

which the vets gathering for a candle-light parade hailed as "fantastic," fantastic if we don't stop the killing of our brothers."

**"PEACE" MARCH OF APRIL 24
PLANNED BY COMMUNIST
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 22, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, 4 months ago it was announced that on April 24 the Communists around the world would have a day of active world solidarity with demonstrations to show their solidarity with their "dear American friends," the antiwar movement in the United States. The demands of the international Communists worldwide demonstration will be identical with those of the big "peace" march in Washington, D.C., on Saturday, April 24—for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam and for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. All under Communist discipline are ordered to be in the demonstrations on April 24, 1971.

A most interesting editorial appeared on Sunday, April 18, 1971, in the Sunday, Herald Traveler of Boston, Mass. Whoever the editor was, he most certainly understood the situation and fearlessly identified the Communist demonstration under the guise of a peace march. It is regretful that other editors did not so inform their readers.

The leaders of our country have known full well that the Washington peace march was planned by the Communist Fourth International 4 months ago. Yet, these same U.S. leaders have never advised the American people of the identity of the march leaders and the true objective of the march. Thus they have permitted innocent Americans to become duped into participating in this march not realizing that by so doing they are helping to destroy their own country at the price of losing their own freedom, rather than hastening the day of peace.

Perhaps the American people will ask their leaders why they have not been told the truth.

I insert the editorial at this point:

[From the Boston, Mass., Sunday Herald Traveler, Apr. 18, 1971]

LOOK WHO'S LEADING THE BIG "PEACE" MARCH
("Let's make April 24, 1971 a day of active world solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese revolution! Let's demonstrate everywhere April 24, 1971, showing our solidarity with the courageous antiwar movement in the United States! For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam! For the victory of the Vietnamese revolution—everyone in the streets April 24, 1971!")

That appeal for street demonstrations this coming Saturday demanding "immediate" U.S. withdrawal and "victory" by the Communists in Vietnam (not peace) was issued more than four months ago by the Communist Fourth International.

Most of the people who are planning to participate in the April 24 march on Washington—the main event of the anti-war "Spring Offensive"—are probably not aware of that fact. Nor are the politicians who have been foolish enough to publicly endorse the march.

Those politicians include two Democratic presidential candidates and a few Bay Stateers.

The fact that they are supporting or participating in Saturday's march does not, of course, mean that they have joined or are in sympathy with the Fourth International. It does suggest, however, that they are rather naive—in two respects.

First, they are assuming that the march will be peaceful and non-violent, and indeed they have been promised that it will be by its principal sponsors and organizers. The same assumptions and promises were made prior to the big anti-war march on Washington in November 1969, organized by many of the same people. But that "non-violent" demonstration turned into a riot and an orgy of destruction, resulting in 175 arrests, over 600 injuries and more than \$2 million in damages to government and private property. Who can "guarantee" that the same thing won't happen this week? Indeed, is anything being done to see that it won't?

Second, they are assuming and they have been told that everybody marching on Washington this week wants only to stop the killing and bring the boys home. That may be what most of the marchers and their political sponsors want. But the hard fact is that the march itself was conceived and organized chiefly by people who have rather different aims and purposes in mind.

Although a number of other respectable and semi-respectable organizations have since hopped on the bandwagon, the April 24 march is being produced and directed primarily by two groups: the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

The NPAC is led chiefly by "Trotskyites"

and former members of the Students for a Democratic Society. Four of its five national coordinators are affiliated with the Socialist Workers party.

The PCPJ is led mainly by "Stalinists" from the Communist party's national committee, "crazies" from New Mobe and "Chicago 7" defendants Rennie Davis and David Dellinger.

For a while, the two factions were split and planned to hold separate marches on the Capital and other "Spring Offensive" events. But after receiving numerous appeals from Hanoi and from Viet Cong officials in South Vietnam and at the Paris peace talks—they announced last month that they had agreed on a single calendar of events. The big one, they decided, would be the march on Washington on April 24—the very day selected three months earlier by the Communist Fourth International!

Nearly two weeks ago, Congressman Richard Ichord, a Missouri Democrat who is chairman of the House Internal Security Committee, issued a long report on the demonstration and its organizers. He also made a speech on the floor of the House warning his colleagues that they were playing with fire by endorsing the march and lending their names to such a dubious cause, whose real purpose was not as pacific as they naively think.

"I wonder if my colleagues are prepared to accept the chaos which these anti-war groups are proposing to unleash?" he asked. "I wonder also if my colleagues would be participating if they were aware of the leading part which Communist elements both at home and abroad have played in the planning and coordination of the demonstration soon to take place?"

Those are good questions, which ought to be answered by the Messrs. blank, blank, blank, and blank.

Peaceful dissent is an act of faith in the democratic system and a responsible outlet for differences of opinion on issues which trouble the nation, said Ichord, but it is not a license for violence, subversion or revolution.

He warned, finally, that the only respectability the instigators of Saturday's "peace" march on Washington can hope to achieve "is from the good and conscientious Americans who follow behind their banner. I can only hope that my colleagues and our fellow Americans will look closely before they leap behind these groups' Communist banner. These militants have absolutely nothing genuinely in common with the vast majority of those Americans who are interested in securing peace on an honorable basis."

That's good advice for some of our over-eager local politicians and for the many youngsters hereabouts who plan to board buses for Washington later this week.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, April 26, 1971

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth.—Mark 9: 23.

We offer Thee our gratitude, our Father, for the arrival of another day praying that it may be glorious with Thy presence and for the coming of another week praying that it may witness good work done for Thee and for our Nation.

With Thy gifts of love and joy grant unto us also a measure of discontent

that we may never rest until justice is done and peace has come. Keep us restless until the hungry are fed, the jobless find work, and children and youth secure a sound education. Thus may we be true Americans and faithful children of Thine.

We mourn the passing of our beloved colleague, ROBERT J. CORBETT, who served his Nation in this body so long, so faithfully, and so well. May Thy blessing rest upon his family, giving them strength now and for the days that lie ahead.

In the name of Him who is the resurrection and the life we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments, in which the concurrence of the

House is requested, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H.J. Res. 567. Joint resolution making certain urgent supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1971, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 145. An act for the relief of Esther Catherine Milner;

S. 157. An act for the relief of Arthur Rike; S. 341. An act for the relief of Arline Loader and Maurice Loader;

S. 513. An act for the relief of Maria Badalamenti;

S. 566. An act for the relief of Maria Grazia Iaccarino;

S. 629. An act for the relief of Chen-Pai Miao;

S. 645. An act to provide relief in patent and trademark cases affected by the emergency situation in the U.S. Postal Service which began on March 18, 1970;

S. 672. An act for the relief of Nicholas Demitrios Apostolakis;

S. 1253. An act to amend section 6 of title 35, United States Code, "Patents", to authorize domestic and international studies and programs relating to patents and trademarks; and

S. 1254. An act to amend title 35, United States Code, "Patents," and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 86-420, appointed Mr. GURNEY and Mr. Cook to attend, on the part of the Senate, the 11th Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Conference in Mexico, May 27 to June 1, 1971.

MAKING IN ORDER DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUSINESS ON TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1971

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that business in order today under the District of Columbia rule, clause 8, rule XXIV, be in order on tomorrow, April 27.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

TRANSFER OF TODAY'S SPECIAL ORDERS TO TOMORROW

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I also ask unanimous consent that any special orders granted for today be put over until tomorrow, to be called before any special orders previously granted for April 27.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE FOR ALL MEMBERS TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have permission today to insert their remarks in the body of the RECORD and to include therewith extraneous material as well as in that portion of the RECORD entitled "Extensions of Remarks."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to

the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. In view of the fact that the majority leader has obtained permission for all Members to extend their remarks both in the body of the RECORD and in the Extensions of Remarks, out of respect for our deceased colleague the Chair will not recognize Members for 1-minute speeches today, but the Chair will recognize Members for corrections of the RECORD or any business Members may have.

MISCALCULATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION LEADS TO INTEREST RATE INCREASE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration has badly miscalculated again and we may be faced with another period of rising interest rates.

The announcement by Chase Manhattan Bank of New York of a prime rate increase from 5¼ to 5½ percent last Thursday was extremely bad news for an economy struggling to recover from a severe recession.

The administration has engaged in a series of maneuvers in conjunction with the Federal Reserve System to raise short-term interest rates, and we are now reaping the consequences of this ill-timed, poorly conceived policy.

The Federal Reserve System's effort to push up short-term rates has been widely reported in the financial press and the Treasury Department has been a willing partner in the scheme. The Treasury Department announced in late March that it would shove \$5 billion of short-term Treasury bills into the market just before the heavy corporate tax payments.

When the sudden offering of the \$5 billion in short-term bills was made, a Treasury official was quoted as saying:

We are doing this all at once in hopes of knocking up short-term interest rates.

The Treasury had also created further pressure on the money markets by offering \$1.5 billion of 3-month Treasury bills at an unnecessarily high interest rate of 5.38 percent to the overseas branches of U.S. banks earlier this month.

This was a bonanza for the large commercial banks operating overseas and produced an unfortunate effect on domestic interest rates.

Secretary of the Treasury John Connally has created an "high interest atmosphere" by lobbying for higher interest rates on Government bonds earlier this year.

The first proposal made by Mr. Connally after he took the oath of office was to remove the 4¼-percent ceiling on long-term Government obligations and this has created a high interest psychology throughout the economy. When the Congress approved this request, it was a signal to large commercial banks—such as Chase Manhattan—that this administration believed that

we were facing a period of relatively high interest rates and that no effort would be made to drive down rates to the levels existing in the early 1960's.

The problems created by the removal of the 4¼-percent ceiling on long-term bonds was noted by the Wall Street Journal in this morning's editions.

The Journal said:

"If the Treasury offers a long-term bond, due out in the Nineties, corporate bond rates would soar and money for mortgages would vanish," one specialist said. "Borrowers just couldn't compete with the Treasury for long-term funds."

What worsens this already critical situation is the fact that the Treasury this week must announce plans for a \$8.4 billion refunding of maturing securities. The Treasury's actions on this issue could have critical bearing on the economy and interest rates.

Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD a copy of the Wall Street Journal article with the headline, "Unveiling of Treasury's Refinancing of Package Awaited This Week."

THE BOND MARKETS: UNVEILING OF TREASURY'S REFINANCING PACKAGE AWAITED THIS WEEK—QUESTION OF HOW THE \$8.4 BILLION IN OLD NOTES WILL BE REFUNDED HAS CREATED MUCH UNCERTAINTY

(By Ivan Silverman)

NEW YORK.—Bond dealers are tensely awaiting a Treasury announcement, expected Wednesday, on plans for refunding about \$8.4 billion of maturing Government securities.

The uncertainties normally associated with refundings have been compounded by recent congressional action permitting the Treasury to sell \$10 billion of securities without regard to a 4¼% ceiling on bonds. That ceiling has been in large part responsible for blocking the sale of Government bonds—issues due in more than seven years—since 1962.

In light of the congressional move, the Treasury has more options open for refunding 5¼% and 8% notes due May 15 than has been the case for nearly a decade. Ironically, some of the new options can't be used without upending the corporate bond and mortgage markets, dealers say.

"If the Treasury offers a long-term bond, due out in the Nineties, corporate bond rates would soar and money for mortgages would vanish," one specialist said. "Borrowers just couldn't compete with the Treasury for long-term funds."

Specialists have split into two camps in guessing how the Treasury will refund the old notes, \$5.8 billion of which are held by the public. One group believes note owners will be offered a two-part or three-part package of issues, due from late 1972 through 1978. That is, security holders can either turn in their holdings for cash or swap them for new notes due in 18 months to seven years.

A second group expects the Treasury to include an intermediate-term issue, due in perhaps 10-to-15 years, in the refunding offer. This issue also might be made available to holders of Government securities due later this year, or next year, some specialists suggested.

In addition, the Treasury also might offer as part of the funding package a short-term "cash" note due in about 18 months. This security would be open to all comers, not just owners of selected government issues.

The "cash" note could raise funds to pay off investors who want money rather than new government securities for their 5¼ and 8% notes. It also could be used for other needs. According to Aubrey G. Lanston & Co., a leading government bond dealer, "the failure

of corporate income taxes and estimated individual income taxes to show any significant improvement to date leaves the Treasury with sizable cash borrowing needs in May and early June. Our own estimate puts the amount in the vicinity of \$4 billion to \$5 billion.

The Treasury's refinancing plan will send ripples through all debt securities sectors. The use of an intermediate-term issue in the package, for example, would probably unsettle corporate and municipal bond prices, onlookers say. Declines could be minimal, or major, depending upon the maturity and interest rate placed on the Treasury note, and on other details, the onlookers said.

For the past month, corporate and municipal prices have declined steadily. A Long Island Lighting Co. 7 1/4% bond first offered in late March at a price of 101.857 was quoted in the marketplace last Friday at a price of 96—a drop of nearly six points—or \$60 for a \$1,000 security—in about one month. At the latest price an investor's yield is about 7.59% in 30 years—up from 7.10% at the original level.

Over the same period, the Dow Jones Municipal bond yield index has jumped to 5.56% from 5.30%. This 0.26 percentage point change reflects a \$33 decline in the market value of a typical 20-year state and local government issue. Last week the index moved up 0.9 percentage point from the previous period's 5.47%.

Over the next five days dealers face a load somewhat lighter than last week's \$1 billion plus schedule. In the corporate sector, Morgan Stanley & Co. is expected to offer Wednesday \$200 million of General Motors Ac-

ceptance Corp.'s debentures. The General Motors Corp. unit's issue, due 1993, is rated single-A by Standard & Poor's.

Other negotiated issues on this week's calendar include: \$60 million of Interlake Inc. 25-year debentures, rated single-A Moody's, sometime this week, through Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; \$50 million of Avco Financial Services Inc. six-year debentures, rated triple-B by Standard & Poor's, tomorrow, Lehman Brothers Inc.; \$50 million of McGraw-Edison Co. 25-year debentures, rated double-A, tomorrow, Dean Witter & Co.; \$50 million of Standard Brands Inc. 30-year debentures, rated single-A, tomorrow, Lehman Brothers.

In addition, \$27 million of Atlantic City Electric Co. 30-year bonds, rated double-A, Thursday, Eastman Dillon, Union Securities & Co.; \$25 million of Armstrong Rubber Co. 25-year debentures, rated Baa by Moody's and triple-B, by S&P's, Thursday, Goldman, Sachs & Co.; \$25 million of Lucky Stores Inc. 25-year debentures, rated Baa and triple-B, Wednesday, Goldman-Sachs; \$20 million of Kayser-Roth Corp. 25-year debentures, tomorrow, Hornblower & Weeks-Hemphill, Noyes; \$15 million of First Union Inc. seven-year notes, Wednesday, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith Inc.; \$15 million of Midland Enterprises Inc. 20-year bonds, Baa and triple-B Wednesday, First Boston Corp.; \$5 million of Brockton Taunton Gas Co. 25-year notes, Baa by Moody's, Thursday, Merrill Lynch.

Issues due to reach the market through competitive biddings include: \$50 million of Northern States Power Co. 30-year bonds,

Wednesday; \$20 million of Potomac Edison Co. 30-year bonds, single-A by Moody's, plus 50,000 shares of preferred stock, Tuesday; \$10.8 million of Southern Railway equipment trust certificates, due 1972-86, rated double-A, Wednesday.

Two equity oriented convertible issues due this week are: \$15 million of McCormick & Co. convertible debentures, due 1996, Tuesday through Alex Brown & Sons; \$10 million of General Health Services Inc. convertible debentures, due 1991, plus 393,000 shares of common stock, Tuesday, Hornblower & Weeks.

In the municipal market, about \$240.9 million of bonds are due to reach investors through competitive bidding, well below last week's \$400 million total. Larger auctions include: \$48.6 million of Philadelphia, various-purpose bonds, Wednesday; \$45 million of New York State Job Development Authority state-backed bonds, Tuesday; \$39 million of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power electric revenue bonds, Wednesday; \$20 million of Greater Chicago Metropolitan Sanitary District bonds, Wednesday.

Over the next 30 days, about \$1.3 billion of tax-exempt bonds are due to sell at competitive bidding, according to the Daily Bond Buyer, a trade publication.

In the government securities market, despite some advances towards the end of the week, most issues finished lower over the five-day period. The closely watched 6 1/4% note of 1978 dipped 3/4 point over the week, closing Friday at 101 1/4 bid, 102 asked, where an investor's return is 5.89%.

PRICES OF RECENT ISSUES—STRAIGHT DEBT

[Current quotations are indicated below for recent issues of senior securities that are not listed on a principal exchange]

Issue	Offering price	Current			Yield percent	Issue	Offering price	Current			Yield percent
		Bid	Asked	Change				Bid	Asked	Change	
Utilities:						Industrials:					
BaltG&E (7 1/4s '01)	100.5	96 1/4	96 3/4	- 1/4	7.54	FordMC (8 1/2s '91)	100	101 1/4	102 1/4	- 1/4	8.15
CnH PS (7 1/2s '01)	101.1987	99	99 3/4	+ 3/8	7.53	FordMC (6 1/2s '78)	100.55	100 3/8	100 3/4	- 1/8	6.77
DukePw (7 1/2s '01)	101	98	98 3/4	+ 3/8	7.74	Pennzoil (8 3/4s '96)	100.25	96 1/4	97 1/4	+ 1/4	8.63
LI Lte (7 1/2s '01)	101.857	95 1/4	96	- 3/8	7.89	StOilCal (7s '96)	100	95 1/4	95 1/4	- 3/8	7.35
NJ Bell (7 1/2s '11)	100.65	95 3/4	96 1/2	+ 3/8	7.52	Woollwh (7 3/4s '96)	100	98	98 1/2	+ 1/4	7.49
PacG&E (8s '03)	101.5	102	102 1/2	- 1/4	7.79	Convertibles:					
IllBell (7 3/4s '06)	100.304	99 3/4	100 1/4	+ 1/4	6.68	GaPac (5 1/2s '96)	100	105 1/2	106	- 1/2	
VaE&P (7 3/4s '01)	101.52	97 3/4	98 1/4	- 1/4	7.55	WT Grant (4 3/4s '96)	100	106 1/4	107 1/4	+ 3/4	
UnElec (7 3/4s '01)	101.845	98 1/2	99	- 1/4	7.70	StOilInd (5s '96)	100	107 1/4	108 1/2	- 1/2	
						Canadians:					
						NewfInd (8 3/4s '96)	98.5	100	100 1/4	+ 1/4	8.69

THE PROTEST MARCH IN WASHINGTON

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, just because there were no serious injuries or major destruction this past Saturday, is no reason to make heroes of the leaders of the protest march. I certainly respect the right of these people to conduct a peaceful protest and redress their Government, but it should be pointed out that the march will cost the American taxpayers almost a million dollars for the extra duty by the Metropolitan Police Department, active duty National Guardsmen and cleaning up the debris.

Let us take a realistic look at some of the happenings during the march which I just cannot condone. I refer to the carrying of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese flags and destroying some of the American flags around the Washington Monument. Neither can I condone the carrying of placards praising Communist leaders. It is one thing to protest the policies of our President. It is quite

another when you champion the cause of the enemy.

Mr. Speaker, these protesters might do well to direct some of their energies toward freedom for the North Vietnamese people. I can assure you no North Vietnamese would be allowed to walk through the streets of Hanoi carrying the American flag and protesting the policies of President Ton Duc Thang.

I also feel that in the long run protest marches like last Saturday make it that much more difficult to end the war in Southeast Asia and bring our American troops home. The Communists view these marches as signs of weakness in America and become more firm in their determination to dominate the whole of Indochina through military conquest.

We are bringing our troops home and bringing the war to a close, but we are doing it in such a way that we will not endanger the fate of our prisoners of war or the right of the South Vietnamese people to elect a government of their own choosing.

Mr. Speaker, I urge our Government leaders to do whatever is necessary to see that law and order is maintained in our National Capitol during the coming days of demonstrations that promise to be more militant.

To use a trite and not so polite expression, I have a feeling the people of America will have a "belly-full" of these demonstrations within the next 2 weeks.

THE APRIL 24 PROTEST DEMONSTRATION

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday a crowd estimated at over 170,000 peacefully protested against U.S. involvement in Indochina. The Trotskyite elements in the demonstration marched behind a large picture of Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky and there was also a large delegation marching behind a large picture of Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung. The local Sunday papers carried such disgusting pictures of a demonstrator atop the Peace Monu-

ment at the foot of Capitol Hill waving a Vietcong flag and protesters climbing flagpoles at the Washington Monument grounds in an effort to haul down American flags. In all, 32 American flags at the Washington Monument were ripped down by protesters. All in the name of peace.

I am, of course, relieved that there were no major outbreaks of violence. Peaceful dissent and opposition are healthy and vigorous components of our way of life. This is how democracy works. However, I cannot help but feel that those of us who did not take an active part in last Saturday's demonstration have been placed in a rather untenable position by the publicity given the marchers. By this I mean that the mass news media have accorded the protesters the title of "antiwar" while apparently the rest of us have been labeled "pro-war." Current plans call for the protesters to disrupt Members of Congress unless they are directing their efforts toward ending the war.

Mr. Speaker, no person in his right mind is in favor of continuing the conflict in Indochina one instance longer than it takes to gain a just and lasting peace. In fact, I am convinced that the misguided efforts of many of our citizens, such as those who participated in the April 24 demonstration, who truly believe they are following the best position to peace, coupled with the activities of radical militants and malcontents, have done more to prevent a ceasefire in Indochina than any other single factor. Their actions have helped convince Hanoi that the United States will abandon its convictions eventually because of the pressure of public opinion. They have given the enemy a false idea of the nature of public opinion in this country. Every day that the conflict in Indochina is prolonged, American servicemen continue to die; and, yet, it is those who help prolong the war who have the effrontery to parade the streets of the Nation's Capital publicly displaying the Vietcong flag.

I certainly do not question the motives of most of the people who marched last Saturday to protest the war, but I do charge that many of them simply do not understand the consequence of what they do.

NATURALIZATION BILL

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday last, while I was absent on official business, the House passed H.R. 1535, exempting aliens over 50 years of age and with 20 years' residence from the English literacy requirement for naturalization. I was pleased to cosponsor this bill, as I had done before when the last session of the House sought this modernization of an old law. I regret that other duties kept me away from the House on Monday. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye."

FTC COMMISSIONER DIXON DISCUSSES PROPOSED REORGANIZATION

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Commissioner Paul Rand Dixon of the

Federal Trade Commission recently delivered an important address before the Rotary Club of Huntsville, Ala., on the subject of the proposed reorganization of the FTC.

The so-called Ash Council has recommended to the President a reorganization of this important Commission which would transfer the FTC's consumer protection responsibility to a Federal Trade Practices Agency and its antitrust enforcement responsibilities to a proposed Federal Antitrust Board.

Commissioner Dixon contends the proposal would eliminate the safeguards established by Congress for a truly independent agency serving in the public interest.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important subject, I place the address by Commissioner Dixon in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ANSWER TO SUGGESTED CHANGE

(Address by Hon. Paul Rand Dixon, Commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission)

It has been written that a nation without a history is a nation without a future.

I propose to defend the future of the Federal Trade Commission because it does have a history. Its history is so steeped with the development of our free competitive enterprise system that the two cannot be separated.

The business community at large has never seemed to grasp fully that the antitrust and trade regulation laws are not shackles on the free enterprise system, but simply tools for striking off the chains that some businessmen insist upon forging for their fellows. I say this because an excellent case can be made for the proposition that, if the people of this country, through their elected representatives in Congress, had not seen fit to enact these laws, we could very well be living today under the restrictive cartel system which flourished in Europe in the years preceding World War II, or under some form of public ownership of industry that would be even less congenial to our democratic institutions.

It would seem at first blush that it is a contradiction in terms to say that the trade regulation laws are designed to increase the liberty of those to whom they are directed. But there is no contradiction in fact. Red lights placed at busy intersections may seem irksome to those who like to live dangerously. But to those of us who value life and limb, those traffic signals represent simply the efforts of a well-disposed government to keep us as free as possible from traffic dangers. It is, in short, the old principle of distinguishing between *liberty* and *license*, between freedom and anarchy.

Hence, the Federal Trade Commission and the trade regulation laws which it enforces were conceived not in hostility to the principles of laissez-faire capitalism, but in direct support of it. Just as it would be absurd to say that traffic lights were placed at intersections for the purpose of impeding the flow of automobiles, so it is equally unsound to say that laws prohibiting the destruction of competition are themselves designed to hinder the system they protect. On the contrary, trade regulation laws are conservative measures in every meaningful sense of that term—they were intended not to alter the existing economic order but to preserve it and protect it from forces hostile to its continued existence.

In order to appreciate the profound conservatism of these laws, one need only reflect for a moment on the economic and political history that gave rise to them. Capitalism itself is a comparatively recent development.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution that produced it, wealth was produced and distributed by one of two basic methods:

(1) by sovereign command, as in Soviet Russia today, and

(2) by custom and tradition, as in medieval Europe where each man automatically followed the trade of his father. The latter system, which was the immediate predecessor in Europe of capitalism, was often "regulated," in the full sense of that word. In England, for example, at the behest of the button-makers guild, a law was passed imposing a fine on tailors who made *cloth* buttons and consumers who wore them.¹

When capitalism first appeared on the scene, there were some very grave doubts as to its respectability. It was untidy, for one thing. Pushy merchants were scrambling all over each other in pursuit of what was regarded by the more genteel folk as naked greed.

Adam Smith, the first great economist in 1776, the same year that the Declaration of Independence was signed in America, published a book that remains to this day as the bible of laissez-faire capitalism. The *Wealth of Nations*² was even more than that. It was no less than an economic Declaration of Independence, no less revolutionary than our own Political Declaration of Independence. All men, while not necessarily equal in talents, must be afforded equal economic opportunities. All men must be left free to pursue whatever economic activities they might choose. They must be free to make any product they like, sell it to anyone they choose, and charge for it any price they desire.

Under a free enterprise system, the only natural price is a "competitive price." Here the consumer is king. Eager to make their limited number of dollars buy as much goods as possible, they shop carefully to see which seller of a particular product will accept the lowest price.

A paradox of the free enterprise system is the fact that this economic free-for-all, this undignified scrambling of men for wealth, has yielded the best possible results, not only for the individual pursuing his own selfish gain, but for society at large.

There have been many prophets of doom in our story. In 1849—while Americans were engaged in the great Western goldrush—there appeared in Europe an angry document entitled *The Communist Manifesto*. It was followed in 1867 by the first volume of its author's monumental book called *Das Kapital*.³ In it, Karl Marx declared that capitalism was *doomed*—that it carried within it seeds of its own destruction. Its principal defect, as he saw it, aside from a moral injustice, was the uneven distribution among individuals of the total wealth produced, and an inevitable tendency toward monopoly. He predicted that when monopoly came, as it surely would, the oppression of the people would become so great that the latter would arise, cast off their chains, and install the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as the owners of all productive wealth.

Monopoly—with its tendency to fix prices, allocate markets and artificially protect against innovation and emerging competition—is plainly not an integral part of free enterprise. It is, instead, a cancer on the body of the system. It holds productive wealth in an industry that does not need it, and withholds it from some other industry that needs it badly. It diverts consumer dollars from other industries.

There was one development Marx failed to anticipate—it did not occur to him that free men of a capitalistic society would have the ingenuity and the strength to prune from the system the disease of monopoly without killing the system itself.

The story of the growth of the "trusts"

Footnotes at end of article.

following the Civil War and throughout the 19th Century is an old one. Suffice it to say here that, by the year 1890, a number of our major industries were completely dominated by one or a few firms. And their behavior was, to put it conservatively, anti-social. The public was being robbed and knew it. The people began to speak and their voice was heard in Congress.

Congress was not ready for the Socialist or the Communist. It represented the will of a free people. The result was the Sherman Act of 1890. Monopolization, whether accomplished by a single firm or several acting in combination, was made a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment. And those acts that led to monopolization—conspiracy to eliminate competition—were similarly made a crime. There was virtually no enforcement of this statute, however, during its first decade, and the tide of consolidation continued unabated. Indeed, a majority of the "440 large industrial, franchise and transportation Trusts" listed in 1904⁴ were actually incorporated in their "Trust" from after 1900.

There was no longer any pretense of adherence to a competitive free enterprise system. Toleration of competition was considered a sign of business incompetence. During these years of trust formation and wholesale abandonment of competition—1897 to 1913—there was an over-all economy-wide price increase of 50%.⁵

After the Supreme Court handed down its celebrated "rule of reason" opinion in the *Standard Oil* case of 1911,⁶ a storm of controversy broke out over whether the courts could ever be expected to handle the trust problems. Thus, in 1912, the trust problem became a major issue in the presidential campaign. All three candidates—Republican Taft, running for reelection, Roosevelt, running on the Progressive ticket, and Democrat Woodrow Wilson—were agreed that something had to be done.

Wilson, the winner, on December 2, 1913, in his State of the Union message to Congress, called for new antitrust legislation. In a special message to Congress on January 20, 1914,⁷ he spelled out some of his proposals; requesting specific prohibition of such known restraints as price discrimination, tying and exclusive dealing arrangements, mergers and consolidations, and interlocking directorates. More importantly, however, he called for the creation of an "interstate trade commission," with broad powers to investigate trade practices, make findings regarding the significance of various trade practices, and prohibit those found to be promotive of monopoly.

The result was that Congress passed not one but two laws. The Clayton Act, signed into law on October 15, 1914,⁸ singled out four specific practices for special consideration—price discriminations, exclusive and tying arrangements, acquisition of stock, and interlocking directorates. The Federal Trade Commission Act, enacted on September 26, 1914,⁹ covered the entire field with the sweeping 10-word prohibition "Unfair methods of competition in commerce are hereby declared unlawful."¹⁰

Having passed these new substantive standards to measure business conduct, Congress was not content to trust their administration entirely to the courts. Too fresh in its mind was the restrictions placed on the Sherman Act. It was concluded that the administration of this new Act had to be placed in the hands of an impartial, non-partisan body of men, thoroughly experienced in the intricacies of commerce, with more flexibility than the judicial machinery could offer.

Another reason was expressed by Senator Newlands who had earlier observed:

"I am attacking this system of turning over administration of our legislation regard-

ing interstate trade to the Attorney General's Office or to the courts, when we should create a great administrative tribunal like the Interstate Commerce Commission, charged with powers over interstate trade similar to those possessed by that tribunal regarding transportation . . . If such a Commission had been organized 23 years ago when the antitrust law (Sherman Act) was passed, these vast accumulations of menacing capital would have been prevented. . . ."¹¹

Congress also shied away from the question of the delegation of legislative power to the Executive. The new Commission being an arm of Congress, there was no question of such delegation to the new Commission.

Section 5(a)(6) "empowered and directed" the Commission to "prevent" the use of "unfair methods of competition" in commerce. Hence, quasi-judicial functions were assigned the Commission. The courts were assigned the limited role of judicial review if the Commission findings were supported by substantial evidence.

This is the history of the Commission. Now let us look at its future.

Various committees and task forces which have made studies of the administrative agencies, including the Federal Trade Commission, over the past few decades, have proposed either the abolition of these agencies or a radical change in their structure. The most recent of these investigations was made by the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization—the Ash Council. Its recommendations with respect to the Federal Trade Commission were that the Commission's consumer protection responsibility be transferred to a new Federal Trade Practices Agency, and its antitrust enforcement responsibilities to a new Federal Antitrust Board. Both the Administrator of the Federal Trade Practices Agency and the Chairman of the Federal Antitrust Board would be appointed by the President, subject to Senate confirmation, and would serve at the pleasure of the President.¹²

In commenting on similar proposals calling for "radical structural reform" of administrative agencies which have been made from time to time by various individuals, the first Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States regards as noteworthy that despite these recommendations and continuing expressed doubts about the role of the independent regulatory agency and its basic organization, no significant changes have taken place.¹³ This commentator has concluded that administrative agencies, as we know them, will continue principally because the agencies have been effectively separated from both Congress and the President. He pointed out that Congress has indicated the general direction the agency is to travel, and that both the Congress, through its oversight powers, and the Executive, through its leadership powers, are ready to criticize the activities of the agency, and the courts are ready to review these activities. He characterizes the administrative agency as "a buffer between the Congress and the Executive, between the members of Congress and their constituents, between the President and his responsibility to the people."¹⁴

Shortly after the Ash Report was published, it was the subject of a very critical and penetrating review in the February 21, 1971, edition of *The New York Times*. With great perception the writer observed that the central failure of the Report concerned its principal recommendation—the proposed transformation of the commissions into agencies headed by a single individual. According to the review, the Report never comes to grips with the consequences of one-man rule, "And even more importantly, as a mat-

ter of public policy, it never debates the crucial issue of independence vs. Presidential or Congressional control."

Ironically, a strong argument against the single administrator concept is made in the Report itself to justify the recommendation that the Federal Communications Commission retain the collegial form of administration. This form, the Report points out, "increases the probability that internal checks and balances will be effected." In other words, the collegial form "tends to insulate the exchange of ideas and information from partisan control," and assures "broad-based deliberation and a non-partisan environment." The corollary is that a single administrator is placed "in an exceptionally vulnerable position which . . . could impair public trust." The Report says that, by "placing in the hands of a single administrator, appointed to serve at the pleasure of the President, the power to exercise control over industry members . . . [it] could create the suspicion of improper political influence. . . ."¹⁵

To saddle the administration of restraint of trade and consumer protection legislation with these weaknesses of the single administrator, and to deprive the agency of the advantages inherent in the collegial form, can only be justified if one believes that these acts are less vital to the public interest and susceptible to political pressures than is the work of the Federal Communications Commission. I do not believe this.

Congress, in creating the five-member Federal Trade Commission, obviously believed that the function it was to perform was far too important to be entrusted to a single individual answerable either to the executive or to the legislative arm of the government. The idea of an agency having five members with staggered terms of office was not only to insure a continuity of expertise in the field of trade regulation, but to insure the independence of the agency. And to make the agency as non-partisan as possible, Congress specifically provided that not more than three of the Commissioners were to be members of the same political party. This was a reflection of Congress' belief that the Commissioners "should be removed as far as possible from political influence. It will be far safer to place this power in the hands of a great independent Commission that will go on while administrations may change."¹⁶

The Act, as originally drafted, provided that the Commission should choose a chairman from its own membership. This function, however, was later transferred to the President by Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1950. Under this plan, there were also transferred from the Commission to the Chairman of the Commission, subject to certain limitations, "the executive and administrative functions of the Commission, including functions of the Commission with respect to (1) the appointment and supervision of personnel employed under the Commission, (2) the distribution of business among such personnel and among administrative units of the Commission, and (3) the use and expenditure of funds." This is sufficient authority and responsibility to confer upon a single individual.

The Ash Council Report, primarily in the name of efficiency, would eliminate the safeguards created by Congress to preserve the independence of the agency by granting to a single administrator who would serve at the pleasure of the President virtually all of the powers now vested in the five-member board. It is at best debatable whether an agency headed by a single administrator would be more efficient or more effective than the present collegial form of administration. But of one thing I am certain—there is no reason to believe that there is less need to-

day for a truly independent agency to regulate interstate trade practices than there was when the Federal Trade Commission first came into being.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Heilbroner, *The Worldly Philosophers*, 22 (1953).

² Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) (Modern Library Ed., 1937).

³ Marx, *Das Kapital* (1867).

⁴ See Moody, note 4 at XI (207-208, 453-477).

⁵ Heilbroner and Bernstein, *A Primer on Government Spending*, 67 (1963).

⁶ *Standard Oil Co. v. United States*, 221 U.S. 1 (1911).

⁷ *XVI Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 7913-7918.

⁸ 38 Stat. 730, 15 U.S.C. 12. Amended and enlarged by Robinson-Patman Act, June 1936, 49 Stat. 1526, 15 U.S.C. 13; amended by Celler-Kefauver Act, Dec. 29, 1950, 64 Stat. 1125, 15 U.S.C. 18.

⁹ 38 Stat. 717, as amended, 15 U.S.C. 41.

¹⁰ Sec. 5 of the FTC Act, 38 Stat. 7.9. This provision was amended by the Wheeler-Lea Act of 1938, 52 Stat. 111, 15 U.S.C. 45, to prohibit "Unfair acts or practices as well."

¹¹ 47 Cong. Rec. 1227, 62nd Cong., 1st Sess. (1911).

¹² The Administrator of the Federal Trade Practices Agency would "be empowered to promulgate rules and regulations, prosecute violations of agency statutes, review within 30 days, on his own motion, determinations of hearing examiners for consistency with agency policy and manage staff and budgetary matters." The Administrator would also delegate authority to field offices to handle consumer protection cases, and would also coordinate field activities and take part directly in those cases which affect nationwide consumer interests.

The Federal Antitrust Board would have no adjudicatory functions. The Chairman of this Board would possess much the same authority as a single Administrator.

¹³ 29 Fed. B.J. 267 (1970).

¹⁴ *Id.*, at 279.

¹⁵ *The President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, A New Regulatory Framework* (1971) at 116-118.

¹⁶ Sen. Rep. No. 597, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. 11 (1914).

HEARINGS ON COMMAND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR WAR ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, today we held the first in a 4-day series of ad hoc public hearings on command responsibilities for war atrocities in Vietnam.

I want to commend our colleague, Congressman RON DELLUMS, from California, who initiated these hearings, and who is acting as chairman.

This forum is necessary because, to date, despite requests from a number of Members of Congress, including myself, there have been no official hearings.

The central question to which this series of hearings must address itself is simply stated by Telford Taylor, chief counsel for the prosecution at the Nuremberg Trials, in his book "Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy." I would like to quote one key paragraph from that book:

The 1956 Army Manual provides explicitly that a military commander is responsible not only for criminal acts committed in pursuance of his orders, but "is also responsible

if he has actual knowledge, or should have knowledge. . . . that troops or other persons subject to his control are about to commit or have committed a war crime and he fails to take the necessary and reasonable steps to insure compliance with the law of war or to punish violations thereof." (emphasis added)

The purpose of these hearings is not to try to discredit our military services, but, first, to determine whether there were widespread violations of the law by the American military with respect to the treatment of civilians and prisoners, and, if so, to pinpoint responsibility for such violations.

Neither the military services nor the Nation should have to face the world under a cloud of suspicion. The best way to prevent this is to get the facts, and to take whatever action is necessary to correct the deficiencies which may have led to such violations.

One of the most shocking and depressing aspects of the disclosures of German atrocities immediately after World War II was the fact that so few citizens in that great nation raised their voices in protest—or even took pains to learn the truth.

This is understandable in a people living under the iron grip of a totalitarian regime. It is unthinkable in a humane and civilized democracy.

We must know the truth before we can deal effectively with our Nation's problems.

All Members of the House and the Senate have been invited to participate in these hearings, and I am hopeful that many will take time out to hear the testimony and ask questions.

As Telford Taylor points out in a particularly thoughtful article in a recent *Life* magazine, the Calley court-martial is not the end of the story. Rather it "certainly should be the beginning of a painful but necessary course of national self-scrutiny."

I recommend Professor Taylor's article to my colleagues, and ask that it be printed in the RECORD, at this point:

JUDGING CALLEY IS NOT ENOUGH

(By Telford Taylor)

(NOTE.—Telford Taylor, an eminent authority on international and criminal law and a retired brigadier general, is now a professor of law at Columbia University. His *Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy* is a study of the conduct of the Vietnam war.)

Long before the case against Lt. William L. Calley Jr. was given to the jury of six officers at Fort Benning, it was apparent that his trial, and other official proceedings in the wake of Mylai, had exposed glaring faults in our system of military justice, and would leave unanswered some dark questions about our conduct of the war in Indochina.

The jury's verdict—finding Calley guilty of premeditated murder and sentencing him to life imprisonment—did little either to redeem the faults or answer the questions. Calley's conviction did establish that the Mylai killings were a violation of the Army's "Laws of Land Warfare," but there had never been much doubt about that. There was virtually no dispute at the trial about the circumstances in which the defenseless and unresisting villagers were cut down, and an acquittal would have been a virtual avowal

that American troops are no longer bound by the Hague and Geneva conventions or their own "Rules of Engagement" in Vietnam.

Courts-martial do not write opinions explaining their decisions, and one can only speculate on the jurors' thoughts during the 13 days that they pondered the matter, and the reasons why they convicted Calley of premeditated murder—the most serious crime of which he was accused—rather than the lesser offenses of unpremeditated murder or manslaughter that were available to them.

To the eye, the jury was a remarkably homogeneous group—three of them with "white sidewall" cropped heads, all of them solemn and stiffly military. None of them was a West Pointer, all were "Mustangs" commissioned from the ranks, and all had had combat experience. The only college graduate was the president of the court, Colonel Clifford Ford, who is in his 50s and served in Europe during World War II and in Korea. The others, four majors and a captain, were all in their 30s and veterans of Vietnam. All six jurors were and are now instructors at Fort Benning, and for all of them the Army is their career, their livelihood and their pride.

One wonders how far that pride was shaken as they heard Platoon Commander Calley testify that he could recall nothing about his instruction in the laws of war, that his official indoctrination about the Vietnamese people was "to suspect everyone" and to "put out of mind the World War II and Korean concept of giving candy and chewing gum and things to the children," that he was not "curious" about what his men were shooting at as they went through Mylai, and "made no inquiry" because he didn't "think in terms of men, women and children," that he was under constant pressure from his superiors to report "high body counts," that it was the "policy" of his task force to drive civilians in front of an advancing line to clear mine fields, and that he had not told his company commander about the shootings in the village because "there wasn't any big deal."

If none of this was much to Calley's credit, it certainly raised a strong possibility that the guilt was not his alone. General Westmoreland, the responsible commander in Vietnam at the time of Mylai and now Chief of Staff of the Army, has described Mylai as "an aberration in the system," and it is true that no deliberate slaughter of comparable proportions has come to public attention. But Calley's testimony—largely uncontradicted—indicates grave deficiencies of training and discipline in Vietnam that would go far to explain how a Mylai could "happen."

The testimony of Calley's company and brigade commanders, Captain Ernest L. Medina and Colonel Oran Henderson, was scarcely less damaging to the Army high command. Flanked by attorneys F. Lee Bailey and Melvin Belli, the two officers, whose appearances had been specially requested by the jury, were the last witnesses in the four-month trial. Both testified that the troops at Mylai were woefully undertrained, and Henderson admitted that he had given them no instructions for the handling of prisoners. Medina, the senior officer on the ground at Mylai, had exercised no effective control of his company, could not say whether his shouted command had ordered or had been a futile effort to prevent the admitted shooting a small boy, and freely acknowledged that he had covered up the massacre because of "the disgrace that was being brought upon the Army uniform," and to protect himself and his family.

Calley and a number of his men testified that Medina gave orders to kill all the villagers, including men and children. Medina flatly denied this, and sought to put the major blame on Calley. The issue is of some relevance in assessing their personal responsibility, but is not fundamentally important. Such an order would be so flagrantly in violation of the laws of war, to say nothing of common humanity, that Calley could hardly have taken it as seriously intended unless it was in keeping with his prior military experience. If it was in keeping, he might well have done as he did without any explicit instructions from Medina. If not, the order should at least have puzzled and disturbed him, which plainly was not the case.

That is why the jury's verdict of premeditated murder, calling for a mandatory sentence of death or life imprisonment, is opaque as well as harsh. Did the jurors disbelieve or choose to disregard the voluminous testimony that Calley's platoon had been ordered or encouraged by what they had observed in Vietnam to behave as it did? Or did they hold the lieutenant responsible for the sins and shortcomings of his superiors? The first conclusion is insupportable, the second ignominious, and the ambiguity is itself a grave defect in the judgment rendered. Inevitably, it will be said on all sides, if for various and contradictory reasons, that Calley has been made a scapegoat.

"Nuremberg has come back to haunt us" will be the cry of many who disdain the laws of war as futile and their enforcement as hypocritical, and regard the Nuremberg trials either as a victor's bloody vengeance or as a folly perpetrated by misguided liberals of the New Deal era. For them the Communist foe in Vietnam is so ruthless and treacherous that Mylai is to be condoned if not justified, and Calley was just an American boy fighting for his country and doing what he was told to do, who should have had a medal instead of a court-martial. But those who so express themselves are sadly misinformed, and blind to the practical as well as the moral factors. The laws of wars are centuries old, and have been part of the U.S. Army's written code of conduct since 1863. They have been enforced by courts-martial or military commissions throughout our history—against Major John Andre during the Revolution, and against Captain Henry Wirz of Andersonville infamy after the War between the States. The Calley trial is not the first time that the Army has sought to enforce these rules against one of its own officers: in 1902 Brig. General Jacob Smith was brought to trial on the charge that during the Philippine fighting against Aguinaldo he had given orders, comparable to those attributed to Captain Medina, to kill all the inhabitants of Balangiga. During World War II, and long before Nuremberg had been conceived, the Army Judge Advocate General had made extensive plans for war crimes trials in Germany, Italy and Japan. If the Nuremberg trials had never occurred, therefore, the events at Mylai would nonetheless raise the same issues that now confront us.

Nor is history the only determinant. The laws of war are not the creation of sentimental civilians but of military men, and their purposes are practical as well as moral. Quite apart from the human benefits of limiting, so far as possible, the carnage of war, military efficiency requires a disciplined awareness that soldiers are not licensed to kill indiscriminately, but only as a part of a military operation. A reign of terror against civilians will turn the population against the occupation troops and make their tasks the more difficult. Soldiers allowed to plunder and murder will become the less useful for military purposes, and if they lose respect for human life, will be the more

ready to assault each other or their officers—as is currently reported to be happening in Vietnam. An army that shows no consideration for the prisoners of war must expect that its own men will be mistreated if taken by the enemy.

Today, with waning enthusiasm for the Indochina war and a declared policy of withdrawal, public and official concern alike have focused on the hundreds of American prisoners held by the North Vietnamese. Their mistreatment has been widely deplored, and their eventual safe return is an important part of any peace settlement. Those who scoff at the laws of war might well ponder the fact that but for those laws there would be no legal obstacle to the prisoners' being publicly boiled in oil in Hanoi. Alfred P. Chamie, national commander of the American Legion, has rightly condemned the North Vietnamese for their open disregard of the Geneva Convention requirements for the treatment of prisoners. Sound as these strictures are, and disgraceful as the conduct of the North Vietnamese may be, our protests would ring hollow indeed if by condoning Mylai or other transgressions of our own, we were to discredit and undermine the force of those very laws of war on the observance of which the survival of the American prisoners depends.

Thus, the trial of Lieutenant Calley was a practical, legal and moral necessity and, given the uncontroverted evidence, his acquittal would have been a disaster. It does not follow, however, either that his conviction of premeditated murder instead of a lesser offense is a just verdict, or that the judgment of the court-martial is the end of the story. On the contrary, it may and certainly should be the beginning of a painful but necessary course of national self-scrutiny.

Justice, as reflected in the penalties courts impose, must have a comparative as well as an absolute dimension. None of the enlisted men of Calley's platoon have been or will be convicted for their part in the Mylai killings. Of his superiors, only Captain Medina has been charged with a share of the guilt. To dismiss Mylai as an "aberration" for which Calley, or Calley and Medina, are alone responsible is a transparent effort, unworthy and futile, to sweep under the rug the question of our conduct of the Indochina war and its consequences. Apart from Calley's own testimony, his counsel made no real effort to portray, as mitigating circumstances, the smell and temper of the Indochina war—the attitude toward civilians fostered or tolerated by those responsible for training and leadership, the disregard of human life and property signified by search-and-destroy missions, free-fire and free-strike zones, and relocation programs, and the massive area bombardments by B-52s: the defense lawyers' failure to explore these areas, whether or not a mistake, may well have been a calculated omission. For a full inquiry into the combat practices prevailing in Vietnam would have put the Army system of command on trial, and might have deeply antagonized the jury of career officers.

Such is the weakness of a military court-martial where in killings are sought to be justified as an incident to military operations. And the lawfulness of the operations themselves is thus called into question. Loyalty to colleagues and superiors and anxiety about future promotion are pressures bound to be felt by a military jury confronting issues that deeply affect the morale and integrity of the service as a whole.

The post-Mylai experience has disclosed other serious problems of military justice. By the time the story was flushed out of the recesses where it had been hidden, many of the soldiers who participated in the killings

had left the service. Under a 1955 decision of the Supreme Court, these men could not be tried by court-martial. It is possible that they could have been tried by special military commissions, but there were doubts and difficulties, and no such efforts were made. One of them, Pvt. Paul Meadlo, had made a virtually full confession on a TV program witnessed by millions. He then was called to testify at the trial of Sgt. David Mitchell, but invoked his Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination. One can readily conjecture the effect of this spectacle on the jury that tried Sergeant Mitchell. Assuming that Mitchell shared the guilt, why should he suffer if Meadlo was to go free? Here is a jurisdictional defect which has long been apparent, which Congress and the President should have acted to correct.

Another serious deficiency disclosed in the wake of Mylai lies in the procedure by which charges are brought, particularly against high-ranking officers. Embarrassed or worse by the long period of time between the Mylai killings and their disclosure, the Secretary of the Army initiated an inquiry into the reasons and responsibility for the cover-up, which was conducted by Lt. General William R. Peers and a specially appointed civilian lawyer, Mr. Robert MacCrate. After intensive investigation, the Peers-MacCrate commission concluded that the cover-up had been the result of "dereliction of duty" and "false swearing" and recommended that charges be brought against those responsible. Before publication, the Peers-MacCrate recommendations were reviewed by a separate group of officers. The published report listed 14 officers to be charged, including the divisional commander, deputy commander and chief of staff, as well as the brigade commander and others. Under Army judicial procedure, however, charges are actually brought by the accused's superior who convenes the court-martial. This proved to be Lt. General Jonathan O. Seaman, commander of the First Army at Fort Meade, where most of those accused in the Peers-MacCrate report had been temporarily assigned. In the upshot, General Seaman dismissed the charges against all but one of the officers accused in the Peers-MacCrate report, and accordingly only the brigade commander, Colonel Oran Henderson, will stand trial.

There appears to be no reason why a decision to prosecute, made at the departmental level, should be subject to the veto of a field commander. Furthermore, there are grave drawbacks to a system under which charges against senior officers are required to be brought by others of comparable age and rank among whom there has been close acquaintance and professional association extending over many years. What appears to be needed is an independent military legal department, comparable to the Department of Justice, within which would lie the authority to prosecute, subject only to review by the Secretary of the Army.

These procedural matters, important as they are, pale into insignificance in comparison to the deep and urgent need for a dispassionate, thorough inquiry into our conduct of the war. Mylai may have been unique in its size and quality, but it was not an aberration. Rather it was a symptom of disease, and the disease itself was the product of our decision to fight guerrillas with massive fire power brought to bear on the ground and from the air in such circumstances and which such force that enormous civilian casualties and the reduction of millions to a miserable refugee existence were the inevitable consequences.

It is high time that the people of the United States squarely face the human consequences of their Vietnam venture. The criminal aspects of these activities must not

be blinked, but they are only a small part of the problem. Calley's conviction, necessary as it was, will do nothing to alleviate the sufferings of the maimed and homeless Vietnamese, and there is danger that the severity of the judgment pronounced at Fort Benning may deflect public attention from our national responsibility to repair, as far as possible, the carnage in Indochina that has been wrought in the name of America.

GUN CRIME SENTENCES

Mr. HOGAN, Mr. Speaker, in January I introduced a bill, H.R. 1346 to strengthen the penalty provisions of title 18 of the United States Code which apply to a Federal felony committed with a firearm. Very simply, the bill would prohibit suspension of sentence or probation in any case where an individual is convicted of such an offense. At present, both are possible on a first conviction.

In 1969, according to statistics compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, out of 11,318 homicides in the country 65 percent were committed with a firearm; 24 percent of the 306,420 aggravated assaults reported that year involved use of a gun, along with 63 percent of all armed robbery. Of course, these are mostly crimes falling under the jurisdictions of the States, but a number of them—especially the bank robberies, U.S. post office robberies, and assaults on Federal officers—are Federal offenses.

The direct impact of the existing statute, and of my amendment, is on the Federal felon, as a matter of course. However, the secondary effect—the establishment of a general attitude toward gun crimes and the influence of Federal legislation on State legislatures—are probably of greater importance. Certainly, anything we can do on the Federal level will be beneficial if it serves as a warning to the gunwielding criminals of this country that they will be dealt with severely.

The statute which my bill would amend—section 924(c) of title 18—was enacted as a part of the Gun Control Act of 1968. It provided for a 1- to 10-year term of imprisonment for a first time offender and a 5- to 25-year term for a person convicted a second or subsequent time. It prohibited probation and suspended sentences only for the man convicted more than once.

Last year, a title of the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1970—Public Law 91-644—amended section 924(c) to bar the concurrent service of a term of imprisonment imposed by the section with the one imposed for the underlying felony. This was very definitely a step in the right direction, repairing a serious weakness in the original statute. However, we should now be ready to take the final step in tightening up this law by denying suspended sentences or probation to any of the people convicted under the section.

I submit that any man who carries a gun during commission of a felony does so with absolute premeditation and with a willingness to use that gun to wound or kill if necessary. For such a man I do not think it matters whether he has been

convicted of the same offense previously. It is just as serious the first time.

Mr. Speaker, we still hear proposals for such draconian laws as universal gun owner licensing, universal registration, and even outright prohibition of the private ownership of handguns. A certain segment of the American public seems to relish the thought of any measures which will annoy or restrict the hunters, sportsmen, and other law-abiding gun enthusiasts. I suggest it is time to stop pandering to this group. If the House is really interested in gun control, it should pass my bill, H.R. 1346.

STRIP MINING: WORKERS AND ECOLOGY

Mr. SEIBERLING, Mr. Speaker, Congressman KEN HECHLER, of West Virginia, has introduced a bill to abolish the strip mining of coal which I, with more than 70 other Members of Congress, have co-sponsored.

There is no question in my mind that Congress must take responsibility for seeing that our natural resources are no longer abused and exploited for the profit of a very few. Therefore, I believe the approach of the Hechler bill is absolutely correct.

But, in taking such a step, Congress must also accept responsibility for the men and women who depend on strip mining for their livelihood.

According to the latest statistics from the U.S. Bureau of Mines, nearly 25,000 people in this country are involved in strip mining, either as miners, or as supervisory or technical personnel.

This week, I plan to introduce a bill to provide special assistance to workers who are unemployed because of the abolition of strip mining. That assistance, based on the adjustment program of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, will include cash payments, retraining, relocation allowances, and special consideration in obtaining jobs for strip miners in areas for which they are particularly well trained, such as reclamation of strip mined land, and heavy construction.

In a case like the strip mining of coal, where an entire industry must be eliminated for environmental considerations, unquestionably Congress owes to the workers in that industry special consideration and assistance in rebuilding their lives.

Fortunately, the strip-mining problem is not the usual case. In most instances, industries can produce their product without fouling the environment, and they can afford to clean up their manufacturing process without going bankrupt. The cries of many companies that compliance with environmental laws and regulations will cost workers their jobs is a form of blackmail that cannot be tolerated. The fact is that, for most industries, the cost of cleaning up represents a very small fraction of their total profit.

In the Sunday Washington Post Outlook section, former Interior Secretary Udall and Jeff Stansbury have written

an informative article on the question of reconciling the demands of the workers and the demands of a healthy environment. I recommend the article to my colleagues and include it in the RECORD at this point:

SELLING ECOLOGY TO THE HARDHATS

(By Stewart Udall and Jeff Stansbury)

(NOTE.—Udall, Secretary of the Interior in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, now heads an environmental consulting firm called Overview. Stansbury was managing editor for the Population Reference Bureau from 1968 to 1970, when he and Udall began writing a twice-weekly column for the Los Angeles Times Syndicate.)

"The working people of this nation are not at war with ecology," Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) angrily declared after Congress grounded the SST, "but some people are mistakenly attacking them in the place where they work."

There was a certain irony in this, since on the one hand Sen. Jackson's constituency includes the thousands of Boeing aircraft workers in Seattle, and on the other his credentials as an environmentalist are excellent—it was Jackson who authored the landmark National Environmental Policy Act.

Yet the senator put his finger on a problem for the motley coalition of ill-financed conservationists and ecoactivists who dumped the SST: If they are to go on winning battles, they must develop a strategy that will gain support, not hostility, from working men, and to do this they must convince them that they are not destroying their means of livelihood.

This problem for environmentalists is sharpened by what often appears to be a tacit unity between management and labor when faced with an ecological campaign that could conceivably close down a factory. Some corporations and their allies are warning that the fight for clean air and clean water will cost workers their jobs.

As a result, some unionists have unleashed strong attacks on environmentalists. Writing in Clear Creek, a new environmental magazine, labor lawyer Joe McCray asked rhetorically: "Why suddenly are all of the intellectuals, the professionals and the technocrats asking for crash programs to stop pollution? It is obvious. The noxious excretions of production, the chaotic disregard of human needs in our system, are touching and affecting the world of the new ruling class. The professor's hyacinths are dying..."

McCray's old boss, longshoremen's chief Henry Bridges, is much more blunt. "The ecology movement is obviously antiworker, first of all because it is a product of the ruling class. It recognizes no obligation to the worker."

INDUSTRY'S WEAPON

Clearly the "ecologists-are-antiworker" argument has a strong demagogic appeal. It feeds on the growing number of incidents in which companies seek to thwart environmental reforms by closing down or brandishing the Damocles sword of unemployment over workers' heads. Examples:

In January, Union Carbide announced it would lay off 625 workers at its Marietta, Ohio, plant if the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) imposed strict air pollution controls.

While steelworkers jammed the galleries, the Maryland Senate recently scrapped a bill that would have discouraged the use of no-return beverage cans in favor of returnable bottles. The bill's sponsor attributed its defeat to a "strange marriage of labor and management."

Olin Corp., which employs most of the work force in tiny Saltville, Va., is shutting

down its soda ash plant because it apparently cannot meet the state's new water pollution standards. Long a marginal enterprise, it will leave 650 men and women without work.

In Selby, Calif., a notoriously dirty American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO) plant has met cleanup orders by shutting down. The corporation is threatening similar action in Tacoma, Wash. For the moment, ASARCO's stance has won the support of its Tacoma workers, but they are growing restive in their role as pollution pawns.

Charging that 6,700 men would lose their jobs, the West Virginia Surface Mine Association recently helped kill legislation to outlaw strip mining throughout the state. The ban was sought by Secretary of State Jay Rockefeller, who was unceremoniously told off by one worker: "You've honestly never had to look for a job."

U.S. Steel, which has major plants in Birmingham and Duluth, has warned Alabama and Minnesota pollution control agencies to ease up if they want the company and its jobs to stay put. In Birmingham the company has won long extensions of its cleanup deadlines; in Duluth it has extracted more modest delays.

Three weeks ago EPA ordered Pfizer Chemical Co., which manufactures nearly half the nation's penicillin at its Groton, Conn. plant, to stop dumping fibrous and nitrogenous wastes into Long Island Sound. Plant manager Stanley Emsminger swiftly put the jobs of his 2,500 workers on the line. "We will not be able to continue to produce under these conditions," he said.

"An industry's first response to environmental orders is often to create a job scare," says Norman Cole, head of the Virginia State Water Pollution Control Board. "It tries to bluff its union and its congressmen into calling off the dogs. If companies spent as much time and ingenuity cleaning up as they do stalling, the whole country would be better off."

Men like Cole, who deal with recalcitrant polluters in the political arena, know the evidence does not support most threats of environmentally caused plant shutdowns. Except for marginal firms which would soon be closed down anyway, cleanup orders almost never provide an economic justification for laying off workers or boarding up whole plants.

"Air pollution controls cost so little it's pathetic," says Ben Linsky, former environmental official in Michigan and California. "They would add only one cent to the price of an automobile tire and tube and less than two dollars to the price of a ton of steel. I see no justification whatsoever for industry's claims that environmentalists are driving it out of business."

One government estimate is that cleaning up air and water pollution would raise industry's capital investments by only about 2 per cent, and the Council on Environmental Quality has calculated that to control all of the major air pollutants would cost U.S. industry less than 1 per cent of the worth of its annual production. Yet business executives often camouflage the real economic and technological facts.

An example of this was Union Carbide's threat to fire 625 workers in Marietta, Ohio. Air pollution cleanup orders from EPA, the company alleged, made such a move necessary because neither the requisite technology nor the requisite low-sulfur, low-ash coal could be found in time to meet EPA's deadlines. Calling Union Carbide's tactics "blackmail," Ralph Nader and four public interest groups charged that plenty of high-grade coal was available but that Union Carbide preferred to use cheap, dirty coal from its own strip mine. Sen. Edmund Muskie then

announced his air and pollution subcommittee would investigate this charge. The Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers (OCAW) sharply rebuked Union Carbide and EPA refused to give ground. Shortly thereafter, Union Carbide backed down and said it never intended to use its workers as hostages.

Union Carbide is a thriving international corporation, not a tottering, underfinanced local industry. Last year its sales totalled \$3.08 billion and its profits \$157.3 million. Some polluting companies, of course, are not so fortunate, and a few of them are hanging on for dear life. Even so, they cannot fairly claim that environmental controls rank at the top of their list of woes. "Any plant so marginal that a small addition to its costs threatens a shutdown is probably being carried on faith credit and has been sick for a long time," says Linsky. "It is already on the verge of collapse."

Marginal plants that can stay in business only if they pollute—enjoy a hidden subsidy—the public's sacrifice of its health and environmental values. When the owners of such plants finally do close them down, they often blame the loss of jobs on environmentalists as a tactic designed to buy time for dirty plants in other communities.

CALLING THE BLUFF

The relatively low cost of pollution controls is only one reason why industry's job threats are usually a bluff. Most plants have a compelling reason to stay where they are—tax laws are often lenient, prime markets and raw materials are near, or the right kind of work force is available. Thus, though the enforcement of pollution laws varies from state to state, only a few well-heeled companies can afford to seek temporary "pollution shelters" by crossing state lines. They will be even less able to do so as the national standards written into new laws take hold.

Recently, in Ticonderoga, N.Y., the managers of an International Paper Company mill threatened such a move and tacitly won the union's support in resisting a state air pollution order. Pulp and paper workers are highly skilled, however, and not easily replaced. When they realized that International Paper could not move without them, their support waned. International Paper reluctantly stayed in Ticonderoga—and cleaned up.

Similarly, ASARCO has threatened to pull out of Tacoma if forced to meet deadlines set by the Puget Sound Air Pollution Control Agency. But ASARCO gets its copper ore from the Philippines and obviously must remain near the Pacific Coast. Oregon has served notice that it doesn't want a dirty smelter, and neither does California. ASARCO may draw a reprieve from state pollution officials, but even if it doesn't it will probably stay in Tacoma—and clean up.

Economic realities such as these are beginning to get the attention of alert union officials. It takes no little courage for them to call a company's job bluff, especially in a time of high unemployment. But there are already signs that the United Auto Workers, United Steel Workers, Teamsters, and OCAW are withdrawing from industry's coercive embrace on the job issue.

"I don't see how a work force and a community can accept the kind of desolation that results from an operation such as the mine and smelter in Anaconda and Butte, Montana," says Teamster Vice President Einar Mohn. "It seems to me that even if this operation is the only means of making a living, it just isn't worth the resulting barrenness."

The Teamsters, of course, do not work the smelters, but OCAW chief A. F. Grosprion speaks for his own men when he says: "Our members just aren't going to be forced into fighting the EPA." More flatly, OCAW official

Robert Palmer declares: "Our union wants to stop pollution with controls even if it means lost jobs. If a plant can't clean up after a reasonable period it should close down. What good are jobs if you can't drink the water and catch fish any more?"

Such labor leaders are buoyed by more than courage or a public relations sixth-sense. They also know that ecological controls and environmentally sound programs create far more jobs than they abolish. Hind-sight is always an easy exercise, but if, for example, President Johnson had opted in 1965 not to build the SST and to spend the same \$800 million designing and subsidizing the air cushion train, he would have promoted a largely pollution-free new industry that today would employ tens of thousands of industrial and construction workers.

Creation of waste-recycling industries would likewise mean more, not fewer, jobs, and so would across-the-board pollution controls on all our manufacturing industries. Clearly, no group has a bigger stake than labor on balancing our priorities—a fact AFL-CIO chief George Meany may have overlooked when he launched his last-ditch campaign to save the SST.

Nevertheless, the environmental job issue has an irreducible hard core and cannot be dismissed. Marginal plants do close down under antipollution orders (especially when they are owned by large conglomerates), and small businesses do give way to impersonal, multiplant corporations. In these shifts the worker is often caught in a ruthless squeeze between industry's thirst for profits and society's demands for environmental reforms.

Furthermore, many workers are intimidated by dishonest job threats. "They tend to believe what the company says," observes Minnesota Air Quality Office engineer Tibor Kosa. "And why not? No one tells them the real economic facts. In Minnesota not even the state government can tell a plant to disclose the economic bases for its shutdown decision."

Small wonder, then, that some workers feel they are being unfairly asked to bear the heaviest burden of environmental reform. This belief is encouraged by industry spokesmen and demagogic politicians who misrepresent the issues and gloss over the true economics of environmental controls. Of equal weight in the worker's psychology is his basically accurate perception—oversimplified to be sure—that most environmentalists come from a different social climate than his own and do not always understand his predicament.

Yet despite misunderstandings between workers and environmentalists, at bottom their interests and enemies are the same. If the worker thinks he is merely a pawn on somebody else's ecological chess game he is deceiving himself, for he stands to gain immeasurably from the environmental thrust toward more liveable cities, cleaner beaches, purer air, more abundant wildlife and a healthier world for his children.

Just as emphatically, the environmentalist is deceived if he thinks he can control industrial pollution without winning the trust and protecting the health of the men and women who labor at its source. There is some hard truth in McCray's on-sided charge that "the style of the ecology movement has time and again demonstrated contempt for the working class and unions." McCray adds: "To the extent that the recent ecology movement is an upper- and middle-class phenomenon—seeking protection for the middle-class environment, avoiding the burdens of pollution control, disregarding the working class—then it cannot enlist the trade unions in its cause, and in fact incurs the enmity of labor."

But this is only a fragment of the truth. Increasingly, younger labor leaders realize

that most workers live near their plants in some of the worst urban neighborhoods, and that the very poisons environmentalists hope to remove from the outside community do their greatest damage inside the blue-collar workplace. For these reasons, the industrial worker stands to gain more than anyone else from the ecology movement.

Who, then, is really attacking the worker in his workplace? It is not the environmentalists, as Sen. Jackson charges, but those corporate managers who would prolong industry's license to pollute.

Though most environmental groups and unions do not fully realize it, their paths are slowly converging. Neither can go very much further in the pollution fight without the other. And if society truly wants a decent environment, it can go nowhere without both of them. "Only through the politics of coalition," says UAW President Leonard Woodcock, "can we solve the desperate social problems this country has."

CONVERGING INTERESTS

The first signs of an emerging community of interest are now visible. The OCAW refused to back the SST. It is educating its workers on inplant pollution, calling upon public interest lawyers and the medical profession for help. With the United Automobile Workers (UAW) and other labor allies, it has joined and sometimes led the fight for pollution controls—though seldom receiving much credit for its efforts. Both the OCAW and UAW have also moved cautiously (and without much early success) to lay such controls on the table at contract negotiating time.

Environmentalists, for their part, helped students in five states support the UAW strike against General Motors last fall. Environmental Action, Inc., while focusing most of its energies on the markup of the 1970 Clean Air Act, also lobbied for the equally important Occupational Health and Safety Act; this young organization remains the most philosophically attuned of all national environmental groups to the needs of workers. A close cousin, Environmental Health Programs, Inc., is now building momentum for an attack on workplace pollution and is bringing together union officials, environmentalists and medical experts for this campaign.

These are small beginnings at best, but they may foreshadow a powerful ideological convergence of workers and environmentalists. In the immediate future, if the jobs-environment crunch is not to generate needless mistrust between the two groups, basic remedies must be applied. We have talked with many people in conservation, public interest law, unions and Congress about the problem. Here are some of their recommendations:

Unions should put pollution controls high on their list of contract negotiation priorities. The legal basis for negotiating occupational health issues is clear, though the subject has elicited widespread union concern only in the last few years. The legal basis for labor negotiations over community pollution is not as clear, but it must be explored because workers normally live within the zone of heaviest pollution surrounding their plants.

Congress should enact uniform national emission standards for all industries and link them to the highest available technology, not to the assimilative capacity of airsheds and watersheds or to the unfortunate state stream classification system. Putting all polluters on equal footing will make it impossible for states such as Maine and Alabama to serve as pollution shelters for companies trying to escape controls elsewhere.

Congress should also pass legislation forcing

ing companies to disclose the full economic data supposedly supporting their shutdown threats or decisions. In Tacoma, ASARCO claims it would have to spend an intolerable \$33 million to meet the state's new standards for sulfur oxide emissions. But how much would the company gain in state and federal tax credits, depreciation allowances and the sale of liquid sulfur dioxide from the recovery process? ASARCO doesn't say.

If a company can demonstrate that environmental controls forced it to shut down, the government should compensate its workers for 52 weeks, with the term being extended by 13 weeks for workers over the age of 60 and by 26 weeks for workers enrolled in approved retraining courses. Two strong precedents for such compensation are the Interstate Commerce Act, recently used by Labor Secretary James Hodgson in awarding benefits to workers whose jobs were sacrificed by the shift to the new Railpax passenger system, and the Trade Expansion Act, recently used by President Nixon to compensate, retrain and relocate unemployed shoe industry workers.

Congress should enact the McGovern-Mathias job transition bill and the Nelson and Daniels public works job bills; they would put thousands of people to work on environmentally useful projects.

Finally, environmentalists and unions should launch an all-out attack against the workplace pollution which threatens the health of millions of blue-collar employees. The chronic disease rate among these men and women is tragically high. If they can be protected from further industrial poisoning, the communities near their plants can be protected, too.

The logical and potentially powerful links between the interests of the public, the worker and the environmentalist are rightly viewed by some industrialists as a threat to their own excessive power. Will this new coalition work, though? There are hopeful omens in current and recent controversies. When ASARCO closes down the last wing of its Selby, Calif., plant next month rather than clean up, it will throw the last of 800 men out of work. One of them is Steven Pine, a 35-year employee who has seen the plant poison its surroundings and sicken its workers. Of the imminent shutdown he says: "They're doing the men a favor."

And in Seattle, a young Boeing worker with six children and unemployment staring him in the face contemplates the Senate defeat of the SST. Vincent Tricola hoped the airplane would be spared, of course, but he concedes: "We need it like a hole in the head."

TAKE PRIDE IN AMERICA

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, today we should take note of America's great accomplishments and in so doing renew our faith and confidence in ourselves as individuals and as a nation.

Born on an Oklahoma Indian reservation in 1925, Maria Talchief danced with the Paris Opera Ballet and the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and became prima ballerina of the New York City Ballet Company at the age of 23.

WILD MUSTANG LEGISLATION

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, as a lover and owner of horses, I was particularly impressed when the plight of the wild mustangs came to national attention. Soon after, I cosponsored legislation in-

roduced by my colleague from Maryland (Mr. Gude) that would protect these animals. I am pleased that the Subcommittee on Public Lands scheduled and held an early hearing on this problem and I took that opportunity to make my views known to the committee members. At this point I would like to insert in the Record my statement to the Subcommittee on Public Lands regarding H.R. 5684:

STATEMENT OF HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, one of our most cherished symbols of freedom is in danger of being squeezed out of existence. I am referring to the free-roaming horses and burros that struggle for survival in the remote, wild mountains and deserts of our western states. Unless Congress comes to their rescue by passing legislation to provide adequate protection, I fear that the wild horse in America will soon become only a nostalgic memory.

It was for this reason, Mr. Chairman, that on March 8, 1971, I introduced H.R. 5684, as a co-sponsor with my colleague from Maryland, Congressman Gude, and other Members. This bill recognizes the few remaining wild horses and burros as an important part of our national heritage and authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to control, manage, and protect them on public lands. The Secretary would also be authorized to establish special ranges for these endangered animals. The bill further provides that the Secretary would be authorized to enter into cooperative agreements with landowners and certain agencies and to appoint an advisory board to share in the management planning.

Under the bill, a fine of \$1,000 and/or one year of imprisonment could be imposed for molesting, capturing, or using these animals in any commercial product. The penalties for these and certain other actions may seem rather stiff, but if we are to stop the abuse, neglect, inhumane treatment, and occasional outright torture that the wild free-roaming horses have been subjected to in the past, I feel that strong measures are needed.

At one time great herds of wild horses thrived on the western plains alongside the buffalo. But like the buffalo, the wild horse could not withstand the increasing pressure brought on by the settlement of the west. Something had to give. As usual, it was the native Indian, the buffalo, the timber wolf, and wild horses who were crowded out.

About the turn of the century the Indian ponies and wild mustangs could be numbered in the millions. Today there are less than 17,000 left, and these are mostly in the rugged parts of Nevada and Wyoming.

It is my impression that the protection in this bill would also apply to the wild ponies on the Assateague National Seashore on the eastern coast of my own State of Maryland. Tradition indicates these wild ponies swam ashore hundreds of years ago from Spanish galleons and have subsisted on the scrub grass growing on Assateague Island. The Volunteer Fire Department at Chincoteague, Virginia, has been the caretaker of the ponies and rounds them up every year, feeds them, gives them veterinary attention and in other ways helps to preserve these beautiful animals. I personally own two of these Assateague ponies and they are marvelous pets.

I do not expect this bill will greatly alter the present care being given to the Assateague ponies, except to possibly assist the Chincoteague Fire Department in providing care. However, one provision of the bill that I hope will be dealt with carefully by the Committee, because of its possible effect on the Assateague ponies, is that which provides

a penalty for anyone who allows a domestic horse or burro to run with the wild ones. In order to improve the breed of the Assateague ponies, which has been weakened by inbreeding, Arab stallions have been turned loose on the Island to mate with the wild mares. The provision in H.R. 5684 contains language which places penalties on those persons who allow domestic animals to run with the wild stock "without appropriate authorization." It is very important to me that this or similar language providing authorized exceptions be maintained in the bill reported by the Committee to permit continued efforts to strengthen the breed of the Assateague ponies. If no such exception is provided, I fear this practice would be illegal; in any event it could not be done without being subject to the penalty.

Mr. Chairman, I am proud to be counted among those who are willing to make the effort to save and protect the free-roaming horses and burros as a symbol of the prisoner spirit and the love of freedom that built this great land of ours. Like the famous western writer, J. Frank Dobie, I, too, feel that the wild horse is "The most beautiful, the most spirited, and the most inspiring creature ever to print the grasses of America."

For these reasons, I hope this Committee and the Congress will pass this urgently needed legislation without delay.

Mr. Speaker, to lend support to my bill, I should like to cite parts of a recent report prepared by the Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, entitled "The Wild Horse Controversy." The report presents both sides of the question. The pro and con arguments contained in the report are as follows:

Those who are opposed or indifferent to the wild horse make these claims:

1. It has little economic value except for pet food.
2. It is not an endangered species under the Department of the Interior standards.
3. It is not a game animal and is therefore not protected by state game laws.
4. In some places it competes seriously with domestic livestock and big game.
5. When overgrazing results, range deterioration and erosion are accelerated.
6. When populations exceed the carrying capacity of the meager range, the horses often die of starvation during severe winters. The situation is much the same as with the elk herds in Jackson Hole and Yellowstone National Park.
7. The wild horse has no value as a trophy animal, as compared with bighorn sheep, for example.
8. The horse is not a native species to North America. It was introduced from Europe by the early explorers 400 years ago.
9. The mustang is not really "wild" in the same sense as elk or bear. "Feral" is a more accurate word to describe it.
10. As a tourist attraction, the wild horse poses several difficulties. It is hard to even get a glimpse of one under natural conditions. If the animals are captured, corralled, fed, and managed for exhibition, then they are no longer wild. A wild horse in the zoo would look no different from any other horse.
11. The bloodlines of the original mustang or Spanish barb have been so diluted that the ancestry of very few individuals could be traced back to the superior horses introduced from Spain 400 years ago.
12. Inbreeding, poor habitat, and severe hardship have produced a horse that no longer resembles the original mustang. Many are stunted, scrawny, and diseased. They are frequently called "broomtails" or "knot-heads" because of their poor appearance.
13. Many wild bands contain horses that have been recently turned loose by local ranchers. Some are branded. It takes only one generation for a horse to revert to the wild.

Those who are striving to save the mustangs present the following arguments:

1. Their numbers are diminishing. In the 1870's an estimated 3.5 million roamed the plains. Now, the population is down to about 17,000.
2. Man's love and respect for the horse is universal. Nearly everyone hates to see the animal mistreated, abused, or neglected.
3. The mustangs and burros played such an important and colorful part in America's early history that they should be protected and preserved as a part of our National heritage.
4. These animals have already been crowded out of the better habitats. They now occupy areas that are not well suited for domestic livestock.
5. Where competition with big game exists, at least some areas should be set aside where the wild horses are given preference.
6. The emotional appeal of the wild mustangs is almost unequalled. Countless people who have never seen a wild horse are rising up in its defense.
7. Erosion is a geologic process, and in the wild, remote areas now occupied by mustangs, erosion will continue regardless of what species occupies the land.
8. There are some things that cannot be evaluated in dollars and cents—and the wild horse is one. Who can put a price tag on a view of a wild stallion running the ridges with his harem?

Mr. Speaker, I urge all Members to closely consider the problem this legislation responds to and to support it when it comes to the floor of the House for a vote.

BID SHOPPING

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, prior to my election to Congress some of my clients were companies operating as subcontractors in the construction field, and this afforded me some insight into the problems which confront them. One of these problems, the pernicious practice referred to in the trade as "bid shopping," is the target of concern in a bill I have cosponsored in the 92d Congress, H.R. 10, which bill would prevent this practice on construction contracts with the Federal Government in excess of \$100,000.

Here is the way bid shopping works. A general contractor about to bid on a Federal contract asks various specialty subcontractors to submit bids for various segments of the overall contract. He then takes the aggregate of these bids and submits his own proposal to the Federal contracting officer. When he is chosen as the successful bidder, the contractor sometimes calls other specialty subcontractors who are in competition with the subcontractor submitting the original bid and tries to interest them in submitting a lower bid, thus increasing his own margin of profit.

Not only is this unfair to the bidding subcontractor who has gone to a great deal of effort, time, and expense in submitting the bid, but it also results in inferior work on the jobs. There always seems to be subcontractors desperately in need of work or on the verge of bankruptcy who are willing to do a job at or below cost. The effect is a deterioration of healthy competition. The bid-listing plan which this legislation authorizes will help to irradicate this evil practice by requiring the general contractor to list the names of those subcontractors

submitting the specialty bids, and requiring him to use them if he is chosen to perform the work for the Government.

Although hearings were held on this proposal during the 91st Congress, no action was taken by the Judiciary Committee. I do hope that the members of this committee will thoroughly study this proposal and the practice which it attempts to correct and will approve this legislation at an early date.

BILL TO PROTECT THE ATLANTIC SALMON

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, being a Marylander, I appreciate the importance of the fishing industry. The living resources of the Chesapeake Bay and the broad Atlantic are important economically and recreationally to my State of Maryland and for these reasons I joined in cosponsorship of H.R. 3305—a bill whose purpose is to protect the existence of the Atlantic salmon.

The Atlantic salmon has been an important sport and commercial fish for many years. Although threatened by pollution of the streams in which it breeds, it has survived and, as we make progress in cleaning our northeastern rivers, the Atlantic salmon has begun to appear again in those rivers.

A serious situation has developed in recent years however, stemming from the commercial taking of these fish in the open seas. In the Davis Strait between Canada and Greenland there has developed an extensive fishery which nets immature salmon born in North American rivers.

Taking the young salmon is a most inefficient utilization of the resource. If allowed to reach maturity the fish would be much larger. Most importantly, taking the fish in the open sea prevents their returning to fresh water to spawn. Thus the future of the salmon fishery is placed in jeopardy.

Fourteen nations which fish the North Atlantic have voted to ban fishing for salmon in the North Atlantic. Several other nations, notably Denmark, have not. Lacking a means to enforce the will of the majority, open-sea fishing for salmon continues.

The essence of wise management of a resource is a willingness to forgo immediate gain in order to insure a continuing return from the resource.

There is now a need to move toward that means of management of the Atlantic salmon. While most of the nations involved are in agreement, there must be action to bring all parties to accept such a philosophy.

H.R. 3305 provides us with the leverage needed to bring about such unanimity of action. The bill would prohibit importation of the fish products of any country whose fishing operations are detrimental to the conservation of Atlantic salmon.

The bill requires a determination by the Secretary of Commerce that nationals of a foreign country are operating in a manner which diminishes the effectiveness of domestic salmon conservation programs.

The Secretary of the Treasury, after

being informed of such a determination by the Commerce Secretary, is required to prohibit the importation of any fish products of the offending country.

Inasmuch as the currently offending country is heavily dependent upon the sale in this country of her fishery products, we can expect prompt compliance with sound salmon conservation practices.

It is worth adding, I believe, that other nations are experiencing a swell of public sentiment in favor of such restrictions of trade with the offending nation.

I hope that this Congress may move promptly on this matter.

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED TO CONTINUE MEDICAL PAYMENTS FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE AND FIREMEN IN SERVICE-CONNECTED DISABILITY CASES

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, we read periodically of an instance when a policeman or fireman forfeits his life in the line of duty. There is no way, of course, in which we can begin to repay these men for the service they have rendered. At the same time, however, there are officers who make almost as great a contribution, those who have sustained injuries in the line of duty, which leave them totally disabled for the rest of their lives. Even worse, the medical and surgical care required for these injuries oftentimes place them and their families under a financial burden which they cannot hope to bear. I have cosponsored with my colleague from Virginia (Mr. BROYHILL) legislation which responds to this type of situation.

Presently, under the Policemen and Firemen's Retirement and Disability Act, the expense of such care is paid by the District of Columbia government when a member of these forces becomes temporarily disabled in the performance of his duty. The act does not include such benefits, however, for members retired for duty-related disability.

Two particular cases were brought to my attention last year of men who were seriously injured in the line of duty. After several years and several thousands of dollars in medical bills, the District of Columbia Fire Department and the Metropolitan Police Department were having difficulty carrying the financial burden of these medical costs. Because of this, the retirement of these men from the active rolls had been recommended.

What will happen to these men if and when they are retired? Policeman Charles Allen, of Lanham, Md., in my district, is paralyzed from his waist down. Over \$30,000 has been expended for his care since May 1965, and further hospital and surgical treatment is anticipated. Fireman Hunter Vaughn is permanently hospitalized and requires nurses around the clock. The Fire Department has expended approximately \$70,000 for his care. When these men are retired on disability, will they be able to bear these financial costs? We all know the answer to this question.

I firmly believe that the District's moral obligation to assist financially those who become totally disabled from

service-connected injuries or diseases is just as binding after their retirement from the forces as it is while they remain on the active rolls.

H.R. 113, which I have cosponsored, would permit the District Government to fulfill this obligation to those members retiring after its effective date whose disability is determined by the Commissioner to be total at the time of retirement. It would authorize the payment of the expenses of medical or surgical services, or hospital treatment, which either can be rendered by the Commissioner or approved by him to be rendered by others. Funding provisions are also included.

Late in the 91st Congress, the House District Committee held a hearing regarding this legislation. I urge the members of that committee to act quickly to favorably report this legislation to the House for approval.

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 851, TO EXTEND THE TAX BENEFITS OF INCOME SPLITTING TO UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, at this time of year we are painfully aware of income taxes, and it seems appropriate to speak about one serious inequity in our tax structure. Everywhere in the United States on April 15, single men and women paid income taxes at substantially higher rates than married couples filing joint returns.

Prior to 1948, the same schedule of rates applied to all categories of taxpayers. However, husbands and wives who lived in a community property State could divide their income between them for Federal tax purposes and pay taxes at the lower rate applicable to each segment of income. In order to eliminate the inequities created between taxpayers in community and noncommunity property States, legislation was enacted to allow income splitting for all married couples who filed joint returns.

The result has been a tax inequity against single persons. I am pleased, therefore, to cosponsor H.R. 851 which would extend the tax benefits of income splitting to unmarried individuals.

The Tax Reform Act of 1969 moved toward eliminating this inequity by providing that the taxes paid by single people would be no more than 20 percent higher than those paid by married couples for the same taxable income. But there is no justification for any difference at all in the tax rates. Differences in ability to pay should be arrived at through other provisions of the code such as the exemptions for dependents.

I urge my colleagues to join with me in correcting this inequity in the tax structure by supporting this bill.

HANOI'S MARCH FOR U.S. DEFEAT

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Hanoi's dear American friends executed a highly successful invasion and occupation of the District of Columbia on Saturday, April 24. It was effective, not so much for their operation, but for the skill and subterfuge in camouflaging the maneuvers from the citizen behind the cloak of peace

though expertise in deceit and buoyed up by a cooperative communications system. Their operation was so effective that they were even able to convince some of the duped participants.

Reportedly, top U.S. Reds joined with their international comrades in world solidarity Saturday to prove their adeptness in exploiting man's eternal aspiration for peace—the global peace that the same Communist leadership has prevented the people from attaining for over 25 years.

Judging from the size of the crowd and its composition, including middle aged and elderly, all Reds under party leadership were ordered to participate. Even the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—the Communist aggressors who fought in Spain—were welcomed. Under their banner the Abraham Lincoln Brigade marched for "peace"—which to those professional Bolsheviks is a material state that can only be achieved when all resistance to communism has been destroyed, suppressed, or liquidated.

The real purpose of the march did not seem to be for peace, but rather for the glory of who was to receive the credit for defeating the United States.

President Nixon has to date done everything the Reds have asked, but his appeasement infuriates them. Nixon has committed our country to surrender, but the Reds in Southeast Asia remain on the offensive as if to prevent U.S. withdrawal. Nixon has appeased so far to talk peace in Paris that even his confidants question his loyalty, but the Reds would not permit a dialog. The administration talks of a planned retreat but the Communies do not want that either. Their objective calls for a complete rout and run affair. The Reds do not want Nixon to get the credit for a U.S. surrender. They must have the international glory of bringing the United States to its knees to use as propaganda for intimidation elsewhere about the world in their imperialistic expansionism.

The marchers expressed warped objectives: Start a domestic war to end a foreign one. Destroy your fellow countrymen to stop the killing of foreign enemies.

It was frightening to see a militant, well-disciplined foreign army maneuvering as a show of force within our own Nation. Saturday's march operation presented gigantic problems in logistics, training, discipline, and control. The troops were well trained and the leaders highly proficient. The timing was precision. The leadership and marchers in the know did not want peace—their goal was a U.S. defeat.

Not since Hitler's Brown Shirts and SS has the civilized world beheld such a mass conglomeration of nondescript humanity, allowing itself to be used for intimidation today—cannon fodder tomorrow. A mob of humanity representing a classless army—uniformed to set them off from normalcy by long hair, extreme clothes, and a togetherness of appearance. The new army is indoctrinated to lack individuality—classless men and women dressed to look alike in their unkemptness, barren of pride, patriotism, and any dedication except to what was drilled into them as the only

objective on this mission: nonviolence and end the war with a Communist victory.

Anyone led to believe this march was a volunteer outpouring of incensed Americans had best reconsider. The march was mostly a coalition of various leftist groups. Any militant and well-disciplined mob is always an internal threat to peace. The march and day passed mostly peaceful; but on orders or by erosion of discipline, it could just as easily have become violent.

Despite the many live news coverages of the protest, lacking was the usual analytical observations advising the viewers of the background of the march organizers and leaders. Many reporters were most sympathetic. Some looked like the march participants and helped explain the activities. One interviewed marcher was asked about charges that the organizers were pro-Communist. The interviewed marchers professionally evaded answers with the best slide-off methods, denying they were Communists but labeling themselves Progressive Labor or Marxists. Even a TV interviewer should be informed enough to know that the Progressive Labor and Marxists are Communists. Yet there was no further explanation to the listening public.

Was the march a Communist operation? The record showed it was contrived by the Communists in Hanoi 4 months before April 24. Who gained by the show of force?

The Sunday Washington Post carried a front page photo taken at the anti-war demonstration showing a long-haired participant sitting atop the Peace Monument of America. The protestor was waving a Vietcong flag. One need not wonder what would have happened in World War II if a fifth columnist calling himself a peace advocate had mounted the Peace Statue to wave a Nazi or Japanese flag. The swastika or rising sun flags are felt to generate animosity but the Vietcong flag is a symbol of peace and brotherhood. Who is fooling whom? The parade was replete with many Vietcong, Red flags, and black banners, certainly more representative of death and enslavement than peace. A large portrait of Mao Tse-tung was carried in the parade, but no pictures of American patriots were displayed.

At least one American flag was burned. This was done at the Washington Monument and was photographed by a Sunday Star photographer. Yet there has been no announcement of charges or prosecution. Nor any reported action taken against the burners of the monument benches.

The Women's Contingent of Vietnam Veterans Against War passed out mimeographed material which included a poem by the Russian, Yevtoshenko:

Flood the streets and country roads with the tramp of a terrible army marching in columns of humanity and flowers.

The clenched fist salute—universally recognized symbol of the Communist movement—was the rule, not the exception throughout the crowd of participants and marchers. The clenched

fist, a symbol of brute strength and power, makes a sordid peace symbol.

Many of these youthful participants represent the product of revolutionary training in Communist and Socialist schools in Cuba, Russia, North Vietnam, North Korea, and Red China. As such, they must be regarded as desperate agents—zombies, so confused that they can look a gift horse in the mouth and still not appreciate it. These are foreign agents whose motto is that justice for Americans is found at the muzzle of a rifle. And our leaders have done nothing to prevent such free travel for subversion.

The latest attack on the FBI complains of surveillance on a 14-year-old boy attending a revolutionary training school in East Germany. One of the intercepted messages is said to have contained this quote:

He had learned a great deal about socialism when he previously attended the camp and after his next experience at the camp, he would be able to return to the United States with ideas and to inform the children about the camp.

The anti-FBI ad hoc committee attacks this role in national security by saying it infringes on intellectual freedom.

Where are President Nixon and his appointees charged with the security of our Nation? Why are they silent? How long do they think the American people are going to sit back and permit this cancer to grow in our Nation's bowels before some action is initiated?

The Commies, Reds, pinks, and their fellow travelers may want to live under collectivism and communism; but they do not speak for the rest of us. Yet, in America, American ideas, solutions, and activities come last in priority, if at all. It would have been unheard of for any conservative or constitutional coalition of Americans to have been granted the silence of approval given the National Peace Action Coalition, let alone the favorable press. The free, unorganized Americans who put faith in their elected leaders are being desensitized to sit back and accept this abuse and mockery. Why?

The saving of our country must be our first order of business.

I include several related news clippings:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Apr. 25, 1971]

ABOUT 200,000 MARCH AGAINST WAR

(By Woody West)

A mighty tide of humanity, estimated officially at 200,000 people, filled downtown Washington from the Ellipse to the Capitol yesterday to urge an end to the war in Indochina.

It was a quiet, almost subdued march that flowed down the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue to gather in a swelling mass before the West Front of the Capitol.

THE 5 HOURS OF SPEECHES

They heard about five hours of speeches, folk songs and rock music in front of the Capitol, a new rallying point for an anti-war demonstration. Then in mid-afternoon they began drifting off again, back to buses jammed along the Mall and the Tidal Basin, but also toward other areas of the city: An encampment in West Potomac Park, the

South Vietnamese Embassy and roped-off Dupont Circle.

Last night, about 14,000 people listened to a rock concert at the Sylvan Theater, while thousands more settled down with blankets and sleeping bags in West Potomac Park.

About 11 p.m., an explosion destroyed a foot-long section of curbing at 6th Street and Madison Drive on the Mall opposite the National Gallery. Police were unable immediately to explain the explosion which caused no injuries.

The marchers were led down Pennsylvania Avenue by an American flag and, just behind it, a large red-and-blue Viet Cong flag. The weather was bright and gentle and matched the marchers' mood.

District police put the crowd at 200,000 and sponsors said it was "in excess" of 500,000. The rally came after a week of anti-war activity here by about 1,000 Vietnam veterans.

The rally also marked the beginning of two more weeks of protest, some by more militant groups. One, the May Day Collective, has threatened to disrupt the normal functioning of government during the week of May 2.

Yesterday, however, it was a massively peaceful display of sentiment against the decade-old war in Southeast Asia.

FEW DISTURBANCES

Despite warnings by U.S. Atty. Gen. John Mitchell that there was a "substantial possibility" of violence during the next two weeks of activities, there was little trouble yesterday. A group of American Nazis scuffled with some marchers on the way to the Capitol. Eight persons were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. Four persons were arrested later in other incidents.

As the marchers passed the White House, a prime target of their protest was absent. President Nixon was spending the weekend at Camp David in the Catoctin Mountains of Maryland.

The marching contingents represented a diverse collection—from labor union bands to a group from Gay Liberation. There even was a tiny band of white-haired men who marched under a blue banner proclaiming them as "Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade," one of the American volunteer units that fought in the Spanish Civil War.

YOUTH IN "UNIFORM"

The marching throng was predominantly young and wore the uniforms of the young—fragments of military garb, denims, and head-bands.

The familiar paraphernalia of protest marchers was present. There were dozens of Viet Cong flags; dozens of American flags, many carried upside down in the international distress signal, and dozens upon dozens of placards and banners expressing contempt for the war and demanding its immediate end.

Although the marchers were overwhelmingly young, there were also many older protesters. Several hundred people marched under the banner of "Federal Employees Against the War." They were older, paunchier, less flamboyantly dressed.

Along the route of march, several hundred marshals supervised the marchers, politely asking them to remain in line on the south side of the avenue.

Yesterday's demonstration was sponsored by two primary groups: The National Peace Action Coalition, and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. NPAC will drop out from sponsorship of the next two weeks of protest activities, but the People's Coalition will continue to participate.

WILL NOT TOLERATE WAR

Jerry Gordon, a 42-year-old Cleveland lawyer who is a leader of the National Peace Action Coalition, said, "I think people who

contended the anti-war movement is dead have their answer today. This demonstrates that people are not going to tolerate this war any longer."

By 7 p.m., D.C. Health Services officials reported that 330 demonstrators had been treated, with six sent to hospitals for further examination. The cases included such usual march maladies as sore feet, exhaustion, headaches, dirt under contact lenses and a few drug overdoses.

A doctor at the Ellipse medical station was worried because he was running low on medicine to counter drug reactions, particularly in view of an expected need later at the Sylvan Theater rock concert staged by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

At one point in the concert, officials interrupted the program to announce that "white pills with pink and green speckles" being distributed apparently contained strychnine.

A spokesman for George Washington University Hospital said eight people had been brought to the hospital with symptoms of strychnine poisoning, but were not hospitalized.

The hospital official said its emergency medical center had treated 84 demonstrators for various ailments, including a large number of bad drug trips.

The march in Washington was counterpointed yesterday by an anti-war march in San Francisco, where police estimated 156,000 paraded through the downtown streets.

Several members of Congress were among the dozen speakers who addressed the crowd in front of the Capitol. The speeches began even as thousands still poured down Pennsylvania Avenue, and other late arrivals clogged sidewalks east of Capitol Hill.

At mid-afternoon, traffic was still heavy along the Baltimore-Washington Parkway and other arteries into Washington from the Eastern Seaboard. One police spokesman said some 600 buses had been counted coming into the city, as well as some 700 railroad cars.

Among the congressmen who talked to the protesters was Rep. Herman Badillo, D-N.Y. Badillo, the first Puerto Rican elected to Congress, said, "Friends, you've come to the right place," as he stood in front of the Capitol, "because I don't have much hope that President Nixon will take action."

Also in the sizable cadre of speakers were: Journalist I. F. Stone; Harold Gibbons, introduced as a Teamster Union official; Rev. Joseph Duffy, head of the Americans for Democratic Action; Rep. John Conyers, D-Mich.; and John Kerry, a former Navy lieutenant junior grade who was a leader of the veterans group.

Another speaker, David Dellinger, one of the Chicago 7 defendants, drew a roaring ovation when he said that if Congress will not deny money for the war, then people must, "by not paying our war taxes, by not paying our telephone taxes."

At the Capitol grounds, the demonstrators remained subdued. Many stretched out under trees or in the sun, and peace-button hawkers circulated through the crowd. Blocks away, a few young people waded in the Reflecting Pool.

Nearly every sizable tree around the periphery of the West Front had a couple of youngsters perched high for better visibility. One of the few injuries reported was someone falling from a tree. Otherwise, according to the marchers' medical personnel, about the only treatment required during the day was for "blisters and drunks."

Attorney General Mitchell, relieved that the rally had occurred peacefully, nonetheless stuck by his warning there was substantial likelihood of violence in the next two weeks of demonstrations here.

"There is nothing that I have seen today that would change that," Mitchell told a few

reporters as he left his Justice Department office at the end of the day.

The groups from labor unions were far more conspicuous than in past anti-war marches.

One union member, Zoltan Massanyi, a member of the United Auto Workers here from Cleveland, said it was the first time that union had sent buses here for an anti-war protest.

"The people are feeling the war in the pocketbook and in their families or other people's families where somebody had gotten killed" in Southeast Asia, he said.

More blacks took part than in past marches, although their numbers were not large.

THIRD WORLD RALLY

One of the major non-white contingents in the demonstration was the Third World Task Force, which rallied at Meridian Hill Park—Malcolm X Park, as it has been informally renamed—before joining the main body of marchers.

"We feel that the Third World people organizing in their own group will change the whole nature of the antiwar movement. We have more people here than ever before and this is an indication that our ranks will be even larger in the future," said a spokesman for the group that numbered about 2,000.

Even as the rally at the Capitol was continuing, the flow down Pennsylvania Avenue continued so heavy that police opened Constitution Avenue to the marchers to channel off some of the stream, and they entered the Capitol grounds from the North.

CLEANUP PLEA

When the last speakers finished at 5:30 p.m., the crowd moved toward the Ellipse and Pennsylvania Avenue was again almost wall-to-wall with people. Frequent reminders came from march leaders over loud-speakers:

"It won't help if we end the war and choke on our own garbage. Please clean up after yourselves."

And marshals, who won praise from District police, were distributing plastic bags to marchers and urging them to help pick up discarded leaflets, flyers, placards, and the thousands of pieces of debris.

[From the Sunday Star, Apr. 25, 1971]

FACES GLIMPSED IN THE THRONG

(NOTE.—The view from the Capitol at the height of yesterday's anti-war march showed a great throng filling the historical parade route of Pennsylvania Avenue. The throng seemed to be a united force calling for an end to the war in Vietnam.

(But a closer look at the many demonstrators turned up vignettes of a more personal nature, little happenings that gave the day a special flavor for those who observed them.)

Allan Jackson was in the line of march, carrying a banner which read, "My Son Was Killed in Vietnam. What For?" The World War II veteran, who came here from Bloomfield, Conn., said, "I'm here representing my son Barry, who was killed in Vietnam on March 18, 1969."

The 50-year-old father said his 20-year-old son received the Bronze Star for knocking out two machine gun nests "and he was killed doing it." He said he had received much correspondence from his son, adding that Barry "was always against the war . . . he was just tired of killing people."

When Jackson's sole surviving son received his draft notice shortly after Barry was killed, the father said he told the draft board that his other son would not go to Vietnam, "even if you have to put me in jail." The son was deferred.

Shortly after the march began, a small group of white-haired men in suits and ties

fell into step at Eleventh Street. They carried a large, blue banner, "Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade." This was one of the main groups of American volunteers who went to Spain in the late 1930s to join forces fighting against Franco.

Later, the brigade was placed on the U.S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Their participation yesterday drew loud cheers from younger demonstrators who presumably recognized the brigade members' role in leftist politics.

Garden beds teeming with bright tulips around the Capitol were among the first casualties of yesterday's demonstration. In some beds, half or more of the flowers had been plucked by the demonstrators and were converted to personal clothing decorations.

As expected, the climbers were on hand for the march. A young man in blue denim and a headband clambered atop the stone lap of the brooding statue beneath which is inscribed "The Past is Prologue." He drew cheers as he gave the "V" peace sign to the massed marchers below. But his stone perch apparently became uncomfortable after about 15 minutes and he scrambled down to rejoin the march.

A seven-man contingent from the George Washington chapter of Young Americans for Freedom spent most of the afternoon standing along the parade route, holding up a sign which read, "Welcome Hawks of Hanol. Marchers Smile, Your Nation's Enemies Applaud."

A young demonstrator with wildly flowing brown hair and huge sideburns looked at the cleanout, neatly dressed young men holding the sign and remarked with a laugh, "they're rather bizarre looking, aren't they?"

The march marshals and the volunteer medics with the Medical Committee on Human Rights had a relatively easy time of it yesterday.

Asked if she had treated many injuries, a young medic laughed, "Only blisters—and a lot of drunks."

Across 6th Street in the 3-tiered pool in front of the National Gallery of Art, someone dumped soap suds into the fountain and it foamed into a huge bubble bath. Gusty winds wafted the bubbles onto the marchers.

A collective from New York posted a four-foot-high picture of Ghandi and stood in silent vigil in the soap suds.

Police roped off the area around the White House and barred any entrance to the park at Dupont Circle. Officials in the command center said these areas have a history of becoming "trouble spots" after marches and they decided to prevent the possibility of dealing with crowds that might get out of hand after dark.

More coverage than in the past was given yesterday by local television stations which had been criticized by demonstrators in past marches. WTOP-TV began coverage at 10 a.m., with 5-minute live spots before resuming regular programming at 11 a.m. But by 10:08, the station's news vice president, James Snyder, gave the word to provide continuous live coverage up to 3 p.m., when the station joined the CBS network's coast-to-coast one-hour summary of the anti-war events.

WMAL-TV and WITZ-TV chose to give demonstration news during their regular evening news programs, but WMAL did several spot reports on radio.

WETA-TV provided continuous live coverage of activities both in Washington and San Francisco, and WRC-TV relied on spot live reports and a wrap-up program following NBC's coverage of a major league baseball game. It was making plans for possible special reports later in the evening.

Rock singer Country Joe McDonald, with a cheerleader's enthusiasm, stepped to the speaker's platform at the Capitol and asked

the huge crowd to spell out a four letter obscenity. When the thousands repeatedly shouted back what it spelled, WTOF-TV already had switched to a network news program and WETA-TV was televising events from San Francisco.

David Seeley, 50, a second-grade teacher from Montclair, N.J., made the march to Capitol Hill on crutches. He had broken his leg in an accident at home. The exhausted teacher said, "I'll be over this in a couple of weeks, but there are some fellows in Vietnam who will never recover."

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

VIGNETTES OF A PEACEFUL PEACE RALLY

At the Welters School of Ballet at 12th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, a group of six small girls in turquoise leotards and pink tights practiced their dances in front of a third-story window. Pasted to the window was a sign that read: "Welters School of Ballet for Peace." Periodically, the girls did a ballet routine in which they flashed the "V" peace sign to the marchers below, who cheered them.

Hundreds of demonstrators accepted face masks bearing a likeness of Lt. William Calley, Jr., from a man on Pennsylvania Avenue and marched off down the avenue behind Calley's face.

A young man climbed to the top of the statue of Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, at 8th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, and planted a Vietcong flag in the crook of the general's arm, three stories above the avenue. Later, the same youth climbed up the statue again, took down the VC flag, and installed the Stars and Stripes, upside down.

A few demonstrators also attempted to turn the flag at the National Archives across the street upside down (a distress signal). However, when they had the flag lowered and were turning it over, a guard shooed them away and other demonstrators ran it up the staff again.

Spectators looked for vantage points anywhere they could find them. Virtually every statue along Pennsylvania Avenue was occupied, rooftops of nongovernment buildings and trees were favorite spots and the shell of a new federal building under construction at 2d Street and Indiana Avenue NW had several hundred tenants.

As the Metropolitan police department movie film crew approached the corner of 11th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue photographing demonstrators, about 15 camera-toting marchers ran out, surrounded the two-man crew and snapped pictures. "Some times, we have to push through them," said cameraman Sgt. Cecil Kirk.

James F. Koppers, 25, of Chapel Hill, N.C., began following the film crew as it passed 9th and Pennsylvania. Koppers continuously blew on a plastic police-type whistle, trying, said Sgt. Kirk, to ruin the motion picture sound track. Said Koppers: "I just want to hassle them. If it's nonviolent, what the hell." Police did not film him.

Among those marching were a young man in his 20s from Philadelphia who said he pedaled down on his bicycle. "It took me about two days, mostly on Route 22."

He wheeled his bike down Pennsylvania, made it to the edge of the Capitol grounds, turned around and announced, "I've got to go back to Philadelphia."

Johann Lee, 21-year-old son of a retired laundry owner who immigrated from China 40 years ago, was resting on the steps of the Metropolitan AME Church at 1518 M St. NW. Inside about 200 members of the Asian Coalition, composed of young people with Japanese and Chinese origins, were deep in a policy dispute.

"The antiwar movement has refused to

address itself to two basic issues except in a superficial way—racism and imperialism," Lee said. "Their major call has been 'Bring the boys home.' This war has seen the degradation of an entire race of people as 'gooks and dinks.'"

Lee, a college student in New York, said he was part of a "surging movement" of young Oriental-Americans who are developing consciousness of their Asian origins. "We're following the same trend that black people have followed—trying to find common goals to work for."

Sam Shropshire, a senior at Shelton College, Cape May, N.J., stood resolutely holding a "Win the War" poster at Pennsylvania Avenue and 3d Street NW at about 2 p.m. There were tears in his eyes.

"Join up, you chicken, you murderer," Bernard Goodman of New York City shouted at him. "Join up, join up."

Others joined in the taunts. "Shhhhh, don't say anything," Shropshire whispered to the girl next to him. She was Debbie Halorson, a sophomore at Shelton. The two said they were members of an organization called International Christian Youth.

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

PEACE MARCHER: "WINDS OF CHANGE; THIS IS OUR STORM"

(NOTE.—Protest participants and observers were interviewed during various stages of yesterday's demonstration. Following are excerpts of their comments.)

10 A.M., THE ELLIPSE

Tom Murphy, University of Maryland law student, holding up a sign with the legal aid telephone number, wearing a fatigue shirt with a 25th Division patch.

"I nearly died there.

"A guy died there.

"A guy jumped up and put an AK-47 round in me here (points to the left side of his chest) just as I killed him. I remember blood ran out of my mouth.

"This is my first demonstration. I think lots of people have been waiting for something like this, something without any violent overtones."

NOON, 14TH AND PENNSYLVANIA

Joseph D. Mullen, 49, of Wilmington, Del., who works for Dupont and wore a straw hat, while his high school student daughter Debbie carried a sign reading "Peace, Please?":

"There are symptoms of change, I think. The only other march I ever came to Washington for, there were very few older people here. Today, I think every sixth person is in his 40s or 50s."

1 P.M., 11TH AND PENNSYLVANIA

Kristin Hollenbeck, 20, a Central Michigan University student from Mt. Pleasant, Mich.:

"I don't think this (demonstrating) will work again. We'll never get this many again. This group of people just isn't as frustrated as some. It's just high school and college kids having a good time. For the really frustrated people, this isn't enough."

1:15 P.M., 9TH AND PENNSYLVANIA

Metropolitan Police Officer William Brady Jr., a five-year policeman:

"I think it's wonderful that all these people can get together and protest something that they're opposed to. People come up to you, they're friendly, you can see that all they want is the war stopped. They don't want to give the police a hard time, and I appreciate that."

2 P.M., 7TH AND PENNSYLVANIA

Mrs. C. W. Fletcher, a teacher from Larchmont, N.Y., at her first peace demonstration:

"I had to come to this because nothing else

seemed to be working. My son is 20, and many of his friends have been there, I teach school, and my pupils have gone off. They're seventh-graders I'm teaching, and the war is close to them."

2:30 P.M., CONSTITUTION AND JOHN MARSHALL

Dan Close, 30, a teacher from New York City; marshal at the demonstration:

"It's all going well, for once. The yippies didn't break our lines, the YAWF (Youth Against War and Fascism) went the other way.

"Why am I against the war? I was in the Peace Corps in Ethiopia, way up in the hills. One day one of the village elders came in and we talked politics. He said 'Eisenhower,' and he made the thumbs-up sign. 'Churchill, Khrushchev,' thumbs up. Then he said 'Stalin, Hitler, Vietnam, and he made thumbs down.'"

3 P.M. FRONT OF THE CAPITOL

Steve Caplan, 24, an actor from Washington, attending his first peace demonstration: "I see things in religious terms. This march is an expression of the human spirit, to which you cannot lie. We have to move to a more spiritual community, completely honest, completely open. And the war is an attempt to lie in a very large, public way.

And as the wind blew, and dark clouds came overhead: "These are in winds of change; this is our storm."

3:30 P.M. 16TH AND M NW

Nelson Kitsuse, 51, of Chicago, a Japanese-American pharmacist: "I feel that this is a very racist war." President Nixon's Vietnamization policy "is a policy whereby Asians will kill Asians, as if there were something less important about their lives. An Asian life is as dear as an American life."

[From the Evening Star, Apr. 23, 1971]

WOMEN IN THE MARCH DEDICATED

(By Mary Anne Dolan)

"I've fought so many wars with my husband and my son. But we women fight the silent battles . . . of never knowing why and always wondering when, dear God, they'll come home alive."

As 64-year-old Mrs. Thomas Thatcher of Long Beach, Calif., stood on the grass of Lafayette Square last night, she watched a group of Vietnam veterans silently carrying the Stars and Stripes turned upside down in the international distress signal before the sleeping eyes of the White House.

She had gone there as a sightseer to see the home of the President for the first time. But when a shaggy-haired veteran out of the line of more than 1,500 protestors asked her to "come in, sister, join us," she did so with very little hesitation.

"I've never done anything like this before." Mrs. Thatcher said, as she carried a candle and walked with members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, "but for all the times I've wanted to . . ."

Seasoned by the two World Wars she knew as a daughter and a wife and the Korean War she quietly accepted with her son, Mrs. Thatcher voiced concern that "we women say something" about the war in Indochina.

WOMEN OF VVAW

Last night and this whole week the women were here, showing the same concern as Mrs. Thatcher, many of them hoping to give a new, strictly female thrust to the spring offensive.

They are women at the VVAW encampment on the Mall—veteran servicewomen and volunteers doing the cooking and staffing the medical tent; the wives and mothers of dead Vietnam soldiers, here to speak out and

protest the war by turning in medals awarded their loved ones at a ceremony today; the more than 1,000 women from all over the country who are expected to join the Women's Contingent of tomorrow's demonstrations.

And the many others, like Mrs. Thatcher, who will join in readily when the opportunity arises, even if it is only to donate food or shelter for visiting demonstrators.

Much of the food handed out at the VVAW campground this week was solicited from local supermarkets, housewives and church groups.

Dava Ansell, a 20-year-old Gold Star wife from Laurel, Md., who helped to carry the flag in last night's march, was five months pregnant when her husband was killed in action.

She said he enlisted in the Army's 101st Airborne at 18 and that her 2½-year-old son, named John Arthur Ansell III for his father, will have the medals her husband won, "though they don't mean that much."

Mrs. Ansell thought the candlelight procession was "beautiful," because, she said, "these guys . . . they've all been there. They're not copping out like the college kids."

One of the women who will be giving up medals today—seven of them—is Gold Star mother Mrs. Anna Pine of Trenton, N.J. Among the medals will be the Bronze Star awarded posthumously to her son, Fred Pine, after he was killed in Vietnam in 1968.

SHE HAD TO SEE

According to one of the New Jersey Veterans Against the War, Mrs. Pine said she also wanted to come to Washington to see if, among the more than 1,000 veterans gathered here, she might find "someone who knew her son in Vietnam."

At the spot on the Mall where the veterans have maintained an orderly camp despite a Supreme Court order to disperse, talk of former comrades and war experiences has flourished.

A 26-year-old veteran Navy nurse, Mary Lou Keener, reminisced Wednesday night about her reasons for enlisting:

"Listening to the stories the administration was putting forth, you never knew who was telling the truth and who wasn't. I came to the point where I just couldn't believe anything I heard and I wanted to see for myself."

Originally from Michigan, she spent three years in the Navy, part of that time on the hospital ship *Repose* in Vietnam.

Now, Mary Lou says, she hopes that she and other veterans will have the "credibility" "to change the level of consciousness of the people in this country."

"And maybe it will lend credibility to other parts of the spring offensive if the people on the Hill have a better understanding."

Red-haired and pretty, even in her fatigue jacket, Mary Lou recently quit her job on Capitol Hill where she worked for Rep. Blank and hopes to start graduate school at Georgia's Emory University in September.

But, she says, "there's no way I can go for \$175 a month," so she is even more interested in ending the Indochina involvement, and in easing the unemployment rate.

And too, "we've got to do something to rehabilitate the people who come back with a habit. There are so many of them."

"Most of all, no matter what happens or doesn't happen, you have to keep on trying. The peace movement has brought us to the point we're at today and if you just keep on 'truckin,' as the boys say, maybe something will happen."

Mary Lou, like graying Mrs. Richard Kerry of Massachusetts who marched last night, thinks that, so far, the activities of the VVAW have been in Mrs. Kerry's words, "extremely impressive."

Mrs. Kerry is the mother of the 28-year-old coordinator of VVAW, John Kerry.

After Kerry's group ends its activities officially tonight, organizers for tomorrow's march will stay on and many of them are women.

FROM 11 STATES

The United Women's Contingent, which already has sponsored noontime rallies downtown, is expecting representatives from at least 11 states and the District.

According to contingent coordinator, Marcia Sweetenham, "we hope to link up problems of abortion, child care and job opportunity to our demands to get out of the war and end the draft."

"We hope to involve all women, including those in college and high school, those who work, housewives, women's liberation activists, plus Blacks, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian American and Native American women."

While the VVAW march was taking place last night, workers for the Women's contingent were busily arming themselves with leaflets and reading material at their headquarters at George Washington University.

One of their weapons for Saturday will be a mimeographed poem by the Russian poet, Yevtushenko:

"Flood the streets and country roads
With the tramp of a terrible army
Marching in columns of humanity
And flowers . . ."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Saturday, Apr. 24, 1971]

STOLEN DATA SHOWS FBI KEPT TABS ON BOY, 14

(By Jared Stout)

The Army intercepted a Pennsylvania father's message to his 14-year-old son at an East German youth camp and gave the information to the State Department and the FBI, according to stolen FBI documents.

The use of Army facilities to intercept messages that are then relayed to the State Department and the FBI has been suspected but heretofore undocumented.

The interception by an undisclosed means was done by the U.S. Army operations and research detachment at Frankfurt, West Germany, in July 1970, while the boy was at a camp in Eberswalde, near Altenhop, East Germany.

FOUR INTERCEPTIONS

According to an FBI document stamped "Secret—No Foreign Dissemination," the message told the boy "of the physical and emotional well-being of 'mom,' who presumably is the subject's mother." It was one of four interceptions by the Army unit, but there was no indication whether the message was written or spoken.

The other interceptions involved the boy's communications with persons who had helped him get into the camp. All were attributed to source "PH T-1, another government agency which conducts intelligence operations." It was later identified as the Army unit in Frankfurt.

In one intercept, the youth was reported by the FBI to have said:

"He had learned a great deal about socialism when he previously attended the camp and after his next experience at the camp, he would be able to return to the United States with ideas and to inform the children about the camp."

The FBI began an investigation of the boy, apparently not knowing his age. When it was learned he was 14, the inquiry was dropped in favor of one into the background of his father who had traveled in West Germany.

FATHER WAS PROFESSOR

A "Mrs. E. Thompson" in the personnel records section of the University of Pennsylvania was listed by the report of Special Agent Charles Silverthorn as a source of data

on the father, who was employed by the university as a professor.

The Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI, which made the documents available yesterday, said they brought to over 50 the number of documents mailed to several newspapers and members of Congress. They were stolen March 8 from the FBI's Media, Pa., office.

Other disclosures in the documents included the presence of FBI agents in Argentina, an investigation of a Quaker who asked a Czech national to visit his Pennsylvania home, and inquiries into persons working with international organizations such as the United Nations.

The documents also showed FBI efforts to recruit as informants businessmen traveling abroad. A cautionary note was included to get FBI headquarters approval before approaching those in the news media, entertainment, or state and local government.

INDUSTRIAL QUERIES

The recruitment was aimed at individuals traveling to or through Sino-Soviet countries or to any international meeting outside the United States. It also called on industrial security officers at defense plants to supply the names of those intending to travel.

Another document called for investigation of any student, professor or scientist who visits Russia for more than a month. The purpose is "to identify them and determine whether any of them have been approached for recruitment by Soviet intelligence services."

"Utmost care must be exercised," the memorandum continued, "to prevent any embarrassment to the bureau and possibly jeopardize the bureau's program in countering Soviet intelligence services recruitment of students."

"The motives of the bureau in investigating American students, professors and scientists must not be construed as infringements of the American educational system and the pursuit of intellectual freedom," the memorandum said.

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

STARTING MONDAY, PROTESTORS' AIMS TURN TO DISRUPTION

With yesterday's mass march and rally over, more militant elements of the antiwar movement are now preparing for almost two weeks of gradually intensifying street actions here, including mass civil disobedience.

Beginning Monday, the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice led by Chicago Seven defendant Rennie Davis and others, said thousands of protesters will surround and attempt to enter selected government buildings; "lobby" and "rap" with employees, and urge a general strike.

The program, according to planners, will reach its climax the following week on May 3 and 4 when thousands of "tribesmen" from the militant Mayday Movement, a constituent of the coalition will attempt to block early morning commuter traffic at 21 locations in downtown Washington and suburban Virginia.

Simultaneously on May 3, thousands will march across 14th Street Bridge from the Washington Monument to the Pentagon in an attempt to close it down by mass sit-ins, coalition leaders said.

A similar mass march against the Justice Department will be staged early on May 4, they said. Both marches will be deliberately held during the morning rush period to disrupt traffic, they said. If police stop them, they will sit down in the streets, they added.

The planned actions signal a new order of militancy in the antiwar movement here. Never before have antiwar leaders urged mass violations of the law and disruption of government functions.

Coalition leaders say such actions are now

necessary to dramatize the intensity of anti-war feeling and are an irreversible outgrowth of the conviction among many antiwar supporters that traditional, democratic methods of redressing grievances—marches, picketing, writing your congressman—no longer work in this nation.

As distinct from yesterday's march and rally, which drew public endorsements from 10 senators and 20 representatives, the peoples coalition has no known congressional support.

Several endorsers of yesterday's demonstration have condemned the concept of civil disobedience or expressed reservations about the coming two weeks' activities.

Peoples coalition members have been permitted to use a portion of West Potomac Park near the Tidal Basin as a training ground and assembly area for their demonstrations.

This arrangement has put the government in the novel position of providing public ground for the launching of large scale law breaking.

The coalition had originally asked for Rock Creek Park, promising that up to 75,000 protesters were coming up and needed camping space. The Interior Department turned the coalition down, and Rennie Davis warned that protesters would come anyway.

Late last week, the Justice Department reached an agreement with coalition leaders permitting protesters to use West Potomac Park as a staging and training area, but the government insisted that no "camping" or overnight sleeping could be allowed in violation of park regulations.

Davis has said that efforts are being made to house protesters in local churches and universities and that only a minimum number of people will stay at the park overnight. "We'll provide entertainment to keep them awake," he said.

This schedule of coalition actions has been announced:

Monday, April 26: Peoples Lobby at Congress. Protesters will enter the Capitol and congressional office buildings to talk with congressmen, office workers and janitors. Protesters will circulate a "Peoples Peace Treaty" to end the war and sit-in at congressional offices until seen by individual congressmen. (The Peoples Lobby is organized by the National Action Group (NAG), a constituent of the coalition consisting of pacifist and peace groups such as the War Resisters League, Fellowship of Reconciliation and American Friends Service Committee.)

Tuesday, April 27: Peoples Lobby at Selective Service headquarters, 1724 F St. NW, with the promise of sit-ins if officials refuse to meet or speak with protesters.

Wednesday, April 28: Peoples Lobby at Internal Revenue Service headquarters, 1111 Constitution Ave. NW.

Thursday, April 29: Peoples Lobby at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 330 Independence Ave. SW.

Friday, April 30: Peoples Lobby at the Justice Department, 10th Street and Constitution Avenue NW.

Saturday, May 1: Youth Festival in West Potomac Park.

Sunday, May 2: Soul Rally in West Potomac Park, stressing minority rights.

Monday, May 3: Traffic blocking at 21 downtown and suburban Virginia locations during the morning rush hour by thousands of demonstrators. Targets include bridges across the Potomac River, access roads to the Pentagon and major intown traffic circles and squares. Mayday Movement, the coalition group organizing the traffic tie-up, stresses that the purpose is to halt the functioning of government only, not to disrupt the rest of the city, especially the black community.

Tuesday, May 4: Traffic blocking at the same locations.

Wednesday, May 5: Peoples coalition nationwide "moratorium on business as usual." In Washington, this means a large-scale "vigil" at the Capitol.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows to:

Mr. ASHEROOK (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for April 26, 27, and 28, on account of official business.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 145. An act for the relief of Esther Catherine Milner; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 157. An act for the relief of Arthur Rike; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 341. An act for the relief of Arline Loader and Maurice Loader; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 513. An act for the relief of Maria Badalamenti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 566. An act for the relief of Maria Grazia Iaccarino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 629. An act for the relief of Chen-Pai Miao; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 645. An act to provide relief in patent and trademark cases affected by the emergency situation in the U.S. Postal Service which began on March 18, 1970; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 672. An act for the relief of Nicholas Demitrios Apostolakis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1253. An act to amend section 6 of title 35, United States Code, "Patents," to authorize domestic and international studies and programs relating to patents and trademarks; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1254. An act to amend title 35, United States Code, "Patents," and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

THE LATE HONORABLE ROBERT J. CORBETT

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SAYLOR).

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues in the House, it is with profound sadness in my heart that I announce to the Members the passing of ROBERT J. CORBETT, who represented the 18th District of Pennsylvania.

BOB CORBETT was the dean of the Pennsylvania delegation and has served his constituents faithfully and well since 1938 when he was first elected to the 76th Congress. His passing leaves a void in the hearts and the ranks of the Pennsylvania delegation and the people of Allegheny County whom he represented.

He was the ranking Republican on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and was recognized not only in Pennsylvania but also throughout the country as an authority on postal matters and on civil service affairs.

It is rather unusual that his brother died just a little over a week ago. It was at the service being conducted for his brother that he became ill, was taken to

the hospital and went into a coma, from which he never recovered.

I remember our colleague most vividly, not as the senior member of the Pennsylvania delegation, nor as the ranking Republican on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, but as the man who took me aside after I was sworn in as a new Member of Congress in 1949, and counseled me on the ways of the House, the ways of being a Congressman, and the ways of best serving one's constituency. I have followed his advice to this day.

Mr. Speaker, BOB CORBETT has gone to his reward; the Nation, Pennsylvania, his district, the House of Representatives, and the Republican Party—this is the order he viewed his responsibilities—have lost an uncommon man. He was in large sense exactly what his campaign posters read:

He is a good Congressman.

From his entrance into politics as one of the originators of the Young Republicans in Allegheny County and through his rise to leadership in the House of Representatives and the Republican Party, BOB CORBETT never forgot his primary duty to represent his constituents. He served them, not as a Republican, but as their Representative.

There are not many who remember that Congressman CORBETT was the first of our colleagues to use a public opinion poll in a congressional district. At the time, in 1938, he was roundly accused of playing a political trick but he knew different. Many scoffed at the innovation—not BOB CORBETT. He listened to those results and was influenced, but, and this is the critical difference between the led and the leader, BOB CORBETT was also guided by the sage counsel of Edmund Burke who taught us:

Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

One more indicator of BOB's guiding philosophy can be found in an article he wrote entitled, "What I Believe About Jesus Christ." In that beautiful essay, he said,

For the Christian as a guide to his religious and social behavior nothing can be more significant than Christ's own words, "I am the way". It is the sign post pointing to a constantly improving life on earth and the hope for eternal satisfactions. For the non-Christian we can only preach and pray to the end that they will eventually at least agree that as a proper guide for human behavior that His is "the way."

Mr. Speaker, I believe BOB CORBETT would like to be remembered as a fair man who tried to do his very best; a man of keen wit and intelligence who enjoyed helping anyone who needed help. BOB CORBETT was also a man who was a staunch advocate of the virtues of being brief. So I shall be also.

I have lost a warm, considerate friend. One that will not be replaced.

On behalf of the Speaker and on behalf of the Members of the House, I extend our profound sympathy to his wife, Ruthe, and daughter, Mrs. Donald F. Dunbar, to his sister, Mrs. Doris Thomp-

son, and to his grandchildren, Robert James and Laurie Craig.

I wish to inform the Members that Mr. CORBETT's body will lie in state at the McDonald Linn Funeral Home at Lincoln Avenue, Bellevue, Pittsburgh, this afternoon from 2 to 4 p.m. and from 7 to 9 o'clock this evening. Services will be held on Tuesday evening in the funeral home. Private interment will follow on Wednesday. Transportation will be provided for the Members of Congress who wish to attend the services in Pittsburgh, leaving the House steps at 5:15 p.m. Tuesday. Those who desire to go should see the Sergeant at Arms.

In lieu of flowers, the family has asked that contributions be made to the Suburban General Hospital, Pittsburgh.

I will be happy to yield now to my colleague, the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Pennsylvania yielding to me. I was shocked, as I am sure my colleagues were, to hear on the radio last evening of the sudden death of our colleague. I knew, of course, that he had borne illness for many years, diabetes and other illnesses, none of which he complained about. He did his work well and faithfully, and I was not prepared to learn of his sudden passing.

Mr. Speaker, BOB CORBETT and I came to the Congress at about the same time. I knew him well. I shared the universal affection that Members of this body had for him. He was a Member's Member in that he was always considerate of the other Members of this body regardless of what side of the aisle they sat on. He was faithful in his committee work and devoted to helping people who work for the Government and others who come before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. I shall miss him, and I know that my colleagues will miss him. He leaves a monument of dedicated service to his district, his State, and his Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield to the minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan, (Mr. GERALD FORD).

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to receive a telephone call Sunday morning, informing me of BOB CORBETT's passing. We had all known he was not in the best of health, but BOB was not a complainer. He carried on in his duties as a Member of the House to the best of his ability despite a persistent physical disability. In the years that I served in the House with BOB CORBETT, I was always impressed by his great understanding of the problems of Government employees. He was especially sympathetic to the requests of those who worked for the Post Office Department. BOB CORBETT served for many years on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, gradually reaching the pinnacle on our side of the aisle. He performed his duties as the senior Republican on that committee in a most exemplary way. BOB CORBETT broadened his responsibilities as a Member of the House several

years ago when he was appointed a member of the House Committee on Armed Services. His service there was constructive and helpful. This year when we organized the Congress, BOB realized his health would not permit his continued service on two major committees. As a consequence, he left the Committee on Armed Services so he could devote his time and attention to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Mr. Speaker, all of us in the House have lost a fine friend with the death of our colleague, BOB CORBETT, but the little people of America and the handicapped have lost a champion.

In eulogizing BOB CORBETT, we can talk about the fact that he was the third-ranking House Republican in terms of seniority and the fact he was senior Republican on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

But what BOB would most like to be remembered for is what he did for the little people of this country, particularly the blind.

BOB CORBETT sponsored many bills over the years to assist the blind and the handicapped.

In his capacity as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, BOB won preferential mail treatment for tapes and recordings for the blind—handling of them at minimal cost. He also saw to it that special library materials for the blind were made available from the Library of Congress. And in 1964 he sponsored white cane safety legislation which culminated in the white cane fund-raising efforts engaged in annually by the Kiwanis Clubs throughout the country.

BOB also was proud of the manner in which he served his constituents. Not only did he answer every piece of constituent mail that came to his office, but he also sent out two questionnaires a year and kept closely in touch with his district. BOB CORBETT, in his fact, could be said to have developed the congressional questionnaire.

When BOB CORBETT first was elected to Congress in 1938, opinion polling was in its infancy. BOB quickly adopted this technique, with the theory that it was more important what his constituents thought than what he thought.

BOB CORBETT was not only devoted to his constituents but also to his friends. He gave his layolay completely to those he liked and trusted.

BOB's congressional service was interrupted, and in 1944 he managed Congressman JIM FULTON's campaign for the House. JIM at that time was out on World War II duty aboard a destroyer in the Pacific. BOB ran a successful campaign on JIM's behalf. When JIM showed up in the House in 1945 to take the oath of office, he was wearing his Navy uniform. He was told he could not take the oath in military uniform—so BOB CORBETT literally gave JIM FULTON the coat off his back and the oath-taking proceeded.

BOB CORBETT was in his 15th term in the House. In effect, he gave his life to this House. His congressional service was the high point of a career during which he was a high school teacher, publisher

and editor of the North Pittsburgh Times, and the sheriff of Allegheny County, Pa.

We shall all miss BOB CORBETT, humanitarian and loyal friend. My wife, Betty and I extend our condolences to his wife, Ruthe, and daughter, Sally.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to the distinguished Speaker.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I learned yesterday with profound shock of the death of my longtime friend and colleague, ROBERT J. CORBETT. I join with the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SAYLOR) and his colleagues from Pennsylvania and other Members of the House, in the tributes being paid to his life and service.

I have known personally and well BOB CORBETT ever since I became a Member of the House. We served together during the early years of my membership in this body on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. BOB devoted most of his congressional service to that great committee. He has been its ranking member for many years. Much of the landmark postal and civil service legislation on the statute books has been enacted during his membership. His fingerprints are on every postal and civil service law enacted during the past quarter of a century.

BOB CORBETT was a fine, considerate, and gentle man. He was a devoted friend, husband, and father.

He was a distinguished legislator. He was constructive and progressive, and he approached every problem with careful consideration, measured by the national interest in the broadest sense of the term.

I shall miss this good man, this pleasant, decent colleague with whom I have conversed so many times during my service in the House. We have discussed many problems, never once on the basis that he was a Republican and I a Democrat.

We have lost a strong and solid figure in this House. The great Pittsburgh area has lost a man who knew and understood its problems. Our country has lost an able, contributing, and distinguished public servant.

Mrs. Albert and I extend to Mrs. Corbett and their daughter and the host of friends and loved ones our deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

Mr. SAYLOR. I thank the distinguished Speaker for his kind remarks.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to the distinguished minority whip.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, nothing I can possibly say will adequately express the loss we have suffered with the passing of BOB CORBETT. We have lost one of our most distinguished colleagues and one of our ablest legislators. His contribution to the work of the Congress is beyond measure.

BOB first came to Congress in 1939. He was out of Congress for 4 years, returning in 1944 and serving continuously since. While he is best known for his work on the Post Office and Civil Serv-

ice Committee, where he was ranking minority member, he played a vitally important part in connection with many legislative issues that came before us during his 15 terms in the House.

BOB CORBETT was a very good friend of mine. I will miss him greatly. To his family I extend my sincere sympathy.

Mr. SAYLOR. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Illinois for those kind remarks on the passing of our colleague.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to our dean of the Pennsylvania delegation, Mr. MORGAN.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, all of us have been saddened by the death of our colleague BOB CORBETT who passed away yesterday at age of 66.

Although he had not been in good health in recent years, he had continued to serve the people of his district actively and with distinction to the last.

BOB CORBETT's passing will be felt by us all but particularly by the thousands of civil service and post office personnel who benefited from the wisdom and sympathetic consideration which he always manifested toward them during his long service as a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. He served as ranking minority member of that Committee during recent years and played an active and influential role in its deliberations.

Those of us from the State of Pennsylvania are particularly conscious of the loss we have sustained. He was dean of the Pennsylvania delegation. We all recognized the wisdom which he had acquired during his 28 years of service in the House and we looked to him for guidance.

BOB CORBETT had a warm and friendly personality. He liked people. He liked his colleagues here in the House and we always found him to be a good companion. He also liked and took a deep-seated interest in less fortunate people and was active in programs to improve their conditions.

It is hard to realize that he is no longer with us. All of us will miss him as a friend. It will take some time for the House to make the readjustments necessary because of his passing.

I especially want to extend by sympathy to his widow and his children. They can be comforted by the knowledge that he rendered outstanding service to his country during his long and distinguished career.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WILLIAMS).

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, in the death of the Honorable ROBERT J. CORBETT yesterday morning, the Nation lost a dedicated public servant, the people of the 18th Congressional District of Pennsylvania lost an outstanding Representative, and all of us lost a wonderful colleague.

I was born in that portion of Allegheny County which Bob so ably represented as the little man's Congressman. I know from this familiarity with the area and with Bob that he deserved that title,

just as he deserved the loyalty he received from his constituency, which returned him to the Congress as their Representative for 28 years.

As dean of the Pennsylvania congressional delegation and ranking Republican on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, BOB was an able, tough, and effective leader. His well-known concern for the little man, for the blind, the infirm, and others deserving special attention, most clearly demonstrated him as the compassionate human being he was.

I will miss BOB, as I know we all will, and I take this moment to extend my heartfelt sympathy to his wife, Ruthe, and to his daughter, Sally.

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield now, Mr. Speaker, to the chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. DULSKI).

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania for yielding to me. I was shocked to learn of the passing of my very close friend and colleague, the Honorable ROBERT J. CORBETT.

BOB CORBETT was one of the best liked and most respected members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, which I have the honor to chair.

When I came to Congress in 1959 and was assigned to the committee, BOB CORBETT was the first member of the committee I had the pleasure to meet. I recall how he graciously welcomed me and arranged to introduce me to the then ranking minority member, the late Edward H. Rees, of Kansas.

In the following Congress, beginning in 1961, BOB became the ranking member of our committee and I know of no member who has been more cooperative and understanding in dealing with the complex matters which come before our committee.

He had an understanding and an interest in the issues dealing with the postal services and Federal employment.

Over the years, his strong concern and the area where he felt he made his greatest contribution was in developing a sound and workable retirement system for employees of the Federal Government.

Indeed, not only was he interested in their retirement provisions, but he also was deeply concerned with all the rules and regulations and benefits applying to Government workers.

BOB CORBETT had been a member of the committee since he returned to the Congress in 1945, first being named to the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads which 2 years later was absorbed into the present Post Office and Civil Service Committee created by the Reorganization Act of 1946.

During the 91st Congress, when our committee faced up to its most comprehensive piece of legislation—the postal reform measure—BOB CORBETT played a key role in the long and often frustrating effort to work out the final reorganization bill.

Mr. Speaker, as chairman I know that I speak for all members of the committee in expressing my deepest sorrow at the sudden passing of our friend and colleague. His lovely wife, Ruthe, and his

daughter, Sally, have lost a beloved husband and father. We have lost a good friend.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point a statement of James H. Rademacher, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers on the unfortunate death of Representative ROBERT J. CORBETT, of Pennsylvania:

STATEMENT OF JAMES H. RADEMACHER

I appreciate very much this opportunity, granted by Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski, Chairman of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, to pay tribute to a great postal statesman, Hon. Robert J. Corbett, of Pennsylvania.

Bob Corbett served on the House Post Office Committee longer than any man in the history of the United States. During his 28 years in Congress, he never once cast a vote that was detrimental to the best interests of those who work in the Post Office.

Bob Corbett was a man of courage and determination. He remained staunchly liberal when the administration of the nation and of the Postal Establishment were both unremittently conservative. Despite many physical ailments, sufficient to discourage a lesser man, he stood up bravely for his own principles and for the dignity of the human family.

Bob Corbett was at his best when, from our point of view, the legislative picture looked darkest. He was forever looking for some kind of compromise, some kind of opening through which the light could come in and dispel the gloom of darkness which was surrounding us.

We, the members of the National Association of Letter Carriers, will miss him tremendously and we shall remember him always. May God grant him eternal rest, and may He grant to his widow, Ruth, and his daughter, Sally, the strength to bear their burden of sorrow.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa (Mr. GROSS), now the ranking Member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it was with great regret that I learned early yesterday morning of the death of our colleague, the Honorable ROBERT J. CORBETT.

While I knew that he suffered from a chronic ailment, there was no indication that his condition had become acute, and apparently it was the death of his brother last week, to whom he was deeply attached, that brought him to a crisis and a shockingly sudden end.

For more than 22 years BOB CORBETT and I had served on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and I am therefore aware of the many contributions he made to legislation affecting the welfare of Government employees and the operation of the postal service.

His long experience in dealing with problems of civil service and postal service will be missed by the members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

To Mrs. Corbett and their daughter I extend sincere condolences in their grievous loss.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MOORHEAD).

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in expressing profound shock and sorrow at the death of our good friend, BOB CORBETT. With the death of BOB CORBETT, the Nation has

lost a dedicated public servant. Congress has lost an effective legislator and the 18th Congressional District of Pennsylvania has lost a powerful Representative. The postal clerks and civil servants have lost a great champion, and we in the House have lost a loyal and devoted friend.

Mr. Speaker, BOB CORBETT's district and mine adjoin and we shared many of the same problems. When I came to the Congress 12 years ago, Bob had already served 16 years in Congress. He gave to me unstintingly of the wisdom he had acquired over those years. There was never any partisan dispute between us and we remained friends throughout our service.

Mr. Speaker, I know that Pennsylvania has lost a very able and effective Representative and we, in the Congress, have lost a dear friend.

My wife and I join in expressing our most profound sympathy to his wife and daughter.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. JOHNSON).

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and saddened when I received the news of the death of my good friend and colleague, ROBERT CORBETT.

My real warm association with Bob started when I was named a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service about 6 years ago. On this committee I was able to observe and to get to know this man who had a profound knowledge of the workings of the Post Office Department. He was a pillar of strength in the operations of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and was highly respected by those who had something to do with the postal service. I will never forget his kindness to me, as a member of the committee of which he was the minority chairman. He always was sympathetic to my requests as a member of the committee. He gave me valuable advice and counsel. Bob was essentially a very kind and considerate person, and, therefore, had a host of friends.

We certainly will miss his cheery "hello" and his ready smile. We have lost a great public servant.

May I extend to his wife and family my deepest sympathy in their great loss.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague from Pennsylvania (Mr. COUGHLIN).

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in mourning the death of BOB CORBETT, a distinguished Pennsylvanian who served the United States and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for almost 28 years in the House of Representatives.

As dean of the Pennsylvania Republican delegation, BOB CORBETT exhibited the qualities of leadership and empathy that endeared him to all of us. I know that I will never forget the kindness, consideration, and advice he offered to his junior colleagues.

During his lifetime, BOB CORBETT was a teacher, a newspaper publisher, and an activist in community affairs. The many

accomplishments of his career, both within and without the U.S. Congress, could not have been attained without his genuine involvement with people as individuals, for his deep concern with the course our American society pursued, and without his immense fund of knowledge about our history and our Government.

I extend my condolences to his wife, Ruthe; his daughter, Mrs. Sally Dunbar, and his two grandchildren. I hope that the high affection and esteem in which we all held BOB CORBETT will afford comfort to them in their time of grief.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague from Pennsylvania (Mr. ROONEY).

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I, too, join my colleagues in mourning the loss of a beloved Pennsylvania Congressman, BOB CORBETT. When I came to the Congress after a special election in 1963, I remember so well Bob coming over and congratulating me and asking if he could be of any help to me. He was a great inspiration. He has been most helpful to me ever since I came to Congress.

I know a little something about BOB CORBETT off the floor of the Congress because he represented the part of western Pennsylvania that encompasses Sewickley, where Mrs. Rooney's parents live. For years, Bob was a knowledgeable, skilled, and forceful Member of Congress. He was one of the first Members to poll his constituency by mail on the issues of the day. His thoughtful response to the views expressed was always well appreciated, and I know personally the tremendous respect which the people in his district had for Bob.

BOB was also well known for his loyal service to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, of which he was ranking minority member, and especially for his dedication to providing wage equality for our Federal employees. He previously served as a member of the Armed Services Committee.

BOB CORBETT was an outstanding Congressman, a dedicated American, and a valued friend. Mrs. Rooney and I extend to Mrs. Corbett and their daughter, Sally, our deepest sympathy.

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANDERSON).

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it was not until a few minutes ago, when I was preparing to come to the House Chamber, that I learned of the unfortunate passing of our late colleague, the Honorable BOB CORBETT.

Many of those who have addressed the House this morning have spoken of their association with him over the years as members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Even though I never had the experience or the opportunity of serving with BOB on a committee of the Congress, I had come to regard him with great affection and respect during the more than 10 years that I have been here. He was an able and an experienced legislator. We will miss him sorely in this body, and I certainly want to take

this opportunity not only to express a deep sense of personal loss but also to offer my most sincere condolences to his widow and to his daughter.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. UDALL).

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, it was with a great deal of sorrow that I received the word that my colleague and friend, Congressman ROBERT CORBETT, had passed away.

I remember Bob in his finest moments when he was with us on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. He was the kind of man who stuck to his principles of fair play and honesty even when it would have been easier to go along with the party or some special consideration of the time. Over and over again I saw BOB CORBETT vote for equal opportunities for all men, for better pay and benefit for the Federal worker, and for those measures which mark a man as good, decent, and honest. That is how I remember BOB CORBETT.

To the Congressman's widow and daughter, my sincere sympathy. They can be assured that the memory and legislative accomplishments of BOB CORBETT will be with us for a long time to come. He was truly an outstanding American.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my voice to the already impressive list of tributes to our esteemed colleague, ROBERT J. CORBETT, who passed away unexpectedly this weekend.

Representative CORBETT, the dean of the Pennsylvania delegation, embodied all of the qualities and talents that are essential to the makeup of an effective legislator. His example kept all of us aware that our first responsibility is to our constituents.

Representative CORBETT continually demonstrated admirable humanitarian traits, particularly in his zeal to see that the rights of the "little man" were protected. He was especially concerned with the plight of the handicapped.

As one of the first Members to systematically solicit the opinion of his constituents, Representative CORBETT's votes were largely determined by the results of his polls. The veteran Pennsylvania legislator felt a deep obligation to carry out the mandates expressed by those who elected him.

Strong in every aspect of legislation, his tireless work on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee upgraded the efficiency of the Post Office and led to increased salaries and improved working conditions for Government employees. Representative CORBETT remained true to the underprivileged by introducing and cosponsoring numerous pieces of legislation designed to help the black and the handicapped.

Representative CORBETT's interests and accomplishments were not limited to congressional affairs. As the youngest sheriff in the history of Allegheny County, he was the first to appoint black deputies. In addition, Representative CORBETT once edited and published the North

Pittsburgh Times and also was the owner of Pittsburgh's first professional basketball team, the Raiders.

It is obvious that Representative CORBETT was a most dedicated worker. Significantly, he was most dedicated to the cause of those who needed him most. His death is a great loss to each and every one of us.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this means of joining my friends from Pennsylvania and others in paying a brief but sincere tribute to the memory of our late colleague and friend, ROBERT J. CORBETT, of Pennsylvania.

Certainly we were all shocked and saddened to learn of the passing of BOB CORBETT on Sunday in Pittsburgh—who served with great distinction and dedication for 28 years in the House.

BOB CORBETT was a genial, personable, able legislator and devoted to the public interest. He had a great compassion for the underprivileged and the handicapped, and worked to assure passage of much legislation to assist the unfortunate and disadvantaged people of our Nation.

As a senior and active member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, BOB CORBETT made great and significant contributions to these important areas of our Government.

He served his district, State, and Nation well and faithfully, and will be greatly missed. I want to take this means of extending to Mrs. Corbett and other members of his family this expression of my deepest and most sincere sympathy, in their loss and bereavement.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the passing on Sunday of my fellow colleague, BOB CORBETT.

For some 10 years I served in this body with the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, and throughout this entire time he exhibited a true dedication, not only for those citizens of his 18th Congressional District, but for all humanity.

A continuing testimony of this concern and dedication is evidenced in his constant efforts to help the blind, the infirm, and other handicapped citizens. His outstanding efforts in these areas will not be soon forgotten.

I shall recall with fondness and appreciation the privilege that was mine in knowing BOB CORBETT. He was a good Congressman and a truly fine gentleman. His presence will be sorely missed.

My wife, June, joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Corbett and their daughter.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to hear of the passing of our beloved colleague, and my good friend, the Honorable ROBERT J. CORBETT.

As the ranking Republican member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, BOB CORBETT played a major role in all the legislation coming before that unit. He was a very effective and knowledgeable legislator. He had the ability to work out compromises and to moderate differences of opinion—traits which were consistent with his quiet demeanor and gentle nature.

However, Mr. Speaker, we not only lose the service of a respected colleague

but of a member who had acquired many, many friends through his long years in this body. BOB CORBETT served his district well and was a most effective legislator, which is, of course, the first responsibility of a law maker. At all times he was cognizant of and served the best interests of our country.

We will miss him as a colleague, friend, and as an individual. On behalf of Mrs. Derwinski, as well as myself, I extend condolences to Mrs. Corbett and the family.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, this Congress and the nation are poorer with the passing of ROBERT CORBETT. His long and dedicated career of public service ended with his death on yesterday.

I think it can be safely said that few who have served in the Congress devoted more time and energy to help their fellow man. Known as the little man's Congressman, BOB CORBETT could always be counted on for wise counsel and sound leadership in matters concerning those Americans in special need. He stood fast in his dedication to the United States, and he was in the front rank when it came to urging a strong and free America.

To say that he will be missed is an understatement. BOB CORBETT cannot be replaced in the hearts of those of us who knew him well and valued him as a friend. Our sympathies and prayers go out to his family. All of us can take solace in the knowledge that in BOB CORBETT, we enjoyed a personal relationship with a great gentleman who was always just that—a gentle man. This helps us to understand the greater loss which has been suffered by his family.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we personal friends have suffered deep loss in the passing of our longtime friend and colleague Congressman ROBERT J. CORBETT, of Pennsylvania. It is with a real sense of personal loss, as well as loss for Congressman CORBETT's fine family, his many friends in the 18th Congressional District of Pennsylvania, and Allegheny County, as well as the State of Pennsylvania and our whole country that I make these remarks in tribute to BOB CORBETT.

BOB CORBETT and I worked together as longtime friends starting with our work in the Young Republican organization of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Each of us in the Pennsylvania delegation, both Republican and Democrat, extend to BOB CORBETT's family and his many friends our sincere sympathy and condolence at this time of sorrow and unexpected loss.

I would like to report to the House that we have had nothing but good comments about Congressman BOB CORBETT. His dedication to the House of Representatives, his patriotism and his love of country, his work through the years in civic and public affairs on the Federal, State, and local levels have won him a place of high standing in our Nation's history where he will be long remembered.

One of the most impressive statements that has been made about BOB CORBETT is the personal statement by President Nixon at Camp David yesterday, Sunday, April 25, when he said:

Congressman Bob Corbett of Pennsylvania is a valuable personal friend whom I have known since our service together in the House of Representatives more than 20 years ago. It was with justifiable pride that Robert Corbett of Pennsylvania called himself "the little man's Congressman."

His constant concern for the blind, the infirm and others in special need was a tribute to his humanitarianism. With his death the Congress has lost a distinguished member and the Nation has lost a dedicated servant.

Our two Pittsburgh leading newspapers have excellent articles on the passing of BOB CORBETT, which I now include in my remarks:

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, Apr. 26, 1971]

REPRESENTATIVE CORBETT DIES—RITES TOMORROW

U.S. Representative Robert J. Corbett, the veteran Republican Congressman from Ben Avon Heights died yesterday in Suburban General Hospital, Bellevue. Mr. Corbett entered the hospital Thursday for a diabetic condition and his personal physician attributed his death to cerebral thrombosis on the left side of the brain.

Mr. Corbett, who lived with his wife, Mrs. Ruthe M. Corbett at 15 Devon Lane, Ben Avon Heights represented the 18th Congressional District.

Mr. Corbett has served in Congress longer than anyone from Western Pennsylvania and was within a year of the Pennsylvania record set last century by Representative William D. Kelley of Philadelphia 1861-1890. Mr. Corbett had served continuously since the convening of the 79th Congress in January of 1945. He had served previously in the 76th Congress (1939-1941). He ranked 19th in seniority among the 435 House members and 3rd among Republicans. He was the Dean of the State's House Delegation, as well as the senior Republican from Pennsylvania.

Although Mr. Corbett never sought to be a dominant figure in the House Republican organization, and often voted independently, he rose to a position of importance 10 years ago. At that time, he became the senior GOP member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, a position which assured him of becoming its Chairman in the event his party took control of the House. There Mr. Corbett helped write the laws which transformed the Post Office Department into the quasi-independent U.S. Postal Service, and set the pay and rules for the millions of Federal employees who compose Civil Service.

He helped bring about in recent years a goal he had long sought—a pay schedule for upper bracket civil servants comparable to private industry. But he also . . . supported pay increases for lower level workers to keep pace with the cost of living and increases in productivity. Though he voted for pay increases for House members, he also was quick to insist that members of their staffs be granted proportionate pay raises.

Mr. Corbett was recognized as a friend of the blind and was honored by their organizations. He saw to it that in Reorganization Act some years ago the right of blind people to operate vending stand in Federal buildings was preserved. He was the author of a law permitting Federal employees who become blind to continue working if they can provide "sighted readers" to help them at their own expense or at the cost of blind organizations.

Mr. Corbett's office has a good reputation for service to constituents, and his long time Administrative Assistant Harold Eberle is a leader among GOP staff members in the House. During much of his career Mr. Corbett had one of the most liberal voting records among Republican Congressmen, but

he had voted somewhat more conservatively in recent years.

Mr. Corbett was graduated from Allegheny College in 1927 and received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from the school in 1965. He was a Wallace Research Fellow in History at the University of Pittsburgh from 1927 to 1929, where he earned a Masters Degree. Mr. Corbett taught at Coraopolis Senior High School from 1929 to 1938. He also taught at Allegheny College, Pitt and Pittsburgh Academy. Mr. Corbett was an instructor of political science, economics, history and public speaking. He was the former editor and publisher of the "North Pittsburgh Times".

Mr. Corbett was elected Sheriff of Allegheny County in 1941 and, at the age of 36, became the youngest person to hold that office.

Mr. Corbett was elected again in the 1944 Congressional elections and remained in office until his death. He served as a Congressional representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentary Conference in Paris in 1957, 1958 and 1959. He was also a member of the Bellevue Chamber of Commerce, Phi Delta Theta fraternity, Loyal Order of Moose, Elks, Eagles, Kiwanis, Lions, Phi Alpha Theta, Delta Sigma Rho and the Board of Directors of Suburban General Hospital.

Mr. Corbett was proud of his efforts on behalf of flood control in the Pittsburgh area, and once said, "I have been in the forefront in the battle for flood control and have done much to get the Allegheny River dams which have helped to save Pittsburgh and other towns from severe flooding." He attributed his long tenure in Congress to "the fact that I have stayed away from extreme views by following a moderate course." Mr. Corbett supported President Lyndon B. Johnson's and President Richard M. Nixon's Vietnam War policy. "I believe," he once said, "I have no choice except to follow decisions made at the top level and do my bit to help my country maintain a united front against those who spurn our objectives and ideals."

In addition to his widow, survivors are a daughter, Mrs. Sally C. Dunbar of Ben Avon Heights, a sister, Mrs. Doris Thompson of Bellevue, and two grandchildren.

Friends will be received from 7 to 9 tonight and 2 to 4 p.m. and 7 to 8 p.m. tomorrow at the MacDonald-Linn Funeral Home, 366 Lincoln Avenue, Bellevue. Services will be held at 8 p.m. tomorrow at the funeral home. Burial will be Wednesday at Union Dale Cemetery, North Side.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post Gazette, April 26, 1971]

CONGRESSMAN CORBETT DIES IN HOSPITAL HERE

U.S. Representative Robert J. Corbett died early yesterday, at the age of 65, after serving almost half a lifetime as Congressman for northern Allegheny County's 18th District. Death came at 1:25 a.m. in the Suburban General Hospital, Bellevue, in the aftermath of cerebral thrombosis, a blood clot lodged in the brain suffered early Thursday. Corbett long had been a victim of diabetes, and entered the hospital Wednesday night with a temperature.

He succumbed just 8 days after an elder brother, William (Ted) Corbett died in Virginia. William Corbett had been a judge of the old Allegheny County Court and in the late 1950's was Governor of Guam.

Funeral services for Representative Corbett will be held tomorrow at 8 p.m. at the MacDonald-Linn Funeral Home, 366 Lincoln Avenue, Bellevue with interment to follow Wednesday morning at Union Dale Cemetery, North Side.

Friends will be received at the funeral home today and tomorrow from 2 to 4 and 7 to 9 p.m. The Congressman is survived by his wife, Mrs. Ruthe M. Corbett, one daughter, Mrs. Sally Corbett Dunbar, two grandchildren and one sister, Mrs. Doris Thompson. He lived at 15 Devon Lane, Ben Avon Heights.

The Congressional District that sent Corbett to Washington for 29 years is a sprawling and varied one that takes in virtually all of the northern half of Allegheny County and has a population of about 460,000. It encompasses everything north of the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers, except the North Side Business district, and crosses the Allegheny to include the Boroughs of Oakmont, Verona, Penn Hills, Plum, Monroeville, Pitcairn, Forest Hills, Edgewood and Wilkinsburg Boroughs and Wilkins Township.

The District sent Corbett to Congress for the first time in the elections of 1938. In 1941 he ran for sheriff. He served until 1944, when he ran for Congress the 2nd time and was sent back to Congress by his District. From that time on he was reelected every 2 years and had planned to run again next year. In his later campaigns he generally had an easy time, although that was not always so, and even in the "easy" years there were wide fluctuations in his margins of victory.

It was a legislative attitude that helped him attain more time in Congress than any other member from Western Pennsylvania. The tenure made him the ranking Republican on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and membership of the NATO Assembly and the Republican Policy Committee.

Congressman Corbett was born in Avalon in 1905 and was graduated in 1927 from Allegheny College where he recently was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He received his Masters Degree from Pitt and did graduate study at Columbia University. In the 1930's Corbett taught at Coraopolis High School and coached several championship debating teams, (a capacity he did not often utilize in Congress, but when he did he was good), and in the 1940's he was the owner of the first professional basketball team in the city, the Pittsburgh Raiders. At one time he was publisher of the "North Pittsburgh Times". He was recipient of the George Washington Carver Award and the American Legion Distinguished Service Award and the 89th Congress Watchdog of the Treasury Award.

In conclusion, the Pennsylvania Delegation in the Congress, where Bob Corbett was very popular both among the Democrats and Republicans, will really miss Bob Corbett and sincerely extend our feelings of loss and sympathy to his family and his many friends.

Mr. McDADE, Mr. Speaker, early Sunday morning death took ROBERT J. CORBETT, and in that taking this Nation lost a splendid man, a distinguished American, a dedicated Member of Congress.

For those of us who came to know him as a friend as I did, that loss is a deep and very personal one.

It would not be possible to put into words my sense of loss at the death of BOB CORBETT. When I first came to the Congress, when I was faced with those instant decisions which confront every freshman Congressman in the same manner they confront the very experienced Members of this House, I learned early to discuss the issues with BOB. I learned that he had an astonishing grasp of legislation, a profound understanding of the issues of the times, and a willingness to share his knowledge with those who were interested in seeking it out.

Out of many hours of discussion there grew between us a friendship that was to endure with growing warmth until the day he passed from among us.

He was a man who loved the people of this Nation profoundly. Through his work on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, he came to know the mailmen of this Nation—those patient, hard-working, often-abused, seldom-appreciated, splendid people who keep the wheels of commerce turning in this Nation, who keep alive a million threads of friendship across this Nation and across the world. He came to understand and to love these people, and became their champion here in Congress. They knew this. They became his champions, as he had become theirs; they became a legion of campaigners for CORBETT who stopped at every home in his district and who spread the word that this was indeed a man.

He was loved and respected also by his colleagues here in the House. He was the senior member of his party in the Pennsylvania delegation. When we met to discuss the issues before the Nation which might have a notable effect upon the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, there was no voice raised in that caucus more respected than the voice of BOB CORBETT. We knew he had more than knowledge; he had wisdom and vision and depth that we valued dearly; and always that wisdom was framed in a delightful wit and humor that would move any heart. Even in pain, he could make the world laugh.

Now he has gone from us. Here, in the House of Representatives, the entire Nation has symbolically paused from its work to pay tribute to this splendid man, and that is a fitting thing to do for a man who served this Nation so well. I extend my condolences to his beloved wife Ruthe, and his daughter Eleanor Louise. Their loss is greater than the loss any others among us have sustained. I would tell them, in their grief, that he will be remembered here in this House as a quiet, patient man who in a quiet, patient way helped shape the destiny of this Nation. It was of such men as BOB CORBETT that John Donne wrote:

Death, be not proud, though some have called thee
Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so:
For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow
Die not, poor Death, nor yet canst thou kill me.
From rest and sleep, which but thy pictures be,
Much pleasure, then from thee much more must flow.
And soonest our best men with thee do go,
Rest of their bones and souls' delivery.
Thou art slave to fate, chance, kings, and desperate men,
And dost with poison, war, and sickness dwell;
And poppy, or charms can make us sleep as well,
And better than thy stroke: why swell'st thou then?
One short sleep past, we wake eternally,
And Death shall be no more: Death, thou shalt die!

Mr. BIESTER, Mr. Speaker, I learned

only yesterday of the passing of our distinguished colleague, ROBERT CORBETT, the dean of the Pennsylvania delegation.

There was a special warmth and sprightly wit in BOB CORBETT which this House will miss deeply. He was a man who unabashedly loved to work on the problems faced by the little people of his district and his country. His special regard for the man and women who work in the postal service is well known to all Members.

It always seemed to me that BOB CORBETT knew the Government was not an abstract system but rather an interweaving of hundreds upon thousands of human beings and his concern toward the human beings who make the system work was the source of energy that drove him to champion their cause.

We will miss his wit, his warmth, and his down-to-earth commonsense. There are many tributes that could be paid to BOB but the one I think he would appreciate the most would be the fact that those of us who worked with him know beyond any doubt that he cared about people and put his care to work in long years of service and the people he loved have a better life and the Nation he served is stronger as a result.

MR. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, Pennsylvania has lost a distinguished citizen, the Nation has lost a dedicated servant, and the Congress has lost a valued Member. BOB CORBETT's death came with unexpected suddenness, and the loss will be felt in many quarters, but particularly in this Chamber.

President Nixon noted that BOB was proud of his reputation as "the little man's Congressman." Thousands of Government employees can attest to his interest in their problems during his many years of service on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Thousands of Americans who belong to minority groups knew of his personal dedication to bettering racial and ethnic affairs in our country and our communities. Handicapped citizens found him responsive to and knowledgeable about their special needs. And BOB's constituents were beneficiaries of his belief in representation through service.

I think that we can also say that BOB CORBETT was a Congressman's Congressman. He was dean of our Pennsylvania Republican delegation in Congress. He was the Member from the Mid-Atlantic region on the GOP policy committee. He was chairman of Pennsylvania's Republican congressional committee. In all these posts he worked with his colleagues and won their respect.

But, the one thing which I remember as setting BOB CORBETT apart from most of us in this body was his great skill in handling legislation on the House floor. When a bill was under his management, it was in the very best of hands. He knew not only the job of legislating, but the art of legislating.

BOB will be missed in the U.S. House of Representatives. He will be missed by the Nation. We each share in the bereavement of his family at this hour, and I want to take this opportunity to extend

to Mrs. Corbett and other members of the family this expression of my deep and sincere sympathy. My wife joins me in these condolences.

MR. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly saddened to learn that my good friend and colleague, the Honorable ROBERT CORBETT, dean of the Pennsylvania delegation, had expired over the weekend.

I worked with Congressman CORBETT for over 9 years on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

His experience as a legislator, whose career dated back to the late thirties, was invaluable to our committee and its members. His humor and good will was largely responsible for the good feeling that exist between members of both parties on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Congressman CORBETT's life spanned several careers, including teaching, newspaper publishing, and local government. He was a historian by training, a just man by temperament, and an outstanding lawmaker. His good sense was part of the bone and sinew of every good piece of legislation coming from our committee.

At the conclusion of Congressman's CORBETT's career, the Federal Government had become the best employer in the United States. He was largely responsible for the success of pay legislation. Federal employees have lost one of their greatest champions.

During the span of his career, he fought for reasonable first-class mail rates.

The people of Pittsburgh and the people of Pennsylvania know that he never failed them in 28 years.

I remember and I know that Federal employees will remember his dedication to the principles of equal employment opportunity in the Federal Government. He was one of those responsible for the preserving of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees during the postal reorganization battle.

He was a Congressman's Congressman. He worked hard and he worked intelligently.

He was a great family man and I want to extend my condolences to his wife, Mrs. Ruthe Corbett, their daughter, Mrs. Donald Dunbar, his sister, Mrs. Doris Thompson, and to his grandchildren, Robert, James, and Laurie Craig.

MR. SCHNEEBEL. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives has just suffered a great loss; so has the Nation. Many of BOB CORBETT's colleagues were surprised and shocked by BOB's sudden passing over the weekend, and we are still stunned by the impact of our loss.

Those of us privileged to serve in the Pennsylvania Republican Delegation under the leadership of ROBERT J. CORBETT were constantly impressed by his rare leadership qualities. During his 13 years as dean of the delegation, his excellent wit served him and all of us well, and he was always ready with an apt and appropriate reply to any situation.

Perhaps his fine leadership exhibited itself best at those times when disagreements on important issues appeared to be developing during delegation meetings; his talent for smoothing ruffled

feathers was deeply appreciated by his colleagues in promoting harmony within the delegation.

In addition, BOB CORBETT was a great friend of the working man and, as ranking Republican member of the Post Office Committee, was a true champion of U.S. Postal employees.

By tradition, he was many times referred to as "the gentleman from Pennsylvania." The term applied with unusual accuracy. Colleague, constituent, citizen—all were impressed by the high degree of sensitivity which guided his activities.

Some of us are aware that, for the past several years, BOB CORBETT was burdened by poor health and had difficulty in mobility. We all know, however, that his active, dedicated service continued and he responded to the duties of his office, despite physical limitations. We shall all miss our genial friend, gentleman BOB CORBETT.

MR. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in the House in mourning the loss of our distinguished Member from Pennsylvania, the Honorable ROBERT J. CORBETT. His record of service in this Chamber and his dedication to public service throughout his life is to be admired and remembered by those of us who knew of his achievements.

It was my pleasure to serve with Congressman CORBETT on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee when I first became a Member of the House. Since that time I have respected BOB for his outstanding contribution as ranking member of that committee. The people of the 18th Congressional District of Pennsylvania and all Americans will miss his active and constructive participation in the legislative process.

I join in extending my personal sympathies to the family and friends of the Honorable ROBERT J. CORBETT.

MR. HILLIS. Mr. Speaker, today it is my privilege to join my colleagues in paying tribute to a great American, Congressman ROBERT CORBETT.

As a freshman, I did not have the honor of knowing Congressman CORBETT for any great length of time. But as a new member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I quickly developed keen respect and admiration for this great man.

Congressman CORBETT will certainly be missed by his fellow committee members, by all Members of the House and by all citizens of the United States.

But we must remember that this country is a better place because of ROBERT CORBETT.

MR. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of BOB CORBETT, our distinguished colleague and dear friend from western Pennsylvania. When I first came to Congress 3 years ago, BOB CORBETT was one of the first to extend the warm hand of friendship and offer of assistance. As the dean of the Pennsylvania delegation, he was always willing to assist new Members and provide them with the benefit of his vast experience and intimate knowledge of House procedures.

For over a quarter of a century BOB CORBETT's service in the House of Repre-

representatives has justifiably earned him the reputation as being the champion of the postal service employees. As the ranking minority member on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, he was instrumental in developing a sound and sensible retirement system for the employees of the Federal Government. During the last Congress when the postal reform measure was being considered by the committee, BOB CORBETT was a motivating force in working out the intricate details of this complex legislation. He was a dedicated and effective legislator and will always be remembered for his tireless work on behalf of his constituents. He was a great leader with an ingrained sense of fair play and devotion to duty. He will be sorely missed by the body. I join my colleagues in expressing our sorrow and I wish to extend to his wife and daughter my deepest sympathy in their hour of grief.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened by the news that Congressman ROBERT J. CORBETT, my good friend and colleague, had passed away.

BOB CORBETT's talent and experience made him a "quality Congressman," and he made a superb contribution to the function of the House of Representatives. He was diligent in and devoted to his congressional work, constantly conscious of his responsibilities as a Member of the House of Representatives.

One can gain some appreciation of Mr. CORBETT's personal dynamics when he realizes that he was the dean of the Pennsylvania congressional delegation and ranking Republican on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

In a deep sense BOB CORBETT was a humanitarian, constantly championing legislation designed to improve the lot of the physically disabled and the economically underprivileged.

His absence will bring great sorrow to his colleagues. He will be missed in proportion to the great contribution he made to the House of Representatives and to the people he represented in Pennsylvania's 18th Congressional District.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in honoring the memory of a man who served his community, his State, and his Nation with dedication and distinction for more than three decades.

I was shocked and deeply saddened to learn of BOB CORBETT's passing, and my family joins me in extending our sympathies to his wife, Ruthe; his daughter, Mrs. Sally Dunbar, and his two grandchildren.

I remember that when I arrived in Washington to serve in this legislative body, BOB CORBETT was kind enough to offer me his friendship and counsel. He brought to the House of Representatives the wisdom and compassion of a man who engaged and excelled in a variety of occupations. As a teacher, newspaper publisher, and public servant, BOB CORBETT compiled an impressive list of accomplishments.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that it will be of some comfort to BOB CORBETT's family to know that the 18th Congressional Dis-

trict, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and our Nation share their sense of loss.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, it was with sadness and a deep sense of loss that I heard the news of the passing of our good friend and colleague from Pennsylvania, ROBERT J. CORBETT.

His long, faithful, and diligent service to his constituency, his State, and his country is now ended. We who were privileged to be his friends will always remember him for the man among men that he was. A wise, thoughtful, and considerate man is gone, and the Congress and the American Republic is poorer for his passing.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join in the tributes to our beloved friend and distinguished colleague, BOB CORBETT. For three decades, he represented the 18th Congressional District of Pennsylvania—but more so he also represented the ideals of public service. His work for the blind and infirm was well known. He liked to call himself the "little man's Congressman" and his work in Congress reflected his concern for the welfare of the people of his district and the handicapped people of the Nation.

BOB CORBETT was active in the affairs of the Republican congressional committee and served on that committee during a period which saw it grow into a major party function. I am pleased to have had the opportunity to work closely with Bob in the political field—and I consider his death a personal loss.

Bob was an expert in postal affairs and a friend of the post office employee. He was diligent and skillful in carrying on the work of his congressional office and earned the respect and allegiance of his North Pittsburgh district. I feel it can truly be said that he was a "Congressman's Congressman" and that we who knew him have lost a friend, a good Republican, and a fine example of a dedicated public servant—a man that Congress can be proud to have had as a Member for 30 years.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I shall always treasure my memories of the period when I served on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee with our late beloved colleague, the Honorable ROBERT J. CORBETT. In our common effort to advance the best interests of the Federal worker, I found, and I am sure that Bob did too, that party labels are relatively unimportant. Although he was the ranking Republican and I a very junior Democrat on the committee, I found that we voted together in support of innumerable pieces of legislation which were designed to improve the status of the Federal employee.

It is little wonder that Bob came to be known as the little man's Congressman. It was not a meaningless appellation. It aptly described his work and his attitude during the 28 years he served as a Member of Congress. The handicapped, the infirm, and the underprivileged—they all were the forgotten beneficiaries of legislation supported by the Congressman from Pennsylvania's 18th District. His humanitarianism was deep

and sincere; it was in fact a part of his nature.

In BOB CORBETT's untimely passing, his constituents have lost a dedicated and effective representative. The people of America have lost an able and diligent lawmaker. And we in Congress have lost a true and respected friend.

Saddened by the loss of this great American, I would like to extend my heartfelt sympathy to Ruthe Corbett and their daughter, Sally.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, once again we are obligated to halt the regular business of this body to pay tribute to one of our colleagues who will no longer be part of us.

This situation becomes especially painful personally when I lose a colleague from my own State who has been a close friend of mine in the Congress for two decades. Such a man was Congressman ROBERT J. CORBETT, who served his constituents of the 19th District of Pennsylvania honorably and well in 14 Congresses.

BOB CORBETT was only 34 years old when his constituents first elected him to the U.S. Congress. Then he went home as sheriff of Allegheny County. But I guess Potomac fever was too strong and he returned to the 79th Congress and was elected to each Congress since.

Though we sat on opposite sides of the aisle and we naturally had our political differences, I can say BOB CORBETT never took a stand which was not for the people of Pennsylvania and his district.

I had the honor of serving with him on the Armed Services Committee and he was ranking Republican member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

I have lost a dear friend, this Congress has lost an outstanding and hardworking colleague, and the people of Pennsylvania have lost a sterling representative.

To his beloved wife Ruthe and his daughter Eleanor we offer our heartfelt condolences.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was truly shocked to hear of the sudden passing of the Honorable ROBERT J. CORBETT. I knew BOB CORBETT for most of the 28 years he represented the people of the Pennsylvania's 18th Congressional District so well, and came to admire his ability and wit and determination to do the right thing. I had the good fortune recently to share some of that delightful wit while at the Capital physicians physiotherapy room. BOB CORBETT was a man dedicated to the people of his district and even more to the people of the country who needed his help. He had a special place in his heart for our blind and sponsored many pieces of legislation to help them. He was a fighter for the often ignored lower ranking Federal employee. He was a valued member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and as its ranking minority member lent much weight to legislation aimed at improving our postal service. He was a kindly man and in a quiet, but effective way, a leader. The people of his district, his State delegation, his party, and all of his colleagues here will truly miss him. To his lovely wife and daughter I extend the Rooney's deepest sympathy.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, we mourn the loss of our colleague from Pennsylvania, ROBERT J. CORBETT. First elected to the 76th Congress, BOB CORBETT had served the constituency of the Keystone State's 18th District faithfully. He was the dean of the Pennsylvania delegation to the House of Representatives and the ranking Republican on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. I think our colleague will be remembered best, however, as one devoted to the needs of the disadvantaged people of this country—particularly the blind. He saw to it that special materials were placed in the Library of Congress to assist the handicapped and sponsored numerous legislative packages designed specifically to correct the hardships and problems of the handicapped. His hard work and dedication to the Congress and this country will continue to be evident for years to come. I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife, Ruthe, his daughter, Mrs. Sally Dunbar, and this two grandchildren.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, with the death of our colleague, the Honorable Robert Corbett, the House of Representatives, and the Nation, have suffered a great loss.

As a legislator, Congressman Corbett achieved a record which speaks of his commitment to helping the people of the 18th Congressional District of Pennsylvania and his dedication to public service for all Americans.

Congressman Corbett distinguished himself by his service on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. He was largely responsible for legislation which benefited Federal employees, whether in the area of pay increases or equal employment opportunity.

The Northwestern New York Council of the American Federation of Government Employees has asked me to recognize for them their deep regret over the loss of Congressman Corbett. I share with the council their feeling that with the death of Bob Corbett we have lost a great representative of the people.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our friend and colleague, Congressman Robert J. Corbett, has brought many profound and sincere expression of sorrow.

He was the last active original member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, of which he was ranking minority member at the time of his death. In addition to his many other legislative achievements, Bob Corbett made a great mark on matters concerning Federal employees.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I am including the text of a letter written to Mrs. Corbett by Robert L. White, president of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees:

APRIL 30, 1971.

Mrs. ROBERT J. CORBETT
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR MRS. CORBETT: On behalf of the 45,000 members of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, I wish to extend our deepest sympathies to the bereaved family of the distinguished Congressman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Robert J. Corbett. Bob Corbett was not only a true and great

friend to postal and federal employees, he was a true American who believed in doing what was right for America.

While many talked of democracy, Bob Corbett carried out the creed of democracy toward his fellow man regardless of race, religion, sex or national origin.

The National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees shall never forget the deeds of Bob Corbett for he came to our aid at the time of our greatest need.

He stood by our side against the combined forces of organized labor and his own Republican administrators, when together, they were trying to put this predominantly black organization out of business. We, as an organization, were fully aware that Bob Corbett stood by our side, because he was dedicated to the principals of democracy and Americanism, and not because he needed the black vote. For in his district, blacks and whites lived as one.

Sincerely,

ROBERT L. WHITE,
President.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the life, character, and service of the late Honorable ROBERT J. CORBETT.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

THE LATE HONORABLE ROBERT J. CORBETT

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 402

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable Robert J. Corbett, a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That a committee of forty-eight Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the Funeral Committee the following members on the part of the House: MESSRS. SAYLOR, FULTON of Pennsylvania, MORGAN, BARRETT, BYRNE of Pennsylvania, FLOOD, CLARK, DENT, NIX, MOORHEAD, SCHNEEBELI, WHALLEY, MCDADE, ROONEY of Pennsylvania, JOHNSON of Pennsylvania, GREEN of Pennsylvania, VIGORITO, GOODLING, BIESTER, EILBERG, ESHLEMAN, WILLIAMS, GAYDOS, COUGHLIN, YATSON, WARE, GROSS, DANIELS of New Jersey, DERWINSKI, DULSKI, HENDERSON, UDALL, PURCELL, CHARLES H. WILSON, WILLIAM D. FORD, HAMILTON, HANLEY, WHITE, WALDIE, BEVILL, BRASCO, MCCLURE, SCOTT, ROUSSELOT, CHAPPELL, HOGAN, HILLIS, and POWELL.

The Clerk will report the remaining resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 27, 1971, at 12 o'clock noon.

OATH OF OFFICE MEMBERS AND RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

The oath of office required by the sixth article of the Constitution of the United States, and as provided by section 2 of the act of May 13, 1884 (23 Stat. 22), to be administered to Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives, the text of which is carried in section 1757 of title XIX of the Revised Statutes of the United States and being as follows:

"I, A B, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help the God."

has been subscribed to in person and filed in duplicate with the Clerk of the House of Representatives by the following Delegate of the 92d Congress, pursuant to Public Law 412 of the 80th Congress entitled "An act to amend section 30 of the Revised Statutes of the United States" (U.S.C. title 2, sec. 25), approved February 18, 1948:

WALTER E. FAUNTROY, District of Columbia.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 7724. A bill to provide during times of high unemployment for programs of public service employment for unemployed persons, to assist States and local communities in providing needed public services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H.R. 7725. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to establish standards and programs to abate and control water pollution by synthetic detergents; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BLATNIK (for himself, Mr. BERGLAND, Mr. FRASER, and Mr. KARTH):

H.R. 7726. A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as amended; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CLEVELAND:

H.R. 7727. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction from gross income for expenses incurred in connection with the adoption of a child by

the taxpayer; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HANNA (for himself, Mr. ESCH, Mr. McCORMACK, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. FLOWERS, Mr. SEIBERLING, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. ROE, and Mr. COTTER):

H.R. 7728. A bill to establish an Office of Technology Assessment for the Congress as an aid in the identification and consideration of existing and probable impacts of technological application; to amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 7729. A bill to provide for the settlement of certain land claims of Alaska Natives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MATHIAS of California:

H.R. 7730. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to clarify the status of certain oil well service equipment under subchapter D of chapter 36 of such code (relating to tax on the use of certain vehicles); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PREYER of North Carolina:

H.R. 7731. A bill to suspend until the close of March 31, 1972, the duty on seed corn; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RAILSBACK (for himself, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MINSHALL, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MOSHER, Mr. MOSS, Mr. PREYER of North Carolina, Mr. RHODES, Mr. RHODES, Mr. ROBINSON of

Virginia, Mr. RUNNELS, Mr. SKUBITZ, Mr. STEELE, Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin, Mr. THONE, Mr. VANDER JAGT, Mr. WAGGONNER, Mr. WHITEHURST, and Mr. WYATT):

H.R. 7732. A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to prohibit Federal judges from receiving compensation other than for the performance of their judicial duties, except in certain instances, and to provide for the disclosure of certain financial information: to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS:

H.R. 7733. A bill to amend chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, to eliminate the annuity reduction during periods of non-marriage of retired employees and members, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7734. A bill to provide increases in certain annuities payable under chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. ROGERS (by request):

H.R. 7735. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, so as to authorize certain grapefruit marketing orders which provide for an assessment against handlers for the purpose of financing a marketing promotion program to also provide for a credit against such assessment in the case of handlers who expend directly for mar-

keting promotion; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ROGERS (for himself, Mr. SATTERFIELD, Mr. KYROS, Mr. PREYER of North Carolina, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. ROY, Mr. NELSEN, Mr. CARTER, and Mr. HASTINGS):

H.R. 7736. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend for 1 year the student loan and scholarship provisions of titles VII and VIII of such act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. THONE:

H.R. 7737. A bill to amend the act of June 27, 1960 (74 Stat. 220) relating to the preservation of historical and archeological data; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 7738. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction from gross income for social agency, legal, and related expenses incurred in connection with the adoption of a child by the taxpayer; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WINN:

H.R. 7739. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. KING:

H. Con. Res. 279. Concurrent resolution to establish a joint committee to investigate the treatment of prisoners of war in Vietnam; to the Committee on Rules.

SENATE—Monday, April 26, 1971

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. ADLAI E. STEVENSON III, a Senator from the State of Illinois.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, our help in ages past, our hope for years to come, we pray for Thy strength and guidance at the beginning of a new week. Above the tangled tragedies of our times and the tumult of many voices enable us to hear Thy still small voice. Be with this Nation and all its people. Keep our goals clear, our hearts pure, our spirits courageous, our loyalties firm, our faith enduring. Help us all to wage peace by peaceable means, to rely on reason and persuasion and the power of the spirit. Keep our hearts free from the hidden hate which corrupts the soul and blights the spirit, and separates us one from the other. Give Thy higher wisdom to all who bear the burdens of government. Bind us together as one great and good people, strong in the Lord and in the power of His might, for the making of His kingdom of justice and righteousness.

We pray in the name of that One who is the truth and the way and the life. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF THE ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., April 26, 1971.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. ADLAI E. STEVENSON III, a Senator from the State of Illinois, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
President pro tempore.

Mr. STEVENSON thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, April 23, 1971, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

WAIVER OF THE CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the Legislative Calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider nominations of the Executive Calendar.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

The assistant legislative clerk read the nominations in the Department of Commerce, as follows:

James T. Lynn of Ohio, to be Under Secretary of Commerce.

William N. Letson of Ohio, to be General Counsel of the Department of Commerce.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of John H. Reed, of Maine, to be a member of the National