATE SHOULD START OVER ON CAMPAIGN SPENDING

Credit neither party with rising above its special interests in the Senate's vote for a national tax plan to finance presidential campaigns.

The bill passed the Senate 52-47, with only Republicans Case of New Jersey and Mathias of Maryland joining 50 Democrats in favor of the bill. Against it were the other 42 Republicans, four southern Democrats and independent Harry Byrd of Virginia.

The bill is a monstrosity, but that is not why the Republicans opposed it. Their reasoning was much more simple and, in fact, the same reasoning used by Democrats to favor it.

To oversimplify, the bill would allow taxpayers to check off \$1 (\$2 for a couple) on their tax returns to go to the presidential campaign of the party of their choice. The top limit a party could get would be \$20.4 million, depending on the party's popularity and how many taxpayers check the box. To get the money, the party would have to agree not to spend any more than that for its presidential campaign.

The party-line split was ordained. Democrats, \$9.3 million in the hole from 1968, need the money. Republicans, with estimates of up to \$40 million in the kitty (President Nixon raised \$5 million in one night earlier this month) don't need the money and don't want the Democrats to get any.

This newspaper has long supported a measure to reform campaign spending, even including, if necessary, some method of pub-

lic financing. But this bill isn't it. It's a handout which might ease the Democrats' shorts—or the GOP's when it's out of office—but it doesn't cure the problem. It doesn't really even touch it.

In the first place, it's limited to the presidential ticket. For the little guy who supports, say, George McGovern at April tax-time and winds up with a Henry Jackson heading his party in August, he's out a buck. For the big guys—the tycoons, the corporations (deviously) and the labor unions—the votes have already been bought and paid for. The bill doesn't provide a nickel for the primaries or the state conventions, nor does it include any prohibitions on primary spending or collections.

In the second place, it doesn't go below the President. Yet all 100 senators and 435 members of the House are federal officials. In Michigan it takes close to \$1 million to elect a senator, especially if there is a primary. It even takes about \$50,000 to make a good run for Common Council in Detroit.

There's nothing in the bill to stop all sorts of committees from springing up. The party itself might be limited, but the party always pleads self-righteous ignorance about all those so-called independent citizens committees.

If Congress ever decides to reform campaign spending, we will applaud. We might even dance in the street a bit if the weather is decent. But except for a Senate-passed bill limiting television spending for a party's presidential ticket to \$8 million, and a 10-cents-per-voter limit on other campaigns, which hurts a challenger more than an incumbent, Congress hasn't gotten close to the subject:

Mr. Nixon's problem, aside from partisanship, is that this campaign financing hokum is tied to a multi-billion tax cut program he badly wants. To kill the giveaway he'd have to veto the whole thing. Democrats, of course, are counting on that.

If what emerges from conference committee resembles the Senate package, we'd urge a veto, a rebuke and a polite request for Congress to start over.

## UNIVERSITY OF IOWA RECEIVES \$3.5 MILLION

### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, last month the University of Iowa announced that Roy Carver of Muscatine has given \$3.5 million to the University of Iowa.

This magnificent gift is a dramatic demonstration of confidence in the University of Iowa.

Roy Carver's dedication to the University of Iowa, as expressed in his gift, is heartwarming to us who love the University of Iowa. It serves to remind us of the great need for this kind of support for our public institutions.

This gift will enhance the quality of education and will serve as a living memorial to Roy and his family.

It is an honor for me to be able to call Roy Carver a good friend. He is a fine gentleman. His gift to the University of Iowa prompted many news stories and editorials which justly honor him.

I include them in the RECORD at this point:

## CARVER MAKES \$3.5 MILLION GRANT TO UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

IOWA CITY, Iowa.—The University of Iowa announced today (Friday) receipt of the largest individual gift recorded thus far in 1971 for any American college or university: 85,000 shares of Bandag, Inc. stock valued at approximately \$3.5 million, from Roy J. Carver, chairman of the board of the Muscatine, Iowa, company.

U of I President Willard L. Boyd said the gift, largest in the University's history, will make possible a variety of projects, including development by the U of I College of Medicine of a model for a pioneering community health program.

Aid to needy students and endowment of several distinguished professorships will be provided by the Carver gift, as will an addition to the University's Museum of Art, assistance with the restoration of the historic Old Capitol building and with the furnishings of a performing arts hall now under construction, the proposed resurfacing of Iowa Stadium with artificial turf, and support for the President's Academic Development Fund—"seed money" for improving instruction and making breakthroughs into new areas of knowledge.

The gift of Bandag stock was made to The University of Iowa Foundation, which sold 25,000 shares in a public offering yesterday. Executive Director Darrell Wyrick said the Foundation will retain its remaining 60,000 shares in its portfolio for the present. A single share of the stock valued at \$12 in 1968 would now have grown to 9 shares with a total value of about \$360 through subsequent splits.

Founded by Carver in 1957, Bandag produces rubber, supplies and equipment for recapping tires under a patented process designed to increase tire wear to double that obtaining from conventional retreads. Company sales, increasing nearly 50% a year, in 1970 reached \$28.8 million and in the 12 months ending Sept. 30, 1971, totaled \$36,300,000.

Carver, who also heads the Carver Pump Company and the Carver Foundry Products Company of Muscatine, said he and Mrs. Carver selected The University of Iowa Foundation as the recipient because "We believe the University is the instrument that will provide the best multiplier over many years, for some of the things that will benefit the people of the state."

"Iowa has been good to us," Carver continued. "We have raised a family here, have prospered here, and have our roots here. Partly because of our proximity to Iowa City and partly because our four boys also attended the University at one time or another, we developed over the years a strong interest in and affection for the University and its people. Now we are fortunate enough to be able to express our feelings in some tangible way. Mrs. Carver and I are particularly happy to have been able to make the gift while we are living and able to observe and share in the results."

In announcing the size and scope of the Carver gift this morning, President Boyd described it as having "great educational, cultural and historic significance, not only to this community but for the entire state," inasmuch as part of it will strengthen the educational process while other portions will aid in completing facilities which Iowans in large numbers utilize for personal enrichment.

President Boyd continued, "Above all, the gift is a great vote of confidence in the young people who will be served by it, and in the University itself. It provides a dramatic example of what private gifts can mean to a public university, and it will focus new and much-deserved attention on efforts of The

University of Iowa Foundation to secure support for needs which cannot otherwise be met."

The Carver support for planning a model community health center, which would be located in Muscatine and which could provide experience of value to other Iowa communities, reflects the feelings both of Mr. and Mrs. Carver and the University that the problem of delivering health services to small communities is a matter of paramount importance, President Boyd said.

It is anticipated that medical staff members for the proposed center would be recruited for that purpose with the help of the U of I College of Medicine, where some of them would subsequently hold faculty appointments. The College would work in close cooperation with the center, which it would utilize as a community-based educational resource and where it would develop and evaluate new and more efficient ways of delivering health care.

Carver, a 1934 engineering graduate of the University of Illinois, Champaign, already was a successful manufacturer of pumps when on a visit to Germany in 1956 he was impressed by the unusual tread tires on an automobile he was using. He sought out the developer and subsequently purchased the North American rights to the Bandag "cold" method of recapping tires, as opposed to the high temperature utilized in conventional methods. Bandag retreads quickly attracted attention to major truck, bus and industrial tire users because they could get twice the mileage at lower cost than was possible through other retreads. In 1961 Carver purchased world rights and now has factories in Canada, Belgium, North Carolina and Texas, as well as Muscatine.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Carver are members of The Presidents Club of The University of Iowa. Carver is also a director of the First National Bank of Rock Island, Ill., and is a member of the President's Advisory Council of Augustana College in that city.

The Carvers have four sons: Roy James, Jr., 28, of Evanston, Ill.; John A., 26, Mt. Vernon, Iowa; Clayton, 25, San Diego, Calif.; and Martin G., 23, Bloomington, Ind.

President Boyd said the Carver gift will provide "practical, visible, esthetic and sensitive" help for three key U of I buildings: the Art Museum, the Virgil M. Hancher Auditorium and Old Capitol.

To be called the Roy and Lucille Carver Galleries, the Art Museum addition will provide new display areas for prints, sculpture and portions of the University's permanent art collection and Elliott Collection. In the 30 months it has been open to the public, some 185,000 persons have visited the Art Museum, which was built with funds raised by The University of Iowa Foundation.

The grant will also provide furnishings, equipment, art works and plantings for the stage area, "green room" and lobby of the new Hancher Auditorium now being built on the west bank of the Iowa River. Scheduled to open next fall, the structure will comprise one of the finest facilities in the world for the performance of musical productions, concerts, opera and ballet.

A statewide committee is currently planning restoration of Old Capitol as a "living museum" to reflect and preserve the heritage of the periods when it served as Territorial and State Capitol of Iowa, and subsequently as principal administration building of The University of Iowa. "The Carver gift provides a substantial part on one phase of this project, restoration of the original House Chamber, and as such it is hoped that it will encourage all Iowans to share in remaining aspects of the restoration," President Boyd said.

Mrs. Virgil M. Hancher, wife of a former

U of I president, heads the restoration project, which was instigated last year by President Boyd.

While a portion of the Carver grant to the University is earmarked for the installation of an artificial surface in Iowa Stadium, U of I Athletic Director Chalmers W. Elliott said that this project will proceed when a thorough analysis of all the factors relating to the installation has been completed.

"Artificial turf could be a real 'space blessing' for the entire University in view of the continued development of University Hospitals in the Field House-Stadium area and the consequent reduction of parking and practice space," Elliott said Friday. An all-weather playing and practice surface would not only free additional space for intramural and physical education activities but would itself be available for some such uses, he explained.

However, Elliott emphasized, recent complaints by several players and coaches that some artificial turf, at least, is not living up to earlier expectations for it must be pursued and resolved before the University could proceed with installation of such a surface in Iowa Stadium.

Concrete planning toward the establishment of a model community health center in Muscatine can now get under way as a result of the University of Iowa announcement today of its record gift from Roy J. Carver, chairman of the board of Bandag, Inc., and the uses to which the proceeds will be put.

Dr. John Eckstein, dean of the U of I College of Medicine, said the Muscatine County Medical Society has already approved the concept in principle. Thus far, he said, the main obstacle to launching such a center has been the lack of funds to plan and organize a project which would jointly serve the interests of the community and of the College in its search for innovative means for attracting physicians and delivering health services on a community level.

The proposed center would offer medical care to citizens of the community and would function in conjunction with the existing local physician-hospital system in an integrated, supportive manner. In addition, it would provide the College of Medicine opportunity to develop and evaluate new methods of delivering medical care, and would serve as a facility for specialized educational purposes.

"Muscatine is undergoing the same problems that other Iowa communities face—a growing shortage of physicians, and the effect this has on over-all health care," observed Dr. John Parks of Muscatine, president of the Muscatine County Medical Society. "Hence the needs of the Muscatine community for health services, and the needs of the College of Medicine for access to a model health facility, are compatible," he said.

Experiences gained in planning and operating the Muscatine center could be useful to other communities in their efforts to establish their own health care programs, Dr. Eckstein said.

The primary objective of the Muscatine project would be to make high quality medical care more readily available to members of that community. In the process, however, the center would serve as a community training ground for students in the health professions; test new ways of delivering health care more effectively, including the utilization of allied health personnel (physician's assistants, etc.); demonstrate the problems and benefits to be expected in other regional health centers; and would attempt to develop a professional environment that would attract physicians to a community.

Dr. Eckstein said today's announcement clears the way for detailed planning and will greatly expedite progress on the project.

#### BIOGRAPHY OF ROY J. CARVER

Roy J. Carver launched his successful business career in the depression year of 1938 with a capital investment of \$100.

He made the move despite the advice of his father and others who offered convincing arguments that 1938 was no time to start a new business. However, Carver saw an opportunity; he was convinced there was a need to be filled; he was confident in his ability to meet that need, and he was willing to stake his total assets that he was right.

He has followed the same pattern ever since, including the establishment of what has become the enormously successful Bandag, Inc., the Muscatine-based company that is changing the complexion of the tire retread industry.

Born December 15, 1909, in Preemption, Illinois, Carver worked his way through the University of Illinois but, characteristically, found time to go out for the varsity wrestling team. He was graduated in 1934 with a degree in engineering but the nearest to an engineering job he could find in those depression years was as a technical assistant to State of Illinois purchasing officials.

Among the products he evaluated were self-priming pumps. He concluded he could design a better pump than anything then available and he was so sure he was right that he quit his job and started the Carver Pump Company at Matherville, Illinois. The "company" consisted of a section of the work bench in his brother's garage. Profits from the sale of the first pump went toward building the second—and so the pump company was launched.

Convinced that a major war was coming, Carver visited Washington in 1939 and made known to military purchasing officials the capabilities of his pumps. Shortly thereafter he was visited by a British Purchasing Mission which, amazed at the performance of Carver pumps, gave him his first large order. It was for \$140,000. He was off and running.

When the United States entered the war, he was told to get all the manufacturing space he could find because he was going to need it for military orders. He located an abandoned sauerkraut factory in Muscatine, and moved in. It is still the headquarters of all Carver's enterprises, including Bandag, Inc.

The same alertness to opportunity that resulted in the pump company resulted, in 1954, in another venture—Carver Foundry Products. On a trip to Europe that year Carver saw West German foundries using a unique method for hardening sand cores and molds. Called "Steinex," it utilized a chemical reaction rather than heat and saved hours of hardening time and improved the accuracy of foundry cores. Carver promptly placed an order for the U.S. and after a period of testing formed Carver Foundry Products as the vehicle with which to introduce the new technique to the U.S. market. It is still a part of his business holdings and, like the pump company, is privately owned.

In 1956, one of the most significant events in Carver's life took place. Again he was touring Germany and noted the unusual-looking retreaded tires on a car he was using. Impressed, he sought out the developer and purchased the North American rights for the Bandag process of "cold" retreading of tires.

The following year Bandag started operations in Muscatine. A continuing research and development program was instituted in order to meet the more demanding needs of the American market and in 1961 Carver purchased the world rights to the process.

Large users of truck, bus and industrial tires soon became familiar with the product and, as a result, Bandag sales have been in-

creasing about 50 per cent a year. For the year 1970 sales reached \$28,500,000, and in the 12 months ending Sept. 30, 1971, were \$36,300,000.

In essence, Bandag retreads provide double the mileage of ordinary retreads. The process varies greatly from that used in the conventional (so-called hot cap) method in that the Bandag tread is pre-cured in one of Bandag's own factories at extremely high pressures. This produces very dense tread rubber which is resistant to punctures, cuts and at the same time provides better traction and longer life. The tread is then bonded to the tire casing at a low temperature which results in lower casing loss than is the case with hot cap methods.

The industry has been quick to accept Bandag retreads because of the uniform high quality, the longer tread life, and the lower tire maintenance costs.

Again, characteristically, Carver saw an opportunity and was willing to back his judgment with all his assets.

"We almost brought the Carver Pump Company to its knees during the time we were developing the product and preparing to put it on the American market," he comments. "But we got through it."

His willingness to do what's necessary to get the job done is reflected in his linguistic abilities. In order to do business in South America, without being at a disadvantage, he figured he'd better learn Spanish. He not only learned, but is fluent in the language. The same reasoning applied to his subsequent mastery of French and German.

Carver spends considerable time visiting Bandag's foreign facilities and he usually flies the company's Lear jet himself on these trips. In order to keep a close eye on the performance of the product, the jet and his automobiles are equipped with Bandag retreads.

Carver's wife, Lucille, has been actively involved in all of his businesses, not only as an officer and in a managerial capacity. They still live in the large frame and brick house they bought 25 years ago when they outgrew their first home in Muscatine. They have four sons: Roy James, Jr., 28, Evanston, Ill.; John A., 26, Mount Vernon, Ia.; Clayton, 25, San Diego, Cal.; and Martin G., 23, Bloomington, Ind.

Carver serves on the board of the First National Bank of Rock Island and is a member of the President's Advisory Council of Augustana College in that city. He is a member of the Presidents Club of The University of Iowa, the National Aeronautic Association, the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association, BPOE, the Muscatine Chamber of Commerce, the Iowa Council of the Boy Scouts of America, and the Geneva (Muscatine) Golf and Country Club.

[From the Iowa City Press-Citizen, Nov. 6, 1971]

#### A GIFT TO MANY

Few public officials ever experience the pleasure of accepting a gift of \$3.5 million. as Gov. Robert D. Ray, and University of Iowa President could Friday. Even fewer persons ever are able to make such a gift as Mr. and Mrs. Roy J. Carver of Muscatine did to the university.

Many, however, will be able to enjoy the benefits of the Carvers' generosity. This was the point made by the governor, the university head and Regents President Stanley F. Redecker in expressing the gratitude of the university and state. It also was the point made by Carver in his statement on the gift:

"Mrs. Carver and I decided to make this gift in this way because we wanted to do something for the state and for the University. Iowa has been good to us. We raised our family here, have prospered here and have our roots here. Partly because of our proximity to Iowa City and partly because

our four boys all attended the University of Iowa at one time or another, we developed over the years a strong interest in and affection for the university and its people. Now we are fortunate enough to be able to express our feelings in some tangible way."

"We have come to the conclusion that the University is the instrument that will provide the best multiplier, over many years, for some of the things that will benefit the people of the State. And in designating the University of Iowa as the recipient, through its foundation, we feel we will have been able to further strengthen what we regard as a great institution. Mrs. Carver and I are particularly happy to have been able to make this gift while we are living and able to observe and share in the results."

Boyd, while he noted what the gift means to the university, also stressed as did the governor that the benefits will extend directly and indirectly to all citizens of the state. And both he and Gov. Ray emphasized, too, the confidence in the young citizens of Iowa that was exemplified by the gift of the Carvers.

Friday was for Iowa and the University of Iowa a "momentous and exciting" day, as the governor noted. But because of the scope of the Carvers' gift and what it will make possible, Iowa and its citizens as well as the university and its students will have many more days to remember with pleasure and excitement.

[From the Muscatine (Iowa) Journal, Nov. 8, 1971]

#### EXCITING GIFT

Iowans in general and Muscatine residents in particular must certainly be grateful to the spectacular contribution made to the University of Iowa by Mr. and Mrs. Roy J. Carver of Muscatine.

Carver's gift of Bandag stock worth \$3.5 million will help finance a wide variety of programs and projects at the university—including furnishings and equipment for the new Hancher auditorium, an addition to the University's museum of art, proposed artificial turf for the Iowa stadium, assistance with the restoration of the Old Capitol, aid to needy students and the endowment of several distinguished professorships.

Of particular importance to local people is the plan for the university to establish a model community health center in Muscatine.

As the president of the Muscatine County Medical Society, Dr. John L. Parks, M.D., has been working with local groups and the university for the past year and a half towards the goal of alleviating the physician shortage and maintaining a modern comprehensive medical care system for Muscatine.

Establishment of the health care program needed two things: funding, and a commitment from the university. Carver's generous gift for the health center and other needs at the university has made this commitment possible.

Although the largest bulk of the Carver gift will go to other university projects it is a tremendous stride for the people of Iowa to have the College of Medicine pioneer here in new methods of providing community medical care.

Many details are left to be worked out in the upcoming months, but a brief outline is known. A physician director will be hired by the university to head the Muscatine center and a building will be located near Muscatine General hospital. Primary medical care facilities and personnel will be made available to a representative sample of the Muscatine community. The center will also serve as a community training ground for the health professions, and should develop a professional environment that hopefully will attract other physicians to the community.

Dr. Willard L. Boyd president of the University of Iowa, said the Carver gift "has

great educational, cultural and historic significance, not only to this community but for the entire state."

The gift, largest in the history of the university is truly an exciting and magnificent gesture by this Muscatine industrialist who built a multi-million dollar business from a meager beginning.

[From the Des Moines Register, Nov. 12, 1971]

#### A GENEROUS GIFT TO U OF I

The gift by Roy J. Carver of Muscatine of \$3.5 million to the University of Iowa is, so far as we can discover, the most generous contribution ever made to an Iowa educational institution. It even exceeds the magnificent gift made by C. Y. Stephens for the Iowa State University Center which ultimately will be in the neighborhood of \$2.5 million.

Roy Carver is unique among such large contributors to universities in that he did not designate his money for one particular purpose. The U of I administration thus is able to plow this money into the fields which it feels most needed additional support. The gift will make possible many improvements in the University of Iowa and will benefit the state as a whole.

The grant will provide aid for needy and disadvantaged students.

The university plans to strengthen the faculty, endow several Carver Distinguished Professorships, help finance a Medical College experiment in health care delivery in Muscatine, increase the physical facilities of the university in many ways and add extensively to the Museum of Art. The Carver grant will provide assistance toward the restoration of the original House chamber in the Old Capitol.

What is remarkable about this gift is that it demonstrates great confidence in the University of Iowa, its leadership and in the young people who study there, at a time when many alumni and other contributors have been reducing their gifts to colleges and universities. Dissatisfaction with student protests and the new ways of student life has turned off some givers, but here is a man who expresses his optimism about young people and their institutions.

It is unusual, also, for a donor to higher education to make such a large donation to a public university. Taxpayers often forget that public universities are in need of non-tax funds to broaden their activities and improve the quality of their offerings. The state of Iowa is heavily indebted to Roy J. Carver.

[From the Muscatine, Iowa, Journal, Nov. 13, 1971]

#### JOY OF IT ALL!

To those who complain about all the bad news in the papers, I commend the story of Roy Carver, our neighbor upriver at Muscatine.

Roy Carver gave \$3.5 million to the University of Iowa the other day. But that's not the real story. Rich people giving away money is not unique.

No—the big thing, the wonderful, exciting, delightful thing, that makes you want to run around and shout, is the way Roy Carver felt about giving away all that money, and the way he felt about giving it to the University of Iowa.

"I felt fine!" he said. "Fine and richer." He called it an investment, not a gift. "The results will mean a hell of a lot more than money."

What also ought to mean a hell of a lot more than money to the University of Iowa is what Roy Carver thinks of it. It must come as a shock to legislators, administrators, taxpayers and—yes—a lot of students, who are always running down today's youth and today's universities.

"Tremendous bunch of wonderful people," Roy Carver calls them, putting his money

where his mouth is. "A lot of people have short memories."

Mrs. Carver talks about how exciting it is "to see what it (the gift) can do for the university and the students."

"Iowa has been good to us," Carver reflects, getting in a reminder that other people ought to consider making similar gifts—while they're alive.

The joy of it all—that's what grabs you. The Carvers are obviously what the Man had in mind when he said it is more blessed to give than to receive!

[From the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, Nov. 11, 1971]

#### AFFECTIONATE GIFT

When Roy J. Carver's enormous gift to the University of Iowa was announced last week, the first stimulus for enthusiasm was, naturally, the total—about \$3.5 million in stock, a whopping windfall for any financially strapped institution or state.

The Muscatine industrialist's donation was a record high endowment for the university and the most generous given to any American college or university this year. Yet in a sense the gift defies pecuniary measurement and deserves its prime evaluation in terms of prospective revitalization of education in Iowa.

Viewed from any angle, the endowment is an enlightened salute to the state's educational potential.

So huge is the scope of proposed uses that it portends benefits, directly or indirectly, for all Iowans and out-of-state citizens attending the university. Multiplicity of use points up the mental versatility of the donor—aid to needy students, professorial endowments, development by the college of medicine of a model for a pioneering community health program, addition to the museum of art, assistance in restoration of the Old Capitol building, proposed installation of synthetic turf in the football stadium and other notable endeavors.

Presented to the University of Iowa Foundation, the endowment promises an investment worth extending far beyond today's approximate worth of the stock.

With disarming modesty, Mr. Carver has noted that instead of feeling much poorer, he feels "much richer." This is a sincere reflection of his affection for the state and its young people. The University of Iowa Foundation should administer the endowment in the same spirit.

[From the Denison (Iowa) Bulletin, Nov. 16, 1971]

#### CARVER

A Muscatine businessman, Roy J. Carver, has given back stock worth \$3.5 million to the University of Iowa. It's the largest individual gift recorded thus far in 1971 for any American college or university. University of Iowa President Willard Boyd said the gift, 85,000 shares of Bandag, Inc. stock will make possible a variety of projects including development of a model for a pioneering community health program.

Aid to needy students and endowment of several distinguished professorships will be provided by the Carver gift, as will an addition to the University's museum of art, assistance with the restoration of the historic old capitol building and with the furnishings of a performing arts hall now under construction, the proposed resurfacing of Iowa stadium with artificial turf, and support for the president's academic development program.

Founded by Carver in 1957, Bandag produces rubber, supplies and equipment for recapping tires under a patented process designed to increase tire wear to double that obtainable from conventional retreads. Company sales, increasing nearly 50 per cent a year, in 1970 reached \$28.8 million and in the

12 months ending September 30, 1971, totaled \$36.3 million. One share of stock worth \$12 in 1968 would now have grown to nine shares with a total value of about \$360 through several splits.

When asked by a reporter about the report that he owned some \$30 million in Bandag stock, Carver replied: "That was a month ago and I'm about \$16 million richer now than I was then."

Carver, who launched his successful business career in 1938 with a capital investment of only \$100, now has six Mercedes Benz autos and flies his own Lear jet. Oh yes, there are Bandag retreads on his Lear jet and each Mercedes Benz.

[From the Freeman Journal, November 10, 1971]

ROY J. CARVER  
(By Don Reid)

A Muscatine businessman, Roy J. Carver, has given stock worth \$3.5 million to the University of Iowa. It's the largest individual gift recorded thus far in 1971 for any American college or university. University of Iowa President Willard Boyd said the gift, 85,000 shares of Bandag, Inc., stock, will make possible a variety of projects including development of a model for a pioneering community health program.

Aid to needy students and endowment of several distinguished professorships will be provided by the Carver gift, as will an addition to the University's museum of art, assistance with the restoration of the historic old capitol building and with the furnishings of a performing arts hall now under construction, the proposed resurfacing of Iowa stadium with artificial turf, and support for the president's academic development program.

Founded by Carver in 1957, Bandag produces rubber, supplies and equipment for recapping tires under a patented process designed to increase tire wear to double that obtainable from conventional retreads. Company sales, increasing nearly 50 percent a year, in 1970 reached \$28.8 million and in the 12 months ending Sept. 30, 1971, totaled \$36.3 million. One share of stock worth \$12 in 1968 now would have grown to nine shares with a total value of about \$360 through several splits.

When asked by a reporter about the report that he owned some \$30 million in Bandag stock, Carver replied: "That was a month ago and I'm about \$16 million richer now than I was then."

Carver, who launched his successful business career in 1938 with a capital investment of only \$100 now has six Mercedes Benz autos and flies his own Lear jet. Oh yes, there are Bandag retreads on his Lear jet and each Mercedes Benz.

[From the Washington Journal, Nov. 5, 1971]

#### HUGE GIFT TO UNIVERSITY

IOWA CITY, IOWA.—The University of Iowa announced today (Friday) receipt of the largest individual gift recorded thus far in 1971 for any American college or university: 85,000 shares of Bandag, Inc. stock valued at approximately \$3.5 million, from Roy J. Carver, chairman of the board of the Muscatine, Iowa, company.

U of I President Willard L. Boyd said the gift, largest in the University's history, will make possible a variety of projects, including development by the U of I College of Medicine of a model for a pioneering community health program.

Aid to needy students and endowment of several distinguished professorships will be provided by the Carver gift, as will an addition to the University's Museum of Art, assistance with the restoration of the historic Old Capitol building and with the furnishings of a performing arts hall now

under construction, the proposed resurfacing of Iowa Stadium with artificial turf, and support for the President's Academic Development Fund—"seed money" for improving instruction and making breakthroughs into new areas of knowledge.

The gift of Bandag stock was made to The University of Iowa Foundation, which sold 25,000 shares in a public offering yesterday. Executive Director Darrell Wyrick said the Foundation will retain its remaining 60,000 shares in its portfolio for the present. A single share of the stock valued at \$12 in 1968 would now have grown to 9 shares with a total value of about \$360 through subsequent splits.

Founded by Carver in 1957, Bandag produces rubber, supplies and equipment for recapping tires under a patented process designed to increase tire wear to double that obtainable from conventional retreads. Company sales, increasing nearly 50 per cent a year, in 1970 reached \$28.8 million and in the 12 months ending Sept. 30, 1971, totaled \$36,300,000.

Carver, who also heads the Carver Pump Company and the Carver Foundry Products Company of Muscatine, said he and Mrs. Carver selected The University of Iowa Foundation as the recipient because "We believe the University is the instrument that will provide the best multiplier, over many years, for some of the things that will benefit the people of the state."

"Iowa has been good to us," Carver continued. "We have raised a family here, have prospered here, and have our roots here. Partly because of our proximity to Iowa City and partly because our four boys also attended the University at one time or another, we developed over the years a strong interest in and affection for the University and its people. Now we are fortunate enough to be able to express our feelings in some tangible way. Mrs. Carver and I are particularly happy to have been able to make this gift while we are living and able to observe and share in the results."

In announcing the size and scope of the Carver gift this morning, President Boyd described it as having "great educational, cultural and historic significance, not only to this community but for the entire state," inasmuch as part of it will strengthen the educational process while other portions will aid in completing facilities which Iowans in large numbers utilize for personal enrichment.

President Boyd continued, "Above all, the gift is a great vote of confidence in the young people who will be served by it, and in the University itself. It provides a dramatic example of what private gifts can mean to a public university, and it will focus new and much-deserved attention on efforts of The University of Iowa Foundation to secure support for needs which cannot otherwise be met."

The Carver support for planning a model community health center, which would be located in Muscatine and which could provide experience of value to other Iowa communities, reflects the feelings both of Mr. and Mrs. Carver and the University that the problem of delivering health services to small communities is a matter of paramount importance, President Boyd said.

It is anticipated that medical staff members for the proposed center would be recruited for that purpose with the help of the U of I College of Medicine, where some of them would subsequently hold faculty appointments. The college would work in close cooperation with the center, which it would utilize as a community-based educational resource and where it would develop and evaluate new and more efficient ways of delivering health care.

Carver, a 1934 engineering graduate of the University of Illinois, Champaign, already was a successful manufacturer of pumps

when on a visit to Germany in 1956 he was impressed by the unusual retread tires on an automobile he was using. He sought out the developer and subsequently purchased the North American rights to the Bandag "cold" method of recapping tires, as opposed to the high temperature utilized in conventional methods. Bandag retreads quickly attracted attention of major truck, bus and industrial tire users because they could get twice the mileage at lower cost than was possible through other retreads. In 1969 Carver purchased world rights and now has factories in Canada, Belgium, North Carolina and Texas, as well as Muscatine.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Carver are members of The Presidents Club of The University of Iowa. Carver is also a director of the First National Bank of Rock Island, Ill., and is a member of the President's Advisory Council of Augustana College in that city.

The Carvers have four sons: Roy James Jr., 28, of Evanston, Ill.; John A., 26, Mt. Vernon, Iowa; Clayton, 25, San Diego, Calif.; and Martin G., 23, Bloomington, Ind.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 7, 1971]  
STOCK WORTH \$3.5 MILLION GIVEN UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

IOWA CITY, IOWA, Nov. 6.—The University of Iowa said that it had received the largest gift in its history—85,000 shares of stock of Bandag, Inc., valued at about \$3.5 million.

The gift is from Roy J. Carver, chairman of the board of the Bandag concern, which is in Muscatine. It produces supplies and equipment for recapping tires.

Willard Boyd, university president, said yesterday that it was the largest individual gift recorded in 1971 by an American college or university.

[From the Daily Ledger, Nov. 5, 1971]

#### \$3.5 MILLION GIFT TO IOWA U

IOWA CITY, IOWA.—The University of Iowa said Friday it has received the largest gift in its history 85,000 shares of stock of Bandag, Inc., valued at about \$3.5 million.

The gift is from Roy J. Carver, chairman of the board of the Bandag firm, located in Muscatine.

Willard Boyd, University of Iowa president, said it is the largest individual gift recorded in 1971 by any American college or university.

Boyd said the gift will pay for a variety of projects, including a model of a pioneering community health program by the university's College of Medicine.

Other uses for the gift, said Boyd, will include aid to needy students, endowment of several distinguished professorships and an addition to the university's Museum of Art.

Among other uses for the gift, said Boyd, will be to help pay for artificial turf at the university's stadium.

Boyd said the gift will also help to restore the Old Capitol building, to furnish a performing arts hall now being built and to boost the President's Academic Development fund for improving instruction and making breakthroughs into new areas of knowledge.

The gift was made to the University of Iowa Foundation, which sold 25,000 of the shares in a public offering Thursday. The foundation will keep the other 60,000 shares for now, said Darrell Wyrick, executive director of the foundation.

Bandag, Inc. was founded in 1957 by Carver and produces rubber, supplies and equipment for recapping tires under a patented process.

The firm's sales were \$28.8 million in 1970 and \$36.3 million in the 12 months ended Sept. 30, 1971.

Carver, who also heads the Carver Pump Co. and the Carver Foundry Products Co. of Muscatine, said he and Mrs. Carver decided to make the donation to Iowa because, "We believe the university is the instrument that

will provide the best multiplier, over many years, for some of the things that will benefit the people of the state."

"Iowa has been good to us," he continued. "We have raised a family here, have prospered here, and have our roots here. Partly because of our proximity to Iowa City and partly because our four boys also attended the university at one time or another, we developed over the years a strong interest in and affection for the university and its people."

"Now we are fortunate enough to be able to express our feelings in some tangible way. Mrs. Carver and I are particularly happy to have been able to make this gift while we are living and able to observe and share in the results."

Boyd described the Carvers' gifts as having "great educational, cultural and historic significance, not only to this community but for the entire state," inasmuch as part of it will strengthen the educational process while other portions will aid in completing facilities which Iowans in large numbers utilize for personal enrichment.

[From the Tribune-Times, Ames (Iowa)  
Nov. 5, 1971]

#### SUI RECEIVES LARGEST GIFT IN ITS HISTORY

IOWA CITY.—A Muscatine business executive today presented 85,000 shares of stock valued at about \$3.5 million to the University of Iowa, the largest such gift this year to any American college or university.

The gift of the stock of Bandag, Inc., of Muscatine was made by Roy J. Carver, 61, chairman of the board of the company. Carver said the gift, the largest in the university's history, was made because "Iowa has been good to us."

Carver said the gift was made partly because of "our proximity to Iowa City and partly because our four boys also attended the university at one time or another."

#### GREAT SIGNIFICANCE

University President Willard Boyd said the Carver gift is of "great educational, cultural and historic significance, not only to this community but to the entire state." He said, "Above all, the gift is a great vote of confidence in the young people who will be served by it and in the university itself."

Boyd said 25,000 shares of the stock have been sold, the remaining 60,000 shares will be held by the Iowa Foundation for future use.

The university president said the money will be used for a variety of projects, including the establishment of a model community health center in Muscatine in conjunction with the SUI College of Medicine. In addition, the Carver gift will help finance an addition to the Museum of Art, the restoration of the historic Old Capitol building on the main campus and the furnishing of a performing arts hall now under construction.

In addition, Boyd said the gift will provide funds for the proposed resurfacing of the Iowa Football Stadium with artificial turf, "seed money" for improving instruction and teaching techniques, aid to needy students and endowment of several distinguished professorships.

[From the Hawkeye-Gazette, Nov. 5, 1971]

#### ANNOUNCEMENT U OF I GIFT: \$3.5 MILLION

IOWA CITY.—The University of Iowa announced Friday receipt of a gift valued at \$3.5 million, the largest individual gift recorded this year for any American college or university.

Roy J. Carver, Muscatine, chairman of the board of Bandag, Inc., gave the university 85,000 shares of his company's stock, it was reported by U of I President Willard L. Boyd.

The gift, largest in the university's history, will make possible a variety of projects, in-

cluding development by the university's college of medicine of a model for a pioneering community health program. The center would be located at Muscatine.

Aid to needy students and endowment of several distinguished professorships will be provided by the Carver gift.

Also to be provided will be:

An addition to the university's Museum of Art.

Assistance with restoration of the historic Old Capitol building.

Help in furnishing a performing arts hall now under construction.

Proposed resurfacing of Iowa Stadium with artificial turf.

The gift of Bandag stock was made to the University of Iowa Foundation, which sold 25,000 shares in a public offering Thursday.

Founded by Carver in 1957, Bandag produces rubber supplies and equipment for recapping tires under a patented process designed to increase tire wear to double that obtainable from conventional retreads.

Carver, who also heads the Carver Pump company and the Carver Foundry Products company of Muscatine, said he and Mrs. Carver selected the University of Iowa Foundation as the recipient because "We believe the university is the instrument that will provide the best multiplier, over many years, for some of the things that will benefit the people of the state."

[From the Keokuk Daily, Nov. 5, 1971]

#### MUSCATINE INDUSTRIALIST GIVES \$3.5 MILLION GRANT TO SUI

IOWA CITY.—The University of Iowa announced today receipt of the largest individual gift recorded thus far in 1971 for any American college or university: 85,000 shares of Bandag, Inc. stock valued at approximately \$3.5 million, from Roy J. Carver, chairman of the board of the Muscatine, Iowa, company.

U of I President, Willard L. Boyd said the gift, largest in the University's history, will make possible a variety of projects, including development by the U of I College of Medicine of a model for a pioneering community health program.

Aid to needy students and endowment of several distinguished professorships will be provided by the Carver gift, as will an addition to the University's Museum of Art, assistance with the restoration of the historic Old Capitol building and with the furnishings of a performing arts hall now under construction, the proposed resurfacing of Iowa Stadium with artificial turf, and support for the President's Academic Development Fund—"seed money" for improving instruction and making breakthroughs into new areas of knowledge.

The gift of Bandag stock was made to The University of Iowa Foundation, which sold 25,000 shares in a public offering yesterday. Executive Director Darrell Wyrick said the Foundation will retain its remaining 60,000 shares in its portfolio for the present. A single share of the stock valued at \$12 in 1968 would now have grown to 9 shares with a total value of about \$360 through subsequent splits.

Founded by Carver in 1957, Bandag produces rubber, supplies and equipment for recapping tires under a patented process designed to increase tire wear to double that obtainable from conventional retreads. Company sales, increasing nearly 50% a year, in 1970 reached \$28.8 million and in the 12 months ending Sept. 30, 1971, totaled \$36,300,000.

Carver, who also heads the Carver Pump Company and the Carver Foundry Products Company of Muscatine, said he and Mrs. Carver selected The University of Iowa Foundation as the recipient because "We believe the University is the instrument that will provide the best multiplier, over many years,

for some of the things that will benefit the people of the state."

"Iowa has been good to us," Carver continued. "We have raised a family here, have prospered here, and have our roots here. Partly because of our proximity to Iowa City and partly because our four boys also attended the University at one time or another, we developed over the years a strong interest in and affection for the University and its people. Now we are fortunate enough to be able to express our feelings in some tangible way. Mrs. Carver and I are particularly happy to have been able to make this gift while we are living and able to observe and share in the results."

In announcing the size and scope of the Carver gift this morning, President Boyd described it as having "great educational, cultural and historic significance, not only to this community but for the entire state," inasmuch as part of it will strengthen the educational process while other portions will aid in completing facilities which Iowans in large numbers utilize for personal enrichment.

President Boyd continued, "Above all, the gift is a great vote of confidence in the young people who will be served by it, and in the University itself. It provides a dramatic example of what private gifts can mean to a public university, and it will focus new and much-deserved attention on efforts of The University of Iowa Foundation to secure support for needs which cannot otherwise be met."

The Carver support for planning a model community health center, which would be located in Muscatine and which could provide experience of value to other Iowa communities, reflects the feelings both of Mr. and Mrs. Carver and the University that the problem of delivering health services to small communities is a matter of paramount importance.

[From the Muscatine Journal, Nov. 5, 1971]

#### MEDICAL SOCIETY STATEMENT TELLS OF BACKGROUND STUDY

With the announcement of the planning for a model community health center here as the result of the gift of about \$3.5 million in Bandag stock by Mr. and Mrs. Roy Carver of Muscatine to the University of Iowa, Dr. John L. Parks, M.D., president of the Muscatine County Medical Society, issued this statement:

"For approximately the past year and a half, the Muscatine County Medical Society and Muscatine General Hospital, in conjunction with many community organizations, including the county board of supervisors, the mayor and city council, The United Way, Chamber of Commerce, Jaycees, and the Muscatine Development Corporation, have been conducting a coordinated program for the purpose of finding ways and means not only of alleviating the physician shortage but of providing and maintaining a modern comprehensive medical care system for Muscatine. As the president of the Muscatine County Medical Society it has been my pleasure to act as community coordinator for this project.

"For some time, as a part of this program, but especially during the past several months, representatives of the S.U.I. College of Medicine and the community of Muscatine have been intensively studying the feasibility of a Model Community Health Center being established in Muscatine which, hopefully, would be of mutual benefit to the college and the community. Dr. John C. MacQueen, associate dean, has been coordinating these efforts for the college.

This proposed center would be located near the Muscatine General Hospital. It would offer comprehensive primary medical care to a representative sample of citizens of the



community and would function in conjunction with the existing local physician-hospital system in an integrated supportive manner. It would provide the college an opportunity to develop and evaluate new more efficient ways of delivering medical care and also a facility for specialized educational purposes.

"Very recently, after careful review of the results of the above studies and other data, the College has endorsed this project in principle and is prepared to proceed first with the development of the detailed plan and then with the implementation of such a plan, assuming it is satisfactory both to the college and the community.

"The Muscatine County Medical Society and the trustees of Muscatine General Hospital, and the other community groups, have also endorsed the efforts of this project to date, and have indicated their support and cooperation during its planning, implementation and operation.

"Funding of this project has been a major problem. Now as a result of the interest of Mr. & Mrs. Roy Carver and their donation to the University this problem has been greatly alleviated and the project can move ahead much more rapidly.

"On behalf of the County Medical Society, the hospital and in fact the entire community I would like to express our most grateful thanks to Mr. & Mrs. Carver for their generosity and assistance in helping to solve one of our community's truly critical problems."

[From the Journal Muscatine (Iowa) Nov. 9, 1971]

#### PLANNING STARTS FOR HEALTH CENTER HERE

Concrete planning toward the establishment of a model community health center in Muscatine can now get under way as a result of The University of Iowa announcement today of its record gift of about \$3.5 million in Bandag stock, from Roy J. Carver, chairman of the board of Bandag, Inc., and the uses to which the proceeds will be put.

Dr. John Eckstein, dean of the U of I College of Medicine, said the Muscatine County Medical Society has already approved the concept in principle. Thus far, he said, the main obstacle to launching such a center has been the lack of funds to plan and organize a project which would jointly serve the interests of the community and of the college in its search for innovative means for attracting physicians and delivering health services on a community level.

The proposed center would offer medical care to citizens of the community and would function in conjunction with the existing local physician-hospital system in an integrated, supportive manner. In addition, it would provide the College of Medicine opportunity to develop and evaluate new methods of delivering medical care, and would serve as a facility for specialized educational purposes.

"Muscatine is undergoing the same problems that other Iowa communities face—a growing shortage of physicians, and the effect this has on over-all health care," observed Dr. John Parks of Muscatine, president of the Muscatine County Medical Society. "Hence the needs of the Muscatine community for health services, and the needs of the College of Medicine for access to a model health facility, are compatible," he said.

Experiences gained in planning and operating the Muscatine center could be useful to other communities in their efforts to establish their own health care programs, Dr. Eckstein said.

The primary objective of the Muscatine project would be to make high quality medical care more readily available to members of this community. In the process, however, the center would serve as a community train-

ing ground for students in the health professions; test new ways of delivering health care more effectively, including the utilization of allied health personnel (physician's assistants, etc.); demonstrate the problems and benefits to be expected in other regional health centers; and would attempt to develop a professional environment that would attract physicians to a community.

Dr. Eckstein said today's announcement clears the way for detailed planning and will greatly expedite progress on the project.

#### HEW ATTACKS PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE SYSTEM

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is getting to be the case that hardly a month can go by without it being necessary for the Member after another to seek the floor of this House to remind his colleagues about the latest devious plan by HEW to get at the public health service system in this country. No sooner do we appear to head them off at one pass than they find another exposed flank to attack. It is as if the Secretary made a decision to eliminate the public health service system one way or another in spite of the fact that both Houses have gone on record as opposed to such an objective.

The latest attack in a series of attacks made front page news in the Sunday papers a couple of weeks ago while Congress was beginning its Thanksgiving recess. These moves always seem to break in the papers when Congress is either rushing to adjourn or is already adjourned. I hate to think this is done to avoid the criticism which these moves so rightly deserve.

This latest attack involves plans to phase out the Federal Doctor Corps, the Public Health Service Commission Corps, which numbers some 5,500 offices. These men are part of a proud and long tradition in this Nation's history. They possess an esprit de corps which is the envy of other branches of the Government. They are men who are dedicated to the public good, while providing a high degree of medical skill and knowledge in areas where it is needed. On the surface, the plan of HEW to dissolve the corps and replace it by a civilian system seems harmless enough, but it is one more element in what seems to be a campaign to weaken and destroy the public health system of this country by killing it through a process of uncertainty. Not satisfied with having created considerable uncertainty about the future of the public health service hospitals around the Nation, the present move seems to be aimed at seeding the same clouds of uncertainty over the Corps itself. That is the ominous ring that I detect in the seemingly innocuous plan to dissolve the corps. I am glad to see in this case that HEW feels it necessary to gain congressional approval of this move and that it is not going to try to achieve it through Executive fiat. Let the notice go out to-

day that the administration is in for a tough fight if they do come to Congress with such a plan. It is one thing to study proposals to broaden the area of service of the Public Health Service Corps and broaden its scope to cover even more of the urban communities than it now serves, but I hope I will be excused if I question the motives behind the latest study of the Public Health Service Commission by HEW.

As usual, the rationale trotted out with such an announcement is that applications for Public Health Service careers are falling off and the Department is simply responding to a situation regrettably. I do not know what statistics the Department has for such insinuations, because my office alone has referred to the Surgeon General any number of applications since I have been in Congress, for a career the Public Health Service, and invariably the reply comes back to me stating in effect:

In view of the tremendous number of applications for the Public Health Service Corps, unfortunately it was not possible to accept the excellent candidate you have referred for consideration.

In other words, there were more applications from qualified medical school candidates than there were positions available. Now, when they want to get rid of the agency, it is remarkable how they can argue the exact opposite.

On the surface, at least, the Department claims that much of its concern over the future recruitment program for the Public Health Service Corps is based on the likelihood the present draft will be phased out and an all-volunteer service will take its place. My own reaction to this alleged concern is that it just does not seem to bear any relation to what my own experience with the young people of this country has been in such matters. Today's youth, I think, is a generation which would welcome as many opportunities as possible to serve in areas where they are needed the most and would welcome the Public Health Service as an ideal opportunity for serving their country. I think it is incumbent upon HEW to at least await congressional hearings with potential applicants and youth in general before they arrive at a firm decision on this.

In conclusion, let those involved take note that Congress is not going to be caught sleeping on this latest move. I hope we can get the reaction of the Surgeon General once he returns from South America and has a chance to respond to the reports circulated while he was away.

#### RUSSIAN SPIES IN UNITED NATIONS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there are particular developments which re-emphasize the constant complications in free world countries caused by Soviet

espionage and subversive activities, which are generally directed by Soviet diplomatic personnel in countries where they are accredited. The Soviet Mission to the United Nations is no exception to this pattern.

In an article in the Aurora, Ill., Beacon-News on November 10, 1971, Dumitru Danielopol points out the consistent pattern of Soviet espionage and subversive activities which should be kept in mind since there is a tendency in the American public to too often think that the Soviets have really mellowed.

**IDENTIFICATION OF RUSS SPIES RILES MALIK**  
(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—Yakov A. Malik, the Soviet delegate to the United Nations blustered and fumed the other day because a large number of Russians working in the world organizations had been called potential spies by U.S. Ambassador George Bush.

American security officers, Bush said, have shown that of the 250-300 Soviet citizens in the Soviet mission or employed by the U.N., as many as 50 per cent are known members of the KGB.

His statement came on the heels of the expulsion from Britain of 150 Russian diplomats and officials as spies and saboteurs and of a report in the New York Times on Oct. 3, from 20 capitals all citing evidence of Soviet espionage.

The Soviet delegate called the accusations "slandorous" . . . "anti Soviet hysteria."

Now comes the news that the Belgian government has decided to expel or bar from Belgium more than 30 Soviet citizens named as spies by defector Anatol Tchegotarev.

It should be apparent to anyone that the KGB activities around the world are getting bolder and more dangerous. One pattern is discussed in a foreboding account, "The Soviet Plot to Destroy Mexico," by John Barron, which recently appeared in the Condensed Book section of Reader's Digest. This book is must reading. It is based on the testimony by one of the top Soviet agents in Mexico, Raya Kiselnikova, who defected last year.

It contradicts every notion that the Russians are ready for detente and peaceful coexistence. It is a sordid account of sabotage, espionage, intrigue and criminal acts of all kinds.

It shows how young Mexicans are duped by the promise of "scholarships" in Russia, are taken over by the KGB to be trained "in all tools of terror . . . arson, explosives, karate, assassination, extortion, ambush, disguises, clandestine travel, recruitment, communication and weaponry."

Back in Mexico "the Mexicans were required to infiltrate military bases, sabotage guarded vehicles, set ambushes, fight the soldiers with the bare hand and flee pursuing patrols."

Illegal strikes are part of the plan.

A labor leader, Demetrio Callejo, confessed that he had been bribed by the KGB with \$80,000 to organize wildcat railway strikes.

"The Russians almost succeeded in 1959 in bringing significant segments of the economy at a standstill," the report says.

The disorders of 1968 which nearly wrecked the summer Olympics in Mexico City were also Soviet inspired, he says, planned to cause embarrassment and financial trouble to the Mexican government.

"What happened in Mexico is merely part of a world wide KGB subversion," the report says. It recalls what happened in Ecuador, Ethiopia, the Congo, Colombia, Turkey, etc., where Soviet and other Communist diplomats were also expelled.

Even Mr. Malik should read Barron's account

**SUPPORT FOR CRIME CONTROL BILL**

**HON. JAMES V. STANTON**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that my legislative proposal calling for crime control through revenue sharing has received widespread support and attention since I introduced the bill (H.R. 11813) on November 16. On behalf of myself and the Honorable JOHN F. SEIBERLING of Akron, cosponsor of the legislation, apprise my colleagues of a few of the responses we have received. As examples, I append here an editorial that appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, a brief note from the executive director of the U.S. Conference of Mayors and a news-story that appeared in the lead position on page 1 of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer:

[From the Plain Dealer, Nov. 18, 1971]  
DO CRIME FUNDS FIGHT CRIME?

Ever since it was launched in 1968 the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) has been a storm center. Acting by block grants through states, its benefits trickle down too slowly to the cities, where crime is heaviest and most damaging.

Complaints against the LEAA are now hardly perennials. It is no surprise that the U.S. Conference of Mayors denounced it again Monday. Mayors dislike the governor-dominated block grant system. They have reason to protest also the clutter of state and regional and Washington bureaucracies that must approve each grant to their crime-plagued communities.

Now U.S. Rep. James V. Stanton, D-20, has ambitiously drawn up a bill that might quicken the flow of LEAA funds to the front line of the crime war. It would give high-crime urban areas unshackled, direct grants to meet costs of good, concrete crime-fighting plans.

Gov. John J. Gilligan has already begun to deal directly with Ohio's six largest urban counties. This "Ohio plan" is what Stanton means by unclogging the LEAA flow of funds.

If Stanton's statistics are correct as baldly stated, LEAA is either overfinanced or is not effective at getting its money out to the communities properly. Stanton says Ohio has passed out only 40% of its 1970 LEAA funds and less than 1% of its 1971 funds, though fiscal 1971 ended months ago.

Yet LEAA has the fastest-growing budget in Washington. Its appropriation was boosted this August by \$70 million to a total of \$700 million for fiscal 1972.

When the phrase "safe streets" became a magic vote-getter, the law-enforcement help from Washington was grandly planned to step upward to a \$1-billion annual budget. But there is reason to doubt that the money is being well spent, or that even the current budget is actually needed.

When cities are hard put to keep policemen on their payrolls, what good are grants to buy specialized vehicles? The LEAA concept and its accomplishments thus far need reassessment. Stanton's bill can provide an occasion for this healthy review.

U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS,  
Washington, D.C., November 19, 1971.  
HON. JAMES STANTON,  
House of Representatives, Longworth House  
Office Building, Washington, D.C.  
DEAR JIM: I've just read the materials you

submitted for the Record, including your "Emergency Crime Control Act of 1971".

Congratulations! You are to be commended for the excellent documentation you presented on the current problems local law enforcement programs are facing. I am delighted that you were able to use some of the Conference of Mayor's material.

I hope that your office and ours will be in close touch on this matter so that the necessary legislative changes can be made.

Thanks for your efforts on our behalf.

Sincerely,

JOHN GUNTHER,  
Executive Director.

[From the Seattle Post-Intelligencer]

RED TAPE SNAGS ANTICRIME FUNDS, LAW-MAKERS CHARGE—U.S. MONEY NOT REACHING CITIES

(By Harry Kelly)

WASHINGTON.—More than 90 per cent of the \$340 million in federal funds appropriated to fight urban crime was tied up by bureaucratic red tape and never reached the cities last year, two Democratic congressmen charged yesterday.

In addition, they said, half the funds from the year before, 1970, were also being held up in the massive bottleneck at the state level when the 1971 fiscal year ended June 30.

The two congressmen—James V. Stanton, D-Ohio, and John F. Seiberling, D-Ohio—said the crime-fund logjam has been disclosed by a General Accounting Office study.

They said it showed the 1968 Safe Streets Act—which set up a system of channeling bloc grants from Washington through the state governments and then to the cities—was a failure.

The congressmen said state officials were "sitting on" the federal funds.

Further, Stanton accused Atty. Gen. John Mitchell of delivering "phony communique." He criticized Mitchell for asserting that "the fear of crime has been driven from the streets" of some American cities.

"It's not fear being driven from the streets, it's the people who are being driven from the streets," said Stanton.

The congressmen arranged a news conference yesterday to make their case against the bloc grant program as administered by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) which was created by the Safe Streets Act.

**FAMILY FARM**

**HON. PAUL FINDLEY**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the ridiculous attack made prior to confirmation of Secretary of Agriculture Butz was based in part on the totally unsupported assertion that he was against the "small farmer" of the family type and in favor of the giants of the industry.

A column in the Herald-Whig of Quincy, Ill., written by farm editor Keith L. Wilkey, deals with the nonsense being peddled largely by some people who claim to represent the family farm and its role in modern agriculture. Although Mr. Wilkey did not mention Mr. Butz by name, his commentary certainly places in proper perspective much of the foolishness spewed out in regard to the Butz confirmation. Here is the text of Mr. Wilkey's column:

## WE ARE FOR THE FAMILY FARM

(By Keith L. Wilkey)

Despite the divergent views held by various segments of agriculture, there is one issue on which every one is united. There is 100 per cent agreement that "we are for the family farm."

Of course, I can't imagine anyone stupid enough to say, "I'm against the family farm." Yet to hear some farm leaders and agricultural politicians (hopefuls) and others say, "I'm for the family farm," it has a tendency to leave you with the idea that they are standing up for a principle that their less worthy contemporaries are not supporting.

Beware of the office-seeker or would-be farm leader who builds his case on the retention of the family farm. It simply means that he doesn't know what else to say and if he says he is for the family farm, it gives the impression that he is knowledgeable as well as dedicated about something he is not.

What is the family farm? Does it mean different things to different people, or is there only one family farm concept? The family farm can be anything from the grubbiest 80-acre spread in the thin hilly country to a 5,000-acre upland prairie loam farm that consistently turns out 200-bushel per acre corn.

What other kinds of farms are there beside family farms? Well, we hear a good bit about commercial farms. But these are in essence family farms. If a farm isn't commercial these days, what is it?

Corporate farms. Now there's the emotional issue. The fellow who is all for the family farm is usually a first string fighter against the corporate farm. It sounds like something pretty bad. It denotes big machinery and equipment, lots of commercial influence, money by the barrel at the head New York office to be had for the asking and a sinister design to do in all the family farms.

But suppose a farmer and his son are operating a 340-acre farm as a family enterprise. We smile and say, "There . . . now there is a family farm! That's what I mean by a family farm. That's what this country needs . . . more family farms. We must protect the family farm against the corporate giants. The family farm is the backbone of this country and we must protect the family farm!" (This can go on and on into the night.)

So, in order to plan for his estate, or perhaps other reasons, the farmer goes to his lawyer and asks him to draw up incorporation papers. He takes in his wife and the son as the incorporators. That makes it a corporate farm. Impossible! This nice man and his nice son are not corporate farmers . . . can't be; "they are family farmers."

But yes, they are now operating a corporate farm. It might not be your image of it, but it is just as much of a corporate farm as those operated by CKB Industries, Gates Rubber Company, or any one else.

Actually, the big majority of corporate farms in this country are merely farm families who have incorporated for various legal reasons. And all of those, plus the ones operated by large companies, when added together, make up less than one per cent of the total number of farms in the nation.

Yet we hear denunciations of the corporate farm and a sterling, brave and self-righteous defense of the family farm. I really think that many people have the nostalgic image of the self-sustaining farmstead of 40 years ago when they hear the term, family farm, and picture a ruthless, bullying, stinking rich Wall Street corporation dispossessing innocent, hardworking, defenseless farmers of their land, when they hear the term, corporate farm.

So the next time someone bends your ear about how corporate farms are chasing out all the family farmers and taking over agriculture, it might be a good time to just remember you left your car parked two blocks away with the lights on.

## VOYAGE OF THE APOLLO 15

## HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, at a time when it appears every national technical and scientific advance is being challenged and assessed in a debate on priorities, it is fitting to call to your attention a clear evaluation of the remarkable advances made during the latest flight to the moon by the spacecraft Apollo 15. That voyage was possibly the most valuable and comprehensive scientific mission ever undertaken.

America and the world have benefited immeasurably from our scientific efforts in space. And the benefits will continue. Willard F. Rockwell, Jr., chairman of the board and chief executive officer of North American Rockwell, in the course of an address given before the Society of Industrial Realtors, tells us in a forceful way of the specific scientific advances made by the crew of Apollo 15.

This country has constructed a careful and precise plan for our future achievements in space. The contributions of Apollo 15 add impetus to the attainment of those goals:

## VOYAGE OF APOLLO 15

The voyage of the Apollo 15 was one of the most valuable and most comprehensive scientific missions ever accomplished.

The three days Dave Scott and Jim Irwin spent on the surface of the moon are expected to lay the foundation for man's first scientifically accurate insight into the creation of the universe. In the exploration of outer space, Apollo 15 may rank some day as does the voyage of Magellan here on Earth.

The amazing part of the voyage, for me, was that the whole world figuratively made the entire journey. We didn't just read about it—we saw it.

New knowledge was uncovered right before our eyes, exactly as though we were standing in the laboratory with Louis Pasteur or Alexander Graham Bell. For sixty-seven hours we watched the painstaking gathering of scientific specimens. We saw the actual emplacement of complex electronic equipment.

We saw true exploration in action.

And there was another significant aspect of this entire operation that could easily have been overlooked: That was the consummation of the full partnership of engineer and scientist in space exploration.

Neither discipline alone could have extracted full value from that mission.

It's no secret that there have been misunderstandings during the years of preparation as to whether or not the scientific community was, in fact, receiving an appropriate level of attention in the Apollo program. Those controversies disappeared with Apollo 15's incredible voyage of scientific discovery.

Cooperation was vital for the success of the mission, and throughout the mission, the coordination and cooperation between the NASA flight controllers and the "back room" scientists was a display of unparalleled teamwork.

The engineering skill that developed the Apollo 15 spacecraft was matched by the scientific equipment it carried into space. In the service module there was a new package of instruments that included eight experiments used to gather data while the spacecraft was in lunar orbit.

Two special cameras, part of the package, took more than five thousand photographs of the lunar surface. Today those photos

are being studied by scientists around the world.

In addition, highly sensitive spectrometers were extended on long booms to sample molecules of gas spewed from cracks in the moon's crust, measuring alpha rays, X-rays and gamma radiation. That experiment alone was the most comprehensive geo-chemistry survey of the moon ever undertaken.

And the results were remarkable.

The gamma-ray spectrometer discovered a radioactive hot spot in the lunar surface, a huge area 112 miles long and almost 50 miles wide. Because the emission of radioactivity from that area was so abnormal, scientists were able to deduce that the region was a source of volcanic activity far back in the moon's history.

Another instrument, the mass spectrometer, found evidence of some kind of atmosphere around the moon. It picked up pockets of neon and argon gas. And, as the spacecraft orbited, the spectrometer scooped up some carbon dioxide that apparently had burst from a surface fissure.

They are all small pieces of a complex puzzle that scientists are gradually assembling.

Still another instrument was able to detect x-ray radiation from minerals on the surface, an indication that the lunar highlands are rich in aluminum.

The largest single instrument in the spacecraft bay was the panoramic camera which took photographs four and one half inches wide, and forty-seven and one half inches long. There were 1700 of those panoramic pictures taken. One film covers a surface area 28 miles wide and 186 miles long.

According to Dr. Fred Doyle of the U.S. Geological Survey, Chairman of the Apollo Photographic team, one of these pictures contains 15 trillion bits of information.

More than 12 percent of the moon's 14 million square miles of surface was mapped—six times more than on all previous expeditions. That means the panoramic camera was the most comprehensive data-gathering instrument ever flown into deep space.

One of the experiments set upon the lunar surface was a laser reflector, a sophisticated light reflecting device not unlike those reflectors which cause street signs to shine at night.

This was the third such reflecting device set on the moon. And it was much larger than those emplaced on the prior expeditions.

Using laser beams aimed at these reflectors, scientists have been able to measure the distance between the earth and the moon within an accuracy of six inches. Remember, we're talking about distances of nearly a quarter of a million miles.

Those measurements are going to play a role in an even more significant activity, the ability to measure the movements of the wide-spread continents floating on the surface of the Earth. I say "floating" advisedly. Scientists are on the verge of understanding, for the first time, the so-called "Continental Drift". They're advancing from speculation to near-certitude as to that perplexing question—were Africa and South America once a contiguous land mass?

With the aid of studies generated by the infinitesimal accuracy of these new measurements, scientists are also going to have a better understanding of why the earth "wobbles" as it orbits the sun. They'll have a better understanding of tidal effect. A whole treasure of other knowledge is becoming available as a result of these laser beam reflectors.

Al Worden was alone in the command module for 73 hours, circling the moon while Dave Scott and Jim Irwin walked and rode on the surface of the moon.

During that time Worden was adding significantly to the scientific knowledge of this nation. He discovered, for example, the first clear evidence of volcanic areas over many different areas of the moon. He identified as

being of volcanic origin nine craters which scientists for years had thought were caused by impacts.

He observed that the walls of the craters on the far side of the moon were steeper than those on the near side—a puzzling fact confirmed by a laser altimeter carried in the spacecraft itself.

One crater gouged more than four miles into the surface of the moon was discovered to be the deepest hole known on the planet. In another crater, invisible from Earth, Worden saw evidence of a massive landslide, six times greater than the Peruvian landslide, the biggest rockslide ever recorded here on Earth.

Worden confirmed that the moon is layered like a cake, down to a depth of at least twelve miles. According to geologists, this means the moon went through a "building up" process in its early life, laying coat after coat on itself until it reached the size and shape we see today.

This is a profound discovery in understanding the history of the solar system.

The 170 pounds of samples returned to Earth from the moon are yielding surprises the full meaning of which will not be understood for some time. For example, plants grown on lunar soil are exhibiting a growth rate four times faster than when grown in earth soil.

Why is this? As yet the scientists don't know. But eventually the secret will be unlocked.

And, while boosting life processes to these plants, the effect of lunar material on other living organisms works in a different, but equally baffling way. For example, the scientists at the medical facility in the Lunar Receiving Laboratory in NASA's Houston headquarters found that some earth bacteria died when exposed to a mixture of core tube materials taken during the Apollo 15.

These staph organisms didn't die when exposed to other material. They died only when exposed to the core samples. Again, the reason isn't known, but the long range impact could be profound.

Dave Scott and Jim Irwin obtained core samples, two of which were double drive cores which measure about thirty inches deep, and the third a single core measuring fifteen inches deep. The fourth, by contrast, measured eight and a half feet in length.

Biomedical evaluation of these core samples is now underway in the Lunar Receiving Laboratory.

In the meantime, Apollo 15 lunar samples are being made available to 200 scientists. With their staffs this will actually total about 700 scientists who are studying the moon material. Forty-eight scientific institutions in sixteen foreign countries are receiving samples for scientific evaluation.

From the voyage of Apollo 15 a lifetime of new scientific studies will be emerging in a steady stream. For example there were experiments left on the moon to measure temperature, solar winds, magnetic fields and lunar atmosphere. For some scientist, somewhere in the world, one series of those measurements may be a key to a new world of discovery.

Scientists from Rice University have disclosed that instruments placed in earlier Apollo landings detected water vapor spewing from the surface of the moon like a geyser.

None of this would have been possible without the voyage of Apollo 15 and the other probes into deep space. As Dr. Wernher von Braun said recently, "We're learning of the relationship between the earth and the sun and their effects on our lives which could be learned in no other way save by means of the rocket and spacecraft."

Now that we have this momentum it's unfortunate that only two more Apollo flights are scheduled to the moon. Originally five

were planned but budget cuts have cancelled all but two. There will be other projects but the fact remains that of the 45 superbly trained active astronauts, 30 will never get a chance to get into outer space.

Fortunately as we near the end of lunar exploration, we're entering a new era of space activity.

Once again, we'll have front row seats in watching the deployment of the space shuttle—which Senator Howard Cannon, member of the Senate Committee on Aeronautics and Space Sciences, has cited as one of the most important undertakings of the 1970's if we hope to have a strong and prosperous America.

The space shuttle is the key development of a new era where we'll have men in space working for men on earth.

Perhaps hundreds of young people living today will actually be stepping abroad for trips out into space. And most assuredly, the world's leading agriculturists, geologists, and mineralogists will be going out to their new laboratories in the sky.

That shuttle and the new space laboratories will make possible two and a half billion dollar savings annually because of improved weather forecasting and observation. They'll mean tremendous savings in areas of crop and forest disease control where we're now losing as much as \$7 billion annually. They'll mean great strides in uncovering the world's mineral resources, in advancing the world's commercial fisheries to new high levels of production, in managing timber and water resources.

They'll bring entirely new concepts in flood control, irrigation, and power production management programs.

The real potential, the benefit to man on earth, of our national space program has barely been touched. We're fortunate that we have already seen, and that we'll continue to see, this new world unfolding.

We'll be witness again as great discoveries are made by men who will live and work in space.

We're going to be reminded over and over again of the truth of Dave Scott's words when he first stepped on the lunar surface.

"As I stand among the unknown wonder of Hadley Rille," Scott said, "I realize a basic truth to our nature. Man must explore—and this is exploration at its greatest."

#### SOVIET JEWS

### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration's callous attitude toward the plight of the Soviet Jews has been a source of constant concern and heartbreak for American Jews and all persons concerned about the plight of persecuted minorities.

The latest example of this lack of feeling came in a statement by Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs Richard T. Davies before the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

An eloquent answer to this statement was provided by Albert Liss, national executive director of Brith Sholom, a Jewish fraternal service organization, in a letter to the editor of the New York Times.

I enter this letter into the RECORD.

NOVEMBER 12, 1971.

EDITOR,  
New York Times  
New York, N.Y.

To THE EDITOR: In his appearance before a House Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee, Richard T. Davies, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, made an obvious attempt to whitewash our government for its failure to take a stronger stand on the plight of Soviet Jews. As indicated by your columnist Bernard Gwertzman, "With Nixon due to visit the Soviet Union next May the status of Soviet Jews is viewed as something that must be faced openly since he will be under some pressure from American Jewish groups to raise the matter with the Kremlin leaders." We can expect that Mr. Davies' statement is the first shot in a fusillade aimed at stilling the Jewish nuisance so as not to embarrass the Administration.

To make his case, Mr. Davies raises the false issue of terror, thus hoping to discredit the struggle waged by American Jews on behalf of their Soviet brethren. No responsible Jewish organization or qualified observer has suggested that there is a reign of physical terror against Jews in the Soviet Union comparable to that suffered by Jews under Nazism. We have contended, and with abundant evidence, substantiated frequently in reports published in the New York Times, that, although recognized as a nationality in the Soviet Constitution, Jews are not accorded the same rights enjoyed by other ethnic groups; that Soviet policy prohibits Jewish cultural and institutional life. Putting it simply, Jews are not free to live Jewish lives and those who seek to do so or, in its absence, choose repatriation to Israel, their ancestral homeland, suffer harassment, loss of jobs and even imprisonment. Anti-Semitic literature, bearing the government's imprimatur, is widely distributed, their authors honored.

The test for freedom for Jews is not their numbers in various phases of Soviet life, but their absence or limited numbers in others: for example, in foreign service, in delicate areas of government and the military, and in admission to certain professions and institutions of higher learning. Soviet society cannot be judged by the status given Jews who have conformed to the Soviet view but by the Soviet treatment of Jews who identify actively as Jews and call upon the government to allow them the human right to emigrate, which, incidentally the Soviet Union endorsed when it became a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Ironically, Mr. Davies' attempt to soft-peddle the issue of Soviet Jewry can only strengthen the JDL which Mr. Davies vehemently denounces.

In remembering the calculated efforts of Western leaders, including many from our own government, to dismiss as inconsequential the stirring of Anti-Semitism in the early days of Hitler Germany, Jews may cynically conclude that their brethren are again abandoned, and in this mood of despair and outrage be drawn to that enticing slogan of JDL, "never again."

It is a sign of the State Department's insensitivity to the concern of American Jews for their brethren abroad and their obvious failure to grasp fully the peril Jews face in the Soviet Union, that Mr. Davies concentrates his most virulent attack upon the few desperate men of the JDL while offering feint-hearted reproach to the Soviet authorities who turn the entire power of their state, with all the cruelty capable in an authoritarian society, against a small defenseless people.

It were better had Mr. Davies turned some of his anger against the Soviet perpetrators

of crimes against their Jewish citizens. One can condemn and be repelled by the mindless actions committed by the JDL and still recognize how pitiful are their dimensions when weighed in the balance against the injustice of the mighty Soviet government which provoked them.

ALBERT LISS.

## AN ANSWER TO HARVARD ON SEX DISCRIMINATION

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, during House action on the higher education bill in November, a provision in the bill to prohibit sex discrimination in colleges and universities receiving Federal funds was sadly watered down. Opponents of the provision proudly made reference to a letter written by Charles Daly, vice president of Harvard, which appeared in the RECORD on November 1. At this time, I would like to place into the RECORD an answer to the Harvard position stated by Mr. Daly. It is in the form of a letter written to the president of Harvard from Dr. Richard B. Child, a Harvard alumnus and now assistant professor of law at the New England School of Law in Boston, Mass. The letter follows:

NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL OF LAW,  
Boston, Mass., November 8, 1971.

President DEREK C. BOK,  
Harvard University.

DEAR PRESIDENT BOK: I was shocked and appalled to learn in last Saturday's *Crimson* that Vice President Daly, on behalf of your administration, had written to the U.S. House of Representatives in opposition to an amendment to the current higher education bill requiring that coeducational colleges eliminate sex as a factor in their admission policies. (The amendment was subsequently defeated by the House.)

I believe that you gave an interview to the *Crimson* earlier this fall in which you stated that you would be speaking out relatively infrequently on public issues because such interventions by high officials of an institution like Harvard—despite their strong initial impact—would likely suffer severely diminishing returns upon frequent repetition. Yet I can hardly think of a less appropriate use of your administration's prestige than Mr. Daly's letter to the Congress.

It is one thing to oppose internal pressures by stating that if the University's administration itself were to eliminate Harvard's sex-discriminatory admissions policy by accepting otherwise qualified applicants regardless of sex, too many male alumni would retaliate by cutting back on gifts. It is quite another thing to oppose a law which would (apparently) apply equally to every coeducational private college and university in the nation! Are Harvard alumni seriously likely to hold your administration responsible for an act of Congress? And even if alumni at every private college and university in the U.S.A. "retaliated" by blaming their institutions' administrations for an act of Congress (1) would this possibility justify continued grants of federal funds to foster (in effect) sex discrimination? Should a racially moderate local school board oppose nation-wide administrative action to curb racial isolation on the grounds that too many white parents might withdraw sup-

port from the public schools? (Not a perfect parallel, but perhaps apt.)

As for Mr. Daly's argument that an increase in the percentage of women at Harvard "might underutilize our science facilities" etc., this is rather sharply undercut by the Harvard admissions department statistic quoted by the *Crimson*, indicating that a higher percentage of women than men are now coming to Harvard intending to major in science. If the *Crimson* accurately reported this information, I wonder why it was not available to Mr. Daly?

A further irritating detail in the *Crimson* article is clearly not primarily your administration's fault, although I hold you partially responsible. The *Crimson* headline last Saturday was "House Deletes 1:1 Ratio Clause." I fail to understand how the *Crimson*'s editors concluded that an amendment requiring elimination of sex as a factor in university admissions policies would establish a "1:1 ratio," or any other ratio. Depending on the respective numbers of adequately qualified men and women who apply to Harvard in any given year under a wholly now—sex—discriminatory admissions policy, there might in one year conceivably be as many as twice as many women in the freshmen class as men, and the next year thrice as many male freshmen as female.

I know that you and Mr. Daly understand this perfectly well, but I wonder if it might not have been helpful in your earlier statement proposing a new 2.5:1 ratio of men to women to point out that the altering of ratios and the total elimination of discrimination are two very clearly distinct concepts. The latter is "sex-blind;" the former, not at all. The *Crimson* might then have been less likely to fall into the rather remarkable error of confusing the abolition of sex discrimination with the establishment of a "1:1 ratio."

Finally, I would like to know what basis—other than speculation—Mr. Daly has for his projection of a significant falling off of alumni support if sex discrimination were eliminated in Harvard's admissions policies? I will provide him with one minor datum: I personally do not intend to contribute further to Harvard until the university administration fundamentally alters existing patterns and policies of sex discrimination on all fronts. I invite other alumni with similar views to make their voices heard.

I am sending copies of this letter to the *Crimson* and to Representative Griffiths.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD B. CHILD.

## PRICE FREEZE: A TOOL TO DESTROY PRIVATE HOUSING

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, private housing is now a field coupled with a public interest, so it must either submit to officious governmental control—which it cannot—or private housing must be destroyed.

And the keys to destruction of private housing by now should be self-evident—rent controls and tenant organizations. Now even the IRS has entered the battle in favor of public housing by ruling that tenants need not pay "unjustified" rent increases. Yet, while the housing investors are denied the right to pursue a fair profit, the Construction Committee approved of pay increases for labor in that

field of 56.2 percent which well might sound the death knell for private housing—since only taxpayers building public housing can afford to pay such exorbitant prices with no expectation of return.

This latest prosocialist housing trend can be expected to support the administration's new HUD policies of Federal blockbusting by building public housing plantations in the suburbs "to class integrate" the neighborhoods. With construction costs continuing to soar, few who already fled the violence of the cities will be able to retreat again to rebuild another sanctuary of safety for their loved ones.

Equal housing for all has become a political drive for substandard housing for all. Who really believes that Government bureaucrats and public housing can do a better job of housing Americans than free enterprise and private individual housing?

I insert related newsclippings at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 4, 1971]

### PANEL ALLOWS HUGE PAY RISE

(By James L. Rowe Jr.)

The Construction Industry Stabilization Committee yesterday said it has approved contracts granting a 56.2 per cent increase over two years to Delaware plasterers and 39.6 per cent over 24 months to Philadelphia cement masons.

The approvals were announced just one day after the Pay Board suspended the committee's authority to approve new construction contracts until its chairman—Harvard's Prof. John Dunlop—appeared before the Pay Board to explain the CISC's policies and procedures.

There has been severe criticism of the CISC's approval of many construction contracts with increases well in excess of the 5.5 per cent general guideline set down last month by the Pay Board. The board granted the CISC authority to administer Phase II controls on the pay side in the construction industry.

The construction panel two weeks ago approved 450 of 500 contracts signed before the freeze and granted wage increases in the contracts to be paid retroactively through the 90-day freeze which expired Nov. 14. The Pay Board has barred retroactivity except in special cases.

Four of the six contracts announced yesterday approved pay increases dating back to Nov. 1. The Construction Industry Stabilization Committee said the contracts had been approved at its regular weekly meeting on Nov. 26.

The approvals announced yesterday included increases:

From \$8.42 to \$9.26 an hour in two stages for Philadelphia bricklayers (9.9 per cent over 12 months).

From \$5.55 to \$8.67 an hour in four stages for Delaware plasterers (56.2 per cent over 24 months).

From \$6.44 to \$7.84 an hour in four stages for Fort Worth, Tex., sheet metal workers (21.7 per cent over 22 months).

From \$5 to \$6.40 an hour for Philadelphia general laborers (28 per cent over 24 months).

From \$7.825 to \$9.425 an hour for Teamsters building trade workers in northern California (20.4 per cent over 24 months).

From \$6.37 to \$8.39 an hour for cement masons in Philadelphia (39.6 per cent over 24 months).

All the contracts had approvals granting retroactive increases back to the effective

date of the contract—all falling before the freeze.

The Pay Board—which itself has drawn heavy criticism for granting a 15 per cent first-year pay increase to soft coal miners—called in the CISC earlier this week to "review" its policies. Pay Board sources said CISC Chairman Dunlop declined to come personally and instead sent the committee's executive secretary, Quinn Miller.

Miller spent most of Thursday morning with the Pay Board. Thursday afternoon the Pay Board again wrote Dunlop, telling him to appear next week and canceling the CISC meeting set for yesterday to review new contracts. The CISC did not meet but the Labor Department released information on the six contracts.

Meanwhile, the Pay Board issued its second clarification on merit pay increases, saying that where no labor agreement exists, the sum total of any company's merit increases must hew to its 5.5 per cent standard.

It said merit pay raises written into labor contracts are generally "narrow, rigidly controlled and do not involve substantial increases in pay."

But under merit plans and salary administration plans which are not part of labor agreements, such increases are often wide and involve substantial pay increases.

In a related development, the Price Commission announced it has granted the motor parts division of Chrysler Corp. a 3.7 per cent increase—Chrysler had requested a 4.4 per cent increase.

Earlier, the commission approved Chrysler's request to raise prices on its 1972 model cars and trucks by an average of 4.5 per cent (on a 5.3 per cent request). But Chrysler said it would only raise prices by 3 per cent for competitive reasons.

The remaining Big Four automobile companies—General Motors, Ford, and American Motors—received price increase approvals ranging between 2.5 per cent and 2.9 per cent.

The Price Commission also approved a 4.5 per cent increase for The New York Times book review section and special advertising.

It approved a 4.6 per cent increase for Deere and Co. for tractors and lawn and garden equipment and a 2.84 per cent average increase for Levi Strauss on "selected cotton products."

#### PANEL ALLOWS HUGE PAY RISES

The Construction Industry Stabilization Committee announced approval of pay increases of 56.2 per cent and 39.6 per cent over two years yesterday, just one day after the Pay Board had suspended the committee's powers to approve construction contracts.

#### [From the Washington Post, Dec. 4, 1971] IRS CITES LIMITS ON RENT RISE—TENANTS GET POINTERS OF WITHHOLDING

(By Bob Woodward)

The Internal Revenue Service ruled yesterday that tenants may refuse to pay added rent unless landlords can prove the increased charges were being paid on 10 per cent of their similar units prior to the Aug. 15 wage-price freeze.

IRS, the price plan enforcement agency, also cautioned landlords not to raise rents unless they have complete records to prove the new rental charges are justified.

Herbert Seidman, an IRS attorney, said tenants still run a risk by refusing to pay the rent increase if the higher charges prove to be justified. If no clear violation is apparent, Seidman said, tenants should seek legal advice, call the IRS or try to get the landlord to agree to place the money in a reserve fund until final determination is made.

Various Federal Price Commission and IRS officials said the ruling is an attempt to slow

down rent increases, that they said threatened to become a major stumbling block in inflation stabilization.

In Washington, it now appears about 15 per cent of the 400,000 apartments will receive rent increases averaging about 5 per cent by Jan. 1, according to spokesmen for the rental industry.

John T. O'Neill, executive vice president of the Building Owners and Managers Association of Metropolitan Washington, said yesterday that the IRS ruling shows "the system of price controls is breaking down . . . the goal of controlling inflation is completely lost now."

Saying further pressure on landlords not to do what is permitted in the Phase II guidelines is "very unfair," O'Neill said the IRS ruling will add to the misconception that rent increases are illegal.

Price Commission guidelines issued Nov. 13 say landlords must make their books available to tenants being assessed rent increases. However, the IRS ruling yesterday adds that the tenants may legally withhold the rent increase if the books are not open for inspection or do not show 10 per cent of the similar units in the building or complex were paying the higher rate before the wage-price freeze.

On Tuesday Price Commission Chairman C. Jackson Grayson Jr. told landlords that rollbacks of rent increases would be necessary if planned revisions to the current guidelines do not permit the higher rates.

IRS officials in the Washington area reported yesterday that more than 3,000 inquiries from Washington area tenants and landlords were received in the last week on rent increases—more than on any other subject covered by the President's economic program.

#### [From the Washington Post, Dec. 4, 1971] TENANTS MAY REFUSE TO PAY "UNJUSTIFIED" RISES, IRS RULES

(By Walter Rugaber)

The Internal Revenue Service has ruled that tenants are legally entitled to withhold rent increases from landlords who refuse to produce the records justifying them.

The IRS statement yesterday, the latest move in a government drive to hold down rents pending the compilation of more specific guidelines on the subject, came as part of an unusually stern warning on rent increases.

The agency, which is responsible for enforcing the Nixon administration's economic stabilization program, "cautioned" landlords, "urged tenants to be vigilant," and promised to "vigorously investigate" violators.

Landlords cannot raise rents even within the present guidelines, the IRS warned, unless they keep "complete records on rental practices" and make them available to tenants facing increases.

The landlord must show the prices for his units and give "the reason for any increase" over the amount that could be charged during the 90-day freeze, the service said.

The Price Commission's current regulations permit landlords to increase residential rents to levels no higher than those charged on 10 per cent of their comparable units before the freeze began Aug. 15.

But there are many confusing details and unanswered questions.

In the Washington area, it was anticipated that rent boosts would affect a possible 20 per cent of apartment dwellers by Jan. 1.

The increases under new lease agreements here were expected to average from 5 to 6 per cent.

The chairman of the Price Commission, C. Jackson Grayson Jr., urged landlords to put off the substantial number of increases that were apparently planned this month even if the present standards permit them.

The IRS also said new and better standards will be worked out by the Rent Advisory Board and the Price Commission.

Herbert Seidman, a revenue service lawyer, said if a landlord refuses flatly to produce the records in justification of an increase he clearly will be breaking the rules.

Tenants could in such cases withhold rent increases and request a revenue service investigation. If the landlord moves to evict him, Seidman said, the tenant can go to the IRS or the civil courts.

When records are provided, the government lawyer noted, it becomes more complicated. If the tenant thinks the information is inadequate or wrong, he said, the increase can still be withheld but not without risks.

In any argument over details which ends with a refusal to pay the increase, Seidman said, "There is some risk factor on the tenant's part as to whether the guy (the landlord) is really in violation."

One of the practical ways to handle less clear-cut cases, the official suggested, would be to put the rent increase in escrow until the revenue service can make a specific ruling.

#### [From the Washington Post, Dec. 5, 1971] ONE-YEAR LID ON RENTS URGED BY HEAD OF TENANTS GROUP (By Burt Barnes)

Chairman Rose Wylie of the National Tenants Organization called yesterday for a one-year freeze on all rents and urged tenants to refuse to pay any rent increases pending release of rental guidelines under Phase II of the President's new economic policy.

Mrs. Wylie spoke at a press conference here at the start of a two-day meeting to discuss what tactics the organization should follow during Phase II, the National Tenants Organization claims a membership of about 300,000 and has branches in several cities.

Mrs. Wylie, who also is a member of the Rent Advisory Board, also said the board is "stacked in favor of the landlords."

The Rent Advisory Board was appointed by President Nixon to recommend guidelines to the Price Commission on how much and under what circumstances rents may be increased and in what cases exceptions to the guidelines may be allowed.

But Mrs. Wylie, who also is head of a citywide public housing tenants council in Philadelphia, predicted the guidelines would favor the landlords. She said tenants would "have to take action in their communities" but she did not specify what that action would be.

Yesterday's meeting was attended by delegations from Baltimore, New York, Boston, Philadelphia and here and many of the participants complained that rents have already been raised since the end of the wage-price freeze on Nov. 14.

On Friday, the Internal Revenue Service ruled that tenants may refuse to pay rent increases put into effect since the expiration of the freeze unless the landlords can prove that the additional charges were being paid on at least 10 per cent of their similar units before the freeze.

Current to guidelines—subject to revision when the Rent Advisory Board makes its recommendations—forbid landlords from passing on increases in property taxes to tenants in the form of increased rents, but several persons at the meeting said tax increases had, in fact, been passed on them.

"The administration has given no consideration to social goals for the Economic Stabilization Program," Mrs. Wylie said.

"There is talk within the rent board of the Economic Stabilization Program possibly creating hardships and inequities but these are seen only as being on the landlords and investors. The hardships being imposed on the working people are being overlooked."

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 4, 1971]  
TENANT SUPPORT URGED

Many landlords have tossed in their sleep, seeing imaginary newspaper headlines claiming "rent strike" and hearing shouts by angry tenants parading in front of their apartment houses.

Some property managers may shrug, thinking it can't be any different in a time when difficult problems always seem to lead to confrontation. But a top government housing official disagrees.

Tenants, according to Norman V. Watson, Housing and Urban Development's assistant secretary for housing management, are more than people to be milked for rent. They are potentially a landlord's best allies in successfully managing his property and, of course, turning a profit.

It is unfortunate, Watson said in a recent speech to the Better Housing League of Greater Cincinnati, that landlord-tenant relations and the entire area of property management have taken a back seat in recent years in the drive for more housing units.

Government subsidized housing programs have emphasized production, he added, and tax laws have provided lucrative shelters for housing investors with no provision for how well the property is managed.

That emphasis is changing, Watson said, and public housing owners and managers can benefit.

"There is a tendency on the part of still too many housing managers to react defensively to the idea of tenant organization and involvement in management matters," Watson said, "But in my opinion, tenants are the manager's greatest resource for achieving good management."

"When tenants feel they are being treated fairly and have a voice in management matters, all the evidence suggests that they will take greater pride in their project and better care of the property."

"Conversely, when the tenants feel alienated, the result is likely to be greater crime, vandalism, rent delinquencies and rent strikes."

Emphasizing the problem Watson noted there were 73 subsidized housing projects in default in mid-1970, involving 7,500 units. A year later, there were 189 projects in default, involving more than 20,000 dwelling units.

The government is reacting, Watson said. For example, his agency has just been created, an overdue recognition that quality, as well as quantity, is important in the nation's housing boom.

Watson's office has also published a guidebook for prospective housing project owners. It outlines, in nontechnical language, a multitude of management methods for the inexperienced property owner.

The property management problem will not evaporate, even as the need for more units decreases, Watson said.

And he warned: "... Congressional and public support for our subsidized housing program is not likely to last very much longer if we permit the housing we build to be mismanaged and if the programs become plagued by rising default and foreclosure rates, high vacancy rates, tenant delinquencies, crime and vandalism, rent strikes and tenant-management hostility."

[From the Washington Post, December 4, 1971]

#### RENT BOARD FACING MAJOR TASK

Apartment residents, owners and builders are watching the moves of the 14-member Rent Board named as part of the President's Phase II economic stabilization program.

Under provisions of the Phase II program, the Rent Board will advise the Price Commission on the day to day problems that must be faced in any type of control of apartment rents. To use the official terminology: "The Rent Board shall provide advice

concerning special considerations involved in the stabilization of rents. It shall also assist the Commission in the performance of its functions by making technical analyses of specific matters referred to it by the Commission."

Apartment owners and organizations representing tenants are looking to the Rent Board to provide specific guidelines on:

When and how rents may be raised.

What constitutes a hardship case in which income from rents fails to cover demonstrated costs.

How vacant units should be handled.

The "pass through" of controlled expenses such as property tax (not controlled by any Phase II regulation).

Automatic increases provided in leases.

Increases agreed upon before the freeze and Phase II.

Actually, the initial rulings on the Phase II program did include several pertaining to rents, but also resulted in a certain amount of confusion among property owners and managers.

First, the Price Commission said that rents would "generally" remain frozen until the Rent Board was formed. Then subsequent rulings indicated that (1) new apartments built after Aug. 15 would not be subject to control, and (2) rents on existing buildings could be raised, under certain circumstances.

Generally, the Commission said that rents could be raised after Nov. 14 to a level no higher than the owner-manager was charging for similar units during the base period (July 15 to Aug. 16).

But the actual regulations are subject to different interpretations. Nationally at least, there is some confusion as to which apartment units could be raised and by how much.

The Internal Revenue Service, which investigates complaints and monitors compliance under the stabilization program, said that landlords must keep records and make them available at the request of any tenant, prospective tenant or representative of the Price Commission and IRS.

These records, said IRS, must reflect: (1) the base-price for each rental unit, (2) the reason for any difference between the base price and the maximum rental the landlord was allowed to charge for the unit during the 90-day freeze.

The most recent announcement from the Price Commission was in the form of a warning, to the effect that rents should not be raised until guidelines are issued by the Rent Board, and that any rent increases not in accordance with these guidelines might have to be rolled back. Meanwhile, some area tenants had already been notified of increases effective Dec. 1 or Jan. 1, subject to adjustments.

The Rent Board was obviously mindful of its task. An organizational meeting was held the day after the Board members were announced. The Board has been holding both day and evening sessions to finalize the guidelines.

Industry reaction to nominess was generally favorable. The chairman was described as "industrious and conscientious," and one builder-developer of multi-family housing called the industry members of the Board "well qualified, with far more than a cursory knowledge of real estate and apartment development."

[From WCBS newsradio, Nov. 24, 1971]

#### EDITORIAL: FOREST HILLS HOUSING

Providing adequate housing in pleasant surroundings for all Americans must be viewed as a worthwhile national challenge, not a distasteful national burden.

We support the scatter-site housing concept, which moves low-income projects from the inner city into the more affluent suburbs.

The current controversy over the project

planned for Forest Hills tests public acceptance of that concept.

In Forest Hills wide acceptance is apparently lacking, and so is the realization that it is the responsibility of all communities to share in the challenge.

An alternative to scatter-site housing is to build more projects for the poor in the inner cities.

The other is to build low-income housing away from established neighborhoods.

But the isolation and concentration of the poor, the record shows, give birth to new ghettos.

More, the problems of new and bigger ghettos will eventually spill over into even the most secure suburban communities, like Forest Hills.

WCBS does have reservations about the details and the size of the Forest Hills project. But we have no reservations about the concept of scatter-site housing.

We see no other way to break the circle of poverty and despair which exists in the inner city ghettos.

With proper planning and safeguards, and with intense community involvement from the start, scatter-site housing can succeed.

In a later editorial, we'll discuss our reservations about the execution of that concept in Forest Hills.

[From WCBS newsradio, Nov. 26, 1971]

#### EDITORIAL: FOREST HILLS HOUSING—II

The low-income housing project being built in Forest Hills is too big and was poorly conceived from the start.

We said in an earlier editorial that WCBS supports the policy of moving low-income housing from the inner cities to the suburbs.

But the success of this good idea depends on how each project is approached, and the approach must be tailored to each community.

Forest Hills was selected because it is a stable, middle-income neighborhood with a vacant lot.

In 1966, one hundred thousand poor people were crying out for decent housing. The planners decided to cut into this number by building 840 apartments in three hi-rise buildings in Forest Hills.

This might look good on paper. But three towers that rise above the rest of the neighborhood won't look good in Forest Hills. And that's important.

The object is to integrate the poor into middle-class neighborhoods. But to start them off in structures obviously different from what their neighbors live in makes the poor and their life style seem even more out of place.

For success, the design of low-income housing must be compatible with the community, even if numbers and money are sacrificed.

WCBS feels that greater consideration should be given to this in Forest Hills, and in all similar projects.

We also feel that intense local involvement in planning is essential for acceptance of public housing. This acceptance will never come automatically. But if a community is given a real voice in the decision-making process, it will come more easily, even in Forest Hills.

The Forest Hills project has become a national issue. Its success or failure could influence the development of public housing across the country for years to come. For this reason, it must be done right.

We suggest the city stop and re-evaluate its plans for Forest Hills. This would cost some money, but a successful project here is important for the future of public housing nationwide.

[From Newsweek, Nov. 15, 1971]

#### THE BATTLE OF THE SUBURBS

She was a pretty woman, brunette, thirtyish and discernibly nervous at the prospect

of addressing even so small a crowd as the twenty-odd residents who assembled in the tiny American Legion clubhouse just outside the affluent Los Angeles suburb of Woodland Hills, Calif. The atmosphere was already emotionally charged and now, as the woman rose, the tension became almost palpable. But once she had risen, the words came easily—soft, steady and with no trace of a falter.

"As a housewife," said Mrs. Carleen Zawocki, "I do not fear low-income housing in our community. I'm not afraid of having black and poor people move in. I just don't see what's so frightening about this."

With that, the room seemed to explode with fury. Shouts and epithets rang out. Several persons had to be sternly reprimanded by the hearing officer after they had jumped up to hurl personal insults at the speaker. One woman shrilly accused Mrs. Zawocki of having brought her eight-month-old baby with her to the meeting solely to create sympathy for her stand.

This outburst set the tone. In tumultuous weeks that followed, few families in Woodland Hills were left unaffected. Cookouts and Kaffeeklatsches were transformed into acrid encounter sessions. Neighbor turned against neighbor. At one point, a young stockbroker offered a calm and candid summation of the position of those who, like himself, were fighting Mrs. Zawocki and her allies.

"Low-income housing," he said, "represents all of the problems I moved here to the San Fernando Valley to get away from. If we allowed it to be built, Woodland Hills could turn into a suburban slum. To be frank, I believe we should simply close the gates." And in the end, that is exactly what Woodland Hills did—but only by the narrowest of margins. The proposal to rezone the community to permit multiple-unit, low-income housing was defeated by the Los Angeles city council by a vote of 8 to 7. But to the proponents of open-door housing, this came as much less of a shock than the sheer emotionalism that the issue had precipitated in the first place.

"I just didn't expect people who are so much like myself to get so violent about this," Mrs. Zawocki recalls in troubled puzzlement. "But now I know that even these people can be terrible when they're afraid—and people here are afraid of any kind of poor people moving into the community."

#### THE PROTAGONISTS

None of the participants in Woodland Hills' drama stands alone. Each has his counterparts, thousands strong in hundreds of other town halls and zoning-commission chambers from one end of the nation to the other. Collectively, these ordinary U.S. citizens are the protagonists in what looms as the major domestic social and political battle of the decade ahead—a battle whose outcome will be of enormous importance in determining the structure of U.S. society for many years to come.

Urban experts call this confrontation "The Battle of the Suburbs," and already it has become the kind of close-to-home domestic war whose headlines regularly dwarf all others in local newspapers. No corner of the nation is unaffected by the strife. As of this week, bitter zoning battles are in progress in suburbs as different and as far apart as Madison Township, N.J.; Lima, Ohio; Troy, Mich.; New Canaan, Conn.; Lake Natomas Heights, Wash.; and Black Jack, Mo.

At Lake Natomas Heights, hundreds of residents recently charged out of their neat, split-level homes to stand and defy the bulldozers about to clear the ground for one low-income housing site. Two weeks ago, in Madison Township, N.J., a state court stunned local officials by striking down the community's entire local zoning ordinance on the ground that it excluded lower-income families. "It's a fantastic decision," exulted one open-hous-

ing libertarian. "This could be the opening wedge for real integration in the suburbs."

Still another historic legal precedent may come out of a similar struggle in Black Jack, Mo., to date the only suburb in the U.S. where Washington seems to be intervening forcefully in support of low-income housing. "The outcome of the Black Jack case," says one of the acting attorneys, "could prove to suburban housing what the landmark 1954 case of Brown vs. the Board of Education was to school integration." Others see the outcome of the battle of the suburbs as even more portentous. "What happens to the suburbs in the remainder of this century," says urban expert Donald Canty, editor of the influential magazine City, "will be the principal determinant of the quality of life in virtually all America."

#### THE COMPLEXITIES

Like most of the other great domestic issues that have come to the fore in recent years, the battle of the suburbs is both cause and symptom of the tremendous force for change that seems to be at work today at virtually every level of U.S. society—a force that is simultaneously social, political, moral (particularly with respect to racial issues) and above all, economic.

There is no lack of hard, statistical documentation for both the extent and the rate of change that is at work on U.S. suburbs. Now, for the first time in history, more Americans (a total of 76 million) live in the suburbs than in either the great urban enclaves (which are home to 59 million) or in the predominantly rural regions outside the metropolitan areas (total population: 71 million).

Nor is there any dispute among the experts as to the original cause of this phenomenon: it is the rapidly accelerating flight by the middle class from the decaying central cities, with their slums, their ghettos, their increasingly bereft and bewildered populations of the poor, the black and the elderly. But now this flight has been joined by a massive new exodus. For in city after city, hundreds of major corporations have picked up and moved their plants from urban to suburban addresses. This corporate migration has created a vast, new blue-collar job market in the suburbs—but one that is, for the moment, physically inaccessible to the urban blue-collar workers the corporations have left behind them. This is because the corporate émigrés have fled to communities where restrictive zoning laws ban the sort of federally subsidized housing that would permit the urban poor to settle near their old jobs. The New York City region provides a striking example. In the New York suburbs, it is estimated that 150,000 of the 750,000 new jobs created during the last decade were blue-collar jobs. But the number of blue-collar workers who found homes in the New York metropolitan area suburbs during the same period increased by only 50,000.

To the pessimists, who seem to outnumber the optimists by a substantial majority, one possible outcome of the cities vs. suburbs struggle has already been limned in lurid and frightening detail. Some, echoing the 1968 Kerner commission's report on civil disorders, see the fight developing for the most part along racial lines, with the central city of tomorrow looming as a kind of concentration camp for Negroes and other nonwhite minorities, while the white middle class guards the ramparts of suburbia, possibly with arms. "The great irony of current history," says New York University sociologist Richard Sennett, "may someday appear to be that this generation, seeking to avoid the disorder of city life, succeeded only in creating warring camps that had no way of communicating—other than through violence."

The pessimists may yet be proved right. Meanwhile such hope as can be said to exist

seems to lie in the prospect that the struggle over the suburbs may unfold in such a way that the combatants will finally realize that it need not be fought to the bitter end. But before anything like that can be brought about, a number of myths remain to be dispelled and a number of new realities faced up to and accepted.

First on the list of the new realities is the proposition that most of the nation's suburbs simply aren't the suburbs any more. The older suburbs have grown so fast and so dynamically in recent years that most of them have long since become cities themselves. These are the areas that urban planners call "spread cities" or the "slurbs," and while some have deteriorated badly others are holding their own; a few, like Philadelphia's Wynnefield section, have actually reversed the trend to decay and set about resolutely trying to establish a community where white and black, poor and moderately affluent can live together in relative amity (page 63).

#### THE OBJECTIVES

Partly for this reason, the older suburbs do not rank as a prime strategical objective in the battle of the suburbs. The real objective of the rather fluid coalition of white liberals, blacks and other social activists, moderate and radical alike, who are the vanguard in the fight for open housing, is farther away from the city. The goal is the suburbs whose defenders see them as a kind of second-defense perimeter around the cancer of the megalopolis. They are the more affluent suburbs of Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, St. Louis and other big cities—leafy enclaves with neatly manicured lawns and rigorously enforced zoning regulations that prohibit the construction of either small-plot (a quarter acre or less) single-family units or any multiple-unit housing at all. Federally subsidized low-income housing is generally taboo in these areas, and the emotional climate in many is such that newcomers who do not fit established economic and racial standards are about as welcome as Dutch elm disease.

This is the suburbia that civil-rights groups call "the white noose" around the cities and where they are channeling energies once reserved for sit-ins and busing battles. Two years ago, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People launched a massive legal attack against exclusionary housing practices in the more affluent suburbs. The NAACP's target is not the occasional real-estate agent who excludes would-be black home buyers but the entire arsenal of devices that prevent low-income housing from ever going up. "This is the new frontier in the civil-rights struggle," says NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins. A similar offensive has been mounted by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, which has instigated lawsuits against such lily-white enclaves as San Leandro, Calif.

#### THE PROPAGANDA

Like similar struggles, the battle of the suburbs has already produced its own particular version of the fog of war. One graphic demonstration of how subtly the propaganda machines are working still may be found on a campaign billboard in Jefferson Parish, La., currently the scene of a heated dispute over the construction of low- and middle-income housing. The billboard, erected by a slate of candidates, shows a typically American family in silhouette and reads: "Jefferson: It's the good life. Let's keep it that way."

At this level, there is no scant question that "keeping it that way" means maintaining suburbia's racial barriers. "The fear as always is that low-income housing means black people," says Celia Zager, chairman of the San Fernando Valley Fair Housing Council. Interestingly enough, however, the 1970 census figures on the over-all exodus from



the cities offers at least some signs that racial barriers are slowly being chipped away in some parts of suburbia. These figures show that while the white population of the suburbs registered an increase of 29 per cent during the preceding decade, the non-white population of the suburbs rose by 37 per cent. Extrapolating from these figures, the experts estimate that some 200,000 blacks are leaving the city ghettos each year—not, to be sure, to settle in Grosse Pointe, Beverly Hills or Old Greenwich, but at least to travel the first stage of the long, difficult trek from the ruined central cities to the green and leafy expanses beyond.

There are also some further, faint signs that the racial issue may not in the long run prove as decisive as it looms at present. A growing body of evidence suggests that what is really at the heart of the struggle is income and class rather than color—and the fact is that some vigorous opposition to federally subsidized low-income housing in suburbia now comes from the black middle class itself. A dramatic demonstration of this attitude recently occurred in the New York City suburb of North Hempstead. There black homeowners bitterly challenged a proposal to erect a group of prefabricated ranch houses that were to be rented to tenants of a largely black, public-housing project in the city. In the face of the black homeowners' organized resistance, town officials finally abandoned the plan. "People who rent houses don't keep them up," one of the Negroes who fought the proposal explained to housing expert Joseph Fried. Then his gaze locked on a painting of Martin Luther King on his living-room wall. "Maybe what I'm saying would be contrary to what Dr. King would say," he added. "But this is my opinion."

For the moment, suburban opponents of low-income housing command an imposing arsenal of stratagems to help them keep the lower classes out. Thus besides raising the prices of developing land, many suburbs impose so-called "Cadillac requirements." For example, building codes may call for relatively expensive housing materials, thus barring cheaper, factory-produced units; or they may require the construction of costly sidewalks, water lines and sewers before a house or apartment can be built. But the ultimate weapon of the exclusionists is what the open-door forces call "snob zoning." These are ordinances that permit only single-family homes to be built—and then only on relatively large 1- or 2-acre plots; low-cost, multi-unit buildings are thereby effectively precluded.

In defense of these practices, suburban leaders argue accurately enough that even a modest influx of low-income families usually places an intolerable burden on already strained services. Certainly, as Fried demonstrates in his definitive book, "Housing Crisis U.S.A.," there is no denying that even federally subsidized low-cost housing rarely "pays its way" in suburbia. First, it fails notably to enlarge the property tax base; then, since low-cost housing is usually inhabited by families with more children than the norm, it invariably requires higher public expenditures for schools—an item that already composes the largest chunk of most communities' budgets. Another argument that resounds forcefully at most rezoning hearings is that exclusive zoning helps preserve a suburb's "quality of life"—in other words, that higher population densities invariably produce higher rates of crime, welfare and pollution.

For their part, the open-housing activists readily acknowledge that more low-income families invariably require more public services. The solution they propose is the equalization of property taxes throughout a county or state, with dozens of communities sharing the same tax-revenue pool to pay for

their schools, police departments and recreational facilities. Thus a community with a tax base that could not support an influx of the poor would be sustained by neighboring communities with more solid tax bases and few low-income families.

#### THE LEGALITIES

Obviously, such a radical broadening of taxing jurisdiction would meet stiff opposition from most suburban legislators, particularly those who represent middle- and upper-class constituencies. Yet the possibility that just such a pooling system may one day become the rule was dramatically suggested by a recent decision by the California Supreme Court. The court ruled that the state's entire public-school-financing system, which is based largely on local property taxes, is unconstitutional because it favors rich towns at the expense of poor towns. Similar court decisions are pending in Michigan, Texas, Wisconsin and New Jersey—with profound implications for the drive to open suburbia to the poor. The issue will almost certainly wind up before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Another contention put forward by the zoning reformers is that the federally subsidized housing program—which currently accounts for more than a fourth of all housing units produced annually in the U.S.—is undergoing a radical transformation as it thrusts toward suburbia. The reformers say that the sterile, high-rise urban monsters that are the stereotype of such housing are being discarded now in favor of the low-density, "cluster" concept popularized by such new planned communities as Reston, Va., and Columbia, Md. These low-income dwellings would resemble garden apartments and be built on open land along with more expensive homes—perhaps town houses and split-levels ringing a common, village-style green. "If the open land in the suburbs is made available to low-income housing, there is absolutely no reason why it can't be built for human needs and to human scale," says Paul Davidoff, co-director of the Suburban Action Institute, a nonprofit organization that is emerging as the most activist open-door champion.

#### THE ACCOMMODATIONS

Another development that the activists see as working in their favor is that while many suburban governments seem more than willing to rezone to accommodate relocating urban corporations and thus acquire additional tax revenues, they are balking at rezoning to permit the construction of housing for the firms' working-class employees. One of the most bitter engagements over this zoning double standard is unfolding in suburban Mahwah, N.J. (population: 10,440). Mahwah officials readily welcomed the Ford Motor Co. when it decided to relocate an assembly plant from Camden, N.J. But it next became apparent that only one in five of the plant's 5,000 employees could afford to live in predominantly middle-class Mahwah. At this point, protesting civil-rights groups found themselves joined by a somewhat unlikely ally—Local 906 of the United Auto Workers. The UAW's regional nonprofit housing corporation had planned to construct a low-income housing complex near the plant, a move that would require considerable loosening of the residential laws. Mahwah residents quickly sent up a roar of indignation—and the case is now shaping up as a protracted battle before the New Jersey state courts.

This kind of legal stalemate has prompted housing libertarians to push for a tough, two-part strategy. They say corporations that flee to restrictively zoned suburban sites will first be accused of violating the equal-employment opportunities provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, since their minority employees are almost invariably trapped be-

hind in the cities. Next, the Department of Housing and Urban Development will be asked to withhold its community-development grants—which currently add up to \$1.7 billion yearly—from those suburbs that gladly accept lucrative new industry but usually reject the low-income workers who ordinarily come with the package.

Not surprisingly, the explicit threat of Federal involvement has produced counter stratagems in suburbia, and perhaps the most significant case in point is the tiny St. Louis bedroom suburb of Black Jack, Mo. (population: 3,224). Late in 1969, word got around Black Jack that the town was scheduled to be the site of a federally assisted, low-income, racially integrated housing project. Outraged residents quickly petitioned the St. Louis County Council for permission to incorporate Black Jack as a fourth-class city—thereby gaining zoning authority for themselves. After hundreds of tight-lipped Black Jack housewives picketed the county courthouse, carrying American flags and flanked by their children, the council granted the incorporation request. Thereupon Black Jack hastily formed a zoning board and promptly banned all multifamily housing—including the proposed project.

The Black Jack case quickly became the focal point of a bitter policy fight within President Nixon's Administration—and an unlikely test of Washington's determination to promote low-income housing in the exclusionary suburbs. After a series of argumentative private sessions between Attorney General John Mitchell, who favored a cautious approach, and HUD Secretary George Romney, who urged a bold one to open up the suburbs, the President announced that he would not compel suburbs to accept economic integration—but that he would demand strong legal measures against those that clearly practiced racial discrimination.

This seemed at first to confuse all sides. But then three days after Mr. Nixon's speech the Justice Department surprised even its most vigorous critics by slapping a Federal suit on Black Jack. The suit charged that Black Jack's zoning action against the proposed housing project deprived prospective residents of their right to fair housing under Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act. Though the outcome of the Black Jack case is far from certain, housing activists hope that it will prove a major benchmark in the fight to open up the suburbs.

#### THE WEAPONS

What remains to be seen, meanwhile, is just how far the Nixon Administration may be willing to go against communities that practice less blatant forms of exclusion. The evidence in hand to date suggests that here the White House is moving with great caution and definitely wants to avoid anything that smacks of force. Present plans are not to withhold Federal funds from restrictive communities, as HUD's Romney has urged, but to reward with priority consideration for Federal assistance those localities whose development proposals provide for low- and moderate-income housing. For his part, Romney has also promised that the availability of such housing will be a prime consideration in selecting new suburban sites for Federal agencies. "That's leverage," says Romney, "but it's not force."

But the fact remains that for all its cautious approach, the government has already scored at least one notable success. This, in anticipation of winning points under HUD's "reward" policy, the Dayton, Ohio, metropolitan region—which embraces five counties and 29 municipalities—has now endorsed a plan that would disperse federally subsidized housing on a quota basis throughout the entire area. At first, the plan drew angry fire from a number of the suburbs involved; some who favored it even received anonymous telephone threats. But

then The Dayton Daily News marshaled an intensive editorial campaign against what it termed hold-the-line thinking in our "white-on-white suburbs," and the plan was finally approved—though by no means solely because the residents underwent any kind of major philosophical conversion. "None of us wanted to have Washington cut off Dayton's allowance," admitted one housewife, summing up the prevailing view.

But with those communities that simply decide to do without Federal development grants in order to retain their exclusivity, the government for the moment has no quarrel. "Our approach is not going to steer national growth in a direction opposite to what would otherwise occur," says HUD Under Secretary Richard Van Dusen. What he and other officials see as the best long-term solution is gradually to create metropolitan-wide housing agencies, composed of representatives from all the communities, that would choose the sites for future subsidized, low-cost units by majority vote. The suburbs thus selected would then receive Federal grants to help pay for the extra services required by their new, low-income residents.

Obviously, such an approach would take much of the heat off Washington—and this may explain why the Administration is vigorously pushing a bill that would set up just such umbrella-like housing agencies throughout the nation. "It may look like we're passing the buck," admits one HUD hand, summing up what seems to be Washington's view of the battle of the suburbs, "but a system like this just might help get across the idea that the fate of the cities and the suburbs are basically intertwined."

[From Newsweek, Nov. 15, 1971]

#### A SUBURB THAT STRUCK A TRUCK

There was a time, back in a crueler day, when the Wynnefield section of Philadelphia was known derisively as "Kike's Peak." But for the thousands of Jews who migrated there from the city's ghettos in the 1920s and '30s, a Wynnefield address was a sure sign of having arrived. Located just inside city limits, yet cut off from other neighborhoods by the main-line railroad tracks and Fairmont Park, Wynnefield had all the feel of a suburban fastness only fifteen minutes from downtown. Its houses ranged from substantial pillared dwellings set back on manicured lawns to well-kept row houses along streets lined with maples and sycamores. Its public schools turned out more children who ended up with doctorates than any other area in the city. And Wynnefield's Har Zion synagogue, with a Conservative congregation of 1,700 families, soon became one of the largest and most powerful in all the Delaware Valley. "Wynnefield was brand-new, clean, green, spacious and had status," says lawyer Stanton Kratzok who has lived in Wynnefield for 50 years. "It was a gilded ghetto without walls. It had a heterogeneous pocketbook but a homogeneous attitude—everybody felt middle-class."

Then in 1963 or 1964—no one is quite sure when—a house for sale in the heart of Wynnefield eluded the protective custody of local real-estate agents and went out on an open listing to brokers all over the city. The man who finally bought it was a retired Army colonel turned school teacher from West Philadelphia. He also turned out to be black.

At first, the reaction among Wynnefield whites was one of confusion and a vague feeling of alarm. Then, like cider turning sour, the community began to decay. Real-estate blockbusters moved in and spread fear with postcards warning homeowners to sell while they still had time. Blacks were hustled into cheaper housing in lower Wynnefield and For Sale signs sprouted like dandelions in the plusher environs of

upper Wynnefield as well. Stores along 54th Street began boarding up their windows and moving out. Juvenile crime shot up.

#### SCHOOLS

And as a final blow, Wynnefield's most prized possession—its school system—deteriorated rapidly. Parents started fearing for their children's safety. "The whole character changed," complained one PTA activist who solved her family's problem by moving to another suburb. By 1970, the black incursion into Wynnefield had reached about 50 per cent, and many residents felt the complete turnover was only a matter of time.

But then, almost miraculously, or so it seemed, the tide began to turn. In the past year, even some of the For Sale signs have started coming down. Alarm was replaced first by caution, sometimes by optimism, and some whites are buying alongside blacks. And in the process of apparently holding the line, Wynnefield residents feel they have learned some bitter lessons that may serve other suburbs similarly besieged.

For one thing, the whites discovered soon after their initial fright that the real problem facing them was more one of class than of race. The first wave of newcomers, for instance, was largely made up of "Ebony readers," middle-class blacks as bourgeois in their attitudes toward education and appearances as the whites they replaced. "They considered Wynnefield as an escape from the jungles of West Philadelphia," says Kratzok, "just as the Jews found it a refuge in the 1920s." They were more than eager to join crusades and keep out bars, laundromats and the other potential hangouts for young people who might prove to be troublemakers. "You work all your life to come to a place like this," says George Howe, a 48-year-old black carpenter who works for the Philadelphia transit authority, "and you don't want the rough element around."

#### CAMPAIGN

Some Wynnefield residents respond to this realization with alacrity. A Wynnefield Residents Association was formed to bring lawsuits against blockbusters and campaign for integration. The Jewish Community Relations Council held block meetings to encourage whites to stay put. "They were told they shouldn't leave unless something drastic happened," says Rabbi Henry Cohen of the Beth David synagogue. "And that the only thing drastic that could happen would be if they left."

Next, some of the whites discovered that they couldn't afford to move even if they wanted to. "My home is worth \$25,000," says Martin Plitch, an executive for an electronics company and former president of WRA. "If you moved it four blocks over the city line, it would cost me \$50,000." So homeowners dug in for the duration. "Now I don't feel tension among my friends," says Rabbi Cohen, whose congregation has taken to sponsoring bicultural Sunday school for black and Jewish children. "We have to do the whole bit—floodlights on the house, locks, alarm systems. Our wives don't walk out at night more than a couple of houses away. OK, there are certain things we accept. Big deal. Within this, we feel secure. We're not sacrificing anything; we're comfortable."

#### STUDY

So far, perhaps, the biggest threat to Wynnefield's stability has come from within its white ranks—specifically at a time two years ago when officials of the Har Zion synagogue started making noises about moving the whole congregation out of the community. "The oligarchy of the synagogue was made up of very practical business people," says sociologist Samuel Klausner of the University of Pennsylvania. "As they saw it, Wynnefield was going to be all-black, and they should simply reinvest elsewhere." To cover its tracks, however, Har Zion hired Klausner to make a study of the community,

which the synagogue elders hoped would provide enough evidence of Jewish emigration to justify their evacuation. What they got, however, was hardly to their liking. Instead of offering up a rationale for flight, Klausner's study found that the Wynnefield area was not likely to become all-black in the foreseeable future. And even if more Jews did flee the community, Klausner concluded, they would all scatter to different suburbs, thus failing to provide Har Zion with a big enough congregation in any one town to justify a new temple.

After voting to reject Klausner's conclusions, Har Zion reluctantly decided to stay put—for the time being. Over at Beth David however, a firm decision was made seven years ago. Not only did the Reform synagogue decide to stay in Wynnefield, but since then it has added to the congregation many Jews who live across the city line in Lower Merion. "Once you get across the city line, it's very easy for the wall to go up," says Rabbi Cohen. "There's a psychological value in having suburbanites maintain contact with integration and all the problems of take-over. Today, it's Wynnefield. Tomorrow it could be anywhere."

[From the Christian Science Monitor,  
Nov. 11, 1971]

#### ZONING: AMERICA'S HIGH WALL—"RIGHTS" BATTLE SHAPES IN CITIES

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—The next big battle on the civil-rights front will be not bussing, but zoning. The problem deals with economic, not racial, segregation.

Politicians here watch preliminary engagements already under way in dozens of communities. Cases are coming to the Supreme Court.

Action of the House of Representatives last week forbidding the use of emergency desegregation funds for school bussing will, it is believed, if upheld in the Senate, increase the internal pressure in the big cities to break through the zoning barricade that walls them from the suburbs.

The issue was raised in the House debate on bussing.

#### INSTABILITY SEEN

Big-city pressure is growing and is compounded on these factors:

While the United States is the wealthiest nation on earth, 24 million Americans are below the poverty line, or about one in nine. About one out of 11 Americans is black. Mechanized agriculture in the last half century drove blacks into the big cities in one of the biggest migrations of the world, and there today the unemployment rate is about twice that of the 5.8 percent national average. It rises to 20 percent or more for teenage blacks.

The social instability of this division is typified by the separation of city ghettos from leafy suburbs. The agency for maintaining this explosive separation is zoning, some city planners now declare; ordinances that make it impossible for city dwellers of medium or low income to buy homes out in the country near the migrating city factories.

The deeply emotional issue of bussing would be mitigated if the city dwellers could move out into the country when, obviously, say advocates, it would not be necessary to bus a black child 15 miles from the heart of Detroit—if she lived out in the suburbs already.

The California Supreme Court ruled last August that state schools must be financed by some fairer method than varying property taxes, and the revolutionary case, *Serrano v. Priest* has sent shock waves over the country. Statistics noted that poor neighborhoods with low valuations had to pay more proportionately, for poorer schools, than rich suburbs did for better schools

where a relatively modest tax easily raised more money. Minnesota's high court now has followed California's.

Now comes another move to open the suburbs in Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff's bill, "government facilities location act," originally introduced last year and reintroduced this year. It would forbid a federal installation to move to a suburb which refused to provide land for houses for workers.

#### TESTS EXPECTED

Tests in federal courts are expected, too. The Civil Rights Guidelines Act of 1964 forbade discrimination; but is it discrimination where a factory moves from city slums into suburbs if the town continues to enforce zoning restrictions that make it impossible for workers to follow, save by daily bussing?

A recent vivid example involved the Ford Motor Company, which bought 200 acres in Mahwah, N.J., a town of 10,500, where it proposed to move its Newark facility, with 4,200 workers. But the workers found exclusionary zoning ordinances requiring them to buy lots of half an acre or more which only a few could afford. The case is now in the courts.

Two years ago Massachusetts required that three-tenths of 1 percent of a community's vacant land must be made available for medium- and low-cost housing in each of five years. Other states propose similar measures.

An organization, Suburban Action Institute, offers legislation to encourage federal regulatory agencies to act against corporations proposing to move into so-called exclusionary suburbs.

Last month a New Jersey state court threw out exclusionary zoning laws in Madison Township, N.J. A similar celebrated struggle is going on over the area known as Black Jack, Mo., where the federal government has intervened actively in a test case.

Presently America divides up like this:

	<i>Millions</i>
City enclaves.....	59
Suburbs .....	76
Rural .....	71

More people live in the suburbs than anywhere else, and the proportion is growing. Great social, moral, and historical forces make almost irresistible pressure for a breakdown of barriers between city and suburban areas. The bussing controversy seems to many to be only the first round.

Feature articles appear simultaneously this week in Newsweek, and Time, while the New York Times Sunday Magazine section carries another study on the issue. Writers note that federal subsidized housing currently accounts for more than 25 percent of all housing units produced annually in the country.

#### VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION MEDICAL RESEARCH IMPROVING NATION'S HEALTH CARE

### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues the recent tribute paid by the President of the United States to Dr. Edward D. Freis, senior medical investigator at the Washington, D.C., Veterans' Administration Hospital, and to VA's entire medical research program.

On November 30, the President wrote Dr. Freis:

My warmest congratulations to you on receiving the Albert Lasker Medical Research Award for clinical research. There can be no question that this is one of the most prestigious awards given in medical research, and it is a source of special pride to me that it was given to a member of the Federal Government's medical research team.

Your findings that the early treatment of hypertension can reduce deaths from stroke and congestive heart failure have given new hope to millions of people throughout the world. In addition, the research method you used—the Cooperative Study Group embracing seventeen hospitals—suggests that our Veterans' Administration hospitals offer great potential for reducing the time necessary to test new treatments.

These splendid achievements have earned you the gratitude of all our fellow citizens, and on their behalf I am pleased to extend to you my very best wishes for continued success in the future.

I know that Members of the Congress join with the President in his feeling of pride in this most significant accomplishment by a Federal employee. The honor is not only an accolade to Dr. Freis, but also to the accomplishments and potential of VA cooperative research.

In my capacity as chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, I have become increasingly aware of the extent to which many of our VA physicians and scientists are recognized leaders in their specialties, and the vital role played by VA medical research in guarding the health of veterans as well as the public in general.

Because of VA medical research, treatment of TB has improved to the point that veterans hospitalized for the disease decreased from 17,000 in 1954 to about 2,000 at the present time.

The first successful pacemaker implant operation was performed at the Buffalo, N.Y., VA hospital.

Pioneering work in lowering body temperature in connection with open heart surgery was done at the Coral Gables, Fla., VA hospital.

The Denver, Colo., VA hospital is the site of the world's most advanced liver transplant procedures.

VA research led to development of the gamma globulin "horse serum" to control the body's rejection reaction in organ transplants.

Some of the earliest work in laser surgery has been in progress since 1963 in VA hospitals at West Roxbury, Mass., Pittsburgh, Pa., and Washington, D.C.

The work of VA researchers continues to expand our medical frontiers. It is often easy to forget that this research will benefit not only the veterans under the care of the VA, but millions of other Americans who may, incidentally, be veterans or the dependents of veterans. From each advance in VA medicine, we all profit.

The list of accomplishments goes on, but to try to name all the highlights from the more than 6,000 research projects underway each year at VA hospitals would be to let history overshadow an ever-promising future.

The fruits of VA-supported research must be counted as an important asset in our national health care delivery system, an asset which must not be overlooked as we attempt to improve the

quality of the health care delivery system for our entire population.

As one of the largest unified medical systems in the world, the VA Department of Medicine and Surgery has an unparalleled potential for solving some of our most serious medical problems.

One of the most important, of course, is serving as a model for an effective health care delivery system. Equally important is its unique capacity for cooperative research. Its excellent staff of physicians and researchers have tremendous potential for studying specific medical problems that are beyond the capacity of any one investigator or one hospital. The VA is uniquely situated to undertake studies that require large-scale investigation with correlation and evaluation at a central point.

Dr. Freis, for example, initiated and quarterbacked a 5-year study of hypertension under controlled conditions in 17 VA hospitals. In this fashion very important research findings were compressed into a few years that otherwise could not be accomplished in a lifetime by individual investigators.

Dr. Freis' work disproved an old medical cliché that "a little high blood pressure will not do you any harm." The research demonstrated the lifesaving effectiveness of the use of drugs in treatment of moderate hypertension, and the consequent dramatic reduction of deaths from stroke and congestive heart failure. This study in 17 VA hospitals established that drug treatment for moderate hypertension reduced the death rate by more than 50 percent, and that drug treatment is 67 percent effective in preventing major complications arising from even moderately high blood pressure.

High blood pressure affects almost 23 million Americans. It is a leading cause of stroke, heart disease, and other conditions. Stroke alone kills over 200,000 Americans a year. The cardiovascular diseases are the No. 1 cause of death in our country.

Medical problems of major magnitude remain to be solved, and many of them are being studied by VA researchers—or are being considered for study—in individual laboratories or through cooperative studies.

The national problem of drug abuse is one example of a vulnerable target for this cooperative technique. Already 32 specialized treatment centers in VA hospitals are treating veterans who have fallen victim to the habit of excessive drug use. As the experience of these centers is analyzed and results compared, we may find that we have the ideal vehicle for solving the challenging, social, psychological, and pharmacological problems involved in this national tragedy.

Sickle cell anemia is being approached on the same scale, and the advances in cancer treatment and detection that have already distinguished VA research will certainly be expanded.

As evidence that the medical and scientific professionals of the world share my confidence in VA medicine, I want to point out that just during the past few years, at least 30 members of VA's De-

partment of Medicine and Surgery have received some of the most coveted awards for research. These include a \$10,000 award by the World Health Organization to Dr. Ludwik Gross of our Bronx, N.Y., VA Hospital, for his pioneering work showing that cancer could be caused by a virus; the \$10,000 Dickson prize from the University of Pittsburgh to Dr. Solomon A. Berson and Dr. Rosalyn S. Yalow, also of the Bronx VA Hospital, for new techniques in measuring hormones in the blood; the \$5,000 Eppinger prize to Dr. Thomas E. Starzl of our Denver VA Hospital for his outstanding work in kidney and liver transplants, and the Ayerst-Squibb Award of the U.S. Endocrine Society, and the Van Meter prize of the American Thyroid Association to Dr. Andrew P. Schally of our New Orleans VA Hospital for his brain hormone discoveries.

#### THE LAND OF MYSTIC WONDERS

### HON. MANUEL LUJAN, JR.

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, last night at a reception held by the New Mexico delegation for the New Mexico delegates to the White House Conference on the Aging, my good friend, Col. Cruz R. Alvarez, read for us his composition entitled "The Land of Mystic Wonders."

I want to share it with the Members of this body. It reads as follows:

#### THE LAND OF MYSTIC WONDERS

(By Cruz Richards Alvarez)

Out where the sun turns into golden dust as it kisses the mesas dotted with prickly pears, yuccas and ocotillo, and the emerald green of fertile valleys is glossed with a vivid hue; out where the chaparral, bizarre state bird, sportively devours poisonous snakes, and the mocking bird sings merrily in the coolness of the country foliage about the rosy beauty of the Supreme Maker's aurora; out where the air is pure, the atmosphere hospitable, and a brilliant radiance shines the blue face of heaven; out where the mysterious abodes of prehistoric cliff dwellers have withstood the destructive forces of nature for milleniums; out where snow-capped and craggy sierras hide in their bosom the riches sought in yesteryears by gallant conquistadores; out where noble Spanish cavaliers left their footprints of romance and drama, and the ancient mission bells chime the glories of Christianity brought by pious Franciscan friars; out where the atomic bomb, an awesome wonder of man's inventive genius, made its recent debut in a luminous thunder-cloud as ambassador of universal peace and benefactor of mankind or the forerunner of apocalyptic desolation; out where the stately statue of Christ the King, perched in grandeur on the lofty crest of Mt. Cristo Rey at El Paso de Norte, watches and blesses His flocks in the New World; out where the Guadalupe Mountains—named in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the spiritual queen of the Americas—has brought to light in the Carlsbad area the most gigantic caverns known to man; out where Mother Nature in fanciful mood created a fairyland sea of rolling snow-white gypsum—the Great White Sands—stretching for miles against the crimsoned purple of the San Andres Range; out where the primitive sons of Indian warriors live a peaceful but colorful life;

out where the homes of the brave are... who, by their heroism in the battles of the European and Mediterranean countries, the Pacific and Indian Ocean areas and the frozen Aleutians, displayed the valor, courage and sagacity of the American Eagle, the Spanish Lion and the Indian Thunderbird; out where the grandchildren of Shakespeare and Cervantes—proud each one of their ancestry, language, culture and history—smile and work hand in hand their destiny under the Stars and Stripes... that, my friends, is the New Mexico of today! An enchanted slice of the vast Spanish province it was in the 16th century embracing the entire Southwest!

#### SENATOR W. RUSSELL ARRINGTON HONORED AS LEGISLATIVE LEADER

### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, recently I learned of the intended retirement from the Illinois State Senate of my longtime friend and former colleague, Senator W. Russell Arrington of Evanston, Ill.

Senator Arrington has served as both majority and minority leader of the Illinois State Senate. In the light of his retirement, it is most appropriate to comment on Senator Arrington's outstanding political service.

Mr. Speaker, in communicating my farewell to Senator Arrington today, I wrote as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Washington, D.C., December 6, 1971.

HON. W. RUSSELL ARRINGTON,  
State Senator,  
Evanston, Ill.

DEAR RUSS: For an old fighter such as you, I know that you must have experienced quite a battle with yourself in reaching a decision to retire from the Illinois State Senate.

Having served with you in Springfield for some years, I can attest to the fact that there was never any doubt as to where you stood on an issue, and you were never without adequate talents to express yourself articulately and convincingly—as well as firmly.

The people of Illinois and your fellow members benefited from your service. I should add that it was always a lesson in political science to the uninformed to learn that a person of your brilliance and exceptional qualities should indeed be one of the nation's great state legislative leaders—and a political powerhouse in what is appropriately named "The Land of Lincoln."

I regard it as part of my own political astuteness that I recognized you as my leader during most of my days in the Illinois State Senate. In addition, it was my privilege and good fortune to enjoy your confidence and friendship.

In the closing period of your service to the state and to the nation, I salute you and I extend to you every good wish for the days ahead.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT McCLORY,  
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, recently the Chicago Sun Times had a brief and perceptive editorial summarizing Senator Arrington's service. I am also including this editorial as follows:

#### A LEADER IS LEAVING

Sen. W. Russell Arrington (R-Evanston) has announced his retirement from the Illinois Legislature after nearly 28 years of

service. His leadership and legislative knowledge will surely be missed, just as it was missed during the idleness forced upon him this year by the illness which now prompts his retirement.

Arrington has been described often as arrogant, for he is not a man given to demeaning his own stature. But the arrogance, and its coincident toughness, made him a leader in the Senate, and under him the Senate moved with an uncommon efficiency.

He'll be on the job as minority leader until his term expires, and he has said he will fight for an ethics bill until retirement becomes a fact. We urge him on in that battle, and add that however outrageous we have considered some of his past actions, however we have disagreed with him on occasion, we believe he has been one hell of a good legislator.

#### LINDSAY AND THE FOREST HILLS CRISIS

### HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, as so frequently happens, the problems that are beginning to plague all urban and suburban America have already created a crisis of major proportions in New York City. The dilemma of the residents of Forest Hills is not as far away as it may seem to some of us geographically. Therefore, I include in the RECORD Milton Viorst's column from the December 2 Evening Star, in the hope that his honest and responsible assessment of the situation will prove valuable to my colleagues:

#### LINDSAY AND THE FOREST HILLS CRISIS

(By Milton Viorst)

To some liberals, New York's Mayor John V. Lindsay appears the exquisitely principled leader, courting public criticism to insist on construction of an 840-unit low-cost housing development in the heart of middle-class Forest Hills.

Indeed, it takes a courageous, clear-headed progressive-minded man to recognize that if our cities are to survive, we must break up the ghettos and rehouse their inhabitants within the white fortresses that have previously excluded them.

But to others, the mayor looks like a pig-headed, arrogant dogmatist, indifferent to human sensibilities, a super-confident WASP unaware of the insecurities which eat at the hopes and aspirations of most of us.

Indeed, the Forest Hills crisis has laid bare raw contradictions in the doctrine of American liberalism—and may very well have cost John Lindsay whatever prospect he had for creating a coalition of urban and disadvantaged forces to back him in his campaign for the presidency.

The contradictions lie in our simultaneously held belief in an integrated society and in the integrity of neighborhoods, in the rights of the poor to share in America's munificence and the rights of those who have come up from poverty to enjoy the fruits of their success.

We see far more clearly now than we saw a decade ago how those beliefs may clash—and clash very violently.

A decade ago, it seemed as obvious—if you'll pardon that expression—as black and white. Integration was good; racism was bad. Principles required men of goodwill to promote the former, decry the latter.

To be sure, Southerners kept telling us that the issue wasn't that simple. We replied

that they were making excuses, looking for a dodge. For the most part, we were right. But when they said we'd see things differently when the integration campaign hit the North, they were right, too.

It seems that there are two ways to explain the change. The first is for us to beat our breasts and concede hypocrisy. The second is to spin fine theories about the difference in the situation here and now. I think there is truth—and exaggeration—in both explanations.

In retrospect, I suspect we realize now how easy it was for us to say to the South: "YOU integrate." We were sanctimonious. We did not choose to see our own segregation as racism. We rationalized it, as economic and temporary.

But I believe it also is true that we had not exalted it into a beautiful social doctrine. We did not equate it with godliness. We did not take it as part of our heritage, as unchallengeable as the Constitution. We did not—unlike the South—say "Never."

An argument can be made that this simply confirmed our hypocrisy—for Chicago is more segregated than Atlanta, and New York's black slums are worse than New Orleans'. Still, we never felt comfortable with our segregation and we kept telling ourselves, though quietly, that we'd do something about it.

Now the Forest Hills crisis comes along and puts it all on the line—or, at least, seems to. Forest Hills voted for Stevenson. It even voted for Lindsay. But its people don't want an 840-unit low-cost housing development there.

Sure, there's some racism involved—blind, irrational racism. But there's also the fear, which is not unreal, of those who fought their way up from the Bronx, who welcomed middle-class blacks who also made it, that if their community is destroyed, their dreams will be destroyed with it.

The local high school is already so overcrowded that it is on triple sessions. How many high school kids in 840 units? Figure a hundred or so? It's not so blindly irrational to ask where the mayor expects to put them.

In March, a Chicago judge ordered a low-cost housing development in a white neighborhood—but specified low-rise buildings of superior design, containing no more than six units. He said integration would fall in an inflamed atmosphere.

Lindsay's plan calls for three 24-story buildings, the tallest in Forest Hills. The concentration he proposes looks less like breaking up the ghetto than transferring it. Previous experience suggests that Forest Hills' loss might be no one's gain.

I can't say the Chicago formula would succeed—but I know the conflict is inflaming both blacks and whites. We cannot surrender on integration, only recognize it as harder than we once thought. A wise leader can't stand on virtue, but must seek out ways to make the goal less painful to achieve.

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 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?

#### U.S. YOUTH COUNCIL AND LATIN AMERICA

### HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, on this diverse but steadily shrinking planet, mankind is faced with the strange paradox that while each person wishes only peace and a better life for himself and his children, hostility and war continually frustrate these individual hopes. One of the keys to breaking this circle of hostility is greater understanding—the kind of understanding which can only come from personal contact and discussion. Only in this way can insight and mutual respect be substituted for preconceptions and bitterness. It is for this reason that I have long supported the concept of exchange programs particularly among young people.

One of the major groups working to encourage greater communication and understanding among young people of the world is the U.S. Youth Council which represents more than 20 national youth groups and is the U.S. affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth. This summer, a delegation of four distinguished young Americans visited Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Peru, and Costa Rica as a part of the Youth Council's worldwide program of exchanges with other national youth councils and the sending of delegates to international youth conferences and seminars. Reading the report of these four distinguished young Americans, John Casper Alessi, Clem Bezold, Jon Dennis Cozean and Diane Edwards LaVoy, strengthened my conviction of the great value of visits of this kind made. They not only broaden the horizons of those participating but also make a small but important contribution to the gradual increase of understanding between nations.

As chairman of the Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee, I believe that Members of Congress will find that the delegation's well written report is both interesting and informative and for that reason, I am including it in the RECORD:

U.S. YOUTH COUNCIL,

New York, N.Y., September 1971.

REPORT OF THE 1971 LATIN AMERICAN  
DELEGATION

The following report is the result of our visit to five Latin American countries, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Peru and Costa Rica, during the month of August, 1971. Our visits in each country were short, from two to eight days, yet we tried to consider numerous issues and meet with a diversity of people. Our success in this was both surprising and rewarding; we met with students and young people, with campesinos and with people in barrios, with U.S. and local businessmen, with priests and bishops, and with local officials and political leaders. We found the Latin people to be warm and friendly and, with few exceptions, very willing to speak with a delegation of U.S. young people.

The trip taught us that in most cases we have much more to learn about the Latin American reality before we can reach final conclusions on the matters we considered, so this report represents the ideas and situations we encountered, as perceived through our own divergent interests and biases, rather

than any type of conclusive statement. We offer it in the hope that it will be of interest and value to those who read it.

John Casper Alessi.  
Clement Bezold.  
Jon Dennis Cozean.  
Diane Edwards LaVoy.

FINAL REPORT OF USYC LATIN AMERICAN  
DELEGATION

I. YOUTH

A. Political activity

In Venezuela political activity centers around the two major parties, *Accion Democratica* and *COPEI*. Recruiting for these parties begins early; university and frequently high school elections are between slates of candidates running as members of supporters of *AD* or *COPEI*. The *AD* Youth section is characterized by a hierarchical structure with Cristobal Hernandez, the youngest deputy in the Congress, as the party youth Secretary. There is vertical discipline within the party whereby all sections take part in setting party policy and then all must support it. The absence of this democratic centralism is the main structural difference of the *COPEI* youth, who take stands on issues and candidates separately.

The political activity of young people in Chile is important and highly sophisticated. The ideological party system includes at least seven major youth sections or parties, five of which are members of President Allende's coalition. With the diversity of parties, political discussions become relatively program-oriented and specific rather than vague generalizations. Young people provide much of the vibrancy of these parties, i.e., hanging posters, painting messages on walls (frequently with great skill), and other campaign work.

The universities are the other main area of political activity for young people. (See also University Reform below.) In Chile, as in Venezuela, candidates for school offices frequently run as a member of one of the parties. Previously the president of the *FECH*, the student federation of the country's largest university, was a Christian Democrat. Now the president is a Communist and the activities of the federation are explicit in their reflection of Communist ideology; the federation is affiliated with the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, centered in Budapest. The students at the *FECH* office were reluctant to speak with us when they learned that USYC is the U.S. affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth.

In Costa Rica we encountered intelligent questioning young people. Several of them, of various political orientations, pointed out their country's political parties, which have competed in an orderly way for the last twenty years, hold little attraction for much of today's youth. One student predicted that the next election (early 1974) would be decisive as new leaders will replace the well-known figures who have led Costa Rica since the 1948 civil war. There are new parties, such as the Socialist Party and a type of Christian Democrat party which may attract the interest of the young voters. While the president of the student federation is a Communist, there appears to be among students in general opposition to any form of imperialism either from the Soviet Union or from the U.S.

B. University reform

University reform is a current issue in most of the cities the delegation visited. Both in Venezuela and in Colombia, students have opposed recently-passed university reform laws, which they see as major steps toward converting their universities into un-questioning producers of technicians. They attribute the process of transformation largely to the influence of U.S. foundations, which they say require that a university of a department receiving a grant undertake steps

to lessen the decision-making power of the students. A leader of the Liberal party youth in Colombia outlined the differences between existing "Latin" and the intended "Anglo-Saxon" models for a university. Under the Latin system, the student remains largely within one faculty, in which he can hope to have some influence. He enjoys a feeling of solidarity with the other students in that faculty and he participates in a relevant give-and-take, thereby defining his own views. There is a meaningful leadership structure with which university officials can deal.

In the American university, according to this Colombian student leader, a student is only one of several thousand, as he does not enter a department until his last year or two. When dissatisfaction erupts, it is anarchic, according to this student, as there is no meaningful way for students to effect decision-making. Colombia has been particularly troubled by student strikes, and more than a third of the country's thirty-eight universities were closed or only partially open at the time of the delegation's visit. Recently, independent and moderate students have organized to demand the opening of the schools. The government wants the students to pay more attention to learning and less to politics.

University reform in Peru, by which all universities were placed under the authority of a national control board, and perennial student political leaders were expelled, is considered harsh and a continuation of the policy eliminating the influence of partisan politics in the country.

#### C. Voluntary service

In Chile we met with the Chilean Association of Volunteers, which sponsors various projects on both local and national levels. They attempt to put the volunteer in touch with the poor and their problems so that he can develop his own human resources while helping others towards social and economic development. CENTROSEV, a permanent secretariat which gives information on voluntary service is also located in Santiago.

Much volunteer work, particularly at this time in Chile, is the result of partisan political activity. When asked about the relative effectiveness of this type of work the executive director of CENTROSEV commented that it is effective but more importantly it frequently makes other volunteer work better received.

The University of Chile approaches voluntary service in a very organized way through its Department of Social Action, which coordinates volunteers and interns from the various schools, i.e., social work, medicine, economics, engineering, etc. Surveys of the problems and resources of a neighborhood are first done by students of sociology or social work and then students are given specific tasks related to their various disciplines.

Among community development workers we encountered a basic change in thinking: in the past, the Promoter (the community organizer) was looked on as the agent of social change; now there is a realization that the true agent of change is the *campesino* himself. Also there has been a move on the part of certain social action groups away from volunteers altogether. *Accion*, the well-respected group founded by Joseph Blachford, now uses local professionals with only a few remaining exceptions.

The work of Paulo Freire, a noted Brazilian educator, in "conscientization", has had a significant influence on people working with the poor directly, as well as on certain religious and political leaders. His process of education which calls for the awakening of self-awareness, is described in his book entitled *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

#### D. The role of the U.S. volunteer

When asked about the opportunities for U.S. young people interested in voluntary service in Latin America most Latins re-

sponded negatively. Because of the questions of cultural imperialism, and lack of adequate skills and maturity which the Peace Corps experience has raised, (see section on Peace Corps below) the principal opportunities described to us were in the area of technical skills or work camp programs.

A specific example of this is the trend within *Accion*. A worker in this field, who has been with *Accion* for eight years, after his activity in organizing his own community, felt that the contribution of America volunteers has been invaluable but that their usefulness has ended. He pointed out that there is less of a paternalistic relationship between the *Accion* workers and the community, if the former are professional Venezuelan employees, rather than volunteers. He said that some of the American volunteers should never have come. In particular, he resented those whom he believed came for the trip and the language experience and then left early, and those who used their *Accion* experience to further their own careers in sociology, psychology, and so on.

Yet within the areas mentioned above—that of technical skills and summer work-camps—there are still some opportunities. Persons interested in more information should contact Clem Bezold, care of the U.S. Youth Council (also, information of this type is contained in the catalogue entitled "Invest Yourself", and published by the Commission on Voluntary Service and Action).

### II. ROLE OF U.S. INVESTMENT

#### A. Venezuela

Oil plays the predominant role in the Venezuelan economy; its production equals 36% of the GNP, 70% of the government revenue and 92% of the foreign exchange. The oil industry in turn is dominated by a few large American companies; i.e., Creole (Esso) is responsible for nearly 50% of the total production.

The oil companies operate under concessions given in 1943 and '44 for a period of forty years at which time all equipment and assets revert to the government. Several sources we interviewed indicated that the companies have earned more than their original investment and the government has increased the tax on company profits to 70%. The current dispute is over the new Reversions Law which stipulates that beginning in 1983 all equipment will revert to the government—not only the derricks and pumps on the concession site but also all assets in the country. Also the government is requiring the companies to deposit a certain amount as insurance that they will comply with the original law which called for reinvestment in order to assure modern, efficient equipment.

A representative of the Venezuelan government oil company showed us clippings from various U.S. papers, one in particular which some members of the delegation felt described the situation in terms which served only to misinform the American reader; the reversion law was depicted as banditry, with no mention of the original reversion law to which the companies had agreed. This official lamented the fact that he had no public relations department of the size or with the finances of those of North American companies.

#### B. Chile

A member of the youth section of the Radical Party complained that, even when the Chilean government held 51% of a plant or mine, it was vulnerable to blackmail by the American company holding the other 49%. This is so because the U.S. company could risk losing its share, since it is protected by its investment insurance of OPIC from the U.S. government, while the Chilean government has no such protection.

#### C. Peru

Investments have decreased since the military government began nationalizing the major industries. The representative of the

Council of the Americas, Humberto Cortina, commented that Peru's stringent new investment laws provide little incentive for foreign capital to come to Peru. Part of the problem, he feels, is caused by the fact that the Peruvian generals believe that by talking to foreign investors, they are automatically conceding something to them.

### III. U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY AND PROGRAMS

#### A. Low profile

In an attempt to gain some insight into what U.S. policy is from those implementing it in the various countries we spoke with officials in the U.S. embassies.

In Colombia, some spokesmen felt that the U.S. was now ignoring Latin America. Others argued, however, that during the 1960's the U.S. had promised more than it could deliver. They went on to say that the low profile recognizes that the U.S. cannot implement basic schemes of social change in Latin America. The new policy is said to allow the U.S. to exercise flexibility and coolness.

In Peru it seemed that U.S. policy extends beyond the low profile. The U.S. government is trying to show the Velasco government that the U.S. is not hostile. The Velasco government in turn is trying to develop good relations with the U.S., especially because of its problems with foreign investments.

In Chile the U.S. position seemed to be one of "coldness". While the U.S. is not openly hostile to the Allende government, the cold and correct, if not unfriendly feeling was a great contrast to that in Peru; while the U.S. was not out to destroy Allende, it wouldn't offer support. An example of this was the refusal by the Export-Import Bank to lend Chile money to purchase Boeing 707 jets. This was interpreted not only as an insult to the Allende government, but as an affront to the Chilean people.

#### B. Public safety program of AID

The delegation encountered much criticism, especially from students, of the U.S. police training programs. The most specific case came from a well-known young writer in Costa Rica. Arrested for unexplained reasons he was taken to police headquarters where he was physically beaten during interrogation. The Costa Rican officer performing the violent questioning had been to two AID training schools. The diplomas from these, as well as an American flag hung on the walls of the office where the beating took place. Both the President of the country and the head of the AID Public Safety Mission confirmed the basic facts. The latter also commented that this particular officer had, on at least one occasion, done the same thing to a young U.S. citizen, and that privately the officer expressed the feeling that it was his duty to make life difficult for the "Communists."

The young writer in this case is not a communist. It appears that this local police officer is harassing, illegally and brutally, people with whom he disagrees, while flaunting the fact that he has been trained for his work by the U.S. government. The need for a professional police force is the reason for the Public Safety Mission, yet because of the fractional nature of Latin American politics, it may at times be more a training for professional suppression.

Students also made the accusation that the use of torture has increased since the beginning of U.S. training. The AID official commented that the use of torture, particularly the electric cattle prod, has declined since he began his work in San Jose. Yet the main question here is not whether the U.S. is the direct cause of the use of brutal techniques, but rather how frequently Public Safety Program trainees use their experience to suppress legitimate opposition groups while carrying the label "Trained by the U.S. government".

#### C. Peace Corps

The Peace Corps was also the center of much criticism throughout Latin America.

This criticism seemed to be basically of three types: 1) Politically motivated in a cold-war sense, 2) nationalistically motivated and 3) professional criticism. The second type was the most wide-spread, focusing on the Volunteer as another form of cultural imperialism. Professional criticism came from local voluntary organizations, from UN officials and from some local government officials. The basic criticisms are that the PCV is frequently immature and unprepared, and their motives involve more personal benefit than altruism. In the rural areas, the salary of a U.S. volunteer (\$125/month) makes the PCV relatively rich. Health and language problems hinder much of their work for the first year.

Yet most of the officials did see a role for volunteers with technical skills. Praise for the Peace Corps came from Jose Figueres, the President of Costa Rica, and others in that country. President Figueres recently asked that the Volunteers thrown out of Bolivia be sent to his country for the remainder of their service time.

#### D. The CIA

In every country we heard allegations about the CIA; that they use Peace Corps volunteers as information gatherers; that they helped prepare a military coup in Chile right before the elections in which Allende won; that they are working together with the large landholders in order to sabotage the land reform process in Chile and that they are assisting the right-wing armed group in Costa Rica. Whatever the actual activities of the CIA are, these criticisms were widely held especially among students.

#### IV. NATIONAL SITUATION AND ATTITUDES

##### A. Attitude toward national governments

Chile—we found a noticeable optimism—although sometimes guarded—on the part of the people of various different occupations and orientations. During our stay there was considerable apprehension about reported food shortages, although government supporters insisted that there was no serious problem of shortages. The various parties which comprise the governing Unidad Popular retain their ideological identities, and there is much lively political dialogue among these and other groups.

While we were in Santiago the MIR, the most radical party in the country, received much attention and support from young people following the death of one of its leaders.

Peru—We noticed little, if any, real enthusiasm for the military government although equally little concerted opposition to it. The APRA party was described by several people as the only other organized force besides the army. Its leaders urged a return to democratic processes in elections and on campuses. The military government has taken strong steps to eliminate party politics from university campuses, to lessen the power of the landowners, and to create the image and flair of an indigenous revolution. Although the government is attempting to stimulate grassroots self-help committees through the Pueblos Jovenes program, a worker in the leadership training field indicated that the local "leaders" developed under this program tend to be opportunistic and the net effect is to undermine more genuine local leadership. This view was more forcefully expressed by the indigenous leaders of an established city-wide league of *barriada* residents in Arequipa, whose very existence was threatened by the Pueblos Jovenes program imposed on their neighborhoods by the current military "dictatorship." Also, there was a disappointment in Arequipa among some residents that graft and corruption among local officials is just as bad under the present military government as it was under the previous civilian administration.

Costa Rica—We found an appreciation for the U.S. among many older Costa Ricans; from students we sensed a strong resentment of the U.S., especially its companies, (Alcoa and United Fruit), and a resentment of their government for dealing with them. The political opposition to President Figueres' government charged unprecedented levels of graft. The President responded to our questions about this by saying that corruption did exist and that he was investigating the charges, and that the majority of them, up to that point, had been proven false.

Venezuela—Hostility seemed more obvious in Caracas than in other cities, i.e., the presence of heavily armed policemen outside the U.S. Embassy and company offices, and some national government offices. Certain officials familiar with rural Venezuela, and some leftist students believed that there have been more political deaths during the past ten years of democracy than there had been under the last ten years of the Perez Jimenez dictatorship. They expressed concern about the possible extent of the killings, by the army, of peasants alleged to have helped guerrillas. The two employees felt that any such executions would not have been authorized at a high level within the government, while the students accused the government of systematic repression.

##### B. Freedom of the press

In Latin America, the concept "freedom of the press" has often been regarded as a privilege, not a right. Today, even that privilege has come into question by a number of governments—both liberal and conservative—which feel that their policies are above criticism.

Because of its importance, the delegation sought to study the issue of press freedom in the countries visited. In most cases, it was found that the large, influential newspapers were conservative in politics—reflecting the views of the establishment families which own them. In Chile and Peru, the major newspapers are under pressure to follow the "official" line. In Colombia and Venezuela, the leading newspapers tended to automatically follow the official line, apparently without much government prodding. In Costa Rica, a free press was most evident, as the leading newspaper has maintained its traditional conservative opposition to the present liberal government.

Of those countries visited, Chile was the most fascinating from the point of view of the press. No fewer than nine daily newspapers are published in Santiago. With one exception, virtually all are devoid of advertising, and presumably most obtain operating funds from outside sources, such as political parties. The largest, oldest, and most important newspaper in the city is *El Mercurio*, rated by some as one of the leading newspapers in Latin America. Circulated nationally, *El Mercurio* carries about 75% of all newspaper advertising in the city. An important part of the paper is its large classified advertising section (particularly the "help wanted" column). Politically, *El Mercurio* is independent-conservative. Though it belongs to the opposition press, it avoids any direct criticism of President Allende. Instead, the newspaper is critical of policies and various members of the coalition which comprise the Popular Front. Less restrained in its criticism of the government is *La Segunda*, a snappy right-wing tabloid that is perhaps the best designed and edited newspaper in the country. Also in the opposition column is *La Prensa*, which was established by the Christian Democratic party after it lost the presidential election last year. This paper provides the most comprehensive coverage of international news.

Pro-government newspapers include *El Siglo*, the Communist Party voice. Founded in 1940, the newspaper is widely regarded

as the official government paper. Like many Communist Party publications, *El Siglo* devotes most space to dull party affairs and attacks against the United States. Another Communist publication is *Puro Chile*, whose style and tone could be described as a left-wing *New York Daily News*, with sensational headlines and analysis of news along predictable lines.

A major source of income for the Chilean press are government-paid ads, which, of course, are placed only in sympathetic publications. Aside from its selective advertising policies, the government has not yet moved forcefully against the opposition press. However, it is possible that the government will take over the newsprint industry (currently owned by the conservative Alessandri family) and exert control over the press in that way. Meanwhile, the economic uncertainties in Chile have caused a dramatic drop in advertising, both in newspapers and with the broadcast media. (*El Mercurio* revenues are said to be down 40%. Radio advertising has dropped even more drastically, but no stations appear in immediate danger at this point. In the field of radio and television, the government exerts more direct control—as it always has in the United States through the FCC.

In Peru, the government has made a great effort to "peruvianize" the media, especially radio and television. The military government currently enforces a "Law of the Free Press", which provides for a kind of self-censorship. As a net result, the newspapers refrain from openly criticizing the regime. In return, the government does not interfere with newsprint supplies and does not force large wage increases on the newspapers—two favorite tools that Latin American regimes have traditionally used to keep newspapers in line.

Peru's broadcast media is now in a state of transition—and confusion. In order to "peruvianize" the air waves, the government plans to require that a major portion of all such programs be devoted to Peruvian music and drama. Broadcasters believe that such a law will increase costs and reduce quality.

##### C. Urban poverty

Although the delegation was once told "when you've seen one *barriada* you've seen them all", we found considerable differences between the "barrios", "barriadas", "poblaciones nuevas" or "urbanizaciones" which surround the cities we visited.

Caracas—about 700,000 of the two million residents of Caracas live in barrios on the mountains that ring the city. The barrio of Caripitas, which we visited with an *Accion* worker, has a population of more than 35,000. Located near an industrial area, the level of unemployment is lower than that of many other barrios. While many of the older dwellings are made of cement and brick, newer shacks high on the hillside have been built temporarily of bits of packing materials and metal sheeting.

Existing schools serve only a few hundred children. Efforts are being made to build more and it seems the government is working as fast as it can be expected, given the rapid and unplanned population growth. While, with the help of *Accion*, the community has made important improvements, the barrio receives virtually no municipal services from the government. Malnutrition and health problems were visible in terms of the distended bellies of many children, the decayed teeth of some, and the presence of much garbage and filth. Prostitution is a serious problem in Caripitas, it is often attributable to the lack of adequate employment opportunities for women. Little birth control is practiced; the government and private agencies alike tread lightly in this area.

Arequipa (Peru) and Lima—There are eighty-some *barriadas* outside of Lima, and sixty-some surrounding Arequipa, making up

the greater portion of Arequipa's population. Many of the people living in these *barriadas* are Indians.

One of the delegation visited the Arequipa *barriada* of Alta Libertad with two local volunteers. A fast growing area, it now includes over a thousand families living on a series of high barren slopes. In contrast to Venezuela, the little white volcanic rock ("sillar") houses are spaced far apart, often in orderly rows. In many of the Arequipa *barriadas*, the municipal government has parceled off this land providing legal title and encouraging the eventual development of well-planned little towns. Protection from the cold is necessary here. The people are more rural than their Caracas counterparts: they eat a simpler—possibly a poorer—diet, and they are less acquainted with television sets and other conveniences. Many still wear the traditional clothes of the Peruvian Indian. The people regard their rustic houses and their dry but spacious parcels of land as long-term investments. Their one-room *sillar* houses are often roofless and mortarless, but many have been plastered and finished very handsomely. One old woman told us, "I'll probably never be able to do all these things myself, but my children certainly will during their life-times."

The two *barriadas* south of Lima which we visited consisted in part of little brick houses in various stages of construction, and in part of crowded thatched huts. Most of the people we saw were dressed more modernly than in Arequipa, although there seemed to be far fewer televisions, motorbikes and other conveniences than in a Caracas *barrio*.

*San Jose, Costa Rica*—San Jose's four or five shanty towns are not very noticeable to a casual visitor and it is often said that "Costa Rica has no very rich and no very poor". However, the very poor, and some of whom live in a small "bowery" downtown while other live on crowded hillside and along narrow lanes, make up a significant proportion of San Jose's 300,000 population. We walked along one crowded lane, called "Aquantaflo" (Hungerpains), and visited at length with a family in another such area. Unemployment, lack of water and inadequate medical care were among their most serious problems. In a collection of short stories called *Los Marginados*, the prize-winning young novelist, Julieta Pinto, very perceptively describes the life of Costa Rica's poor.

#### D. Birth control

Some students and people connected with the Catholic Church were critical of family planning programs, not from a substantive point of view but on the grounds that the motives for which it is being pushed by U.S. foundations and the ruling classes in Latin America are political and economic rather than humanitarian. These arguments, also in the book *El Complejo de Layo* by Hernan Vergara, at times betray a strong inclination towards illustrating the "complicity of the ruling classes with imperialist American objectives". However, the Colombian Youth Council has run a successful series of seminars on family planning and may extend this program in the future in conjunction with the World Assembly of Youth's Family Planning Program.

#### E. Agrarian reform

The delegation found a great contrast between the Venezuelan and the Chilean land reform programs due largely to two factors: In Chile (and similarly in Peru), agricultural reform is designed to have an important political and ideological role in the current "revolution", while in Venezuela the political value of the reform seems to lie in its ability to incorporate the farmer into the non-revolutionary mainstream. The second factor is budgetary; Venezuela's oil income permits it to provide more material

assistance to its rural population than could be done in Chile (the contrast is even greater in Peru).

A FAO official familiar with both the Chilean and Venezuelan reforms termed the latter "reform in a hammock", indicating that everything was given the Venezuelan farmer. Our observations of a Venezuelan agricultural area, while not upholding his view entirely, did indicate that the Venezuelan farmer probably receives more assistance of every sort than his Chilean or Peruvian counterpart. Also the large companies still provide much of the heavy machinery and market the crops, so that the campesinos have the risk and responsibility of the crops' success, since it belongs to them, yet do not own or control the other factors necessary to increase their profits significantly.

In Chile, the agrarian reform has increased both in speed and extent under the new government, growing from, in the terms of the same FAO official, "reform in a flower-pot"—that is, the redistribution of the land in single plantations, leaving most of the surrounding area to remain in large estates—to the organizing of "Agrarian centers" occupying tracts of land previously made up of a number of estates. Almost as much land has been redistributed during the ten months of the Allende government as during the six years of the Frei government. The goal of the reform has also shifted; under Frei the reform was intended to integrate the peasant into the national capitalistic economy and the democratic system and to increase productivity; now the reform is seen as an important means of developing consciousness of social values and of lessening the influence of private property values.

#### F. The environment

In Costa Rica we met with the Congressman sponsoring legislation to create their version of the Environmental Protection Agency. Noting that signs of air and water pollution are evident the bill states that it is necessary to take steps to control pollution before economic interests and growth becomes as to impede this protection, as is happening in other countries now. It establishes a Council on Environmental Standards to set the minimum norms of quality for water and air and other classifications necessary in a conservation program, and an agency, *Conservacion Ambiental*, to enforce these norms.

### FLOOR STATEMENT ON URBAN HOUSING

#### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of urban blight has, in the past 10 years, approached catastrophic proportions. Overcrowded and inadequate housing, poor medical facilities, polluted air and water, overtaxed mass transit facilities—these and other evidences of decay in our cities must be recognized as the threat they offer to American society as we know it, and counteracted with rational city planning.

I submit for the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, a lecture delivered by Samuel J. Lefrak to members of the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration.

In this address Mr. Lefrak describes the conception and construction of Lefrak City, a series of five interlocking

circles of apartment buildings located in New York City. This project has been an immense success in the search for safe, comfortable living.

Lefrak City is an innovative experiment in middle-income urban housing—an experiment which the cities of this Nation would do well to examine and possibly to duplicate.

The address follows:

HARVARD UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, BOSTON, MASS., APRIL 14, 1971

Professor David, Members of the Faculty, Ladies and Gentlemen: I'm here today because I want to excite you about the field of real estate development.

It's a fascinating business. And, it's basic business. Everything begins with real estate and ends with real estate. Real estate encompasses the hospital, your home, your office, the dormitory, the factory—and even the cemetery.

The financial rewards can be immense. And, the opportunities for social service, for benefiting your fellow man are also immense.

Today, the great challenges are in housing—urban housing. Our cities are falling apart. More urban housing units are being destroyed by abandonment and deterioration than are being built. Each year we are falling further behind. Our cities were built by free enterprise. They will be rebuilt by free enterprise.

I'm proud to be a bulder and real estate man working within the free enterprise system.

I'm going to discuss a single case history with you: The conception, planning and creation of Lefrak City.

Lefrak City is remarkable in many ways.

First, the facts. It consists of 20 eighteen story apartment houses where 25,000 people live. On the 40-acre site are two office buildings, a post office, library, four schools, a 3,000 car underground garage plus 1,000 car garage above grade, a shopping plaza, a 1,200 seat motion picture theatre, swimming pools, tennis courts, squash courts, a health club and much more. I built it all—the city did nothing.

It is located just off the Long Island Expressway in the Borough of Queens.

I used the word "remarkable" in mentioning Lefrak City.

Why?

In terms of profit on invested capital, Lefrak City is a prime example of the use of leverage. The property returns a bottom line profit of \$6,000,000 and has a value of \$150,000,000. And those values, gentlemen, are not Wall Street paper values—they are land-values, one-way values: Up! And up and up and up each year.

In terms of meeting social needs, Lefrak City is a great success. It provided housing at an average of \$41 to \$45 a room. It offers employment right on the site. In addition, part-time workers and moonlighters, can supplement their regular income and when their work is finished walk back to their apartment in a few minutes. It places scores of facilities within walking range. Lefrak City has kept middle income families of all ethnic backgrounds within New York City. Without Lefrak City they would have moved to the suburbs. Lefrak City pays New York City the sum of \$5,000,000 in real estate taxes annually. Before Lefrak City the piece of land on which it stands provided only about \$16,000 each year in taxes.

Lefrak City is remarkable because it recycles a city and it looks into the future. It is a satellite city. A city within a city. We need scores of new satellite cities within our major urban areas if our cities are to survive. When you build a satellite city like Lefrak City you are building on a foundation of city services and installations that already exist.



It is wise to remember that Queens had a subway and highways, built and paid for, before Lefrak City existed. What Lefrak City has accomplished is using that which existed in a revolutionary way which has created massive and needed improvement. Ecologists call this re-cycling. We did it before they labeled it.

Like all real estate stories, Lefrak City began with a piece of land.

Throughout the 1950's I had been very active in the Queens apartment building boom. In fact, from the years 1945 through 1960, my company built approximately 20% of the housing in that borough.

Before building Lefrak City we had completed Forest Hills Park on a 20-acre site that once was President Martin Van Buren's farm. This development housed 11,000 people in 21 buildings and before Lefrak City, was the largest privately financed housing development in the United States.

Forest Hills Park was only one-quarter of a mile from the site of Lefrak City. Separating it was the Chinese Wall known as the Long Island Expressway, once described as the world's largest parking lot.

The Lefrak City site looked very unpromising when I first started to think seriously about it in 1956. There was a creek running beneath it which created swampy conditions that would need considerable piling and land preparation to make construction feasible. The site was filled with abandoned cars, junk and debris.

This wasn't surprising.

For years the property had been known as "Mary's Dump". Its greatest moment of glory was when it contained Quonset huts which housed returning veterans of World War Two.

For such a seedy looking piece of land its ownership was distinguished and interesting.

Originally it had been owned by Joseph Kennedy, President Kennedy's father. He sold it to Frank Erickson, the bookmaker. Mr. Erickson was New York's most successful bookmaker until he gained television prominence before the Kefauver committee. For him, television didn't create a new career. It ended an old one. He lost the property for non-payment of taxes.

After Erickson the property was picked up for back taxes by the English branch of the Astor family, Lord William Waldorf Astor. The English have always been smart about strategic land around the world, from Singapore to Gibraltar—to Mary's Dump.

This posed a special problem for me.

The Astors owned land. They didn't sell land. Sometimes they would lease. But, sell? Never! In fact, they hadn't sold any land in 400 years. And, that sale was probably an accident.

I wanted this piece of land. I felt I could lick the construction problems it posed. I felt I could make a Phoenix rise from the ashes. I wasn't sure of what I would build there but I was sure I wanted that land.

How could I make the Astors sell? After all, in their eyes this was a sin comparable to dipping into principal.

When the Astors acquired the land their thought was to develop a regional shopping center. However, after they analyzed it, they found the project to be economically unfeasible.

This was a problem. How could the land be used economically and intensively? How could extensive street building be eliminated?

In 1960 while viewing the Olympic Games I saw the Olympic symbol and it triggered something in my subconscious. I couldn't get it out of my mind. I made the right sketches that provided the basis for a city within a city.

What I visualized was a series of five interlocking circles, of tall buildings constructed around bilevel atrium core areas. These cores would be filled in with amenities—swimming pools, playgrounds, tennis courts, gardens

and walkways. This planning system would give each tenant unobstructed access to light and air. It would enable each tenant to walk to shops, medical services, recreation—everything. The automobile would at last be placed in its proper niche—beneath the ground.

Armed with sketches, I began my pursuit of the Astors in earnest. They did not commit the heresy of selling immediately. The negotiations took almost three years.

Finally, they recognized that my plans made economic sense. My plans made intensive development possible and intensive development made the entire project economically feasible.

Let me stress again the importance of land planning. If planned in the usual grid pattern, almost one third of the entire site would have been lost to public streets. Since I bought the land at \$5 a foot and it is now valued at \$200 a foot, it would have represented a colossal loss of value and floor area ratio density. In addition, building on a traditional grid plan would have destroyed the entire concept of a city-within-a-city.

The innovative plan of Lefrak City paid off in profit to me and in social benefit to those who live there.

We bought the swampy dump for \$6,515,000.

The terms were: A down payment of \$500,000 and a ten-year mortgage for the remainder. Mortgage interest was 1% for the first year and 3% for the remaining nine years.

At last I owned the land and I had to move and move very fast for the City of New York had passed a new zoning law restricting density to such a point that it made residential construction economically unfeasible.

My belief is that the secret of success in real estate development is speed, timing and money management. Speed is your friend. Delay is your enemy.

Let us now deal with the money side of Lefrak City. So far I had committed \$500,000 to buy the land. We divided the land into six sections and had a bank set the value for the first section. With the assistance of the financial community we made the down payment without using any of our own funds. By the proper use of leverage and money management we pyramided our loans and cash flow as we repeated section after section and, as the project grew, we obtained more mortgage money on an ever increasing land value multiple.

Our satellite city was built with the aid of the largest financial institutions in America, namely; Chase Manhattan Bank as trustee for the Ford Motor Company Pension Plan, John Hancock Insurance, New York State Employees Retirement Fund, Prudential Insurance, Equitable Life Assurance, First National City Bank and Metropolitan Life.

We mixed banks, and insurance companies and pension funds in a synchronized cycle of construction loans and permanent mortgage loans and ultimate rentals to the point where an unused waste land became a satellite city valued at \$150,000,000.

Now you know why I believe Lefrak City is a dramatic example of leverage and money management.

But, none of this would have meaning if Lefrak City couldn't attract tenants. Let me give you another real estate adage: There's nothing as expensive as an empty apartment. An empty apartment is like alimony. You pay and you pay and you pay but you get nothing to enjoy.

How could we attract tenants, not just a few tenants, but 5,000 families? After all, we were not alone in the apartment market. Buildings were rushed into construction to get under the zoning wire. New York City was glutted with apartments.

But, despite the ferocious competition we were successful.

We were successful because we followed the rule that has guided The Lefrak Organization for over 66 years: Give people what they want at a price they can afford to pay.

We knew what prospective tenants wanted: Spacious apartments; easy shopping; ample recreational facilities.

We called it "Total Living".

And "Total Living" captured the imagination of thousands of people.

New Yorkers had become tired of battling the traffic in order to spend a summer weekend at the beach. So, we gave them giant outdoor and indoor swimming pools on the site. Plus a health club. Plus wading pools and sun decks. Plus gardens and restaurants and a movie theatre, tennis courts, etc. Our apartments are fully air conditioned. In addition, we installed push button electronic kitchens and anticipated the future in communications by building in coaxial cables for CATV.

We made it fun and fashion to spend your vacation at home. Lefrak City is not a place to run away from.

We knew what people wanted but how to give it to them at a price they could afford? Our target price was \$40 per room per month. This was what the middle income family man could spend for rent. Today, of course, you couldn't build apartments at such rental prices.

But, then our aim was \$40 a room.

We did everything to create economies without sacrificing quality. Mass purchasing of materials. Efficient programming of construction.

But, most important, we recognized that attracting the residential tenants would make the retail and office sections of Lefrak City exceptionally valuable. Thus, the residential portion of Lefrak City would be the portion where we would give the greatest value and make the least amount of return. Our substantial return would come from retail and office space.

This has worked out according to plan.

Our two office buildings—containing over 1,000,000 square feet of space—are fully leased to prime tenants. The retail space is fully leased and the merchants are doing business that exceeds their expectations.

And the residential tenants are getting what they want at a price they can afford to pay.

Lefrak City is a success—a big success.

I have used all of my skills in making it a success.

And, at the risk of seeming immodest, I must point out that you have to master a number of skills before you can become a master builder. It isn't easy and it really isn't magic. I am an engineer and an architect. I have studied law and banking. In addition, I have more than a fair knowledge of such crafts and disciplines as sales management, advertising, public relations and merchandising.

I had to use all of my skills at Lefrak City. For example, Lefrak City faces the Long Island Expressway which is always in a bumper to bumper traffic jam—so we created a sign showing a father holding his small, young daughter by the hand and she looking up, very sadly, at him saying, "Daddy, if we lived here—you would be home now" . . .

But, though Lefrak City is a major success, it is also a major responsibility.

Lefrak City is a totally private community. It was built with not one cent of public money. I did not ask for and did not receive any tax abatement or tax consideration. On the contrary, Lefrak City has a very high tax assessment.

Lefrak City has its own water system, its own electric generator, its own fire department, its own police department and its own sanitation department. It is a private community without any public Streets. There-

fore, the owner has the prime responsibility for health, safety and welfare.

I can report to you that we are doing a good and responsible job. In fact, we have had no muggings—no murders—no riots.

We have proven that it can be done. We can build for the average American. We can save our cities. And, we can do it the free enterprise way.

Lefrak City has been studied by planners around the world. They have found that Lefrak City works. It has been emulated in Rome, in London, and in Tokyo.

#### WEST VIRGINIA PAPERS OPPOSE CAMPAIGN CHECKOFF

### HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 6, 1971

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the concern of citizens across the Nation about the provision recently adopted by "the other body" which would authorize the financing of presidential elections out of Federal income tax revenues, is beginning to be heard.

An editorial in the Buckhannon, (W. Va.) Republican-Delta expresses the doubts, the strong disapproval, even the disdain, many Americans feel about this matter.

In the form of an open letter from Editor Herb Welch, the editorial poses a number of pointed and penetrating questions which deserves far more consideration than they have yet received.

Welch is not without credentials in national political matters. A former administrative assistant to then Congressman, the late Edward G. Rohrbough, Welch not only participated in several congressional campaigns, but he also served an important role in the presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1956 in behalf of Dwight Eisenhower. He served in the executive department during the Eisenhower administration in the fields of housing. A successful businessman, Editor Welch publishes two weekly newspapers in central West Virginia, the Republican-Delta and the Weston Independent, and quite obviously, he continues his keen interest in national affairs.

Herb Welch's open letter editorial is submitted here for the RECORD, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

#### THE WEST VIRGINIA WHIRLIGIG

(By Herb Welch)

An open letter to:  
Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States.

Honorable Spiro T. Agnew, Vice President of the United States.

Honorable Mike Mansfield, majority leader, Honorable Hugh Scott, minority leader, and Honorable Robert C. Byrd, Honorable Jennings Randolph and Honorable Hubert Humphrey, United States Senate.

Honorable Carl Albert, speaker, Honorable Gerald R. Ford, minority leader, and Honorable Harley O. Staggers, United States House of Representatives.

Honorable Arch A. Moore, Jr., governor of West Virginia and chairman of the National Governors' Conference.

Honorable Dean Burch, chairman, Federal Communications Commission.

The National Broadcasting Company, American Broadcasting Corporation and the Columbia Broadcasting System; David Brinkley NBC.

Honorable George Meany, president, AFL-CIO.

Honorable Bob Dole, U.S. Senator and chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Honorable Larry O'Brien, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

It's hoped that this will be considered a personal letter by all the distinguished gentlemen listed above and an expression of personal convictions of one American out of 200 million.

It has to do with a topic as timely as tomorrow and as close to the people, all the people of America, as the preservation of the Republic.

It's to record one man's grave misgivings over the decision of the U.S. Senate to finance the general election campaigns of the candidates for President at the expense of the taxpayers.

It's one man's plea that the U.S. House of Representatives and the President of the United States act now, before it's too late, to reverse the ill-considered action of the Senate.

The letter is being addressed to all three television networks for it has been they, along with spokesmen for the Democratic National Committee, another addressee, who have done the most to advance this sinister proposal to the present crisis stage.

The three TV networks and much of the metropolitan print media, including newspapers and magazines, are among those who have axes to grind. Let the light fall upon all the gleaming ax blades now so carefully sheathed in darkness—that's the motivation of the Republican-Delta of Buckhannon and the Weston Independent in publishing this open letter.

It is argued that the cost of a presidential campaign is so astronomical that only a wealthy man can afford to seek the highest office in the land. And it is admitted that one of the biggest items of expense is television time.

So is it not understandable that Mr. David Brinkley of NBC and other commentators of other networks should editorialize in favor of submitting the bill to the taxpayers?

And should we really expect a metropolitan newspaper or a national magazine which also owns a television station to take an opposing view?

Artfully, the proposal to pass the cost of a presidential campaign along to the taxpayers was tacked onto a revenue bill. It's to be hoped that President Nixon will veto the measure if the sponsors of the rider are also successful in the House, as it is presently feared.

Estimates are that the amendment would raise \$50 million dollars to be divided, presumably, this year among at least three candidates, provided Mr. George Wallace runs on a third-party ticket, as expected.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey, meanwhile, has estimated that it would cost him exactly the same sum, \$50 million, if he were to enter all the presidential primaries this year. He is one of the advocates of the measure which now has been approved by the Senate.

So, assuming that Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Brinkley are sincere in wanting to eliminate voluntary personal contributions to presidential campaigns, would one-third of the amount required in a primary do the job in the same number of states in a general election campaign? You can bet that additional individual contributions would still be cheerfully accepted!

What is so wrong, moreover, with a voluntary contribution of a voter to the candidate of his choice?

Certainly such an expression of support is to be desired over a contribution which re-

sults from a mandate of government, as is presently proposed.

Inasmuch as only one of the two houses of the Congress has acted at this time, it's not clear how the taxpayers' enforced contributions would be apportioned. In the Senate, there were two proposals:

The Mathias Amendment, which would permit the taxpayer to designate either the party to which his contribution would be made or a general fund;

The Allen Amendment, which would guarantee a proportional reimbursement of campaign expenses to an "eligible" minority candidate.

Neither Mr. Brinkley nor the others who so strongly espouse the Senate action have answered a number of questions which immediately arise:

1. Shall the taxpayer be asked to give his financial support to any candidate which his party might nominate—prior to the selection of the candidate and prior to the campaign in which the issues would be drawn?

2. If so, is it a valid assumption that there will be no taxpayers who cherish the right to vote for the man rather than the party and to come to a decision also upon the basis of the issues?

3. Will it be left to bureaucrats to determine who is an "eligible" candidate and what is an "eligible" campaign expense?

4. If the taxpayer requests that his contribution go to a general fund, would he not thus be pledging his support to candidates whom he intends to vote against as well as to the candidate for whom he intends to vote?

5. Has anyone thought of limiting campaign expenses as an alternative of requiring candidates and political parties to live within their budgets?

It is proposed the \$1 be taken from the income tax payment of each taxpayer. That's the "asking price" of the initial offering; the price for the next, who knows?

Would a good insurance salesman first hit his prospect with the rates for a \$1 million policy—or would he lead up to them by quoting rates and coverage upon smaller policies?

It is proposed that the small bite of \$1 per head would be for presidential candidates only. That's again for the first year only. The millions so collected would go to the national committee headquarters of the nominees.

What about the "coverage" as well as the "premiums" in future years under the new policy? Based upon past performances of all major parties, are we certain that the national committees could find no other "deserving" candidates for the largesse of the taxpayers?

It's an open secret that national committees of both major parties have aided candidates for U.S. Senate, House of Representatives and, occasionally, governors of states. The policy has been to feed the money to only those candidates, however, where it might mean the difference between victory and defeat for the party. A sure winner and a certain loser usually have not shared in the benefits.

So what happened in many states? Candidates ran in marginal states and marginal districts, often pocketing the cheerfully accepted contributions with no thought of applying them to election expenses.

Should we cut the defense budget by \$50 million to so reward the professional losers as well as the successful nominees? For that matter, should the taxpayers pick up the tab for any of them?

You know, of course, that the Senate has made no provision to provide the funds which would be milked from the income tax cow by its action.

Let's say that we don't cut the defense budget, although that's the biggest one of all and the one which is most deserving as the cold war grows hotter and hotter. Let's

say we cut Health, Education and Welfare—and school lunch money. Or Department of Transportation—and federal road money. Are we all agreed that the politicians need the money more than the school kids and the people who use the highways? More than those on relief rolls?

As chairman of the Democratic National Committee, you, Mr. O'Brien, are doing only that which comes naturally. After all, you admit that you're \$20 million in the red—and that's just about what you'd receive the first year from the taxpayers.

But in all good conscience, Mr. O'Brien, would you really refuse additional private contributions?

And you, Mr. Humphrey, were you really sincere when you implied that presidential candidates were called upon to sell out to the

special interests in accepting campaign contributions from conventional sources? Did President Eisenhower sell out? Did Woodrow Wilson sell out? Did Abraham Lincoln sell out?

And you, Mr. Meany, are you supporting the bill because you think it's good for America—or because you'd like the taxpayers to absorb a substantial portion of the bill you've been paying from the AFL-CIO treasury to back the candidates you've personally smiled upon?

There's no such thing in government as "temporary" and there's no such thing in government as token federal funding. Government is the freewheeling big-time spender—with your tax dollars—and the sky is the limit.

The proposal to extract \$1 from the top of

every annual income tax payment for the general election campaign only, of the major candidates for president only, is but the beginning of a new concept, a concept which could lead to domination of all elections of all states by the federal government.

At this late hour, a selling job has been done upon the people of America by the self-serving mass media which would benefit directly from the proposal.

Compared to the big guns which have already been fired, two weekly newspapers in West Virginia are voices in the wilderness.

But shouldn't it be a question of what's right rather than who is right?

The issue here is as fundamental as freedom itself.

Sincerely yours,

W. HERBERT WELCH,

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, December 7, 1971

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Msgr. Angelo R. Cioffi, Regina Pacis Roman Catholic Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., offered the following prayer:

God of our fathers, and Lord of all creation, from whom all blessings flow, look down upon us, here assembled to carry out our work on the problems facing our Nation at this critical time.

O, give us light to probe them thoroughly, sound judgment to solve them well, and willpower to implement them to the best of our ability.

Bless our labors, O Lord, infuse brotherly love into the hearts of all our people, and grant—we pray—lasting peace to all the Nations of the earth.

"Peace at home, and peace abroad;  
Peace to friend, and peace to foe;  
Peace to men of good will."

This is the prayer welling up from our hearts, O Father of mercy, O God of peace. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 5068. An act to authorize grants for the Navajo Community College, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 6085. An act to amend section 903(c) (2) of the Social Security Act; and

H.R. 6893. An act to provide for the reporting of weather modification activities to the Federal Government.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 6065) entitled "An act to amend section 903(c)(2) of the Social Security Act," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. LONG, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. CURTIS, and Mr. MILLER to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 345. An act to authorize the sale and exchange of certain lands on the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation, and for other purposes;

S. 1115. An act to declare that certain federally owned lands are held by the United States in trust for the Palute-Shoshone Tribe of the Fallon Reservation and Fallon Colony, Nev.; and

S. 1475. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide for the restoration, reconstruction, and exhibition of the gunboat *Cairo*, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that Mr. CASE was appointed as an additional conferee on the bill (H.R. 11955) entitled "An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for other purposes."

### MSGR. ANGELO R. CIOFFI

(Mr. MURPHY of New York asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend our distinguished visiting chaplain from New York for a most appropriate and moving opening prayer.

The Brooklyn, N.Y., community, and indeed the entire New York metropolitan area, has long known of the extraordinary contribution of Monsignor Cioffi.

The reverend monsignor was born in Cervinara, Italy, on December 1, 1887, and came to America in 1904 to attend St. John's Seminary in Brooklyn, N.Y.

In 1907 he was sent by the late Bishop Charles E. McDonnell to the American College in Louvain, Belgium, where he was ordained a priest in July 1910.

His first assignment upon returning to

Brooklyn was as curate of St. Anthony's Church in Greenpoint where he served for 2 years. He then served for 7 years in Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Astoria, Long Island.

In 1919, he was commissioned by the archbishop to start a new parish in Patchogue, Long Island. When he completed that assignment, he returned to Brooklyn to reconstruct St. Rosalia's Church.

Today St. Rosalia's—or Regina Pacis—is a major church in the New York area, and includes a parochial school with 1,200 students, new rectory, a shrine, a convent, and a youth center.

In 1968, President Johnson visited St. Rosalia's in testament to its importance and vitality.

Monsignor Cioffi's most current project is the construction of a senior citizen's residence to provide for elderly citizens who cannot obtain decent housing. This project has attracted the personal praise of Governor Rockefeller and planners throughout the Nation as an outstanding example of effective response to a pressing public need.

Monsignor succeeded in obtaining various funding for this project, and his tenacity and dedication to this most worthy project have brought the residence into reality.

He continues to spearhead the drive to complete the residence and to make it grow, and his energy and selfless interest in the community are now legend in New York.

It is a great pleasure and privilege for the House of Representatives to welcome Msgr. Angelo R. Cioffi today.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURPHY of New York. I am happy to yield to my colleague from Queens.

Mr. ADDABBO. I commend the gentleman in the well and associate myself with his remarks. I wish to also point out the dedicated work of Msgr. Angelo R. Cioffi in behalf of the church and the people of the county of Queens and all he has served in his over 50 years of priesthood. I pray for his continued good health.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. I thank the gentleman.