

Miss Dorothy Dillon, of New York.
Ben L. Ellington, of Texas.
Stanley D. Moss, of Maryland.
McKinney H. Russell, Sr., of the District of Columbia.
Gordon Winkler, of the District of Columbia.

For reappointment in the Foreign Service as a Foreign Service officer of class 3, a consular officer, and a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Henry R. Mills, of Kansas.

For appointment as a Foreign Service officer of class 3, a consular officer, and a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Harry H. Pollak, of New Mexico.

For appointment as Foreign Service information officers of class 3, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Kenneth Bache, of New Jersey.

Ralph L. Boyce, of Virginia.

Joseph N. Braycich, of Washington.

William M. Childs, of Massachusetts.

F. Weston Fenhagen, of California.

Jules B. Grad, of Florida.

John E. Graves, of California.

Daniel J. Hafrey, of Minnesota.

Lloyd D. Hagen, of Virginia.

Sidney L. Hamolsky, of Maryland.

Hans Holzapfel, of Virginia.

Milton L. Iossi, of South Dakota.

Robert E. Kays, of the District of Columbia.

Martin Kushinsky, of New Jersey.

James L. Mack, of the District of Columbia.

James F. McKernan, of Massachusetts.

Ray E. Millette, Jr., of California.

Richard D. Moore, of Georgia.

George A. Naifeh, of Texas.

Douglas Pike, of North Dakota.

George W. Porter, of Florida.

Miss Dorothy B. Robins, of New Jersey.

John L. Sandstrom, of Minnesota.

Sol Schindler, of Pennsylvania.

Ronald Sher, of Minnesota.

Hakon D. Torjesen, of Minnesota.

Fitzhugh Turner, of Texas.

Robert B. Warner, of Michigan.

Hugh McL. Woodward, of Kentucky.

For promotion from a Foreign Service officer of class 5 to class 4:

Robert E. Day, Jr., of Virginia.

For appointment as Foreign Service information officers of class 4, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

John F. Cannon, of Massachusetts.

Phillip C. Cohan, of Maryland.

Mrs. Mary Frances Cowan, of the District of Columbia.

Charles H. Dawson, of Tennessee.

Robert Andre Dumas, of Pennsylvania.

Henry W. Grady, of California.

George P. Havens, of Maryland.

James A. Jensen, of Illinois.

William E. Jones, of Ohio.

Robert F. Jordan, of Maryland.
Gerald J. Kallas, of Illinois.
Bernie T. Marquis, Jr., of Washington.
Charles R. Meyer, of Ohio.
Alvaro Perez, of the District of Columbia.
Paul Polakoff, of California.
Irving E. Rantanen, of Illinois.
Miss Deirdre Mead Ryan, of Connecticut.
Edward H. Schulick, of New Jersey.
Ronald W. Stewart, of Illinois.
John C. Twitty, of New York.
For promotion from Foreign Service Officers of class 6 to class 5:

Robert B. Lane, of the District of Columbia.
Phillip C. Wilcox, Jr., of Colorado.

For appointment as a Foreign Service officer of class 5, a consular officer, and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Miss Margaret Ann Murphy, of California.

For appointment as Foreign Service information officers of class 5, consular officers, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Edward J. Donovan, of Florida.

Colburn B. Lovett, of Virginia.

Elton Stepherson, Jr., of the District of Columbia.

For promotion from a Foreign Service officer of class 7 to class 6:

Roger A. Long, of Ohio.

For promotion from a Foreign Service information officer of class 7 to class 6:

Miss Natalie W. Hull, of Georgia.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 7, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Wayne Thomas Adams, of Maine.

Miss Donna Jean Downard, of Washington.

Lloyd R. George, of Pennsylvania.

John Randle Hamilton, of North Carolina.

Paul Andrew Inskeep, of the District of Columbia.

Ira R. Kornbluth, of the District of Columbia.

John Kriendler, of New York.

William J. Kushlis, of Maryland.

Miss Amelia Ellen Shippy, of New Mexico.

Harry L. Stein, of New Jersey.

Michael P. Strutzel, of Louisiana.

For appointment as Foreign Service information officers of class 7, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Razvigor Bazala, of Virginia.

Robert Bemis, of the District of Columbia.

David F. Fitzgerald, of Massachusetts.

Bernard M. Hensgen, of the District of Columbia.

Miss Patricia M. Hugin, of California.

John A. Madigan, of Massachusetts.

Roy M. Payne, of Oklahoma.

Harry L. Ponder III, of Arkansas.

Roger C. Rasco, of Texas.

Richard C. Tyson, of California.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 8, consular officers, and secretaries

in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Alan Whittier Barr, of California.

George A. Kachmar, of New Jersey.

Jonathan E. Kranz, of New York.

Luciano Mangiafico, of Connecticut.

Clement Laurence Salvadori, of Massachusetts.

For appointment as Foreign Service information officers of class 8, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Miss Barbara Joan Allen, of Missouri.

Brian E. Carlson, of Virginia.

Miss Paul J. Causey, of Virginia.

J. Alison Grabbell, of New Jersey.

Miss Judith R. Jamison, of the District of Columbia.

Charles C. Loveridge, of Utah.

Michael D. Zimmerman, of North Carolina.

Foreign Service reserve officers to be consular officers of the United States of America:

Eric M. Griffel, of California.

Frederick H. Sligh, of Virginia.

Dean S. Vanden Bos, of California.

Foreign Service reserve officers to be consular officers and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Victor A. Abeyta, of New Mexico.

Norman Alexander, Jr., of Louisiana.

Michael J. Dubbs, of Virginia.

Marvin H. Francis, of Virginia.

James W. Gamble, of Virginia.

Claris R. Halliwell, of California.

F. William Hawley III, of Maryland.

C. Phillip Liechty, of Maryland.

Miss Jean Dandridge Logan, of the District of Columbia.

Richard M. Long, of Maryland.

Edward H. Mattos, of Ohio.

Miss Carol Carter Moor, of Florida.

George Mu, of California.

Donald R. Newman, of New York.

David Nickerson, of Maryland.

David A. Phillips, of Texas.

Jacob Sloan, of Virginia.

Charles E. Taber, of Maryland.

Miss Alma Lucille Thomas, of North Carolina.

Foreign Service reserve officers to be secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Robert Elmore Culbertson, of Maryland.

Joyce R. Herrmann, of Maryland.

Howard E. Houston, of Connecticut.

Russell Schnee McClure, of Oregon.

John R. Mossler, of Indiana.

Joseph C. Wheeler, of Virginia.

Foreign Service staff officers to be consular officers of the United States of America:

Thomas R. Flesher, of Maryland.

Arthur E. Goodwin, Jr., of Florida.

Richard M. Maresca, of Massachusetts.

David E. O'Leary, of Massachusetts.

Paul L. Thibault, of Virginia.

James C. Thorpe, of Wyoming.

La Rue H. Velott, of California.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE PROBLEMS OF HEALTH CARE— ADDRESS BY SENATOR PERCY

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an important speech that the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) delivered at the National Convention of Protestant Health Assemblies in Washington, D.C., on March 4, 1970.

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

THE PROBLEMS OF HEALTH CARE (By Senator CHARLES PERCY)

I would like to discuss a topic of concern to everyone: security. We Americans are a security conscious people. We want to secure peace so we spend billions of dollars on weapons. We want safe streets, so we hire more police. We want financial security so we invest, save, insure. We want job security so we form unions. We lock our doors, avoid going out at night; in numerous ways our behavior is dominated by fear. In short, since we cannot see into the future we seek to

protect ourselves now from possible misfortune.

Perhaps no fear is more universal than the fear of disease. Plague, stroke, heart attack or cancer evoke images of suffering, or unknown perils of death. Along with the suffering due to illness there is the pain of being dependent on others, of loss of income, and, increasingly, there is the fear of financial disaster due to huge medical bills.

Although these fears are probably common to all mankind, for some the threat is greater and there is less they can do about it. With illness, as with everything else, the poor have the worst of all possible worlds. The Public Health Service has shown that there is a direct correlation between low in-

come and high infant and maternal mortality. The poor have a higher incidence of tuberculosis, heart disease, high blood pressure, diabetes, mental illness and arthritis. They also suffer the most from malnutrition and malnutrition raises susceptibility to many other diseases including mental retardation, an irreversible process.

Many specialists in public health believe that poverty itself is a disease. Certainly diseases generated by poverty perpetuate poverty. Sick people can't hold jobs; they can't get jobs; they have no way to obtain security. Sick people can't provide for themselves or their families and may eventually add to our burgeoning welfare rolls.

The environment of the poor also leads to disease. Poor education in dilapidated schools with scant educational resources means a reduced ability to secure a job; less understanding of personal health care, more difficulty with family planning; and an inability to find help when it is needed.

Poor housing means rats, flies, plumbing that doesn't work, lead paint that poisons children when eaten, no heat on the coldest days, garbage that doesn't get collected. It means polio, hepatitis, typhoid, malnutrition when untreated.

Does it make sense for us to treat these illnesses and then send the patient back to such an environment? Obviously it does not—but we do.

This brings us to the problem of health care. The cost of medical care is so high that without some form of health insurance practically no one could afford to have a prolonged illness. Certainly a few weeks in the hospital would greatly diminish the finances of all but the affluent. It seems as though we are headed toward the day when good medical care will be a luxury only the rich can afford. It is already beyond the means of most of the poor.

Why is medical care so expensive? Probably the most accurate answer is that there has been an explosion of medical knowledge in the past three decades. Even though we are essentially a healthy population, scientific breakthroughs have led to complex methods requiring highly trained personnel and expensive equipment that can make us healthier. Heart-lung machines, artificial kidneys, transplantation operations and expensive new drugs are saving lives—but at a phenomenal cost. In addition, hospital employees have traditionally been among the lowest paid people in the economy. Now they are organizing unions and their wages are becoming more competitive. It seems inevitable from these developments that the average daily charge for a hospital bed will soon exceed \$100 a day. It does in some instances already.

The knowledge explosion in medicine has had more of an effect on the delivery of health services than merely increasing costs. It has led to a longer training period for physicians, more specialists, and a decline in the number of general practitioners. Thus although we can do more to treat disease than we ever could, it is now more difficult than ever to get to a doctor. This does not contribute to security against disease.

How then can we meet the problems of health care delivery at a reasonable cost? It seems to me we will need a multi-faceted approach.

To begin with, we must establish good health care as a national priority.

Although the passage of Medicare and Medicaid seemed to recognize a national right to medical care, these two programs have fallen far short of the mark. The known effect of these programs was to increase by \$2,000 the income of the nation's 300,000 physicians, to shift a substantial portion of the payment for medical care from local and private money to state and federal money, and in many cases to prompt cities to reduce their health budgets. It is true that some

people did receive health services they might not otherwise have obtained. But in general, there has not been a substantial improvement of treatment.

What we seem to require is some type of insurance or prepaid medical program that will result in a more equitable system for the delivery of adequate medical services to all. This should be a system that would eliminate such extreme dual standards that provide those who can pay with access to doctors and hospitals and those who are poor with whatever is left, which too frequently is next to nothing.

The second step we must take is to combat the shortage of physicians. One reason for the failure of Medicare and Medicaid is that they increased demand for physician services without increasing the supply.

The National Advisory Council of Health Manpower conservatively estimates a shortage of 50,000 doctors. That means that at present we have only about 80 per cent of the health manpower we require.

One reason for this shortage of physicians is the longer training period required as a result of improved methods of medical treatment. Another reason is that we are limited in our ability to produce doctors.

The fact is that the physicians now practicing in the United States, 40,000 were trained in foreign medical schools. Of the number of physicians newly licensed to practice last year, 24 per cent were graduates of foreign medical schools. One-third of all the interns and residents in this country are trained abroad. These doctors are not all from the prosperous Western nations. Most are from the so-called third world—Latin America, East Asia and the Middle East. Such programs of medical education cost these countries a substantial sum of money. Perhaps we could help these countries more by training enough of our own doctors than through costly military assistance and aid programs. There is some irony in the richest nation in the world, a humanitarian people, depending on the developing nations to provide us with over 20 per cent of our new physicians. And we still are critically short and cannot provide adequate care for the American people.

Meanwhile, thousands of qualified American college graduates are being turned away from medical schools because there isn't enough room for them. Many of these students are forced to seek their training abroad. In fact, last year 2,000 Americans were studying in foreign medical schools.

We simply must increase our production of physicians or none of us will receive adequate care. There is no substitute or stop-gap measure available.

Until we are able to produce more doctors, we must ensure that we are making the best use of those we do have. This means that the distribution of medical services must be improved.

For example, we must find a way to get physicians into doctor shortage areas. Today there is no inducement for a young physician, other than idealism, to set up practice in the inner city ghetto. There are no facilities; the patients can't pay; the doctors can't be sure his patients will get into a hospital.

With the middle-class exodus to the suburbs went the tax base that had previously funded construction of hospitals and schools. The physicians followed. It is a frightening fact that though there were more than 6,000 doctors in the City of Chicago in 1930, there are only about 4,000 practicing in that city today. To see one of these doctors, the poor must travel greater distances, wait longer hours, and put up with indignities that you and I would not tolerate.

The Congress has made a start in meeting this problem by forgiving a portion of any federal loan obtained by a medical student if he agrees to spend time practicing in the inner city. But this is only a start.

Physicians who do want to practice in low-income areas must have facilities, and patients must have someplace to go to receive care. The large community hospital is not the answer as the poor in Cook County discovered last week when Cook County General Hospital could not accommodate any more patients. An outbreak of winter illnesses, under-staffing, and financial problems forced the hospital to close its doors to all but the most critically ill.

Part of the answer lies in the neighborhood health center which will provide comprehensive care to patients in modern facilities readily accessible to their homes. I have visited such health centers in Chicago, Los Angeles, Alhambra, California, San Francisco, Louisville, Kentucky, and have seen how well they work. Not only can they provide treatment for patients who might otherwise have to travel 15 miles on public transportation to the hospital, but they can also prevent people from entering the hospital. They can serve as a source of preventive medicine and remedial care.

I have introduced legislation that would permit the use of Hill-Burton funds for the construction of these comprehensive neighborhood health centers and I am grateful to the Labor and Public Welfare Committee that my proposal has been incorporated into the extension of the hospital construction act that will be considered by the Senate in the near future.

Finally, there must be an emphasis on group practice if we are to meet our health care needs. Only through the banding together of doctors and para-medical personnel will we achieve the efficient utilization of our medical technology and doctors.

In summary, the United States must reassess its priorities. We have to re-examine our various demands on our resources and rethink the value we place on each one. We must decide whether the apparent security from external military threat provided by a network of ABM's or a fleet of nuclear aircraft carriers is more important than dealing with the real danger from within.

It is worth thinking about the fact that for the money we spend on defense in just one month we could build 100 medical schools and operate them for four years. It is worth thinking about the possibility of some day training physicians to heal the people of other lands rather than having them train ours.

TWINE FACTORY TO CLOSE, NORTH DAKOTA PRISON SHORTHANDED

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the soaring national crime rate has brought serious problems of overcrowding to prisons throughout the country, I invite the attention of my colleagues to the encouragingly different situation which prevails at the North Dakota State Penitentiary.

The inmate population there has declined to only 165, a drop of 85 since 1966. For the first time in 70 years, it will be necessary to shut down the prison twine factory because of a labor shortage.

Reasons cited by Warden Dwight Woodley for the decrease in the number of prisoners are better treatment centers for alcoholics and expanded and apparently successful use of the probation system. Clearly the record shows that it is possible to rehabilitate men who have been imprisoned for serious crimes.

I cannot pass up this opportunity for a chamber of commerce type plug for North Dakota. For Americans who are tired of smog, noise, and rampant crime, North Dakota beckons as the real "land of pleasant living."

The air is clean and fresh. There is more than enough elbow room. The schools are excellent. The crime rate is the lowest in the Nation. And the man who has never viewed a North Dakota sunset or a field of flax in bloom has not really lived.

It is a paradise for the fisherman and the hunter.

We probably could not accommodate all of our city cousins who would want to live in North Dakota if they only knew of the tremendous advantages and attractions our State offers. Nevertheless, I invite every American to pay us a visit this summer and see for himself.

I include in my remarks the following news story from the Fargo Forum of March 5, 1970:

TWINE FACTORY TO CLOSE NORTH DAKOTA PRISON SHORTHANDED

BISMARCK, N. DAK.—The state prison's twine factory is expected to shut down for lack of help this summer for the first time in its 70 year history.

Warden Dwight Woodley said the declining prison population may eventually force the twine factory out of business. He said 25 men now operate the business, but 50 are needed to make it profitable. Twine is now sold at 13½ cents a pound, but costs 15 cents a pound to make, he noted.

The warden said there are now 165 men in the penitentiary, 85 less than when he became head of the institution in 1966.

He theorized increased probation and better treatment centers for alcoholics are the main causes of the prison population decline.

Woodley said he expected the population to decrease by 25 or 30 by this summer, making a shutdown of at least one of the prison's operations necessary.

He said 20 men are now working in the license tag plant, 20 in the book shop, 30 in food services, 30 in farm activities, five on work release and the remainder in maintenance.

He said he plans to close the twine factory and cut down the number of prisoners in the tag plant in order to beef up the book shop during the next several months.

He explained that with schools closed for the summer, there is an increase in the demand for repairing texts.

RETURN OF URBAN ORDER NEEDED

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, the District of Columbia faces many problems, but none is more desperate than the problem of crime. The rise in crime has had a devastating impact on the Nation's Capital, driving out the black and white middle class and seriously diminishing the quality of life. More than 71,000 serious offenses were recorded in the District in 1969. These offenses brought misery, hardship, and fear to thousands upon thousands of residents and visitors, and death to more than 290 people.

The Chicago Tribune's veteran cor-

respondent Walter Trohan recently described both the causes and effects of this great tragedy. He also discussed pretrial detention, one of the many solutions to the problem which the District Committee has incorporated into the omnibus crime bill for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Trohan knows and I know that there is no easy answer to the problem of crime. But he is right in his assessment that "an amazing percentage of our crimes are committed by persons on bail." And he is indisputably correct that the Washington community "has a right to live without fear." If we can reduce crime and reduce fear through a fair and limited system of pretrial detention, then this is a course "devoutly to be wished."

Several basic reasons have been advanced for pretrial detention. First. It will reduce crime by restraining chronic recidivists prior to trial. Second. It will prevent tragedy by detaining dangerous defendants who would recklessly or compulsively engage in violence. Third. It will eliminate hypocrisy from the legal system by prohibiting the manipulation of money bail to achieve a legitimate but presently forbidden end.

Walter Trohan suggests an additional benefit. One thing is badly needed, he says, to reduce crime: Swift and certain justice.

Criminals, as a group, are juveniles mentally and should be treated as such. No one would think of punishing a child who plays with matches or is disobedient a year or six months after his offense. Punishment is meted out at the time, so that the lesson may be learned.

Punishment is not the objective of pretrial detention. But pretrial custody of a defendant will greatly accelerate both his trial and the speed with which society expresses its disapproval of his conduct. In the end, the quickness of this disapprobation may teach a lesson that would otherwise be lost and thus contribute significantly to an offender's rehabilitation. This is, after all, what everyone desires.

I submit Mr. Trohan's article in full:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Mar. 4, 1970]

RETURN OF URBAN ORDER IS NEEDED

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, March 3.—Almost everyone agrees that we must restore order to our cities. Without urban order there can be no progress in culture and living—no progress in health, education, job opportunities, the arts, and other avenues of endeavor.

Crime is the great destroyer of urban order. There has been a serious breakdown in our whole system of criminal justice, which is why our cities are crying for restoration of order.

There aren't enough police, and those there are haven't received the support from the public they should. Our courts have broken down, partly because of the law's delays and largely because some judges have become so obsessed with the rights of criminals that they have forgotten the rights of the good and true citizens. Finally, our prison system doesn't reform or even seem to punish.

One thing is needed and it is needed desperately: swift and certain justice. This doesn't necessarily mean that punishment should be stepped up, but that it be swift and sure.

Criminals, as a group, are juveniles men-

tally and should be treated as such. No one would think of punishing a child who plays with matches or is disobedient a year or six months after his offense. Punishment is meted out at the time, so that the lesson may be learned. The child might commit the crime many times if punishment is delayed.

So it is with criminals. If those caught in crime are not punished swiftly, they tend to repeat their crimes, if they are readily granted bail, or graduate to worse crimes. An amazing percentage of our crimes are committed by persons on bail.

To correct this situation Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell has recommended pre-trial detention for defendants whose release may be dangerous in the national capital, where crime has zoomed to astronomical and frightening proportions. Mike Mansfield, Senate Democratic leader, recently characterized Washington as "a city of fear."

The question of pre-trial detention has met with weeping and wailing from bleeding hearts, who insist that it violates the 8th amendment of the Constitution, which states that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment be imposed.

It is to be regretted that the easy weepers cannot shed a few tears for the victims of the criminal—the dead, injured, and despoiled—or for the crime-stricken communities. It seems their tears flow easily for the wicked but not for outraged justice.

Mitchell has stressed that the amendment does not expressly grant or deny right to bail. Thus, he adds, it can be construed to mean that bail shall not be excessive in those cases in which it is proper and that the setting of bail in certain cases is not improper.

The 5th amendment of the Constitution states that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Mitchell argues that this provision is not a bar to official restraint of dangerous persons prior to trial and judgment.

Criminal law is at best a fine balance between the rights of individuals and the security of citizens as a whole. Mad dogs are locked up without regard to their individual rights. The community has a right to live without fear, which is a responsibility of all. If such protection spells the restraint of the dangerous, it would seem a course devoutly to be wished.

FREEDOM COULD USE SOME DEFENSE FROM LAWYERS

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, just a week ago I called the attention of this House to remarks made by the mayor of New York, John V. Lindsay, regarding the Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act of 1970. I inserted in the RECORD, on March 2, copies of letters I wrote to Mayor Lindsay and to Dr. Russell D. Niles, president of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. It was in a speech to that bar association that Mayor Lindsay made some misstatements of fact with respect to the defense facilities legislation and I was most anxious to see that the mistake was brought to light and not repeated.

I have not yet received a reply from the mayor and feel it best, at this time, to submit for the record the excerpts

from the mayor's speech which were printed by the Washington Post on February 22, 1970.

It is most regrettable that such a vital piece of security legislation such as H.R. 14864, however unintentionally, should be misrepresented to the legal profession of New York City by a man who holds such an esteemed position in that city's political life and who, having served in this House of Representatives, should recognize the need for care and accuracy in describing measures approved by the House. The excerpts were headlined by the Post: "Freedom Could Use Some Defense From Lawyers." I might add—so could accuracy in referring to legislation.

The excerpts from the mayor's speech follow:

[From the New York Post, Feb. 22, 1970]
FREEDOM COULD USE SOME DEFENSE FROM LAWYERS

(By John V. Lindsay)

(NOTE.—The following is excerpted from a speech by the Mayor of New York at the centennial program of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York last week.)

This is, unhappily, a time to remind ourselves of our obligation as lawyers to protect our citizens' rights and liberties from threats and infringements. The blunt, hard fact is that we in this nation appear headed for a new period of repression more dangerous than at any time in years.

The frenzy, the bitterness, the tumult of the last few years have led many people—including many in positions of power—to expect peace and order to come by whittling away at the Bill of Rights of our Constitution.

Not long ago, the Senate passed a drug law. It would permit federal agents to enter the home of a private citizen with no warning whatsoever. Not one Senator voted against that bill.

At almost the same time, the Senate passed a crime bill which drastically limited a defendant's right to examine possibly illegal sources of evidence; which imposed a statute of limitations on the right to be free of illegal searches. Only one man stood up against that bill.

And a week later, the House passed a "Defense Facilities Bill" which would extend to private industry broad government investigatory powers. It would authorize federal agents to examine the political association and acts of people in private industry—and it would permit these private citizens to be fired from their jobs without even being told the basis for the dismissal.

And while this bill was being passed, the Justice Department issued—then retracted—a startling series of subpoenas asking for the notes and tapes of newsmen—a step which could basically endanger the traditional independence of our news media.

All of this has happened within the last few weeks. Yet where are the declarations of opposition? Where are the leaders, in politics, the bar, and academic life, speaking out against these new threats to our constitutional freedoms?

Of course these are controversial areas. The most dangerous threats to freedom always are. When government intrudes in a trivial field, we all enjoy laughter aimed at the clumsy workings of bureaucrats. But it is precisely when government treats real dangers—like crime, drugs and security—with dangerous means that government is most likely to endanger our freedoms by increasing repression. And it is at this point that the defense of freedoms must be made.

There is a similar duty, too, to speak out in defense of the judicial process itself.

All of us, I think, see the recent Chicago

trial as a defeat for the integrity of the judicial process. All of us, I think, see in that trial a tawdry parody of our judicial system. But it is important to understand the roots of this disaster.

When you try political activists under a conspiracy charge—long considered to be the most dubious kind of criminal charge, difficult to define or to limit—and when a trial becomes fundamentally an examination of political acts and beliefs, then guilt or innocence becomes almost irrelevant. The process becomes a matter of political opinion instead of legal judgment, and the sense of a courtroom as an independent, open and judicious tribunal becomes lost.

And we lost something else, too. Whatever the ultimate verdicts, who has really won in this case? Think of yourself as a young man or woman emerging into political concern. If you had witnessed what happened in Chicago, which of you would believe that our system was open, fair-minded and humane? Which of you would come away from this trial with a renewed faith in our judicial system?

With this matter now on us—with the range of new laws of dubious value or legitimacy—what must concern us all as lawyers in this growing evidence of encroachment on our most cherished rights and liberties. And this concern must remain whether the threat comes from our executive, legislative or judicial branches of government or from individual citizens under the false notion that violence, disruption and repression of their own is the way to a bitter society.

This association has always had the courage to stand up for its beliefs, even at great cost. Exactly 50 years ago, led by Charles Evans Hughes, this very association spoke out against the unseating of five Socialist legislators by the State Assembly. The men who led this fight had nothing in common politically with the victims of that repression. But they did have a faith in freedom—and they acted on that faith.

Today, when the turmoil of the last few years has made repression a politically popular step, it is our obligation as lawyers to stand against it in whatever form it takes. It is time again to put our faith in the system of open and free debate and in full constitutional protection for those accused of crimes. It is time again to speak out in defense of these precious barriers between tyranny and liberty.

This is not an easy task. But there is none more vital today. And there is none more noble to begin your second century of life.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, I have joined with five cosponsors in the introduction of a bill that would create a single independent agency in the Government to lead the attack on pollution. The Pollution Abatement Act of 1970 establishes the National Environment Control Commission, which would have the authority to generate and enforce pollution standards, have full power to promulgate all actions involved in the attack, incorporate all future and present programs dealing with pollution, and have jurisdiction over more than \$10 billion in pollution funds.

Last February 25 Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Va., held a symposium on pollution. One of the speakers

was Mr. Davis Monola, a citizen of great fortitude and courage, who has been tireless in his efforts to bring to the attention of the public the dangers of the growing pollution menace. Mr. Monola was one of the select few who led the fight years ago when such concern was labeled "antiprogress," and was synonymous with being anti-American.

Mr. Monola's speech reveals the need for the creation of a Central Government agency to protect the environment from pollution. At the time he gave his address to the symposium he was not aware of my efforts toward this goal, but has since given his full enthusiastic backing and endorsement to the Pollution Abatement Act of 1970, which accomplishes what he calls for.

I want to share Mr. Monola's speech with my colleagues, and insert the text of the speech at this point in the RECORD. I urge my fellow Members to read it.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

(By Davis Monola)

Looking about me on this panel, I find myself among those who are infinitely better qualified to advise you on both the health aspects of air pollution and the technical features of measurement and control.

Perhaps my only qualification for inclusion in this fine company is the mere fact that I have been on the pollution control "Soap Box" for over twenty years. While the podium has become extremely crowded—of late, in the early years we were acutely aware of how "Chicken Little" must have felt as he raced about shouting, "The sky is falling". Many laughed in those days—but the subject has long since lost its humorous aspects.

I must confess that this interest did not arise from intelligent foresight on my part, but rather from the burning conviction of one college professor—Dr. Hoy Wells whose students must have been among the first to appreciate the ecological implications of world wide pollution. ODU is to be applauded for its concern and involvement in this life or death issue. Such involvement will provide a "well spring" of young, intelligent, energetic citizens who may well profit from our past mistakes and restore sanity to the use of our environment.

Looking back over the past twenty years, I see little to recommend itself as a success; but, the years are strewn with the carcasses of well intentioned efforts—that never really had a chance of succeeding. In retrospect, with all the advantages of hindsight, the reasons for failure became shockingly clear. There have always been men of vision, interest, and ability; a mandate for change has been apparent for many years; and, all things considered, we have spent more than enough money to accomplish many of our objectives. A postmortem examination of our failures must surely implicate the system of administration as a lethal factor.

Let us examine that system. During man's early efforts to control pollution, the problems were limited in effect and the solutions came easy: "Burn the garbage outside of town", "Smoke in the sky means food in the pots," and the gem of all gems, "The solution to pollution is dilution". Those are some of our landmark decisions.

Again, these were simple solutions to simple problems. At that point in time, it appears there were no governmental agencies clamoring to safeguard our environment. Anyone who ventured a concern was labeled as being "anti-progress" which was synonymous with being "anti-prosperity" and "anti-American".

Contrast this situation with today's widespread fear and concern for our very survival. Compare this picture of govern-

mental "non-concern" with today's multiple, overlapping, and duplicating efforts at all levels in nearly every governmental agency. We have come the full cycle—from no-one's business, to everyone's business. And, we are reminded by Ben Franklin—that everyone's business is still no-one's business.

In reality, we have attempted to adopt a management system, designed to cope with pit privies, overflowing septic tanks, erosion, sweat shops, garbage disposal, and rodent control to meet the complex and interrelated problems of sophisticated forms of environmental pollution.

Instead of providing a unified system of management and control capable of meeting the challenge—we have dissipated our potential through "piece-meal" assignments to some sixteen agencies, boards, commissions, and committees. The paradox is that each new crisis resulting from failure to consolidate these forces is met with still another agency, commission or committee—which only adds confusion and further fragment our capacity to deal effectively with the problem. There is a current epidemic of committees—it has been said that "A camel is a horse put together by a committee".

There are those who avow that a nation that can put men on the moon—can solve our environmental pollution problems. Consider, if you will, where our space program would be if we had divided the responsibility among the Army, Navy, Air Force, Department of Agriculture, Department of HEW, Department of Interior, Department of HUD, and a handful of boards, commissions and committees—without central direction to plan and coordinate. My guess is that we would have never agreed on a launching site.

What has been the results of lack of central direction? First, there has been a shameful waste of manpower. The precious few highly skilled scientists that will work for government pay have been walled into limited compartments of activity. Their efforts are duplicated by counterparts in other agencies. Sophisticated equipment and research facilities have been limited by the scope of their use.

Of even greater concern is the state of mass confusion resulting from the lack of uniform standards and program criteria. We still consider each form of pollution as a separate and independent variable. We continue treating environmental pollution as a local or regional problem. We have yet to devise a set of uniform standards or even suggest that such standards be applied uniformly throughout the nation. We have failed to come to the realization that we can no longer afford one more ounce of preventable pollution anywhere in this country. Each set of differing local or regional standards seem to be designed to test the outer limits of our physical tolerance. Each control system appears to function in a vacuum—oblivious to other systems or areas of involvement.

Aside from the obvious fragmentation by kinds of pollution, we have somehow arrived at the conclusion that each state; each area; and now, each county or municipality should somehow determine its own pollution control standards.

Now I'm a strong believer in home rule and local option on many issues—but this is preposterous. How many counties, cities, or states for that matter have the technical or scientific competence to make such judgments on a scientific basis. It is predictable that such judgments would ultimately give way to political or economic self interest if left to local determination. Local option can be relied upon to perpetuate pollution from sources that contribute substantially to the local economic structure. As my old boss, Dr. Huff, used to say, "Nobody shoots Santa Claus!"

No condemnation is intended or apologies required for the dedicated efforts of the many control program administrators and their fellow workers. Each has contributed far beyond

expectations under the most difficult circumstances. The success of each has been limited by the confines of administrative division and inadequate funding.

If all the high priced study and research of the past decade is to teach us anything of substance it is the fact that the time has long passed when we should have faced the issue squarely and recognized that the fragmented approach to environmental pollution control has been a dismal failure in the past and cannot hope to succeed in the future. The time has come to acknowledge that all forms of pollution are interrelated—both in the effects upon the environment, and in methods of control. There will never be a better time than now to set in motion the machinery to establish an agency of Department rank whose sole and exclusive role will be to protect the total environment from all sources of pollution and to promote the reestablishment of the essential balances of nature.

Nothing less will equal the formidable task at hand.

A BRIEF FOR PREVENTIVE DETENTION

HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, the House will soon commence debate of the various District of Columbia crime proposals. One of the most controversial is the so-called "preventive detention" issue.

Mr. Ronald L. Goldfarb, a practicing Washington attorney, has written an interesting article concerning this issue, which appeared recently in the New York Times magazine.

I commend the article, "A Brief for Preventive Detention," for the consideration of all Members. The article follows:

A BRIEF FOR PREVENTIVE DETENTION

(By Ronald L. Goldfarb)

A 19-year-old drug addict with a long criminal record—his initials are P.D.—robs a savings and loan association in Washington, D.C., with the aid of two companions. As they leave, there is a gun battle with police and a bystander is wounded but not killed. Several blocks away, the getaway car crashes into a bus and the three men are captured. Arrested on assault and armed robbery charges, P.D. posts a \$5,000 bond and is released while awaiting trial. Eleven days after that a local liquor store is held up, a janitor recognizes P.D. and he is rearrested at a friend's home. At his presentment a few days later, bail is set at \$10,000; again P.D. is able to get a bond and goes free.

Before he comes to trial on any of the charges, he attempts to rob a neighborhood gas station at gunpoint, but an off-duty policeman who happens to be present subdues him after a struggle. This time, bail is set at \$25,000. But P.D.'s lawyer pleads that his client cannot afford it and therefore will be incarcerated just because of his poverty. He also argues that P.D. has good ties in the community—for example, he is employed locally and has lived there all his life—and that he has never failed to show up in court when ordered in the past. Moreover, members of P.D.'s family and a clergyman appear to say that they will assure his presence in the future. Bail is reduced to \$15,000, which P.D. can afford, and he is released.

Less than a month later, two men stick up a bank; when an alarm goes off, they panic and shoot into the crowd of customers, killing one person and wounding two others. Photographs taken by the bank's concealed

camera identify P.D. as one of the robbers and he is arrested once again. Now, since he is charged with a capital offense, P.D. is denied bail and, during a court appearance, an angry judge tells him: "It is a disgrace that my colleagues on this court have had their hands tied and were unable to lock you up before this. Untold and unnecessary ravage has been wreaked upon this community as a result of our impotence."

Exaggerated as it may sound, this kind of case has happened countless times in just about every American city. It illustrates a problem which has been occurring in American courts with increasing frequency and which has provoked a passionate debate about criminal law reform that is likely to be resolved in Congress this year. The problem is the commission of repeated crimes (increasingly involving violence) by men already charged with other crimes and free on bail awaiting trial. The issue is whether to solve the problem by adopting some scheme of preventive detention, a loose and provocative term used to describe procedures under which defendants deemed dangerous could be incarcerated during the time between their arrest and trial.

In July, 1965, I was asked to testify before a Senate subcommittee which was holding hearings on ball reform. On the morning of my appearance, a subcommittee lawyer cornered me outside the hearing room to ask if I would discuss preventive detention when I testified, along with the other points I wished to make about the money bail system. No one else was willing to go on record regarding this touchy subject. Today, the subject is no longer taboo. Not only has the Nixon administration submitted a bill to authorize consideration of danger to the community in setting conditions of pretrial release or as a basis for denying release, but so have Senators Charles Goodell, Joseph Tydings, Robert Byrd and Roman Hruska, and Representative William McCulloch, each joined by other colleagues. Chances are that one of these bills will be passed in 1970.

The subject is an explosive one and there has been considerable critical reaction. But the line-ups of opponents and proponents is full of surprises. For example, along with the Nixon Administration, the major advocates in the Senate of preventive detention are Maryland's Tydings—a young, liberal, Kennedyesque legislator who has been a brave advocate of progressive legislation—and the present darling of the doves, New York's Goodell. Leading the opposition with the American Civil Liberties Union is Senator Sam Ervin Jr. of North Carolina, a conservative who is one of the Senate's leading spokesmen on constitutional matters. (Such straight-shooters as New York County District Attorney Frank Hogan have also come out against the procedure.)

No doubt, one reason for widespread, instinctive reactions against preventive detention is that it sounds like something it is not meant to be. Other countries that practice an inquisitorial form of criminal investigation condone a police practice of arrest for investigation (called in some places preventive detention) which is anathema to the sense and spirit of our accusatorial criminal justice system. Senator Ervin made this haunting comparison when he described recent proposals as reminiscent of "devices in other countries that have been tools of political repression" and a "facile police state tactic."

The preventive detention legislation that recently has been proposed in this country would vest the power to detain not in the police but in the courts, and, at that, would subject it to limitations and protections which make it different in kind from the foreign practices. A better label could probably be found which might more correctly reflect the content of the proposals and avoid emotional comparisons.

A problem which most perplexes the critics

of preventive detention is that it would allow people's liberty to be taken away precipitously on the basis of predicted behavior. The inexact and unscientific nature of all prediction, they argue, militates against using such an inquisitorial technique. Furthermore, it is feared that cautious judges will over-predict danger to play it safe—and innocent men will inevitably go to jail without trials.

Suppose you are a judge confronted with this situation: A man is before you charged with committing a violent crime; he pleads not guilty and asks to be released until his trial. Your investigative report convinces you that he has ties in the community and will appear for trial. However, there is persuasive evidence indicating that if he is released, he would be likely to commit another violent crime. Thus the community would be in danger. You know that the traditional law of pretrial criminal procedure has been clear: The only proper purpose for denying a defendant his freedom before trial is to deter flight, not potential criminality. You are aware that the time between arrest and trial is critical to a defendant. With court delays of sometimes a year or more, a defendant obviously wants to be free to live with his family, earn a living and prepare his defense.

What do you do? Do you allow the defendant to go free because your judicial hands are tied by law? Or do you stretch your legal powers and restrain him because, by your own lights, you think he endangers public safety? Why should a judge not take into consideration a defendant's danger to the community in deciding what to do with him? It seems a natural and commonsensical step.

Former Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson explained why not in a venerable dissent: "The practice of admission to bail, as it has evolved in Anglo-American law, is not a device for keeping persons in jail upon mere accusation until it is found convenient to give them a trial. On the contrary, the spirit of the procedure is to enable them to stay out of jail until a trial has found them guilty." And, in another case two decades ago, Justice Jackson wrote: "Imprisonment to protect society from predicted but uncommensurated offenses is so unprecedented in this country and so fraught with danger of excesses and injustice that I am loathe to resort to it. . . ."

Yet, as a practical matter, judges often keep certain defendants whom they consider dangerous in jail. They do so by setting bail at such a high figure that the defendant cannot possibly pay it, or by denying him bail altogether. In both instances, the judge exceeds his lawful authority. Nevertheless, according to Prof. Abraham Goldstein of Yale Law School, this technique for pre-trial detention "has been so widespread that fewer persons are released on bail in most of our states, where there is nominally an absolute right to bail, than in England, where there is no such right."

Recent developments have highlighted the need for reform. Studies done in the early sixties demonstrated that money bail, as it has been administered in American courts:

Inherently discriminates against poor people and prejudices their subsequent trials and sentencing;

Allows judges to manipulate bail to punish, to proselytize, and for other ulterior purposes;

Sloughs off responsibility for pre-trial justice to bondsmen, who accumulate undue power and have a corrupting influence on justice officials;

Is less effective than simpler, fairer techniques for insuring against flight.

As a result of these disclosures, a Federal law—the Bail Reform Act of 1966—required Federal judges to release defendant before trial except in capital cases; henceforth, they could establish conditions for pre-trial release, but they could not deny it. While the

Act only applied in the Federal Courts, its supporters hoped that, if it worked, it would be a prototype for the states to adopt.

The act applied justice more evenly, but did not do anything about dangerous defendants and left the old, covert methods for dealing with the problem uncertain. By failing to authorize judges to consider potential danger to the community as a reason for denying pre-trial release, many observers feel that the Bail Reform Act focused on the problem with a hand over one eye. The blind spot, moreover, was nowhere more evident than in the Government's own back yard.

Because Washington, D.C., is governed by Federal law, because 40 percent of all Federal offenses occur there, and because its crime rate receives nationwide attention, the new act had a particularly alarming impact in the District. Washington's able Chief of Police, Jerry V. Wilson, relates this telling episode of modern urban history:

Shortly before the beginning of 1969, armed robberies in the District had become a critical problem; they were occurring at a rate of about 700 a month. Only 11 days after his Inauguration, President Nixon promised in a message on crime that he would recommend legislation to permit preventive detention of hard-core recidivists. Shortly after that announcement, the number of armed robberies in the capital suddenly dropped off to around 300 a month. This steep slack lasted for several months.

Then, in April, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia noticed an upsurge in the number of appeals from high bail by defendants who had been imprisoned before trial because they could not raise the money; four times the usual number had been filed within a few months. Ruling in one of these appeals—*U.S. v. James E. Leathers*—the appellate court recognized the disquiet of trial judges who feel that the Bail Reform Act gives them no way to protect the public safety. Nevertheless, the court ruled that they must follow the letter of the law and assure pre-trial release.

Thereafter, armed robberies in the capital rose as precipitously as they had dropped four months earlier, reaching an all-time high in September of over 800 a month.

"What this suggests to me," says Donald Santarelli, an Associate Deputy Attorney General, "is that the trial judges, who had been critical of the Bail Reform Act, followed the President's endorsement of preventive detention and took a tougher stance on releasing defendants before trial in serious violent crimes." Santarelli, who framed the Administration's preventive detention bill, continues: "This resulted in many more detentions before trial of violent offenders through the setting of high money bonds—a practical evasion of the Bail Reform Act. It was followed by a significant reduction in armed robbery offenses during the following four months. But the Leathers decision in April resulted in the sharp rise because release of this type offender was ordered."

Judge Charles W. Halleck of the District's General Sessions Court agrees with this interpretation. According to Halleck, "a few judges effectively cut armed robbery rates about 40 per cent in a few months simply by denying pre-trial release to this predictable category of offenders."

Judge Tim Murphy of the General Sessions bench describes what happened this way:

"Before the Leathers case, there was a concentrated effort by the judges to 'sock it to 'em,' which we rationalized on our interpretation of the law and our reading of the recidivism problem. Leathers caught us between the eyes and took away our arguments, so we began to do our best to obey the law as it was laid out for us. We could no longer deny bail on the pretext of fear of flight. Nor could we justify high bonds by the section of the new law that allowed us to take into account the nature of the

offense in determining pre-trial release." (This provision meant only that the judges could force men to report to the authorities each day, give up their driver's licenses until they appear for trial, or satisfy other, similar "conditions.")

Judge Murphy is not alone in believing that, despite the Bail Reform Act, Federal judges in other parts of the United States (as well as state court judges all over) continue to detain defendants through the subterfuge of setting high bail or simply denying it outright, on the ground of risk of flight or danger. Most judges feel they must. Says Judge Murphy: "There are widows and orphans in this city who plague my conscience because I try to follow my oath of office and adhere to the Bail Reform Act strictly, even when releasing certain defendants violates my common sense, reason and experience."

Statistics on the dimensions of the problem are inconclusive. They are interpreted in different ways by friends and foes of preventive detention.

In 1966, a Presidential commission studying crime in the District of Columbia found that out of 2,776 defendants who were released on bail before their trials, 207 of them were later charged with committing another crime while they were free; of these, 124 were accused of violent crimes. The District of Columbia Police Department conducted a study of robbery holdups, the category of offense which is central to the present dispute. Between July 1, 1966, and June 30, 1967, the department found, 130 individuals were released on bond after being indicted on this charge. Of this group, 45 defendants—just short of 35 per cent—were reindicted for at least one additional felony while free on bond.

In testimony before the House Judiciary Committee last October, Attorney General John Mitchell referred to a study by the United States Attorney's office in D.C. showing that of 557 persons indicted in the District for robbery in 1968, 345 were released prior to trial and 242 of these—or 70 per cent—later re-arrested.

Those who oppose preventive detention point out that these figures relate to unproven charges, and not convictions. They claim, moreover, that the percentages are low and the problem therefore minimal. The pro's point out that the statistics include only reported crime, estimated to be about 50 per cent of the true picture, and cases in which police believe they have enough evidence to bring someone to trial (in the armed robbery category, this is a mere 14 per cent). Whatever the percentages, says Senator Tydings, "it is no consolation to the dead, the robbed, wounded, maimed or terrorized citizens against whom these crimes have been committed that this experience is part of what some people would call a 'statistically insignificant number of crimes.'"

Of the bills now before Congress that provide for some form of preventive detention, the most likely to survive are the Administration bill, the Tydings bill and the Goodell bill. Here is how all three would work: In prescribed cases, the prosecutor could request the court to detain a dangerous defendant until the trial. He would have to demonstrate that the case meets the criteria spelled out in the law. Prior to any detention there must be a hearing immediately or within a few days, a record, a high standard of proof (clear and convincing), the right to appeal and to have counsel—all of which are more than defendants get under the present unofficial system. Each bill prefers conditional release when it is appropriate, and they all allow—not require—detention only in limited categories of cases. The two Senator's bills pertain only to felonies and repeaters, while the Administration bill covers some misdemeanors and first offenders. Only Senator Goodell's bill is limited to crimes involving actual force and not mere threats.

The Tydings bill would apply to the District of Columbia only, while the Goodell and Administration bill would reform the 1966 Bail Reform Act and affect all Federal jurisdictions. The Tydings and Administration bills cover more crimes and leave preventive detention in the hands of appropriate "judicial official"; the Goodell bill would empower only a three-judge district court to order detention (a cumbersome, expensive procedure that would be impossible in many areas). Each bill requires a speedy trial (within 60 days under the Administration bill, 30 days under the Tydings and Goodell bills) for people preventively detained.

Senator Goodell argues that any preventive detention bill should be tied to court and correctional reform. He criticizes the Administration bill as "sloppily drawn and unconstitutional." He attempted to meet one key problem by including a provision requiring civil commitment of those detained—meaning they would be confined in some place other than an ordinary jail or prison. This element is important, since one of the most perplexing questions about any preventive detention scheme is how to rationalize throwing men into inadequate correctional institutions with hardened convicts before their guilt or innocence is determined. The civil commitment required by the Goodell bill would be similar to the procedures for confining a drug addict, a chronic alcoholic or the mentally ill in an institution.

The Tydings bill implies such a provision; the Administration bill suggests it, but does not require it. None of the bills provides financial compensation for those detained and then acquitted; the Administration bill gives credit on sentencing for time in jail before trial.

The logic of the foes of such legislation is sometimes hysterical. One civil liberties spokesman said during a recent conference on preventive detention that he would prefer the present money bail system's dishonesty and higher rates of detention to "this pernicious doctrine."

The standard argument made by opponents is that preventive detention would not be necessary at all if the time between arrest and trial could be shortened. The courts can only move so quickly, however; there will always be some period of time before trial—and many a defendant needs such a delay to prepare his defense. The preventive detention legislation proposed so far, moreover, requires the prosecution to go to trial within a specified time period, which is in all the proposals far shorter than normal delays.

Simply to say that speedy trials generally are the answer ignores the frustrating reality that trial delay is one of the most elusive and critical contemporary problems in the administration of justice. While reform of the whole trial system will take a very long time, a preventive detention statute inextricably tied to a speedy trial requirement is itself a way of accelerating trials in one of the most pressing categories of cases.

Opponents also argue that better alternatives exist. They say that it would be preferable to bring bail-jumping, contempt or other separate charges against defendants who commit crimes while free on bail or to punish them by adding to their sentences if they are convicted of the original offenses. But would more punishment be as humane as preventive measures aimed at cutting crime rates? Street-wise criminals take advantage of trial delays and other vagaries of the criminal justice system, and prosecutors often drop charges or recommend concurrent sentences for repeated crimes in return for guilty pleas. Once indicted for a robbery, many offenders feel that they have nothing to lose by committing other "free" ones.

Others contend that preventive detention is an anti-Negro measure, that it is part of a scheme to permit summary jailing of mili-

tant blacks for political reasons. Yet, it is the poor and black community in urban ghettos who are the most common victims of crime and who would be prime beneficiaries of preventive detention. Senator Tydings points out: "A Negro woman is three times more likely to be raped, a Negro man five times more likely to be burgled and three and one-half times more likely to be robbed than a white person."

William Raspberry, a Negro who is a reporter for The Washington Post and an urban expert, says that while he personally does not like the idea of preventive detention, he has little doubt that the black people residing in Washington (but not their leaders) would be in favor of locking up known criminals who victimize them. "Their reactions to this problem are not philosophical, they are practical," says Raspberry. "The poor people in the central cities react to this problem like 'the silent majority.' They are basically conservative, single-minded and prepared to make assumptions about guilt."

Black people in Washington, according to Raspberry, are as "alarmed and disgusted as whites at the increased frequency, audacity and viciousness of local crime." This impression was corroborated by six District grand juries which have already written to the Justice Department complaining about "the imbalanced pre-trial procedures which are concerned only with release and not at all with protection of the community." In Washington the majority of grand jurors are Negroes; on two of the grand juries that made this complaint, 36 out of 46 members were Negroes.

Advocates of preventive detention feel strongly that it would jail fewer people before trial—and also "the right ones"—than the unofficial, backdoor system now widely used. One experienced official calculated from recent surveys that 40 per cent of all felons indicted in the United States District Court for Washington, D.C., in 1965 (before the Bail Reform Act) were detained prior to trial; in 1967, the first full year after the new act, 26 per cent of the same class of defendants were detained, and in 1968 the figure rose to 34 per cent. In contrast, a Justice Department survey of cases brought by the United States Attorney in the D.C. General Sessions Court during a recent two-week period (including misdemeanors and most felonies) discovered that pre-trial detention would have been possible if only 10 per cent of the cases under the Administration's proposed preventive detention law. (Since some serious felonies were not included in these figures and since misdemeanors, which are for the most part excluded from the Administration's bill, compose roughly half the cases in General Sessions Court, a figure a little over 20 per cent would probably be a better projection.)

Those who favor some sort of legislation deny that permitting a judge to imprison a man on the basis of a prediction of future behavior is an egregious procedure.

However chancy it may be, they argue, humans engage in predictions in all of their affairs; if society fretted about the imperfect quality of its speculation, it would not dare to make progress. The criminal justice system especially is dependent on human estimates, such as are frequent in deciding guilt or innocence, sentencing, probation and parole. Indeed, under the present system, the judge may jail a defendant whom he fears may flee—and this, too, involves a prediction. Experienced trial judges argue that anyone familiar with the arraignment process can make very educated and generally correct judgments about the kind of defendants whom the authorities would want to detain. One judge recently stated the case this way:

"When a man with a long criminal record admits he has a \$50-a-day narcotic habit and no job, and I have seen him arrested and released previously, and he comes before my court on a burglary or a robbery charge on Christmas Eve and is released, and then

comes before me on New Year's Eve for another burglary, I can make a damn good prediction that if I do not lock him up, he is going to go out and commit another burglary or robbery pretty damn soon."

Whether prediction is possible or not, critics argue that preventive detention would be unconstitutional. They say that (1) it would deprive a man of his presumption of innocence; (2) it would deny due process of law by subjecting people to imprisonment without indictment and jury trial, and (3) it would violate the Eighth Amendment's guarantee against excessive bail.

There are readier answers to the first and the last objections than to the second.

The presumption of innocence—a sacred American value not mentioned in the Constitution—puts the burden on the prosecution to prove its case at trial; it is not an absolute demand that the judicial system always must act contrary to the strongest dictates of common sense in exigent circumstances.

Whether there should be an absolute right to bail is doubtful. Actually, preventive detention is traceable to ancient Anglo-American legal history: In his "Commentaries", Blackstone referred to detaining men "not of good fame" as an example of preventive justice. One legal historian—Prof. Caleb Foote of the University of California, Berkeley—recently has stated that there are English antecedents that support the theory of an absolute right to bail. But this country has never proceeded as if that were so. In the United States, bail always has been a qualified right withheld by law in capital cases (where recidivism is relatively low), commonly refused during appeals of criminal cases and, in fact, denied unlawfully in many other cases through manipulation of the money bail system.

The most challenging argument against pre-trial detention is the one that says incarcerating a man without the traditional criminal trial protections of the Constitution is dangerous and threatens cherished guarantees. Indeed, any such practice must be limited to a bare minimum of cases, to situations where there is the strongest demonstrable need, surrounded by the most careful procedural protections and administered under extraordinary conditions. With such restrictions, the procedure will be very demanding. Without them, preventive detention would no doubt be deemed unconstitutional.

In my opinion, a pre-trial procedure would pass constitutional muster only if it were limited to cases involving repeated, violent offenses, if it required compelling proof of potential danger and could be imposed only as a last resort, if there were tight time limitations on confinement before trial, if special facilities were planned for these defendants to minimize the harm and inconvenience to them, if time in jail before trial were subtracted from any subsequent sentence and was compensated for when followed by acquittal.

Let us see how this proposed procedure would have worked in the case of P.D., whose escapades I described at the outset of this article. After the initial holdup of the savings and loan association, P.D. could not have been detained—thus demonstrating to opponents of such a measure that it will not result in confinement of masses of first offenders.

But pre-trial detention would have been likely after the liquor store heist that followed P.D.'s first arrest. Taking away P.D.'s freedom at this point would thus have averted the gas station holdup and probably the bank robbery and felony murder that eventually led to his detention before trial anyway. In addition, P.D. would no doubt come to trial far sooner than if he were not confined under this kind of statute.

With the features that I have suggested, pre-trial release would properly be liberalized in the great majority of cases, while society

would be afforded a method of self-protection. The procedure need not lead to what some fear would be the frightening extreme of imprisoning all allegedly dangerous people summarily. Quite the contrary. If allowed only in specific cases, and no others, the result would seem to lead to less pre-trial detention.

Such a statute, moreover, would not permit Gestapo-like arrests or the jailing of political dissenters, as so many people fear. One result of it would be to eliminate the very possibility of defendants being confined solely because of the personal predilections and unsubstantiated fears of judges and other officials. If a judge could not make a case for detention under the strict terms of the statute, he would have to release the defendant under the appropriate conditions of the Bail Reform Act.

The critical point remains that we already have an expansive and abusive, though informal, practice of preventive detention. The issue which needs to be faced is not whether, but how best to do it.

In his New Yorker series on the Justice Department in the sixties, Richard Harris described the strange political alignments in the preventive detention battle: "In the scrimmage over the issue," he said about the positions taken by liberals and conservatives, "the participants' jerseys became so muddied that it was difficult for spectators to tell who was on which team." But labels are less important than realities; and the symbolism of this battle is important for future treatment of the over-all crime problem." Many responsible people with good liberal credentials feel that in the very proper search for equal justice during the sixties, the concern over crime and law enforcement has been wrongly belittled as the paranoia of the far right. In Senator Tydings' words: "Liberals have to be realistic and credible in coming forward with programs to check crime and violence in this nation. We cannot vacate law enforcement to extremist groups. Such a difficult problem needs the best minds and not tricky clichés. Preventive detention can be one such commonsensical, partial solution to the crime problem if it can be handled in a cautious and a constitutional way."

CHARGES DISCRIMINATION WHERE NONE EXISTS

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, the Senate has again pointed the finger at Elmore County, Idaho, by charging discrimination where none exists. This unjust charge both embarrasses and angers the good people of that area and, indeed, of the entire State.

Under the Cooper amendment, the existence of any county in which less than 50 percent of the adult population has participated in the last presidential election, automatically presupposes discrimination.

Mountain Home Air Force Base is located in Elmore County, and we are justly proud of the reputation of the base and the Air Force people who are stationed there. However, a great many of these people are registered and vote in other parts of the United States. The State of Idaho has been one of the leaders in the Nation in the percentage of qualified voters who actually go to the polls in the discharge of their responsibility as citizens. Our voter registration laws are

among the best in the Nation and we were one of the first States to provide a special opportunity to vote for President to those who only recently moved to our State. Because of this fine record of positive achievement, we particularly resent the slur.

Fluctuations in base personnel, the fact that many vote in other States, and the fact that Elmore County is sparsely populated, thereby making the military personnel a higher proportion of the total population, have led to the false charge. As a matter of fact, the 1960 census figures, upon which the charge is based, show that there were only 499 nonwhite adults in Elmore County at that time. What is particularly galling is that we have heard the charge before and answered it. We thought the matter was laid to rest once and for all. Evidently that is not the case.

Mr. Speaker, this is evidence that a charge is easily made and hard to refute. This charge is so far from the truth as to cast doubts as to the credibility of other facts which are used to bolster the arguments of the proponents of the legislation.

MUSKIE MOVES AHEAD

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I had the opportunity to be present at the National Press Club luncheon last Thursday, March 5, when Senator EDMUND MUSKIE delivered a most thoughtful address concerning our policies in Vietnam. This address, which was placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 5, 1970, by the majority leader of the other body, was typical of the careful reasoning which Maine residents have long admired in Ed MUSKIE, and which has won Ed MUSKIE the respect of millions of Americans in recent months and years.

I was pleased to note that National Columnist Joseph Kraft has found considerable significance to Senator MUSKIE's recent Vietnam speech, as related in Mr. Kraft's column appearing in the March 8, 1970, Washington Post. I would like to bring this column to the attention of my colleagues, by inserting it in the RECORD:

MUSKIE MOVES AHEAD; VIETNAM SPEECH SEEN PUTTING HIM IN LEAD FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION IN 1972

(By Joseph Kraft)

The only serious doubt anybody has ever had about Ed Muskie concerned his determination to get out front and lead the way. And that doubt was considerably deflated at the National Press Club Thursday when the Senator emerged as a critic of the administration's Vietnam policy.

Sen. Muskie comes off his Vietnam speech way ahead in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972. He is more and more showing the qualities necessary to fill the Democratic leadership vacuum.

That vacuum, it should be understood, is not simply the by-product of two tragic assassinations. The underlying fact is a change in circumstance begetting a shift in national mood. A kind of cultural revolution

encompassing blacks, kids, drugs, pornography, long hair and sloppy clothes has got most of us confused and worried. The country seeks leadership against the cultural revolution—leadership that is competent not controversial, articulate not shrill, modern but not unsettling.

Very few Democrats are in good position to offer that kind of leadership. For during the heady years up to 1968, most politicians in power became identified with evangelical stances and minority groups that have since gone out of fashion.

That is why nobody, not even the Democratic National Committee when it comes to picking a new chairman, pays much attention to Hubert Humphrey. That is why Chappaquiddick casts such a long, dark shadow over Edward Kennedy. That is why George McGovern, after basing a bid for the presidency on the support of blacks and kids, drops back saying: "I'm starting a policy of benign neglect."

But Edmund Muskie is something else again. Personally, he is a slow-speaking giant of simple ways, transparent honesty and much humor who exudes calm and reassurance. Politically, he has advanced in Maine by making the Democratic party seem safe to persons disposed to vote Republican. And thus by no mere accident, but because Maine afforded a preview of the present national mood, Sen. Muskie has for years been a recognized expert in what is now shaping up as a big issue of the 1970s—the issue of the environment.

But Sen. Muskie has been slow to step out on his own. On Vietnam, in particular, he has been exceedingly cautious. His views were for many years the views of the Johnson administration. While growing obliquely critical of the Nixon policy, the senator previously called for such safe nonstarters as a cease-fire on the ground and political mediation by Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations. One Muskie watcher predicted of the Thursday speech that the senator would "probably come out for land reform."

In fact, he positioned himself in direct confrontation with administration policy. He expressly committed himself to a proposition Mr. Nixon has sedulously avoided—namely, "that an end to the war and an end to our involvement in the war can be brought about only through a negotiated settlement." He flatly denied Henry Kissinger's claim that the threat of Vietnamization would cause the other side to move toward negotiations. He stigmatized Vietnamization as a "formula for perpetuating the war."

In order to promote a settlement, he proposed two major steps that are central to the negotiations. First, he called on the Nixon administration to name a senior representative to the Paris talks to take the place left vacant months ago by Henry Cabot Lodge. It is hard to see how the administration can avoid this step.

Next, Muskie asserted the critical importance of trying to negotiate with the other side a timetable for American withdrawal. Hints that such a procedure makes sense have been dropped by a number of North Vietnamese officials, including Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh. That Sen. Muskie has focused on the point is a tribute to his mastery of a hard subject.

As an added fillup there is the call on the press to be more active in reporting and commenting on Vietnam. Whatever the justice of the senator's analysis, it puts him in head-to-head combat with Vice President Spiro Agnew. And nobody prepared to tangle with that kind of antagonist is short on courage.

Thus the Muskie speech marks a turning point in Democratic fortunes. For the first time since the 1968 elections, there has come solidly into the political fray a Democrat who can hold the whip hand over Mr. Nixon on the central issues before the country.

TRIBUTE TO MR. JOHN STUART

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago a close friend of mine, Mr. Frank Upman, who now resides in Florida, wrote me a letter regarding the death of a mutual friend.

This mutual friend was affectionately known by his employees and admirers as "Mr. John." He was John Stuart, of Chicago, the director of the Quaker Oats Co. He was chairman and chief executive officer of the company until his retirement in 1955 and then remained director until his death, December 26, 1969.

Mr. Speaker, "Mr. John" Stuart, who was 92 years old on the day he died, began his career with the Quaker Oats Co. as a floor sweeper at 15 cents an hour and rose to the high positions during the years he served. His service to the company and successful career as a leader should be the basis for personal dedication for all men.

Much of what "Mr. John" said and did should be an example for some youths and some adults of today who do not understand what it means to work for a living and earn one's success in the world.

I am including this following news report from the Chicago Tribune of December 27, 1969, on Mr. Stuart's death: [From the Chicago Tribune, Dec. 27, 1969]

JOHN STUART, QUAKER OATS DIRECTOR, DIES;
ROSE TO CHAIRMAN FROM FLOOR SWEEPER

John Stuart, 92, who rose from a floor sweeper in the Quaker Oats company plant in Cedar Rapids, Ia., to chairman of the company, died last night in Lake Forest hospital. He lived at 1291 Elm Tree Rd., Lake Forest.

Mr. Stuart remained a director of the company after his retirement as chairman and chief executive officer in 1955. He was named chairman in 1948, after serving as president and chief executive officer since 1921.

Mr. Stuart joined the company in 1900 after graduating from Princeton university. He began sweeping the floors of its Cedar Rapids mill at 15 cents an hour.

HELD MANY POSTS

Over the years he served the company as mill hand, assistant plant superintendent, assistant operating manager, and second vice president.

Mr. Stuart served as a director of several large companies, including International Harvester, the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the Pennsylvania railroad, and the Northern Trust company, Chicago. He also was a life trustee of Princeton university and the University of Chicago.

He was named by President Truman as a member of the Hoover commission on reorganization of the federal executive branch of government. He also served as chairman of a similar commission named to study the Illinois executive branch.

AN AVID GOLFER

Stuart won the first Trans-Mississippi Golf tournament in 1903 and remained an avid golfer all his life.

Surviving are his widow, Ellen Shumway Stuart; two daughters, Mrs. Joan McAlvin and Mrs. Ellen Poole; a son, John Jr.; eight grandchildren; six great-grandchildren; and a brother, R. Douglas.

Memorial services will be held at 4 p.m. Monday in the First Presbyterian Church of Lake Forest. Burial will be private.

Mr. Speaker, in a column termed "Voice of the People," also appearing in the Chicago Tribune on that same date, there appeared this following letter to the newspaper written by another admirer of Mr. Stuart. I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

TODAY'S YOUNG MEN OF TALENT

AURORA, December 27.—I wonder how many hippies, Yuppies, members of the Students for a Democratic Society, and college students who have had offers of jobs at fabulous starting salaries after graduation have noted the passing of John Stuart, the former chairman of the board of the Quaker Oats company.

As the Tribune pointed out, Stuart started out as a floor sweeper for Quaker Oats at 15 cents an hour after he graduated from Princeton University in 1900. In those days companies didn't send representatives to colleges and universities to recruit so-called talent. All young men, college graduates or otherwise, sought their jobs, and it took a good deal of pavement pounding until you got what you were looking for.

The hippies, Yuppies, and S.D.S. members are an economic waste. They aren't worth even 15 cents an hour to any employer. As for today's college graduates who want job security at once, \$12,000 to \$15,000 starting salaries, and a shot at the presidency of the company they are working for before they are 30 years of age and have thoroughly learned the business, they should note the fact that it took Stuart 21 years to become the president and chief executive officer of Quaker Oats and another 27 years to become its chairman. In 1955 he retired after 55 years with the company.

Where will the hippies, Yuppies, and S.D.S. members be in 55 years? And how many jobs will the so-called men of talent, who have company representatives clamoring for them, hold within the 40 to 50 years after their initial employment?

Mr. Speaker, I especially commend the above article to the reading of each and every Member of Congress.

I also inserted remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 14, 1968, regarding Mr. Stuart. Mr. Stuart had been quoted in a February 1933 newsclipping from the Chicago Daily News regarding his call for leadership in this country that year. He said that leadership was needed in the country to put this country back on safe and sane ground. What Mr. Stuart said in 1933 held true then, held true in 1968, and holds true today, in 1970.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—
HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,400 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

THE MICHIGAN WINNER OF THE
VOICE OF DEMOCRACY CONTEST

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its Ladies Auxiliary conduct a Voice of Democracy Contest. This year over 400,000 high school students participated in the contest. Five scholarships are to be awarded as top prizes. The contest theme for 1970 is "Freedom's Challenge."

The winning contestant from the State of Michigan was Miss Linda Demkowski, 7502 Nuernberg, Detroit, Mich., a resident of my congressional district. Miss Demkowski is 17, a senior at St. Ladislaus High School in Hamtramck.

I insert for the RECORD Miss Demkowski's winning speech, as follows:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

"Freedom isn't free
You've got to pay a price
You've got to sacrifice
For your liberty."

Thus go the words from the song *Freedom Isn't Free*. What would happen if I asked you people out there why freedom isn't free? Are you fumbling for an answer? Are you mumbling something, grabbing for your hat, rushing off with the excuse of catching bus or train or plane?

Is that what the trouble is with us today? Can't we appreciate our rights in this country? Have we grasped the concept of our freedom?

Look at me—here I am, a teenager, only a junior, trying to tell you that I know more about freedom than you! Well, I'm not saying that.

What I am trying to do, though, is convey my conviction that there may not be many people around that can throw fancy definitions back at me: "But I think I care more than many others."

"I care enough." Pretty big words. But that's what we need—people who care enough.

You people know you can't gain anything by just sitting around. Now I ask you if you care enough about this "sale on freedom" to be involved. This time instead of running away from the question do I hear you answering: "Why should I care? I could get blown up any minute by some bomb; why get involved?"

You're pretty smart after all, and you're right. How do we know when someone is going to push the button? Yet, friend, listen: are you logical?

We are a great nation. No one, even if he is afraid of being blown up by a bomb, can say that we aren't. We've grown from a mere thirteen colonies to a nation of fifty states.

Yet we don't seem to be a part of ourselves. As a nation, we do not agree on big things. Can't we do better, to be a truly united nation?

We aren't just all Germans or Poles or Italians. We're all Americans, yet we are not all the same. I, for one, think it's fantastic that we have come this far with all these people living together. Millions merging and mingling with all their different backgrounds, cultures, customs, ideas, points of view. And we've elected officials to give us the rules to lead us, to unite us.

But then we run into that big block—indifference, apathy. Too many do not agree with the rules the officials have set, yet have freely elected these officials as their own representatives.

Now I respect differences of opinion. But what amazes me is the person who complains about how lousy everyone else is, especially in government policies. Yet this same complainer will not even move out of his house on voting day! Could he do a better job in organizing our society? Could he exercise his freedom better if he had the chance to do it politically?

Listen to a statement from Winston Churchill:

"The whole history of the world is summed up in the fact that when nations are strong, they are not always just, and when they wish to be just they are often no longer strong . . . Let us have this blessed union of power and justice."

This is the ideal formula. Let's get it working today.

Now for the big question: What can I do? I've been rattling on about other people and their indifference—what must I do to prove I care and want to get involved?

Shortly I'll be out in the world really experiencing and living my freedom. Yes—my freedom as given to everyone. If I decide to go on with my education it will be my decision. Whatever field I choose will be my exercise of my God-given right. If I make a success of myself—it will be because of my free daily decisions. If I fail I will have my free daily choices to blame. What I'm saying is that all of us have this great freedom of ours to exercise, to live out fully. Let us love our country, let us give ourselves to it.

Let's disagree if we wish, let's protest when we must. Let's talk and examine and change. We can't do any of these things by just sitting around and complaining. Actions speak louder than words. But VIOLENCE is too noisy and rough to say anything. Violence destroys freedom. It antagonizes. It tears apart and separates. And then what happens to Churchill's "blessed union of power and justice"?

Let's you and I do something about this wonderful freedom, or our purpose in all living will be defeated.

I ask what I can do to make this country what we all want it to be. Let me begin to think I am now ready to meet "Freedom's Challenge." Am I ready to pay the price? Freedom isn't free.

THE FAMILY ASSISTANCE ACT

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the Family Assistance Act is designed to encourage work—not perpetuate welfare. H.R. 14173 assures the expansion of training opportunities for welfare clients and corrects many of the deficiencies in the present work incentive program.

Under present legislation, training incentives are too low. Therefore, training as a route to stable employment is often unpalatable. The Family Assistance Act substantially raises the stipend amount for most trainees.

Today, the U.S. Employment Service cannot directly help enrollees meet personal expenses, such as transportation, which are related to training. H.R. 14173 permits payments by the Employment Service directly to the trainee to cover the costs of participating in training.

Finally, under WIN the lack of adequate child care has been a barrier to training and employment. The Family Assistance Act makes a major attempt to remedy the current weakness in the present day care program: the burden

of State matching is eliminated, authority is flexible as to who provides care and what form it takes and child care is continued for those who enter employment.

Training and employment is the real long term solution to making families self-supporting. The Family Assistance Act goes to the heart of the matter by strengthening the training program.

DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED WITH INSURANCE POLICIES

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, many of us followed the hearings by Senator HART's Subcommittee on Monopoly and Antitrust Legislation concerning some of our Nation's largest insurance companies. In addition, many of my colleagues and I are continuing to receive more correspondence each day from our constituents concerning the difficulties they are experiencing with their insurance policies. In light of this situation, I thought that the following article by Art Buchwald would be of interest to the entire membership:

UNSUITABLE—IT'S AN EVIL DAY WHEN A MAN LOSES SIX SETS OF THREADS

(By Art Buchwald)

I had six suits stolen out of my house a few weeks ago. At least I think they were stolen. The cleaners left them in the kitchen, but no one saw them after that, so I had to assume that they were swiped. It took 10 days before I discovered the theft, because every time I asked my wife where my suits were, she said, "They're at the cleaner's."

My wife was naturally very upset when she discovered my suits were stolen, but I told her not to worry because our insurance policy probably covered such an eventuality and besides, I could use some new suits. I called my insurance man and told him I was the victim of the theft of six suits.

He said, "What do you want me to do about it?"

I said, "Give me the money to replace the six suits."

"But if I do that, the insurance company will cancel your policy."

"Why?"

"Because they're looking for any excuse to cancel theft policies these days."

"But I've been paying premiums for 12 years and have never collected a cent from them."

"Yes, and they appreciate that. That's why you still have your policy. It's only when you try to collect from them that they cancel on you."

"I insist on being reimbursed for the six suits," I said.

"All right. But let me warn you that if you collect for six suits, and they cancel your policy, and then you have a big robbery, you'll be in serious trouble."

"Well, how do I get six more suits?"

"You can deduct them as losses from your income tax. How much were they worth?"

"About \$850."

"Good, just report it to the police and then deduct it from your income tax."

"Thanks for all your help."

I called the police department and reported I had six suits stolen. The man who answered the phone wanted to know when. I told him, "Ten days ago." It shook him up slightly. "Why didn't you report it then?" he inquired.

"Because I didn't know they were stolen. I thought they were at the cleaner's." There was a long silence on the other end of the line. Then he said, "Do you want us to find the man who stole your suits?"

"No, not exactly. I don't even want the suits. But I have to report it to the police or I can't deduct it from my income tax so I can buy new suits."

"Who told you that?"

"My insurance man. You see, he told me not to collect for the suits or they'd cancel my policy, but to report it to you instead."

There was another long pause on the phone. "I see. Well, I'll send a squad car to take the report."

The squad car arrived a few minutes later and two uniformed policemen took down the facts. They said they would be on the lookout for the suits, which I assured them wasn't necessary.

What I didn't realize was that their report would go on a teletype to the offices of the three newspapers in Washington. The three newspapers all thought there was something very funny about my losing my suits, and they reported the theft in their papers, including the fact that the police valued the loss at only \$25 a suit, which is what they would bring at a hock shop.

Not only did I lose out on my insurance and my income tax deduction, but to make matters worse, the reporter from The Washington Post called up columnist Joe Alsop, with whom I had been having a feud and with whom I had been trying to make up, and said, "What have you done with Buchwald's suits?"

MR. QUAKER OATS

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, it was with heartfelt regret that I recently received word of the death of my dear friend, John Stuart.

Known in the business world as "Mr. Quaker Oats," John Stuart joined that company in 1900 as a 15-cent an hour floorsweeper, and rose to become chairman of the board.

"Mr. John's" life story could almost be written as a textbook on the opportunities of the "free enterprise system" he believed in so strongly, and fought so hard to preserve, as well as the greatness of the Nation he so ardently loved.

In 1910 he was named second vice president of the Quaker Oats Co.

In 1922 he became its president.

In 1942, the chairman of the board. He remained a director of the company after his retirement in 1956.

John Stuart was responsible for inaugurating one of the industry's first profit-sharing programs and many other employee benefits were established while he led the Quaker Oats Co.

He was named by President Truman to be a member of the Hoover Commission on Reorganization of the Federal Executive Branch of the Government, and also served as chairman of a similar commission to study the Illinois executive branch.

He was a director of a number of large corporations, including: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., the Chicago Daily News, and the Elgin National Watch Co.

To his many friends who join with

me in mourning the passing on of John Stuart, I offer the words of William Shakespeare:

His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world, "There was a man—."

CRIMINALS WILL ALWAYS GET GUNS—A COMMENT ON GUN CONTROL

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, as the rate of crime continues its upward climb in the United States, Congress may be moving in the direction President Nixon outlined last spring and summer. This certainly is commendable and my only regret is that we are acting so late in the year.

However, one dismaying aspect of the situation is that consideration of anti-crime legislation may be used as an opportunity to tack firearm control measures to the bills. The question has been debated and argued interminably, but the fact remains that stricter control over firearms would not halt acts of violence by the lawbreaker. Stricter controls, however, could cause a great deal of inconvenience for the law-abiding citizen and deny him a measure of legitimate defense.

The author of the best-selling Perry Mason mysteries, Erle Stanley Gardner, has written an incisive series of articles entitled "Cops on the Campus and Crime in the Streets" for the San Antonio Light. The 10th in the series is about firearms controls and his analysis of what further regulation would mean is an excellent analysis that should be read by every interested Member of this body. I respectfully include that article in the RECORD at this point:

[From the San Antonio Light, Feb. 3, 1970]

**CRIMINALS WILL ALWAYS GET GUNS—
HANDCUFFED POLICE**

(Tenth in a series of 12 articles excerpted from the new book "Cops on the Campus and Crime in the Streets," in which the creator of the world-famous Perry Mason mysteries gives his views on the climate of violence in the United States.)

(By Erle Stanley Gardner)

There is an old expression which somehow indicates the subconscious thinking of the American people. It starts out, "There ought to be a law against . . ."

Whenever the American people want to stop something they want a law prohibiting the thing they want stopped, as if laws in themselves were a solution.

They wanted to stop the traffic in alcohol, so they had a law passed to prohibit it. No one has ever established the far-reaching, devastating effects of that law.

Now we are talking about laws against guns because crimes of violence are committed with guns.

Following the assassination of President Kennedy, the killing of Martin Luther King, and the murder of Senator Robert Kennedy, there was, of course, vast public outrage and resentment resulting in pressure being brought to bear on the legislators to outlaw guns.

MUCH LOGIC

There is much logic in what people who wish to abolish guns have to say.

Guns are manufactured as death-dealing weapons. Their purpose is to bring about death, and year after year many of those guns live up to their purpose.

A man in a fit of jealous rage kills his wife and her paramour.

An estranged husband, whose wife files suit for divorce, decides that if he can't have her no one else is going to have her and he kills his wife and commits suicide.

A man who keeps a gun only for his own protection is awakened at night by someone walking through his room. He pulls the gun from under his pillow, fires and kills his own father-in-law.

Another man who keeps a gun only for protection leaves it carefully "concealed" in the bureau drawer. But his youngster, as precocious as most 12-year-olds, knows where "Daddy keeps his gun," and deciding to play Wyatt Earp, he gets the gun and points it at his eleven-year-old companion.

Bang!

A citizen walks down the street at night. He is held up by armed thugs who take his money and then callously shoot him as they speed away in their automobile.

We can go on multiplying the list almost indefinitely. Many, many people are killed with guns in the United States.

ALL GUNS

If we could actually abolish all guns except those of the law-enforcement officer, we could save a lot of lives and stop a lot of crime.

We would also be sacrificing the pleasure of hundreds of thousands of hunters, and put out of business various legitimate interests such as many sporting goods stores, hunting lodges, and numerous packers and outfitters.

But we would be saving human lives. And life saving is more important than the things we would be giving up.

The question is, can we abolish guns?

That is a question which merits a lot of practical consideration.

In the first place, we realize that we would have comparatively little difficulty in taking guns away from some 80 or 90 per cent of the law-abiding citizens. It would be terribly annoying. The expense would be very, very high, but it could be done.

But the point is that by no conceivable stretch of the imagination can we ever eliminate guns from the hands of the criminal class.

By outlawing guns we can make their smuggling a highly lucrative source of income for organized crime. We can put a premium on the manufacture of homemade guns. And if anyone thinks that homemade guns can not be turned out, I can assure you that I have in my possession a collection which my friend, Jack Hargrave, of the Denver Police Force, picked up in the course of a short period of time several years ago while "frisking" juvenile gangsters.

These guns are good for only one shot at a time, but they are very lethal weapons as far as one shot is concerned.

I think all of us will agree on reflection that we could never abolish all guns, and if we try, the very people from whom we want most to take guns, the criminals, will be the only people left with them.

NO OBJECTION

Then why not require registration of guns? Surely people who have guns should have no objection to registering them.

All right, let's look at it from a practical standpoint. What good is it going to do to register guns, that is, what practical good?

When you register a gun you don't make it any less deadly as a weapon. The householder can still carelessly kill his father-in-law. Junior can still kill his eleven-year old friend.

But for the sake of argument let's say we're going to register the ninety million or so guns in the United States.

How are we going to register them and what are we going to do with the data once we have collected it? What is it going to cost in manpower and in money to register these guns?

No one knows for sure.

Proponents of the program say it will be "self-supporting," that they will charge two dollars for each registration.

There is no such thing as a program which is self-supporting when it comes to taking money from the public, any more than there is any such thing as a "new source of taxation." Taxes are paid by the taxpayer. Whenever the government starts any new activity on the scale of gun registration, the public has to pay the price.

Are we going to register guns by the name of the owner, by the make of the gun, by the number of the gun, by the caliber of the gun? If so, are we going to cross-index all of this information so that when the police pick up revolver number so-and-so, made by the Blank Firearms Company, they can immediately turn to a computer and determine who had the gun when it was registered?

Despite high-speed computers, that's going to take a powerful lot of filing, a lot of cross-indexing, a lot of bookkeeping, and a lot of full-time employees.

HIGHLY UNLIKELY

It is highly unlikely that two dollars per gun will cover the cost. Or are the police at regular intervals going to go to the house of John Q. Public and say, "Mr. Public, the records show that you have a gun, manufactured by the Blank Gun Company, number so-and-so. Produce that gun, please, so we can inspect it."

This will take up a lot more time on the part of the police. It will cut down on their mobility. It will be even worse than using the police to keep the campuses open.

The people who want to keep guns in their homes are fearful that registration of their guns will eventually lead to confiscation of them, and they may or may not, have some foundation for their fears. In fact, some of the proponents of the registration idea freely admit that confiscation is the real purpose of gun registration.

If this is so, then after we get all the guns registered, are we going to pass a law forbidding people to own guns? This would entail consulting the registrations and sending squads of police to the registrants saying, "The records show that you have five guns in this house, listed as follows . . . Surrender them, please and we'll give you a receipt. We are disarming all citizens so as to cut down crime."

Remember that when there is a big demand for something illegal, crime finds a way to supply it.

All these activities would open up highly profitable sources of criminal activity. There would be the resultant bribery of officials, the organization of gangs, the deterioration of adequate law enforcement, and all the other evils which we encountered during prohibition.

HAVE GUNS

Now if the criminals have guns and the householders don't, where do we stand?

If the householder is disarmed, it will cut down the number of accidents with guns. It will probably cut down the number of unpremeditated killings because of passion, but what will this do to the person who wants to protect his family and himself against intruders?

I personally have undergone one experience where two burglars broke into the house at night. I was a kid at the time. My older brother and I were in the house alone with my mother. My father was away on a business trip.

Fortunately the burglars became alarmed when they found the house was occupied and made their escape. But, for a ten-year-old boy, it was a devastating experience. For many, many nights I lay awake hour after hour, listening in terror to the sounds of the night, going to sleep only toward morning.

Ever since, I have had a horror of being unarmed and at the mercy of thugs who would break into the house at night.

I am a citizen who tries to keep a sane perspective on some of the legislation that is promulgated from time to time in fits of hysteria.

I'm not part of a "gun lobby."

I keep guns for my own protection.

Once when my automobile was broken down on a dark road in the days when there was little traffic I saved my life by pulling a gun on a man who was coming at me with a knife. I didn't have to shoot. Fortunately my assailant took one look at the gun which was pointed at his midriff and took to his heels.

If I hadn't had that gun in the automobile, my career would have been terminated long before I ever wrote my first story.

IN SUPPORT OF THE GOLDEN EAGLE PASSPORT

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, 3 weeks from today the Golden Eagle Passport will have passed from the law books and into the history books, that is, unless Congress acts quickly to save this program.

I believe that the Golden Eagle Passport, which has grown rapidly in popularity since its inception in 1965, deserves to be continued.

I include in the RECORD my statement on the "Golden Eagle Passport" which was presented to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN GLENN M. ANDERSON

Mr. Chairman, the Golden Eagle Passport program, which has been in existence since 1965, is due to expire on March 31, 1970, unless Congress acts quickly to extend its life.

The purchaser of this seven dollar passport, as well as anyone accompanying him in his automobile, is presently able to be admitted to over 3,000 national parks, forests and refuges, as well as other federally operated recreation areas, without paying an additional fee. Without this permit, users are charged a daily fee of one dollar, which is valid only at the site purchased. There are also a few highly improved campgrounds where the daily fee is two dollars per car, or one dollar with the Golden Eagle Passport.

This program deserves to be continued and I have introduced H.R. 11350, which would provide for its continuation. Many of our citizens who are now able to afford to visit our country's federal recreation areas would not be able to do so if the Golden Eagle Passport program is discontinued, as the single entry fee at each area would preclude many who wish to visit a number of areas several times in one year. These areas were originally designed for the use of the public—our natural wonders should not be denied by the prices of admission.

As an alternative, I would favor free admission to all areas. This would reflect a very small governmental cost on a per unit attendance basis and permit our citizens to make fuller use of our public areas.

The "Golden Eagle Passport" is a substitute for free national recreation areas. But the desire for funds to buy new park land and to maintain the outdoor playgrounds already in use seems to override the ideal of free admission. Thus, I feel that "the Golden Eagle Passport" program is much better than paying out cash every time a person wants to see a mountain, feel a cool breeze, or see at first hand some of our nation's wonders in favored spots of our land.

"MR. CALIFORNIA COUNTIES" COMES TO WASHINGTON

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure and pride that I welcome to the Nation's Capitol a native of the Second Congressional District who is recognized as one of the Nation's outstanding authorities on local government. He is Mr. William R. MacDougall, who is leaving the County Supervisors Association of California, after a distinguished career of some 25 years, to become the Executive Director of the Federal Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations here in Washington, D.C.

Bill MacDougall, son of a hardrock gold miner immigrant from Nova Scotia, was born May 14, 1914, in the historic California gold mining town of Nevada City.

He graduated from Sacramento High School and from Sacramento City College.

His working career began at the depths of the great depression and at the bottom of California's State civil service system—as a \$65-per-month page in the State library. In swift succession he worked as an account clerk for the State's emergency relief association and as assistant disbursing officer for the State controller's relief disbursing office, rising to senior claims auditor for the controller, then to chief of the bureau of collections for the State department of social welfare and assistant secretary to the State social welfare board.

During this period he took leave to attend the University of California at Berkeley and later graduated with distinction from the McGeorge College of Law in Sacramento. He was admitted to the practice of law in California in 1941 and is admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court.

He entered the Navy in 1942 and saw service in the Pacific aboard the USS *Argus* and USS *Whitehurst*. He was a lieutenant at the time of his discharge in December 1945.

The following month he was retained for 90 days as temporary legal counsel for the County Supervisors Association of California in Sacramento. The temporary assignment lasted for a quarter of a century, 20 years of which he served as the association's general counsel and manager.

MacDougall is a founder and served two terms as the first permanent chairman of the National Conference of County Association Executives. He is also

a founder of the National Association of County and Prosecuting Attorneys and of the Western Regional District of the National Association of Counties.

Since 1956 he has served as secretary of the Welfare Committee of the National Association of Counties.

In 1959, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare appointed him to membership on the Federal Advisory Council on Public Assistance. The Council was created by Congress to make recommendations on the fiscal capacities of the States and the Federal Government to share responsibility of providing for the Nation's needy.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I feel that the best way in which I can convey to my colleagues here in Washington the admiration and respect held for Bill MacDougall by the people with whom he has worked over the past years is to include an article published in the County Supervisors Bulletin.

The article follows:

WILLIAM R. MACDOUGALL

Bill MacDougall is leaving CSAC! He's going to Washington, D.C. to become the executive director of the Federal Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR).

Bill, himself, confirmed the news at the February 5-6, 1970 meeting of CSAC's Board of Directors in Sacramento.

"The job Bill has done for counties over the past 24 years is remarkable," declared Sig Sanchez, president of CSAC. "If he has to leave us, he's taking about the only job I would want to see him take," said past president Robert Boles. Another past president, Paul Anderson, put it this way: "Counties have undergone their greatest change since Bill has headed our organization. Over the years he has provided us with tremendously fine leadership."

On the motion of Dorothy Donnenwirth, whose late husband, Clair, served on ACIR, the Board unanimously adopted a resolution commending the CSAC general counsel for his exemplary record of service to the counties. The Board directed that a special recognition dinner be held prior to his departure. (It is scheduled for Thursday, March 19, 1970, at the Woodlake Inn, in Sacramento, details to be announced later.)

The Directors unanimously appointed a CSAC veteran—Jack M. Merelman—to the position of General Counsel and Manager, effective on Mr. MacDougall's departure.

Meantime, from Washington, D.C., came this statement from Robert E. Merriam, ACIR chairman:

"The Commission is fortunate, indeed, to secure the services of a person of Mr. MacDougall's caliber to head its professional staff. He brings to his new assignment a rich background in public service and many years of experience working with governmental officials at all levels."

MacDougall replaces Wm. G. Colman, retired, who served as ACIR's executive director since its inception in 1959.

ACIR is a 26-member national bi-partisan body established by Congress to maintain continuing review of the relationships among federal, state and local governments. Its membership includes governors, mayors, state legislators, county officials and representatives of both houses of Congress, the federal executive branch, and the general public.

MacDougall was appointed associate legal counsel of CSAC in 1946, and since 1951 has been general counsel and manager. Prior to joining CSAC he had spent 13 years in State service, holding positions in the State Department of Social Welfare and the State Controller's office.

He has served on numerous state and federal commissions, including the California Governor's Commission on Metropolitan Area Problems, the Federal Public Assistance Advisory Council, the Constitution Revision Commission of California, and the California Council on Criminal Justice.

Among his many activities, Mr. MacDougall was a founder of the National Association of County and Prosecuting Attorneys in 1951 (now the National District Attorney's Association); he authored "Principles of County Home Rule" adopted by California counties and later by the National Association of Counties; and he led the campaign in 1958 to reorganize NACO, converting the organization into a professional operation with a full time staff.

Mr. MacDougall attended Sacramento City College, University of California at Berkeley, and the McGeorge College of Law of the University of the Pacific. He is a member of the California State Bar, and the Bar of the United States Supreme Court.

DRUG ABUSE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING OUR SOCIETY

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I must commend the activities of the Hempstead Chamber of Commerce of New York and Mr. Charles J. Hackett, chairman of the Narcotics Guidance Committee, who has been communicating with me concerning this very serious problem of drug addiction.

This insidious disorder plagues both the urban and suburban segments of society, the deprived and affluent communities, and respects no geographical border or ethnic origin. For many years, various government agencies, Federal and local, have dedicated themselves to the problem of narcotic addiction, with its associated ramifications. This syndrome has grown markedly out of control, and private agencies and community groups, as the Hempstead Chamber of Commerce, have felt the need to interest themselves and undertake corrective measures for the proper solution to an ever-increasing, pressing problem.

The Harrison Act, and many State laws have yet to prove a deterrent to the narcotic problem. A reevaluation of the Harrison Act is indicated, with a purpose to correct the attitudes toward the addict and his addiction, as not a crime but a disease, the most urgently in need of proper medical care. In the March 1968 report of the Joint Legislative Committee on Child Care Needs of the State of New York, Ephraim J. Felderman, M.D., chairman of the Advisory Subcommittee on Health Needs, stated:

Since the enactment of the Harrison Act, the United States position has been that of a punitive nature. This police activity has not altered the numbers but probably has driven them underground, subject to exploitation by crime-ridden dealers of these materials. The drug user is decidedly a problem for the psychologist and the psychiatrist. The drug user crosses over many of the socio-economic strata. The drug user is not necessarily a criminal. He is forced to turn to crime by police action or archaic legislation—the Harrison Act.

In testimony before the House Judiciary Subcommittee, July 15, 1965, Senator Robert Kennedy said:

We shall never make any headway toward helping the addict with alleviating the narcotic problem, until we can engender and facilitate a nationwide research and treatment program, carried out at all levels of government, and by as many private agencies as possible.

A step beyond this is necessary and should involve also the World Health Organization, the countries whose crops supply the opium or heroin, and most of all an enlightened and altered view of what narcotic addict is and the method of therapy.

In a recent issue of a highly reputable nonprofit publication, "Medical Letter on Drugs and Therapeutics," volume 11, No. 24, issue 284, November 28, 1969, there is a projection of a possible method of therapy for the heroin addict, which I believe is in need of implementation:

Methadone therapy now offers substantial hope of rehabilitation for heroin and other opiate addicts. Despite the fact that it substitutes one addiction for another, Medical Letter editors and consultants are convinced that no other presently available therapy offers comparable promise for the many thousands of heroin addicts who are seeking help. Legally, methadone therapy is still experimental in the United States; practically, its effectiveness has been adequately established, and its benefits clearly outweigh its hazards.

Methadone hydrochloride (Dolophine-Lilly) and others is an opiate type narcotic drug with analgesic effects similar to those of morphine. Its effectiveness against heroin addiction results from its ability to block the euphoriant effects of heroin and the craving for the opiate without heroin's deleterious physical and mental effects. Because methadone is addicting (though less so than heroin and morphine) its use in the treatment of addicts must be carefully supervised.

Unlike most other narcotics, methadone is highly effective when taken orally and it is relatively long-acting (12 to 48 hours, depending on dose). Usually a single daily dose is sufficient to prevent euphoria if the patient uses heroin. This effect is specific for opiate type narcotic drugs; methadone offers no benefits to patients who are dependent on such drugs as barbiturates or amphetamines, or who are alcoholic.

When properly administered, methadone allows the patient to function without sedation or euphoria, and with no impairment of vigilance, reaction time, effect, or intellectual function. The originators and chief investigators of methadone therapy, V. P. Dole and N. Nyswander have treated more than 2,000 heroin addicts since 1964. None of their patients became readdicted to heroin so long as they remained under methadone treatment, and most have been able to return to school or work. About 10 per cent use alcohol excessively. Almost all of the patients who left the program, about 17 per cent have shown a return or craving for heroin when the methadone was discontinued. Many treatment centers have been established in areas where heroin addiction is common, and their results have generally confirmed those reported by Dole and Nyswander. In all centers, the therapeutic program includes aid in social rehabilitation.

Methadone maintenance has proved effective in the management of chronic addicts, in some studies with an average addiction of 10 years, with some who have failed with other treatments and who have volunteered for methadone therapy. It is not recommended for the occasional user of narcotics, or for those with a short history of dependence; with such persons, the effort should be made to cure heroin addiction by more con-

ventional means, such as individual or group psychotherapy.

There are ambiguities in both Federal and State laws governing the rights of physicians to prescribe narcotic drugs for the maintenance of the addicted patient. In any event, it is difficult for the physician in private practice to provide adequate medical supervision of the patient during therapy, or the social supervision and rehabilitation assistance most patients require. Nevertheless, where methadone therapy is unavailable for an addict who otherwise qualifies for therapy, there should be no legal barriers preventing the private physician from administering the drug with guidance from the experts. In New York State, methadone treatment programs are carried out by medical institutions who are accredited by the State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission. Similar accreditation has been obtained in other states.

Methadone has proved highly effective in the treatment of heroin addiction, but it is still unavailable to most addicts. Government and private agencies concerned with the problem should do everything possible to speed the extension of treatment facilities.

Although it is readily apparent that the foregoing treatment is not the cure-all, yet it offers some direction and possible hope. But, as stated, the ambiguities in Federal and State law act as a deterrent to this valuable modality. I must emphasize that the addict must not be driven underground to criminal pursuit, but that help and aid be extended so that this treacherous illness can be eradicated from the horizon.

Mr. Speaker, I therefore submit that an in-depth study be undertaken to reevaluate the Harrison Act in its relationship to drug abuse problems that our society is confronted with. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I want to commend all private agencies for their tremendous efforts in this vitally important area.

POLICE CHIEF, JEFFERSON, OHIO, MAN OF THE YEAR

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, in today's world, where criticism of our police too often outweighs praise, it was a distinct privilege for me to learn that Art Ceder, police chief of Jefferson, Ohio, has recently been named Jefferson, Ohio, Man of the Year.

Art Ceder was singled out for this high honor by his fellow citizens because of his outstanding achievement in the fields of law enforcement and civic service. Crime in the community has decreased in the 8 years that Art Ceder has been chief of police not only because of his dedication to duty, but also because of his sincere manner of human compassion and understanding.

In the words of his fellows:

"Art" as he is known to all of us, instead of "fuzz," has shown the way for many youngsters and oldsters alike and always has time to spend a minute with anyone needing a helping hand, assistance or good advice. We here are proud to have a chief like him, and we that have served with him respect him as a man among men.

The measure of a man is not the num-

ber of degrees he holds, the position he achieves, or the salary he makes, but his standing with those he lives and works with on a daily basis. This is the real significance of this tribute to Art Ceder. I am proud to represent him in the Congress.

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR AGRICULTURE

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased over the formation of the National Educational Institute for Agriculture, since its purpose is to deal with one of the most difficult of farm problems, the dissemination of knowledge in this whole general area.

The information is readily available; it is voluminous and convincing but the average nonfarm citizen—and these comprise about 95 percent of the population—does not hear about this information, and I am afraid that when the pertinent statistics are presented he finds them difficult to believe.

For example, food is cheaper in this country, in relation to income, than in any major nation in the world. The average consumer in the United States spends about 16.5 percent of his total disposable—take-home—earnings for food. In Russia, the consumer spends about 50 percent, and in the Orient about 75 percent. Canada is the closest to the United States, as I recall, in terms of the percent of consumer income spent for groceries: about 20 percent.

Yet, the average housewife thinks food prices are exorbitant. Since she goes to market once or twice a week, sometimes oftener, any increase in prices registers with her like an earthquake tremor. A lot of explanation and convincing will be necessary before she changes her mind—and even then, I recall, "a woman convinced against her will is of the same opinion still."

Agriculture is our largest industry and some of the figures are quite startling. For example, 4.6 million workers are employed on the farm. Farmers are first in spending for equipment, the total averaging close to \$5.5 billion annually. Agriculture is first in assets with \$307 billion; and fourth in sales with around \$47.4 billion a year. Three out of every 10 jobs in private employment are related to agriculture.

Just the same, our news media, a marvel of organization and efficiency in many ways, is not, generally speaking, interested in agriculture. In January, as I remember, Senator ELLENDER, of Louisiana, made a remarkable speech about agriculture which was full of informative material, ably documented and, to me, at least, very, very interesting. I do not think any of our big eastern papers, or the TV chains, paid any attention to the ELLENDER address.

Even so, I think he proved most conclusively that the Nation has forced farmers to tote the proverbial short end of the stick and also that, without Gov-

ernment aid, there would very quickly be an agricultural debacle which would have widespread and alarming repercussions. As important a segment of our economy as agriculture cannot lag behind, or go into a depression, without affecting every other industry. Right now I fear I see a striking similarity to the situation which existed in the 1920's. For almost 8 years prior to the depression of the 1930's there had been full industrial employment at good wages, but farm prices had failed to keep step, just as is the present situation.

The automobile industry is having its troubles, which are reported in detail by the news media. Agriculture has had its difficulties for years, per capita farm income averaging only about 60 percent of city income. This situation, however, has been accepted quite calmly and most of the publicity about farmers and farming is focused on so-called big payments to some of the bigger farm operators.

It may be true that some big farmers, the most fortunate ones, are getting money from the Government they do not really need to buy shoes for the kids, but they do need it to maintain our adequate supplies of cheap food and fiber for the American consumers. One may regard the payments under the Federal farm programs as subsidies, but they are subsidies which enable the American housewife to buy more and better food for a smaller percent of the family disposable income than any housewife anywhere or at any time in history. Almost without exception, the yardstick to measure subsidies is quantitative. The bigger the company within a subsidized industry, the bigger the payments, or benefits, from the subsidy. For example, let us say that the Government helps make up the difference in costs between domestic shipbuilders and the foreign builders. The more tonnage which the shipbuilder turns out, the more he gets from the Government. But I do not think that it is so important who gets the subsidy as who gets the benefits of the subsidy, and clearly the American consumers are the ones who get the major benefits.

Over the years, farmers have managed to keep abreast of rapidly increasing production expenses and higher taxes through mechanization and other efficiencies, including increasing the size of farms. Meanwhile, acreage of quite a few major crops has decreased. Our annual corn harvest dropped in the 1960's from 71 million acres to under 55 million. During that time the crop has gone up from 3.9 billion bushels in 1960 to 4.6 billion bushels in 1969.

Our wheat acreage dropped from 52 million acres annually to 48 million acres in the past decade. Nevertheless, production has gone up steadily, from 1.35 billion bushels to 1.46 billion bushels. With the 1957-59 period as the index figure of 100, the total farm output rose to 121 in 1969, for a record high.

It was the third consecutive year in which a record high was reached. In that period the total acreage devoted to crop production dropped from 325 million acres in 1960 to 300 million in 1969.

Even with mechanization, more fertilizer, better seed and better management, the farmers have been hard

pressed. As I have stated, farm income averages around 60 percent of city income. In 1959, production expenses were about \$26 billion; in 1969, the estimate was \$38 billion. I do some farming myself and I can tell you from experience that very few people are going to get rich at it. Comparatively speaking, farmer millionaires, unless their money comes from sources other than agriculture, are few and far between. How about taking a couple of days and trying to list as many as a dozen?

One could go on and on about the farm situation but, always, one comes back to the basic premise that, once again comparatively speaking, few of our citizens know about agriculture and still fewer care. This is no indictment of the people, or of the news media. There is an intense competition for news space, whether on the air or in print, and the citizens get most of their information from newspapers, the broadcasters, and the magazines.

Somehow farm leaders, including Members of Congress and officials of the farm organizations, just have not been able to get their story across. Maybe we have been too busy with our own particular problems and have not worked hard enough. Perhaps, an organization like the Institute, which devotes all its time to the educational process, is the answer.

I am confident that, if approached in the right way and with the figures and information which are needed, the concept of the farmer as a lazy, subsidized drone will change. This concept is completely wrong. The American farm plant is the best by far which the world has ever seen, and, given the assistance and understanding needed, it will get better every year. Our farm plant is the best advertisement for the free enterprise system which I know. The Communist failure in agriculture is the real barrier to Communist domination of the world. If 5 percent of the Russian people could turn out more than enough agricultural commodities for the entire population, I am afraid we would be in for real trouble. But I do not see any prospect whatever that any Communist agricultural system will ever attain anything like this—the present level of efficiency of our agriculture.

To repeat, I wish to commend the foresight and vision of the men who put the National Educational Institute for Agriculture together. All those interested in agriculture's welfare should give it all the help possible.

AN EX-RADICAL TELLS WHY SHE CAME BACK

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an article by Miss Patricia Krizmis appearing in Sunday's edition of the Chicago Tribune tells the very moving story of a young girl whom Miss Krizmis met from time to time while covering demonstrations in and around the Chicago area. This young

lady, who must remain anonymous, is only 20 years of age but has for 5 years been active in the so-called "antiestablishment" movement which has been in the news so much in recent years and which has also been instrumental in stirring up the riots and disorders which, unfortunately, have become simply an excuse for any bunch of rowdies who just simply want to raise "hell" and not concern themselves with finding solutions to the problems which plague our national life.

While there have been many excuses, theories, and alleged justifications for this type of outrageous behavior advanced by some quarters, it was interesting to me that this young lady—this veteran of the wars, if you please—refers several times in this article to the great need for parents to be more strict with their children—to bring an end to the premissiveness which has spilled out of our homes and into society at large.

She is married now, expecting a child, and trying to rebuild her life and, not surprisingly, she has some definite ideas as to how children should be raised. I quote her words so that parents everywhere might take heed to avoid the pain and sorrow which has been visited upon this young lady and her parents:

We're going to be strict with our kids—many kids who leave the movement say the same thing. Our kids won't get away with what we did. But we're going to talk to them, and listen. I swear I'll never be too busy. But you can't start at 15. That's too late. You've got to say no and mean it. Maybe our children won't have to learn the way we did.

I include the entire articles in the RECORD at this point:

AN EX-RADICAL TELLS WHY SHE CAME BACK
(By Patricia Krizmis)

Freedom.

The word sounded strange coming from the young woman because she used it to describe the Establishment she had turned her back on five years ago.

She had worked and fought hard in the anti-Establishment movement, rising to positions of leadership, trying to tear down the system. And now—she wants back in.

WAS W.I.T.C.H. MEMBER

While covering demonstrations, this reporter met her several times. After she decided to leave the movement, she told the story of her involvement in it.

She described the transition which led her from a high school student, rebelling against school dress codes; to Chicago chairman of W.I.T.C.H. [Women's International Terrorists Conspiracy from Hell], a militant women's liberation organization; to leader of the Chicago Students for a Democratic Society ball fund drive—and back to the Establishment.

For her, those five years meant police confrontations, arrests, beatings, drugs, an abortion, and rape by two street gang members.

And as a W.I.T.C.H. she was forced into several fights with militant men whose radicalism did not extend to women's rights—and who enforced their views with their fists.

HOPES TO BUILD NEW LIFE

She is now married, expecting a child, and working as a secretary. Her husband, who also left the movement, still faces two of nine criminal charges stemming from radical activities.

They hope to build a new life, and at their request, her correct name will not be used. We'll call her Sue.

The words revolutionary, rebellion, social-

ism, and capitalism crop up constantly in her conversation, but the reasons behind those five years are not so simple as leafing thru a dictionary to define the terms.

This young woman, now 20, is from a white, upper middleclass family that lived in the Lincoln park area. Her parents struggled to get ahead, but couldn't say no to the demands of their daughter, then an impressionable, intelligent teenager.

The movement, as Sue sees it, advocates the take-over of the United States government by any means necessary and forming it into complete socialism.

"I thought it meant freedom for everyone," she said. "Helping the little people—the working class and the poor—who are slaves to capitalism.

'WE WEREN'T FREE'

"I finally realized what we were doing wasn't leading toward the things nicely written down in the books by Lenin and Marx, but toward the kind of communism in Russia and Cuba. We weren't free. We were the slaves. I felt like I was being used.

"Now I see the Establishment as freedom. You have a right to think for yourself—make your own decisions."

Sue was a high school sophomore when she was introduced to the movement thru the Student Organizing committee [S. O. C.], a high school branch of S. D. S.

"Dress codes and teachers were the main issues," she said, "the kind of things that attract kids. There was nothing political at that point. Then S. D. S. organizers talked about women's liberation—how women were slaves of capitalism—then about the cops and the people who run the cops.

SHOOTING CONVINCED HER

"We were told that schools are run by the same people who run the factories. We have to get the J. P. Morgans, but in order to get them, we have to get the cops first."

Just one major instance was needed to sell the students on the movement, Sue explained. And by some quirk of fate, that instance came when Sue and some 30 other students witnessed the fatal shooting of a teen-ager by a policeman on the north side.

She described the event as "an organizing tool against police brutality."

"We formed a youth council—with a nice, sweet name. We had study groups almost every night and talked to people from S. D. S. and members of the Communist party. We were being educated."

By her senior year, Sue was an organizer for S. D. S.

She learned the teachings of the communist leaders, Lenin, Marx and Mao Tse-tung, and with other girls was taught the use of firearms and methods of self-defense, including karate, by women in the Black Panther party, she said.

Meanwhile, her activities had her family in an uproar.

SHOCKS HER FAMILY

"I was wearing dirty blue jeans, carrying a gun, and going out every night," she said. "My father was having a fit, telling me it was all like Hitler and the Nazis."

The pretty, dark-haired girl took a long draw on a cigaret and looked down at the floor.

"My father said if it ever came down to fighting, I'd be the first one he'd kill."

She looked up now—her hazel eyes watering.

"He said he'd kill me. He threw me out of the house, and my mother would always call me back. I lived with other girls in the movement for awhile. I never doubted that my parents loved me. They just didn't know what to do.

ALWAYS HAD EVERYTHING

"They never did anything wrong. Except I always had everything I wanted. I guess they were lenient-strict. They said 'no,' but couldn't stick to it."

Sue was graduated from high school with a B average, attended a university for four weeks, and then dropped out and went to live in a movement house on the near north side.

There is always someone working in a movement house to sustain it, while others organize and teach classes, she said. Sue sold dope for awhile to raise money for the movement, she said.

NEVER ARRESTED HERE

The more times you are arrested, the higher you get in the movement, she explained. However, she avoided getting arrested during demonstrations here because she was afraid her father would lose his job.

"I got busted in demonstrations around the country, tho," she said. Her traveling expenses were always paid for, but she never knew where the money came from.

Sue handled the S. D. S. ball fund here, going to business men, ministers, and parents for money, always asking for more than was needed.

"There's a lot of money to be made in the movement," she said. "But most of the kids are sincere—the leaders are a different story.

SAYS LEADERS SLIP AWAY

"Watch and see when they get arrested—especially after the Chicago 7 trial. They provoke things and then blow before the cops come. I did it myself.

"A lot of the kids are getting hung up on dope to keep going. There are a lot of pressures."

Dope is not allowed in movement houses, she said. But Sue got hung up on heroin once, and her parents took her to St. Leonard's house rehabilitation center.

"You know, the cops don't have to do a damn thing but sit by and watch. The whole movement is eating itself up."

HELPED TAKE OVER CHURCH

The movement has its own kind of morality and rules, she said.

"Sleeping with different men is O. K. But inside the movement nobody goes along with rape."

Sue participated in the take-overs of the McCormick Theological seminary, 800 Belden av., and the Armitage Avenue Methodist church, 834 Armitage av. She was raped inside the seminary by two street gang members who took part in the take-over, she said.

"We put ourselves in that kind of a situation, dealing with the gangs and all," she said. "You don't say much about it because you don't want to cause trouble."

Months before the attack, Sue became pregnant and had an abortion thru an S. D. S. clinic, she said, because she felt she was not ready to have a child.

"I got beaten up by some of the guys because I had killed a future revolutionary," she said, speaking of the abortion. "Others raise their kids in the movement—everyone helping out."

Sue said she was clubbed many times by police during demonstrations, but was beaten more within the movement, especially when she tried to organize motorcycle gangs. She got into violent fist fights with men in the movement who resented her views on women's liberation.

"Many kids would just like to go back to a nice normal life. Sleeping around is O. K., you get pills and all that, but it goes deeper. You come from homes. We sat for hours after classes and talked about the family structure. Those are normal tendencies—you just don't get away from them."

The turning point was her husband's last arrest for mob action.

"He got stuck holding the rap—it could mean prison, and nobody wants to go to prison.

MARRIED IN CHURCH

"I started freaking out. Lenin and Marx look real good on paper. But it doesn't work that way."

Thru her husband's insistence, they got married in a church and left the movement. "We talk to my father for hours—about the war and all. I still think it is political. There are a lot of problems in this country and a lot of things wrong." Her family now lives in the suburbs.

She stopped again and laughed. "You know, my father agrees with me on many things."

Then she got serious again.

WILL BE STRICT PARENTS

"We're going to be strict with our kids—many kids who leave the movement say the same thing. Our kids won't get away with what we did. But we're going to talk to them and listen. I swear I'll never be too busy."

"But you can't start at 15. That's too late. You've got to say 'no' and mean it."

Sue does not want to forget those five years. After her husband's legal problems are settled, they hope to move away and start over.

"Maybe our children won't have to learn the way we did."

THE TAX REFORM ACT OF 1969

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, since the most comprehensive tax reform in many years was recently enacted, I think the following summary which touches the highlights might be helpful:

[From *Trial* magazine, February/March, 1970]

THE TAX REFORM ACT OF 1969

The most important legal news of 1969 may be the Tax Reform Act, which was passed and signed by the President in the closing days of December, culminating months of marathon hearings and debates.

It is a long and complicated statute. There are 101 sections in the Tax Reform Act and the related "Social Security Amendments of 1969"; each amends or adds several sections to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

The legislation fills 277 pages prepared by the Congressional Conference Committee.

No brief summary can adequately describe the hundreds of provisions and points encompassed in the Act.

Some provisions of more general interest:

ANTITRUST DAMAGES RECOVERY DEDUCTIONS

Damages received as compensation for patent infringement, breach of contract, breach of fiduciary duty or an antitrust injury are at least partially deductible for tax purposes.

INCOME AVERAGING

The rules permitting use of income averaging are liberalized somewhat.

FOUNDATIONS

A tax of 4% is imposed upon the net investment income of tax-exempt private foundations. An additional tax of 15% may be imposed on the undistributed income of a private foundation. Foundations are required to divest themselves of "excess" investments in incorporated business enterprises, partnerships or joint ventures.

The Tax Reform Act also establishes detailed prohibitions against defined types of "self-dealing," such as loans or sales of property, between nonoperating private charitable foundations and "disqualified" persons (i.e., creators or substantial contributors to the foundation).

CHARITABLE DEDUCTIONS

The maximum tax deduction for individuals for gifts to public charities is raised

from 30% to 50% of adjusted gross income, unless the gift is of property which contains unrealized capital gain. There are several restrictions on deductions of appreciated property.

MINIMUM TAX FOR TAX PREFERENCES

A new tax is imposed on every person who has specified tax preferences. The tax is 10% of the amount by which the tax preferences exceed \$30,000, plus the federal income tax for the year.

RESTRICTED PROPERTY COMPENSATION

Where property such as stock is received as compensation, the value of the property is generally taxable in the year it is received, even though the property received is subject to restrictions which affect its value. However, if there is a substantial risk of forfeiture, the value of the property is taxable in the year in which the risk of forfeiture is removed unless the recipient has made a binding election of taxation in the year of receipt.

RELATED CORPORATIONS

The tax advantages for a group of controlled corporations in terms of surtax and accumulated earnings credit are to be reduced over a six-year period. After 1975, a controlled group of corporations will be limited to one \$25,000 surtax exemption and one \$100,000 accumulated earnings credit. The definition of brother-sister controlled corporations has been broadened.

DEBT FINANCED CORPORATE ACQUISITIONS

Under certain conditions, corporations will be denied a tax deduction for interest paid on bonds issued to acquire the stock or assets of another company. Also, the Internal Revenue Service is granted specific authority to issue Regulations establishing standards for distinguishing between debt and equity investments.

STOCK DIVIDENDS

Stock dividends are to be taxable under certain circumstances.

PERCENTAGE DEPLETION RATES FOR OIL AND GAS

The bitter controversy over oil and gas depletion allowances was resolved in the Act by reducing the percentage depletion from 27½% to 22%. There are comparable reductions in percentage-depletion rates for other specific minerals.

CAPITAL-GAINS TAXATION

The alternative capital-gains tax rate (25%) for individuals is raised over a three-year period to 35% for long-term capital gains over \$50,000. On long-term capital losses the Act provides a three-year carry-back for corporations in addition to the present five-year carry-forward. For individuals, the carry-forward of such losses is limited to one-half of the capital loss.

EMPLOYEE BENEFIT PLANS

Lump-sum payments to an employee from a qualified employee benefit program (qualified pension, profit-sharing, stock bonus and annuity plans) will be taxed as ordinary income and not as capital gain, as to the portion of the distribution attributable to contributions made by the employer.

REAL ESTATE DEPRECIATION

The availability of accelerated depreciation tax deductions on real estate has been substantially restricted as to real property acquired after July 24, 1969. Only straight-line depreciation is available as to used real property except for used residential rental property where a 125% accelerated rate is permitted.

RETIREMENT-PLAN REDUCTIONS

After 1971, limitations similar to those contained in H.R. 10-type retirement plans for individuals will apply to contributions made by Subchapter S corporations to the retirement plans for individuals who are "shareholder-employees." A shareholder-employee, defined as one who owns more than

5% of the corporation's stock, must include in his income the amount by which contributions by the corporation under a qualified plan exceed 10% of his salary or \$2,500, whichever is less.

This provision may adversely affect professional corporations that have elected to be taxed under Subchapter S.

INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

The investment credit has been ended as to property acquired or construction begun after April 18, 1969.

TAX SURCHARGE

The 10% tax surcharge has been extended to July 1, 1970 at a 5% rate. It then terminates.

POLLUTION CONTROL

Special amortization tax provisions are authorized for construction of pollution control facilities that meet minimum performance standards specified by the states according to national guidelines.

PERSONAL TAX EXEMPTIONS

The personal exemptions for individuals are increased. The new amounts: for 1970, \$625; for 1971, \$650; for 1972, \$700; for 1973 and thereafter, \$750 per person.

TAXATION OF SINGLE PERSONS

Starting in 1971 there will be new rate schedules which lower the tax rate on single persons significantly. The new schedules will also reduce the tax rates paid by heads of households to make both more comparable to the tax rate paid on a joint return.

MAXIMUM TAX ON EARNED INCOME

There is to be a 50% tax-rate limit on an individual's earned income for 1972 and subsequent years (maximum for 1971: 60%).

INSURANCE REIMBURSEMENT

A taxpayer who receives a reimbursement of actual living expenses from an insurer as a result of damage to or destruction of his residence may exclude such amounts from his gross income.

NEW PENALTY

A new penalty of one-half of 1% a month (maximum: 25%) has been added to the Code for failure to pay taxes shown due on a return—unless the failure is not due to willful conduct or unreasonable neglect.

WHEN ABILITY DOES NOT COUNT

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, it is no wonder that the people of our country become confused with some of our switch-hitting politicians, and this is especially noticeable by the recent actions of some Senators and politicians in connection with President Nixon's nominations to the U.S. Supreme Court.

It is indeed strange that almost every person whom the President has suggested has been attacked by some of our ultraliberal columnists, politicians, and Senators. It must seem strange also for the people to find a former Supreme Court Justice making comment, by way of a personal legal interpretation through the press, concerning a case which is still under appeal.

I refer to the statement made a few days ago by former Justice Arthur Goldberg, that a conspiracy case is brought by a prosecutor only when the prosecutor has no evidence which warrants a conviction of the accused. I am quite sure that this comment is one more attempt

to whitewash the "Chicago Seven" whose conviction is under appeal and who were released under bond; and who openly acknowledged that their intent was to bring our American judicial system to its knees.

We have had attacks made upon all three of the recommended appointees of President Nixon to the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Warren Burger came under attack but finally was reluctantly accepted by the liberals when they saw that they could not defeat his nomination.

Pressure was put on the President to withdraw his nomination of Judge Clement Haynsworth. Why? The attackers made charges of conflict of interest in two cases. One concerned litigation between a labor union and a textile firm which did business with a vending machine company in which Judge Haynsworth held a one-seventeenth interest. Although Judge Haynsworth cast the deciding vote in favor of the textile company, there was no evidence that he profited from the decision.

The other case was one in which the three-judge panel unanimously made a decision on a case, prior to the time Judge Haynsworth purchased stock in a company in whose favor he had voted. The company was foreclosing a bankrupt bowling alley for money which was owed to the company. After the decision, he purchased stock in the company.

To me, the real fault for the denial of Judge Haynsworth's nomination was simply because he was a conservative southerner.

Now we find Judge Harrold Carswell under attack, only this time the ultraliberals charge that he is a racist, and they predicate their claim on a speech he made while running for political office more than 20 years ago—and further that he sold property in northern Florida which contained a racial covenant in the deed.

In addition, charges of incompetence are now being made against Judge Carswell. They are now being made against a man who was formerly approved by the Senate to sit as a member of the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Is it not strange that those who now charge Judge Carswell with incompetence are the same persons who so openly advocated the appointment of Mr. Francis X. Morrissey, the pal and crony of President John F. Kennedy, who had such questionable legal training but who was nevertheless recommended to sit as a member of the highest court in our land.

It was only after the large public outcry against Mr. Morrissey that President Kennedy withdrew his name from consideration. But certainly the credit for the withdrawal of Mr. Morrissey's name can hardly go to those who then sat in mute silence but who now are so very loud in making known their objections to the seating of Judge Carswell.

Racial covenants in the State of Florida were legal and common practice for many years. In fact, my own home contained such a covenant at one time, as did much of the property in Hollywood where my home is located. It is true that the racial covenant in the deed was released prior to my purchasing the same, but there are many deeds existing in many

parts of the country which still retain these covenants, although the Supreme Court has now declared them unconstitutional.

Is it not interesting then that in 1948 one Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Geerart sold to Mr. and Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey property which contained a racial covenant that in the subdivision, including his own, none of the lots could be sold, leased to, or occupied by any person of Negro blood except as to the occupancy by domestic servants while employed on the premises by the owner.

This covenant remained on Mr. Humphrey's property from 1948 until 1964, when during the political campaign Mr. Humphrey executed a disclaimer on the same.

In 1957, Mr. and Mrs. Carl F. Poehlmann sold the residential property adjoining that of Hubert Humphrey to Senator and Mrs. GEORGE MCGOVERN. The property purchased by MCGOVERN was also covered by the same racial covenant and yet this great ultraliberal so-called fighter for civil rights lived in this racially protected residence for 12 years, until 1969 when he sold the property. The sale incidentally was made subject to this same racial covenant.

I am sure also many remember that President Lyndon B. Johnson, prior to becoming President, made many racist speeches, especially in 1948 when he ran in Texas for the U.S. Senate at a time when it was popular to talk of white supremacy in the South.

And now, despite all the clucking by these so-called "fighters" against social injustice, who have been vocal in their charges that Judge Carswell is a racist, they have been silent concerning the conduct of Justice William O. Douglas.

Justice Douglas received a total of nearly \$85,000 in fees during the period that he acted as president and a board member of the Parvin Foundation from 1962 to 1969. The assets and principal income of the Parvin Foundation came from Las Vegas gambling casino sources. The foundation is presently under investigation by the Internal Revenue Service for falsification of its income tax return.

In addition, Douglas accepted a fee for an article published in the magazine *Avant Garde* owned by Ralph Ginsburg, who drew a 5-year sentence in 1963 on obscenity charges stemming from his publication. Douglas cast a dissenting vote in the Supreme Court's 5 to 4 decision which upheld Ginsburg's conviction in 1966.

But if this was not enough, all of us should be deeply concerned by the publication of Douglas' book "Points of Rebellion." There certainly is no question that many of the issues are those that are capable of improvement—all sectors of our management, labor, and Government, including the executive and legislative branches. Unfortunately, however, Justice Douglas not only indicates how he would decide cases which would come before him as a member of the Supreme Court involving free speech, dissent and even violence, but he publicly declares encouragement of violence to achieve changes in our society, if peaceful dissent is not effective.

It is true there will be those who argue

Justice Douglas' right to his views as a matter of free speech. It is also true that these views from a citizen of the United States are constitutional when made by an average citizen, but Justice Douglas is not an average citizen. When he makes these statements as a member of the Supreme Court, they do grievous harm to our system of government and indeed encourage militancy as a substitute for law and order.

And there we have the politics of how the consideration is made for the appointment of one to sit on the Supreme Court of our land. To many of the ultraliberals, the right to sit on the Supreme Court is not to be judged by one's ability to interpret the law and the Constitution of the United States, nor is it to be in recognition of the courage of a judge nor the need today to return to law and order.

Rather, it is dependent on one's ability to render freewheeling ultraliberal decisions which usurp the legislative authority granted to the legislative branch of our Government under the Constitution and to one who will clothe himself with the judicial robes but who will become a member of the crew whose chart and direction will steer our ship of State into the turbulent waters of socialism.

PRESIDENT NIXON AND EUROPE

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's skillful handling of foreign affairs is winning wide acclaim throughout the Nation and the world. In this extremely sensitive field, Mr. Nixon has a keen feeling for the viewpoints and reactions of other peoples, and an ability to shape his policies and actions in accordance with these subtle factors.

A notable example of the President's sensitivity in this area is seen in his last-minute trip to New York, at the conclusion of President Pompidou's U.S. visit. The reaction of the *Christian Science Monitor*, stated in a recent editorial, summarizes well the true statesmanship expressed through this act of diplomacy. I insert this editorial in the *RECORD*:

[From the *Christian Science Monitor*,
Mar. 7, 1970]

PRESIDENT NIXON AND EUROPE

The wave of praise in the French press for President Nixon's handling of the anti-Pompidou demonstrations has underlined an inadequately understood fact. This is the considerable decline in the volume of Western European attacks upon the occupant of the White House and upon Washington as a whole. And this fact becomes all the noteworthy when it is remembered that Richard Nixon, before his election, was very far from being either a popular or widely respected figure in Western Europe.

To have achieved this lessening of European criticism is a major diplomatic achievement. It is, in its way, as great an accomplishment as has been Mr. Nixon's success in achieving a gratifying high rating in current American public opinion polls.

Plainly, a key factor in this Nixon victory over much of the strong anti-American prejudice existing during the Johnson admin-

istration is due the present President's success in steadily downwinding American participation in the Vietnam war. Here, of all the things which rubbed Western Europeans wrong, was the worst. Any president, who seemed to fall in line with Europe's own thinking on that war, was bound to benefit.

But this is only a partial explanation. A number of other factors entered in. And, without exception, they are traceable to a shrewd Nixonian instinct for what was needed under various circumstances. His hurried trip to New York Monday to show a special mark of honor to French President Pompidou, who would otherwise have left the country with a bitter taste in his mouth, was a token of this diplomatic fine-handedness.

Another was the unobtrusive way in which he carried off last winter's swing through Western Europe, and above all, the courtesy which he showed toward the then President de Gaulle. The European's new-found admiration for Mr. Nixon's abilities grew with the way in which he handled himself while walking a very slippery diplomatic tightrope on his visit to Romania.

But, foremost of all, is the fact that Mr. Nixon has appeared to studiously avoid either lecturing or pressuring Europe—something of which most Europeans have had their fill since the end of World War II.

American relations with the Continent cannot, by the very nature of today's troublesome world, be all sweetness and light. Disagreements will almost certainly arise to test still further Mr. Nixon's handling of European sensitivities. But this cannot conceal the fact that today, contrary to many persons' expectations, Europe can find very little to be angry with Mr. Nixon about.

BUREAUCRACY BURDEN CONTINUES

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, each day the news media bombards the American people with a numbing dose of statistics—facts and figures concerning expenditures by Government that have become incomprehensible to the human mind. Sad to say, it would seem that we have arrived at the point where the American people accept almost blandly the appropriation of multiple billions of dollars of their hard earned tax money, with program stacked upon program, and agency upon agency. While at the same time, the Congress regards almost with suspicion any appropriation that carries a price tag of less than a billion dollars.

More than ever before, this is a time when we need a sense of national concern. The sobering thought of a \$200 billion Federal budget, which proposes an expenditure by Government of \$1,000 for every man, woman, and child in the United States at a time when taxes by all levels of government have reached an unprecedented high level and inflation continues to take a painful bite out of the household budgets across this land, must of necessity cause us to wonder, indeed to worry, about the direction in which we are headed.

I wish to share with my colleagues an editorial from the San Diego Union recently brought to my attention. The message is most timely for the understanding of all Americans—to those of us in the Congress, it is imperative:

[From the San Diego Union, Feb. 3, 1970]

BALANCED BUDGET OVERSHADOWED—BUREAUCRACY BURDEN CONTINUES

American people who worry about the rise of a few cents in the price of a pound of hamburger can be forgiven if they do not readily absorb the full magnitude of a \$200.8 billion federal budget.

It is an almost incomprehensible sum that is in two major senses a measure of our times.

On the one hand it is a profound barometer reflecting the declining value of our currency, a visible measure of inflation.

On the other it is a mirror of the phenomenal growth of the federal bureaucracy that for a quarter of a century has thrust itself more and more into our lives.

Granted, most functions of the federal government are legitimate, and some increases in the costs of programs are inevitable.

But consider the fact that the federal payroll has increased 100 per cent in the last 10 years, community development and housing outlays are 180 per cent above 1960, health and welfare spending has risen 200 per cent, federal spending for education and manpower has increased 500 per cent and interest on the federal debt is up 85 per cent. At \$17 billion a year this represents the third highest single expense item in the budget. The reasons for inflation are obvious.

And while many federal expenses are comprehensible, some are not. Consider the median family income on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, which is \$1,810 a year. But for each Indian on the reservation the federal government spends \$8,040 a year, and there are as many federal employees involved in the project as there are Indians.

The situation is not atypical. The State Department at the end of World War II had 7,632 employees. Today it has six times that number—four times as many workers as there were soldiers in the Continental Army in 1776.

The number of American farms has declined 25 per cent since World War II, but the number of employees in the Department of Agriculture has risen to about 130,000, or one for each 26 farms in the nation. Each federal department in the United States of America has its share of fat. Many grow disproportionately to need.

And the \$200.8 billion budget presented this week, despite the fact that it is substantially less than the agencies themselves sought, will still continue the trend of growing intrusion into individual lives and pocketbooks.

As we consider this fact, we could ponder that the wealth of the United States consists of two things—its resources and the individual talents that develop them through ingenuity, initiative and competition.

Each growth of bureaucracy that stands between the resources and the people is a costly middleman.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE AT 18

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the question of the voting age is much before Congress at this time and I would call attention to the following study of the problem:

[From Trial Magazine, February/March 1970]

THE RIGHT TO VOTE AT 18

(By Bruce K. Chapman, Former National Director Ripon Society, Cambridge, Mass.)

The law discriminates against youth—particularly against those aged 18 to 21. Adult

demands are made on them, but adult rights and privileges often are denied.

These young men and women are subject to trial as adults, but may not serve on juries. Men under 21 may be inducted into military service, but the law prohibits anyone under the age of 30 from serving on a Selective Service Board. Soldiers on leave find that they are not permitted to rent automobiles, unless they have local credit; in some places they must be 25 to rent a car even with credit.

The principal discrimination, however, is the exclusion of otherwise adult young people from legitimate participation in the democratic process. In all but four states, they may not vote. As Les Francis of the National Education Association has noted, in California a person may teach high school civics before he is able to vote!

The right to vote is society's most conspicuous symbol of adult treatment and adult prestige. The fact that a large share of youth is denied this privilege is a main source of distress.

In practice, close to 12 million American citizens between the ages of 18 and 21 lack a political voice in decisions that could affect them vitally and immediately. It is not understandable, if not excusable, that many resort to extra-political and even extra-legal methods to make themselves heard?

Years ago, it may have made good sense to postpone the right to vote. Today, however, when a majority of young people have high school diplomas and some already have college degrees, it is poor public policy to start the franchise at 21. In fact, some men and women must wait until they are 23 before they are allowed to cast their first ballot: i.e. those whose 21st birthday falls in December of an election year.

Why should a 20-year-old political science major at a university be denied a ballot when a 50-year-old functional illiterate who has finished the sixth grade is permitted to vote? Is this fair?

The Gallup Poll has surveyed public (adult) opinion on the issue of the 18-year-old vote for many years. In 1939, only 17% approved; in 1967, 64% indicated they favored the extension.

In two states—Georgia and Kentucky—one may vote at 18. In Alaska one may vote at 19 and in Hawaii the right starts at 20. In 1968, the voters of Hawaii, North Dakota and Nebraska narrowly defeated referenda on 18-year-old voting, and in 1969 New Jersey rejected 18 as the voting age and Ohio rejected 19.

Nevertheless, more and more people are pursuing the right-to-vote issue than ever before. Most of them are moderates who wish to show that the system is receptive to legitimate claims. In the past year every state government except that of Mississippi gave attention to the question.

By May 1969, the Montana and Wyoming legislatures had passed referenda onto the voters for decision in 1970, and Nevada's lawmakers were set to reapprove 18-year-old voting in the 1970 session prior to submission to the voters.

Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York has announced he will ask the legislature to approve a constitutional amendment putting the question on the ballot. In his words:

"Clearly, today's 18-year-olds are educated, responsible and mature. Beyond that, they show a deep concern for, and understanding of, the contemporary problems of America. . . . In New York State, there are nearly a million young people within this age bracket [18 to 21]. And of these 67% have been graduated from high school, 66% of these high school graduates are going on to higher education, more than 50% are employed and pay taxes, nearly 20% are married and have assumed family responsibilities. The entire male population is, of course, subject to the military draft and nearly 70,000 New Yorkers under age 21 are now serving with the armed forces."

Numerous federal constitutional amend-

ments have been introduced to guarantee the 18-year-old vote nationally—most recently Resolution 8 of January 12, 1969, sponsored by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and the late Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen, among other senators. President Truman opposed the vote for 18-year-olds, but the late President Eisenhower declared bluntly:

"If young men 18 or 19 are old enough to . . . fight their country's battles . . . then they are old enough to take part in the political life of their country and be full citizens with voting powers."

Presidents Nixon and Johnson and presidential candidates Humphrey and Goldwater all endorse the 18-year-old vote. The implementation of these leaders' view on youth has yet to eventuate.

It is interesting to consider how the age of 21 became accepted as the age of majority in America and in most of the Western world. (Eight Communist countries and eight South American nations permit voting at eighteen.)

In ancient Rome, a person was presumed to have sufficient judgment and understanding at age 14. In England before Magna Charta the age of majority was probably 15. Majority was then raised to 21, but according to recent study:

"[There] is evidence that this raising of the age was due not to a decrease in the maturity level of the youths of England, but to an increase in the weight of arms and armor and increased training necessary to use improved implement of war." (Note, 41 *Indiana L.J.* 139 (1965)).

Since ability to bear the weight of armor is hardly a significant test of maturity today, there would seem to be nothing sacred about age 21 for receiving the privileges of majority.

The British have, in fact, acknowledged the irrelevance of this criterion. On January 1, 1970 the age of majority was lowered to 18, giving 2.25 million youths the right to vote, to marry without parental consent and to buy on the installment plan.

In the United States, it seems education has already lowered the age of maturity from the average of 21 to 18.

Why 18, rather than 19 or 20, or for that matter, 16 or 17? In my judgment, 18 has become the natural dividing point in life. At 18, one is tried in court as an adult, qualified to marry without parental consent in most states and eligible for civil service.

The observation of former U.S. Senator Thurston B. Morton of Kentucky, a state that permits voting at 18, is enlightening:

"It has been my experience in Kentucky that the dropouts, the kids that are sent to reform school and the general deadbeats don't register and don't participate in political activities. The high school graduates, especially those that go on to college, do take advantage of the voting privilege. . . . From a standpoint of intelligence and educational background, they are probably better qualified to pass judgment on issues and to assess personalities than the average voter in the state."

Countering this stand is the charge that 18-year-olds lack the judgment and experience demanded of citizens in a free society. It is interesting to note that this is virtually the same argument raised against the enfranchisement of women 50 years ago, the enfranchisement of freed slaves 100 years ago, and the enfranchisement of men who didn't own property 150 years ago. All those groups probably were qualified in any case; through the act of exposure to the responsibility of the ballot they determined to become intelligent participants.

The proponents' argument that the duty to bear arms at 18 qualifies a man to vote has been legitimately criticized. As Rep. Emanuel Celler said in a radio debate some years ago: "To say that he who is old enough to fight is old enough to vote is to draw an utterly fallacious parallel."

However, anyone who is vulnerable to a law that can conscript his labor and to a government policy that can send him to war, should have a role in electing the men who make the laws and policies. There might be less draft resistance, flight to Canada and draft-card burning if young people did not feel impotent to change the government's mind through the normal channels where they are totally without representation. Dr. Henry David Alken of Brandeis University has written:

"I say . . . that if youth are old enough to go to jail for burning their draft cards, they are old enough to vote. If they are old enough to grasp the nature of mechanized and automated warfare, and to participate in it, they are old enough also to participate in something more than Young Republican and Young Democratic clubs in their schools and colleges."

Former Congressman Tom B. Curtis (R-Mo) has opposed the vote for 18-year-olds because it would bring political organizations on to college campuses "I would much prefer to leave the first four years of higher education from these mundane tangles. There is time enough to get into the struggle."

Time enough for whom? Youth already feel caught up in the struggle. It would be an enormous plus for the political parties to come onto the camps in force. Students who now feel they must spin off into groups that demonstrate publicly in order to be heard might find the regular political apparatus more open to their grievances and needs. That sort of constructive outlet is sorely needed.

The President should consider appointment of a Commission on the Age of Legal Maturity, with half its members from the 18-30 age group.

Legal rights for 18 to 21-year-olds—jury duty, the right to inherit and to will, and especially the vote—probably are essential to healing the breach between the generations. The leaven of new voters could change and improve the entire nature of American politics, and through it, the national policies that directly concern disenfranchised millions.

INVESTIGATING THE NATIONAL COLLEGIATE ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, since introducing a resolution calling for a special committee to be set up for the purpose of investigating the National Collegiate Athletic Association, we have received expressions of interest and support from all sections of the country. The most recent is a copy of a letter to President Nixon from Mr. Daniel H. Jenkins, a graduate of Penn State University, calling attention to another example of the inconsistent and puzzling policies of the NCAA. I insert the letter in the RECORD at this point:

MARCH 5, 1970.

HON. RICHARD M. NIXON,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Yes, I am a graduate of Penn State, 1923.

I had expected that long 'ere this, that the President of the University of Texas would have declared every football game in which James Street had played this past year, forfeited to the teams against whom he

played. You should demand the Plaque which you gave the University of Texas honoring them for being the Number One Football Team in the United States.

Mr. James Street was ineligible to play with the University of Texas Football Team this past Fall because of his flunking his courses, by his own admission, and unable to take the final examinations because, if he did, he would flunk them, which would prevent him from playing baseball with the University of Texas baseball team this Spring. A sad commentary on the educational system of the University of Texas.

In view of what the National Collegiate Athletic Association has done to Yale University by putting them under a two year probation for permitting one of their players to play in the Maccabiah Games in Israel last August, I can not understand why they haven't moved against the University of Texas. Too, where has the Amateur Athletic Union been all this time and does the Southwestern Conference, of which the University of Texas is a member, permit professionalism in its Conference.

I say professionalism because in my judgment, James Street definitely is a professional. He had a Scholarship to secure an education because of his ability to play Football. However, it turned out that his Scholarship was for the sole purpose of playing Football and not to secure an Education.

Certainly, each of his Professors knew that, Academically, Street was ineligible to play Football. His Coach must have known it and if he didn't he should have. How the President of the University of Texas could not have known it is a mystery, and, having known it and not done anything about it, is vicious cheating tantamount to fraud.

Jim Thorpe, in spite of his fame, had all of his Olympic Medals withdrawn from him because of his playing semi-professional baseball one Summer before the Olympic Games. Several College Basketball Players were arrested and fired from College because they shaved points. Even in Professional Baseball, the members of the White Sox Baseball Team involved in the so-called 'Black Sox' Scandal were removed from Baseball and disgraced forever. Paul Hornung, the Great Green Bay Packer's half back was penalized one year for an indiscretion and now it looks as if Dennis McLain, the outstanding Pitcher for the Detroit Tigers, will be removed from Baseball forever.

It would seem to me that if the President of the University of Texas had any decency in his body, of any nature whatsoever, he would return the Plaque to you and apologize for the inexcusable actions and conditions which may or could be commonplace in the Southwestern Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL H. JENKINS.

P.S.—I am sending copies of this letter to the President of the University of Texas, the Head Coach of the University of Texas Football Team, Mr. Street, The Governor of Pennsylvania, The Honorable Raymond P. Shafer, Head Coach Paterno of Penn State University, our local Newspapers, together with copies to the Congressman from Illinois, The Honorable Robert H. Michel, The Executive Director of the National Collegiate Athletic Assn., and the Executive Director of the Amateur Athletic Union.

D. H. J.

LEGISLATION TO DEAL WITH OBSCENE MAIL

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, the growth of pornography and the increase

of crime have gone hand in hand. The liberalized interpretation of obscenity laws has allowed the growth of pornography to the point where it is coming through the mail unsolicited, and our children are having pornography facing them at newsstands.

I have introduced legislation to deal with obscene mail, H.R. 13372, and urge the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to act quickly on the bill.

The people are making their voice heard. One such group is the Coleman Place Parent Teacher Association of Norfolk. They have forwarded to me a copy of their resolution to the Virginia PTA urging that action be taken by the Supreme Court, Congress, and the Virginia General Assembly. I would like to share this resolution with my colleagues, and insert it at this point in the RECORD:

RESOLUTION OF COLEMAN PLACE PARENT TEACHER ASSOCIATION OF NORFOLK

Whereas, Pornographic materials are increasingly available to young people today, and misdirect naturally inquiring minds and hinder the development of satisfactory habits, healthy attitudes, and normal relationships; and

Whereas, Exposure of children and adolescents to pornographic materials can nullify the best efforts of parents, schools, and religious and social organizations to provide wholesome and responsible sex education of young people; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Virginia PTA go on record as encouraging the Supreme Court of the United States of America to refuse to review individual works to determine whether or not they are pornographic, and, be it further

Resolved, That the Virginia PTA go on record as encouraging the Congress of the United States of America to pass a law, or if necessary to institute proceedings for a Constitutional Amendment, empowering the highest courts of the 50 states, or subsidiary courts nominated by the states, to serve as courts of last appeal as to whether a work is pornographic. The United States Supreme Court would continue, of course, to review the legal proceedings of such courts to ensure protection under the law, but it would no longer be allowed to go behind the lower courts findings of facts. Thus, each state would return to the principle of "applying contemporary community standards" in judging pornography. Trials would be by a jury of citizens, who would be presumed to know what the standards of their community are, and be it further.

Resolved, That the Virginia PTA urge the General Assembly to enact adequate legislation for controlling the accessibility and distribution of pornographic materials; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the General Assembly; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be submitted to the Resolutions Committee of the National PTA for appropriate action.

NEW MACHINERY TO STOP STRIKES

HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, although this Congress has extended negotiations temporarily in the railroad labor dispute, wildcat strikes are impeding transportation of freight, according to letters received in my office.

Adding to the threat of a nationwide railroad strike is the impending threat of a strike in the trucking industry at the end of this month.

This emphasizes the need for our early consideration of the President's proposals to deal with nationwide strikes in the transportation industries.

I have previously inserted editorials from many of the Nation's leading newspapers supporting the President's proposals, and the following editorial from the Chicago Tribune is also on target:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Mar. 1, 1970]

NEW MACHINERY TO STOP STRIKES

President Nixon has asked Congress to enact sweeping new legislation to prevent disastrous strikes or lockouts in the transportation industries—railroads, air lines, maritime, longshore, and trucking. He pointed out that work stoppages in these industries are more likely to imperil the national health or safety than stoppages in other industries.

"Yet it is in this same transportation area that the emergency procedures of present laws . . . have most frequently failed," he said.

The President was never more right. The railway labor act has broken down so often that its emergency procedures have become worse than useless. Another crisis is due next week in the long-threatened strike of the shopcraft unions, which was averted by a court order late last month. Contracts of the teamsters union expire March 31, when the trucking industry is expected to resist demands for a 75 per cent wage increase over three years.

President Nixon proposes a new approach to the problem, to be used after extended cooling-off periods and mediation efforts have failed. The President then would be empowered to give each of the parties three days to submit final offers to the secretary of labor. There would be five more days for negotiations, after which a three-member panel would study the final offers and choose one of them, declaring it to be the final and binding settlement.

Labor union leaders have always been strongly opposed to such binding arbitration. At their recent meeting in Miami Beach they made it clear that they not only were against tighter regulation of national emergency strikes; they want Congress to eliminate the existing curbs in the Taft-Hartley and railway labor acts.

Most of industry also has been against laws requiring binding arbitration, but the railroads are an exception. Time and again they have accepted the findings of Presidential emergency boards, only to have the findings rejected by the unions. Twice Congress has imposed compulsory arbitration after board reports were turned down by the unions. The railroads, discouraged by their experience, want a permanent arbitration procedure for all disputes.

In recent years leaders of industry have been dismayed by a tendency of union members to reject contracts agreed upon by their designated representatives. This is what happened in the rail shopcraft dispute, which involved four unions. Their representatives approved a contract and agreed that the wage provisions were generous. Members of three of the unions ratified the settlement, but the fourth union—the sheet metal workers—turned it down because of a change in work rules which would have improved efficiency.

The national mediation board, in its last annual report, took note of the practice of rejecting contract settlements and declared: "The board deplores the failure of the parties to cloak their representatives with sufficient authority to conduct negotiations to a conclusion."

The Nixon administration has followed a policy of nonintervention in labor-manage-

ment disputes. The policy is sound, except when strikes affect the national welfare. If Congress rejects the President's proposals for settling such disputes, it will find them on the doorstep anyway. They simply can't be tolerated.

MANPOWER FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, our expanding efforts to control and abate pollution, call for increasing control technology. Throughout the country, more and more industries are investing in air pollution control equipment, waste treatment installations, water purification and cooling equipment, dust collectors and recycling mechanisms; municipalities and counties are turning to intensified use of monitoring stations, landfill operations, improved sewer and sanitation facilities, and better incineration practices. Because we are finally realizing that our resources are not limitless, new technology is becoming available for recycling and reuse of many materials used in fabricating, manufacturing, and processing operations.

The proliferation of these devices and installations is coincident with the programs in our institutions of higher education which have begun to motivate and train their students in the crafts of proper environmental management. Engineering schools, and departments of chemistry, physics, and biology, for instance, are graduating professionals who are capable of designing, installing and managing pollution control installations for both government and private enterprise. Indeed, the title: vice president, environmental management, may soon become an accepted and expected component of the professional roster of every sizable industrial enterprise.

However, despite the increasing availability of both the technology and the professional personnel, we face a problem which still remains to be solved; adequate manpower to operate, repair and service pollution control plants and machinery on a day-to-day basis. These persons need not be college graduates, but they must have sufficient education to understand the sophisticated machinery and instrumentation to keep such installation in good working order and insure continuous efficient performance which is as essential for them as much as it is for the operation of the industrial process it is connected with. Very soon, an industrial or municipal operation will be only as effective as the pollution abatement and control equipment which serves it.

I believe that one promising source of workers capable of operating pollution control equipment and instrumentation is the high school graduate who has received specialized training for another year or two in a vocational training institution or junior college in his community. He needs an incentive to tackle this type of additional training instead of entering the job market directly up-

on graduation from high school, for he probably has to earn a living immediately, and he should therefore be paid while training. As a matter of fact, the second half of his training should probably take place on the job, paving the way for independent work while under the supervision of an experienced man who is familiar with all phases of an operation and can impart his knowledge to a trainee.

A very fine vehicle to provide the training needed for workers in the anti-pollution field is the Manpower Development and Training Act. This legislation reaches right down to the community level, providing education and training to all classes of workers. They need not have college degrees nor special educational backgrounds to be considered for training under the Manpower Act. Persons who can be qualified to fill the shortages of personnel to operate anti-pollution devices can be sought out and trained.

As the communities and regions move into more programs to save our environment, more workers will be needed at the operational level. I believe the Manpower Development and Training Act can provide the impetus we need to be assured of trained workers.

The bill I am introducing today would amend the Manpower Development and Training Act by authorizing the Secretaries of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop and carry out programs under the act in order to train individuals for employment in the maintenance and operation of sewage treatment works and air pollution control facilities.

Funds in the amount of \$10,000,000 to carry out and develop the needed manpower programs would be authorized for fiscal year 1971, and for the 2 succeeding fiscal years.

As a former member of the House Education and Labor Committee, I helped in developing this legislation and believe it has been instrumental in providing trained persons for many vital job classifications. For instance, a recent Budget Bureau publication states that the Department of Labor through its Manpower Development and Training Program supports the training of the greatest number of paramedical personnel of any Federal agency. I believe we can do the same for our environmental programs. Certainly the need is great in this field.

FEW SEE NEED OF GOP CONGRESS

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday morning's Washington Post carried an article I am sure will be of interest to all students of government

FEW SEE NEED OF GOP CONGRESS

(By Louis Harris)

In the first test run in the 1970 off-year elections, the Democrats hold a substantial 46 per cent to 33 per cent lead over the Republicans for Congress, with a sizable 21

per cent of the voters undecided. If the final voting for the House of Representatives parallels these trial run results, then the Democrats would maintain control of the House by approximately the 50-vote margin they now hold.

There appears to be only a minimum of support for the proposition that President Nixon, a Republican, should be backed up by a Republican-controlled Congress. When the cross-section of 1,341 voters was asked directly about it, only 36 per cent replied that they think it best to have a President and Congress of the same party, 32 per cent believe it is a good idea to have them from different parties, and 24 per cent say it doesn't make much difference either way.

The cross-section of likely voters was asked:

"If the 1970 vote for Congress were being held right now and you had to make a choice, right here in this district would you vote for the Democratic or Republican candidate for Congress? And (if undecided) Well, if you had to say, which way you would lean—toward the Democratic or Republican candidate for Congress here in this district?"

Vote for Congress

[In percentage]

	<i>Total voters</i>
Democratic	46
Republican	33
Not sure	21

The survey also asked the cross-section: "Do you feel it is better to have a President and a Congress controlled by the same political party, or is it better to have the President of one party and Congress controlled by another party, or doesn't it make much difference?"

Same or different?

[In percentage]

	<i>Total voters</i>
Both same party	36
Different parties better	32
Not much difference	24
Not sure	8

VIOLENCE IN AMERICA

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, the tactic of violence and disruption recently erupted in a manner to shock the Nation at Santa Barbara, Calif., where more than 800 protestors surged through the streets near the University of California throwing rocks and bottles, overturning a police car, and burning the nearby branch of the Bank of America until only a gutted skeleton remained.

The Bank of America, in a full-page ad that appeared in the Washington Evening Star of March 6, 1970, took a hard look at the riotous demonstrations and issued a statement that gets right to the heart of the matter. The ad pointed out:

All of us, young or old, liberal or conservative, have for too long been silent on the issue of violence.

It further noted:

Let us, as a Nation, find once again our ability to distinguish between protest and revolt; between dissent and chaos; between demonstration and destruction; between nonviolence and violence. Let us cease to condemn those who disagree with us, but let us also be prompt and resolute in putting an end to violence in our land.

I could not agree more. The time has come to put an end to this type of anarchy. Ostensibly these riotous demonstrators were attacking the bank to dramatize their displeasure with the problems of our society. As has happened in so many other cases, those who are bent on violence commit their depredations without any sensible, reasonable motivation for their actions. Undoubtedly, there is a cause and case for those who participate in this disgraceful uprising, but let us recall once more the words of Abraham Lincoln:

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.

I believe it is important that all Members of Congress and the public be informed about how far certain elements in our society will go to achieve their purpose—and how complete is their attack on our institutions. I commend the statement made by the Bank of America. I think it would be well if others would study the statement. I request to have it printed at this point in the RECORD:

VIOLENCE IN AMERICA: ONE COMPANY'S POSITION

Isla Vista, Calif., population 11,250. The business district consists of a couple of gas stations, a few small shops, some real estate offices—and a bank. A large campus of the University of California is nearby. All in all, a normal American suburban community—perhaps very much like the one you live or work in. Normal, that is until Wednesday, February 25, when violence shattered the peaceful calm of Isla Vista.

At about 8:30 p.m. on the night of February 25, rampaging demonstrators—students and non-students—protesting the "capitalist establishment" converged on the community's small business district.

Several protesters rolled a gasoline-soaked trash bin through a smashed front door in a Bank of America branch and set it ablaze. Other students extinguished the fire. But just before midnight, with the angry crowd in a frenzy, the branch was set ablaze again. While police and fire officials were held at bay by a rock-throwing mob, the bank was gutted by fire and totally destroyed. A police patrol car was overturned and burned. Numerous other fires were started. Windows were smashed and life and property threatened.

These events took place in a community called Isla Vista. They could have happened in your community. They can happen anywhere and with even more disastrous results.

Why did the eruption in Isla Vista take place?

Participants in the violence say it was a protest against the "capitalist establishment," "the war in Vietnam," "the Chicago trial," "student repression," "police brutality," and a list of other grievances against America in 1970. Some of these grievances are real, some are fanciful and others are false. But all deserve to be aired. To the degree that they are not aired, are not taken seriously, Americans break faith with their young.

But all Americans, young and old, liberal and conservative, lose by violence. Violence and destruction are the seeds of anarchy and tyranny—whether it be the tyranny of the extreme right or the extreme left.

We believe the time has come for Americans to unite in one cause; a rejection, total and complete, of violence as a means of political dissent.

All of us, young or old, liberal or conservative, have for too long been silent on the issue of violence. We have been afraid of labels or slogans that would brand us as either arch conservatives or traitors to a liberal cause.

Such sloganeering does all of us a grave injustice.

Let us, as a nation, find once again our ability to distinguish between protest and revolt; between dissent and chaos; between demonstration and destruction; between non-violence and violence.

Let us cease to condemn those who disagree with us, but let us also be prompt and resolute in putting an end to violence in our land.

To this end we applaud the courageous response of many dedicated public officials. They deserve the cooperation of all citizens. They will have ours.

Every American has a right to walk the streets in safety. No polemic should be allowed to obscure this right. Your wife or husband, son or daughter ought to be safe in visiting a supermarket, a filling station or a bank—regardless of whether another may choose to reject that institution as an onerous symbol.

It is for these reasons that we plan to reopen our Isla Vista branch on Monday, March 9. We realize that there is danger in this course of action. But we believe the greater danger to ourselves and to all of the people in this nation is to be intimidated by mob violence. We refuse to be so intimidated.

Is the branch worth this much? In monetary terms, the answer is no. It is not, and never has been particularly profitable. But it is there to serve the banking needs of the community and we refuse to be driven out of any community by a violent few.

Is this a bad business decision? Perhaps in a narrow sense it is. But we believe that at some time and in some place Americans must decide whether they intend to have their decisions, indeed their lives, ruled by a violent minority.

We are but one bank, but we have decided to take our stand in Isla Vista.

RESEARCH TRIANGLE INSTITUTE WORKS ON NATION'S PROBLEMS

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues in this body a recent progress review of one of our Nation's finest resources, the Research Triangle Institute, which I am proud to say is located in the heart of my congressional district in North Carolina.

As we take the first step into this decade of the 1970's, with new priorities, problems, and objectives, Research Triangle Institute is already making gigantic strides toward their establishment, solution, and attainment.

In documentation of this statement, and with a resounding vote of confidence for RTI's president, George R. Herbert, and the numerous other dedicated public servants who have contributed toward the success of this facility, I insert in the RECORD an article which recently appeared in my hometown newspaper, the Durham Morning Herald:

[From the Durham Morning Herald,
Feb. 8, 1970]

RESEARCH TRIANGLE INSTITUTE WORKS ON NATION'S PROBLEMS

RESEARCH TRIANGLE PARK, N.C.—"Our first and primary purposes are to perform effective scientific research services for industry and government to help achieve national

goals, and to aid in the advancement of human and economic development in the Research Triangle region and all of North Carolina." *Research Triangle Institute statement of basic operating policy.*

Turning steeply into the 1970s with new priorities, problems and objectives, the nation and state can find Research Triangle Institute already at work on many of them.

Education research, population and family planning studies, air pollution control, advances in medicinal chemistry and health care systems, aid and surface traffic safety, and planning for sound economic growth are among the most important tasks facing the U.S. and North Carolina in the decade ahead. President Nixon highlighted some of them in his January State of the Union message.

In all these areas, the needed action programs will have to be based on exhaustive research and analysis. All are areas in which Research Triangle Institute is heavily engaged.

RTI's year-end operations report heralded an increasing emphasis on the social sciences and public affairs research. The report showed RTI with steadily expanding revenues from research contracts that reached \$7.8 million for calendar 1969, an eye-catching increase of 40 per cent over the previous year. Personnel rose from 350 to a payroll equivalent figure of 422 permanent, full-time employees in professional, technical and support categories.

Two-thirds of this staff and program effort was keyed directly towards attainment of social goals and to defining future economic needs and opportunities in North Carolina and the nation.

NEW GROUPS FORMED

Organizational changes made during the year to support the effort included the formation of several new subgroups within Research Triangle Institute's structure. These are new economics and health services sections, an office to aid in planning for state and regional development programs, and a population planning and population statistics group. Research on transportation and traffic systems also received attention on an Institute-wide basis.

Still in its initial stages was another new activity being formed to work with government regulatory agencies and manufacturers on problems relating to standards for the qualification and testing of medicinal drugs, pharmaceutical compounds, food and fuel additives, agricultural and industrial chemicals, and other products.

The expected development of this program is typical of RTI's problem-solving approach that cuts across and combines several scientific disciplines. The Institute's ability to assemble teams of researchers from a variety of specialized disciplines and backgrounds is especially apparent in studies on air pollution, medical systems, population and transportation.

"This flexibility, adjusting our sights in keeping with national priorities, is one of the invaluable assets that can be offered by organizations like RTI," says Institute president George R. Herbert.

He adds, "With the skills, experience, and personal interests of our staff, we have both the obligation and the desire to put our resources to work in research that will help to improve the quality of life and community well-being in all those subject areas where we have or can develop professional competence."

NATIONAL ASSESSMENT

Leading examples are in two education research projects. On a nationwide basis, RTI is conducting a survey of educational progress in the nation's schools. In North Carolina a data base is being developed that forecasts occupational categories and job requirements to aid the state in planning future directions for its community college system.

Started last winter under sponsorship of the Education Commission of the States, the national assessment is unprecedented in scope, method and purpose. Instead of comparing separate groups of students, or grading the educational achievement of certain individuals, the survey is concerned with over-all national averages.

In this it is like the consumer price index that measures changes in the cost of living, or bureau of labor statistics that show employment and wage levels as national averages.

The study covers schoolchildren and young adults in four age groups and will be conducted in successive six-year cycles. Approximately 90,000 individuals in 700 communities throughout the country participated in the study last year. With the first six years as a starting place, the results of later cycles will give educators a yardstick for measuring how much progress is being made in the nation's education programs, how much our students are learning, and how much improvement they are showing.

Sample survey specialists and statistical analysts at Research Triangle Institute began preparatory planning for the assessment in 1967. RTI was selected to do the work because of its national reputation for excellence in designing and carrying out reliable sampling studies in such areas as population trend analysis, economic indexes, health statistics and agricultural surveys.

Study results and the census-like data obtained from the assessment are seen as significant aids to schools of education, teacher training programs, local school officials, legislators and others concerned with future generations of students.

STATE PLANNING

For the State Board of Education, Institute economists are developing a long-range strategic planning model for North Carolina's community colleges. It includes analyses of projected changes in the state's population mix, employment categories, and job requirements and skill levels. The study is based on community college planning needs for estimates of the numbers and kinds of job openings that will occur through 1980, the amount of education they will require, and the availability of trained personnel.

It is one of a series of state planning projects at Research Triangle Institute that deal with recreation potentials, state park and state forest development, county population growth and employment levels, and forecasts of statewide economic activity to aid state agencies in making the most effective use of human, financial and natural resources.

INSTITUTE ORGANIZATION

These are among the research fields in which RTI has experienced solid growth and has achieved an established performance record during its 11 years of existence. Others are chemistry, biochemistry and pharmaceutical research, solid state physics, operations analysis, engineering, civil defense, the reliability of electronic systems and parts, polymer science and industrial processes.

Its programs span the physical, life and social sciences, and are organized into five major administrative groups. Individual projects and studies, however, routinely call upon the talents and skills of departments and sections within more than one of the major divisions and laboratories.

Three-quarters of RTI staff members have professional or technical training. Representing some 70 different graduate fields, 220 Institute researchers hold one or more college and university degrees, an unusually high ratio.

During the past year research was in progress in 164 separate project assignments. Working under contract with clients who have sought Institute research services, RTI has conducted over 500 projects since 1958.

Clients have included departments of federal, state and local governments, foundations, public service agencies, and industrial sponsor ranging in size from small companies to national corporations. Positive steps are now being planned for the near future to expand RTI's role in research for industry.

Cumulative contract billings over the Institute's 11-year life now amount to slightly more than \$34 million, virtually all of it circulating through the state in the form of salaries, wages, and local purchases of materials and services.

Project performance varies widely in duration, effort and cost. Some projects call for only a few days or weeks of professional time, with costs of up to several thousand dollars.

Others are continuing programs that extend over four to five years or longer, with annual costs high into the hundreds of thousands.

MEDICINAL CHEMISTRY

These include research on fibers and other polymer-based materials, microelectronics, civil defense planning, information systems design, census evaluations, space engineering, air pollution and others.

Prominent among them, and gaining increased attention and effort, are long-term chemistry research programs in cancer chemotherapy and drug metabolism.

One aspect of cancer research is based on the idea that the plant kingdom may be a fertile source of many novel chemical compounds, some of which may have unusual anti-tumor properties. More than 5,000 plant samples have been investigated and analyzed at RTI in a program started nine years ago for the Cancer Chemotherapy National Service Center of the National Institutes of Health. Several chemical compounds thus obtained have shown promising experimental results. One of them, a hitherto unknown alkaloid called camptothecin, was successfully isolated and identified by Research Triangle Institute scientists. The substance showed significant potency against leukemia in experimental tests and has been the subject of intensive studies in a number of research laboratories since 1966.

Another program centers experimental activity on nitrogen mustards, a class of chemical compounds that were among the first synthetic agents to be used in cancer chemotherapy. Use of these agents in medical treatment, however, has been complicated and handicapped by their toxicity. Investigations at RTI have resulted in new steroid and nitrogen mustard combinations that show a reduction in toxic effects.

Public interest and controversy about the use and consequences of anti-fertility steroids (the pill and other drugs) have led to major laboratory efforts at RTI and other organizations under sponsorship of the National Institute of General Medical Sciences and National Institute of Mental Health. When drugs are ingested by the human system, they frequently undergo complex, enzymatically-induced changes. The resulting products are called drug metabolites. Analyzing the chemical changes that take place and studies to trace the short- and long-term metabolic effect of these materials in the body are receiving major attention in RTI's chemistry and life sciences laboratory.

STARTED BY UNIVERSITIES

RTI was established by joint action of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Duke University in Durham, and North Carolina State University at Raleigh. The three schools are anchors at the points of the Research Triangle and have led development of the area as one of the world's leading science centers.

RTI was conceived as an integral component of the Research Triangle concept and as the focal point for building a new dimension of scientific enterprise into the eco-

nomie, social, and educational life of North Carolina.

The Institute stands today as the namesake and symbol of regional growth. Although a separate organization with its own staff and facilities, and responsible for supporting itself through earnings from research operations, RTI maintains close affiliations with its parent universities. Half of the seats on RTI's board are held by university representatives, including the presidents, chancellors and other academic officials from all three campuses.

Also on the board are the Institute's president, and executives and corporate research officers elected from business and industry.

On its 200-acre campus at the heart of the Research Triangle Park, RTI has a capital investment of nearly \$4 million in buildings and equipment, with a new million-dollar laboratory now under construction and scheduled for completion early next year. The new structure is being made possible with the assistance of large gifts from retired industrialist Grover M. Hermann of Chicago, and Durham businessman and civic leader George Watts Hill.

STATE GRANTS

These and other gifts and contributions supplement the income that Research Triangle Institute generates through its research contracts. Like any other business, RTI has to show a year-end surplus to stay in operation, to grow and to develop the programs for fulfilling its role in the research industry and the regional economy.

However, RTI has no endowment or other regular source of outside income. It depends for growth entirely upon its own resources.

The State of North Carolina has aided Institute programs through grants for scientific equipment in RTI laboratories. A \$160,000 equipment grant was announced in December by the State Board of Science and Technology. A part of the funds will be available during the current fiscal year and the balance in 1971.

Combined with earlier grants and appropriations from the Science and Technology board and the General Assembly in 1959, 1963 and 1967, the action brings total state awards to \$860,000. The funds are specified for use in the purchase of laboratory and other scientific equipment.

Against RTI's cumulative revenues of \$34 million, the return on public investment is highly favorably in terms of value received.

Initial funding to launch Institute operations at the end of 1958 was provided by a half-million dollar grant from the Research Triangle Foundation.

FACILITIES

Grants and RTI's earned surpluses have enabled the institute to build an excellent complement of specialized and general research equipment. It includes electron microscopes, gas liquid chromatography, infrared, nuclear magnetic resonance equipment, X-ray diffraction units and many other items.

The Institute has its own research computer, with full-time staff, and also has access to the giant Triangle Universities Computation Center located near RTI's campus in the Research Triangle Park.

Another special facility that underscores the close relationship between the Institute and the Triangle universities is a regional mass spectrometry center established at RTI and operated by the Institute in conjunction with chemistry departments at the three schools.

HEALTH RESEARCH

The universities and the Institute work together in many ways. Senior RTI staff scientists hold adjunct faculty appointments, faculty members from the schools are often involved in the projects as consultants and a growing number of research programs are undertaken jointly by the Institute and

graduate departments at one or more of the three schools.

Research Triangle Institute's proximity to the medical centers at Duke and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is of special importance as RTI expands its activities in health and medicine. About a half of current Institute projects are in health-related fields.

In addition to cancer and drug metabolism, these include work in progress on anti-malaria compounds, hospital services, medical care costs, health manpower training and allocation, improved surgical and prosthetic materials, and community health care systems. In kidney disease research, Institute chemists are working towards development of improved membranes for use in dialysis treatment, while a team of systems analysts is compiling a computer registry that now contains the histories of over 2,500 kidney disease patients.

Improved materials, sensing devices and instrumentation for diagnostic and treatment purposes are also being developed and tested in Institute engineering laboratories. Under NASA sponsorship, an RTI biomedical applications team works with space engineers and doctors of medicine in adapting technology advances in America's space program to medical uses. The work involves the institute, NASA space facilities throughout the country, and medical research centers at Duke, UNC, and the Bowman Gray School of Medicine in Winston-Salem.

Taken together, the three medical schools, RTI, and the private firms and federal government facilities being established in the Research Triangle Park make central North Carolina one of the nation's foremost health research centers. Three private companies are planning medically oriented laboratory activities in the Research Triangle Park. They include Burroughs Wellcome & Co. (USA), international leader in pharmaceuticals and medicinal drugs; Becton, Dickinson and Co., involved in medical electronics, health instrumentation and biologicals; and Richardson-Merrell, Inc., maker of pharmaceuticals and other health products.

Federal government agencies are the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, the National Center for Health Statistics, and the National Air Pollution Control Administration headquarters and laboratory complex now under construction.

Research on environmental pollution, air chemistry, and the health effects caused by a contaminated atmosphere links RTI closely with NAPCA air pollution detection, control and prevention programs.

POPULATION STUDIES

The federal health statistics center, the Carolina Population Center in Chapel Hill, and RTI studies in demography and family planning also serve to emphasize the region's capability in population research. At RTI, population planning and population statistics research is expected to become one of the institute's most intense areas of concentration.

In severity, magnitude and immediacy, the problems associated with population growth are facing the world with perhaps the greatest crisis in human history. RTI has committed itself to an increasing research role in demographic studies, forecasts of changing population patterns, analysis of food distribution and consumption, and the development of reliable techniques for measuring and evaluating the effects of family planning policies and methods.

The Institute's activities range from computer simulation of the dynamics of population change to studies of anti-fertility steroids, and from the statistical analysis of agricultural production in the world's developing countries to improved methods for collecting accurate data and for estimating changes in population growth rates. Much of

RTI's research has used North Carolina and subgroups within the state as the basic units from which it draws much of its information and results.

Climaxing its entry into the new decade with formation of an Institute-wide population research group encompassing the full range of its scientific capabilities in all disciplines, RTI is demonstrating a clear commitment to aid in the social and economic advance of its nation and region.

THE REVEREND NOBLE M. SMITH

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's session of Congress began with the eloquent prayer of Father Noble M. Smith, rector of Trinity Church, Oxford, in my district in Philadelphia.

Father Smith, only 35, speaks to us from the ageless wisdom of the Book. He understands and would have us understand. With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I enter in the RECORD a sermon delivered by Father Smith from his Episcopal pulpit. His message is clear. Without discipline we cannot find God and without discipline we waste our lives:

ENTER, BUT WIPE YOUR FEET FIRST

As a little boy I had the privilege of knowing both sets of my grandparents. My grandparents on my Mother's side of the family lived only four doors up the street and on the same side of Fifth Ave. in Conshohocken. More often than not I would go up the street to play in my grandparents' yard. And when I would get thirsty, I would go into the house and my grandmother would give me a cold drink of spring water from the pump in the kitchen. Sometimes I would go into her house to get a piece of freshly baked pie or other times I would go in and sit on her lap and help her peel beans or shell peas or help in some other way. I can remember that she always was happy to see me . . . I have many fond memories of my grandmother. And there is one thing she said to me and anyone else who would come into her house . . . As often as I would go in and out the door, each time she saw me coming she would say, "Come in but wipe your feet first." Now I'm sure that there was nothing profound in this saying. I know that she simply meant to keep the house as clean as possible for as long a period of time as she could.

"Come in, but wipe your feet first," seems like a perfectly reasonable demand, but this saying took on a greater meaning to me when I read the portion of Scripture appointed as the Second lesson for today. I have chosen a text for this morning which carries the same idea as what my Grandmother said. "Enter ye in at the strait gate—Wide is the gate and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction; but strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life for few there be that find it." What this text tells us is that before you can enter the Kingdom of God, before you can be at one with the Lord, you must satisfy the requirements which are made. Discipline is what is needed . . . You must show a willingness to do what is demanded of you. Just as I had to wipe my feet in order to gain entrance to my Grandmother's house, so must we do what God wants us to do before we can cross the threshold to Life Eternal. Certain things can be obtained in this life without discipline. Usually an undisciplined party is referred to as a good time, and infringement upon another person in any way

is an undisciplined act. But every worthiness—everything that is worthwhile has a narrow entrance—that is what Jesus meant when He said, "Come in at the strait gate, narrow is the way which leadeth unto life." Football, for instance, demands arduous practice and a "training table." One studying to be a surgeon spends six or eight years in preparation and a life long fidelity. Discipline is an important part in our life. Yet it is strange that people are unwilling to pay for Christlikeness even a part of the price they pay to become athletes or scientists. If you were a football player and the coach told you to eat only tea and toast for supper before the game that night—I'm sure that is all that you'd eat . . . but if the Church asks you to fast before you come to the Holy Communion some of you would rebel.

You might say football is different; it's different because the players keep themselves in shape and can stand up under a light supper. The person who cannot make a fasting Communion may not be in shape spiritually—My point here is not fasting Communion; my point is that discipline is important to us—Jesus said, "Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth (not thinks about) he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." Renunciation is the rule of worthy life; we are so constituted that we must forgo many roads in order to walk the narrow road. To surrender worthiness is easy; that way is wide, and it is so well filled that we never lack neighbors to bolster our fictitious self-respect. The nature of the renunciation is not far to seek; it is dictated by the nature of the kingdom. If a man would enter into Christlikeness, he must surrender un-Christlikeness. The Pharisees gave up bodily comfort (standing long at street corners to pray, so as to build a reputation for piety) for the sake of pride; the Christian must forgo certain qualities which are good but not to one who professes Christ . . . We must yield to those qualities which would help discipline us so that we would have sense enough to wipe our feet, before we dared try to enter in. We must know the acceptable qualities. An illustration of this is seen in Philip, King of Macedon, 350 B.C., who was commended as a good fellow. King Philip was known to drink quite freely and often absorb more than his capacity. Demosthenes—his antagonist—answered that true this was a good quality in a sponge, but not in a king. 'Tis true that there are qualities in us which seem harmless but they are to be renounced by the Christian who is by his profession seeking to enter into Life Eternal through the narrow gate.

There are great demands placed on us as Christians . . . The sad and regrettable part is that we meet only the demands which interest us . . . This is not discipline—This is not discipleship—This is disregard for authority. Too many people have the attitude that they will deal with God directly—They don't need the church or the clergy or extra prayers . . . They want to go directly to God . . . This is fine if you know how to do it . . . The average person in the pew is no more ready to come before God than he is to stand before a judge in court . . . For legal matters you hire a lawyer, for sickness you go to the doctors and then chances are if he can't do anything for you you turn to the church and seek an avenue to God . . . The turn is proper, you should seek God through the church, but in order to do so you've got to be willing to accept the demands and the disciplines which are placed before you. To those who walk toward God in their own way—They know God is somewhere at the end of their road, but the path is so wide that they spend all of their time weaving and wandering from side to side and rarely do they reach the end . . . To those who walk toward God in the church's way—The dis-

ciplined way—wiping your feet where you must—The path is so strait and so narrow that you cannot go astray. For this path leads to life—The Eternal Life.

What can I do or what can I say that will wake you up and have you realize that as the moments of our life tick by here and out there each day we are travelling that road. Whether you let it lead you to destruction or to Life Eternal is up to you.

The demand by God on us is great—That is for us to do what he wills—The response to that demand is even greater—I hope that for you it will be rewarding.

GETTING ON WITH THE PROGRAM

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, there has been much rhetoric and a great expenditure of funds but overall the Federal Government's water pollution abatement program has been ineffective and fraught with confusion and indecision. Mr. Tom Robinson, president-elect of Black and Veatch, consulting engineers of Kansas City, Mo., recently discussed the problem in remarks before the Water Pollution Control Federation Legislative Conference here in Washington. The remarks follow:

GETTING ON WITH THE PROGRAM

It is difficult in any discussion of water pollution control activities to avoid repeating statements already made in other meetings by more polished speakers; . . . and this seems to be true regardless of whether you are speaking for, or against, present programs.

Certainly, it will come as no surprise to this audience that U.S. consulting engineers are as concerned with the fight against water pollution as are most of you. If anything, our interest is greater, for if our treatment plant design is inadequate, or if our project fails to operate, we are not merely removed from office in the next election, we stand (as a result of several court decisions) to lose our jobs, our practice, our reputation—everything we own.

The Consulting Engineers Council, like the Water Pollution Control Federation, ASCE, and assorted other societies, has a water resources policy statement which pledges the talents of its members to all possible constructive efforts which contribute to the reduction and elimination of water pollution. Our policy, which encourages technological innovation, secondary treatment, separation of storm and sanitary sewers, government assistance, and encouragement to industry to halt pollution (among other things), has not been widely enunciated for the simple and frank reason that a number of editors and public agency officials regard it as self-promoting. In other words, in advocating biological or secondary treatment, we are encouraging work for our members. The same charge is made in connection with our encouragement of more expeditious Federal aid.

Thus you will appreciate the dilemma in which our Council found itself a few months ago when Michigan Congressman John Dingell launched his fight to boost appropriations for design and construction of treatment plants from the administration's proposed \$214 million to \$1 billion, as called for in the 1966 Water Quality Act. In assembling support for a floor fight in behalf of the larger sum, the Congressman and his supporters were suddenly beset by arguments to the effect that there were not enough qualified engineers in the United

States to handle design of the treatment plants which would be generated by \$1 billion in Federal assistance.

Agency personnel, apparently under instructions from the Bureau of the Budget, were quoted as believing there were insufficient engineers to design, insufficient contractors to build, and even insufficient government personnel to handle, the work that was sure to be involved in a \$1 billion, plus matching funds, program. Within minutes, Congressmen, material suppliers, other associations, and editors were calling Consulting Engineers Council to ascertain if, in fact, the administration's claim was correct.

A flat "no" answer could easily have been passed off as a natural response by an organization whose members have a subjective interest in a four-times jump in the current program.

To authenticate what we already knew, our staff conducted a telephone sampling of just over 100 of our nearly 2300 member firms. Firms ranged in size from 15 to 800 employees and were picked somewhat at random in 26 states. Conservatively, this study revealed that American consultants could, if called upon, design in excess of \$3 billion in waste treatment construction in the current fiscal year. Checking fewer than 10 firms in each of 20 different states revealed an existing capacity (by just the contacted firms) to handle the design of over \$2 billion in waste treatment construction.

Taking my own firm, for example, we found we had prepared design for \$182 million worth of waste treatment construction in the previous twelve months and could easily have handled \$175 million in 1970 with no additional personnel. In fact, all of our current work is due for completion in the next three to four months. A similar situation existed in Denver, Colorado where one firm, which normally handled 8 to 10 projects a year, was completing plans and specifications for one treatment plant and actively looking for work in this field.

One of the largest sanitary engineering firms on the East Coast revealed it was currently handling 95 jobs totaling approximately \$187 million in construction. This was approximately 25% below the firm's demonstrated capacity and the officers conservatively estimated they could handle another \$40 million worth of projects with no additional personnel.

An 80-man firm in California advised us that it had 10 projects nearing completion with no new ones under contract. The sanitary engineering workload of the firm was extremely low. A similar situation existed with a Roanoke, Virginia consultant who was performing only five projects, mostly for communities whose requests for FWPCA funds were postponed forcing the city officials to proceed without Federal aid. The Roanoke firm was looking for treatment plant work and could have handled another \$8 or \$9 million with no increase in staff.

Virtually all the consultants we contacted—large firms and small firms—indicated that demand for sanitary engineering services was decreasing. This was blamed on the failure of the Federal government to "come through" with promised assistance, and upon the inability of many communities to fund projects in the light of high interest rates and tight money. Typical of the reports was one received from Minnesota where the State Pollution Control Agency advised it had applications totaling more than \$15 million in grant requests to cover over \$46 million of total construction. Minnesota, however, had only \$3.92 million to distribute to applicants, or only 20 per cent of what it felt it needed.

Even without the compelling compilation of evidence produced by our spot survey, there should be no question but what U.S. Consulting engineers can easily assimilate well over \$1 billion worth of waste treatment

plan design if called upon to do so. Assuming the average engineering fee on waste treatment projects is 6 percent this would mean a total of \$60 million in engineering fees on \$1 billion worth of work. This fee, divided among the fifty states, would provide only \$1.2 million worth of engineering design per state, hardly an imposing, or even burdensome, program.

Perhaps as a result of CEC's survey, or perhaps for other reasons, the argument that there were not enough engineers or contractors was quickly dropped when the FWPCA appropriation came to the House floor. Instead, Congress was advised there were insufficient administrative personnel to handle the paper work that would be generated by a larger appropriation. Certainly this must have seemed a unique position to a Congress accustomed to agencies asking for more money, not less.

As you all know, we now have an \$800 million appropriation, plus funds for increased FWPCA staff to handle the expected avalanche of applications. Hopefully, the engineering profession will shortly begin to see some acceleration in grant processing so that the more than tripled program can be implemented. For the moment, however, most consulting firms report a continuing dearth of treatment plant work.

Part of the problem is, of course, the deepening woes of the municipal bond market—a subject being covered in more detail and with more expertise by other speakers on this program. But I should mention that consulting engineers, like most of you, were involved in the Senate Finance Committee fight last year to maintain the tax exemption on interest from municipal bonds. We, like you, were perplexed by the inconsistency of flowery statements from Capitol Hill in support of pollution abatement; often from the same Congressmen who were urging abolishment of the tax break for investors in municipal securities.

But the current difficulties with state and local bond sales cannot be blamed on the House version of the tax bill; the administration's policy of tight money to combat inflation was certain to have a negative impact on the municipal bond market. The big question is what happens next?

With many communities extended to the maximum of their debt limit, and with high interest rates, plus state-imposed interest ceilings, discouraging investment in bonds, there is nowhere to turn but to Uncle Sam: not just for grants or loans, but for legislation involving tax credits and accelerated amortization.

Appropriations and legislation will, of course, involve politics and it is here we view with apprehension the problem of getting our message to the general public. I think the average citizen needs to be made fully aware of the fact that: (1) there is not enough money in the Federal government alone to solve our pollution problems; and (2) that many of the problems of pollution abatement do not involve financial or technological solutions—they are basically legal, social, political and bureaucratic in nature. To the average man on the street, President Nixon and Senator Muskie are arguing the same thing—that we need to spend tens of billions of dollars to clean up our environment. The amount of money or the period of time involved may vary between speakers, but to Mrs. Housewife it is all the same and she wants to know why we aren't getting on with it.

It has become popular in political speeches to point to our space achievements and proclaim, "If government, science and industry can put men on the moon, why can't a similar commitment provide us with safe, clean air and water?" Before enactment of legislation to create a National Aeronautics and Space Administration for the attack on pollution, government officials might profit from a careful re-examination of NASA's

success. Though money and ingenuity were essential to Apollo's achievement, a vital ingredient was the orderly direction and recognizable chain-of-command which characterized this effort. Even more significant, there was a single, definable, agreed-upon objective.

Everyone connected with the manned flight project had his eyes riveted on the goal of safely putting the United States on the moon in this decade. Congress, while concerned with the cost, seldom second-guessed or overruled the scientists-engineers responsible for the program. New ideas were encouraged and utilized. Fabricators and producers were rewarded for excellent products and performance. Buck passing was minimized and red-tape was something to be cut through.

Compare that commitment with the overlapping operation of 39 different Federal agencies or commissions currently concerned with water resources and quality. Regional administrators are permitted only minimal authority (even minor decisions are often made in Washington); many administrative appointments are based as much on political patronage as they are on qualifications for the task at hand; even members of Congress are not above revising priorities in mid-stream; funding is often whimsical and invariably belated; the glorious promise of programs frequently fades as delays occur in staffing and implementation of announced tasks; and there is the persistent problem of administrators inhibiting innovation by insisting that projects and designs go according to outdated standards.

All the money in the United States Treasury is not going to correct these defects.

For the most part consulting engineers would prefer to plan, design and coordinate projects that do not involve Federal financing. We have learned again that the Federal Government supervises that which it subsidizes! When government money is provided, so also is government restriction, control, red-tape and worst of all, procrastination.

I am sure there are legitimate reasons, but from the view of the communities seeking Federal aid, there seems to be little excuse for the delays, certifications, evaluations and just plain lack of decision which has long been associated with Federally-assisted water-sewer, and to a lesser extent, with sewage treatment programs. Admittedly there has been a great deal of improvement in the last two years, due primarily, I believe, to the efforts of the Interagency Council comprised of representatives of: the Farmers Home Administration, the Economic Development Administration, and Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, HUD's Metropolitan Development Administration, and the Bureau of the Budget.

Standardization of the SF101 has helped, as has the procedure for assigning agency responsibility for a given application. But there are still instances of agencies urging communities to seek money under their as well as other departments' programs, and there are still lengthy delays in some types of projects.

On top of all this we have, for example, local Farmers Home Administration supervisors distributing memoranda to mayors and to county officials telling them what materials they will use on their projects. In another example, we have EDA refusing to permit use of a specified material even when the community involved offers to pay the difference in cost.

Consulting engineers would like to see Federal agencies:

- (1) adopt an attrition system to keep application backlogs at workable levels—not more than 25 per cent.
- (2) eliminate the requirement for technical reviews of applications in Washington.
- (3) revise and simplify the application processing procedure.

(4) eliminate, or at least reduce, repetitious requests for information and more data throughout the review and rating process.

(5) provide better guidelines on what factors specifically are given major consideration in the evaluation of applications.

(6) at the risk of being drummed out of the profession, I believe that government personnel are becoming overly sensitive to ecological, environmental and system aspects of projects.

The popular villain of the day is technology, and the answer to the danger of technology is to undertake comprehensive studies of all possible aspects of a project to avoid adverse effects on the environment. Certainly consulting engineers do not oppose a careful analysis of the cause and effect relation of their efforts, but they do view with alarm the attitude that all possible ramifications of a major public works undertaking be considered, weighed and tested in great detail before, during and after construction. Some people seem to feel that no project should commence which might endanger, irritate or displace either nature or people. Under these guidelines, a treatment plant in the Sahara Desert would be unacceptable. It is impossible to anticipate and protect everything. To attempt to do so will consume in cost of planning and studying most of the resources needed for the financing of design and construction.

The practice of consulting engineering is a profession in flux. A consultant is no longer the man who draws lines on paper for his clients, nor can he hold himself aloof from the political or financial woes of those he serves. Consulting engineers now must be prepared to bring together all the elements needed to complete a project. These include economic feasibility, financing, design, specification, construction and operation of the finished facility. Of all these, the most complex and time consuming activity is no longer design, it is financing. From our aspect, the gut issues in expediting a pollution control program are better administration, more authority to local government, and the possible, but totally improbable, elimination of political considerations that currently serve as stumbling blocks in our getting on with our objectives.

LEE ATWOOD RETIRES AFTER DISTINGUISHED CAREER

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, one of the real giants of the aviation and aerospace industries—J. L. Lee Atwood of North American Rockwell—announced his retirement last month.

Lee Atwood was president of North American Rockwell—and its predecessor North American Aviation, Inc.—for 22 years and chief executive officer for the past 10. His aviation and aerospace career spanned 42 years, 36 of it with the company he so ably led.

He was a member of that small group of men who brought aviation into the modern era, both in terms of air transportation and military air power. Lee supervised the design of many famous aircraft, including the P-51 Mustang, the only fighter that could escort allied bombers all the way to Berlin in World War II.

Shortly after World War II, Lee and the late Dutch Kindberger addressed the engineering, scientific, and techno-

logical talents of North American to the advanced fields of missilery, electronics, rocket engines, and the peaceful applications of atomic energy. Lee's talents and leadership were largely responsible for the company's success in these fields.

And under that leadership, North American served as the prime contractor for the Apollo moon landing program, which demonstrated conclusively that Lee Atwood can get the job done no matter how difficult.

In January 1969, NASA bestowed upon Atwood its Public Service Award, the highest honor that the agency can present to an individual not employed by the Federal Government. The award recognized his contributions as a key leader of the Government-industry team which accomplished the first manned lunar orbit mission, Apollo 8.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take this opportunity to congratulate Lee Atwood on his distinguished career and service to his country, and wish him years of happiness in the future.

EVENING CHRONICLE REFLECTS 100TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on March 3, 1970, the Evening Chronicle newspaper in Allentown, Pa., observed its 100th anniversary. On that date, I reviewed for my colleagues the history of the Chronicle's 100 years of news service in Allentown and surrounding communities.

In the March 3 edition and in a special anniversary edition, published March 7, 1970, the Evening Chronicle, in its editorial columns, reflected on its first 100 years and drew some observations of the future.

I am pleased to insert a column written by Editor Nelson Weiser and two Evening Chronicle editorials published in the anniversary editions because I believe they will be of interest to my colleagues:

THE SPOTLIGHT—WE MADE THAT 100

(By Nelson A. Weiser)

One hundred years is a long time.

Relatively few people live that long.

Indeed most people seem to be pretty tired of living before they are within striking distance of a centennial.

And many institutions don't last that long, either.

This makes all of us feel pretty proud that the Evening Chronicle has made it.

Having spent 45 years—40 on a full-time basis after five as a part-timer—as a member of the Evening Chronicle team, the writer has more than a passing interest in where it has been and where it is going.

Indeed, he has had some hand in shaping its destiny and trying to make it an accurate recorder of current events and opinion and an organ responsive to the needs and desires of the community.

Because it is our own handiwork, we of the Evening Chronicle perhaps are not competent to judge how well we have done our job and whether we are meeting our responsibilities.

But day after day, as we examine each

edition and make comparisons with other newspapers we conclude that we are, at least doing as well as most and better than many.

While this judgment might appear to be biased, the fact that the Evening Chronicle has lasted 100 years indicates that perhaps we have been doing something right.

Some tremendous changes have been made in the mechanics of reporting and editing the news and the processes of converting raw copy into printed newspapers since the first edition of the Daily Chronicle appeared.

But what Robert Iredell Jr. was trying to do on March 3, 1870, we are trying to do on March 3, 1970, and hope that our successors will be attempting on March 3, 2070, and as long thereafter as the revolutions and evolutions of this old world will allow.

Stated simply, Robert Iredell was trying to fill the city's need for a lively afternoon daily newspaper, just as we are trying to do today.

It is hard to believe that 45 years have elapsed since I performed my first chores for what was then the Chronicle and News.

It is equally hard to believe so many changes have been made in the technology of producing a newspaper. The affect every facet of the operation from communications to putting the papers into the hands of readers.

It is even harder to believe that Robert Iredell and his contemporaries could do as well as they did with the primitive methods and equipment available to them.

But, those of us who have seen the remarkable changes of the last several decades are intrigued even more by what the future might hold for us and those who follow.

We won't be around when the Evening Chronicle celebrates its bicentennial.

But we hope those who are here will have as much fun assembling the bicentennial edition as we have had over the past several weeks putting together the special centennial edition which will appear Saturday as a supplemental to The Morning Call.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Evening Chronicle, Mar. 3, 1970]

FIRST 100 ARE THE HARDEST

One hundred years ago today Robert Iredell Jr. introduced the Daily Chronicle to the people of Allentown.

They liked it and quickly bought up the initial press run of 1,000.

Through a series of mergers and name changes, the Daily Chronicle evolved into the Evening Chronicle and became a part of the Call-Chronicle family of newspapers.

But it is basically the same newspaper that Robert Iredell visualized when he started publication of a Republican-oriented newspaper in a Democratic-controlled city.

Politics have changed since then. So have editorial policies. Allentown is a two-party city and the Evening Chronicle is politically independent.

Nevertheless, the Iredell purpose of producing a lively newspaper which chronicled accurately and objectively the news of the day continues to be our purpose.

Times have changed in many ways since the Chronicle made its appearance on the Allentown scene. Gone is much of the provincialism that made each municipality a sort of island. The metropolitan concept has gained increasing acceptance and the interests of Allentown have become the interests of the communities surrounding it. Conversely, their interests have become Allentown's interests.

That is why news and editorial horizons have been broadened to embrace the suburban and rural areas which have such strong political, economic, social and cultural ties with Allentown.

We like to believe that is the way Robert Iredell would have broadened his own perspective if he could have been around for the whole 100 years during which the news-

paper population of the city declined but the scope and volume of coverage expanded far beyond what the competing journals visualized when the Chronicle was founded and during the intervening years.

The first century in the life of the Evening Chronicle, nee Daily Chronicle, was not easy. There were good days and bad days. Sometimes it appeared the end must be close at hand. But the Chronicle has survived and enters its second century confident that the first 100 years were the hardest.

This does not mean we expect the second century to be any bed of roses. After all, if we expect to continue editing and publishing a lively newspaper with an accurate and objective coverage of the news, we will have to work hard at it.

And this is exactly what we pledge to do as we move into our 101st year as part of the Allentown scene.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Veteran employes of the Evening Chronicle remember with a great deal of affection Britalan G. (Brit) Roth, who died 10 years ago at the age of 98.

One of his most memorable traits was the fact that he always looked ahead, hoping he would survive until another tomorrow to continue seeing and enjoying the wonders wrought through the creative genius of man.

He knew where he had been and he enjoyed most of what he had seen.

But he had the good reporter's curiosity about what was ahead.

We recall this wonderful quality now because we, like Brit Roth, have lived a long time—100 years—as a newspaper and, while some of the going has been rocky, we also know where we have been and have enjoyed most of the road we have traveled.

Also like Brit, we are ever looking ahead toward other tomorrows with their new adventures and their surprising new products of human creativity, not only products that will improve the production processes of our newspaper, but also those that will make life better and more enjoyable for the people.

The Evening Chronicle, first published on March 3, 1870, has chronicled the current events of a century from the local, state, national, international and, in recent years, universal viewpoints.

So much of what was recorded during those years was exciting, ranging from items of purely local interest, including births, weddings and deaths to the introduction of the many inventions that have had a profound effect on the life of man.

The century of history reported by the Evening Chronicle was indeed a series of "ages"—horse and buggy, electric light, automobile, air, electronic, computer and, now, space.

As we look back over the past we can only wonder what the future will produce to top it.

Like Brit Roth, we ask ourselves:

Where do we go from here?

Also like him, we are not quite sure, but we do have our eyes and feet pointed ahead.

We have not forgotten the past. Nor do we intend to do so.

But, we feel that the past is prologue.

That idea is not original with us.

It was expressed by Robert Iredell Berger, grandson of the founder of the Daily Chronicle, out of which the Evening Chronicle evolved. He expressed it during one of many conversations about the Iredell family during preparation of the Centennial Edition.

In a special message to the Evening Chronicle he expressed this thought:

"There is little I can add to the plaudits you have paid my late grandfather, Robert Iredell Jr., in the March 3 issue of the Evening Chronicle, the 100th anniversary of its founding.

"You have carried on the tradition and broadened its base as time moved on.

"Speaking for the Iredell family, thank you all.

"Now, let's go to press!"

And that is exactly what we are doing—going to press with the idea that the past is, indeed, prologue, but the future is something to be faced with curiosity about what will happen next and a hope and confidence that we will be able to meet our responsibilities and fulfill our functions even better in the future than we have in the past.

Brit Roth would have liked that idea.

ERNIE PYLE

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, April 18 will be the 25th anniversary of the death of Ernie Pyle, the famous war correspondent, who was killed by the Japanese on Ie Shima, an island near Okinawa. Pyle, who became a legend in his lifetime, had covered the Invasions of north Africa, Sicily, Italy, and Normandy before going to the Pacific theater.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, an organization that represents more than 1,500,000 of those who have fought for our Nation on foreign soil, has expressed its support for a commemorative stamp in honor of this distinguished newsmen.

We have, during the years that have elapsed since the end of World War II, paid postal tribute to the men who defeated the Japanese, the National Socialists, and the Fascists. During 1945, the last year of the war, postage stamps were issued in honor of the Army, the Navy, and the Coast Guard, and another stamp depicted the raising of the American flag on Mount Suribachi, on Iwo Jima. The merchant marine was honored in 1946, while another issue carried a representation of the Honorable Discharge Emblem that millions of former servicemen were proud to wear.

In 1948, a stamp commemorated the four heroic chaplains who went down with the SS *Dorchester*.

Individuals who were honored for their leadership during World War II were George S. Patton, remembered for his brilliant generalship against the Nazis and Fascists, George C. Marshall, the general who became Chief of Staff on September 1, 1939, the day the war began in Europe, and served throughout the conflict, and Dwight D. Eisenhower, who led the forces of America and her allies to victory in Europe and north Africa.

General Douglas MacArthur has yet to appear on an American stamp, although he was one of the outstanding figures of our day and led the forces that defeated the Japanese. I am the sponsor of House Joint Resolution 799, which provides for the issuance of a special postage stamp in commemoration of this great man.

Mr. Speaker, having honored the soldiers and sailors and those who led them to victory on all fronts during World War II, let us not forget the war correspondents who risked their lives in order that we might have news of our

fighting men. By issuing a stamp that commemorates Ernie Pyle, we would be paying tribute to his fellow newsmen as well.

FROM NEW YORK TO LOUISIANA— FREEDOM OF CHOICE IS THE LAW OF THE LAND

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, again, I arise to call to the attention of this House that freedom of choice is the law of the land.

A learned dissertation could be written on the subject; an eloquent brief replete with citations of authority could be prepared; and sooner or later an opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States will reaffirm this fundamental American truth.

In the meantime, the American people, great and small, from every part of the country, from all walks of life, recognize the heart of Americanism—that freedom of choice is the heart and soul of liberty.

They are keeping the pressure on.

An obviously educated and talented New Yorker wrote a letter to the editor of the New York Times, while one of my perceptive constituents wrote a letter to his Congressman, both clearly in accord that freedom of choice is the law of the land.

I include both of these letters in my remarks, and commend them to the attention of our colleagues and all others who may have the opportunity to read this RECORD:

NEW YORK, February 23, 1970.

FORCED INTEGRATION

TO THE EDITOR:

Your recent editorials (the latest Feb. 22) on the problem of desegregation in our school system exhibit a surprising disregard for the principles that should animate a free society.

It is now thoroughly established that no state can maintain laws looking to a discriminatory and dual school system. This legal battle has been won.

What The Times apparently, and large sections of the press, now favor is something quite different: namely, the active integration of the races in our society by Government dictate, and insistence on a certain white-black mix in our schools through busing and other devices, whatever the consequences.

Thoughtful citizens, whether from North or South, will and should oppose this kind of Government intervention on the grounds that it is wholly impractical unless we contemplate the uprooting of whole communities; that it disregards what should be the principal aim of our school system—namely, the provision of quality education for all; and that it contravenes and challenges one of the basic premises of our constitutional system.

That premise is that within a broad framework of law individuals and families shall be free to associate or not to associate, according to their respective and mutual desires. This means that in schooling no less than in other matters we should maintain maximum freedom of choice for whites and blacks alike.

Respect for this voluntary principle may make actual integration of the races a slower process than the forced measures you seem to favor, but it is the only kind of integration worth having. It would be ironic indeed, if in your hot pursuit of integration by Government dictate you destroyed the freedoms to which both black and white legitimately aspire.

JOHN DAVENPORT.

DENHAM SPRINGS, La.,
March 6, 1970.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: You asked me for my opinion on some important things that faces us and the whole U.S.A. First let me identify myself to you I am () age 44 Negro born in Tangphoah Parish reard in Livingston Parish except 14 years in E.B.R.P. 3 year in California. Have never been arrested or no trouble with the law I am a 3d Degree mason married two daughters both married. I moved back to my old home town Denham Springs last year.

And on the schools problem. You know the man who tries to please everybody please noone. Let every child go to school at the closeset School Just tell them if he is in a good school he will have to go there it don't make Sence for a Negro to want to go to a White School if he is getting the same edecation at a all Negro school and just Vice Versus For a White Student. But if he don't take a stand on all of the serous problems and take a firm no Retreat stand it going to get worse and out of hand. And if they would shoot a few of them who Refuse to go into the Army When he is called that would stop that thing including Cassus Clay Both Negro and White, Communism thrive on Division amongst the People in the country Being divided. Let us Support our country ought not forget its peoples of both Races. The Best Way to stop Drugs and Crime is make the Punishment so severe that they will be afralded to use it. Let's the President and all of our officials stop arguing and tring to get Rich and think of the millions Who trust them with their Destineys.

Dear Congressman the U.S.A. beat Japan and Help Beat Jermany to Powful nations 41-45 Why we could not Beat north Korea and Defeat north Vietnam who is much Smaller and Weaker and count the Lives that have been Lost and mained Why potlcial Blundering and Advice.

Let Us Bulld America not Destroy it
Love it or Leave it
Let Freedom Ring

THE EFFECTS OF LIMITATIONS ON THE AVAILABILITY OF CREDIT ON U.S. TRADE WITH THE COMMUNIST BLOC

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Arthur Ross of New York is a respected and knowledgeable member of the international financial community who has contributed much to American positions on international trade and foreign affairs generally. He recently presented a brief paper at the Center of International Studies of New York University in which he outlined the need to remove legal obstacles that stand in the way of

implementing a legal and financial framework of financing arrangements for trade with the Communist bloc. The encouragement of East-West trade "should be an important national goal," Mr. Ross states. Accordingly, I am inserting the full text of his paper in the RECORD at this point for consideration of the Members:

THE EFFECTS OF LIMITATIONS ON THE AVAILABILITY OF CREDIT ON U.S. TRADE WITH THE COMMUNIST BLOC

(By Arthur Ross)

The largest untapped source of greatly increased foreign trade that is available to the United States today lies in the Eastern Bloc countries. The European Communist countries alone make up an educated, disciplined and well organized market of 250 million people. It equals the Common Market in population, and is not far behind it in productivity and consumption. Yet less than 0.6% of American foreign trade is carried on with these countries.

As the credit of the developing countries is stretched ever closer to the breaking point by their great need for capital, and as the U.S. balance of trade deteriorates in the wake of domestic inflation, the Eastern Bloc countries offer an opportunity for expanded American trade that cannot be ignored. The opening is there. The Communist countries have a record of scrupulous fulfillment of their contracts with the West. Business law and business ethics in the Communist world are similar to ours, despite their diametrically opposed ideological and historical bases.

The economic advantages to both parties of increased East-West trade would almost certainly be accompanied by political advantages. Trade promotes familiarity and interdependence. It has a powerful softening effect on political differences. It tends to promote cultural interchange and to encourage that mutual respect which generates a favorable atmosphere for easing conflicts and negotiating agreements. The writer presents this brief review of the crippling effects on East-West trade of the limitations of credit available to finance that trade against the background of his strong belief that the encouragement of such trade should be an important national goal.

Practically all trade involves credit arrangements, and without such arrangements it will advance little beyond the level of barter. International trade involves difficulties and risks that make credit to either the buyer or seller or both and some kind of insurance to the seller almost essential. The major reasons for this are that there is usually a long time between the beginning and end of an international transaction during which circumstances may change and the fact that that change of circumstance may well only affect one of the parties, or will affect them quite differently. The risks are well known: insolvency of one party; devaluation; confiscation; war; revolution; changes in import regulations; and loss or damage to goods in transit. The longer the time during which the transaction takes place, the greater the risk, so all of these factors bear most acutely on the export of specially ordered and manufactured capital goods.

In addition, and again particularly with capital goods, the buyer wants to defer payment. Where he has a choice of buying a piece of equipment for cash or for payment over a number of years, there is little doubt which he will buy.

To meet these needs, all governments, I believe without exception, have set up agencies that will either grant credit directly to exporters or will rediscount a major part of the credit granted by banks or other private financial institutions to exporters. They have also established official or quasi-official agen-

cies to insure credits granted in export negotiations. In the U. S. these functions are performed by the Export-Import Bank and the Foreign Credit Insurance Association. Long-term credits are usually granted by the Agency for International Development on sales to developing countries, and such credits are usually extended to the buyer rather than the seller.

Financing is such an important competitive tool in promoting exports that the major industrial countries, through the Berne Union, have set up rules limiting the amount of government-supported financing. Recommendations of the Union are not binding on member governments and are, in fact, often ignored.

Among major industrial nations of the Free World, only the U.S. has formal legislation differentiating between the credit available for exports to Communist countries from others. This legislation is more severe than is generally realized. In the first place, no government agency may participate in any credit being extended to a buyer in a Communist country. Secondly, a provision of the Johnson Act of 1934 forbids any person or corporation "within the United States" to make a loan to a foreign government or any organization or association acting in behalf of a foreign government where such government is in default in its payments of any debts to the U.S. In 1963, the Attorney General, in response to a request for clarification from the Acting Secretary of State, wrote that the Act did not appear to prevent sales made on a deferred payment basis since such sale did not constitute the making of a loan. However, the Attorney General cautioned that credits extended beyond normal commercial terms might constitute a loan and be prohibited under the Act. He did not define the point at which a normal commercial term became long enough to constitute a loan. Under these conditions, private credit is available to exporters to the Soviet Union and other Communist countries in default on only a short-term basis. And, in practice, nearly all U.S. trade with Communist countries is financed by letter of credit, where the buyer gets none of the advantages of deferred payment.

It is not hard to foresee the consequences of such a situation. The following figures are for 1968.

[U.S. dollars in billions]

	Total foreign trade	Trade with Communist Bloc countries	Dollars of foreign trade with Communist countries (percent)
United States.....	\$67.1	\$0.415	0.5
United Kingdom.....	34.3	1.4	4.0
France.....	22.8	1.1	4.8
West Germany.....	50.2	3.0	5.9
Japan.....	26.0	4.1	15.8

It is clear from these figures that liberalizing the availability of credit alone will not bring trade with the Communist countries to a level commensurate with the over-all economies of those countries. Only Japan has succeeded in approaching this level, and it has done so because of its substantial trade with China (\$550 million) and because it has, for the past two years, run a trade deficit with the USSR of about \$285 million. Its trade deficit with the Eastern Bloc as a whole in 1968 was \$660 million.

For the most part, Communist countries have kept their exports and imports with individual countries remarkably closely in balance every year. This unilateral approach to foreign trade is a barrier to trade growth that credit will not overcome. But the situation is changing.

INCREASE IN TRADE WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES,
1965-68

[Dollars in millions]

	1968	1965	Percent increase
United States.....	415	279	49
United Kingdom.....	1,357	1,248	9
France.....	1,070	677	59
West Germany.....	2,948	2,205	33
Japan.....	4,125	2,780	48

Though the U.S. shows a percentage gain that compares favorably, the dollar increase of \$136 million is not impressive. If we are to partake in the expansion of trade that a more liberal Communist attitude is leading to we will need a legal and institutional framework of financing arrangements to help American exporters compete with those of other countries. The framework is there, on both a private and a public level. All that is needed is to remove the legal obstacles that exclude trade with the Communist countries from its operation. Those obstacles were enacted at a time when the world political situation was far different than it is today. Even when they were imposed, it is doubtful that they served the best interests of the United States, either economically or politically. Today they look like emotional anachronisms. The liberalized Trade Bill passed two weeks ago gives hope that their life expectancy may be short.

THE POWER OF THE OIL LOBBY

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on October 21, 1969, I took the floor of this House to warn against a determined effort on the part of lobbyists for the major oil companies to discredit the work of the professional staff of the Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 115, part 23, page 30868.

More recently the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. MCINTYRE) has referred to their success in creating what he called the "Secret Government of Oil."

I want to call to the attention of my colleagues today, a recent excellent article in the New York Times Magazine of March 8, 1970, by Mr. Erwin Knoll. It documents a most disturbing picture of the disproportionate political power of the oil barons and their special pleaders. Mr. Knoll concludes that there is little evidence that the power of this interest group has in any way diminished.

For those of us who have been struggling for years to put an end to the inequitable oil import program, so costly to the consumer, I regret that there is little basis for disputing his conclusion. The President's failure to accept his task force recommendation for immediate liberalization of imports was a deep disappointment.

Even more distressing was today's announcement placing an import quota on previously unrestricted Canadian oil imports. The President's own task force was unanimous in acknowledging that no foreign source is more secure.

Mr. Speaker, it remains to be seen whether recent events foreshadow the death of oil import reform. In any event, for all of us who will continue this battle for the consumer, I suggest it is well to know the nature of our adversaries. The article which follows does this job admirably:

THE OIL LOBBY IS NOT DEPLETED

(By Erwin Knoll)

WASHINGTON.—On Thursday evening, Nov. 6, 1969, the Governors of three states met over a quiet dinner at the Tavern Club in Washington with Frank N. Ikard, a former Texas Congressman who is now president of the American Petroleum Institute, the trade association of the nation's largest oil companies. There is no public record of what the four men discussed, although—by coincidence or otherwise—the same three Governors and a fourth were at the White House early the next morning to urge the Nixon Administration to retain the 11-year-old system of oil-import quotas, which costs consumers more than \$5-billion a year in higher prices for petroleum products.

The Tavern Club tête-à-tête and the subsequent White House session are examples of the close and continuing contacts between oil and politics—an intimate relationship that has prompted some critics to describe the oil industry as "the fourth branch of government." In recent months those contacts have intensified, for the industry's privileged status is being attacked with unprecedented ferocity. Under the benign patronage of such influential figures as the late Senator Robert Kerr of Oklahoma, who rejoiced in being known as "the uncrowned king of the Senate"; the late House Speaker, Sam Rayburn of Texas; the late Senate Minority Leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, and former President Johnson—all of whom shared a profound and undisguised commitment to the industry's welfare—the petroleum producers enjoyed decades of virtually limitless power in Washington. Their strength probably still surpasses that of any other special-interest group. But with the departure of their most prominent and effective champions, their critics are for the first time emerging as a force to be reckoned with.

In one of the few genuine, although limited, reforms to survive the byzantine machinations that produced the final version of the Tax Reform Act of 1969, both houses of Congress voted decisively to reduce the sacrosanct oil-depletion allowance from 27.5 per cent to 22 per cent. The reduction—acquiesced in by a reluctant executive branch—constituted an acknowledgement that many Americans had come to regard depletion as the most flagrantly objectionable abuse in the loophole-riddled tax code.

In a statement that some of his colleagues thought was tinged with exaggeration, Senator Thomas J. McIntyre of New Hampshire declared that the vote to cut the depletion allowance signified that the Senate had "once and for all rejected its role as the bastion of the oil industry." The Senator was among those who had unsuccessfully sought a more drastic reduction to 20 per cent. "But the important thing," he said, "is that we have finally made a crack in oil's protective shield. If others develop in the days to come, American consumers and taxpayers may yet get a fair shake at the hands of this much-pampered industry."

The depletion allowance, which stood in violation for more than four decades, has allowed an oil or gas company to deduct 27.5 per cent of its gross income from its taxable income, providing the deduction does not exceed 50 per cent of taxable income. With lesser depletion percentages provided for almost 100 other mineral products, depletion

has cost the Treasury about \$1.3-billion a year in lost revenues—a sum comparable to the "inflationary" spending increments that President Nixon cited as the reason for vetoing the Labor-H.E.W. appropriations bill for fiscal 1970. Special provisions in the tax laws also permit oil and gas producers to deduct many of their intangible costs for exploration, drilling and development, including off-shore drilling and production in many foreign countries. And oil companies are allowed to deduct against their United States taxes most of the royalties they pay to foreign powers—an arrangement cloaked in the convenient fiction that such royalty payments are "taxes."

The result of these privileges, according to Treasury Department calculations, is that oil and gas companies save in taxes 19 times their original investment for the average well. In 1968, American oil companies paid less than 8 per cent of their income in taxes, compared with more than 40 per cent for all corporations.

Clearly, the tax laws have played an important part in making the oil industry the formidable economic and political force it is. The industry's annual sales total more than \$60-billion. Among the 2,250 largest American companies surveyed last April by the Economic Newsletter of the First National City Bank of New York, the 99 oil companies alone accounted for more than 25 per cent of the total profits. The industry's average profit of 9 per cent (based on net sales) is about double the average for all manufacturing companies; only one other industry—drugs—maintains a higher profit level. The 20 largest oil companies amassed profits of \$8.1-billion in 1968 and paid 7.7 per cent of the net in taxes, according to U.S. Oil Week, an independent oil-marketing publication. Thanks to the generosity of the tax laws, one oil company—Atlantic-Richfield—avoided all Federal tax payments from 1964 to 1967, and actually managed to accumulate a Federal tax credit of \$629,000 while earning profits of \$465-million. Atlantic-Richfield's case is not unique.

A tax structure that lends itself to such egregious inequity is obviously worth defending. In Washington (and at state capitals across the country) the industry's interests are served by a costly and complex but closely coordinated lobbying apparatus. Among its principal components are these groups:

The American Petroleum Institute, whose membership roster of 400 companies and 8,000 individuals represents about 85 per cent of the total production, refining and marketing volume in the oil and gas industry. Despite its broad membership, A.P.I. is regarded as primarily the spokesman for the "Big Seven"—Standard Oil of New Jersey, Mobil, Shell, Standard Oil of Indiana, Texaco, Gulf and Standard Oil of California. Among these, Standard of New Jersey is the dominant force.

The institute's annual budget is a closely guarded secret, and its quarterly reports to the clerk of the House of Representatives on lobbying expenditures are incredibly modest—a total of \$39,119 for 1968. Industry sources report that the institute spends between \$5-million and \$10-million a year, much of it for "research." It has a staff of more than 250 at offices in New York, Washington, Los Angeles and Dallas.

The chief A.P.I. lobbyist is former Congressman Ikard, who represented Wichita Falls, Tex., from 1952 to 1961 and was a protégé of the late Speaker Rayburn. When he resigned from the House to join the institute—a move that he said was "a question of economics"—Ikard was praised by Lyndon Johnson, then Vice President, as "a heavy thinker and a heavy doer." Under his direction, says a Congressional source, the institute has been "a pace and precedent set-

ter . . . vigorously seeking to adapt its positions and attitudes to the wave of the future."

The Independent Petroleum Association of America, with some 5,000 members representing about 60 per cent of the independent oil producers. Its "experts"—a professional staff of six operating out of an impressive Washington office suite—were highly visible among the oil men who flitted in and out of the back door to the Senate Finance Committee's offices while the committee, in sessions closed to the public, considered the oil provisions of the Tax Reform Act. The immediate past president of the association, Harold M. McClure, the Republican National Committeeman from Michigan, has acknowledged making "personal" campaign contributions totaling \$90,000 in 1968. He recently testified before a Federal grand jury investigating allegations of political bribery.

The same Congressional source who admires the A.P.I. for its flexibility describes the Independent Petroleum Association as "sticking to the traditional line that the existing state of oil privileges is essential to the national defense and must remain sacrosanct."

The National Petroleum Refiners Association, composed of domestic refining companies and representing about 90 per cent of the refinery production in the United States. Donald O'Hara, the association's executive vice president, was formerly a registered lobbyist for the Petroleum Institute, with which he maintains close liaison.

The Independent Natural Gas Association of America, representing major pipeline companies. Its executive director is a former Texas Representative, Walter E. Rogers. He served in Congress as Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Communications and Power, which handles gas-pipeline legislation. He gave up his Congressional seat in 1966 and registered as a lobbyist in 1967 to represent 12 pipeline companies in a vigorous—and successful—effort to water down a pending bill that would have established strict Federal safety standards for the nation's 800,000 miles of gas pipelines.

A formidable array of regional and state groups—among them the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, the Western Oil and Gas Association, the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association and the Kansas Independent Oil and Gas Association—augments the national contingent. Executives of these organizations are frequent visitors to Washington, and they can draw on the talents of the capital's most prestigious law firms for missions of special delicacy. Individual companies also mount their own lobbying efforts; John Knodell, a genial and knowledgeable lawyer who worked the Congressional beat until recently for Humble Oil, was credited with establishing a new beachhead for the industry in the last year or two by opening lines of communication with liberal members of the House and Senate. He is now assigned to Humble's legal department in Houston.

By pooling their efforts, the companies are able to marshal formidable forces. In the carefully orchestrated campaign against reducing the depletion rate, for instance, one concern urged all its stockholders to write to members of Congress; another focused on mobilizing its retired employees; a third concentrated on service-station operators; a fourth sent brochures to its credit-card holders. The companies claimed all these efforts as deductible business expenses, but the Internal Revenue Service is, at the request of Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin, examining those claims.

Instances of disarray in the ranks of oil are relatively rare—and when they occur, the dominant companies usually manage to muffle the dissenters. Last year, the small independent producers in the Kansas Independent Oil and Gas Association broke ranks

to support a proposal by Senator Proxmire that would have instituted a system of scaled depletion allowances—a plan emphatically resisted by the majors. The Kansas oilmen were unable to persuade even their own state's Senator to support the Proxmire plan. When two executives of the Kansas group flew to Washington to enlist one Senator's assistance, he kept them waiting in an outer office while a representative of Standard Oil of Indiana delivered the pitch for retaining full depletion. "The local boys just don't understand the situation," the Senator later said.

Depletion and tax preferences are hardly the only—or even the most significant—prerequisites the industry is eager to protect. In fact, some Congressional critics suspect that oilmen were not entirely displeased when Congress voted to reduce the depletion allowance, since they hope that this action will ease the pressures against other oil privileges now under attack.

Chief among such privileges is the import-quota system—the topic the four Governors took to the White House on Nov. 7. Their meeting took place in the office of Peter Flanagan, a Presidential assistant who has special responsibility for financial affairs and who serves as the President's staff expert on oil. The Governors present, representing the Interstate Oil Compact Commission,* were Preston Smith of Texas, Robert B. Docking of Kansas, Stanley K. Hathaway of Wyoming and Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois; they brought with them telegrams of support from the chief executives of 13 other states. Among the Administration officials assembled to hear the Governors' views were Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz, who heads President Nixon's Task Force on Oil Import Control, and several key members of the task force—Secretary of the Treasury David M. Kennedy, Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel and Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans.

"This meeting," Senator Proxmire told the Senate on Nov. 17, "was clearly the result of a planned campaign of pressure by the oil industry through the Interstate Oil Compact Commission. Even a cursory examination of the telegrams from the Governors who could not attend the meeting shows they are almost all in identical language. . . ."

"The pressure on the Governors must have been fierce. The most interesting example of this is a telegram sent (by the State Commissioner of Conservation and Natural Resources) on behalf of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York. The telegram assures the White House that Governor Rockefeller supports oil-import quotas, though Mayor Lindsay has shown that the quotas cost New York City consumers a minimum of \$95-million a year in increased prices and that the cost might go as high, just for New York City, as a quarter of a billion dollars."

Whether Governor Rockefeller was, in fact, subjected to "fierce pressure" is problematic; as a member of a family that founded its fortune on Standard Oil, he is presumably not entirely unsympathetic to the industry's point of view. But Senator Proxmire's reference to a "planned campaign of pressure" in behalf of the import-quota system was no exaggeration.

About the time the oil-state Governors were meeting at the White House with members of the President's task force, Michael L. Haider, the retired chairman of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) and retiring chairman of the American Petroleum Institute, had a private audience with President Nixon.

*The Interstate Oil Compact Commission is supposedly charged with one responsibility, conserving oil and gas within the continental United States. In theory it has nothing to do with the oil-import program, but it has engaged in heavy lobbying for retention of the quota system.

He emerged, according to the industry's trade journal, *The Oil Daily*, "feeling more optimistic about the handling of petroleum-industry problems in Washington." After a "very good conversation" with the President, the report said, Haider "believes Nixon has a good grasp of the problems surrounding oil-import controls and is more confident that the outcome will be favorable."

In the same interview, Haider offered a glimpse of the relative equanimity with which the industry viewed the reduction in the depletion allowance. "Of course we can live with the new taxes," he said. "We obviously aren't going out of business." The Petroleum Institute has estimated that the Tax Reform Act will cost the industry \$550-million to \$600-million a year.

The import-quota system, on the other hand, has been estimated by reputable economists to be worth between \$5.2-billion and \$7.2-billion a year. Using the more conservative projection of the quota system's cost, experts have calculated that the average family of four in New York State pays an excess of \$102.32 a year for gasoline and heating oil. In Vermont, a family of four pays an additional \$195.92. The comparable figure for Wyoming is \$258.

President Eisenhower established the oil-import-quota system on March 10, 1959, as a "national security" measure designed to reduce American reliance on foreign petroleum production. In taking this step, Sherman Adams recalls in his memoirs of the Eisenhower Administration, "the President had to go against the principles that he had fought for in his foreign-trade policy." According to Adams, the departure was made necessary by "the unpredictable human factor . . . the men who headed two large oil-importing companies that refused to join in voluntary restraints and to heed the warning of the Government of what would happen if they failed to do so. Oil was coming into the United States from foreign fields at such a rate that the American oil-producing centers were being forced into desperate straits." Adams, who served as "deputy President" in the early Eisenhower years, candidly dismisses the notion that the national security was at stake: "The imposing of import quotas on oil was primarily an economic decision brought about by an economic emergency, but the action . . . was based upon security considerations in accordance with the law."

The quota system restricts the entry of cheap foreign crude oil to 12.2 per cent of domestic production in states east of the Rockies. (The quota does not apply in the Western states because even a maximum rate of domestic production there cannot meet the demand.) The system operates in tandem with state laws that closely regulate month-to-month oil production on the basis of demand estimates furnished by the major producers. The effect is to assure domestic companies of a demand for all production, and to push up the cost to American consumers. A barrel of Middle Eastern oil can be landed in New York harbor for about \$1.50 less than a barrel of domestic oil of the same quality.

"Import quotas have been instituted in order to insulate the domestic oil market from the challenge of foreign competition," Prof. Walter J. Mead, an economist at the University of California at Santa Barbara, told the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee last spring. "Given this barrier of free entry into the United States market, the price of crude oil in the United States is approximately double the free-market world price." During the first half of 1969, Professor Mead said, Japan paid an average of \$1.42 a barrel for Middle Eastern crude oil. The American price for a similar grade of crude was \$3 a barrel.

A Department of the Interior study made

public on Jan. 16, 1969—and challenged by some economists as too conservative—found that the removal of import quotas would cause a 95-cent-a-barrel decline in the price of crude oil east of the Rockies. John M. Blair, the Senate subcommittee's chief economist, estimates that the quotas "have cost the American public \$40-billion to \$70-billion in the last 10 years."

Among the quota system's bizarre by-products is a complex of exceptions and evasions designed to suit the oil industry. In the interests of "national security," for example, Canadian oil imports, which can be shipped overland to the United States, are curtailed, while no limitation is placed on tanker shipments from Texas and Louisiana. Senator Russell Long of Louisiana, who has inherited Senator Kerr's mantle as the Capitol's chief spokesman for oil, once defended the Canadian restriction by invoking the likelihood of war between the United States and its neighbor to the north.

Another odd and costly arrangement exacts about \$14-million a year from Hawaiian consumers because oil shipped to their state from Indonesia and Venezuela is refined in Hawaii, but priced as though it had been refined from more expensive domestic crude on the West Coast, then shipped to Hawaii in American vessels, which traditionally collect a top dollar for their services. "It seems hard to understand," said Prof. Morris A. Adelman, an M.I.T. economist, during the Senate hearings last spring. "If I looked into it, maybe I would find it even harder to understand."

Consumers and their Congressional spokesmen, however—no matter how loud their complaints against the quota system—can claim only modest credit for the current assault. The Presidential task force whose work has worried the industry and preoccupied its lobbyists in recent months came into being as a result of competitive pressures among the companies themselves, which prompted some major producers to seek special Federal benefits under the quota system. The first important breach in the system came when the Johnson Administration granted quotas to a Phillips Petroleum refinery in Puerto Rico and a Hess Oil refinery in the Virgin Islands. Then Occidental Petroleum, a relatively small but aggressive company, discovered vast oil pools in Libya and decided to seek increased access to the restricted American market by requesting a 100,000-barrel-a-day quota for a refinery to be built in a proposed foreign-trade zone at Machiasport, Me. To New Englanders, Occidental promised a reduction of at least 10 per cent in the swollen cost of home heating oil. To the major producers, however, Occidental's request raised the threat of a series of "Machiasports" around the country, dissolution of the import-quota system and substantial reductions in profits.

Confronted with strong and conflicting pressures, the Johnson Administration fumbled indecisively with the Machiasport application during its last year in office, then passed the problem on to its successor. On Feb. 5, 1969, Chairman Halder and President Ikard of the American Petroleum Institute proposed to Dr. Arthur F. Burns, the President's principal economic adviser, that a Presidential task force be appointed to review the quota system. Their intent, it seems clear, was to block the Machiasport project, but surprisingly the task force took on some aspects of a runaway grand jury. The industry has not recovered from the shock.

In a forceful submission to the task force, the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice challenged the major rationale for the quota system, arguing that "the import quotas themselves do nothing to preserve this nation's domestic oil reserves. Reserve productive capacity is maintained, if at all, by state regulatory action aimed primarily at other objectives, such as conservation. The resulting hodgepodge of Federal and

state regulation seems ill-adapted for achievement of a coherent program designed to provide this country with sufficient emergency oil reserves." The import program, the Antitrust Division also noted, "is a keystone in preserving a dual price system as between the United States and the rest of the free world. By insulating the domestic market from the competitive pressures of world oil prices, the program intensifies the effects of the existing lack of competitive vigor in various domestic oil markets."

Under the direction of Prof. Phillip Areeda, a Harvard economist, the task-force staff compiled what is generally regarded as a full, fair and thorough record (although some industry sources passed the word that the staff was dominated by a most dangerous element—"theoretical economists"). In assembling detailed position papers and rebuttals, the staff shunned *ex parte* contacts with the ubiquitous oil lobbyists and withstood formidable pressures, including a telegram from Representative Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, the Chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, who warned Professor Areeda against "tinkering with the matter of oil imports."

In its final report, the task-force staff found that the quota system has serious disadvantages, including "the hazards of fallible judgment, combined with the ever-present risks of corruption." These factors, the staff concluded, "counsel strongly in favor of getting the Government out of the allocation business as rapidly and as completely as possible." The staff recommended scrapping quotas in favor of a preferential tariff system for oil that would produce about \$700-million a year in new Federal revenues and reduce prices by about 30 cents a barrel—a quarter to a third of the price reduction that might be realized by the total elimination of oil-import controls. Under a probable tariff schedule, consumers might save a cent or two on a gallon of gasoline and about a cent on a gallon of heating oil.

Such a reduction would have a measurable counterinflationary effect. According to Paul W. McCracken, the chairman of President Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, "with annual consumption on the order of 80 billion gallons, a 2-cent cut at retail would translate into a reduction of about \$1.6-billion in the total national bill for gasoline. Such a cut would be equivalent to a reduction of approximately 6 per cent in the average retail price."

The task force held its last full meeting in December, and a majority—five of the seven members, led by Secretary of Labor Shultz—was prepared to accept the staff's conclusions. The two dissenters were Secretary of the Interior Hickel and Secretary of Commerce Stans, who insisted, in what several participants have described as an angry confrontation, on retention of the quota system.

Present for the first time at a meeting of the task force was Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who emphatically told Secretary Shultz, "Don't box the President in." Some of those present interpreted the remark as a Presidential request for the retention of quotas. Following Mitchell's appeal, the task force tempered its recommendations, though it reached the basic conclusion that quotas should be scrapped in favor of a tariff schedule.

The broad conclusions of the task-force report leaked out before it was officially made public, and the oil industry lost no time in stepping up its efforts to win friends and influence people. For many weeks it bombarded Congress and the White House with demands that the quota system be retained.

A retired oil executive who maintains close contact with the industry reported in a confidential memorandum early in February that representatives of the Independent Petroleum Association had made "quite an impres-

sion" in a meeting with Flanigan and Bryce Harlow, another Presidential aide. The memo continues: "Theme was—oil revenues are key to the prosperity and state budgets, such as schools (over 90 per cent in Louisiana), of the oil-producing states. Stall any decision until after the election and in this way the Republican party can capture the Senate. This policy will assure Republican Senators' election in questionable states of Alaska, California, Wyoming, New Mexico and Texas. Harlow assured the group that the President is well aware of all the facts and will act to the best interests of the country."

Even more reassuring to the industry was a report published Feb. 6 by Platt's Oilgram News Service, an "inside" newsletter for the industry, based on an interview with a "high Administration official known to be opposed" to the task-force majority's tariff recommendation. The official, whom industry sources identify as Interior Secretary Hickel, said he was convinced the Administration would not permit "anything drastic" to happen to oil imports.

Secretary Hickel's prediction proved accurate. When the 4000-page task-force report, with its recommendation that the quota system be abolished, was released by the White House on Feb. 20, it was accompanied by a Presidential announcement that no "major" change would be ordered now.

The President thanked the task-force members and staff for their "devoted and discerning effort," then announced the formation of a new Oil Policy Committee to conduct further studies. The only task-force member missing from the new group is Secretary Shultz, the original body's most vigorous critic of the quota system. He was replaced by Attorney General Mitchell, who presumably will see to it that the President is not boxed in.

Understandably, the Petroleum Institute thought the President's action was "encouraging," while the Independent Petroleum Association declared that the move should "reassure consumers as to future supplies of both oil and natural gas at reasonable prices."

Meanwhile, the industry is reappraising its pressure tactics, assessing its past mistakes and preparing for such future battles as the developing national crusade against automotive pollution. Former Congressman Ikard predicts "a pretty substantial change" in the industry's expensive image-building program. "We aren't dedicated to anything we are doing simply because we have been doing it," he says. An industry committee headed by Howard Hardesty, senior vice president of Continental Oil, has been conducting an intensive study of oil's public-relations efforts.

In a speech last fall that attracted sympathetic attention in the industry—it was reprinted in full in *The Oil Daily*—Michel T. Halbouty, a Houston oil producer, engineer, banker and former president of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, complained that the industry's trade associations had "simply failed to inform and educate the public properly."

"Frankly," Halbouty said, "all of us look it for granted that our little red house would never be blown down by those howling wolves. So we find ourselves behind the eight ball. We now see depletion being hammered down. We see serious attacks being made on other incentives. The mandatory import program is in trouble . . . The shortcoming in our own case has been a lack of communication with the people who really count in this country—the people who vote."

"We have done little to tell the history of oil and gas or the industry of the men who have made it. We have said little about how this industry ignited and sustained the age of liquid fuel and thereby helped lift the shackles of toil from labor. . . . We simply haven't put this information out properly, without wrapping it in a package which had

the sign 'support depletion' on the outside. The people would automatically support depletion if they knew what our industry means to them."

From a Washington perspective, Halbouty's apprehensions seem overblown, or at least premature. While the industry's critics are increasingly outspoken and have tasted a few small victories, they have also been subjected to large defeats. Though some of oil's most stalwart champions have been removed by the process of attrition, others remain, steadfast and loyal, in Congress and in the executive branch. Despite a few cracks in the solid front the industry was long able to maintain in its lobbying effort, it remains a potent force in the capital.

When the American Petroleum Institute convened in Houston in November, Administration officials on hand to deliver speeches included Treasury Secretary Kennedy, Interior Under Secretary Russell E. Train and John N. Nassikas, the new chairman of the Federal Power Commission. A few days later Interior Secretary Hickel, whose department has broad jurisdiction over matters of importance to the oil industry, was in Houston to inspect offshore drilling rigs and hold private conversations with industry leaders.

Hickel, the former Governor of Alaska whose intimate ties to oil were the subject of stormy confirmation hearings when he was named to the Cabinet, seemed for a time to fall short of the industry's glowing expectations. Mindful of his vulnerability to conflict-of-interest allegations, he appeared determined to stress his independence of the industry. When an offshore oil blowout in the Santa Barbara channel became a national pollution scandal, the Secretary issued relatively stringent controls on drilling procedures, and oilmen complained of official "overkill." Such industry complaints are no longer heard in Washington, however, and Mr. Hickel seems to have dropped his guard. It was reported recently that an Alaska investment firm owned by the Secretary and his wife and managed by his brother, Vernon, had received a \$1-billion contract to build an addition to the building in which Atlantic-Richfield maintains its Anchorage headquarters.

President Nixon, too, was well acquainted with leading oil producers long before Michael Haider paid his cordial call at the White House in November. California oilmen were prominent contributors to the Nixon personal-expense fund that erupted into headlines during the 1952 Presidential campaign. In Congress, Mr. Nixon was a reliable supporter of such oil measures as the tidelands bill, which divested the Federal Government of the offshore petroleum reserves. As Vice President, Nixon worked closely with Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson in 1956 to block a sweeping inquiry into disclosures by the late Senator Francis Case of South Dakota that he had been offered a \$2,500 bribe for his vote in behalf of a bill to exempt natural-gas producers from Federal regulation. The law firm with which Nixon was associated before his 1968 candidacy had its share of oil clients, and oilmen—including president Robert O. Anderson of rapidly growing Atlantic-Richfield—ranked high among contributors to Nixon's Presidential campaign.

No one knows precisely—or even approximately—how much money oil pours into politics, though experts on campaign financing agree that the industry outspends all others. Official reporting requirements, which divulge only the tip of the iceberg, indicate that executives of oil companies and trade associations can be counted on for hundreds of thousands of dollars in contributions during Presidential campaigns—the bulk of it (except in 1964) to Republican candidates. The role of oil money in House and Senate campaigns is even more obscure, although

occasional disclosures such as the 1956 charge of a bribe attempt and the more recent investigations of former Senate Majority Secretary Robert G. Baker indicate that money is easily—and bipartisanly—available to legislators who can be counted on to vote the industry's way. Baker, whose Senate mentors were Robert Kerr of Oklahoma and Lyndon Johnson of Texas, served as both collector and distributor of oil contributions funneled through the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee in the late nineteen-fifties and early sixties.

Periodic disclosures of political bribery, which have a remarkably transitory effect on public opinion and political morality, are probably less significant than the day-in, day-out "legitimate" relations between Congress and the powerful oil industry. As Robert Engler observed in "The Politics of Oil," a classic study: "The spotlight here belongs more on lawmakers and respectable men with bulging brown briefcases entering the portals of government than on lawbreakers and ruffian men with little black bags using side entrances of hotels. Government policy on oil has increasingly become indistinguishable from the private policies of oil. . . ."

For some lawmakers, of course, the wheel of self-interest need not be oiled, even by political contributions. The late Senator Kerr, who held a ranking position on the Finance Committee in the nineteen-fifties and early sixties and was always available to the oil industry was simply advancing his own cause as a substantial shareholder in Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc. "Why, hell," he said, "if everyone abstained from voting on grounds of personal interest, I doubt if you could get a quorum in the United States Senate on any subject."

Senator Long, who now presides over the Finance Committee and the loyal oil contingent on Capitol Hill, shares his illustrious predecessor's view. "Most of my income is from oil and gas," he says. "I don't regard it as any conflict of interest. My state produces more oil and gas per acre than any state in the Union. If I didn't represent the oil and gas industry, I wouldn't represent the state of Louisiana."

According to records of the Louisiana Mineral Board, Senator Long has received income of \$1,196,915 since 1964 from his interests in four state oil and gas leases, and almost \$330,000 of that income has been exempt from Federal income taxes because of the oil-depletion allowance. The Senator is also a trustee of family trusts that have collected \$961,443 from holdings in state leases since 1964; and he has an interest in at least seven private leases whose royalty reports are not available for public scrutiny.

Few of his colleagues can match Senator Long's oil holdings, but many share his solicitous concern for the industry's welfare. Among those on whom the oil moguls can generally count for unstinting support are Senators John G. Tower of Texas, Gordon Allott of Colorado, Clifford P. Hansen of Wyoming, Henry L. Bellmon of Oklahoma, Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska, Robert J. Dole of Kansas, Peter H. Dominick of Colorado, Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, Theodore F. Stevens of Alaska, George Murphy of California and Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota.

Most—but not all—of oil's fast friends in the Senate are staunch conservatives. Nonetheless, such liberal heroes as J. William Fulbright of Arkansas and Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota can usually be counted on to see oil's side. When a crucial vote on depletion came up in the Senate Finance Committee last fall and resulted in an eight-to-eight tie, Senator McCarthy, a member of the committee, was in a New York restaurant autographing copies of his book on the 1968 campaign, which includes a stern rebuttal of charges that he has favored the oil interests.

McCarthy, who voted consistently against

oil privileges during most of his first Senate term, cast his first vote in favor of depletion in 1964 and has generally favored the industry's positions since. There were published reports in 1968 that he had raised about \$40,000 for his Presidential campaign in one day at the Petroleum Club in Houston.

Senator Fulbright's unwavering loyalty to his state's oil and gas interests is perhaps more understandable, but he has occasionally carried it beyond mere routine support. When Senator Case of South Dakota disclosed the attempt to buy votes for the 1956 natural-gas bill, Fulbright accused him of being "irresponsible"; to jeopardize passage of the bill was "inexcusable," Fulbright explained.

In the House, the Ways and Means Committee, which writes the nation's tax laws, still has the essential make-up decreed for it by the late Speaker Rayburn, whose policy was to interview all candidates for assignment to the committee on issues relating to oil. (Former President Johnson exercised the same kind of control over the Senate Finance Committee in his days as Majority Leader.) Among those who passed Mr. Rayburn's test was former Congressman Ikard, who now serves as the industry's lobbyist in chief. With rare exceptions, the full House delegations from Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana serve as the hard core of the oil bloc.

Those legislators who are not irrevocably committed to oil's interests can count on frequent, cordial contacts with the army of lobbyists the industry maintains in the capital. One aide to a Senator who is active in legislative matters affecting oil reports that he receives about 20 calls and several visits a day from industry spokesmen. Written communication is rare.

And the oil lobbyists are doing more than socializing during those visits on Capitol Hill. As soon as the thrust of the task-force report on import quotas became clear, they moved decisively to protect the quota system. Already scheduled are two Congressional committee inquiries designed to attack the task force's recommendations. In the House, the Interior Subcommittee on Mines and Mining plans an investigation of the "national security aspects" of the quota system under the direction of Representative Ed Edmondson of Oklahoma. "He is a Congressman representing an oil-producing and refining state," one of Edmondson's aides explains. "He feels the smaller independent operator gets squeezed first in this kind of issue." In the Senate, a planned investigation will, from the industry's point of view, be in equally reliable hands—those of Senator Long.

In his announcement that he would not immediately implement the task-force report, President Nixon said he expected that such Congressional hearings would produce "much additional valuable information."

As they make their cordial way through the corridors of the Capitol, the oil lobbyists complain that things just haven't been going right lately. Some predict the most drastic consequences—not just for the industry but for the nation—if the quota system is scrapped.

But they don't really look very worried. The well is not about to run dry.

CHARLES J. ZINN

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 10, 1970, the Committee on the Judiciary adopted the following reso-

lution in tribute to the memory of Charles J. Zinn, law revision counsel, who died suddenly on March 5, 1970. In keeping with the resolution, I herewith insert the text:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, Charles J. Zinn, having passed away on Thursday, March 5, 1970; and

Whereas, Charles J. Zinn was employed by this Committee in the capacity of Law Revision Counsel for the past twenty-three years; and

Whereas, Charles J. Zinn served as Law Revision Counsel with the Law Revision Committee from 1939 to 1947 before its incorporation into this Committee; and

Whereas, Charles J. Zinn served this Committee with the highest degree of professionalism and as a dedicated public servant.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that this Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives expresses herein its sorrow at the passing of Charles J. Zinn and offers this Resolution in tribute to his memory; and

Be it further resolved that this Resolution be spread upon the minutes of this Committee and a copy thereof sent to his wife, Mrs. Ethel Zinn; and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be inserted in the Congressional Record.

**THE UPHILL FIGHT AGAINST
PORNOGRAPHY**

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished American appeared on last January 28 before a judiciary subcommittee of this House and made a statement of exceptional significance. It is an affirmation, I believe, which should be known and applauded by the Members of the House and by all citizens who believe in decency in American life.

Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, told Judiciary Subcommittee No. 3 at hearings on antiobscenity bills of a personal campaign in which he is engaged, in these words:

One of the campaigns I am embarking on in the interest, I think, of the public and in the long-range best interests of the responsible film industry, is to urge exhibitors and important theater chains throughout the country not to play the so-called skin-flicks in their neighborhood community houses and in their top-run, first-quality houses downtown.

You can't run a voyeur theater one day and a family theater the next day.

The responsible leaders of the motion picture industry are not going to allow this medium to be tarnished if we can avoid it. I am not going to cease, whatever the cost, to fight for self-regulation and self-restraint. I am going to condemn tastelessness no matter where it comes from or who cashes in on it.

Now, it would surely appear to Members of the House that Mr. Valenti's campaign deserves praise, not censure, and warrants support, not attack.

But let me relate a sequel.

Mr. Valenti and two other prominent leaders in American motion pictures on February 9 were named as defendants in a \$30,000,000 damage suit in Federal

court in Los Angeles by the distributor of a "skin-flick." The picture, made in and imported from Denmark, is heralded in its own advertising in this fashion:

It is only now, with the legalization of pornography in Denmark, that this movie could be made. This is the first film to enter the U.S. from Denmark since its liberalization of permissiveness!

That surely says a lot about the picture.

Mr. Speaker, can any fair- and decent-minded American believe that this lawsuit reflects other than arrogance and contempt for the American public? It is an obvious and crude retaliatory attempt to silence a voice for decency.

As Members of this House know, I have not hesitated to speak out against obscenity and pornography. I am proud to be among those Members who have introduced legislation that, in accord with the latest Supreme Court decisions, seeks to protect minors from pornography. I strongly approve of strengthening the postal statutes to prevent the interstate transportation of obscene materials sent unsolicited to minors. At the same time, as a lawyer and a member of the Judiciary Committee, I am acutely aware of the interdiction of the first amendment to the Constitution and thus I shun statutory censorship.

It is for these reasons that I have regarded with warm approval the steps taken by the motion picture industry under the aegis of its president to bolster its voluntary and self-imposed control mechanisms. The new rating system, now more than a year old, has in the main proved a useful tool in informing parents about motion pictures and thus a guide to which pictures youngsters should see.

And by the same token I welcomed Mr. Valenti's testimony before our Judiciary Subcommittee in January. It recognized that trashy movies, like trashy books or trashy paintings, or trashy songs, have been and always will be a part of the human condition. There are people who prefer to create this sort of material and unfortunately there are other people who apparently enjoy it. In our country, unlike totalitarian states, we may not and of course should not control what adult citizens may see or hear or read or even say, although I remind myself of Justice Holmes comment that free speech does not entitle one to shout "fire" in a crowded theater.

Thus, in the case of movies, there are theaters that cater to those who patronize this sort of voyeur entertainment. Generally, except for a New York or Chicago or San Francisco, they are few in number and are located in an area not frequented by the ordinary movie goer. What Mr. Valenti told our committee is that he hoped that these kinds of pictures would not be played in first run, family type theaters and that he was strongly advocating such a policy publicly.

For so doing he and others in the motion picture industry who feel the same way are being sued. It is an ironic situation that one who advocates a policy clearly in the public interest finds himself a defendant in a legal action. Obvi-

ously, I am not going to comment on the merits of a legal matter yet to be adjudicated in the courts but I certainly hope that no one in or out of the motion picture industry will be intimidated by the suit. I hope that those who feel the way I do will continue to make their views known that trash belongs where trash is normally dispensed.

Jack Valenti will not be silenced and he will not be deterred by law suits or hectoring or badgering. His campaign is right and it will prevail. In the United States we are truly fortunate to have as a leader of the great American film industry a man of Jack Valenti's talents and sincerity, dedication and vision.

**POLLUTION OF OUR COASTAL
AREAS**

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, many scientists and political leaders look to the sea as a food source in the years ahead when an expanding population and limited land resources mean that mankind can no longer grow on land enough food to sustain himself. That this may be a slender reed to lean upon is discussed in the following article by John H. Ryther in the October 3, 1969, issue of Science, volume 166. Mr. Ryther points out that it is the shallow coastal waters of the Continental Shelf from which comes most of the productivity of the ocean. The sad truth is that we are rapidly destroying this coastal productivity by polluting coastal areas.

While this article is somewhat technical, it is relatively brief; and is certainly worthy of the interest and attention of those who must legislate in these complicated areas. It follows:

PHOTOSYNTHESIS AND FISH PRODUCTION IN THE SEA—THE PRODUCTION OF ORGANIC MATTER AND ITS CONVERSION TO HIGHER FORMS OF LIFE VARY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD OCEAN

(The author is a member of the staff of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, Woods Hole, Mass.)

(By John H. Ryther)

Numerous attempts have been made to estimate the production in the sea of fish and other organisms of existing or potential food value to man (1-4). These exercises, for the most part, are based on estimates of primary (photosynthetic) organic production rates in the ocean (5) and various assumed trophic-dynamic relationships between the photosynthetic producers and the organisms of interest to man. Included in the latter are the number of steps or links in the food chains and the efficiency of conversion of organic matter from each trophic level or link in the food chain to the next. Different estimates result from different choices in the number of trophic levels and the efficiencies, as illustrated in Table 1 (2).

Implicit in the above approach is the concept of the ocean as a single eco-system in which the same food chains involving the same number of links and efficiencies apply throughout. However, the rate of primary production is known to be highly variable, differing by at least two full orders of magnitude from the richest to the most im-

poverished regions. This in itself would be expected to result in a highly irregular pattern of food production. In addition, the ecological conditions which determine the trophic dynamics of marine food chains also vary widely and in direct relationship to the absolute level of primary organic production. As is shown below, the two sets of variables—primary production and the associated food chain dynamics—may act additively to produce differences in fish production which are far more pronounced and dramatic than the observed variability of the individual causative factors.

PRIMARY PRODUCTIVITY

Our knowledge of the primary organic productivity of the ocean began with the development of the C^{14} -tracer technique for *in situ* measurement of photosynthesis by marine plankton algae (6) and the application of the method on the 1950-52 *Galathea* expedition around the world (5). Despite obvious deficiencies in the coverage of the ocean by *Galathea* (the expedition made 194 observations, or an average of about one every 2 million square kilometers, most of which were made in the tropics or semitropics), our concept of the total productivity of the world ocean has changed little in the intervening years.

While there have been no more expeditions comparable to the *Galathea*, there have been numerous local or regional studies of productivity in many parts of the world. Most of these have been brought together by a group of Soviet scientists to provide up-to-date world coverage consisting of over 7000 productivity observations (7). The result has been modification of the estimate of primary production in the world ocean from 1.2 to 1.5×10^{10} tons of carbon fixed per year (5), to a new figure, 1.5 to 1.8×10^{10} tons.

Attempts have also been made by Steemann Nielsen and Jensen (5), Ryther (8), and Koblenz-Mishke *et al.* (7) to assign specific levels or ranges of productivity to different parts of the ocean. Although the approach was somewhat different in each case, in general the agreement between the three was good and, with appropriate condensation and combination, permit the following conclusions.

1) Annual primary production in the open sea varies, for the most part, between 25 and 75 grams of carbon fixed per square meter and averages about 50 grams of carbon per square meter per year. This is true for roughly 90 percent of the ocean, an area of 326×10^6 square kilometers.

2) Higher levels of primary production occur in shallow coastal waters, defined here as the area within the 100-fathom (180-meter) depth contour. The mean value for this region may be considered to be 100 grams of carbon fixed per square meter per year, and the area, according to Menard and Smith (9), is 7.5 percent of the total world ocean. In addition, certain off-shore waters are influenced by divergences, fronts, and other hydrographic features which bring nutrient-rich subsurface water into the euphotic zone. The equatorial divergences are examples of such regions. The productivity of these offshore areas is comparable to that of the coastal zone. Their total area is difficult to assess, but is considered here to be 2.5 percent of the total ocean. Thus, the coastal zone and the offshore regions of comparably high productivity together represent 10 percent of the total area of the oceans, or 36×10^6 square kilometers.

3) In a few restricted areas of the world, particularly along the west coasts of continents at subtropical latitudes where there are prevailing offshore winds and strong eastern boundary currents, surface waters are diverted offshore and are replaced by nutrient-rich deeper water. Such areas of coastal upwelling are biologically rich-

est parts of the ocean. They exist off Peru, California, northwest and southwest Africa, Somalia, and the Arabian coast, and in other more localized situations. Extensive coastal upwelling also is known to occur in various places around the continent of Antarctica, although its exact location and extent have not been well documented. During periods of active upwelling, primary production normally exceeds 1.0 and may exceed 10.0 grams of carbon per square meter per day. Some of the high values which have been reported from these locations are 3.9 grams for the southwest coast of Africa (5), 6.4 for the Arabian Sea (10), and 11.2 off Peru (11). However, the upwelling of subsurface water does not persist throughout the year in many of these places—for example, in the Arabian Sea, where the process is seasonal and related to the monsoon winds. In the Antarctic, high production is limited by solar radiation during half the year. For all these areas of coastal upwelling throughout the year, it is probably safe, if somewhat conservative, to assign an annual value of 300 grams of carbon per square meter. Their total area in the world is again difficult to assess. On the assumption that their total cumulative area is no greater than 10 times the well-documented upwelling area off Peru, this would amount to some 3.6×10^6 square kilometers, or 0.1 percent of the world ocean. These conclusions are summarized in Table 2.

FOOD CHAINS

Let us next examine the three provinces of the ocean which have been designated according to their differing levels of primary productivity from the standpoint of other possible major differences. These will include, in particular, differences which relate to the food chains and to trophic efficiencies involved in the transfer of organic matter from the photosynthetic organisms to fish and invertebrate species large and abundant enough to be of importance to man.

The first factor to be considered in this context is the size of the photosynthetic or producer organisms. It is generally agreed that, as one moves from coastal to offshore oceanic waters, the character of these organisms changes from large "microplankton" (100 microns or more in diameter) to the much smaller "nanoplankton" cells 5 to 25 microns in their largest dimensions (12, 13).

Since the size of an organism is an essential criterion of its potential usefulness to man, we have the following relationship: the larger the plant cells at the beginning of the food chain, the fewer the trophic levels that are required to convert the organic matter to a useful form. The oceanic nanoplankton cannot be effectively filtered from the water by most of the common zoo-plankton crustacea. For example, the euphausiid *Euphausia pacifica*, which may function as a herbivore in the rich subarctic coastal waters of the Pacific, must turn to a carnivorous habit in the offshore waters where the phytoplankton become too small to be captured (13).

Intermediate between the nanoplankton and the carnivorous zoo-plankton are a group of herbivores, the microzooplankton, whose ecological significance is a subject of considerable current interest (14, 15). Representatives of this group include protozoans such as Radiolaria, Foraminifera, and Tintinnidae, and larval nuplii of microcrustaceans. These organisms, which may occur in concentrations of tens of thousands per cubic meter, are the primary herbivores of the open sea.

Feeding upon these tiny animals is a great host of carnivorous zooplankton, many of which have long been thought of as herbivores. Only by careful study of the mouthparts and feeding habits were Anraku and Omori (16) able to show that many common copepods are facultative if not obligate carnivores. Some of these predatory cope-

pods may be no more than a millimeter or two in length.

Again, it is in the offshore environment that these small carnivorous zooplankton predominate. Grice and Hart (17) showed that the percentage of carnivorous species in the zooplankton increased from 16 to 39 percent in a transect from the coastal waters of the northeastern United States to the Sargasso Sea. Of very considerable importance in this group are the Chaetognaths. In terms of biomass, this group of animals, predominantly carnivorous, represents, on the average, 30 percent of the weight of copepods in the open sea (17). With such a distribution, it is clear that virtually all the copepods, many of which are themselves carnivores, must be preyed upon by chaetognaths.

The oceanic food chain thus far described involves three to four trophic levels from the photosynthetic nanoplankton to animals no more than 1 to 2 centimeters long. How many additional steps may be required to produce organisms of conceivable use to man is difficult to say, largely because there are so few known oceanic species large enough and (through schooling habits) abundant enough to fit this category. Familiar species such as the tunas, dolphins, and squid are all top carnivores which feed on fishes or invertebrates at least one, and probably two, trophic levels beyond such zooplankton as the chaetognaths. A food chain consisting of five trophic levels between photosynthetic organisms and man would therefore seem reasonable for the oceanic province.

As for the coastal zone, it has already been pointed out that the phytoplankton are quite commonly large enough to be filtered and consumed directly by the common crustacean zooplankton such as copepods and euphausiids. However, the presence, in coastal waters, of protozoans and other microzooplankton in larger numbers and of greater biomass than those found in offshore waters (15) attests to the fact that much of the primary production here, too, passes through several steps of a microscopic food chain before reaching the macrozooplankton.

The large animals of the coastal province (that is, those directly useful to man) are certainly the most diverse with respect to feeding type. Some (mollusks and some fishes) are herbivores. Many others, including most of the pelagic clupeoid fishes, feed on zooplankton. Another large group, the demersal fishes, feed on bottom fauna which may be anywhere from one to several steps removed from the phytoplankton.

If the herbivorous clupeoid fishes are excluded (since these occur predominantly in the upwelling provinces and are therefore considered separately), it is probably safe to assume that the average food organism from coastal waters represents the end of at least a three-step food chain between phytoplankton and man.

It is in the upwelling areas of the world that food chains are the shortest, or—to put it another way—that the organisms are large enough to be directly utilizable by man from trophic levels very near the primary producers. This, again, is due to the large size of the phytoplankton, but it is due also to the fact that many of these species are colonial in habit, forming large gelatinous masses or long filaments. The eight most abundant species of phytoplankton in the upwelling region off Peru, in the spring of 1966, were *Chaetoceros socialis*, *C. debilis*, *C. lorenzianus*, *Skeletonema costatum*, *Nitzschia seriata*, *N. delicatissima*, *Schroederella delicatula*, and *Asterionella japonica* (11, 18). The first in this list, *C. socialis*, forms large gelatinous masses. The others all form long filamentous chains. *Thalassiosira subtilis*, another gelatinous colonial form like *Chaetoceros socialis*, occurs commonly off southwest Africa (19) and close to shore off the Azores (20).

TABLE 1.—ESTIMATES OF POTENTIAL YIELDS (PER YEAR) AT VARIOUS TROPHIC LEVELS, IN METRIC TONS
[After Schaeffer (2)]

Trophic level	Ecological efficiency factor					
	10 percent		15 percent		20 percent	
	Carbon	Total weight	Carbon	Total weight	Carbon	Total weight
0. Phytoplankton (net particulate production).....	1.9×10 ¹⁰		1.9×10 ¹⁰		1.9×10 ¹⁰	
1. Herbivores.....	1.9×10 ⁹	1.9×10 ¹⁰	2.8×10 ⁹	2.8×10 ¹⁰	3.8×10 ⁹	3.8×10 ¹⁰
2. 1st stage carnivores.....	1.9×10 ⁸	1.9×10 ⁹	4.2×10 ⁸	4.2×10 ⁹	7.6×10 ⁸	7.6×10 ⁹
3. 2d stage carnivores.....	1.9×10 ⁷	1.9×10 ⁸	6.4×10 ⁷	6.4×10 ⁸	15.2×10 ⁷	15.2×10 ⁸
4. 3rd stage carnivores.....	1.9×10 ⁶	1.9×10 ⁷	9.6×10 ⁶	9.6×10 ⁷	30.4×10 ⁶	30.4×10 ⁷

TABLE 2.—DIVISION OF THE OCEAN INTO PROVINCES ACCORDING TO THEIR LEVEL OF PRIMARY ORGANIC PRODUCTION

Province	Percentage of ocean	Area (km ²)	Mean productivity (grams of carbon/m ² /yr.)	Total productivity (10 ⁶ tons of carbon/yr.)
Open ocean.....	90.0	326×10 ⁶	50	16.3
Coastal zone ¹	9.9	36×10 ⁶	100	3.6
Upwelling areas.....	1	3.6×10 ⁶	300	.1
Total.....				20.0

¹ Includes offshore areas of high productivity.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED FISH PRODUCTION IN THE THREE OCEAN PROVINCES DEFINED IN TABLE 2

Province	Primary production (tons of organic carbon)	Trophic levels	Efficiency (percent)	Fish production (tons fresh wt.)
Oceanic.....	16.3×10 ⁶	5	10	16×10 ⁶
Coastal.....	3.6×10 ⁶	3	15	12×10 ⁶
Upwelling.....	0.1×10 ⁶	1½	20	12×10 ⁶
Total.....				24×10 ⁶

Hart (21) makes special mention of the colonial habit of all the most abundant species of phytoplankton in the Antarctic—*Fragilariopsis antarctica*, *Encampia balaustrium*, *Rhizosolenia alata*, *R. antarctica*, *R. chunii*, *Thallosiopsis antarctica*, and *Phaeocystis brucei*.

Many of the above-mentioned species of phytoplankton form colonies several millimeters and, in some cases, several centimeters in diameter. Such aggregates of plant material can be readily eaten by large fishes without special feeding adaptation. In addition, however, many of the clupeoid fishes (sardines, anchovies, pilchards, menhaden, and so on) that are found most abundantly in upwelling areas and that make up the largest single component of the world's commercial fish landings, do have specially modified gill rakers for removing the larger species of phytoplankton from the water.

There seems little doubt that many of the fishes indigenous to upwelling regions are direct herbivores for at least most of their lives. There is some evidence that juveniles of the Peruvian anchovy (*Engraulis ringens*) may feed on zooplankton, but the adult is predominantly if not exclusively a herbivore (22). Small gobies (*Gobius bibarbatus*) found at mid-water in the coastal waters off southwest Africa had their stomachs filled with a large, chain-forming diatom of the genus *Fragilaria* (23). There is considerable interest at present in the possible commercial utilization of the large Antarctic krill, *Euphausia superba*, which feeds primarily on the colonial diatom *Fragilariopsis antarctica* (24).

In some of the upwelling regions of the world, such as the Arabian Sea, the species of fish are not well known, so it is not surprising that knowledge of their feeding habits and food chains is fragmentary. From what is known, however, the evidence would appear to be overwhelming that a one- or two-step food chain between phytoplankton and man is the rule. As a working compromise, let us assign the upwelling province a 1½-step food chain.

EFFICIENCY

The growth (that is, the net organic production) of an organism is a function of the food assimilated less metabolic losses or respiration. This efficiency of growth or food utilization (the ratio of growth to assimilation) has been found, by a large number of investigators and with a great variety of organisms, to be about 30 percent in young,

actively growing animals. The efficiency decreases as animals approach their full growth, and reaches zero in fully mature or senescent individuals (25). Thus a figure of 30 percent can be considered a biological potential which may be approached in nature, although the growth efficiency of a population of animals of mixed ages under steady-state conditions must be lower.

Since there must obviously be a "maintenance ration" which is just sufficient to accommodate an organism's basal metabolic requirement (26), it must also be true that growth efficiency is a function of the absolute rate of assimilation. The effects of this factor will be most pronounced at low feeding rates, near the "maintenance ration," and will tend to become negligible at high feeding rates. Food conversion (that is, growth efficiency) will therefore obviously be related to food availability, or to the concentration of prey organisms when the latter are sparsely distributed.

In addition, the more available the food and the greater the quantity consumed, the greater the amount of "internal work" the animal must perform to digest, assimilate, convert, and store the food. Conversely, the less available the food, the greater the amount of "external work" the animal must perform to hunt, locate, and capture its prey. These concepts are discussed in some detail by Ivlev (27) and reviewed by Ricker (28). The two metabolic costs thus work in opposite ways with respect to food availability, tending thereby toward a constant total effect. However, when food availability is low, the added costs of basal metabolism and external work relative to assimilation may have a pronounced effect on growth efficiency.

When one turns from consideration of the individual and its physiological growth efficiency to the "ecological efficiency" of food conversion from one trophic level to the next (2, 29), there are additional losses to be taken into account. Any of the food consumed but not assimilated would be included here, though it is possible that undigested organic matter may be re-assimilated by members of the same trophic level (2). Any other nonassimilatory losses, such as losses due to natural death, sedimentation, and emigration, will, if not otherwise accounted for, appear as a loss in trophic efficiency. In addition, when one considers a specific or selected part of a trophic level, such as a population of fish of use to man, the consumption of food by any other hidden mem-

ber of the same trophic level will appear as a loss in efficiency. For example, the role of such animals as salps, medusae, and ctenophores in marine food chains is not well understood and is seldom even considered. Yet these animals may occur sporadically or periodically in swarms so dense that they dominate the plankton completely. Whether they represent a dead end or side branch in the normal food chain of the sea is not known, but their effect can hardly be negligible when they occur in abundance.

Finally, a further loss which may occur at any trophic level but is, again, of unknown or unpredictable magnitude is that of dissolved organic matter lost through excretion or other physiological processes by plants and animals. This has received particular attention at the level of primary production, some investigators concluding that 50 percent or more of the photoassimilated carbon may be released by phytoplankton into the water as dissolved compounds (30). There appears to be general agreement that the loss of dissolved organic matter is indirectly proportional to the absolute rate of organic production and is therefore most serious in the oligotrophic regions of the open sea (11, 31).

All of the various factors discussed above will affect the efficiency or apparent efficiency of the transfer of organic matter between trophic levels. Since they cannot, in most cases, be quantitatively estimated individually, their total effect cannot be assessed. It is known only that the maximum potential growth efficiency is about 30 percent and that at least some of the factors which reduce this further are more pronounced in oligotrophic, low-productivity waters than in highly productive situations. Slobodkin (29) concludes that an ecological efficiency of about 10 percent is possible, and Schaeffer feels that the figure may be as high as 20 percent. Here, therefore, I assign efficiencies of 10, 15, and 20 percent, respectively, to the oceanic, the coastal, and the upwelling provinces, though it is quite possible that the actual values are considerably lower.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

With values assigned to the three marine provinces for primary productivity (Table 2), number of trophic levels, and efficiencies, it is now possible to calculate fish production in the three regions. The results are summarized in Table 3.

These calculations reveal several interesting features. The open sea—90 percent of the

ocean and nearly three-fourths of the earth's surface—is essentially a biological desert. It produces a negligible fraction of the world's fish catch at present and has little or no potential for yielding more in the future.

Upwelling regions, totaling no more than about one-tenth of 1 percent of the ocean surface (an area roughly the size of California) produce about half the world's fish supply. The other half is produced in coastal waters and the few offshore regions of comparably high fertility.

One of the major uncertainties and possible sources of error in the calculation is the estimation of the areas of high, intermediate, and low productivity. This is particularly true of the upwelling area off the continent of Antarctica, an area which has never been well described or defined.

A figure of 360,000 square kilometers has been used for the total area of upwelling regions in the world (Table 2). If the upwelling regions off California, northwest and southwest Africa, and the Arabian Sea are of roughly the same area as that off the coast of Peru, these semitropical regions would total some 200,000 square kilometers. The remaining 160,000 square kilometers would represent about one-fourth the circumference of Antarctica seaward for a distance of 30 kilometers. This seems a not unreasonable inference. Certainly, the entire ocean south of the Antarctic Convergence is not highly productive, contrary to the estimates of El-Sayed (32). Extensive observations in this region by Saijo and Kawashima (33) yielded primary productivity values of 0.01 to 0.15 gram of carbon per square meter per day—a value no higher than the values used here for the open sea. Presumably, the discrepancy is the result of highly irregular, discontinuous, or "patchy" distribution of biological activity. In other words, the occurrence of extremely high productivity associated with upwelling conditions appears to be confined, in the Antarctic, as elsewhere, to restricted areas close to shore.

An area of 160,000 square kilometers of upwelling conditions with an annual productivity of 300 grams of carbon per square meter would result in the production of about 50×10^6 tons of "fish," if we follow the ground rules established above in making the estimate. Presumably these "fish" would consist for the most part of the Antarctic krill, which feeds directly upon phytoplankton, as noted above, and which is known to be extremely abundant in Antarctic waters. There have been numerous attempts to estimate the annual production of krill in the Antarctic, from the known number of whales at their peak of abundance and from various assumptions concerning their daily ration of krill. The evidence upon which such estimates are based is so tenuous that they are hardly worth discussing. It is interesting to note, however, that the more conservative of these estimates are rather close to figures derived independently by the method discussed here.

For example, Moiseev (34) calculated krill production for 1967 to be 60.5×10^6 tons, while Kasahara (3) considered a range of 24 to 36×10^6 tons to be a minimal figure. I consider the figure 50×10^6 tons to be on the high side, as the estimated area of upwelling is probably generous, the average productivity value of 300 grams of carbon per square meter per year is high for a region where photosynthesis can occur during only half the year, and much of the primary production is probably diverted into smaller crustacean herbivores (35). Clearly, the Antarctic must receive much more intensive study before its productive capacity can be assessed with any accuracy.

In all, I estimate that some 240 million tons (fresh weight) of fish are produced annually in the sea. As this figure is rough and subject to numerous sources of error, it should not be considered significantly dif-

ferent from Schaeffer's (2) figure of 200 million tons.

Production, however, is not equivalent to potential harvest. In the first place, man must share the production with other top-level carnivores. It has been estimated, for example, that guano birds alone eat some 4 million tons of anchovies annually off the coast of Peru, while tunas, squid, sea lions, and other predators probably consume an equivalent amount (22, 36). This is nearly equal to the amount taken by man from this once highly productive fishery. In addition, man must take care to leave a large enough fraction of the annual production of fish to permit utilization of the resource at something close to its maximum sustainable yield, both to protect the fishery and to provide a sound economic basis for the industry.

When these various factors are taken into consideration, it seems unlikely that the potential sustained yield of fish to man is appreciably greater than 100 million tons. The total world fish landings for 1967 were just over 60 million tons (37), and this figure has been increasing at an average rate of about 8 percent per year for the past 25 years. It is clear that, while the yield can be still further increased, the resource is not vast. At the present rate, the industry can continue to expand for no more than a decade.

Most of the existing fisheries of the world are probably incapable of contributing significantly to this expansion. Many are already overexploited, and most of the rest are utilized at or near their maximum sustainable yield. Evidence of fishing pressure is usually determined directly from fishery statistics, but it is of some interest, in connection with the present discussion, to compare landings with fish production as estimated by the methods developed in this article. I will make this comparison for two quite dissimilar fisheries, that of the continental shelf of the northwest Atlantic and that of the Peruvian coastal region.

According to Edwards (38), the continental shelf between Hudson Canyon and the southern end of the Nova Scotian shelf includes an area of 110,000 square miles (2.9×10^{11} square meters). From the information in Tables 2 and 3, it may be calculated that approximately 1 million tons of fish are produced annually in this region. Commercial landings from the same area were slightly in excess of 1 million tons per year for the 3-year period 1963 to 1965 before going into a decline. The decline has become more serious each year, until it is now proposed to regulate the landings of at least the more valuable species such as cod and haddock, now clearly over-exploited.

The coastal upwelling associated with the Peru Coastal Current gives rise to the world's most productive fishery, an annual harvest of some 10^7 metric tons of anchovies. The maximum sustainable yield is estimated at, or slightly below, this figure (39), and the fishery is carefully regulated. As mentioned above, mortality from other causes (such as predation from guano birds, bonito, squid, and so on) probably accounts for an additional 10^7 tons. This prodigious fishery is concentrated in an area no larger than about 800×30 miles (36), or 6×10^{10} square meters. By the methods developed in this article, it is estimated that such an upwelling area can be expected to produce 2×10^7 tons of fish, almost precisely the commercial yield as now regulated plus the amount attributed to natural mortality.

These are but two of the many recognized examples of well-developed commercial fisheries now being utilized at or above their levels of maximum sustainable yield. Any appreciable continued increase in the world's fish landings must clearly come from unexploited species and, for the most part, from undeveloped new fishing areas. Much of the

potential expansion must consist of new products from remote regions, such as the Antarctic krill, for which no harvesting technology and no market yet exist.

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WATCH YOUR FACTS, MAYOR LINDSAY

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I recognize that a mayor of New York City is so swamped with problems and misunderstandings in his conduct of municipal affairs that he barely has time to keep posted on the problems of the Nation.

But that is hardly reason for him to add to our problems as we seek to legislate intelligently and in the interests of protecting both our country and individual guarantees of liberty.

For Mayor Lindsay to speak to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York on such an important topic without knowing the facts is reprehensible. It is bad enough that some of our Nation's journalists twist the facts and misrepresent the nature of complicated legislation on vital subjects from time to time. It is even worse that an able political leader who has served with distinction in this House of Representatives and who has often been mentioned for even higher office should reflect the carelessness of either his staff or his own preparation in studying the truth about a piece of legislation he chooses to attack.

There are legitimate criticisms which may be made—in fact, very clearly were made during debate on the Defense Facilities Act—regarding provisions of H.R. 14864. But to make a criticism based on absolutely no fact and entirely on fancy is wrong and most unfortunate.

The bill this House passed which is now before the Senate specifically prevents what Mayor Lindsay tells his peers in the Bar Association of New York it permits—namely, to quote his own words—"permit private citizens to be fired from their jobs without even being told the basis for the dismissal."

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

LETTER FROM A CONSTITUENT

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, at the request of one of my constituents, Mrs. Barry D. Brown, 4921 Seminary Road, No. 813, Alexandria, Va. 22311, I am including her letter on crime in the RECORD:

ALEXANDRIA, VA.,
February 27, 1970.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROYHILL: Our President is aware, as are most other people, that crime is one of our country's worst problems. It is one that deeply concerns every individual more than almost any other of our nation's many grave troubles. We law-abiding citizens are plagued with it every day.

I am constantly hearing of someone I know being robbed, beaten, raped, threatened, etc. As I'm sure you know, crime has become so prevalent that each year almost every family is touched by it in some way. I am a good example. Just during the past year our car has been burglarized twice—first the battery, then the tires.

I live in constant fear of assault, theft, even murder, as killing young women is the latest wave of sensational crimes.

Please help the President, in every way possible, to stop the Supreme Court from protecting the criminal at the expense of the law-abiding public. I am convinced that this modern country's very inefficient method of dealing with crime is causing the loss of much hard-earned personal property and many lives.

I realize that criminals are largely a product of their physical and emotional environments, and that the best answer is to rehabilitate them. But in the event this is not possible—due to lack of funds, etc.—stiffer penalties and fewer paroles is the lesser of two evils (the lesser being taking away the rights of someone who is a threat to others; the greater being robberies, assaults, rapes, and murders perpetrated on hard-working citizens by people who should still be behind bars, or by those who have never been convicted of a crime and figure that if they do get caught, they'll get off pretty light).

It is easy to be liberal about crime as long as it affects other people, but when you think that a murderer's next victim may be you, it gets a little more difficult to advocate letting him go on some ridiculous technicality when you have evidence against him.

My contention is that, until such time as our whole system of meting out justice is reformed, it's a case of either protecting the criminal or protecting his potential victims. I don't see how you can possibly do both the way things are now. This is reflected in the great increase in crime accompanying the criminal-oriented decisions of the Supreme Court which place ever greater restrictions on police, resulting in a crippling frustration of their efforts.

In view of the choice presented, I believe the government is obligated to protect the law-abiding citizens. Please vote for any legislation designed to curb crime. Even a little relief is better than none.

Most sincerely,

Mrs. KATHLEEN BROWN.

P.S.—I realize that bills in this area now being considered are feared by some as an invasion of privacy; but surely this would be a small price to pay for protection.

Also, as strongly as I feel about this, I

March 11, 1970

would very much like to reach all Representatives and Senators. The only way I could do this would be to have my letter printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I would be most grateful if you could arrange it.

MAN'S CHALLENGING ENVIRONMENT—THE SEAS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, We in San Diego were very flattered by the recent visit to our city of Mrs. Helen Delich Bentley, the Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission. Her speech before the Business Outlook Conference on February 27 is an outstanding and hard-hitting summary of the Nixon administration's interest in a wide spectrum of ocean activities—from maritime posture to environmental quality. I am pleased to include her remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

MAN'S CHALLENGING ENVIRONMENT—THE SEAS

(Remarks of Mrs. Helen Delich Bentley, chairman, Federal Maritime Commission)

I am delighted to be here with you today, here in San Diego—home of one of the great ports of the world, home of one of the most important Navy establishments in the world, and home of one of the outstanding oceanographic institutions in the world.

All of these, of course, have one thing in common: they are all dependent on water. And I cannot address myself today to one aspect of the use of water without addressing myself to the myriad uses of water. For water along with our other resources is no longer one dimensional in its applications or its needs.

Gone is the day when scientists of the deep can be satisfied with concerning themselves with only their discoveries. Gone is the day when cities along America's coasts can limit their thinking to within the 3-mile limit. Gone is the day when the ships of the world can look upon the seas as simply a logistical pipeline transporting goods in commerce.

Today the sea is a concern of us all—and all its problems are our problems. We cannot solve one problem without acting in some form on all problems.

To put it simply—we must act synergistically so that the total effect of all our efforts is greater than the sum of the effects taken independently.

There is no resource upon which man is more dependent than water. Throughout history, civilizations with access to plentiful supplies of water especially fresh water, have prospered; those without have failed.

The combination of pollution and shortage has made water a national problem, one which crosses geographical boundaries, competitive interests, and political party lines.

Ample supplies of fresh water have been one of our nation's greatest assets and have significantly contributed to our industrial, cultural and sociological growth. Today that growth is threatened by the twin specter of water degradation and serious water shortage.

Our expanding population and agricultural and industrial output will be placing the severest strain on our existing water resources in the years ahead.

And aside from developing methods to treat

our waste water for eventual reuse, it appears certain we will have to look to the sea to supplement our needs.

But man's greatest fascination has been looking skyward. Although probing the stars apparently strikes the public as more daring than probing the seas, many undersea-scapes 50 feet down are as mysterious as the moonscapes 240,000 miles up. Despite the new technology used in the deep, world oceans are virtually unexplored. They cover an area nine times that of the moon, and many marine biologists do not deny the irony that we actually know more about the lunar surface than the undersea surface.

Reflecting on this, one oceanographer said, "It just depends on what you'd rather study, the ocean's bottom or the moons' behind."

A report released last year by the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources said: "How fully and wisely the United States uses the sea in the decades ahead will affect profoundly its security, its economy, its ability to meet increasing demands for food and raw materials, its position and influence in the world community, and the quality of the environment in which its people live."

Let me be more specific. We will need to look to the sea for food, petroleum and mineral resources, improved recreation opportunities, better understanding and perhaps control of the weather, knowledge about the earth's formation, national defense, and pollution control.

Let me touch on those first two points now and return to that last point later.

As a source of inexpensive protein, fish can help meet world food needs. Over 50 million tons of fish are harvested from the oceans yearly around the world. Expansion to a half million tons annually is within reach, provided new varieties of fish are sought and advanced techniques are used.

Currently offshore oil production amounts to more than three quarters of a million barrels per day—or putting it another way, 16 percent of the world's oil is drilled from undersea. Within the next decade one third of the world's oil production probably will come from beneath the seas.

And the maritime industry can help here too. As a Washington paper editorialized last Friday: "... maritime ships are many and move quickly. Thus, in only a short time much of the sea's secrets could be learned."

But oceans have not only been used as a source of knowledge and resources, they have been used as an indispensable commercial highway. As FMC Chairman I am constantly reminded just how important that road is.

Of immediate interest to us is the fact that 90 percent of our international commerce is transported by ships. And yet American shipyards produced only one per cent of the world's oceangoing merchant shipping tonnage in 1967. I assure you that President Nixon is deeply interested in firmly establishing America as a maritime power, and his maritime program is testimony to this new commitment.

But those who manage the ports—both large and small—must also be party to this commitment. For those who operate smaller ports, such as San Diego, there is an opportunity to assume a greater far-reaching role in the maritime industry than might otherwise be indicated by their size.

Though San Diego is not one of the first ten ports on the West Coast in tonnage, your city is a leader in a far more important yardstick—quality of service.

San Diego is a prime example of the type of progressive thinking we need in the operation of some of our larger ports.

As technology improves we may require newer ports but those ports will have to be up to the standard of San Diego.

You have learned early that it is to your advantage to market what you do best. Sometimes what is best is not as glamorous or as quantitatively significant as what others may do. But if you can serve a useful function not only for your industry but for the entire community then you will emerge as a force of the future—to be reckoned with.

Not every port needs to be the container capitol of the world. The building of more containers, more container ships and more container cranes does not materially affect the total volume of goods which will be traded to the world. San Diego is diversified. One only has to look at Shelter and Harbour Islands to see that your tourist industry is prospering.

Your fishing industry has been consolidated and is now more efficient and sophisticated than ever.

And the same is true of your communications industry education, and other forms of transportation.

Just as other commercial centers have learned that reliance on one product, one industry, or one service can spell disaster for tens of thousands—so must the ports.

President Nixon is greatly disturbed about the critical slippage which was permitted to develop in all forms of our seapower—fishing, oceanography, naval, and mercantile—in the past decade.

This is why there is reason for concern: The Communist world is surging ahead in all four areas—far ahead of the United States and the Free World. They have vastly modern craft—and plenty of them—in all four sectors of seapower—fishing trawlers, oceanographic and scientific ships, navy ships, particularly submarines, and a still-rapidly-growing fleet of new merchant ships.

It is a paradox that this our nation—once a major seapower—in past years turned from the sea, while Russia—traditionally a land power—has turned to the sea.

The Russians now rank third in the world of fishing, while the United States is fifth.

The Russians now lead us in modern oceanographic ships with more than 165, while we have 112.

And our Defense Department already admits that the Russians have more new submarines than do we. In fact, while we are on the subject of the Navy, I might refer to an article published in this month's issue of Washington Monthly, which states that the United States Navy is preparing for World War II. The title of the article is "The Oldest Established Permanent Floating Anachronism on the Sea"—in reference to the United States Navy's aircraft carriers. Although the article is highly critical of the continued construction and use of aircraft carriers in particular, I think the title and inference could be interpreted in another way—namely that the United States Navy is not prepared much better than it was nearly thirty years ago when World War II was about to break out. I say not much better prepared in that it has a far greater proportion of obsolete ships—those of World War II vintage—than of the type ships needed in the seventies and eighties. Here again, the Russians are ahead of us both in types and numbers. Budget problems can be blamed primarily for this oversight.

And, of course, the Soviet position in merchant seapower has been discussed many times, so I will recant it only briefly.

While we are so worried that some 70 percent of the ships in our liner trade will be thrown out of business within the next two months because the British insurance market is threatening to lift the ceiling on premiums for all ships fifteen years and older—that means 70 percent of the American vessels—the Soviets continued to add about one million new tons of merchant shipping each

year to their already 13.5 million tons constructed in the past decade.

In other words, more than 80 per cent of the Russian merchant fleet is ten years old or younger, is projected to grow to 18 million tons by 1975 and 23 million tons by 1983.

Since 80 per cent of the American fleet dates back to World War II, it is in serious trouble because the ships not chartered by the Government for Vietnam supplies or AID movements, simply cannot afford to compete with the new foreign vessels.

The Soviets speak of the profits made by their ships in trade with the world.

They speak of the foreign ports they enter and boast of the fact that their seamen serve as ambassadors to other countries, cementing friendship for Russia and advancing the Communist view among people of foreign lands.

They speak of flying their flag in world ports and the prestige it brings to the USSR. They speak of the use of their swift, streamlined ships in developing trade ties with new and older nations alike.

What they do not speak of publicly—but what has become evident to maritime nations—is the extent to which modern, newly constructed Russian ships have now begun to undercut world shipping rates in competition with the ships of other nations.

Russian ships have entered third-flag trade—never touching Russian ports—between Japan and Canada, undercutting American-flag and other national shipping between Japan and the West Coast of the United States. In doing so, they provide a perfect example of the use of seapower as a key instrument of national policy.

Only this month, we learned that the Communist bloc—this time Polish and East German ships—by undercutting the rates have taken away the coffee trade from Africa to Western Europe from the old established lines. The British are very upset by this.

And, of course, the British and Norwegians lost out 18 months ago when the Soviets undercut them on the carriage of wool from Australia to Western Europe aboard the ships returning empty from North Vietnam.

Indeed, we are observing a nation-to-nation confrontation in the maritime arena.

As plain as the facts seem to all of us who have a weather eye fixed on the situation, we have not yet convinced more Americans that it is a bona fide Soviet intention to "bury us at sea."

I am hopeful that, through broadening educational endeavor, we shall be able to mobilize our valuable resources in time to cope with any mounting Soviet threat, both on the sea and beneath its surface—naval, merchant shipping, fishing, oceanography in its widest sense.

While we've been lagging behind in developing our maritime industry, we have been boring ahead in using our oceans themselves as a dump.

Your city has faced this situation and dealt with it decisively. I understand for years San Diego treated its sewage with chlorine and then deposited the sludge in the bay.

Mayor Frank Curran admirably summarized the problem not only for San Diego but for many parts of the Nation, when he said during his State of the City address on January 14:

"We treated the symptom and added immeasurably to the agony of the bay's ecology."

After much soul-searching, I am happy that your city did decide to construct a new metropolitan sewage system. But the elimination of one problem spawned another. Now your wastes are being dumped into the ocean.

I hope your city has this problem uppermost in its mind.

For I assure you that the Federal Government is not going to stand by while the boundless seas are made not so boundless from the dumpings.

There is a limit, as Mayor Curran has said, to the seas' capacity "to absorb defilement, desecration and corruption".

Unfortunately not all cities agree.

I was deeply disturbed to read recently of a 20-mile square area, known as a "Dead Sea," offshore from a large eastern metropolitan city, where sewage plants have been dumping sludge for over 40 years. That area will no longer wash away. More importantly, that sludge is beginning to wash up on nearby sandy beaches.

Some Congressmen have suggested moving the dumping site 100 miles out into the ocean. I cannot accept this temporary solution. I am as concerned as the Ecologists, who are increasingly alarmed about the enormous quantities of wastes being dumped into the oceans.

This dumping has smothered seaweed and other vegetation on the ocean floor; fish caught in the murky waters are suffering from fin rot; lobsters and crabs have been found with clogged gills.

President Nixon said in his 37-point program to save our environment: "At present, Federal jurisdiction generally extends only to interstate waters. One result has been that as stricter State-Federal standards have been imposed, pollution has actually increased in some other waters—in underground aquifers and the oceans." To meet this problem, the President has asked for extension of Federal pollution control authority to include all navigable waters, both inter- and intra-state.

For all the attention paid a spectacular oil spill, the less dramatic but dangerous dumping of partially or untreated sewage, into countless bodies of water is only now receiving the spotlight it deserves.

This year the International Decade of Exploration begins. Yet even as we join in the search of the deep, we must also concentrate on coastal development. We must bring a better system of management to our coastal areas—a system that permits each use to be considered in its own right, with no single use to be more important than the total needs of the people as a whole.

We must serve an exploding population which is moving to the sea. Seventy-five per cent of our population lives in coastal cities; 50 million Americans look to our coastal waters for recreation.

By the year 2000 projections of the Urban Land Institute place 60 per cent of the country's population, or 187 million persons, in just four huge urban conglomerations. One of those four areas, says the Institute, is a Pacific strip between the San Francisco Bay area and the Mexican Border containing 44 million persons.

Not one of us here can claim that environmental quality is not his responsibility; not one of us here can claim that he has not contributed to the problem; and not one of us here can shrink from doing his share at restoring and preserving the quality of the world in which he lives. And that is man's challenge.

Let me address myself to the up-and-coming series of nation-wide environmental "teach-ins", which is planned for the spring. The militant left, having difficulty parlaying the fading Vietnam war issue into continuing profit, undoubtedly will take a piece of this action wherever it suits its purpose. There will probably be a wide range of headline-seeking demonstrations (such as the one the other day in San Jose, where a \$2500 car was buried because it symbolized air pollution), picketing, funeral parades, marches on city halls, sit downs, petitions, walk outs, packing of corporate and other meeting halls with loud claques.

And what is the businessman and corporate executive going to do?

He must be prepared. He must address himself to the overwhelming majority of students who are less interested in performing before a television camera and more interested in finding constructive solutions. In short he can ill-afford to take a passive role.

I believe the American businessman must not back down from the challenge offered by the students. I believe the American businessman must meet the challenge head-on.

I believe he must show a willingness to speak with the students, to accept responsibility for feasible improvements and to show that the time for talking is past and the time for action is now.

Today the 1970 annual conference of college editors begins 4-days of meetings in Washington on the environmental campaign. Businessmen and corporate executives of varied stripes will be talking with them. This is a beginning.

I am not suggesting for a moment that the American businessman allow himself to be intimidated. But I am suggesting that the American businessman *show some measure of leadership* and not be frozen at the sight of demonstrators. If that means *taking your coat off and climbing* on top of a sound truck on "teach-in" day to discuss the issues, then I say do it. America is waiting to hear what you have to say.

Improvement of the environment is now a national goal. But this improvement is greatly dependent upon solving problems of water quality and availability for this and for future generations. The Government has launched an aggressive campaign to counteract the effects of increased use and degradation of our nation's waterways.

Scientists, educators, businessmen are being asked to join in a common effort to bring industrial expansion and water conservation in tandem to meet the needs of expected population growth ahead.

To encourage the development and preservation of the nation's water resources, the Government hopes that the private sector will utilize its capabilities in seeking out new technologies.

Already new voices are being raised across the land; education of the public is at its highest level; and attempts are being undertaken to identify, study, and find solutions to major problems.

As new pollution abatement technologies are being developed, new companies are entering the field, and old line companies are establishing new divisions.

I have been told of a study submitted to the Department of Interior on the potential use of desalting equipment to recover valuable products from industrial wastes. It would reduce stream pollution and create a new market for desalination equipment. In fact, the proper application of this technology could provide hundreds of millions of dollars of business in food and other by-products.

The findings thus far show that some 8000 industrial plants could use some form of desalting process to recover commercially valuable contents in their liquid wastes.

There are answers, and I believe we can find them. Environmentalists are worried, however, that the Nation's new-found concern over heading off ecological disaster will subside as quickly as it flowered. We must not allow this to happen.

Ecologically speaking, it is very late in the day. Pollution of the environment must be quickly reversed. And even though I have spent virtually my entire talk on water, all of you realize that we cannot limit our commitment to one resource. *We must declare a total war against ravaging our resources.* And we must declare war now.

The President put it very well when he

said: "... The ecological system upon which we now depend may seriously deteriorate if our efforts to conserve and enhance the environment do not match the growth of the population... But I am confident that the same energy and skill which gave rise to these problems can also be marshalled for the purpose of conquering them. Together we have damaged the environment and together we can improve it. . . ."

Thank you.

WORLD BANK FOREIGN AID—WITH AMERICAN DOLLARS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the administration's announcement that it would seek a new approach to foreign aid, based on fresh and exciting ideas, but gives an insight to the American people as to who is really running our country.

Last October 6—World Bank Manifesto International Socialist Goals, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 115, part 21, page 28736—I called to the attention of the Members the financial blueprint prepared by the World Bank and through its President, the Edsel and Vietnam expert Robert McNamara, presented to President Nixon as the guidelines for U.S. compliance with the dictates of the international bankers.

On October 8—World Bank Campaign, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 115, part 21, page 29311—I further commented "that no Member, to the knowledge of his constituents, would vote for such proposals," but "that if the same objectives were written in palatable language, thinly disguised, and labeled as 'progressive,' 'mature,' 'flexible,' and 'humanitarian,' many would feel constrained to vote."

The President's task force report, in its preface credits "the comprehensive report on this subject by the distinguished international experts headed by former Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson." This Pearson report is the same 400-page report prepared by and for the World Bank and to which I referred last October.

The task force report's proposals—if adopted by Congress—call for the creation of another new international bank for "selected programs of special interest to the United States" largely in a supporting role to international agencies such as the World Bank.

The thrust of the new foreign aid proposal would appear to remove even the thin camouflage of the U.S. Government handling the world welfare funds and finally to turn the entire operation over to the international bankers—but the money is still American, and doubted.

World taxes on U.S. taxpayers now loom as a real and immediate threat, and should raise the question with every Member, "Is the role of the World Bank in international finance in the interest of the U.S. taxpayer?"

Not even a suggestion is offered as to where under the Constitution any such delegated power or authority is extended.

With the American people facing both increasing unemployment and ever-increasing inflation, it would seem impossible that such destructive ideas as this drain of our much-needed capital and jobs to foreign lands could have popular support. And, I do not believe they will, once our people understand who proposes to do what to whom—and with whose money.

And, those who have watched bureaucracies grow and grow are not surprised that with the coming of more international control over our tax dollars, the international bureaucracy known as the United Nations Organization is mushrooming at the expense of property owners as well as taxpayers.

I include the preface to the Peterson report and pertinent newscippings:

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE TASK FORCE ON INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

PREFACE

In his first message to the Congress on foreign assistance, the President announced that he would establish a Task Force of private citizens to provide him with comprehensive recommendations concerning the role of the United States in assistance to less developed countries in the 1970s.

The Presidential Task Force on International Development was appointed on September 24, 1969.

In preparing its report, the Task Force met with the Cabinet members most concerned with these problems, with the Administrator of the Agency for International Development, and with the heads of other government agencies. It benefited from extensive discussions with their advisors and from excellent papers prepared by their staffs. It had meetings with members of Congress, business groups, university experts, journalists, and representatives of civic organizations, voluntary agencies, and foundations, around the country. It asked for, and received, carefully considered statements from labor and business and professional committees. It examined in detail the comprehensive report on this subject by the Commission of distinguished international experts headed by former Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson. It also studied reports by Governor Nelson Rockefeller, the Perkins Committee, the Committee for Economic Development, the National Planning Association, and other groups. And it commissioned studies on specific subjects from experts in the field.

The Task Force gratefully acknowledges this help.

[From the Washington Star, Mar. 9, 1970]
NIXON WILL SEEK AID OVERHAUL: PANEL PROPOSES UNITED STATES ABANDON "DIRECTING" ROLE

(By Garnett D. Horner)

President Nixon says he will propose to Congress in January a "new approach" to foreign aid based on "fresh and exciting" ideas presented in a task force report to him.

The report said the Agency for International Development (AID) should be dismantled and foreign aid channeled through a more international framework.

If adopted by Nixon and Congress, the report's proposals would make U.S. foreign aid more "supportive" and cut America's "directing role" in other countries.

NEW BANK PROPOSED

The task force, headed by Rudolph A. Peterson, former president of the Bank of America, proposed:

1. Creation of a U.S. International Development Bank to make development loans "in selected countries and for selected programs of special interest to the United States"—largely in a "supporting role" to international agencies such as the World Bank.

The U.S. bank would have a multi-year capital of \$2 billion through appropriations and authority to borrow another \$2 billion from the public.

2. Multi-year authorization of \$1 billion for a new U.S. International Development Institute "to seek new breakthroughs in the application of science and technology to resources and processes critical to the developing nations." Research on population control would be one of its functions.

DOUBLE CONTRIBUTIONS

3. Doubling, to \$1 billion a year, annual U.S. contributions to international financial institutions by 1972.

4. A new U.S. International Development Council to coordinate aid policies and "assure that international development receives greater emphasis in U.S. trade, investment, financial, agricultural and export-promotion policies."

5. Combining in one separate piece of legislation "security assistance" programs, covering foreign military sales and grants, supporting economic assistance, public safety aid and the contingency fund. The Defense Department would continue to administer military grant and credit sales programs; the others would be administered by the State Department.

6. Military assistance would move from a grant to a credit basis to encourage self-reliance by recipient countries.

"Large U.S. military assistance advisory groups and missions are no longer necessary in many developing countries.

U.S. SHARE WOULD GROW

7. The U.S. would propose that the "paid-in" capital of the International Finance Corporation be increased from \$100 million to \$400 million. The U.S. share of the increase would be \$100 million—paid in over several years.

8. Altogether, the international lending organizations could roughly double their present rate of lending—from \$2.5 billion a year to \$5 billion a year. This would require an increase in U.S. funding from the current rate of \$500 million a year to roughly \$1 billion a year.

Nixon did not adopt the specific recommendations of the report—which he made public yesterday at his winter home in Key Biscayne, Fla., before flying back to the White House after a long weekend there.

But he said the recommendations "can provide new life and a new foundation for the U.S. role" in foreign aid. He said his legislative proposals, based on the report's recommendations, will be framed after close consultation with Congress.

WOULD REDUCE PERSONNEL

The Peterson report's proposals would result in drastically reducing, perhaps by over 90 percent, the personnel supervising American aid programs abroad in scrapping present AID machinery.

At the same time, the proposals call for a substantial increase in U.S. development assistance through the new programs putting more reliance on international machinery.

But the report said the task force "deliberately decided against recommending any specific annual level of foreign assistance." It said that would be up to Congress to decide after seeing how the proposed new machinery works.

With the proposed new "institutional framework," the group said, the U.S. "could assume a supporting, rather than a directing, role in international development" and would need fewer advisers and other personnel abroad.

BILATERAL PROGRAM HIT

The major thrust of the report was that "more reliance on international organizations should be built into all U.S. policies relating to international development"—whether they concern development assistance, debt rescheduling, trade, investment or population.

"This is basic to the new approach to foreign assistance we recommend. A predominantly bilateral U.S. program is no longer politically tenable in our relations with many developing countries, nor is it advisable in view of what other countries are doing in international development."

While helping finance the multi-lateral institutions, the report said, the United States needs to continue some bilateral development aid to "selected" countries.

Peterson, briefing reporters on the report, said there has been considerable confusion about objectives of the foreign aid program, with "apathy and misunderstanding" surrounding the issues.

"CALLED IN U.S. INTEREST"

While it "is a time for change" in the thrust of the program, his task force concluded that "the U.S. has a profound national interest in cooperating with the developing countries in their efforts to improve conditions of life in their societies."

The White House also disclosed a private paper from Edward M. Korry, ambassador to Chile, to Secretary of State William P. Rogers asserting that current aid programs often are misguided and self-defeating.

Many of Korry's recommendations coincided with the Peterson report. Korry suggested economic development should be a shared responsibility between the United States and the developing nation.

THE UNITED NATIONS' LAND GRAB ACT

The United Nations has a new theme song: "I'll Take Manhattan." It fits right in with the U.N.'s ambitious plans for expansion to provide new offices and quarters for its representatives on two square blocks of choice Manhattan real estate near the U.N. building.

The U.N.'s plans have generated a lot of controversy in New York City, largely because these plans will call for the eviction of 700 families and the relocation of several businesses. When first proposed, the plans included construction of a development called Waterside to take care of the dislocated families, but that was the last heard of Waterside. No designs for that development have been presented.

Naturally, the United States will be called upon to foot a large part of the costs of the \$300-million office and apartment-hotel development for the U.N. The proposed budget for fiscal 1971 carries an entry of \$20 million for this purpose. U.N. spokesmen say that delegates and representatives badly need the additional 4.2-million square feet that expansion would provide.

Not so, says one opponent, State Assemblyman Andres Stejn: "You can read the U.N. Charter from end to end, and you will find nothing in that charter that guarantees to its personnel and officials the privilege of rolling out of bed directly into their offices." Much of the opposition stems from the traffic problems in the area that would be intensified by the U.N.'s expansion and from the proposed dislocation of 700 families in a city with a critical housing shortage.

New York City's planning commission has approved the U.N.'s plans by a vote of 4 to 3, but the fight continues. The opposition clearly has its work cut out for it, though; the United Nations has proved adept at empire-building, if at little else. If, for some reason, a last-minute reprieve should save the two square blocks from the U.N.'s imperialism, the U.N. probably would react by claiming air rights over the East River. That's probably what the self-important debating society has in mind anyway.

LEW MORLEY

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Lew Morley was recently presented the "Outstanding Citizen's Award" by the Fall River Chamber of Commerce. Over the years, the Fall River area has reaped the benefits of his unprecedented community leadership. I wish to include in today's RECORD a speech delivered by Mr. Morley and an article in the Somerset Spectator as a tribute to the efforts, achievements, experience, and popularity of this exceptional man:

LEW MORLEY AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE FALL RIVER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

I must say that this tribute came as a pleasant surprise. After being retired for thirteen years and, in fact, I thought into oblivion, you may understand why I say this. Actually oblivion wasn't bad, I was enjoying it. I have had some honors bestowed on me and being named President Emeritus of the Boys' Club was not the least of these, but this one, and considering its source, as I deem that your's is the voice of Fall River, is the greatest I have ever received. Sincerely, I thank the Chamber for it. Now may I give you a few wayward thoughts of a slightly antiquated Fall Riverite.

As one looks back over the years one wonders what he had in mind for a career. I confess I had no ideas for the future. In the course of 57 years I held four jobs and enjoyed every one of them. I never had the opportunity to earn a coveted high school diploma for the simple reason that I did not have the opportunity to go to high school. Boys in my neighborhood found it necessary to go to work. If I lacked in the rudiments that make for quick success I was imbued with boundless energy and used it to the full. Some one asked Thomas Edison to what he would attribute his success and he said 25% inspiration and 75% perspiration. I was long on perspiration. With Tom Chew's help, at the age of fifteen, I got my start as an office boy in a cotton broker's office at \$2.50 for a six-day week. Thirty-seven years later I was appointed Executive Secretary of the Fall River Textile Manufacturers Association. It took a long time but I felt that I had arrived. Ten years later I delivered a paper before the Fall River Historical Society. The title: The Passing of Brokers' Row. In it I mentioned the demise of the whip industry with the advent of automobiles. The mataphor did not exactly describe the textile situation but the handwriting on the wall indicated that textiles were on the way out. The fact that we were completely unionized and the south not at all did not help matters. When I tell you that Fall River's appraised valuation shrank from 214 million to 99 million, when this happened, you will have some idea of its impact. We were not alone. New Bedford, Lowell and Lawrence were in the same boat.

In 1915 Fall River was the largest textile city in the world—liquidation was almost complete in 1960.

The needle shops did much to alleviate a very bad situation when they came here and occupied the empty mills and Fall River owes much to this successful industry. Unfortunately, the working force is made up mostly of women, nevertheless it brought much needed revenue to the city at a very critical stage. One outstanding example of this was the Avon Curtain Company. Harry Gottlieb, a very close friend, brought a dying business here from New York City and nourished it into a successful enterprise. Harry admits

that moving to Fall River was the key that accomplished it. If this is so he has repaid the debt in full. He has been a dynamo in his charitable efforts. When we gave him the Man and Boy Award mind you, it wasn't for his labors for the Boys' Club, that was to come later, it was for his fine work with the Boy Scouts. When we paid homage to Harry and Meyer Jaffe for their individual efforts we considered them as representatives of a group that made a timely entrance into a dire situation in the industrial life of the city.

In the late 30s I was elected to the City Council where I served for four years. We did the usual things that a council is called on to do but the importance of our actions was somewhat nullified by the fact that upstairs in the City Hall was a small group of men that held the purse strings—the State appointed Finance Board. Nothing that we could take pride in but because the city had defaulted on its bonds, a necessity. We were suffering from an illness that aspirin could not cure. It required an operation and, this time, the patient lived. Their first drastic action was a 20 percent wage cut for municipal employees. After the Finance Board had departed, our long suffering municipal employees began to stir themselves. There came a request from the Teachers' Association asking for a conference. They came and presented a plan. It had to do with refinancing or deficit financing that would aid in upping their wages. I confess it was over my head—I had been a broker not a banker. The next morning I had a call from Doug Richardson, the Council president. He said he had been thinking about the suggestion offered by Andrew Duffy for the teachers and wondered if there might be some merit in it. I asked him what he had in mind and he thought it might be well if we visited John Brayton to get his views. John had been instrumental in bringing the Finance Board to Fall River. He had not heard of the teachers' request as the papers had not gone to press. To our amazement, he said Fine—OK, but with one provision, we bring back the Finance Board. You should have seen Doug and I emerge from the Durfee Trust. Emerge is hardly the word. John may as well have said "Let's call in Attila the Hun."

In 1948 a certain member of the City Council, who seemed to have considerable influence over that body, persuaded his fellow members to dissolve the Traffic Commission. It appears that he had made certain demands of them which they ignored and as a result the commission ceased to exist. As a member of the Executive Committee of the Chamber I brought this to their attention and suggested that a committee be appointed to consider traffic. This brought about the formation of the Chamber's Transportation Committee. It comprised Frank Reilly, Al Sherwin, Morgan Thompson, Ken Riley, Tom Hudner, John Cusack and myself. I was selected as chairman. We met regularly with all members present and discussed a great many ideas to improve traffic. Our main purpose, however, was to reestablish the Traffic Commission and in the course of a few months we were successful. Bill Grant appointed Earl Griffith, Frank Sousa, and me with Police Chief Ed McMahon and Public Works Commissioner Joe Logan, by virtue of their office. I was selected as chairman. When we took over there was one working member whose duty it was to paint crosswalks. We immediately appointed four workers with one as foreman. When they took over the section assigned them at the City Barn they found an inventory of one 4 inch brush and five gallons of white paint. We then purchased a truck, a striping machine and 1360 meters.

In preparing to purchase the meters one thing puzzled me—all meters were practically at one price—\$60 and when bids were received no substantial change was noted. It was

plain, however, that the agent could circumvent this by means of a deal. For years I had heard of under-the-table deals in the purchase of equipment. It was my first experience. We started off by purchasing 120 each of three different meters. As I look back now I would not recommend this idea but it was a new field for us and we were honestly trying to get good results. Two of these were spring meters that you started with a coin, the other one actuated by a lever. Earl Griffith suggested that we get some expert to disassemble them and give us an opinion as to their quality. Wagner, the watch man at Mullen Jewelry, offered his services and advised us that the machine with the level was the best one. We had traveled to Taunton and Brockton to see how they handled their meters. In Brockton we found that they used two Harley-Davidson motor cycles with side cars which were operated by policemen. The agent for the meter that we had selected as the best one approached me with a proposition. He offered to give us a jeep for every 500 meters purchased. I told him I had a different idea—would he furnish a Harley-Davidson with side car for every 300 meters purchased. He asked what the cost of one of these would be and I said \$700. He asked for time to think it over and we parted. After he had gone I decided it might be a good idea to learn what the Mayor would think of this before I got into it too deeply. I went to the City Hall and found Bill Grant in his office and, fortunately, the Corporation Counsel, John Farrell, was with him. We discussed the matter at length and, they, feeling that the story might leak out and be misinterpreted, decided not to take advantage of the offer. The decision was to buy the meters without any strings.

Thus, a proposition which in my opinion was legitimate, was rejected. In the course of our traffic studies we came to the Flint section where we felt that something should be done about one-way streets. We asked Capt. Ray Murphy of the Eastern Division to set up a plan for us then we visited Pierre Picard, the clothier, who for some years had been quite a leader there. He said he had withdrawn from active leadership and referred us to another merchant who had stepped into his spot—his name we will not mention for reasons you will understand. We asked him to bring a committee to our next meeting to consider the plan prepared by Capt. Murphy. He promised a committee of seven but at the meeting only one, Norman Zalkind of the Strand Theatre appeared. We went ahead with the plan and sent the working crew to put it into effect. A few days later the merchant called to say they did not approve of the plan. When I asked what the objections were he said "We would prefer that all of the one-way streets come into Pleasant." I asked how do you get the traffic out. This, he didn't think was important, the object was to get them in. You will pardon my flippancy when I suggested that we could run a one-way street into his back shop. This gives you some idea of the support you might get from the public. One little humorous note—standing in front of the City Hall one day watching the traffic pile up at Pocasset Street, a voice hailed me from the line headed south. The speaker asked "would you like to relieve the traffic situation?" I traced the call—it was from Jim Collins. Not too seriously I said "of course." He said "remove every second car from the road." "Jim," I said, "you should be more careful, you are No. 4." If the Traffic Commission is an important adjunct to the city's orderly and efficient use of its streets, and I do believe it is, then the Chamber should get some credit for its reestablishment.

I saw an item of interest in the paper last week. It was a suggestion by Councillor Grace that some proposed streets in the Industrial Park be named for individuals who had made substantial contributions to the

city's welfare, and one name in particular pleased me—John Riggenbach. It takes me back some 25 years or so ago when two men, newcomers, became members of our community, playing a major roll in our civic endeavors and, significantly so, in the Redevelopment Corporation. The other man was Jim Bullock. If you would like a 20th century version of Damon and Pythias you have it in the names Bullock and Riggenbach. I would suggest hopefully that the Councillor would add Bullock's name to his roll of honor.

I am a strong believer in that old adage that behind every successful man there is always a good woman. I have been blessed with two from the top of the list. If I should tell you the story of my wife, Catherine, I am sure that I could make you weep, in relating the story of a lady whose spirit sustained me during a depression that could tear your heart out. I do not have to say much about my wife Cecilia—since coming from Providence twenty years or so ago as Director of the District Nurses Association she has made her own personal imprint in a field of mercy second to none. There is one little fact that I would like to mention, which could engender domestic problems in our household tomorrow, because I have never heard her mention this to a soul. In 1939 she was given the Florence Nightingale Award for the United States which entitled her to a year's course in advanced nursing at a leading London hospital. Unfortunately the day she arrived in England war was declared. The difficult task facing her was to procure a passage home. I never did learn whether her arrival there and the declaration of war was just a coincidence.

Now may I present my family, or at least, some of them. My three sons all served in the 2nd world war, the army, navy and air force. My son-in-law John Greene, fresh out of Providence College, joined the Air Force, became a navigator on a B24 and made 25 missions over Germany. He is now a Major in the Air Force Reserve. In addition he raised a nice family of six so I guess you could say he served in two wars. And there are two grandsons, Jackey Greene, just discharged from a two-year army hitch, the other David J. Morley, Jr. who received the George Caplan Award for 1969 as a member of the Durfee Basketball Squad. Now stationed in Vietnam. All six of them volunteered to serve their country. None of them had the questionable honor of tearing up a draft card. John Greene and my son Dave have made it possible for me to become a great grandfather three times.

One last wayward thought. Seventy-five years ago I quit smoking cigarettes. I doubt if many of you would know that 75 years ago a kid could go into almost any candy store and buy two Sweet Caporal cigarettes for a penny. My decision had nothing to do with the question of health. The hazards surrounding cigarette smoking had not been exploited then. Physical fitness became an obsession with me back there and I was convinced that a basic requirement for an athlete was a good wind. After listening to this lengthy diatribe I think you will admit that I qualified.

In closing let me assure you that while physically I reside in Tiverton my heart has been and always will be in the city where I was born, Fall River.

SWANSEA MOTES AND MUSINGS

(By Irene Storey Myles)

"The only things I live for today are the things I have to do tomorrow." That was the remark of 85 year old Lewis R. Morley, named "Outstanding Citizen," at last week's Chamber of Commerce annual dinner.

There is a proverb or saying "The man with time to burn never gave the world any light."

It was nice to have that light turned on Mr. Morley as a reward for all the time he gave particularly to youth, through a great many years.

A tall Lincolnesque man, Lew Morley was well known all his life to everyone in the Highland section of Fall River. Living in the New Boston Road area, the Morleys were a friendly and witty family. It has been a good many years since we saw him and found very little change in his appearance which is certainly an argument for involvement in the life of one's community. What a heartening thing it must be to have over 1000 people turn out to recognize your contribution to your neighbors at a time when most octogenarians must begin to believe they are forgotten.

His remarks on the lean years in Fall River must have seemed unbelievable to the young listeners who do not remember anything similar. He told how the appraised valuation in Fall River shrank from \$214 million to \$99 million during the depression thirties. How the city was forced to default on its bonds and how city employees took 20% wage cuts. The arrival and growth of the needle trades was the beginning of survival for the area. Rep. Margaret Heckler, paying tribute to Mr. Morley, said he had certainly "been part of the solution" and how true this is. And what a fine example to all the young men who remember him at the Boys Club.

Two of the boys were there with gifts, and were introduced by John Dator, man of many hats and himself a former Boys Club member, still working for its welfare. Al Michaud presented an award from the United Fund, along with some personal memories of the guest of honor. Governor Francis Sargent warned that it "seems the land is having a nervous breakdown" and warned that we must do something about pollution now. Touching on the future of Battleship Cove and SMU, he said that we must restore respect for laws, families and traditions and it must be done by every citizen, not by government or appropriations.

CONGRESSMAN PETTIS URGES NEW FEDERAL PROCUREMENT PRACTICES

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, as a Californian, I am particularly proud of some of the creative innovations in State management that are being made in my home State by Governor Reagan. I am also pleased and encouraged that the Government Executive magazine has been paying close attention to these developments, particularly as they related to government purchasing.

In their March issue, the editors of Government Executive talked with my distinguished California colleague, Congressman JERRY PETTIS, about how the example and experience of California could be applied to Federal procurement.

Mr. PETTIS points out that the General Services Administration could effect large savings of Federal tax dollars by implementing the competitive contracting system now used in California.

I am including the article with Mr. PETTIS' remarks in the RECORD for the information of the Congress, the public, and the GSA:

CALIFORNIA—GAO: A SWITCH IN TIME?

A sophomore California Congressman with a business background read *Government Executive's* November 1969 cover story, "Is California a Well-run State?" and the follow-up article in the January 1970 issue, "State Procurement: The Quiet Revolution in California," and called us in to pro-pound further on the Golden State's advances in the procurement field.

Jerry L. Pettis, 53, a Republican who has been a rancher, a founder of Magnetic Tape Duplicators, Los Angeles, founder of the Audio-Digest Foundation and special assistant to the president of a major airline, represents 600,000 people in San Bernardino County. He said:

"A relatively painless switch in Federal procurement practices would save millions of dollars and thus aid the Administration's battle against inflationary Government spending."

Specifically, Pettis recommended that Federal purchasing policy, wherever possible, be patterned after California's program, which is based on competitive bidding rather than negotiated contracts. The system saved the state \$80 million in 1969 without any sacrifice in quality, he said, adding that it could easily be adopted by the General Services Administration almost entirely and by the heavier-spending military agencies in many instances.

"The Federal Government policy apparently is wedded to some ridiculous concept which allows shaky, mismanaged companies to receive large Government contracts which they cannot fulfill, and we have seen too many times how easy it is for contractors to run costs beyond reasonable bounds, or to weasel out of the contract terms," Pettis said.

The California experience with competitive bidding, he noted, has shown that the state was able to buy goods for 10 to 40 percent cheaper than the Federal Government, even though it was buying, in many cases, identical products from identical distributors and in far less volume.

Pettis acknowledged that a competitive contracting system could not be applied to the purchase of much of the sophisticated equipment needed by the military. "However," he said, "GSA alone accounts for about \$2 billion in annual expenditures for goods and services, and there are many products in common use by both the civilian and military agencies which could be bought solely by one or the other to effect substantial savings."

In fact, Pettis pointed out, the General Accounting Office realized 20 percent savings, totaling about \$4 million, in the last fiscal year by copying the California system on purchase of electric light bulbs and tubes. He added:

"In its recent annual report to Congress, GAO said it saved \$187 million in the last fiscal year, and the amount could be higher if there was a wholesale shift to the California program—with a resulting tax cut, possibly, for the taxpayers."

ASIAN DEVELOPMENTS

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, we had a thought-provoking report in the Dallas Morning News written by William B. Ruggles on March 3, 1970. Mr. Ruggles, who is the editor emeritus of the editorial

page, was commenting on our foreign affairs history as it relates to the Communist program in China.

You will be interested in the analysis of Dr. Anthony Kubek on this historical development:

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT

(By William B. Ruggles)

In mid-February the Internal Security subcommittee of the U.S. Senate released two thick volumes of documents a quarter of a century old under the accurate designation of "The Amerasia Papers: A Clue to the Catastrophe of China."

Unfortunately, official government publications are never found on the best-seller lists. Only dedicated buffs plow through the catalog of the Government Printing Office.

Also, with some exceptions, official compilations, as in the case, are made well after the events with which the papers deal. Usually, but fortunately not in this instance, the reader has only the dry documents without an experienced guiding hand to analyze and stress importance.

Probably the best summary of what these two volumes present is from the cogent foreword of Sen. James O. Eastland, chairman of the subcommittee:

"The primary importance of this publication lies in its value to historians as a basic source book. It will be valuable to the Senate in the same area. The introduction is important. It sheds new light on the Amerasia case and provides what I believe to be the first published analysis of the John Stewart Service reports from China from the standpoint of an historian.

"Dr. Anthony Kubek, chairman of the Department of History at the University of Dallas, as well as consultant to the Internal Security subcommittee, is a recognized authority in the field of Far East relations and Chinese history. His analysis of the Amerasia case and its connection with the complex political situation involving both China and this country's attitude toward China during the years of the Second World War is of high interest.

"Dr. Kubek has examined 1,700 documents seized on June 6, 1945, by the Federal Bureau of Investigation from the office of Amerasia, then an obscure New York City magazine specializing in Asian affairs. Many of the seized documents were classified 'Secret' or 'Confidential,' some stamped 'Top Secret, for Eyes Only.' The ease with which hundreds of secret and confidential documents were channeled into unauthorized hands, as evidenced by these subcommittee documents, is both astonishing and frightening."

For the thoughtful American as well as the casual reader, the meat in the coconut is Dr. Kubek's 113-page "Introduction," really the gripping story of the case, its why and wherefore.

This is divided into three parts. He begins with a careful historical survey of the relations between the two adversary parties in China, the Kuomintang and the Communists.

This is followed by a thorough study of the Amerasia case, which reads like a spy thriller.

The final section analyzes the documents that stock these two thick volumes and, if you are not frightened, you are not very concerned about the future of this country in a communist-assaulted world.

The long struggle in China began around the turn of this century in the Boxer Rebellion. An undoubtedly oppressed and enslaved population wanted relief from almost age-old dynasty rule.

In the succeeding decades communism was making its threatening presence under its illusory promises felt to the downtrodden. Although initial moves toward ousting im-

perial rule had nothing to do with communism, communism made its way with familiar methods. The Communists in China were aided by the difficult situation created through Japanese efforts to possess Asia. The softness in Washington tended to make Uncle Sam a patsy.

The Chinese Nationalist government holds today only the limited area of Formosa. The Communists control the mainland.

We have lost Asia. It is not a stretch of the imagination to say that you can blame Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia on the events of the 1940s, to which few American citizens paid real attention.

Nor was such attention given by our own government as is shown in the complete story of the documents blithely passed on to the Amerasia offices by government hired hands more loyal to their Marxian convictions than to the traditional U.S.A. government.

Kubek points out in his discussion of the international relations that, since John Paton Davies and John Stewart Service were career diplomats assigned to China, the State Department accepted their reports as gospel. "Their slanted words released the steam to change the direction of the United States in the Far East." So today Chiang Kai-shek can credit them with his Formosan residence.

Kubek also stresses the appearance of such reports in the Amerasia files. Today it seems incredible that dire punishment was not inflicted on any of the channelers to communist hands of secret documents.

One "career diplomat" blithely explained that although he knew documents were secret, he did not think that applied to material he had written himself—an absurdity.

There has even been reinstatement of a career man fired because of the Amerasia disclosures.

The story is a long and detailed one. It has to be read to be completely understood.

Dr. Kubek has told it succinctly and graphically.

"PEACEMAKERS" ARE VIOLENCE-MAKERS

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, many of the people today who talk about peace and love have violence and hate in their hearts. They claim they are "telling it like it is." But I think the following editorial aired recently by WITI-TV in Milwaukee, Wis., tells it like it really is:

AGAIN THE SO-CALLED "PEACEMAKERS" TURN TO VIOLENCE!

These are the peacemakers. These are the students at Madison who talk of peace, tranquility, love and brotherhood. And, this is how they try to convince others that war and violence must be abandoned. These are not peacemakers. These are hoodlums . . . anarchists . . . and they should be dealt with as the arrogant, lawbreakers they are.

The revolt was organized by the Students for a Democratic Society and the Young Socialist Alliance. It began as a protest against General Electric Company recruiters who were on the campus seeking future employees for their firm. Since General Electric is engaged in the manufacture of some war materials, the anti-war factions on campus insisted the recruiters get out.

They shout for freedom . . . yet, they would deny freedom to others. It all started out as a peaceful march . . . then turned into a wild, two-hour revolution . . . with students and police injured . . . arrests made . . . and thousands of dollars of deliberate destruction of private property. Again, hundreds of students permitted themselves to be duped . . . to be used . . . by a small group of radicals who were there for no other purpose but to incite riot. The same brand of anarchists succeeded again . . . because they were permitted, even helped . . . to succeed.

University of Wisconsin Chancellor, Edwin Young, should be commended for his quick action. He wasted no time in declaring those who have been arrested will be expelled from school. As Young said: "The rioting and senseless destruction is an offense against the great body of students and faculty whose very freedom and purpose was endangered."

That will take care of those arrested. But, the organizers, the instigators of riot and destruction will still be there. The Chancellor talks of the "great body of students and faculty" . . . the majority of those on campus who want no part of revolution. TV6 turns to them and asks them to join with University officials in a thorough housecleaning of the hoodlums. Stop giving them a platform. Stop buying their phony line. Students have a right to protest, to demonstrate against the war . . . but, we say to them: Be the peacemakers you say you are.

SOUNDING THE SEVENTIES

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Henry B. Schacht, president of the Cummins Engine Co. in Columbus, Ind. In it, Mr. Schacht warns that our ever-accelerating rate of knowledge and the accompanying technical and scientific explosions will be creating new challenges in the decade ahead.

He warns that we must now decide which national priorities warrant our attention, our talent and our treasury.

I submit Mr. Schacht's excellent article to the attention of my colleagues:

SOUNDING THE SEVENTIES—KNOWLEDGE IS POWER TO BE USED

(By Henry B. Schacht)

The key trend in the 1970's is the acceleration of the acquisition of knowledge.

This new knowledge will produce changes in our institutions, in our way of living and in our values, at a rate only hinted at during the 1960's.

The main challenge of the 70's for all segments of our world society will be to learn how to make productive use of all the new knowledge and how to channel creatively the change it implies. We have every reason to look forward to the exciting prospects that new ideas, new concepts, new products will bring to all our lives.

For our nation, expanding knowledge means that promising new proposals for attacking our pressing needs will be brought forward for debate and consideration.

The challenge will be to establish national priorities soon and then find the mechanism whereby we can use our rapidly increasing wealth of knowledge to bring improvement in the most critical areas of our society.

Specifically, this means that with a sense of urgency we must set the national debate in motion. We must decide which national priorities warrant our concentrated attention in terms of both talent and funds. We must realize that we cannot fight a war in Vietnam, maintain a cold war striking force, clean up our environment, redress social inequities, maintain our standards of education, and resurrect our cities—and at the same time reduce taxes.

We must face up to the choice of solving our problems or reducing taxes.

In short, we must change our fundamental way of thinking about the national needs so that we can bring our wealth of knowledge to bear on the keystone problems whose solutions are so necessary to the continuation of our society as we know it. We must substitute action for empty rhetoric.

In the 60's, Columbus has become a leadership-type community, recognized for the excellence of our institutions and the quality of our life throughout the state and nation. However, as in all dynamic communities, progress must continue. We must insist on a clear definition of our community priorities and a creative marshaling of resources to meet those needs.

Excellence in education is a hallmark of this community. It must be maintained and even improved.

Downtown revitalization, thoroughfare expansion, water and sewage expansion, annexation, expanded health care, all must be eagerly faced and solutions found.

While it is important to look at individual project and program costs, sole concentration on costs can lead to endless debate without solution and a less than whole community. We must instead forcefully decide what is needed in the community to sustain its excellence, decide what the priorities are, and then creatively fund them.

The pace of change is accelerating and successful communities will embrace this and be challenged by it. Columbus can, must, and will accept this challenge.

As for industry in general, the pace of change will be equally quick. Given relative stability in the nation and in local communities, business will have unparalleled growth opportunities. To take advantage of these changes, business must adopt the same aggressive posture as other institutions. Business must be an active force promoting change. New products, new forms of management, new technologies will abound.

In particular the challenge will be to provide an environment which will stimulate all the creative talents of every individual in every work place. We must free up the individual so that he can contribute to the full extent of his abilities.

For Cummins the 70's will also be a period of change.

Most of all it means embracing and forcing change so that competitors have to react to the consequences of our actions rather than letting competition force us to react.

This means the development of contagious enthusiasm for change and of opportunities for each individual regardless of position to participate and contribute to the growth of the company.

This means promoting rapid product obsolescence—for always being first with the most economical new product. It means smoke and noise-free power packages; it means turbines and natural gas engines and socially acceptable internal combustion engines in a yet undetermined mix; it means doubling in size every five years; it means acceleration of our world-wide activities.

The key trend in all of this is the acceleration of the acquisition of knowledge. Knowledge will provide new and exciting challenges for all of us in the seventies.

DEVELOPMENT OF AIR TRANSPORTATION

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Whitney Gilliland, Vice Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board, spoke at the "Seminar for State Travel Agents" at General Mitchell Field, Milwaukee, Wis., on March 2. Mr. Gilliland touched on some of the accomplishments of the air travel industry and some of the problems it must face in the future:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE WHITNEY GILLILAND, VICE CHAIRMAN, CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD

It is my plan to speak to you about some aspects of the development of air transportation and, as you no doubt anticipate with a little particular attention to events in this great north central part of the United States.

I must observe to begin with that I notice some changes hereabouts since the pleasant two years, quite some time ago, when I was a local resident. I was then a young employee of a very fine company, the TMER & L. This experience, of course, had little direct connection with air transportation, but I did learn something about public utilities which has stood me in good stead. That included some economics, some problems of management, of labor, of safety and how to use a monkey wrench. I also learned something about surface transportation for on occasion it was my duty to operate the electric dinky car at the Lakeside Power Plant. Furthermore, I learned something about passenger complaints for that old dinky would rock and roll when the outbound shift was in a hurry to connect with the northbound "Ruban" from Racine. Indeed it was not unknown to jump the track. I became very fond of Milwaukee and Wisconsin and it is good to be back.

There have been, since those days some very great changes in man's ways and means of getting about. There have also been some changes in the numbers and extent of his efforts to do so. What were then regarded as considerable journeys are now regarded as commonplace, and what were then regarded as unusual events are now commonly accepted as usual.

Actually there was then very little air transportation available. But it was a time of happenings significantly contributory to air transportation's subsequent dramatic development. One of them was Charles Lindbergh's flight to Paris. It was my good fortune to participate in Milwaukee's welcome to him upon his return, and to witness from my front yard his triumphal progression, waving from the back seat of an open automobile, down Kinnickinnic Avenue.

Actually commercial air transportation of goods and passengers in numbers worthy of note may be identified as beginning about the time of the introduction of the ten-passenger, fully enclosed, all metal Ford trimotor. This aircraft could cruise at 110 miles an hour and operate over stage lengths of 200 miles. For passenger transportation purposes this was a most important introduction. It was soon followed by other trimotors. This was about 1926 and in that year scheduled passenger air service generated approximately 1.2 million revenue passenger miles. In the ensuing two years that annual rate was multiplied by ten and as of the present time by about 100,000. This growth has closely paralleled the introduc-

tion of constantly improving types of aircraft, the two courses of events feeding on each other i.e., the better aircraft stimulating the design of aircraft capable of carrying bigger and bigger loads, over longer and longer stage lengths, and at even greater speeds and degrees of safety and comfort. The result has been a new kind of world.

There are, of course, several other identifiable units of activity contributing to the result. Many are represented here today. Certainly there have been the pilots and the crews, the airport planners, builders, and operators, the planners and operators of the airways, the operating companies and their employees, the travel agents, the controllers, the communications people, the financial people, the mayors, city councils and boards of supervisors, the legislators and congressmen, and I believe there is a little place somewhere for the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The Board was created pursuant to the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 for the purpose of establishing and maintaining orderliness in the development of the route structure, and for the regulation of rates and charges and other operations of what was already recognized as a rapidly burgeoning industry. The statute differs, however, from other regulatory statutes in one significant respect,—that of its strong and specific promotional features. Thus the Declaration of Purpose speaks of encouragement and speaks several times of promotion. In pertinent part the Board is required to consider as being in the public interest, the encouragement and development of a system properly adapted to the needs of commerce, the promotion of adequate economical and efficient services at reasonable charges, the promotion of safety, and the promotion, encouragement and development of civil aeronautics.

Fulfillment of these objectives is no easy task for the factual elements pertinent to the several coequal duties of promotion seldom present themselves in similar proportions. The Board's objective, I believe, may be broadly stated as the evenhanded distribution of the best services at the lowest reasonable rates to the greatest number of people. This means adequate services to all communities which can support them. But if we overload the system in any market, resulting in uneconomical operations, pressure is inevitably created toward higher fares than would otherwise obtain, and affecting parts of the country which do not gain the benefit of the services. In short losses in any market must be made up somewhere.

One of the first tasks of the Board following enactment of this statute was the certification, under the "grandfather" provision of the Act, of those air carriers whose major function it was to provide commercial air transportation between the larger population centers and over long distances. These have become known as trunk carriers and two such carriers, Northwest and what was then known as Pennsylvania-Central Airlines, were "grandfathered" into much of the north central area, including Milwaukee.

In connection with the "grandfather" proceedings, the Board undertook to refine the then existing system of air routes. As I have pointed out the growth of the industry was proving to be considerable and it was evident that new system elements were required.

In the early 1940's the Board began to give particular attention to the needs of the smaller communities, especially of smaller communities not located in proximity to the routes of the long-haul carriers, and to the identification of ways and means to extend air carrier services to them.¹ The plan which evolved was that of a junior system of

¹ Local, Feeder, and Pick-Up Air Service, 6 C.A.B. 1 (1944).

what were at first very short-haul carriers, and then called feeder airlines. It was contemplated that routes would be established with terminals in the stronger communities of the short-haul carrier's area, and that all intermediate communities possessing airport facilities, and apparent potential to produce a reasonable amount of traffic, would be served on each flight between the terminals. Thus, it would be possible, however monotonous the delays occasioned by the required stops might be, for residents of smaller communities to have feeder carrier access to points where trunk carrier services would be available.

A long series of cases were set down to examine and consider the potentials in various parts of the country. The needs of this one were investigated in the *North Central Case*² decided in 1946. The Board's opinion stated:

"In northern Illinois, eastern Wisconsin, Minnesota and upper Michigan there are numerous uncertificated cities with populations ranging between 5,000 and 40,000 which could be provided direct air service to Chicago, Milwaukee, and the Twin Cities on a system connecting the Twin Cities and Duluth, Duluth and Chicago, Duluth and Marquette, and Marquette and Chicago.

"Rail transportation in this area was originally established to facilitate logging operations and not to provide convenient transportation to the neighboring metropolitan areas. Consequently railroad service, for the most part, is slow and inconvenient and many cities in this area are comparatively isolated."³

To meet the need for services the Board then selected Wisconsin Central Airlines, later to become North Central Airlines, and in so doing, among other things, stated the following:

"This applicant submitted detailed plans for its proposed operation based upon the use of 10-passenger Beechcraft equipment and estimated that it would incur operating expenses of 44.11 cents per mile and that it would receive nonmail revenue of 23.54 cents per mile. . . .

"Capital requirements are estimated at \$329,000 and \$260,000, respectively, for two round trips and one round trip daily. The necessary funds would be obtained by the sale of \$200,000 worth of stock. Any additional funds required would be obtained from the parent company, which has capital surplus in excess of \$2,000,000 and which stated a willingness to provide any necessary financing."⁴

The subsequent progress of events is shown in North Central's Annual Report. It states that in 1968, 3,013,816 passengers flew the "Route of the Northliners"—an all time high, and over three times as many in that one year as North Central carried altogether in its first thirteen years of operation. Furthermore, on December 20, 1968 the airline enplaned on that single day 1,354 more passengers than in its entire first year of operation.

Although some weight must be given to North Central's system expansions, and to the modification or removal of operating restrictions, the figures remain impressive. Moreover, in 1968 these passengers were carried some 518 million passenger-miles representing a 35 percent increase over the previous year. That is more passenger-miles than were flown by all of the domestic air carriers, trunks, and everybody, in 1938, the year the Civil Aeronautics Act was passed.

These statistics, although many more could be cited, demonstrate the fact that the characteristics of the local service industry have changed greatly since the beginnings.

No longer must every plane stop at every intermediate point on every flight. Many nonstop flights over considerable distances are available, and some compare very favorably in quality and convenience with any to be found. This has happened, in part, because of liberalized and expanded opportunities granted in response to the constantly increasing traffic and capability of the carriers, and as I have pointed out, in part for other but very much interrelated reasons, foremost among them being the constantly improving types of aircraft available. For example, instead of the 10-passenger Beechcrafts proposed in the *North Central Case*, North Central now operates an all jet-powered fleet of 100-passenger DC-9 fan jets and Convair 580 prop-jets valued on the books at \$66.6 million.

Perhaps the most significant distinction from the strictly feeder line concept of former times is that the Board now, in a proper case, may authorize a local carrier, now usually called a regional carrier, to perform air transportation from points within its region to a major transportation center outside thereof. Indeed, we are here today in part to give recognition to one such recent route award—the inauguration of service by North Central between Milwaukee and Columbus, Dayton and Cincinnati, Ohio. North Central's original framework included no routes similar to that.

The reasons for the liberalization are found in the Board's experience that single-carrier, and particularly single-plane services, have advantages in efficiency and passenger conveniences over inter-carrier connecting services, in the constantly increasing capability of the local service carriers to provide the services, in the carrier's "native son" motivation to provide the best for their own regions, in the prospect of improvement of economic fortunes and reductions in subsidy, and in the lessening of congestion at the great city terminals.

But air carriers and air routes do not, in and of themselves, provide a complete system. All passengers and freight must find their way to and from an airplane by some other means. To facilitate such movement, airports must first be located and built by local and state governments, with benefits of the advice and often with the assistance of the Federal Government. Airports must be located with a purpose to provide convenient access for the traveling public but require assessment of the environmental impact upon all people. Problems of availability of real estate and of mounting costs are formidable. Furthermore, once built, airports must be constantly improved and expanded to match the ever advancing technology of the aircraft manufacturers. Likewise, terminal facilities must be designed and built to handle the present and future demand for air travel. The recent opening of the unique new circular concourse here at General Mitchell Field is a good example of the expansion which such demand necessitates. But the total system does not and here, for however fortunately located an airport may be, there are constantly increasing requirements for high-speed, often costly, means of moving people and cargo between downtown centers and the airports, and such requirements must be considered with an awareness that demand will continue to grow.

These matters together with the need for improved and safer air navigation facilities, required by growing traffic and changing technology, and essential to the continuing development of an air transportation system, have placed great financial pressures upon the carriers and upon all levels of government.

It was for this reason that the Congress has recently undertaken the enactment of a comprehensive airport and airways bill. Under its contemplated provisions, future costs of airports, terminals and airways—all

necessary to the development of the system—will be more equitably distributed among the users of air transportation.

However formidable these tasks may be it is apparent that upon their success depends the continuing extension of the benefits of air transportation to include persons who have not heretofore enjoyed them and that, in turn, to support them the response of such persons must be approximately in parallel. In this connection the contributions of the travel agents to stimulation are of first line importance.

According to figures I have available, travel agents book about 32 percent of the total domestic air travel market and 60 percent of the pleasure trips. These statistics, viewed in light of the more than \$5 billion annual domestic passenger business of the U.S. certificated carriers, leave no doubt as to the significance of the efforts of the travel agents to air transportation.

The urge to travel which has been so stimulated by you as travel agents is a fundamental human desire. Throughout the ages men have dreamed and fought to extend their individual spheres of life to strange and distant places. It was this very desire which accounts for the coming of our ancestors to this country. Likewise the 1673 canoe trip of Father Marquette and Louis Joliet down the Western Shore of Lake Michigan and the discovery and mapping of Milwaukee Bay. Travel has always been an adventure and a kind of pioneering which attracted the interests of man.

During my time in Milwaukee, travel to the northern section of this State during winter months was regarded with caution. Engaged in it was, and engaged in with joy but not casually.

In contrast, I have recently seen a copy of *The Rhinelander Daily News* which indicates that upward of 40,000 people were expected to attend the Sixth Annual Snowmobile Marathon held in Rhinelander during January this year. In part, the article reports that:

"Chamber of Commerce Secretary, Dennis Hastreiter, said all hotels and motels within a 30-mile radius of Rhinelander have been booked solid for the week of the Marathon with resorts and private homes in the area filling up rapidly."

Now it seems to me that this brief paragraph highlights the fact that travel once regarded as formidable is now undertaken routinely, and it points up the benefits which have accrued as a result of the collective contributions toward the full development of a transportation system. Pursuant to what is often referred to as the "multiplier effect" a travel dollar turns over many times in a local economy, benefiting not only hotel catering industries, but local transport, shops, supply and entertainment enterprises as well, and together with all other enterprises with which they in turn do business. New jobs are created and unemployment reduced.

In short, your individual contributions to the development of the air transportation system within the great north central region, collectively represent a major contribution to general economic development. From what I have observed I would say that you are succeeding very well.

METRO DEVELOPMENT BANK ACT
OF 1970

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a very important bill that will

² North Central Case, 7 C.A.B. 639 (1946).

³ *Ibid.* 663, 664.

⁴ *Ibid.* 672, 673.

provide assistance to local and State governments in their search for financing for necessary public facilities.

It is called the National Metropolitan Development Bank Act of 1970. It is a proposal first sponsored by former Vice President Hubert Humphrey 3 years ago and contains several very valuable innovations.

The bill will set up an independent bank sponsored by the Federal Government and designed to float bonds on the national market and make loans for three purposes.

First. Cities and States will be permitted to borrow money for basic community facilities.

Second. Twenty-year loans will be available to quasi-governmental organizations for construction of housing, medical facilities, and other public facilities.

Third. Soft loans over a 60-year period will be made to business organizations and others for economic development purposes.

Technical assistance will be provided to the borrowers in order to guarantee the best practices for borrowing and financing these projects.

Besides the central bank there will be regional banks established in those areas where the amount of loaning is heavy enough to require a separate staff.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, there have been proposals made by the administration for new institutions to make financing easier for State and local government. One proposal submitted with the President's speech on the environment calls for an environmental financing act which is of such limited extent and restricted in authority. I believe the Metro Bank would be a much broader and more effective approach.

Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN is the author of H.R. 14639, the "Development Bank Act," which has many excellent features for financing housing, public facilities and projects for employment of low-income and unemployed people.

This Congress should take action to expand the availability of money and to promote construction and development. I hope the Metro Bank Act can contribute to fashioning legislation for this purpose.

INDUSTRIALIST CHALLENGES CITY TO PLAN FOR THE FUTURE

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, remarks by J. Irwin Miller, whose guidance and consultation is sought not only by the citizens of Columbus, Ind., but by the Federal Government on several important study commissions.

Mr. Miller, in a recent talk to the Columbus, Ind., Junior Chamber of Commerce, called for vision and vigor in meeting the future. In his challenge to

the young executives of the community, Mr. Miller urges them to devote their time and talent to no problems less than the most important ones.

The text of his excellent talk, reprinted in the Columbus Republic, is submitted for the attention of my colleagues:

DREAM AND DEDICATE FOR FUTURE, MILLER CHALLENGES

Twice the last week, members of the Columbus community have been challenged in similar speeches to plan and dream and dedicate themselves individually to the future.

The speaker was J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the board of Cummins Engine company and of the Irwin Union Bank and Trust company, and the man whose interest and financing of quality architecture brought Columbus the title of "Athens of the Prairie." "The price of delay is enormous," he says in calling for development for the long-term human good of the generation ahead in the speeches which were made a week ago Thursday to the Junior Chamber of Commerce and then again Tuesday to Irwin Union Bank shareholders. He calls for a new period such as that in the 1950's when, he recalls, Columbus was for a time a united, effective community.

Here is the text of the speech, much as it was delivered to the Junior Chamber.

TEXT OF THE SPEECH

(By J. Irwin Miller)

I want to talk to you tonight about Columbus—and specifically about the Jaycees and Columbus.

My first point is that "None of us knows very much about our town." If we knew as little about our businesses, they would all be in desperate trouble, indeed.

The Jaycees have the open opportunity to serve by knowing more about Columbus and Bartholomew county than anyone else. I mean knowing not alone the statistics, but knowing this community in depth, in human terms. Such knowledge is the only proper foundation for sensible community action.

Now the second point is that "None of us feels as responsible for the direction and the action in Columbus as we will have to, if our community is to get on top of its problems and remain a good place to live for any of its citizens."

The Jaycees by means of knowledge and determination can be more influential than any other group in making and keeping Columbus a good community. Your members are still young. You have fewer ingrained prejudices about "going back to the good old days." You have energy; you have first-class training. You have the ability—and the opportunity—to transform Columbus if you set your minds to it, if you aim very high, if you go for the big, vital, difficult problems and do not waste your valuable efforts, which are unique in the community, on projects less than the most important.

I wish I were one of you. I am jealous of you and your chance.

About 70 per cent of all Americans live in cities today, and this figure will soon rise to more than 80 per cent. Not one of these cities is really preparing for the more than 50 per cent increase in population which is a certainty to happen to them in less than 30 years. In fact most of them are not even keeping up with today's problems.

To those of us who live in this town and regularly travel to larger cities, it is clear that American cities are rapidly losing ground in managing traffic, sanitation, controlling building decay, or crime on the streets. We even wonder whether today it is possible to rebuild, manage and control the growth of a big city.

Fortunately, you and I don't have to answer that question. But merely asking it

brings us face to face with a very embarrassing fact: If any city in the country could solve its problems, surely that city would be one of the size and relative per capita wealth and abilities of Columbus.

But who is to say we are not solving our problems? Over a wide area of the Midwest we are beginning to be considered something of a model of today's progressive city. People even take trips to come to see us.

That area of admiration stops, however, pretty much at the Bartholomew county line. Within the county, one has only to read letters to the editor, attend community meetings, listen to conversations at parties and above all observe the changing city to discover that in the immortal words of Doctor Cue we are not "every day in every way getting better and better."

Shall I specify? Well, only a few examples. The rapid increase in traffic congestion. Try to approach Columbus from the south and west when it is time to go to work in the morning. Try to move at all in the downtown area around 5 o'clock in the evening or on Fridays through the traffic arteries at the shopping centers. What will this congestion be in only five more years? And what plans are underway now to handle known substantial increases?

The increase in smoke and smell. Columbus lies in a pocket at the confluence of three streams, a natural for smog some day when the volume of industrial gases builds higher. Even now, on days when the wind is right, a smell that has to be explained to every visitor blankets the whole town.

Just about every manufacturing plant in town, including all the major ones (that means Cummins, too) puts out more smoke than is tolerable and contributes to stream pollution. Question: Who would be willing to swim near the mouth of Hawcreek or in White river just below town? Dirt and garbage.

Who thinks the principle of lining street after street with exposed sacks of garbage is the answer of the future? Who thinks city streets are clean? If you do, walk down Washington street or Franklin or Jackson—with your eyes open—or over any parking lot of any shopping center and ask is this America the beautiful? And what will it be like in five more years?

When approaching Columbus from the air, visiting pilots who have lost their way are now told by those who know to look for the permanent column of smoke rising from the city dump. As relatively simple a problem as solid waste disposal has been debated without an answer for over four years. At this rate how will we do on big problems?

Forgetting other physical problems—the slow pace of redevelopment, plans for a southern by-pass and others, let us mention just one more matter before asking ourselves what ought we to do.

That matter is SCHOOLS. We are with reason proud of our schools and we have been more active in school construction during the last 20 years than at any time in the town's history. However, during this active period we have been able to make no serious reduction in classroom population, and our pupil/teacher ratio remains higher than desirable.

Our building plans will do not much more than stay even with probable county growth. And, if we are to believe general conversation of the high school young, we are not free from the serious nationwide problems of drugs, liquor, and sex, though we do not openly discuss them.

Well—so we have many problems. Who doesn't? Why have I not balanced them with a discussion of our achievements and strengths? We are talking among ourselves, and, just as in our own businesses, we spend our time on our problems (or should), so

our best service to our community consists in identifying problems and weaknesses and moving to correct them before they overwhelm us.

Let you think I am not aware of the strengths of our town, I will tell you that I am very proud indeed that we are a relatively open and unpolarized community where people may differ and still remain friends; that we have worked harder than any of our neighbors to make this a good place for minorities to live and work, though we still have far to go. And I am proud that we have always been a generous community, setting a statewide example in general private giving to community causes. We have, therefore, a tradition and a per capita income which in theory could be combined to set the pace among American cities. We are clearly not setting that pace.

Construction costs in this country, and that means school buildings, highways and streets, waste and sewage disposal plants, are all increasing nowadays at a rate of nearly 15 per cent each year. This means they will come close to doubling within five years, unless the pace of cost increase slows.

The price of delay, therefore, is enormous. The most expensive solid waste disposal plant, or senior high school, if it had been built three years ago would look like a bargain today. There has not been a time in the last 25 years when we should not have built more, and built it bigger. Had we done so, our children would be better served today; we would live in a better, safer, cleaner, community; and our future tax burden would be much lower. There is no reason to expect this situation to be different in the years ahead. In fact, inflation seems more likely at a higher than at a lower rate.

If Columbus were our business, and if we were the responsible management, this would say to us such things as, always be one elementary school and at least half a high school ahead. Classes will be smaller. Teachers will do a better job and long-term capital costs will be reduced. It would say keep sewage and solid waste disposal plants growing and according to plan—and always with extra capacity.

It would say complete downtown redevelopment as swiftly as possible. Identify now the areas that will next need redeveloping or developing, and it would say redevelop or develop for the long term human good of the generation ahead and never with single-minded concern for the short-term one-time economic advantage of the present generation.

It would say plan far ahead and construct now adequate and attractive traffic arteries, for city approaches and for internal traffic.

It would say identify and purchase now all the proper park and recreation areas needed in the county during the next 30 years.

It would say many more things, too.

It would require us to ask what answers should be found now: To the existence of slum property; to the difficulty of building enough low-cost housing of a quality which will not turn into tomorrow's slums. It would require us to plan and seek funds for branch libraries, cultural facilities, industrial expansion, and the like.

Now your reaction to all this is but it would all cost too much. Taxes are too high anyhow. Taxpayers are already rebelling.

There is a more important answer to this. The cost of getting Columbus on top of its problems and keeping it there will be higher than it should be simply because we have fallen behind. We have neglected to keep up. And, for all the reasons every businessman knows so well, it will cost very much more to catch up than to keep up.

What, then is our choice? Well, we can in today's mobile society move on when things get too bad for us or too threatening for our children, and we can try to locate some-

where less badly off, or we can try to do something about it.

Consider the paradox: Most parents with teen-age and college-age children are worried about lack of respect, no interest in business, critical attitudes toward traditional American values, and a whole host of other things. And what is our response? More often than not it is to lecture the children. And how do they respond? To most lectures today, whether lectures on how many miles I had to walk through the snow to school every day, or homework lectures, or Americanism lectures, or anti-Communism lectures, their reaction is most generally to be found in one word—Bull.

This, of course, may be because of some basic ingratitude in this affluent group. But, it may also have another cause. It may be because all children from the beginning of time have been influenced not so much by what their elders say, as by what they see them do—by their examples.

What kind of example of traditional American values do we offer our children, if we let this community run down, when we quite clearly have both the wealth and the human resources to make ourselves best?

Most of the people in this room subscribe to President Nixon's determination to place more government responsibility at local levels. But do we understand that, once we begin not to look to Washington for answers, we shall have to look to ourselves for both the money and the action, and that time is on the short side?

If local responsibility means anything, it means that each citizen, no matter how many times he moves, must put down his roots in the community in which he is located, involve himself and work for its necessary improvement. Simply complaining has never been an adequate definition of acceptance of responsibility.

Our way ahead is not easy, though it is easier than that of most cities. In Indiana we have major tax inequities, and serious difficulty in financing long-term improvements. But very little is impossible. Shortly after the second world war we put on the best performance in the history of the town. When we were not allowed to increase school taxes fast enough to keep up with need, Lowell Engelking and a committee of concerned men and women organized a tax board hearing that nearly filled the Pearl street gym and in that one hearing turned the town around.

B. F. Hamilton, shortly after, got the town's industries to pledge enough money, over and above taxes, to build the new Jefferson school.

Glenn Thompson organized a community-wide drive to build the new gym and even factory workers pledged a week's pay, payable over three years.

Q. G. Noblitt came to industry to give the money to dredge Hawcreek and build Hawcreek boulevard.

These years were Columbus at its best. We were for a period a united effective community. Industry, merchants, government, worked together—determined to solve problems. And we offered the unique example of a community willing to shell out beyond the demands of the tax assessor, if that was what it took to get things done.

A principle reason why I have looked forward to being here with you tonight is my feeling that Columbus is once again in need of a comparable major community effort, and that this effort will be best undertaken and seen through to conclusion by the younger generation who form this group—the Jaycees. You Jaycees have an opportunity to determine the priorities of the 1970's for Columbus and to get city government, industry, merchants pledged to accomplish them within specific limits of time. How should you go about this?

If you decide to accept such a service to

your home community, your organization should be sure it represents well the whole community and not simply one point of view or one set of interests. Perhaps you are well ahead of me on this. But there are in the community contemporaries of yours, of minority races who have a concern for good living and decent opportunity for themselves and their children. You need them in your membership. They too are Columbus. They see problems and needs from a point of view which must bear on final choices, if they are to be good choices.

There are also many more workers in this community than managers. The leaders of many of the unions in Columbus are contemporaries of yours. They are able to view the community in ways the manager cannot, and often has difficulty understanding. You need them in your membership. You need the view of women in your studies, if you are to serve as Columbus needs serving. You need a full cross-section of Columbus in your membership, because your first job is to understand our community in depth and as a whole.

In all this you will have to think primarily in human terms, in terms of a city wherein each young child born and raised here has an equal chance at the starting line. This is what America is all about.

Do you know the words of Thomas Wolfe? "To every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

Every program for Columbus, if it is to be true to this country, has to be rooted in such a promise. And those who are now in possession of the promise by accident of family and birth have the American duty to give time, money, and effort to guarantee that other Americans who are by a different accident deprived and disadvantaged may not be denied the same promise.

So every hungry baby—white or black; every educationally deprived boy and girl; individual unable by his own efforts to get decent health care, housing, diet, jobs—the existence of each such human in Columbus is a denial by you and me of the values and promise of America.

Why "By us?" Because generally speaking we, in this room, are a group who could change things for the deprived, the frustrated, the blocked in our community.

Upon this foundation then you have a chance to take exciting action.

What might such action be? A few examples. You might choose others.

In response to your leadership the industries and businesses in this town might be persuaded to agree voluntarily to eliminate smoke and smell, stop polluting the stream, and by landscaping or other means to present a clean and attractive appearance to those who live and travel nearby and do it within five years.

City government might be persuaded to enact ordinances with enforcement powers sufficient to assure compliance by future industries that come to town. It is very clear from President Nixon's message that we shall all soon be required to clean up our environment. How much better to do it voluntarily—and now!

You might consult the school board to see whether the State Street school building (one of our most inadequate facilities, serving many children who most need a good start in their education) with help from the whole community might not be replaced now with facilities and student/teacher ratios and a curriculum specifically designed to give first rate public school education to those children who have least advantages and are truly most isolated from the rest of the community.

Or (as I noted earlier) you might work

with city government, industry and private citizens to acquire now all the park and recreation areas that this county ought to have during the next 30 years.

You might address yourselves to the frightening increases in health and hospital costs of the last decade, to the difficulties in Columbus which the poor and all newcomers have in obtaining health care.

You might discover the degree to which there is genuine hunger in the county and determine a true answer.

You might assist in implementing the open housing ordinance and through thoughtful education and personal example help make it truly effective.

You could maintain a continuous inventory of needed projects. You could set priorities based on knowledge. And you could push for public commitments by government, industry, merchants to accomplish them with specific time limits.

I know that many programs for Columbus have existed and always will exist. I know that among others the "senior" Chamber has some vigorous committees.

But we need much more. Present efforts aren't enough. We can see, every day, that we are falling behind. We can see that as each of us gains more private prosperity, each of us also lives, works, and travels every day in the midst of growing public decay.

Therefore I suggest that you—because of your intelligence, your youth, your lack of complacency—can change this and that under your prodding, government, merchants, industry and your bosses, will not fire you but will respond as this community has always responded to intelligent proposals, vigorously pushed by responsible men and women.

Try us!

LAW AND ORDER—ITS PLACE IN THE DEMOCRACY

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, while the adult world is involved on the question of law and order, some of our young who are conscious of this great national problem are expressing their thoughts. A child of 13 years from my district has written a paper which displays thinking far beyond her years.

It is encouraging to know that the emerging generation has an awareness of this situation. I hope and trust that we shall not disappoint those young who are looking to us to discharge our responsibilities in this area.

I am proud to place in the RECORD a speech made by Patrice Shipley, a constituent from Beltsville, Md., before a new citizens' ceremony sponsored by the College Park American Legion Post. I was pleased to also participate in this program.

LAW AND ORDER—ITS PLACE IN THE DEMOCRACY

"In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth." After the creation, however, God deemed it necessary to provide the world with certain laws to live by. It was not until Moses and the Ten Commandments that the Lord gave men a written moral code of laws. These laws were based on God's supreme law of love. Since then, laws have been constantly changing and developing with the times.

The United States broke away from England to escape the rule of one man who had almost complete control over the making of laws. Our country formed a democracy "for the people and by the people" of the United States. The people elect the officials of our country and those officials are obliged constantly to be interested in the welfare of the people.

In our democracy we have more freedom than in any other country in the world. However, having freedom and rights as a citizen doesn't mean a person is allowed to do everything he wants to do. We have laws to stop us from harming one another.

Laws are a modernized version of the Ten Commandments made to fit the situations of today, but with the same idea in mind.

There are different kinds of laws. Criminal laws are made to protect people from those who for greed or hatred, are willing to steal, cheat, lie and even kill to get what they want. Civil and social laws preserve and protect the rights of each individual and allow each person to exercise his rights freely. Laws were made to help guide us in keeping peaceful, prosperous and orderly conduct among all the people of this nation.

A suggestion for a law is called a bill. A bill must go through a lot of red tape to become a law. Our elected officials are responsible for setting up laws that benefit the majority of the people.

To enforce laws we have the courts. If a person has ignored or disobeyed a law, the police are authorized to arrest him and if, after a fair trial he is found guilty, he may be fined or punished.

Order is important in a democracy because when people have a lot of freedom they often take advantage and ignore their responsibilities. Without order our country would become confused and chaotic.

To sum it all up, laws are the rules of life, and order is the key to a peaceful and prosperous atmosphere. Law and order's place in the democracy is simply to teach peoples' minds what their hearts should already know.

GENERAL WESTMORELAND SPEAKS ON ROTC PROGRAMS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Association of Military Colleges and Schools of the United States held its 54th annual meeting in Washington, D.C., on March 8, 9, and 10, 1970, and I had the opportunity and pleasure of attending their reception on the evening of March 9. This was a distinct pleasure for me inasmuch as Castle Heights Military Academy, located in Lebanon, Tenn., Columbia Military Academy of Columbia, Tenn., and Sewanee Military Academy, Sewanee, Tenn., are members of this outstanding association.

The principal speaker at the association's banquet was the former commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam and the present Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, General Westmoreland, a distinguished soldier and great American, presented a very thoughtful and informative speech regarding military schools and the ROTC program.

Because of the timeliness and importance of this subject, I am inserting the

general's remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and commend their reading to my colleagues. The remarks follow:

ADDRESS BY GEN. W. C. WESTMORELAND

Ladies and gentlemen, I appreciate this opportunity to address your 54th Annual Meeting of the Association of Military Colleges and Schools of the United States. I feel particularly close to this group. My grandfather on my mother's side was a graduate of VMI, and my father was a graduate of The Citadel. Being either too late or too old, neither served on active duty. My grandfather graduated shortly after the War Between the States (sometimes called the Civil War), and my father, even though he volunteered for the Infantry in World War I, was turned down as too old. Nevertheless, both had great interest in the military and supported the military throughout their lifetimes.

During nearly thirty-four years of active service, I have come into contact with hundreds of officers who were alumni of the schools, institutes and colleges represented here tonight. And the vast majority of those officers reflected the contributions which your institutions make to America.

In my opinion you play two vital national roles. You undeniably contribute to the defense and preparedness of the United States. And during a time that dissent against national policy, disregard for the law, mob rule, and pot make the headlines, you develop discipline, character, leadership, and patriotism in young people . . . young people who will be among the future leaders of this Nation.

In the Junior ROTC Program many young people first learn camaraderie, leadership, discipline, and respect for authority . . . traits which some of our young people sorely need. Today, in my opinion, the Junior Program is required more than ever before. Yet in recognizing your problems as they pertain to the Army, we have taken additional steps to insure that we provide the Junior ROTC Program the best qualified instructors available.

To achieve this, the Army has adopted a new procedure for the initial and continued employment of retired Army personnel as instructors in the Junior Program. This procedure requires the approval of both the Secretary of the Army and the institution. In addition, similar qualifications and procedures will be used for assignment of active duty personnel.

Selection of instructors will be on a continuing competitive basis, employing the "total man" concept. Standards for selection have recently been established and will be published soon in new Army Regulations.

In response to your request last year, we are establishing a centralized system in order to identify the best men available. Naturally, your special requirements will be considered.

The Army in selecting qualified instructor personnel for Junior ROTC, will review the complete military personnel file of the individual. Moreover, each applicant will receive a personal interview. And following initial approval by the Army, the school will have the opportunity to determine the applicant's final suitability.

Naturally, both the Army and the institution desire the continued development of each instructor. Therefore, the Army will require all Junior ROTC instructors, both active duty and retired, to maintain their qualifications and military proficiency. And a review board will be convened at least once every two years for the purpose of verifying qualifications. The review board will provide the institution with lists of validated instructors as well as those selected as outstanding.

In addition, we are providing more major command level personnel to work with Junior ROTC institutions in solving mutual problems. Each major Army command will establish an advisory council. Each council

in turn will have an Army executive secretary and members representing both the staff and faculty of institutions in the area. In addition, a school president or principal and one of his cadets will be selected as representative-at-large. Hopefully, this council will provide a better means of communications among all concerned.

Our new approach should improve Junior ROTC instructors. And with better instructors, the curriculum should improve as well. Moreover, I am certain higher instructor standards will motivate many young Junior ROTC cadets to continue in Senior ROTC in college.

Today it takes a man of determination and motivation to wear a military uniform on many of our campuses across the land. The student in many cases today is not as readily drawn to an environment where discipline and controls are exercised as was his counterpart of some years ago. Apparently, the "Profession of Arms" no longer is as nationally attractive as it was in previous years. And herein lies our basic problem concerning officer recruitment. Our military force must be disciplined and dedicated to high standards of personal conduct and service to country. An army without discipline and dedication is a menace to the nation, institutions, and ideals that it is expected to secure. In a society which is growing more permissive, the selection of leaders not only becomes more difficult but more important.

ROTC is our major source of newly commissioned officers each year. We seek in this program to develop enlightened leadership in young men and motivate them towards service to country.

Our overriding concern must be that our soldiers are led by the very best. And if we cannot obtain the best from the campuses of America, where do we as a nation turn for quality leadership in the quantity we require in our Armed Forces?

I feel so strongly about the importance of ROTC to our national defense that I personally visited every one of our Summer Camps last year. I was impressed with what I saw, but at the same time my visits revealed certain areas that could be improved in not only Summer Camps but in the ROTC Program as a whole. Consequently, we have re-examined the entire ROTC Program. Our Summer Camp Program has been revitalized . . . this summer the thrust will be toward "Preparation for Leadership." Emphasis will be placed on cadet leadership development. Skill-level instruction will be limited to that essential for meaningful cadet participation in tactical exercises. I am certain this new program will challenge young men physically, mentally, and psychologically. It will be an experience they will never forget.

Additional emphasis will be placed on soldiering, and discipline will be tightened—but not to the extent that it is harassing. The atmosphere will be clearly military—not academic. And no cadet will lack personal challenge.

Summer training is vital to the leadership development of future officers. Accordingly, each ROTC Summer Camp will be commanded by a selected brigadier general. He will devote his full attention to this important mission. The deputy camp commander of each advanced camp will be a senior professor of military science.

On campuses, we are modernizing the curriculum to meet the requirements and philosophy of each institution now hosting ROTC. No college student should be deprived of his freedom of choice to select a career or satisfy his obligation to his country. For this reason, we are working closely with college administrators and institutional officials so that young men may continue to have the opportunity to complete degree requirements in their chosen academic discipline and at the same time satisfy requirements for a commission in the Army.

The fact is that some of our instruction by its nature is intrinsically military and may not be considered appropriate by some institutions for the award of academic credit. In those instances, we negotiate on a case by case basis to satisfy the needs of the Nations, the institution, and the individual.

On the other hand, some of our ROTC cadet critics say we place too much emphasis in ROTC on large unit tactics and management.

The outgrowth of our examination of the program is a new curriculum concept which we hope to implement during school year 70-71. This concept recognizes that three parts of the ROTC student education: his chosen degree field, institutional courses of value to the Army, and necessary courses in military science. This curriculum is unified by the subject areas: leadership, management, the role of the military in support of national policy, and military history. Those institutions which utilize the regular, modified, or developmental options can continue their current programs with little modification. Very simply stated, the new curriculum unifies and modernizes all three options.

I believe this curriculum represents a strong, viable effort to insure the continuation of the total ROTC Program. It represents our effort to stay abreast of the fast moving changes being made in institutions of higher education. Moreover, it enables ROTC to complete for student time in the educational process.

Other critics question the basic objective of our program—to attract college graduates with the potential of becoming quality junior leaders. They say we are only interested in training platoon leaders . . . in producing gold bars.

Contrary to their beliefs, the Army does not expect from ROTC a trained second lieutenant with diploma in hand on graduation day. What the Army expects from the ROTC graduate is a well-educated, motivated young man with good character that will allow him to develop into a responsible commissioned officer. We need men who are capable of meeting the challenges of technology and leadership demanded by our sophisticated modern-day Army.

We seek men schooled in a variety of disciplines, from managerial and applied natural sciences to the social sciences. We seek men who possess a wide range of academic experience—sociologists, anthropologists, economists to name a few. . . . We seek men who are eager and interested in different things, men who want to play a significant role in the future, and men who want to repay their country for its blessings.

In order for our officers to handle the complexities of the modern Army, they must possess those qualities and attributes that I have mentioned. But to possess these, they must have a firm foundation—a foundation which can only come from a liberal education.

At present, the majority of our young officers receive such a foundation in the colleges and universities throughout the Nation. And those who have not been so fortunate to receive a college education—and who are selected for an Army career—are given an opportunity to obtain college degrees as they continue to serve.

But for continued growth and for long term benefit to the Service, we need college graduates. And the ROTC Program provides us with young men who have the background of a liberal education, are motivated to serve, and have demonstrated their leadership potential.

Ladies and gentlemen, "good generals come from good lieutenants," and education, leadership, and experience are the keys to success. Consequently, we are interested in the continued education of our officers. And our Army school system attests to that. The Army provides the specialized training and prac-

tical leadership training that make the officer, after he comes on active duty. In fact, each newly commissioned officer attends his basic branch course for several months prior to his first assignment. There the new Army officer receives the training necessary to make him an effective officer in his branch. He then continues his career practicing leadership and gaining experience . . . all the while periodically attending Army or other Service schools to guarantee his continued development toward positions of greater responsibility.

Recently I was reminiscing with General Handy, General George C. Marshall's Operations Deputy in World War II, who echoed Churchill's remarks that our small Army of the thirties was only able to rise to the challenge of World War II because of the Army school system. Today I attribute the success and professionalism of our Army in Vietnam in no small part to an even better Army school system. Our Army school system continues to prepare our officers for the future. But I am certain all of you present tonight are concerned about the future of ROTC and the military college.

First, we should note that most college and university officials agree that the campus has a responsibility to provide leaders for the national defense. Their only discussion deals with the form and content. However, those educators who reject the basic thesis of "Partnership in Education with the Military Services" present a philosophy that we cannot accept, and no amount of discussion can resolve the issue. In those cases, the only solution may ultimately be *disestablishment*. In two colleges (Harvard and Dartmouth) Army ROTC units will be terminated this summer. A few others may follow suit. But during the past two years, the Senior ROTC Program has grown by the addition of 27 new units to raise our total to 283 participating institutions. An additional 42 colleges have formally applied for ROTC units.

In all fairness to those institutions standing in line, we may be forced to reassess those institutions hosting ROTC that do not produce enough officers to make the investment worthwhile.

Where does the all-military school with its traditional cadet corps fit into this environment? Does it dissolve its corps? Does it maintain a separate corps on a coed campus like Texas A&M or VPI? Or does it continue its role as The Citadel, Norwich, VMI, North Georgia College and Pennsylvania Military College? These are questions I am sure all of you have asked yourselves many times. I have no answers. However, I do know that the Army needs and supports your service to the Nation. Many of our outstanding officers come from your campuses. There they gained their initial impression of military life, developed a camaraderie with the soldier and . . . most important . . . acquired the spirit of "Duty-Honor-Country."

In view of Army interest in military colleges, many ask why the Army does not provide some additional financial reimbursement to these institutions. This issue has been raised in various forms by the Army many times not only for military colleges but for all institutions that host ROTC. Considering the present climate and the serious cuts in the Defense budget, I see no hope in the near future for such a proposal. The pressures of new national priorities have challenged us to do better with less. We have decided to concentrate our efforts on the individual student. For example, branch selection and graduate school delay procedures have been recently changed. We have proposed an increase in the cadet subsistence allowance and an increase in the total number of scholarships from the current 5,500. Moreover, we are assigning officers of the highest quality to ROTC duty as instructors. And, where possible, we are individualizing cadet leadership development oppor-

tunities. Hopefully, these efforts will result in a favorable secondary effect on host institutions. The essence of ROTC and its continued life on the American campus is: The individual and his leadership development.

We continue to recognize the importance of the individual in our society. But at the same time, we recognize the need for responsibility and discipline not only in our Army but in all our citizens as well. Nowhere are these fundamentals better developed than in our military schools and colleges.

It has been my pleasure to address you. I congratulate you on your service to America and wish you continued success.

VETERANS' HEALTH CARE

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, disturbing reports about the conditions in veterans hospitals have come to my attention. I have received numerous complaints from people in my district about understaffing, poor conditions, even neglect of the patients. And these reports are not isolated phenomenon.

VA health care was the subject of a CBS news special with Joseph Benti, broadcast last week, and the conditions reported in that program were shocking. The blame does not lie with the Veterans' Administration, however. As Mr. Benti discovered:

A Congressional committee recently found \$20 million worth of unused equipment in VA hospitals, unused, because there was no one to use it. Of the nine operating rooms in Miami hospital, only five can be staffed.

Staff cutbacks in veterans hospitals, resulting from unrealistic economy measures now seemingly in vogue, have caused crippling personnel shortages in VA hospitals across the country.

Mr. Benti reported that in one VA installation paralyzed patients are turned over once every 8 hours. Before the staff cutbacks, patients were turned over once every 2 hours to prevent bed sores and infection. Similar budget cuts, according to the report, forced the removal of orange juice from the daily menu; now it is allowed only on doctor's prescriptions.

Such conditions are shocking. Our colleague, Mr. TEAGUE, who has championed the rights of veterans for many years, said during the broadcast that conditions in VA hospitals are the worst he has witnessed during 23 years in Congress.

The tragedy is that we care so little for those who have given so much. I was really overwhelmed by the picture presented in that CBS broadcast.

The VA hospitals in this country form the largest hospital system in the world. It is disturbing to learn that this system is not being utilized because not enough money is being appropriated to staff these facilities adequately.

I feel others should be made aware of these conditions so that action can be taken. For those of my colleagues who may have missed the broadcast on VA health care, I am including a transcript of the show at this point:

CBS MORNING NEWS WITH JOSEPH BENTI—
MARCH 2, 1970

BENTI. Dozens of doctors, nurses and other employees of the Veterans Hospital in Boston have signed charges that health care in their hospital is inadequate and that conditions will deteriorate unless they insist on major improvements. The complaints range over a wide area of normal hospital operations, from a shortage of doctors and nurses to incidents of poorly handled routine procedures.

A copy of this letter has been received by Congressman Olin Teague, a Texas Democrat, who is Chairman of the House Veterans Committee. Teague says he has been told that 5,000 VA hospital beds will be taken out of service July 1st, because of money and personnel shortages.

The head of the VA—Donald Johnson—says there is no danger that any war wounded veteran will receive slow or second-rate care. Teague disagrees. He says the job needs to be done; and cannot be done with half a budget and half the personnel required, and that he is going to ask for more money than was requested by the Nixon Administration.

Much of the problem facing the VA hospitals begins in one place, Vietnam.

This scene has been repeated tens of thousands of times in Vietnam. It represents a miracle of technology and human effort; one that has saved the lives of more American fighting men in this war than in any war this country has ever fought. Yet the miracle leaves many of the survivors with more severe and disabling battle scars than ever before. What can be done about that is far removed from here. Life-saving is the first consideration at the beginning. The human effort continues at the emergency field hospitals. Surgery is the best possible, and immediate. Then as soon as possible the wounded leave the battle zone and are taken to military hospitals, usually in this country, where again the care is the best possible.

If the wounded can be repaired for service they stay in the military hospitals. If not, they are discharged to be cared for by the Veterans' Administration in one of its 166 hospitals. This report is about what happens there to those many of our politicians laud as heroes. What happens when the best possible gives way to the shock of reality?

MATTHEW RAIBLE. I have slept in rice paddies eight days at a time, dirty, filthy, dodging bullets; and I've slept in a bed here that hasn't been changed days at a time or if my urine bag's overflowing you have to wait quite a while before it's changed—and the stench is unbearable.

ROBERT MULLER. I'm a very proud person and I hate to be humiliated. When I have to ask an aide three times or I have to go for a call button for an hour being unanswered, suddenly it just chokes me up and I really—I can't take it. It blows my mind—the frustration, everything.

PATRICK SHEEHAN. It's a really dejected and lonely feeling to be laying in a bed, to be completely helpless and not have anybody there to help you.

RON KOVIC. Well, the thing that bugs me is the fact that the country can bid everybody for a war and send everybody marching on their way. And we go over there and we can fight and die for our country but we come back to the United States and we can't get the proper medical facilities and medical help that we need. And this is the biggest hypocrisy.

BENTI. In all the billions of dollars America spends each year, another million or so less here or there in a Federal budget request gets lost in a trail of zeroes. But lost dollars in a Veterans' Hospital can be seen in lost care.

Here in this Veterans' Hospital, a few years ago, paralyzed veterans were visited three times a day by a therapist, and received 90

minutes' exercise each day. Now there is only one therapist for 25 patients.

THERAPIST. Up again—feel my fingers—all the way—25. All right, now let's try to straighten that knee. Come on.

BENTI. She can provide only 15 or 20 minutes exercise each day. Every two hours—day and night—paralyzed patients should be turned over to prevent bed sores and infection. It takes two persons to turn a patient. The personnel have been reduced here, so patients now are turned only once every eight hours. For the paralyzed patient any major movement requires assistance. Even the simple act of feeding often requires other hands. If those hands are not there, the patient must wait.

Dr. Peter Hofstra is the physician responsible for the care of these men.

Dr. PETER HOFSTRA. We try to do our best. Many of the men are well-motivated and if you ask what the important thing is, I guess, that hits us every day is the morale of the veteran. They feel that they would like to make a good recovery, they feel like they would like to cooperate with us but when they see around them the disadvantages under which we are trying to gain their recovery, many times they become demoralized and in some instances even refuse to carry out the therapy sessions as we would outline for them just because of their poor morale.

BENTI. What's going on inside Veterans' Hospitals is not visible from the outside. The exterior gives every sign of the best of everything. This hospital in Washington cost \$22 million. This one in Miami, behind the exterior—the best of everything is not available. One budget cut forced the removal of orange juice from the daily menu; now it's given only with a doctor's prescription. The shortage of personnel forces the wounded who can wait to fall back into that old military habit—waiting for hours to be called or cared for.

The end of the day at any Veterans' hospital looks much like the end of a work day anywhere else. Staffs, which already are half those per patient compared to community hospitals, leave en masse. When they leave so too does the assurance of adequate care. In a VA hospital care is at its best on a five-day 40-hour week—Monday through Friday. At night and on week-ends, care is at a minimum. On weekdays, for eight hours, this laboratory has 25 technicians. At night and on weekends, only one.

Dr. ALBERT TOMASULO. All of the doctors' orders cannot be followed, and people with lesser training, lesser educational backgrounds, lesser competence, if you wish, are making a decision of which orders should be given priority.

BENTI. Isn't that dangerous for the patient?

TOMASULO. It does approach danger, though these people do have competences of their own; they're somewhat less, of course, than those of a physician, and this is not a desirable situation. I would say that to do the job with the load, may I predict we should have a hundred more people, open an additional 40 to 60 beds and need another million dollars.

BENTI. In any average community hospital there are three employees for every one patient. In VA hospitals the ratio is three employees to every two patients. This nurse, for example, alone, cares for between 60 to 80 patients. That means she can do little more than to dispense medicine. One emergency, and she's in trouble.

A few weeks ago, this hospital dropped 65 employees; it didn't have the money to pay them. More or less the same is true in all the VA hospitals—a situation described by Dr. Beverly Oliphant in Washington.

Dr. BEVERLY OLIPHANT. Working here is really one of the most frustrating experiences I've ever had. If I were the patient, and I can only speak in those terms, I think that I

would not like it very well here, and I think that because we're often so busy and harassed and trying to get things done on time, that we have very little time to show any compassion for the people that we're caring for. I can say it no more bluntly than this, is that patients suffer. They don't get the proper care as they should get.

BENTL. The personnel problem is matched by other shortages. Of the nine operating rooms in the Miami Hospital, only five can be staffed. A Congressional committee recently found \$20 million worth of unused equipment in VA hospitals, unused, because there was no one to use it. Miami has equipment for three intensive care units, and yet a staff for only two. The rest of the equipment lies unused.

America's Veterans' Hospitals are the largest hospital system in the world. There once was no question that they were also the best. That is no longer true.

Representative OLIN TEAGUE. Well, I think the present conditions of our VA Hospitals is that they're in the worst condition they've been in my 23 years in Congress.

Senator ALAN CRANSTON. There're not enough doctors, nurses, psychiatrists. I think the worst single thing I've heard come from the head of psychiatry at the University of California at Los Angeles who said that in the psychiatric ward in a Veterans' Hospital there, because they don't have enough psychiatrists to give adequate individual attention, they started administering tranquilizers, drugs and chemicals and simply put men off on the shelf. He said we put young men into chemical cocoons because we are not spending the money necessary to give them adequate psychiatric care.

DONALD E. JOHNSON. Certainly, we're not above criticism. We welcome criticism, constructive criticism. We do believe, however, that we are giving the care that is necessary and while there has been some changes made in the number of operating beds and so on, this has come about more because of updated admissions policies, discharge policies, the advances of medical technology which allows for less time in the hospital per patient, this sort of thing. And this is what is happening. In 1971, we project, 851,000 patients to be treated as compared with 816,000 in fiscal '70.

BENTL. One veteran who believes his rehabilitation was delayed several months in a VA Hospital, is former Army Captain Max Cleland of Georgia, a 27-year-old Vietnam veteran who lost both legs and an arm in a grenade explosion at Khesanh.

Captain MAX CLELAND. In one sense, we're, like I say, if you breathe, a serviceman. We're younger, more determined, and we're not going to give up easily even though we present new problems to the VA, to anybody that deals with us—new physical problems, because we come back more physically disabled than anybody else in past wars, simply because of new life-saving techniques on the battlefield. I wouldn't have made it in World War II or Korea, I can state. Probably not. So we're coming back more physically disabled, which means you have to go that extra mile in therapy that you didn't have to go to. We're coming back with psychological problems, anxieties and doubts. It stems directly from the nature of the war—half in and half out.

So we present special problems to the VA. BENTL. A Congressional committee recently asked the directors of VA Hospitals what they needed just to maintain the present levels of care. The answer: nearly 6,000 more personnel and another \$100 million. Unless Congress and the Administration change their budget requests for the next fiscal year, there's no sign the directors will get what they say they need. The \$1½ billion now being spent on the VA hospitals is to care for more than 800,000 veterans. Yet hospital staffs have been cut back to a level of four

years ago, when there were 100,000 fewer patients.

The facts stand in sharp contrast to the motto of the Veterans' Administration, which was taken from Abraham Lincoln's second Inaugural Address: "To care for him who shall have borne the battle."

DRUGS ATTACK CHILDREN AS ABUSE CRISIS WIDENS; COMPREHENSIVE NEW BILL INTRODUCED

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the drug problem remains with us and it is getting worse—much worse. No one who picked up this week's issue of Time magazine and read the cover story on kids and heroin—a topic and title which would have seemed incredible a few years ago—can fail to realize the critical nature of today's drug abuse situation. I have frequently quoted the irrefutable statistics on this problem to underline my concern and to point out how serious this matter is. Perhaps, however, the single example of Ralphie, from the Time article, most effectively epitomizes what we have come to:

Ralph de Jesus is twelve years old, a 60-pound wisp of a boy barely four feet tall, with gentle eyes and pale arms so thin that it is almost impossible to believe that they could take a needle. But Ralphie is a junkie. He has not only used heroin, but he has also taken part in muggings and sold drugs to his friends in order to support his habit.

Lest we delude ourselves into believing that Ralphie is an extraordinary case not typical of the drug abuse scene, consider this statement which the article attributes to Dr. Judianne Densen-Gerber of New York City:

You are an example of hundreds of other children, Ralphie. Ralphie is not special.

The gathering tragedy is that Ralphie is not special. Heroin, long considered the affliction of the criminal, the derelict, the debauched, is increasingly attacking America's children.

Mr. Speaker, to borrow the vernacular of the young, we are "up against it" as far as this grotesque situation is concerned. There is every reason to believe that we will either act now or brace ourselves for a final scene of widespread addiction and ruin as the drug net descends over more and more of our people, young and old, rich and poor, black and white, urban and suburban. I know it pleases no one to find that the drug problem has suddenly mushroomed and worsened nearly beyond belief, but we must deal with reality as we find it, not fantasy as we wish it and this means tackling the drug menace forcefully now.

As far back as 1963, the President's Advisory Commission on Narcotic and Drug Abuse found that public and professional education in the field was hopelessly inadequate. Unfortunately, misinformation about drugs and their effects is still prevalent and the measures taken by the Federal Government are still limited, fragmented and sporadic.

Part of the problem in the past has been an over-reliance on law enforcement as a panacea. Clearly, this aspect of the antidrug effort is a vital one but it is a part, not the whole. The skyrocketing drug abuse and narcotic addiction statistics make it painfully obvious that drug laws by themselves will not solve the problem. The new "no-knock" provision, for instance, raises serious constitutional questions and can be described as representing an overemphasis on the domestic law-enforcement approach to drug abuse while an underemphasis on other areas, such as care, treatment, rehabilitation and research, is allowed to continue. While new laws may bring about increased arrests they can also disrupt the lives of many innocent people and will do nothing to get down to the root causes of the drug rampages. What we need here is the skill of a surgeon, not the force of a butcher.

Drugs involve their victims socially, psychologically and medically, not merely legally or illegally. Desperately needed is an attack on the root causes of this menace to replace the bankrupt policy of continuing to pay the gargantuan costs of drug-induced crime and counterproductive imprisonment which has given us no return on our investment except more costs. We have reacted to this spreading sickness by punishing it rather than curing it. For too long we have spent too much for too little. It is high time to pursue the avenue of developing programs which use our resources to combat the causes instead of the effects.

I was heartened last year when the Members of this body unanimously passed the landmark Drug Abuse Education Act of 1969, of which I was a sponsor. This act constitutes a limited but significant step toward the ultimate goal of reversing the rising tide of drug abuse among our extraordinarily vulnerable young people. Believing as I do that drug abuse is an indisputably serious threat to our society, however, I have introduced a number of other drug measures which go considerably further toward dealing with the entire spectrum of this crisis. Education, in my judgment, can and will play a major role in the effort to bring the problem under control but, as with law enforcement, it will be a part, not the whole.

Accordingly, other measures I have sponsored include: Legislation to create a Commission To Study Marijuana and Other Hallucinogenic Drugs; a bill authorizing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants to conduct special educational programs and activities concerning the use of drugs and for other related activities; a measure which authorizes the appropriation of increased annual amounts for the conduct of research by the Division of Narcotic Addiction and Drug Abuse in the National Institute of Mental Health; and, finally, the Comprehensive Narcotic Addiction and Drug Abuse Care and Control Act of 1969, designed to offer an "umbrella" approach to drug abuse by including provisions for treatment facilities, trained, qualified personnel staffing, proper care methods and facilities, research funds and realistic law-enforcement procedures. My purpose in spon-

soring this wide range of measures is to bring about a comprehensive, overall approach aimed at successfully confronting the drug abuse problem at all levels.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing in this body the Federal Drug Abuse and Drug Dependence Prevention, Treatment, and Rehabilitation Act of 1970, introduced in the other body recently by the distinguished junior Senator from Iowa, HAROLD HUGHES. This broad measure embodies a number of approaches contained in the Comprehensive Narcotic Addition and Drug Abuse Care and Control Act of 1969, sponsored by myself in this body and Senator YARBOROUGH of Texas in the other body, while offering a number of new provisions as well. This bill, along with others already introduced, will provide a blanket approach from which effective legislation can emerge. The new act is the product of hard-hitting hearings by Senator HUGHES' Subcommittee on Alcohol and Narcotics and is a laudable addition to constructive drug legislation now before this Congress. I would like to include at this point in the RECORD the summary of the bill which Senator HUGHES offered for his colleagues' consideration in the other body. I respectfully urge my colleagues to consider the merits of this legislation.

First, it would establish within the Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, a Drug Abuse Prevention, Treatment, and Rehabilitation Administration, which would have a completely comprehensive range of responsibilities with respect to the prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation of drug dependents and drug abusers.

Second, it would replace present legislation governing treatment and rehabilitation services available to drug dependent persons charged with, or convicted of, violating Federal criminal laws with updated and stronger legislation, which, while continuing the same basic policy of treatment and rehabilitation, would greatly expand the number of persons eligible for such treatment and rehabilitation and would make more definite the Federal Government's obligations to carry out that policy.

Third, it would require the establishment of programs of prevention and the recognition and encouragement of treatment and rehabilitation programs for all Federal employees, and members of the armed services. It would also require the establishment of treatment and rehabilitation programs for veterans and the inclusion of drug abuse and drug dependence in group health and disability insurance policies made available to Federal employees.

Fourth, it would require the recognition of drug abuse and drug dependence as a significant health problem in a broad range of programs affecting health matters, including vocational rehabilitation programs, the Economic Opportunity Act programs, welfare programs, highway safety planning programs, medicare, medicaid, and social security.

Fifth, it would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants to and enter into contracts

with State and local organizations, agencies, institutions, and individuals to carry out a comprehensive range of activities in the drug education, prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation areas.

Sixth, it would establish an independent Secretary's Advisory Committee on Drug Abuse and Drug Dependence, appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to advise and consult with the newly created Administration and to assist it to carry out the purposes of this act. It would also establish an intergovernmental Coordinating Council on Drug Abuse and Drug Dependence to assist the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to coordinate all Federal prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation efforts dealing with problems of drug dependence and drug abuse.

This particular piece of legislation is very comprehensive. I should say that there are at least two sections of the legislation which I myself raise questions about. I think, however, that it is very important to present it at this time and that it be debated appropriately in the committees and on the floor of the Senate. By virtue of the comprehensiveness of the legislation, it enables us to take an entirely new approach to the problem of drug abuse and drug dependence in the United States.

In designing legislation to get at the roots of the drug problem from the health standpoint, it seemed absolutely essential to me that such legislation be thorough and comprehensive.

A theme common to this measure and the other comprehensive act introduced last year is the concept that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare should have the primary responsibility for carrying out the antidrug effort. Others would continue the practice of making the Attorney General responsible across the board. As I have indicated previously, that approach seems overly oppressive and misdirected for coping with what is basically a sickness. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is, in my view, the most qualified to determine which substances have high potentials for abuse, which substances have no accepted medical use in the United States, and to what degree physical and/or psychological dependence will result from use of such substances. Naturally, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would coordinate his activities with the Attorney General. Enforcement and police aspects of the problem would still remain within the control of the Department of Justice. I might add that the Health, Education, and Welfare approach is evidently favored by Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, Health, Education, and Welfare Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs and Dr. Stanley Yolles, Director of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere hope that a growing awareness of the serious nature of the drug abuse crisis in the United States today will lead us to passage of far-reaching and meaningful legislation in this critical area. To that end, I believe the introduction of the Federal

Drug Abuse and Drug Dependence Prevention, Treatment and Rehabilitation Act of 1970 is a worthwhile step in the right direction and will be well received.

WHEATGROWERS FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL BREAKFAST

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, each year the National Association of Wheat Growers, Great Plains Wheat, Inc., and Western Wheat Associates, USA, Inc., sponsor a wheatgrowers congressional breakfast here in Washington, D.C., to give wheatgrower representatives from all over the country the opportunity to sit down, informally, and discuss matters of mutual interest with their Congressmen and other Government officials.

This morning, my colleague from Washington (Mr. FOLEY) and I had the pleasure of attending the fourth of these annual events, and on behalf of both Mr. FOLEY and myself, I want to commend the members and officers of these three outstanding organizations for their efforts to keep the lines of communications open between Government and their industry. Certainly, those of us here in Congress who represent wheatgrowers welcome every opportunity to listen to and exchange views and ideas with them. Because the actions, programs, and policies of the Federal Government have such a major impact on U.S. agriculture, this kind of interchange is vitally important.

One of the speakers this morning was John Thomsen of Mansfield, Wash. Mr. Thomsen is president of Western Wheat Associates, USA, Inc., and Mr. FOLEY and I believe that his remarks will be of interest to all our colleagues in the House.

The statement follows:

REMARKS BY JOHN THOMSEN

Senator Packwood, friends of wheat in Congress, guests and fellow wheat producers. I have been asked to say a few words this morning on behalf of Western Wheat Associates and Great Plains Wheat.

The two organizations were founded by wheat producers in a self-help effort to develop and expand export markets for U.S. wheat. We are regionally oriented because of our natural export market outlets. Western Wheat Associates in the Asian market and Great Plains Wheat in Latin America, Europe and Africa. During the past 13 years of operation, we have learned that we must promote every class of wheat in each market to do our job. While both organizations maintain their regional identity and market promotion areas, we cooperate very closely in meeting our overall objectives.

Foreign wheat market development is a joint effort between all of us here today. We producers contribute our own dollars through local and regional organizations. The U.S. government contributes foreign currencies generated by PL 480, which are administered by the Foreign Agricultural Service of U.S.D.A. Secretary Hardin, Assistant Secretary Palmby and other Department decision makers have supported our market development efforts as a matter of policy.

The necessary actions that have been taken by the Export Marketing Service, Commodity Credit Corporation and the Foreign Agricultural Service have been extremely beneficial in maintaining our markets abroad.

Last year we reported the serious imbalance of the world wheat supply and demand. I am sorry to report that this situation has improved very little. The combined supply of wheat available for export and carry-over as of January 1, in Canada, Australia, Argentina, the European Economic Community and the United States (the major exporting countries) stood at 3.6 billion bushels. This is well above the 3.1 billion of last year. Current world-wide import requirements are only between 1.7 and 2.0 billion bushels.

Recent production estimates put this year's world wheat crop at 10.8 billion bushels, down 5 per cent from last year's record crop. World wheat acreage is off slightly but further reductions to more closely approximate requirements is needed. Significant progress is now being made in this direction. A program to limit wheat exports was initiated several months ago by Australia. Canada has recently announced a plan to reduce their wheat production. It is encouraging to note that the U.S. is no longer expected to shoulder this responsibility alone.

The continued liberalization of U.S. trade policies will be extremely helpful in expanding markets for U.S. wheat. The President of the Chicago Board of Trade recently stated that "the agriculture sector of our own country has always been in the forefront of the movement to liberalize our trade policies. This is readily understood when one looks at the impact of exports on agriculture products throughout the United States." Every one of our states, except Alaska, exports agricultural products. Crops from one out of every four acres in production are exported. In states where wheat is the major crop this ratio runs much higher.

U.S. agriculture exports are a big exchange earner. During the 1960's, agriculture—through its export earnings—contributed significantly to the favorable balance of trade. Wheat plays a significant role in the trade balance. Even last year, when exports were down, total export sales of all wheat and wheat products was 830 million dollars.

Agriculture exports last year totaled 5.7 billion dollars compared to the 1961-1965 annual average of 5.5 billion dollars. Recent projections indicate that they will reach 6.1 billion dollars in fiscal year 1970. The U.S. balance of payments, often in the red in recent years, would be in much greater trouble were it not for the helpful black ink offsets made by American agriculture. We as wheat producers would like to contribute further to the balance of trade. Further expansion of export markets is one way this can be accomplished. Another would be improved prices for wheat in world markets.

Now I would like to talk about a program that is very important to us, PL 480. PL 480 has been a useful tool in developing cash markets. As a concessional sales country progresses toward cash purchases, it tends to maintain established trade relationships. Recipient countries have developed a liking for our quality wheat and they have grown to appreciate our marketing system. In addition, PL 480 sales generate income just as do cash sales.

Senator Dole recently reflected our view when he asked for greater use of the Food for Peace program. He called it "a great basic tool of foreign aid" and said that it generates better farm income and tax receipts, ups employment, reduces government farm program costs, improves nutrition in developing countries and improves peace prospects. A recent study using Kansas data for 1950

to 1969 concludes that, on the average, \$1 of farm income generates \$3.33 of total income, whereas \$1 of non-farm income generates only \$1.46.

In the area of PL 480, we have two concerns. One is the extension of the law beyond 1970 and the other is the adequate appropriation of funds for fiscal year 1971. Although we primarily direct our efforts toward expanding cash markets, about 50 per cent of our wheat exports move under concessional sale programs. Reduction of PL 480 funds in time of both national and world surpluses would further undermine our marketing structure. The resultant reduction in sales would compound an already serious economic problem by further increasing total supplies and would subsequently lower export prices while they are already more than 50 per cent below parity.

The U.S.D.A. budget for PL 480 for 1970-71 is 118.4 million dollars less than for the current year. The cut-back on major commodities are projected at 69.3 million dollars and over half of this reduction (35.6 million dollars) is wheat and wheat products. The proposed expenditures for five commodities—cotton, feed grains, vegetable oil, dairy products and tobacco—are higher. Our projections for wheat indicate little reduction in the needs of recipient countries. We actually foresee a slight increase in requirements because of current crop and economic conditions since adjustments have already been made to offset increased production in recipient countries.

In summary, the real future for the U.S. wheat producer lies in further expansion of export markets. To accomplish this objective, all of us here must work together to multiply and perfect the tools we have to work with. These implements are part of a total package, each segment dependent or related to the other. They are:

An aggressive, expanded, well-conceived market development effort between wheat producer organizations and the U.S. Department of Agriculture;

Adequate quantities and qualities of wheat readily available to the world market at competitive prices;

Stronger efforts by major exporting countries to improve world prices and to bring supplies into closer relationship with demand;

Further liberalization of trade policies by both the U.S. and importing countries; and

The continuation and adequate funding of PL 480.

If all of us here today cooperate to accomplish these objectives, America's wheat industry will survive and its contribution to the balance of payments and to the total welfare of our country will be significant.

Thank you for "breaking bread" with us here today.

THE GATES COMMISSION REPORT ON ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCES— PART II, CHAPTERS 7 AND 8

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, chapter 7 of the Gates Commission report deals with the need to expand and make more effective the recruiting efforts of the armed services, and particularly the Army. Chapter 8 is concerned with steps that could be taken to reduce the need for conscription

of physicians. The texts of the two chapters follow:

PART II

CHAPTER 7—RECRUITMENT

An expanded and more effective recruiting effort will help supply an all-volunteer force with the desired quality of enlistees. The Commission therefore suggests that the armed services devote an increased proportion of their resources to recruiting and especially to Army recruiting. Studies indicate that a relatively small increase in recruiting expenditures would produce as much as a 10 to 20 percent rise in enlistment rates. Also, modification of existing procedures and increased financial support should yield substantial gains in recruiter productivity.

Since 1961, as shown in table 7-1, the relative proportion of the military's manpower budget devoted to recruiting has remained constant and the number of recruiters has also not increased.

In view of the increased need for enlistments since 1965, the stability of relative recruiting expenditures and the number of recruiters are surprising. They reflect the low priority assigned to recruiting so long as the draft is available to ensure an adequate supply of manpower for the lower ranks. Clearly, elimination of the draft will increase the need for effective recruiting and the budget required. Even if conscription were to continue, the services should devote increased resources to attracting "true" volunteers rather than settling for draftees because the former are more likely to make the military a career.

TABLE 7-1.—RECRUITING RESOURCES, 1961-69

Fiscal year	Recruiting expenditure as percent of active-duty manpower budget	Total recruiters all services
1961	0.0064	7,114
1962	.0056	7,219
1963	.0056	7,070
1964	.0052	6,903
1965	.0057	7,056
1966	.0063	7,241
1967	.0057	7,371
1968	.0054	7,177
1969	.0062	6,988

Obviously, the military benefits more from its investment in an individual who chooses to enlist for three years than from another who is drafted for two. If instead of drafting 33 men who will serve for a total of 66 years (2 years each), the Army can recruit 22 men for a total of 66 years (three years of service each), it will need to train 11 less men over that three-year period. Since one trainer (or supporting person) is required for 11 recruits each year, enlisting rather than conscripting 22 men will save one trainer. In fiscal 1965, average enlistments per recruiter were roughly 55. A study conducted that year indicated that additional recruiters easily achieved an annual minimum of 22 enlistments and thus "saved" one trainer. Therefore, regardless of whether the draft is maintained, there seems substantial opportunity for the productive addition of more recruiters.

Recruiters play an important role in influencing young men to enlist in the armed services. Ideally, recruiters should be dedicated career men who are skilled in the art of salesmanship. Highly qualified men are in great demand within any institution and the services cannot necessarily have their best men serve as recruiters. Nevertheless, a prospective recruiter should have a positive attitude toward the military as a profession, some aptitude for a public rela-

tions role and a genuine desire to undertake recruiting duty. There is no reason why able recruiters should be automatically rotated to other assignments. Instead, successful recruiters should be allowed to extend their tours of duty, while the unsuccessful are assigned elsewhere.

Every recruiter should receive adequate training before assignment to the field. Such training may be more valuable if it involves greater student participation and less memorization of information and procedures. It would also be desirable for recruiters in the field to share their experience with trainees in school.

Also recommended is an improved incentive system for recruiters. Recognition of successful recruiters could take the form of financial compensation such as extra pay or bonuses as well as accelerated promotions.

We also advocate elimination of the present system under which each district, city and individual recruiter receives an enlistment quota. Substantial evidence indicates that this system eliminates the incentive to seek enlistees in excess of one's quota.

In addition, the quotas are not always set at appropriate levels. Studies show that cities which do not meet their quotas usually have significantly higher enlistment rates, and that additional recruiters in cities where quotas are met would substantially increase enlistment rates. Elimination of the quota system and institution of more positive incentives should result in higher productivity per recruiter.

In allocating additional resources to recruiting, two- and three-man offices in cities should receive greater priority than one-man offices in smaller communities. Studies have shown that more recruiters at stations in large cities yield greater returns than an equal increase in the number of recruiters in one-man offices in small towns. A greater concentration of recruiting efforts at such stations should be coordinated with more indirect selling and advertising in these larger markets. More advertising in mass media will be both required and rewarding once an all-volunteer force has been instituted, for the elimination of conscription will coincide with improved incentives in the military. Visits to high schools by recruiters, films, performances by special military units, and other appearances will continue to contribute to a positive image for the military.

The British have used such supplementary techniques as the "buddy" system in which enlisted men help persuade their friends to volunteer. This and other new techniques should be tested, especially during the transition to an all-volunteer force.

CHAPTER 8—CONSCRIPTION OF PHYSICIANS

The very troublesome problem of conscription of medical doctors has been the subject of independent inquiry by the Commission. Our studies suggest that a variety of steps can be taken to reduce the need for such conscription. Each of these measures will individually contribute something toward eliminating the doctor draft, but we are not certain that they are adequate. Fortunately, given the reduction in forces now planned and the students already committed to military service, there is time not only for further study, but for experimentation with some of the measures suggested, such as increased compensation for military physicians and fellowship programs for medical students.

Eighty percent of all male physicians in the United States under 35 have served in the armed forces or have held reserve commissions. No other group in our society has had such heavy relative demands placed upon it for military service. Only four percent of male physicians under 35 who are eligible for service have not yet served. In the

last four years, more than 4,500 doctors entered active duty service annually—fully 60 percent of the number graduating from medical school each year.

Physicians also suffer the greatest financial loss by having to serve. The pay and allowances received by a young doctor entering military service are approximately one-half the amount he could earn as a civilian. Despite relatively rapid promotions, special pay, continuation pay, etc., a medical officer is significantly underpaid throughout his career. Primarily for this reason, doctors do not usually remain in the military. Sixty percent of all military doctors have served less than two years.

Table 8-I summarizes the size and character of the health service in the armed forces as of January 1, 1969. It encompassed 242 hospitals and 450 reporting dispensaries, and employed over 200,000 people. The patient population slightly exceeded 10,000,000, only 3½ million of whom were active duty personnel. The other 6½ million were civilians; either dependents of active duty personnel or retirees or their dependents.

Official accounting for medical services puts the annual budget at \$2 billion. Our studies place the expenditures at a considerably higher figure—about \$3.25 billion. Moreover, the latter estimates accept military earnings as the cost of both enlisted and officer personnel. If the services of those personnel were priced correctly, that is, at their value in the civilian economy, the cost of military medical service would be even larger. We estimate that the expenditure on medical services rendered by the military medical corps is about \$325 per capita as compared to \$254 per capita for the entire U.S. population in 1967. The quality of the health care rendered by the military medical corps is generally considered to be very high.

Both the size of the patient population and the personnel requirements in table 8-I reflect the build-up for Vietnam. Those magnitudes will decline with active duty force reductions.

Table 8-II represents data on the utilization of military medical facilities by type of beneficiary in 1969, and highlights a neglected aspect of conscription. Perhaps one-half of the physicians now conscripted into service are actually serving a civilian population. Despite the increased need for medical services for active duty personnel as a result of Vietnam, 47 percent of hospital admissions and 48 percent of outpatient visits involved dependents and retired personnel. Presumably, the proportion will be even larger in the post-war environment.

A large centralized health organization has been developed, not just to serve active duty military personnel, but to serve a broad clientele in specialties ranging from obstetrics (146,000 babies delivered in 1969) and pediatrics to geriatrics. Indeed, patient care is only a part of the organization's activity. It sponsors a variety of medical education and training programs as well as an extensive program of medical research. The desirability of these services is not in question. Good medical care is an attractive inducement to prospective volunteers, and it is one of the more important morale factors for career military personnel. What is the question, however, is whether it is either necessary or advisable to sustain that care with doctors who are compelled to serve.

The professional manpower required to provide these services is drawn from a wide variety of sources but virtually none of the entrants are true volunteers. All but a handful enter because of the threat of being drafted. If the draft is eliminated, dramatic action will be required to insure the continuation of health care now provided by the military medical system.

TABLE 8-I—Department of defense medical services

Facilities:	
Hospitals	242
Dispensaries, large reporting.....	Over 450
Plus laboratories, dental clinics and other activities.	
Manpower:	
Medical Corps	15,972
Dental Corps	6,717
Nurse Corps	11,321
Medical Service Corps.....	9,397
Biomedical Science Corps.....	1,043
Army Medical Specialist.....	613
Veterinary Corps	1,040
Enlisted	109,027
Civil Service*	47,665

Total

*Includes U.S. and foreign hires, direct and indirect for Army.

Expenditures (fiscal year 70 estimate):	
Health research.....	\$104.3
Training and education.....	132.3
Construction	63.0
Direct hospital and medical services	1,476.8
Indirect hospital and medical services	209.8
Prevention-control of health problems	21.5
Total	2,007.7

Population eligible for care:	
Active-duty personnel	3.4
Dependents of active-duty personnel	4.1
Retired, dependents of retired and dependents of deceased members	2.5
Civilians overseas and their dependents	0.025 to 0.035

Total

¹ Total 10,025,000 to 10,035,000.
Date: Mar. 19, 1969.
Source: Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs.

TABLE 8-II—Medical care provided at fixed medical facilities in fiscal year 1969

Total number of operating beds.....	57,477
Beds occupied by the active-duty military (daily average).....	31,710
Beds occupied by retired uniformed personnel.....	2,172
Beds occupied by dependents.....	8,262
Beds occupied by other beneficiaries	1,466
Total number of beds occupied	43,610
Outpatient visits by dependents.....	23,677,873
Outpatient visits by retired uniformed personnel.....	1,813,575
Total outpatient visits.....	54,376,229
Admissions of dependents.....	505,899
Admissions of retired uniformed personnel	59,537
Total admissions.....	1,272,142
Number of live births.....	146,145

Source: Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs Data exclude operations in Southeast Asia.

We have assumed that, whatever steps are taken to convert to a fully voluntary military medical service, the quantity and quality of care supplied to the present patient population will be maintained. Within that

constraint there are two courses of action open in converting the system to volunteers. One is to decrease the requirement for military physicians by substituting civilians in their stead. The other is to increase the number of physicians willing to volunteer by improving earnings and other conditions of employment.

Expanded use of civilians to provide medical care

A shift of some fraction of military patient care to civilian physicians can be accomplished in either of two ways: (1) by establishing a medical insurance program for some portion of the patient population—the most likely candidates being retirees and their dependents or the dependents of active duty servicemen, or (2) by engaging civilian physicians to staff some military medical facilities.

A medical insurance scheme is already in effect for retired personnel, and for dependents who can demonstrate that care provided by the military is not available to them. Patients under such a plan obtain medical services from a civilian physician or in a civilian hospital and are reimbursed for the costs. While the substitution of private medical insurance for directly rendered health care is an appealing possibility, it has a number of disadvantages. Shifting patients to the civilian sector would, at least in the near term, further raise costs there. Physicians released from the military could shift to civilian health care, but the hospitals, equipment, etc. could not readily be shifted. To the extent that these military facilities are replaced by a system of private medical insurance, the armed services would reduce their ability to expand available medical care to meet a crisis. Also, substitution of private medical insurance would mean losing the advantages of a unified health care system for the highly mobile population of active duty dependents.

The substitution of civilian physicians for military doctors within the existing organization could be effected on an individual position basis, but substitution on the scale required is probably possible only through contracting with organized groups of doctors to operate military hospitals or other medical facilities. The present organizational format for most of the health service of the armed forces can best be described as hospital-based group practice.¹ Hospital-based group practice has proved a most efficient form of medical organization in the civilian economy. The Permanente medical groups, for example, provide economical health care for 2 million subscribers in the facilities of the Kaiser Health Foundation. The Defense Department might on a similar basis negotiate contracts with groups of physicians to care for patients in existing military hospitals. Such civilian medical groups would have a number of advantages. They would preserve the hospital-based organizational format, and the advantage of a unified system. They could eliminate duplication of facilities in areas where more than one service maintains health facilities. Where military facilities are under-used, the group practice might be expanded to include otherwise ineligible civilians. There would be less turnover of medical personnel and more female doctors. Professional staffing would be easier and less expensive because the physicians would not have to experience many of the disadvantages associated with medical service in the military.

But there are also some disadvantages. With the size of the military medical corps reduced, the number of physicians available for service in a conflict like Vietnam will be smaller. Also, the peacetime rotation of those

remaining may be increased and their assignments made less attractive. Conversion of military hospitals to civilian contract operation can proceed only on the basis of careful study of each individual installation. Moreover, care must be taken to preserve desirable assignments for career medical officers and to provide bases for medical education and training. In addition, a careful analysis will be necessary to determine the minimum number of doctors required on active duty by length of service—an analysis based on realistic contingency plans and on rotation base requirements for planned force levels.

Increasing the number of physicians who volunteer

Physicians, like other active duty personnel, make career decisions on the basis of a wide variety of pecuniary and non-pecuniary aspects of the careers under consideration. These include potential earnings, available facilities and equipment, security, prestige, opportunities for further education and research, type of patient, patient/physician relationships, etc. The attractiveness of military medical careers can no doubt be enhanced by improving some of the non-pecuniary factors.

However, the gap between civilian and

military medical income is now so large, and the number of true volunteers is so small, that such improvements do not touch the heart of the problem. Something substantial must be done about pecuniary rewards for military physicians to obtain a voluntary military medical corps. There are again two major alternatives. One is to provide stipends to medical students in exchange for a commitment to serve for a specified period. The other is to raise the pay of medical officers.² The extent to which reliance is placed on one or the other of these two depends upon the size career medical force it is desirable to maintain. Stipends for medical students will provide a broad base of young physicians, most of whom will not elect careers in the military. Increasing the pay for medical officers on the other hand will significantly effect retention. Indeed the compensation schedule for physicians should be designed specifically to provide efficiently the desired number and length of service distribution of doctors. In this regard, the military's retirement system is inefficient within the context of the medical corps because it permits military physicians to retire with full benefits (about half salary) after 20 years of service and embark on a civilian career. After twenty years, these doctors are relatively young and still capable of serving effectively.

TABLE 8-III.—PROPOSED COMPENSATION FOR MEDICAL OFFICERS

Active service	Officer rank	Annual salary ¹	Physician continuation pay ²	Physician pay	Medical officer total salary
1	0-3	\$11,034.36	0	\$1,800	\$12,834
2	0-3	11,455.56	0	1,800	13,256
3	0-3	11,455.56	0	3,600	15,056
4	0-3	11,793.96	0	5,400	17,194
5	0-4	12,319.56	0	7,200	19,520
6	0-4	12,999.96	0	9,000	22,000
7	0-4	12,999.96	0	10,800	23,800
8	0-4	13,601.16	0	12,600	26,201
9	0-4	13,601.16	0	12,600	29,023
10	0-4	14,115.96	\$2,822	12,600	29,666
11	0-5	14,952.96	2,950	12,600	29,666
12	0-5	15,888.96	3,120	12,600	30,673
13	0-5	15,888.96	3,356	12,600	31,845
14	0-5	15,888.96	3,356	12,600	31,845
15	0-5	16,659.12	3,549	12,600	32,808
16	0-5	16,659.12	3,549	12,600	32,808
17	0-6	17,084.16	3,655	12,600	33,339
18	0-6	18,779.76	4,041	12,600	35,421
19	0-6	19,719.36	4,276	12,600	36,595
20	0-6	19,719.36	4,276	12,600	36,595
21	0-6	19,719.36	5,701	12,600	38,020
22	0-6	21,170.16	6,185	12,600	38,020
					39,955

¹ This is as of July 1, 1969, and includes basic pay plus basic allowance for quarters and basic allowance for subsistence. Total compensation would be higher due to various special pays and retirement benefits. Special pays can be used to reward doctors for advanced certification.

² Continuation pay is already in effect.

A variety of forms of subsidies to medical students are feasible. Differences between civilian and military earnings for doctors suggest that a stipend of \$5,000 per year paid to medical students over seven years (four years of medical school, one year of internship, and two years of residency) would produce a significant flow of volunteers willing to commit themselves to three years of active duty. Variations on this basic arrangement could include larger stipends for shorter periods or smaller stipends for shorter service commitments. Such stipends could be tied into already existing plans for bringing medical students into the military.

Data to use as a basis for reliable estimates of the effect of compensation on the number of physicians who would enter the military or the number who would remain there are not available. For that reason, a

² Another possibility, the establishment of a military medical college, has been proposed a number of times in the past. While this may be desirable, the number of doctors such a college would produce is very small relative to the number required and the first graduates probably would not be available for a decade.

provisional approach to medical pay seems advisable. Data on civilian earnings for medical doctors are available, and have been used to develop the compensation profiles shown in table 8-III, Columns 3 and 4 of table 8-III give the annual salary and continuation pay for medical officers as of July 1, 1969. At present medical officers with 2-6 years of active duty also receive an additional \$150 a month as special physician pay. Column 5 sets forth a new schedule of physician pay as follows:

Third year of duty: \$300 a month.

Fourth year of duty: \$450 a month.

Fifth year of duty: \$600 a month.

Sixth year of duty: \$750 a month.

Seventh year of duty: \$900 a month.

Eighth year of duty: \$1,050 a month.

The last column of table 8-III gives the sum of these three components of compensation. The total salaries shown in column 6 compare reasonably well with those of physicians in group practice, except in the early years where they are lower to take account of the student stipends discussed above. If student support is not undertaken, or if individuals wish to join the military who have not participated in the fellowship program, the total salary in the early years would have to be adjusted upward.

¹ The remainder consists of large and small medical units in direct support of combat units.

We believe that the salary schedule derived in table 8-III is a major step towards a fully voluntary medical corps, and recommend that it be put into effect at the same time as the recommended pay increase for the rest of the force, July 1, 1970.

Transition to a voluntary medical corps

The transition to a voluntary medical corps will be greatly facilitated by planned reductions in force levels. As a result of draft pressure, many medical students have already committed themselves to service under the various programs now in effect. With those already committed and with prompt action on stipends for graduate students and increased pay for military physicians, it should be possible to eliminate the conscription of doctors concurrently with the ending of the draft for other military personnel.

Because of uncertainties over the extent to which substitution of civilians will be possible, our estimates of the budget increase required to move to a voluntary medical service are imprecise. Given the recommended pay increase, the fellowship program, and the cost of civilian staffed hospitals, we estimate that an additional \$150 million to \$200 million of expenditures will be required.³

THREE NEW WINGS AT THE HADASSAH-HEBREW UNIVERSITY MEDICAL CENTER IN JERUSALEM AND BUILT WITH U.S. AID GRANT

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, three new wings to the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center in Jerusalem, made possible by a gift of the U.S. Government to Hadassah, were dedicated in Jerusalem on February 25, 1970, in the presence of His Excellency, the U.S. Ambassador to Israel, Mr. Walworth Barbour; Mr. Pinhas Sapir, Israel's Minister of Finance; Mrs. Faye Schenk, the national president of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America; Dr. Kalman J. Mann, director-general of Hadassah in Jerusalem; 23 regional presidents of Hadassah; and friends of Hadassah in Israel.

The new buildings, built at a cost of \$1 million, granted by the Agency for International Development—AID—comprise the Department of Public Health and Social Medicine, a physicians' residence for overseas doctors working at Hadassah, and an addition to the Hadassah-Henrietta Szold School of Nursing. The grant was made under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1967, section 214.

The Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center is the largest center of healing, teaching, and medical research in the Middle East; it serves Jews and Arabs alike, as well as patients who come from countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe.

³ While this chapter has addressed only the question of achieving an all-volunteer force of physicians, the procurement and retention of professionals for the military in other health disciplines pose similar, though somewhat less severe, problems which must also be addressed.

The Department of Public Health and Social Medicine provides the link between the individual, the family, and the community with the medical center. The physicians' residence is essential because of large numbers of physicians from African and Asian countries who study at Hadassah and American physicians who spend their sabbatical leave there. The nursing school, which has already produced over 1,000 graduates, is now deepening its study program in accord with new concepts in nursing.

At the ceremony, speakers said:

Mrs. Faye Schenk, national president of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America:

The clasped hands—the meaningful symbol of United States aid and concern for smaller underdeveloped and developing nations of the world—is a perfect characterization! Please note the symbol—see what it is—also see what it is not! You do not see a disparity in the size of the hands—one larger, stronger than the other—as it might well be if it were depicting the donor as the dispenser of largesse to the other, the weak and cowering recipient. Not at all: The hands are of equal size denoting mutual exchange, the proffering of aid, of encouragement leading to self-help, to self-sufficiency, and, in turn, to the help of others.

I am reminded of the words spoken by Prime Minister Golda Meir to President Nixon at the White House dinner tendered to her during her recent visit to the United States—and I quote very freely: "I have come," she said, "the leader of a tiny country to the largest, most affluent country in the world, and as I talked with the President of this rich and powerful nation, I felt all the while that I was talking to a friend who listened and who cared."

Indeed the Government and the people of the United States have cared and continue to care and these areas which we dedicate today are only a small but to Hadassah a very important and significant part of the tangible, visible evidence of that great sense of caring, a caring which helped build this sturdy little land of Israel—a caring which has helped make the United States the great nation it is, a worthy inheritor of the legacy of its founding fathers dedicated to the support of the democratic rights of men and nations and to the betterment of the human condition wherever man has his being.

Mr. Barbour, to you, as the much beloved Ambassador of the United States to Israel, I, as President of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, say to you: I am more than proud and privileged, I am humbly grateful that these two nations—the United States of America and Israel, so beloved by the 318,000 members of Hadassah—stand in mutual accord and not only figuratively, but literally clasp hands and join hearts on these premises today as we dedicate these gifts of the American Government to Hadassah and to the weal of mankind.

This business in which we are engaged together we believe to be the most effective means to peace and today when peace is the most complicated and most essential business on earth, may we say that we would like to engage in more of this kind of good business together.

Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson, national chairman of the Hadassah Medical Organization Committee, who presided:

There is no event which can bring satisfaction to the members of Hadassah than one dedicating new buildings to serve the people of Israel. It represents the physical evidence of plans fulfilled, years of hard labor and perseverance rewarded, and faith triumphant.

In this case, our gratification is intensified because the funds for these buildings were given to Hadassah by the United States Government thru the Agency for International Development program. This is not the first grant that Hadassah has been privileged to receive from the U.S. Government, and certainly our expectations are great that it will not be the last. While we have always been proud of the high regard for our medical activities as expressed by many American statesmen, it is nevertheless a great tribute to our work that in 1966 the United States Congress voted the equivalent in Israel currency of one million dollars to help us carry out essential areas of development.

A Medical Center exists to study, understand and cure the common enemy of man everywhere—disease—and to enhance the common good for all men everywhere—good health. Indeed, in one of his messages to a Hadassah National Convention, John F. Kennedy wrote: "Not only Israel but the entire free world benefits from projects such as the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center." Only last year, when Mr. Robert H. Finch, U.S. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, was in Israel, he wrote us that "The Medical Center near Jerusalem, for which Hadassah can take so much credit, was a particular highlight of my trip. Its physical plant alone represents a breakthrough of major proportions, and its approach to the delivery of a total package of health, training and services will figure directly in our future planning here at HEW. We can learn much from our friends in Israel, and I intend to see that the opportunity is not wasted."

His Excellency, Mr. Walworth Barbour, the U.S. Ambassador to Israel, said:

I have participated in a number of dedications here in the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center in Jerusalem. It has invariably been a pleasure to do so, as they have been historic occasions commemorative of the so-well expressed clasped hands symbol, which signifies the solidity and activities of the aid program, and of Israel's willingness and ability to cooperate and aid itself with a minimum of our help. On this occasion, particularly, the American Government has participated directly through the Congress in making possible these additions to this magnificent plant. The use of these monies and the fact that the Congress appropriated them is an indication of several things, not the least of which is the general recognition of the important role Hadassah has played in world medicine, not only in Israel, but throughout the world, scientifically and otherwise. I congratulate Hadassah. I sincerely support the action of Congress in making these monies available.

The Israel Minister of Finance, Mr. Pinhas Sapir, said:

I am really indebted to you, my dear ladies and friends of Hadassah, for the chance you give me—in a world so troubled with anxiety and worry—to get together with all of you representing both sides of the ocean on this happy occasion. I must congratulate you most heartily upon the successful carrying-out of new projects at this Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center in Jerusalem through the international cooperation of the United States and Israel.

Fifty years of pioneering in the health field in this land are an asset and credit to the great Hadassah movement in the United States. I wish to say to the dedicated members of Hadassah in America and to the devoted physicians, nurses and general staff of Hadassah Medical Organization in Israel: the work you have carried out has justly won acclaim in the United States as well as many other far-flung continents. It is thus no surprise that the American Government

and people have sought to associate themselves in so generous a way with the further development of your humanitarian work on behalf of patients of all races and creeds.

By their infinite devotion to these holy tasks, the leaders and members of Hadassah have created the closest personal links between the Jewish communities of the United States and of Israel and also between the leading medical institutions of both countries. Thus, you have attracted valuable support from U.S. public funds for the expansion of medical service, training and research activities at Hadassah in Jerusalem.

As a movement, you have always remained loyal to Jerusalem, and shared the fortunes of its residents in times of peace and emergency alike. You are now on the threshold of great expansion at the Ein Karem Center and of reconstruction at your impressive Medical Center on magnificent Mount Scopus—the purpose of which is to bring the blessing of health to tens of thousands of Arabs and Jews from East and West Jerusalem and, indeed, from all over the country, and even—as was the case throughout the history of Hadassah—from neighboring countries.

It is a real privilege for me to bring to you on this occasion the warm greetings of the Government of Israel and to express the hope that you may reach the fulfillment of your dreams and projects within a lasting peace—both for Jerusalem, the city of peace, and for the Middle East as a whole.

Mrs. Vera Tsur, chairman of the Hadassah Council in Israel, said:

It is no coincidence that Hadassah pioneered in the setting up of a country-wide network of maternity, child health and school hygiene services. The concern for the welfare of the family is deeply rooted in Jewish tradition and was always a pivotal factor in the structure of Jewish community life. An abiding concern for the physical and spiritual well-being of the family has preserved the unity and the survival of our people throughout the centuries and has guarded it against the trials and tribulations to which it has been exposed. Inspired by this tradition, Hadassah, from its inception, placed the emphasis not only on treating and curing the sick but emphasized the prevention of disease by entering into the problems of the family—its living conditions and environment—through its public health program and later focused in its Family and Community Health Center and Department of Social Medicine.

As an Israeli mother whose family has benefited from Hadassah's blessed facilities, may I, on behalf of the motherhood of this country, express deep gratitude to Hadassah and to the American Government for the generations to come.

Prof. Sidney L. Kark, head of the Department of Public Health and Social Medicine, said:

I am very honoured to speak on behalf of those who have received accommodation as a result of this very fine gift of the U.S. Government to Hadassah.

What is social medicine? The social medicine developed at this school has included three important related elements:

Firstly—Epidemiology which is its basic science;

Secondly—Studies of the health care system; and

Thirdly—The practice of community medicine, which itself includes several elements, namely family practice, family nursing, care of the chronic sick at home and maternal and child health care in a community.

I would like to refer to something that has happened since we moved to the Medical Center to our new wing. In the last academic year we have had twelve United States med-

ical students, mostly in their senior year of studies, undertaking a clerkship in community medicine in our department for periods ranging between six weeks and three months. This clerkship in community medicine was recognized by their various faculties in the U.S. and it has apparently stimulated so much interest that we have had a number of enquiries from students in the United States who wish to come and spend a period of three and sometimes more months in a community medicine clerkship.

What will the transfer of our department to the Medical Center mean for social medicine and its various fields, like the practice of medicine in the community—a transfer which has been made possible by the U.S. Government funding and the imagination of Hadassah itself, for which we are very grateful? It is my hope that this will lead to a gradual coming together of the community health activities of Hadassah and its hospital and basic sciences of the Medical School. It is true that the social medicine aspects is at present but a tiny part of the totality that exists here in Ein Karem, but this is a reflection of the state of medicine at the present time where all emphasis is on the hospital and the basic sciences integrating the clinical sciences in the hospital.

The advent of social medicine into the University Medical itself adds a third dimension. While only a small beginning, I am sure that it will in time develop the same relationship with the basic sciences as has been developed by the clinical departments of the hospital and any association with these clinical departments will broaden the scope of the University Medical Center to include more advanced teaching and research in a much needed field of community medicine. Through this research and through the practice which is growing in the community, the medical center will be enabled to provide a scientific foundation on which policy decisions by government and other agencies can be made.

We cannot in Israel afford petrification in our health center system and must seek new ways. As in other fields of medicine, these new ways can be helped by suitably supported research.

Prof. Kalman J. Mann, director-general of the Hadassah Medical Organization, said:

Our work in the field of Public Health and Social Medicine is the end result of a long road of growth and development that has its beginning in this country over 3,000 years ago, when there were enunciated here the earliest laws for the promotion of health by the initiation of a weekly day of rest; for the prevention of physical disease by the introduction of laws governing personal hygiene and the isolation of infectious cases; for the elimination of Social Pathology by the formulation of inter-human patterns of behavior.

This road continued its westward course throughout the 19th century with the development of Medical Sciences and a deeper understanding of infectious diseases. It broadened in the twentieth century to include the psychological and social causes of community ill-health in addition to those of physical origin, and in 1918, with the help of Hadassah, it made the return journey from the United States to its starting point—to Israel—where it changed the image of health of Man and Environment.

Yet, Hadassah's contribution to health extends far and beyond the field of Public Health. As you stroll around the Medical Center, you will perceive that the area for Public Health which we are now dedicating is less than one percent of the area housing the totality of our medical work; that the subjects of our care are not only social groups and environment, but also 400,000

individuals who are being taken care of annually in the Outpatient departments, Dental Clinics, Student Health Services, Emergency Rooms, Traumatic Unit and Hospital wards.

You will note that the subjects of our care reflect the demographic structure of Israel's population, including Christians, Moslems, and Jews; children and adults, friends and enemies, whether stricken by God or human hand.

And interwoven within this mass of suffering humanity you will find our 8,000 undergraduate subjects training in the Schools of Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing, Occupational Therapy, Public Health and others, so that they are able, once qualified, to undertake the responsibility for Israel's health.

While wandering through the hive of activity, you will meet its 2,400 workers, adding the third dimension of Research to that of Service and Teaching; extending the fruits of their labour to medical institutions in Jerusalem, in Israel and beyond to African and Asian countries; enriching Man's health and the pool of his scientific knowledge.

Today we are dedicating the physical facilities for Public Health, which were given to us by the American people. Is not the totality of this center a tribute to the greatness of the American people and to the Jewish community within them which made that greatness available to us?

Today we pay homage to the United States for being the source from which we draw our knowledge and know-how in the field of Public Health.

Should we not recognize the enormous benefits that have accrued to Mankind through this partnership of the American people, the American Jewish community and Israel?

Let us deepen and strengthen this partnership so that, together, we can bring health to Man and his environment and Peace to a war-torn region and its people.

GREAT LAKES

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, today I have been joined by 38 of my colleagues from Great Lakes districts in sponsoring legislation to designate the Great Lakes as a fourth seacoast of the United States.

Specifically, the bill would amend section 809 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 by adding the words "Great Lakes" so that the opening sentence of this section would read:

Contracts under this act shall be entered into so as to equitably serve, insofar as possible, the foreign trade requirements of the Atlantic, Gulf, Great Lakes and Pacific ports of the United States.

This amendment would recognize the fact that the St. Lawrence Seaway has transformed the Great Lakes seaports into international centers and the heartland of America into a coastal region with world ports ready to accept shipping to and from every nation. It would grant the Great Lakes full port range status and thus assure them equal treatment in all maritime matters with the Atlantic, gulf, and Pacific seaports.

The Great Lakes were barely considered when the Merchant Marine Act was

passed in 1936 because, at that time, there was no such thing as the St. Lawrence Seaway. In 1936 we had a waterway from the sea into the Great Lakes which could accommodate vessels with drafts not greater than 14 feet. Since the opening of the Seaway in 1959, however, the system has been expanded so that it can now accommodate deep draft ocean going vessels.

The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway system today stands as one of the world's great commercial traffic arteries, penetrating midcontinent United States and affording waterborne access to and from all ports of the world. In North America, the midcontinent is the most important section for agriculture, population, industrial production, and employment. Indeed, our region outproduces all six nations in the European Common Market and the whole of the Soviet Union.

The contribution of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway system can be measured quantitatively in terms of increased tonnage carried by the system. Total tonnage carried has moved up from 10 to 12 million tons as a pre-Seaway average to over 49 million tons in 1966, before leveling off in the face of disabling strikes. Overseas tonnage has moved up from 300,000 tons carried in ocean miniatures in the pre-Seaway 1950's to over 14.6 million tons in 1967. In the same time the value of the overseas trade has expanded dramatically from \$100 million in the early 1950's to over \$1.6 billion at the present time.

With the advent of the Seaway, the midcontinent's exports have become larger than any other section of the United States. Most of the export expansion has occurred in metropolitan areas around the lakes directly accessible to Seaway service. Thus, Chicago has become the leading export city of the Nation, Detroit is second, Rochester is seventh, and Milwaukee is tenth. Yet the lake ports appear to be handling less than 18 percent of the value of exports originating in its midcontinent hinterland. If the U.S. lake ports were to carry a third of midcontinent trade, they would double their existing traffic; if they were to accommodate a seasonable two-thirds, they would quadruple their present traffic.

My bill would simply recognize the Great Lakes as a separate port range and thus assure their equal treatment with other major coastal sections of the Nation in regard to such matters as trade routes and the sufficiency of service.

In short, this legislation would grant long overdue recognition of the growth of our midcontinent into the largest exporting section of the United States and would facilitate trade between this region and the rest of the world.

The legislation is supported by the Great Lakes Task Force, which is composed of the Council of Lake Erie Ports, the Great Lakes Commission, the Great Lakes Terminals Association, the International Association of Great Lakes Ports—U.S. section—the International Longshoremen's Association—Great Lakes district—and the U.S. Great Lakes Shipping Association.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come to recognize the contributions of the Great Lakes region and to end their status as a stepchild of the Eastern seaboard. The measure is most timely as the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee is presently considering legislation designed to rejuvenate our maritime industry. Chairman GARMATZ has set forth a schedule for comprehensive hearings in an attempt to avoid "doing half a job—when a whole job is needed to sustain and strengthen our maritime industry." I fully agree with the chairman and submit that any legislation that does not recognize the present economic position of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway system is not comprehensive legislation.

Mr. Speaker, following is a list of those who have joined in introduction of this much needed legislation:

Annunzio of Illinois.
Betts of Ohio.
Blatnik of Minnesota.
Brademas of Indiana.
Broomfield of Michigan.
Byrnes of Wisconsin.
Cederberg of Michigan.
Crane of Illinois.
Derwinski of Illinois.
Diggs of Michigan.
Dingell of Michigan.
Dulski of New York.
Feighan of Ohio.
William D. Ford of Michigan.
Griffiths of Michigan.
Horton of New York.
Karth of Minnesota.
Landgrebe of Indiana.
Latta of Ohio.
McDonald of Michigan.
Mikva of Illinois.
Mosher of Ohio.
Murphy of Illinois.
Nedzi of Michigan.
O'Hara of Michigan.
O'Konski of Wisconsin.
Pucinski of Illinois.
Reuss of Wisconsin.
Riegle of Michigan.
Schadeberg of Wisconsin.
Stanton of Ohio.
Steiger of Wisconsin.
Stokes of Ohio.
Vander Jagt of Michigan.
Vanik of Ohio.
Vigorito of Pennsylvania.
Yates of Illinois.
Zablocki of Wisconsin.

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, last night in the city of Washington, the Veterans of Foreign Wars held their annual Congressional Night Dinner as a part of their annual convention. At this magnificent event, the first prize winner of the VFW Voice of Democracy Contest was awarded a \$5,000 scholarship. Four hundred thousand young Americans participated in this contest.

Mr. Speaker, the winner of this scholarship was Lawrence Slaughter of North Charleston, S.C. Not only is North Charleston my boyhood home, not only is

North Charleston an important part of my congressional district, but the Slaughter family has been friends of my family since they moved to this community over 30 years ago.

Young Lawrence Slaughter is the son of my dear friend, Crayton N. "Buster" Slaughter, of North Charleston. His father is a distinguished Mason and retired assistant postmaster.

At the banquet last night, young Slaughter delivered his award-winning address to the convention. His subject was unusual, imaginative, thought-provoking and of most timely importance.

I consider it a great privilege to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for future generations to read this magnificent address of this outstanding and promising young American:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

Well, what is it? I mean, I hear you talking all the time about it, but I don't know what you mean. I just don't get it. What is this thing—"freedom?"

It isn't that I haven't tried to find out what it is; I looked it up in the dictionary and it said that it was the "lack of restraint." That sounded good to me—"lack of restraint." But then I got confused all over again. You told me that I had freedom. But I can't drive on the left side of the street. I can't scream and yell out side if I want to. There's a lot of things that I can't do. Who's lying, you or Noah Webster?

I wonder if I'll ever know what it means. I wonder if anyone ever knew what it really means. I know that I'm not the only one that was ever told that he had freedom. What did freedom mean to the man that enlisted in the army of Adolf Hitler and was told that he was of the superior race and he should kill to have freedom. What did freedom mean to the Russian peasant whose land was burned—for freedom? What does freedom mean to the Vietnamese whose family is killed—for freedom? What is freedom to the poverty stricken American who is bound by hunger in this the "land of the free?" But what I really want to know is what is freedom to me? You say that I have freedom; but the militants tell me that I don't, and I ought to kill you to get it and the radical right says I ought to kill the militant so that I can keep this freedom that I'm not sure I even have. I'm confused.

Wait you say that my freedom "stops when another man's freedom begins." Hey now that makes sense. That's why I can't exercise my freedom to scream and yell, because it violates another man's freedom to have peace. I can have freedom as long as I let another man have his. That means I can have freedom of speech as long as I don't yell "fire" in a crowded theater. I can have freedom of the press as long as I don't use it to use the paper to lie about someone else. Now, that makes sense; I guess you could say that I'm "free and bound."

That's quite a responsibility, isn't it? I've been given this freedom and I guess it was given to me so that I might keep it long enough to give it to someone else. That must be what you mean by this "Freedom's Challenge" bit. It is a challenge and the challenge seems twofold. I've got to keep this freedom and I've got to give it away, too. Now that's a paradox. I've got to protect my freedom so that someone else may have it after I'm gone. I've got to cherish this thing, freedom; but then again, I can't cherish it so much that I won't let others have this right that I enjoy. I guess I've got to protect his freedom as much as I have to protect mine. If that means that I've got to work with him to save our freedom together, I

guess that's what I'll have to do. If it means that I have to leave him alone because he doesn't like me, that's his freedom, and I've got to protect it.

Now I know what freedom means and this worries me more than not knowing. Now that I know, I'm worried. It's staggering to think that I have this responsibility of pro-

tecting both mine and others' freedom. I am free—and I am bound to protect this freedom. What a responsibility; and what a challenge! I hope I can live up to it. Can you?

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