

bill. Of course, any motion to recommit the bill, if such were made, would be in order, there would be a time limitation on any such motion, under the request, of 30 minutes, and additional time could be yielded from the bill on any motion or appeal.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Would the Senator from West Virginia advise the Chair whether he has concluded his unanimous-consent request?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that rule XII be waived in connection with the agreement for a vote on passage of the bill.

Mr. JAVITS. It is understood that motions to table the motions to recommit, or other motions and appeals, are not being waived in respect of the total unanimous-consent request.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I believe I specified that particularly with reference to the vote on the substitute; but I think that the distinguished senior Senator from New York has raised a pertinent point. I add to my unanimous-consent request the provision that all rights of Senators with respect to tabling motions and motions to recommit, remain inviolate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I want to express appreciation to the distinguished junior Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS) and to the distinguished senior Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) for their willingness to agree to a request which precludes any perfecting amendments to the bill on tomorrow and which allows only amendments to the substitute on tomorrow. I think they were very generous, considerate, and cooperative in this regard, and I want to commend them.

I also want to thank the distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK), the distinguished Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT), the distinguished Senator from Vermont (Mr. STAFFORD), and other Senators who participated in the discussions leading up to the agreement which has now been reached.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I should like to say to the Senator from West Virginia that the reason why we did what we did is that if we have any amendment that we think should go into the bill, which would affect the result of the voting on the substitute, Senator WILLIAMS and I feel that if we give adequate assurance to the Senate, the Senate will take that into consideration in respect of its vote.

So I did not wish supporters of the bill to feel that their rights have been prejudiced by our position. But we thought that, considering the exigencies we all face and the high desirability of this bill and the need for bringing it to a prompt conclusion under the conditions we face in this year, we should make that agreement in order to arrive at the total unanimous consent.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Specifically, the agreement calls for the recognition of the Senator from Vermont after the vote on the substitute. If the substitute is rejected, he will be recognized first, for the purpose of offering an amendment dealing with the enterprise test. His amendment would delete from the bill the reduction to \$150,000 annually. It would keep it at \$250,000.

Mr. JAVITS. I would be for that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I, of course, supported the reduction to \$150,000 to reach more workers. But I can appreciate the practical needs. Many employers—not happily—probably will support it, too.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I want to make sure that my request provides that on tomorrow only germane amendments to the Taft-Dominick substitute will be in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is that an additional request?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I want to be sure it is in the request. If it is not, I ask that it be included.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the program for tomorrow is as follows:

The Senate will convene at 10 a.m. After the two leaders have been recognized under the standing order, the distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOPER) will be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes, after which there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to exceed 30 minutes with a limitation of 3 minutes on statements therein.

At the conclusion of the routine morning business, the Senate will resume the consideration of S. 3390, the unfinished business, a bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes. The pending question thereon will be on the adoption of the amendment offered by the able junior Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON).

At no later than 2 p.m. tomorrow, the unfinished business will be laid aside, and the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the so-called minimum wage bill, S. 1861. The pending question at that time will be on the adoption of the Taft-Dominick substitute.

A time limitation agreement has been entered into in accordance with which there will be a limitation of 2 hours on the substitute tomorrow afternoon, and 1 hour on any amendment to the substitute. No nongermane amendment will be in order, and only amendments to the substitute will be in order tomorrow. Rollcall votes will occur on tomorrow.

ADJOURNMENT TO 10 A.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment, under the order, until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 7:20 p.m. the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, July 19, 1972, at 10 a.m.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

COMPREHENSIVE OLDER AMERICANS SERVICES AMENDMENTS

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my pleasure that the House so overwhelmingly gave its support to H.R. 15657, the Comprehensive Older Americans Services Amendments, on July 17. These amendments will greatly strengthen the programs authorized under the Older Americans Act as well as providing new authority for additional types of activities under this act.

Since the Older Americans Act was

enacted into law in 1965 it has brought many needed services to older people in communities across the Nation. These have included visiting services, telephone reassurances, transportation preparation and delivery of meals, senior centers, in-home health aides for the homebound elderly, geriatric screening and referral, and adult education courses. In addition, the Older Americans Act has provided many service opportunities for older people through the foster grandparent and retired senior volunteer programs. The latter two programs which are administered by the Action agency have helped to bring meaning into the lives of older people as they themselves brought services to disadvantaged children and adults in their home communities.

Yet, as the recent White House Con-

ference on Aging pointed out older people still have many unmet needs that deserve our immediate attention. Many of the provisions of H.R. 15657 are a response to the recommendations made by this Conference.

I would like to discuss briefly some of the provisions of this very comprehensive bill which I believe will have a major impact on the solution of the problems of the aging. First of all, the bill would strengthen the role of the Administration on Aging as a focal point of Federal concern for older persons. H.R. 15657 states clearly that the Commissioner on Aging who heads the Administration on Aging would be directly responsible to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and would not be able to delegate any of his functions to any other officer who is not directly

responsible to him. In addition, it provides that Federal agencies proposing to establish programs related to the purposes of the Older Americans Act shall consult with the Administration on Aging prior to the establishment of such programs, and Federal agencies administering such programs shall cooperate with the Administration on Aging in carrying them out.

The bill would also substantially revise the title III State and community grant program which has been used to fund some 1,700 projects since it first went into operation. This new title III would assist State and local agencies to concentrate resources in order to develop comprehensive and coordinated service systems to serve older persons. These agencies would be encouraged to enter into new cooperative arrangements with each other and with providers of social services for planning for providing social services. Services would be designed to secure and maintain maximum independence and dignity in a home environment for older persons capable of self-care with appropriate supportive services and to remove individual and social barriers to economic and personal independence for older persons.

The bill also increases the matching rates available to pay for services. Under present law, Federal funds are available to pay not more than 75 percent of the costs of projects for the first year, 60 percent of the cost for the second year and 50 percent of the cost for the third and any subsequent year of the projects. Under H.R. 15657, Federal funds could be used for paying up to 75 percent of the cost of social services which are not provided as a part of a comprehensive and coordinated system and up to 90 percent of the cost of social services provided as a part of such a system.

The bill provides an authorization for appropriations of \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 1973, \$200,000,000 for fiscal year 1974, and \$300,000,000 for fiscal year 1975 for the administration of area plans on aging and for the development of these coordinated systems for the delivery of social services.

H.R. 15657 adds a new title to the Older Americans Act relating to the provision and initial staffing of multipurpose senior centers. Senior centers have been extremely successful components of the present program but additional authority is needed for the provision of facilities for such centers. These centers provide a single focal point where older people can gather, receive a variety of services, and be referred to other services they need. The Commissioner of Aging would be authorized to make grants to pay up to 75 percent of the costs of leasing, repairing or altering existing facilities so that they could be used as multipurpose senior centers. The Commissioner would also be able to make grants for 3 years at a declining Federal share of 75, 66%, and 50 percent to cover the costs of professional and technical personnel.

Amendments to the foster grandparent program would provide new opportunities for low-income older Americans to render meaningful community service. The amendments would permit low-income persons, 60 years and over, to serve

both children and adults with special needs in community settings. Older Americans could assist other needy older people in their own homes, in nursing homes and in institutions. In addition, older people would continue to serve children in institutions and begin to serve children in their own homes or in schools or day care settings.

Lastly, the bill would establish special programs directed to the solution of critical problems confronting older persons in the areas of preretirement, housing, transportation, employment, and continuing education.

Mr. Speaker, the action we took in passing these amendments will help to bring deserved assistance to many older people who need help in making their later years happy years.

IMPORTATION OF CHROME ORE FROM RHODESIA

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, during the lengthy controversy over my proposal to end the ban on importation of chrome ore from Rhodesia, Mr. Clifford J. Hynning, of Arlington, Va., wrote numerous letters to the New York Times in support of my position.

An authority on international law, Mr. Hynning is a former vice chairman of the international and comparative law section of the American Bar Association. He was the founding editor in chief of the International Lawyer, a quarterly publication of the American Bar Association.

The Times opposed my legislation in seven editorials published in 1971 and 1972.

Recently the Times published a letter from me responding to some of the statements which had been made in the newspaper's editorials. Subsequently, on June 25, the Times published a letter from Prof. Seymour Finger maintaining that the Byrd amendment constitutes a violation of the U.N. Charter.

Mr. Hynning has responded to the arguments advanced by Professor Finger, arguing ably that the ending of the prohibition against chrome shipments from Rhodesia does not violate U.S. treaty obligations.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Hynning's most recent letter addressed to the Times be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

BYRD AMENDMENT ON RHODESIAN CHROME VIOLATES NO TREATY OBLIGATION OF THE UNITED STATES

(By Clifford J. Hynning)

To brand one's own state as a treaty violator, as The Times has consistently done in editorials on the Byrd Amendment, is a most serious charge that should only be levied if based on a firm legal foundation.

Neither The Times nor Professor Seymour Finger (letters page, June 25), can cite a treaty of the United States or Congressional

act which by their terms prohibits the importation of chrome from Rhodesia or authorizes trade sanctions on Rhodesia.

The only way The Times can make out a case of treaty violation is to argue that the ratification of the UN Charter and the passage of the UN Participation Act in 1945—27 years ago—necessarily means that when the UN Security Council barred trade with Rhodesia on the pretext that she was a threat to the peace, such sanctions were automatically converted into a treaty obligation of the United States, without any reference to the Congress at all. This contrast with Great Britain, which annually obtains Parliamentary approval of an Order in Council. Similar parliamentary involvement is found in other countries.

The UN Charter does obligate the United States (Art. 25) to "accept" a "call" by the Security Council for economic measures (Art. 41), but *only if*, as Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Jr., assured the President and the Congress in 1945, such measures "relate to the prevention or suppression of breaches of the peace."

Great Britain has throughout renounced the use of force against Rhodesia; Rhodesia would use force only in self-defense. Thus there has been, and can be, no aggression of any breach of the peace between Rhodesia and Great Britain.

Where then does the UN find a threat to the peace? As the late Dean Acheson said (1968) in his address on "The Arrogance of International Lawyers," the argument in support of mandatory sanctions was that if Rhodesian independence is "continued in time," other states might be led to break the peace to bring about a domestic change of the franchise in Rhodesia. This year George Ball, former Under Secretary of State, wrote in a Washington Post book review that Acheson's address "cut to bits" UN Sanctions. Moreover, any such breaking of the peace would run afoul of the explicit prohibition of the UN Charter itself, in Art. 2(4), against "the threat or use of force" by a member state except in self-defense.

Your answer, I suppose, retreats to the position that the validity of Rhodesian sanctions is not open to inquiry outside the UN, in view of the unanimous votes of the Security Council. That is Professor Finger's argument. But that raises the question whether this is the kind of unchallengeable power—taken as an act of faith—that the Congress of the United States authorized the President to submit to in the UN? You are probably correct, insofar as you make the argument, that an American court would decline to rule on it as a "political question" or "an Act of State," leaving such delicate matters of foreign policy to the political branches of the government. But my concession is limited, for the Congress is one of the political branches of the government.

As early as James Madison, it was recognized that in the case of a treaty regulating a subject specifically within the constitutionally enumerated powers of the Congress—as the foreign commerce power—the Congress has the right and duty "to deliberate on the expediency or in expediency of carrying such treaty into effect, and to determine and act thereon, as, in their judgment, may be conducive to public good." This is what the Congress has done on the Byrd Amendment on Rhodesian chrome. Senator Sam Ervin, the leading constitutional lawyer of the Senate, called Rhodesian sanctions "a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, just as this amendment [by Senator Fulbright to pull the teeth of the Byrd Amendment] is an offense against the Constitution of the United States." It must be beyond cavil that the Congress has the right to challenge the validity of Security Council action purportedly taken under Art. 41 of the Charter, to determine whether the delegation of power to the President under the UN Participation Act has been properly exercised in conformity with the Act and the Charter as understood

by the Congress. If that challenge is bottomed in law and reason, as I have attempted to demonstrate, the resulting Byrd amendment does not violate any treaty of the United States, because the Security Council action is demonstrably *ultra vires* under the Charter itself.

NEEDED: A STRING OF VETOES

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming majority of the American people seek an end to inflation. Members of Congress also declared that they would like to see an end to the upward spiral of wages and prices, as do those in the executive branch. Despite such protestations, inflation continues.

Part of the reason for this state of affairs is that those who urge an end to inflation refuse to take the necessary steps to achieve it. Since part of the reason for our economic problems relate to the fact that Government is spending far more money than it is receiving in taxes and is increasing the money supply without any backing for the increased dollars, it seems clear that inflation can only be stopped by a reversal of these policies.

The combined Federal deficit for the 4 years ending June 30, 1973, will top \$110 billion. The Wall Street Journal reports that the Office of Management and Budget is already looking for places to trim a prospective \$40 billion deficit in fiscal 1974.

In a recent editorial, the Wall Street Journal declared that:

In spite of mounting inflation and mounting deficits, the Congress remains oblivious . . . The Administration requested \$27 billion for HEW-Labor appropriations for fiscal 1973, a \$7 billion increase over 1972. The House tacked on an extra \$1,275,856,000.

The Journal noted:

In the Senate, another open-ended spending program was just approved by a 73-12 vote. The program would spend \$2.95 billion to embark on the development of child care centers, an effort that, once underway in earnest, would surely cost the taxpayers 10 times that ante.

Unless inflation is to continue, and its rate is to increase, action must be taken. The Journal expresses the view that:

At this point . . . it seems the only thing that stands a chance of rescuing the runaway budget is a string of vetoes by the President. Otherwise, next year, whoever is President will not only have to ask for a tax increase, but might also be forced to put the economy through the wringer again to prevent an inflationary explosion.

It is essential that we come to grips with the real causes of inflation. If we do not, the problem will never be solved. One of the most important causes is deficit spending by Government.

I wish to share with my colleagues the editorial of the Wall Street Journal of June 28, 1972, and place it in the RECORD at this time:

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 28, 1972]

A STRING OF VETOES

There was a theory not long ago that the federal spending binge Congress has been enjoying for a decade would run its course. Sooner or later, it was said, the projected deficits would become so dizzying that inflation of South American proportions would loom. Then, even the wild-eyed spenders would tremble, peer into their souls, and find a tattered remnant of fiscal responsibility to cling to.

Those of us foolish enough to be tempted by this theory are now compelled to face up to our own naivete. It now becomes clear that in this golden era, when every man's a Keynesian, American legislators are really not that much more responsible than their counterparts in Santiago or Buenos Aires. The combined federal deficit for the four years ending June 30, 1973, will top \$110 billion. And as our Mr. Janssen reports, the boys at the Office of Management and Budget are already looking for places to trim a prospective \$40 billion deficit in fiscal 1974. Yet the Congress remains oblivious.

For some reason, we're reminded of the film clips and photographs of the looters who went about their business, in Watts, Detroit, Newark, unconcerned that the police stood by watching, and that photographers were recording their moves. They seemed to sense that because "everyone was doing it" that law was in suspension and none of them would be brought to judgment. There is in Washington, now, a similar sense of suspended reality, a curious awareness that everyone is doing it even as the press and the public look on, but that there will be no retribution.

The administration requested \$27 billion for HEW-Labor appropriations for fiscal 1973, a \$7 billion increase over 1972. The House tacked on an extra \$1,275,856,000, an increase approved by its Appropriations Committee, whose chairman, George Mahon of Texas, nevertheless warns of "the terrible fiscal plight of the federal government at this time." Can anyone doubt that the Senate will add another several hundred million to the pile?

It is in that upper body, after all, that yet another open-ended spending program was just approved by a 73-to-12 vote. The program would spend \$2.95 billion to embark on the development of child-care centers an effort that, once underway in earnest, would surely cost the taxpayers 10 times that ante.

Then, of course, there are the plans to boost Social Security benefits by 20%. A majority in the Senate is now cosponsoring this proposal, which would add at least \$6 billion to the deficit next year. Mr. Nixon requested a modest 5% increase. The White House terms the higher increase "irresponsible and untimely." And in testimony before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress yesterday, Casper Weinberger, director of the Office of Management and Budget, said that "unless Congress wishes to force a huge tax increase" it can't continue adding to outlays. He described the fiscal outlook as "ominous."

But the President is by no means innocent. His shoulder is still behind his general revenue-sharing proposal, which would cost the Treasury \$7.5 billion next year. When the political pressures were applied, Mr. Nixon could not resist signing the \$1 billion black-lung bill (Sen. Scott warned him he would lose Pennsylvania if he gave in to his budget advisers and vetoed the bill).

At this point, though, it seems the only thing that stands a chance of rescuing the runaway budget is a string of vetoes by the President. Otherwise, next year, whoever is President will not only have to ask for a tax increase, but might also be forced to put the economy through the wringer again to prevent an inflationary explosion. Of course,

there are political risks. Mr. Nixon's Democratic challenger will accuse him of being insensitive to the needs of the needy, but this would undoubtedly occur no matter how high the deficits soar.

Unless we are again being naive, even the political risks don't seem that awfully high. The great majority of the national electorate has graduated from high school, and there is ample evidence the voters are getting smarter and smarter. Surely this wisdom includes a passable knowledge of simple arithmetic.

THE DEMOCRAT NATIONAL CONVENTION

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the Democratic National Convention of last week gave rise to several newspaper columns which I believe will be of interest to Senators on both sides of the aisle.

I ask unanimous consent that the columns be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the columns were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, July 16, 1972]

McGOVERN'S MEETING WITH PROTESTERS AT THE DORAL

(By Carl T. Rowan)

MIAMI BEACH.—There Sen. George McGovern was, America's victor of the hour, entitled to have a head swelled bigger than a Florida watermelon, but he was standing in the midst of what some would call "kooks" and "rabble."

Many men savoring the highest honor a political party can pay would have stayed in the Doral-on-the-Beach penthouse and said, "Let 'em eat dirt."

And the Secret Service could have taken the rap.

After all, the young war protesters were ugly of both mood and dress. Stringy-haired men were nude from the waist up. The unkempt look of the young women was exceeded in offensiveness only by the cries of "bull" and worse expletives from young females who in gentler times might have been at Wednesday prayer meeting.

If you have ever stood chin-to-chin with this kind of group, you know that it takes courage not to walk away out of fear—or contempt for the boorish language, the foul manners, the physical smell of the angry young men and women, some of whom love their own harsh questions so much that they have no time for answers.

Well, McGovern overruled his Secret Service protectors, and he stayed to talk out with these students his policies regarding the Vietnam war. This group of leather-tough kids soon slinked away, realizing that, while McGovern refused to accept all their demands, he is about the best available to them.

McGovern had gambled, and won, that he could surmount the generation gap, political passion and a core of troublemakers to defuse a Vietnam tempest that could have blown up this convention and saddled his candidacy with the same cruel burdens that Hubert H. Humphrey had to carry four years ago.

That is "bring-us-together" leadership. That is the communication so desperately needed to heal the Nation's wounds.

Not that a handful in that SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) crowd may not be somewhere making bombs today. But it is clear that one reason McGovern won the critical California primary is that 50,000 kids believed in his honesty and integrity enough to pound the streets, ringing doorbells, buttonhole voters. That is why he is the presidential nominee.

McGovern had been in his suite watching TV. He had seen his staunchest backers in a solidly pro-McGovern Massachusetts delegation swelled to outrage by some mistaken notion that he would make Thailand the new Vietnam. He knew that already his credibility was at stake and he had to protect it, even at the risk of his life—or so the Secret Service might put it.

That little episode is just one reason why it may be brackish punditry to leap to the conclusion that the McGovern candidacy will be for the Democrats the same kind of debacle that Sen. Barry Goldwater's was for the Republicans eight years ago.

There are 25 million young people out there who can vote for the first time. Some Republicans are supremely confident that President Nixon will win easily because most of these young won't vote.

But the biggest lesson of this convention is that the old power structure played the young, the poor, the minorities cheap. The result is that these "out" groups took over, and now there is in fact a new Democratic party, with big labor and the once-entrenched politicians wondering what happened.

And that is why, despite all the Daleys and Meanys and Agnews and Nixons arrayed against him, McGovern is likely to give Nixon a real run for the rosebuds.

There is, however, one aspect of that contretemps at the Doral that bodes ill for McGovern. It had him once again trying to explain away a remark, or a policy statement.

"Residual force in Thailand." "Bugging is better than bombing." "A thousand bucks for every welfare recipient." "Legalize marijuana—no, just decriminalize it."

These are typical of the welter of situations that has arisen where McGovern is explaining McGovern. The Republicans are bound to say, "Senator McGovern, meet Senator McGovern!" As they try to exploit seeming contradictions.

That risky journey into the mouth of angry protest suggests that the Democratic nominee knows the value of his reputation for honesty. But then so do his political opponents. And you can bet that their prime objective will be to divorce George McGovern from his army of young faithfuls.

WHAT REALLY WORRIES REPUBLICANS IS LETTUCE

(By David Braaten)

The Republicans have been putting up a brave enough front, but deep down they are worried. Deeply, terribly, fingernail-biting worried about that Democratic convention.

It's not the candidate that bothers them. Their spies in Miami have already reported to the satisfaction of everyone at the White House, apparently, that George McGovern and his minions are "ruthless," and as everyone knows, the Republicans historically favor ruthless opponents like Lyndon Johnson. Instead of nice guys like Hubert Humphrey or Adlai Stevenson.

No. What is worrying the Grand Old Party strategists is the vegetable issue.

As Rogers C. B. Morton and his agents discovered, in their week-long surveillance of the Democratic convention from a nearby motel, the big issue this year is not McGovern, Vietnam, tax reform or amnesty, but lettuce.

At first, the Republicans couldn't believe their ears.

"Lettuce?" said one agent, dropping his earphones and flicking the tape recorder to replay. "Are they saying lettuce?"

"I thought it was letters," said his companion (who, truth to tell, had been dozing at his headset). "Something about the Boycott Letters, I think."

"Good Lord!" said the first agent. "We better tell the chief. It might be a new Pentagon Papers thing. Or what was it with Blaine, the Mulligan Letters?"

"Blaine?" said the second agent, taking off his earphones. "Who the hell is Blaine? The new secretary of commerce?"

Well, of course, they played the tape back, and other Democrats started speaking up, and eventually it sank in that the key phrase of the convention was, indeed, "Boycott Lettuce." The Republican strategists—like everybody else—didn't have the faintest idea what it was all about, but—unlike everybody else—they felt obliged to take steps.

"If the Democrats are against lettuce, we better come out in favor of it," said one strategist.

"Right!" said the others. "Check!" "Great!" "Up lettuce!"

Then there was an awful silence, broken finally by a senior strategist who said, "Come on now. That's silly. How can you write a pro-lettuce plank in a party platform, for crying out loud?"

After a bit, one of the junior strategists said, "How's about if we announce a boycott of something? Wouldn't that do it?"

Cries of "Right!" "Check!" "Great!"

"Okay, what'll it be?" said the senior strategist, puffing on his pipe. "Turnips? Rutabagas? Jerusalem artichokes?"

There was another long silence.

"Bacon-lettuce-and-tomato sandwiches?" ventured the junior strategist. Frowns. Thumbs-down gestures. Murmurs of "Blecccch!" and "Yuck!"

One by one, they began ticking off the boycott possibilities and discarding them on ethnic or regional grounds. Cabbage? There goes the Polish vote. Grits? The South. Baked beans? New England. Bagels? You're kidding.

In the end, a tentative decision was made: the GOP will announce a party boycott of anchovy paste, wild rice and shallots. A minority recommendation on summer squash, mustard greens and mushrooms is under study. If you have strong feelings on any particular vegetable, write to the Boycott Division, Republican National Committee, Washington, D.C., 20025. Do not enclose samples.

McGOVERN: ONE OF THE GREAT PROMISERS OF OUR DAY

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

MIAMI BEACH.—"I think it comes down to this: Do we have the guts to level with the American people?" When you said that, Lawrence F. O'Brien, you said it all.

The question is: Who is "we"? Who is it that up until now hasn't been leveling with the American people?

"We," no doubt, includes the last three Democratic presidents, whose records and policies have now been officially repudiated by the Democratic party. It also, of course, includes Richard Nixon, whose achievements, as compared to his promises, are not held in high esteem by the Democratic chairman. But perhaps most of all, the "we" whose guts Larry O'Brien was exhorting with such fervor was the Democratic nominee himself.

The point that the chairman was trying to make in his opening address to the convention was that politicians would do well to stop promising things that "we know cannot be delivered by man, God or the Democratic party." His plea was to stop kidding the American people and tell them the truth for a change—to "break the vicious cycle of overpromising and underproducing that has corrupted us all."

Well, it so happens that George McGovern, in his quest for the Democratic nomination, has turned out to be one of the great promisers of our day. He has been promising nothing

less than a revolution in what this country has stood for over a generation and some radical changes in the way it is run.

Among other things, he is promising \$1,000 to every man, woman and child in the United States and a tax system that will do away with rich people.

He is promising to cut defense expenditures by a cool 40 percent and still keep the United States the strongest nation on earth.

He is promising complete victory in Vietnam to the Communist leaders in Hanoi by scuttling the "corrupt, undemocratic government in Saigon." And after that he is promising to get back American war prisoners by going to Hanoi to beg for their release.

He is promising to keep the faith with our friends and allies around the world while pulling American forces out of Asia and Western Europe. Although he is going to be choosy in deciding just who our friends and allies are, he is promising to work for not just a nation, but a "world of peace, abundance and freedom."

Never mind that all of these promises are very much subject to revision as time goes on. Never mind, either, that McGovern himself has gone to some length to reassure people that Congress will never let him do most of the things that he is proposing to do once he is in the White House.

"Just imagine," said Larry O'Brien, "what it would be like to elect a President who made only modest, straightforward campaign promises, and then seriously went about fulfilling them." So far as George McGovern is concerned, it takes quite an imagination. But undoubtedly O'Brien's plea for some measure of moderation in the upcoming presidential campaign, forlorn as it may be, is perfectly sincere.

There can be no question that the professionals in the Democratic party will do everything in their power from now on to bring McGovern down to earth. For their collective judgment is that if the American people become convinced that McGovern would seriously go about fulfilling the promises he has been making, the whole Democratic party is heading for a disaster next November.

This fear was the only cohesive force behind the abortive effort to stop McGovern here in Miami this week. It failed quite simply because the convention had to nominate somebody and there was nobody else around whom it could coalesce. But the collapse of the anti-McGovern faction and the relatively easy victory for the South Dakotans have done nothing at all to heal the divisions or ease the misgivings that the McGovern candidacy inspires among the party professionals.

Most of them, to be sure, will swallow their bitterness and rally behind the candidate. Even if they are convinced he can't win—and a good many of them still are—they will do their best to minimize the effect of a defeat. They hope, furthermore, to move McGovern toward more moderate positions on the issues that interest them. Only those with irreconcilable ideological and policy differences, such as Henry Jackson and George Wallace, will continue to withhold their support.

How successful the professionals may be in taming their tiger, however, remains to be seen. McGovern would be less than human if he were not very much impressed by his performance here, and he certainly is not beholden to anybody for his victory. His promises already have taken him a long way. And Larry O'Brien notwithstanding, he is quite likely to go right on making them.

THE CANDIDATE WILL NEED HIS REST BREAK

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

MIAMI BEACH.—It still is hard to believe, as the TV commercial tells us, that he ate the whole thing. Just six months ago this week—

end, correspondents who traveled through New Hampshire with George McGovern traveled with a political cipher. Now we will travel with the Democratic nominee for President of the United States.

There may be, in the shopworn phrase, a great human story behind this. It has not yet emerged. McGovern has come on so slowly and steadily, in the fashion of a plastic extrusion, that one keeps waiting for more to appear. We know little, so far, of what makes him laugh or weep or cry out in rage. He has spun into view like a carousel charger, caparisoned in computerized tape, more of a symbol than a man of flesh and blood.

This will change. One thinks of Wendell Wilkie, Alf Landon, Barry Goldwater, even of Adlai Stevenson. In the national view, they too began as nonentities, as enigmas. The remarkable thing about McGovern is that he achieved his triumph in a field once crowded with names far better known: Humphrey, Muskie, Jackson, Lindsay. He ran them into the ground.

Six months ago, the prospect seemed impossible. He rated three to five percent in the national polls, and he had languished at that level for a solid year. In New Hampshire he was no more than George Who? He was then wandering about hotel dining rooms, shaking hands with customers, waiters and busboys. He ignited no fires.

His victory was largely a product of two factors—the strength of his own organization, and the weakness of his opponents. The weakness was fortuitous; the strength was his own. It ought not to be minimized. As an organizer, as a political tactician, McGovern has to command respect. He puts this thing together, in caucuses, in primaries, in tireless labor here in Miami. From the moment the first gavel fell Monday night, his claim on the prize could not be denied. It was a work of great skill.

Where does he go from here? The short answer is: Nowhere. Granted, one can write a scenario. If McGovern's young volunteers can register millions of new voters and then get them to the polls; if McGovern can make peace with the old pols and the leaders of organized labor; if he can modify his own early image as a far-out extremist; if his debt-ridden party can raise the necessary money; if he can rally black support in key states; if Richard Nixon falls into catastrophic blunder—if all this develops, while the economy drifts and the war goes on: Yes, McGovern could make it in November.

It is too much to imagine. McGovern's coalition is stuck together with paper clips, Band-aids and hairpins. His support among intellectuals is based not on empathy, but on default. His young amateurs produced a marvelous job in the pre-convention maneuvering, but the presidential election itself is a different horse race. Here McGovern will need professional help, from organized labor, from governors, mayors, fellow members of Congress. The party has great resilience, and the party is hungry. But at this juncture, to speak of a McGovern victory is to speak of miracles.

Candor compels these observations. Candor equally compels the admission that virtually all of us in the press galleries of Miami were wrong about McGovern before. We never believed he could win this nomination, and he won it. For the moment, let a word of tribute suffice: He earned this honor, and he fought the good fight. Let him rest up now for the main event.

[From the Washington Post, July 14, 1972]

OFF THE CUFF

(A commentary by Nicholas von Hoffman)

MIAMI BEACH.—They have just nominated George McGovern and I am sitting in his headquarters hotel press room. Parties and joy upstairs, dancing in the lobbies. I am looking at my notebook and its pages of wise-

cracks, anger, apprehension and disappointment. I'll transcribe them here as they hit my tired, bloodshot eye:

Sharper people here are shocked by McG's proposals to keep land-based forces in Southeast Asia . . . McG staffers say it was necessary to get nomination, say double-crossing women on abortion was necessary to get nomination, say backing off on everything necessary to get nomination . . . Those who disagree are cranky liberals. McG only man in America who can get kids back into uniform and fighting again?

Youthful McG follower in lobby explains his leader's new Nixon-like position on troops by saying, "The establishment fed us a lot of bull, now we can feed them bull, but come Jan. 20."

Seen looking miserable: California delegate sitting with his head in his hands on convention floor saying, "I think I'll go back on the streets."

Thoughts: This convention is a huge meeting of clients and their social workers . . . a vast coming together of the emergent, white collar majority . . . teachers, students, researchers, nebulous paper-shufflers, staff people, members of all the bureaucracies.

Where are line workers, production workers? They're for Wallace or Jackson. Wallace crowd, the class of the convention . . . polite folks who go out to the hall every night and vote their convictions . . . different from McG's people who vote their orders. Don't be impractical, we gotta win, don't we? Don't sell McG short . . . has made a career of getting elected in solid Rep. states.

Peer into New York delegation. Very quiet. Are they all sitting there taking notes for books they are going to write? This convention, biggest literary event of century? Norman Mailer, William Styron, Arthur Miller, Irving Wallace, Germaine Greer all here. So also reps from papers and 6-candlepower TV stations. Media affluence. Even Boston underground weekly has four reps. Media, media, media signs everywhere. Media from the Latin, meaning "in between"—or we are the people who get in everybody's way.

Observed: Roman Catholic priest with Italian name in lobby of Wallace hotel headquarters. He says, "Wallace and Humphrey people come up to you and say, 'Hey, father, what parish are you from?' You never hear that from McG people."

Vignette: Hotel suite of Henry Kimelman, McG's finance chairman. Much drinks and Kimelman bouncing around telling an anti-Polish joke. Very funny now, but will November returns from Poles in Det., Buff., Chi. and Pitts. be as amusing? Apparently OK to slur certain groups but not others.

On unsharable list are blacks, but poor people's groups here pathetic. They pop up in lobbies singing "We Shall Overcome" ditty and then not knowing what to do next. This not pressure, but high-class form of panhandling. Oh, well no money, no power, so must beg.

Meet S. Dakota delts at victory party. Good solid people making living by growing alfalfa.

Joke overheard in hall: How do you tell union-picked lettuce from non-union? Union has bug on the leaves.

Observation: They have recorded music instead of band at hall. People miss hoopla, but congratulate each other on getting rid of smoke-filled room. Maybe smoke-filled room good idea. Kept politicians off streets. Here they are out loose marauding.

Who is McG anyhow? McG is H. Humphrey in drag? Or maybe McG not so shabby as Miami performance indicates. Wait, Wait WAIT.

There are more notes, but I'm interrupted by the arrival of Dave Dellinger, the old Chicago Sevens, an anti-war leader. McGovern would never have been nominated without the people Dellinger led on the streets, but he walks around here unrecognized. He tells

me that he and Rennie Davis are going to have a press conference. I tell him that if McGovern sends the boys to Thailand, he will see to it that their dog tags are stamped out in the shape of the peace symbol and that they will be permitted to salute their officers by flashing the "V" sign.

[Reprinted from the July 9, 1972 issue of the *Fearst Newspapers*]

THE CRISIS CONVENTION

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

MIAMI BEACH.—If you were down here in the wings of the Democratic National Convention, waiting for the big show to get under way tomorrow, you probably could be sure of only two major facts in all the noise and confusion.

The first is that despite George McGovern's overwhelming delegate strength, despite the ebullience and confidence of his supporters, there is a whole army of Democrats here that is dead certain that his nomination for the presidency would spell party disaster in November.

The second fact—and only those present in this overheated madhouse atmosphere can truly appreciate it—is that anybody who wants an eyewitness ringside seat would be better off to follow the proceedings by television. It may be the only real way to be sure of what's happening.

Any firm predictions on the convention at this point would be sheer guesswork and a waste of time. What I want to do here today is to explain why I agree with the people who think McGovern's nomination is a gravely sorry prospect.

The basic reason why I am leery of George McGovern is the shifty record of his statements and positions. Far from being an incorruptible crusader for firm principles—an image carefully cultivated in his primary campaigning—the record shows that the senator from South Dakota is as wily and vacillating as any other politician whose main motivation is personal power. Some think he is even more so.

I first nailed McGovern as being intellectually dishonest in a column written shortly after our incursion into Cambodia in 1970. Along with other vociferous doves in and out of Congress, he had called the self-defense operation a deliberate escalation of the Vietnam war taken without proper advance notice to the American people.

Now this may or may not have been a seemingly reasonable charge to have been made by the ordinary, inexperienced members of our peace-at-any price people. But coming from a former World War II bomber pilot like McGovern it was worse than nonsense—it was hypocrisy of a very low order, exercised solely to inflame the anti-war sentiments of many confused Americans.

As a former combat flier, McGovern knew from first-hand experience that the time and place of an attack on an enemy—to be successful—has got to be one of the most closely guarded secrets in any war. The Cambodian incursion, in fact, succeeded in its aims precisely because of its surprise.

It was simply inexcusable for McGovern to suggest that the American public had been betrayed by no advance notice of the action.

Any kind of criticism is fair in a democracy if it is on the level intellectually.

In this case George McGovern was not on the level. He simply had to know that what he said was nothing less than calculated chicanery.

Now I don't want to be unfair about the senator even if he is one of those get-out-yesterday guys on Vietnam who have done so much to prolong the war by giving the enemy false hopes.

I don't doubt he sincerely wants an end to the conflict. But who do you know who doesn't? The difference is that McGovern has

been cashing in on national impatience through his impractical and dishonorable proposal to pull totally out of Indochina and then to beg for our prisoners of war if elected President.

Even if you assume that his pie-in-the-sky visions of a better and more equitable society are basically sincere, the trouble is that his liberal pipedreams also have been offered without practical foundation, except to get him votes.

As I have already suggested, a great deal of McGovern's primary campaign success was based on his personal image of calm stability. That image has rapidly been eroding under careful scrutiny, and through his own reaction to heavy pressure.

Possibly too late, Democratic Party regulars have come to realize that McGovern's irresponsible position on Vietnam, his proposed suicidal slash of \$32 billion in the national defense budget and his economically insane domestic programs could all but guarantee defeat on election day.

More than that they have been treated to the spectacle of a man furiously backtracking from previous positions in opportunistic search for wider support, frequently making no sense in the transition from self-proclaimed crusader to would-be compromiser.

Perhaps most damaging of all, they have seen McGovern finally erupt in uncontrolled temper in the delegate disputes, attempting to take a vengeance on his opponents which has made a genuinely united party impossible.

There is no space here to detail all the various weaknesses and self-contradictions that McGovern has been displaying as party showdown time neared. The subjects covered a gamut ranging from freeing convicted draft dodgers and deserters to free abortion. I don't recall that he took a stand on Angela Davis.

My own favorite is his back-off from his welfare-tax reform plan, which included the asinine proposal to give \$1,000 annually to every man, woman and child in the country.

Nettled by repeated analyses which showed his programs to be dangerously unsound and even mathematically wrong, he said he was making revisions he considers too important to announce "in the intensely political atmosphere"—a would-be cop out which makes no sense whatever.

Making even less sense, if that is possible, was his related comment on his \$1,000-per-person bonanza plan.

"That is being withdrawn pending our further study," he said. "It's just too complicated for the average person to understand."

Well—I don't think the average person would find receiving \$1,000 difficult to understand, except why such a nutty idea was proposed in the first place.

Meanwhile I hope that same average person will be able to understand that McGovern was trying to cover his own foolishness by accusing the public of stupidity.

Who the Democratic Party will pick as its standard-bearer for November remains to be seen—but if George McGovern gets the nod the convention will have chosen a weak, impractical and vacillating man.

His choice will be good news at least to President Nixon, who certainly should prefer to run against such a candidate rather than against a sound and thoroughly experienced opponent like Hubert Humphrey.

The Hearst Newspapers are politically independent. In 1968, our papers split although I personally supported Humphrey over Nixon. The choice was difficult because both had had roughly the same practical experience.

This year, barring some kind of miracle, we probably will support Nixon because of his record and because nobody comes close to his practical experience.

We could never support George McGovern,

both because of his self-serving, opportunistic record and because of his already proven failure as a practical planner.

In a word, I take a very dim view of the senator from South Dakota—and if you were down here you would know how fervently many Democrats share my attitude.

That is why the big show in Miami Beach this coming week, no matter what happens, at base will be a crisis production.

MRS. WILLIAM MERRILL CHESTER:
IN MEMORIAM

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to mark the passing of an outstanding woman leader of Milwaukee, whose son, John "Chips" Chester, is a staff consultant to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and a personal friend of many of our colleagues.

His mother, Mrs. William Merrill Chester, died July 13 after an extended illness. Mrs. Chester's involvement in civic activities spanned many decades. She was perhaps best known as the founder of the Girl Scouts in Milwaukee, and held various offices at the national and international level with the Scouts.

Her life was filled with service to others and a dedication to the enhancement of the educational, cultural, athletic, and other opportunities of our community, particularly for young people.

Fittingly, the Milwaukee Journal has memorialized Mrs. Chester in an editorial which I will insert at this time in the RECORD, together with a detailed obituary on her life which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel.

My wife, Blanche, joins me in expressing our deep sympathy to the family of Mrs. Chester for the deep loss which they and our entire community has sustained because of her passing.

The items follow:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, July 13, 1972]

MRS. WILLIAM MERRILL CHESTER

A long lifetime of service to her community has ended with the death of Mrs. William Merrill Chester at 79. Her interests and energy were devoted to a wide range of projects, producing benefits enjoyed by thousands of Milwaukeeans today. She helped organize the Girl Scouts here and was their first Milwaukee commissioner. Camp Alice Chester was named for her. She organized the service oriented Junior League here, lent her support to youth programs on local, state, national and international levels, supported education and the arts. The example and the deeds of this great lady are a legacy to all.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, July 13, 1972]

MRS. CHESTER DIES; WAS CIVIC LEADER

Mrs. William Merrill Chester, 79, the organizer of Girl Scouting in Milwaukee and granddaughter of the founder of the T.A. Chapman Co., died Wednesday of leukemia.

Mrs. Chester, who had been ill for about two years, died at her home at 3590 N. Lake Dr., Shorewood. She also had a summer home at Oconomowoc Lake.

She was internationally known for her work with the Girl Scout organization, activities which spanned half a century.

Her civic involvement included membership on the Lawrence University Board of Trustees, organizer and first president of the Milwaukee Junior League and trustee of the Milwaukee Art Institute.

She was a member of the motor corps in France during World War I, driving trucks from base hospitals to field hospitals near the front lines. She also was a former Wisconsin women tennis champion.

Mrs. Chester's husband, William M. Chester, was board chairman of T. A. Chapman Co. at the time of his death in 1964. He was associated with several industrial and financial firms and was active in civic affairs.

The former Alice Miller, Mrs. Chester was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George P. Miller. Her father at one time was attorney for Lucius Nieman, longtime publisher of The Milwaukee Journal. Miller owned Journal Company stock which was later sold to Harry J. Grant, Nieman's successor.

Mrs. Chester's grandfather, T. A. Chapman, founded the Chapman department store firm. Her aunt was Miss Alice Chapman, who willed \$1 million to the former Milwaukee Downer College for construction of the Chapman Library. The building is now called Chapman Hall and is part of the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee campus.

The children of Mr. and Mrs. Chester are Atty. George M. Chester, a partner in the law firm of Foley & Lardner; William M. Chester Jr., vice president of the Heil Co.; John C. Chester, a former diplomat and now a staff consultant for the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, and Mrs. Verne R. Read, whose husband is board chairman of the Chapman stores.

Mrs. Chester, an avid traveler both for her own enjoyment and in behalf of the Girl Scouts, took her last trip in June, 1970, when she and more than 20 family members went to Malawi, Africa, to visit John C. Chester, who had a diplomatic post there.

Soon afterward, Mrs. Chester was stricken with leukemia and was unable to travel again.

In 1915, following her graduation from Bryn Mawr College, Mrs. Chester organized the Junior League here.

Immediately after their marriage, she and her husband left for France where they both served in 1917 and 1918. She was in Paris during the shelling and later became cable secretary for the YMCA.

During the 1920s, Mrs. Chester's activities included offices in the League of Women Voters and the Woman's Club of Wisconsin.

Mrs. Chester was the first commissioner of the Milwaukee Council of Girl Scouts, organized in 1921. Her portrait hangs at Camp Alice Chester, at Booth Lake near East Troy, which was dedicated to her in 1925.

Her interest in youth work, particularly with Girl Scouts, continued through nearly five decades.

She served on the Girl Scouts Great Lakes Regional Committee and held various offices at the national and international level with the Scouts. She headed the Girl Scout mariner program here. She was assistant world treasurer, vice chairman of the Juliette Low World Friendship Committee and chairman of the committee which maintains the Girl Scout World Center in Adelboden, Switzerland.

Mrs. Chester wore her Girl Scout uniform in 1943 when she christened the wartime cargo ship Cape Bon at Wilmington, Del.

In 1967, though a grandmother and 74 years old, she was chosen by Gov. Warren Knowles to be general chairman of the governor's 10th conference on children and youth. She reacted with her customary enthusiasm for stimulating interest in young people.

As a young matron, Mrs. Chester was noted for her ability to play tennis and for her sailing ability. The Chesters spent summers at

Oconomowoc Lake and were active in sailing and fox hunting there.

Mrs. Chester served on the Milwaukee-Downer Board of Trustees from 1931 to 1964. She became a member of the Lawrence University board when the two schools consolidated in 1964.

Bryn Mawr gave Mrs. Chester a distinguished service citation in 1960, citing her civic activities. Mount Mary College presented her with its 1967 Pro Urbe medal for outstanding civic service. In September, 1970, Lawrence University granted her an honorary doctor of humane letters degree.

Services will be at 11 a.m. Monday at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 914 E. Knapp St. Burial will be in Forest Home Cemetery.

The family suggested contributions to the Girl Scouts of Milwaukee County, Lawrence University and the University School of Milwaukee.

WHITMER HIGH SCHOOL

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I take this opportunity to congratulate the Whitmer High School debate team of Toledo, Ohio, for winning its second consecutive national debate championship in the National Forensic League—NFL—Tournament, held at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, N.C., from June 19 to June 22.

In triumphing for the second straight year, Whitmer becomes only the second high school in the league's history to win back-to-back titles. The magnitude of this achievement can be fully appreciated only when one understands how competitive the tournament is. To qualify, a team must win either its district tournament or its State championship. In March, Whitmer High teams won both the western Ohio championship and the school's third consecutive Ohio State championship, thereby becoming only one of four schools in the country to qualify two teams for the finals.

This year's winners of the national tournament, Jeffrey Lewis and William Groves, outpointed some 80 other schools representing State and regional winners on the topic of whether the jury system in the United States should be significantly changed. In addition, Whitmer's Robert Perry and Lee Rosenbaum finished seventh in the competition.

Behind every good debate team, however, there must be a good debate coach and surely Whitmer's Esther Kalmbach is one of the best. Since founding the program at Whitmer in 1961, Mrs. Kalmbach has taken student teams to the national finals nine times, with three State and six district debate championships to her credit. In her 12-year tenure, Mrs. Kalmbach has coached her teams to two firsts, one second, one fifth, one seventh, and one eighth place in the nationals, truly a remarkable record.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud Mrs. Kalmbach and the members of the Whitmer High School debate teams and extend my best wishes for an unprecedented third consecutive debate title next year.

OUR COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS ARE DUE TO WILLINGNESS OF CITIZENS TO HELP THEMSELVES

HON. W. C. (DAN) DANIEL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, during the recent congressional recess, I had the pleasure and pride to read a letter from Mr. William E. Martin, of Fieldale, Va., to the editor of the Martinsville Bulletin. I have read few analyses of our Nation's difficulties which stated the problems—and the solutions—more succinctly.

This letter so impressed me that I requested permission of the writer to have the letter reprinted for my colleagues. This letter is all the more noteworthy because the writer is not of my generation, but rather is 22 years old.

I specifically call attention to the closing paragraph of Mr. Martin's letter:

I don't know if we can persuade ourselves to change our concept of society around again. I hope we can because one thing is certain. If we do not reverse our thinking soon, the already overburdened government in Washington will drown in a sea of unnecessary demands by citizens and cease to be a source of those solutions which can only come from the one institution that represents all people, all individuals, as a whole. The alternative to change therefore will be chaos—if not anarchy.

I insert Mr. Martin's letter at this point:

[From the Martinsville, Va., Bulletin, June 28, 1972]

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

It has become commonplace for those of us who have complaints about anything to pack the blame off on the federal government. This is very ironic because many of our problems have been created by our willingness to pack everything else off on Washington also.

America's greatest problem today is not the inability of the federal government to do its work properly; it is ours, the people's. Inability to do things for ourselves. In years gone by, when someone had a problem, he did all he could to solve it the best way he knew how. He did not always succeed, but at least he tried. That is much more than we can say about ourselves.

What happens today if we see something we don't like? We ask why Washington doesn't do something about it. "My kids aren't making good grades in school; why doesn't my congressman see that we have decent schools and teachers around here? I watched TV last night, and the programs were just horrible; why doesn't the government do something about the networks? I'm not making enough money in my job; but doesn't the President make them pay me more money? I pay my taxes, and I think it's about high time I got something out of them!"

In the past, our counterparts would have made their kids study more; would have watched something else on TV; or, Heaven forbid, might even have done something constructive with their time like read, knit or make odds and ends for use around the house. And if their job wasn't paying them what they felt was a proper wage, they asked for a raise or looked for another employer who paid better. They didn't, in short, go rushing to the government with their problems like a little child running home to his mama.

Things seem to be getting even worse. To-

day when we go to the supermarket and find the price of steaks too high, to a great extent because demand is outstripping supply; do we sacrifice a little and buy poultry or something else less expensive and let the free enterprise system help us by allowing the smaller demand to force down prices? No, most of us can't do without the steak for a little while, so we buy it and go home only to fire off a letter to our congressman demanding that the government hold down prices.

Finally, I mention the most disheartening thing of all. Now that we consider our children more as sources of trouble and inconvenience than joy; instead of doing something ourselves, we demand that the government set up child day care centers so that we can get the kids out of our hair and let the state have the chore of bringing them up.

These examples are not the only ones that can be cited, but they amply show how far we have allowed ourselves to go. To our everlasting shame, we have lost the ability or at least the desire to do things for ourselves as individuals. The exact reasons for this loss of individual initiative may never be known. One cause may well be that the tremendous growth of the mass media in recent years has made us lose sight of the individual himself. All we see, read and hear about these days are masses (groups) of people. This may falsely lead us to believe that there are only problems of the masses, and therefore, only solutions by the masses. This is a very depressing thought indeed.

I suspect, however, that a more important cause of the loss of individual initiative is the fact that our forefathers built a society that, while not perfect, was at least so successful that we have all become like the brat who inherits his father's fortune. We are spoiled rotten and don't want to do anything for ourselves that we can get someone to do for us. We have had things given to us so easily that we have lost the desire to undergo the occasional short-term self-denial and the hard work that in the long run would make our lives and the lives of all who share our society much better and happier. This line of reasoning does not come from an "old fogey". It comes from a 22-year-old college graduate.

I believe that there is a remedy for our ailment, and it consists of a return to a more ordered concept of society. We must again consider the individual as the center of our social structure. The individual, thus removed from his present position as an obscure entity existing somewhere within the mass social system, will have to become once again self-dependent. He will view himself as the master problem solver. The individual will thus strive to do for himself all that he can; and only after he has done his best will he turn to others for assistance. He will first go to those individuals who share his problem and concern and work with them to find a solution. If the answer eludes even this group, they will then turn to that body which represents the next largest group of individuals—the local government. Then of course, if needed, comes the state. Finally the matter will be taken to the federal government when it becomes evident that the problem can only be solved by all individuals working together as a Society of the Whole. The federal government, now free from the task of having to decide questions better handled at lower levels, will be able to commit its full resources to finding sound and just answers to the problems only it can solve.

I don't know if we can persuade ourselves to change our concept of society around again. I hope that we can because one thing is certain. If we do not reverse our thinking soon, the already overburdened government in Washington will drown in a sea of unnecessary demands by citizens and cease to be a source of those solutions which can only come from the one institution that rep-

resents all people, all individuals, as a whole. The alternative to change therefore, will be chaos—if not anarchy.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. MARTIN.

HUNGARY, 1956

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of my colleagues in the House whose ability and determination I respect is LARRY HOGAN of the Fifth District of Maryland. I am pleased to call to the attention of the Members an address delivered by Representative HOGAN before the Congress of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation on July 1, 1972. I especially direct the attention of the Members to the poem, "Hungary, 1956," composed by Mr. HOGAN which is dramatic evidence of his depth of feeling and understanding of the tragic Soviet occupation of Hungary in 1956.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

Benjamin Franklin once said he would like to come back in 200 years to see if Americans still value their freedom. Suppose that great American Freedom Fighter returned today. What would he find? Do Americans still value their freedom, or do they take it for granted? You in this room fought for freedom as Benjamin Franklin did, so you cherish it.

It would not be a very happy homecoming for Benjamin Franklin, I'm afraid. He'd find a lack of respect for the ideas and ideals he worked so hard for; the gift of freedom which too many take for granted.

The examples are everywhere: The Capitol Building is bombed. The Pentagon is bombed. The life work of scholars at universities is destroyed. Disruptions and violence have spread across our land.

Benjamin Franklin would be sorely disappointed about things going on in this country. Yes, our domestic problems concern me, as I am sure they do you. But of even greater concern is our military posture in the world and our attitude toward communism and the threat it still poses to world peace.

There is no doubt that the so-called communist bloc is not the monolith it once appeared to be. But let us never forget who the communists really are.

It is the communists who invaded South Korea, South Vietnam and Laos—regardless of what the propagandists of the press and universities tell us.

It is the communists who keep whole nations captive. It is the communists who confine Russian intellectuals to insane asylums for "treatment." It is communists who tolerate no dissent.

It was the communists who invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968.

And who in the world—most especially in this room—can ever forget who brutally crushed the heroic people of Hungary in 1956?

I recently heard of an 80-year-old man being tried in Budapest. His terrible crime? Sending money out of Hungary to support his stepson.

And it is the communists who have made the last 16 years of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty's life a sorrow-filled time of loneliness

and separation from his people. It was encouraging to me to receive a warm letter of support from Cardinal Mindszenty endorsing my resolution regarding the Holy Crown of St. Stephen.

It was precisely because of my concern over the present government in Hungary that I have sponsored that resolution to insure that the Holy Crown of St. Stephen remains in the safekeeping of the United States until Hungary once again enjoys a freely elected government. This resolution was supported by 35 members of the House, including such good friends of Hungary as Congressman Bill Scherle, Ed Derwinski and Frank Horton.

As I am sure you know, Secretary of State Rogers will be in Hungary Thursday and Friday of next week. I am certain you are as concerned as I was as to what his visit might mean for the status of the Holy Crown and for relations in general between the United States and Hungary.

I am pleased to report to you tonight that I have been assured by the U.S. State Department that Secretary Rogers does not plan to raise the issue of the Holy Crown. I have also been informed by the State Department that the Hungarian government has not recently indicated any intention of discussing the issue of the Crown.

Obviously, we cannot say unequivocally that the Holy Crown of St. Stephen will not be included in the discussions, but I have been assured by the State Department that there has been no change in American policy regarding the Holy Crown.

My continuing concern—and I am sure that of our visitor Benjamin Franklin—is that many Americans seem to have no respect for the lessons of history or have already forgotten those dearly learned lessons.

Take the example of Sen. J. William Fulbright who has tried to end the funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty on the grounds that they are remnants of the Cold War. (I opposed his position every step of the way and I am pleased that his stand has been repudiated substantially by both Houses of Congress.)

We must have Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty to let the millions behind the Iron Curtain know what is really happening in the world. I know you don't have to be reminded of how critical that need is. But for those Americans who needed reminding—and there are plenty of those—there was a recent interview with Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Nobel Prize-winning Soviet author.

He had some good things to say for Radio Liberty. He said: "If we learn anything about events in our own country, it's from there."

Solzhenitsyn also said, "You Westerners cannot imagine my situation. No one dares to stand up and object to a party propagandist, because, if he does, the next day he may lose his job and even his freedom."

And yet, faced with the growing military strength of that nation which denies the very liberties we hold so dear, we still hear the loud and persistent cries of people such as Senator George McGovern who propose a \$32 billion cut in the defense budget!

Let's take a look back for a moment at our defense spending in recent years. In fiscal 1968, defense spending approximated 10 per cent of our gross national product. Under the Nixon Administration that figure has been reduced to below 7 per cent. Defense spending for fiscal 1972 was down more than \$20 billion from the 1968 level and almost down to the pre-war spending level of fiscal 1964—this following a period of high inflation.

In addition, the number of active duty military personnel had returned to its pre-war level. At the end of the fiscal year (yesterday) there were 180,000 fewer men in uniform than in 1964 before the Vietnam buildup.

Given those statistics, we have to ask where

Senator McGovern hopes to make his \$32 billion defense cut.

We are already in danger of becoming a second-rate military power. The Soviet Union has been expanding its military capacity steadily as ours has decreased. The USSR has built a powerful modern navy while our ships and naval power have been deteriorating. Soviet missile growth has continued and military appropriations have flowed steadily into other armaments and manpower while we have de-emphasized these programs.

In addition, the Soviet Union spent 40 to 50 per cent more on military research and development than the United States in fiscal 1972.

We have reached the real danger limit in our defense cutbacks.

As that great Hungarian-American, Dr. Edward Teller, recently said in his speech in New York during a lecture series organized by the American Hungarian Historical and Library Association:

"It is evident that, should the Russians be able to successfully defend themselves while we could not, it would not take very long before the fate of the United States—a country which provided us with refuge and of which we have become loyal citizens—will be similar to that of Hungary or Czechoslovakia.

"An equally unfortunate circumstance is our mental unpreparedness: the defeatist stance of our immediate successors, the younger generation which is soon to take over from us. What I as a professor have seen in my hometown, on the Berkeley campus of the University of California does not augur well for a sound defense . . ."

"In the well-developed industrial parts of the free world," continued Dr. Teller, "much of the fabric of stable human character has disintegrated. Since a like situation is hardly tolerated beyond the Iron and Bamboo curtains, the developing situation favors our adversaries."

Dr. Teller continued, "Being among fellow Hungarians who are fully aware from bitter experience what it means to be defenseless against the onslaught of superior forces, gives me the chance to make a suggestion: We all owe gratitude to our new homeland. To express it in a positive way, is our privilege and duty. . . ."

"We, who either through personal experience or that of our kin found out about the Russians, sampled their mentality through direct contact, have a specific obligation: to urge our American friends to realize the ever-increasing dangers looming on the horizon.

"Once the great Russian thrust for world domination is on the march, it is difficult to see where and when it may stop. It is far better, therefore, to prepare for it while this is still in the realm of possibility."

I apologize to Dr. Teller for borrowing so liberally from his speech, but what he said, I thin has special meaning for you and for me. We recognize that a strong defense posture stands at the very heart of our American Democracy—at the very heart of our freedoms, our culture, our opportunities—all those things which make this country so great. We must remember that these cherished blessings are only as secure as our military defenses are strong.

So I join Dr. Teller in asking you who know so poignantly what freedom really means to help keep the importance of our defensive strength before the American people.

It is also apparent after the recent summit talks that there may be changes in the Soviet attitude toward Hungary. Some of those changes toward increased economic freedom appear hopeful. At the same time, Hungary may, in the future, have to be much more concerned about the supply of raw materials flowing from Russia, and Russia, if trade is opened up with the U.S., will be

less dependent on Hungary for the supply of consumer goods. This could alter the relations between Hungary and the USSR. This could augur good or ill, depending on events as they unfold.

I know some of you are concerned that the recent summit talks may mean a shift in the attitude of the United States toward Hungary. I do not believe that is the case. I feel—and I hope—that most Americans know that we must remain committed to the cause of Hungarian freedom.

Because of the importance I attach to America's commitment to Hungary, yesterday I wrote to President Nixon suggesting that in the same manner in which he visited Yugoslavia, Poland and Rumania, that he also in the near future visit Hungary! Such a visit would be symbolic of our undying commitment to the Hungarian people and a practical opportunity to offer them our assistance and afford them—the people of Hungary—the opportunity to demonstrate to the USSR and the world their bond of affection and friendship for the United States.

It is up to people such as you and I who know and love freedom, to make certain that it survives in this hostile world. This great gift carries with it great responsibilities to preserve liberty here and extend its blessing to those who do not have it.

We have been a great legacy of liberty. It is up to us to make certain that this cherished legacy of freedom does not pass from this earth.

And now, I would like to exercise a personal prerogative. I have been asked many times why I have taken such an interest in the problems of Hungary since I am not of Hungarian descent and I have very few Hungarians in my congressional district.

Well, the said events of 1956 in Hungary had a deep and lasting influence on my personal life as an American. I was so moved by that historic tragedy that I wrote a poem to express my feelings. Because it might explain why I have made Hungary's cause, my cause, and because it might indicate how I feel about Hungarians, I would like to impose on you at this point to read my poem, entitled "Hungary, 1956":

HUNGARY, 1956

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

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

The long-dormant spark exploded
To enflame a patriotism so long eroded.
Old men and young boys,
Became rag-tag soldiers adrift—
Gambling God's most precious gift
For a chance to rescue their nation
By risking wild confrontation;
To make a choice:
Which is no choice:
Quick, rewarding death
Or slow, living death.

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

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

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

As France helped you so long ago
By making your revolt her own.
Come help reap what love of freedom has
sown.

Come, America, with your mighty hands of
friendship
To shelter freedom's fire in kinship.
Hear the Freedom fighter's shout
Don't let freedom be snuffed out.
Come, America, and answer this plea
From a nation hungry to be free."

As days pass, awaiting America's hand,
An ominous quiet envelops the land.
An eerie calm forewarns of storm
As lines of desperate resistance form.
Suddenly, the bleak November sky
Is pierced by Soviet MIG's screaming cry.
And into every Budapest street,
Firing on all they meet,
Russian tanks rumble

To make all opposition crumble.
Tanks take vigil on each corner and wait.
"Come, America, the hour is late!"

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

Freedom fighters spend dwindling rounds
and wait

In hopeless defiance of their fate
As Soviet soldiers, recapturing a nation,
Bring house-to-house annihilation.
In a last gasp to make fate pause,
Anonymous heroes die in a lost cause.

"Come, America, and watch a nation die
As all who love freedom cry!"

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

"Where were you, America, as freedom died
To redeem the promise which you lied?
You whose own quest for freedom's chance
Would have failed without the aid of France.
Where were you, America, when children
died in bravery
Fighting a war that could have saved the
world from slavery.

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

IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I was very impressed by the sound sense expressed by William B. Faris, executive director of the Tennessee Society of Professional Engineers, in their June 1972, journal. I

would like to share with my fellow congressmen Mr. Faris' comments concerning the impact of education on our society:

I WONDER?

People, like me, without very much education, have a tendency to overrate its importance in the scheme of our general lives.

We strive mightily, and go without many things so that we can give our children "the advantages we never had."

But I wonder, now and again, if our zeal in forcing our children into the mold of educated citizens may not actually be depriving them of those intangibles that brought pride to my generation and glory and respect to this country during the time of my youth.

I become concerned, and I wonder where we "went wrong with our educational theories" when I read reports like the one just released by pollster Daniel Yankelovich.

Mr. Yankelovich found that of those Americans 17 through 23 years of age, 30 percent are in college.

He also found a great difference in the attitude of those persons in college and those in the work force. For example:

80 percent of those not in college favor a greater emphasis on law and order compared to 57 percent of undergraduates.

Only 22 percent of the non-students say they want more sexual freedom as against 43 percent of college students.

60 percent of the non-students felt that patriotism was important, but only 35 percent of those in college felt it was.

Mr. Yankelovich believes the reason the differences appear is the promotion of anti-establishment views on the campuses. He doesn't tell us what part a radical faculty plays in this mess, or a permissive atmosphere, or too much money and too many cars, or meaningless curricula. He just says these problems exist.

I wonder if people like me, who deep down in their heart feel that education should be the panacea to everything, the solution to all our problems, aren't really the cause of most of these troubles.

I wonder if education, by itself, without pride of accomplishment or a sense of responsibility or a love of country may not yet become the Frankenstein Monster that will destroy us.

I wonder.

SAVING ON THE COST OF COLLEGE

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, as the cost of attending college has steadily risen, proposals of how to beat the high cost have multiplied. Shortening the time required for a degree is not a new idea, but when the suggestion comes from such a prestigious organization as the Southern Regional Education Board it is worthy of consideration. The board has under study different ways of inaugurating a degree program that will require only 3 years, instead of the usual 4. The board is a multistate organization, and believes that a 25-percent saving can result from a 3-year course.

The Augusta Chronicle of June 12, 1972, discussed the prospects in an editorial entitled "Saving One-Fourth," as follows:

SAVING ONE-FOURTH

Is anyone interested in saving one-fourth of the escalating cost of sending his sons and daughters to college? It is a rare parent, of course, who isn't.

That is what gives widespread interest to a three-day meeting in Atlanta, ending today, under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Education Board. The meeting will have, prominent on its agenda, a thorough discussion of ways to inaugurate a degree program that will take three years instead of the traditional four. It is the first such meeting by a multi-state organization to concentrate on the subject.

Many educators and state legislators believe that as much as 25 per cent of the total cost of a college education could be saved by the three-year degree. It could be done by several procedures.

One would be to ascertain what areas of instruction are subject to an overlapping between high school and college, and eliminate that area from the college curriculum. Another would be to test knowledge the student may already possess, and waive the college courses covered by that knowledge. A third and more conventional means is simply to go to school in the summers.

More than 150 persons from colleges, universities, secondary schools, state departments of education and legislatures will try to make serious progress toward this goal at the Atlanta sessions. It will be not merely a survey of pros and cons, but an examination of the "how-to's."

The beneficiary should be the student—and parents who pay the bills.

MEET THE MEMBER

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the effective work of our respected colleague from California (Mr. Hosmer) is occasionally noted by the media. The following are highlights from two of radio commentator Joseph McCaffrey's "Meet the Member" broadcasts:

MEET THE MEMBER

California's Craig Hosmer is one of the outstanding congressional authorities on atomic energy. As a member of the Joint Atomic Committee, the Republican Congressman has devoted years to its problems and today has a sound, first-hand knowledge of it.

First elected to the House of Representatives in 1952, Craig Hosmer is a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and of the Law School at the University of Southern California. A veteran of World War II, he is now a rear admiral in the Naval Reserve.

Hosmer is generally recognized as an informed and articulate spokesman on all aspects of United States nuclear policy, being frequently called upon for service with American delegations to international conferences on atomic energy and arms control. He also serves as chairman of the House Republican Conference Committee on Nuclear Affairs.

The ranking Republican member of the Interior Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation which oversees all federal water projects, the Congressman is viewed as a progressive thinker regarding Southern California's water needs. In 1968, he was one of the principal architects of the historic

Colorado River Basin Project Bill, which guarantees California's share of the river water. He is the chief Congressional sponsor of three other projects vital to the state's future water supply: The Peripheral Canal, The California Undersea Aqueduct and the Desalting of Seawater.

Among his other legislative interests is concern for the handicapped. Hosmer's bill to provide greater job opportunities for those who are handicapped was passed by Congress last year. It extended to the severely handicapped the special privileges previously accorded only to the blind in selling products and services to the federal government.

At the time of its passage the Congressman said, "Many of the severely handicapped of the more than 225,000 Vietnam era veterans would be eligible for employment in workshops having contracts under this change in the present law. The disabled need rehabilitation, but even more they need jobs. This will make that possible by providing federal contracts to sheltered workshops for the handicapped."

For his efforts, he was honored by the Goodwill Industries of America. In the citation, it was pointed out that the Hosmer-sponsored legislation would permit Goodwill to increase its employment of handicapped by 10% nationwide as the result of the expected increase in orders from the federal government.

Congressman Hosmer is an articulate advocate of nuclear electric power, attempting to allay the fears, and the many exaggerated cries of alarm about this comparatively new development.

Here is how Hosmer sums up his position. "Nuclear power plants are being developed and built because they are better or cheaper or more acceptable or more available than the alternatives. This is not to say they are perfect. But they are safe, they are reliable and they are economic in most regions in the country. And, from an environmental standpoint, they are relatively clean. The generation of electricity, by whatever means, is going to have some effect on the environment."

It is never possible to produce power without some thermal effect. Hosmer points out that even hydro plants have a small warming tendency. But ambient air or water temperature changes are not necessarily disastrous. He believes the term "thermal pollution" is a misnomer. Putting heat into the water isn't necessarily pollution. A water heater in a home is not a water polluter. Heat is energy and energy is a very valuable commodity in our society. The objective is to build power plants at sites calculated to result in minimal adverse effects, or even beneficial ones.

We live with radiation every day of our lives, with the exposure varying each year. Hosmer feels that with more experience, plus the normal flow of new technology and the promise of major breakthroughs, such as breeder and fusion reactors, the atom's overall posture will get even stronger. Hosmer asks, "Wouldn't it be ironic if we lost the tremendous potential of atomic energy, not because we couldn't control its power, but because we couldn't control our fear?"

Not limited to his work as a member of the Interior Committee and the Joint Atomic Committee, the Congressman has joined with nine other members of the House seeking a study of year round daylight savings time.

His biggest job on Capitol Hill still remains that of helping people. Last year more than 1,600 residents of his district sought his help with problems involving the Veterans Administration, Social Security, the military and other federal agencies.

FIVE CAPITOL LIVES

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the July 1972 issue of the TWA Ambassador carried a story entitled "Five Capitol Lives" and should be of interest to all Members as it contains an article on our colleague (FRED SCHWENGL). It is also particularly interesting to Missourians because of its coverage of Joe Lastelic of the Kansas City Star.

FIVE CAPITOL LIVES

By 8 a.m., Fred Schwengel, Bob McCormick, James Powell and Joe Lastelic are getting ready to start their day at the Capitol—and 16-year-old Atlee Valentine is already well into hers.

These five—Congressman, guide, police chief, correspondent and page—are just a sprinkling of the cast of the daily drama of the Capitol. But they, their colleagues, and counterparts of years past, are as much the Capitol story as the sandstone that George Washington commissioned to be used in the West Front.

Fred Schwengel, Congressman, quips, "Frankly, I'm the only Republican that heads any group on the Hill." The eight-term Republican Congressman from Iowa's First District (Iowa City, Davenport, etc.) proudly states he is president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, which he helped found in 1962. As such, he is constantly extolling the virtues of the Capitol. He drives around it every morning just for inspiration. He even carries applicable quotes in his pocket, laminated, so they won't wear out. "You know what Nehru said about the Capitol? He said . . ."

But primarily, Schwengel is a Congressman. That means he has to do his job on the Hill, and keep the fences mended back home so Iowa voters will keep him there. It makes for a long day.

At 7:30 he hits his office and confers with his staff about what's coming up. Then his secretary brings mail-only-the-Congressman-answer and he dictates till near 10 a.m., when, from Monday through Thursday, his committees meet. Committees are where the bulk of Congressional work is done, so Schwengel attends.

Between the end of the committee session and the noon start of the House session, Schwengel grabs a quick bite in the House dining room. House sessions last varying lengths of time, depending on the amount of voting to be done, and the controversiality of the bills. But Schwengel generally gets back to his office around 4 p.m. By then, constituents from Iowa are waiting in his office, and Schwengel starts his daily round of hand-shaking, anecdote-trading and problem-solving. After signing a foot-high stack of mail, he's "on the horn" to important telephone contacts back in Iowa.

If the Iowa Congressman were interested, he could attend an endless string of cocktail parties on the Washington circuit. But Schwengel skips most of them, unless they involve his district in some manner.

Schwengel's passionate affair with the building where he works not only leads him to promote it personally, but when he lost a bid for re-election a few years back, he spent his two-year "sabbatical" helping produce *We, The People*, the most authoritative and popular book on the Capitol, which has sold nearly 3 million copies.

Atlee Valentine, Senate Page, at 16 starts school earlier than most teenagers—at 6 in the morning.

That's because Atlee is one of five girl pages assigned to the U.S. Senate, and has to complete her school day before the daily 10 a.m. session starts.

Until a year ago, there had been no girl pages in the history of the Senate. But Women's Lib finally took its toll of tradition, and a girl was first named in early 1971.

The pretty teenage Tennessean is up at 5 every morning, and attends the Capital Page School in the third floor of the nearby Library of Congress with about 75 other pages from both sides of Congress. Before the sessions, Atlee and her fellow pages put Senators' desks in order with copies of current legislation, including the *Congressional Record*, bills, calendars, amendments and other materials. During sessions, they carry messages and fetch water to wet Senatorial vocal cords.

The work may seem menial, but Atlee and her colleagues treasure the opportunity to work at the center of legislative power. She doesn't know yet what she'll do with her experience; she's just glad to be there.

Bob McCormick, Assistant Chief Guide, has an inextinguishable enthusiasm for the Capitol, its history and its occupants, stemming from a stint as a page many years ago. He supervises a team of 24 guides.

McCormick's day starts at 9 a.m. when the huge bronze doors open to the public. From then until the last tour is started before the building closes at 4:30 p.m. McCormick directs his guides—12 men, 12 women—in their task of leading 35-minute tours around the Capitol.

"The biggest misconception people have is that the President works here," McCormick says. Actually, the President seldom visits the Capitol. He's inaugurated there, speaks to a joint session in his State of the Union address, but otherwise seldom utilizes the President's Room set aside for him.

"All of us very intensely want to convey to visitors the majesty of this building," says McCormick. For this reason, it sometimes dismays him that the main memory some people have of the Capitol is the peculiar acoustical characteristics of Statuary Hall: a group of people standing on one side (near where John Quincy Adams was fatally stricken in 1848) can hear whispered words spoken on the other side of the hall.

Daily crowds range from a few hundred to 11,000, depending on the time of year. Guides are knowledgeable, and answer a variety of questions. "No anecdotes, though. You never know when an anecdote will offend someone."

James M. Powell, Chief, Capitol Police, knows the Capitol is the Symbol of Democracy for the vast majority of visitors. But for a tiny number suffering mental or ideological problems, the Capitol represents a target for potentially lethal violence. Hence the 1,000-man Capitol police force, one of the best-trained—and most polite—police forces in the country.

The men are taught, in Chief Powell's words, "to be courteous, diplomatic, tactful and firm—with sufficient elasticity." This is because the ubiquitous Capitol police are asked every conceivable question by tourists, from: "Where can I get some of that famous Senate Bean Soup?" ("In the Senate Dining Room, m'am") to: "How much paint does it take to cover the dome?" ("About 1,750 gallons, sir").

Occasionally, however, the Capitol police have to control crowds or detain troublemakers, such as the mentally disturbed man who entered the House side some months back and carved up a 20-by-30-foot painting with a pair of scissors.

Other incidents require a more diplomatic approach. A few weeks ago, for instance, four bizarrely dressed young men asked permission to distribute invitations to members of Congress to attend a religious revival.

"Ten years ago our attitude might have been different," said the Chief. "Now I have to ask myself, 'What would I do if they were

conventionally dressed?'" Powell granted permission.

The Capitol police force is being expanded rapidly, both in numbers and training, partly as a result of an explosion in a public wash-room in the Capitol a year ago. As usual, following such explosions, the police switchboard lit up with phony bomb threats for weeks afterward. "But Congress decided not to evacuate the building on just threats. They're determined to keep democracy operating in an open atmosphere," says Powell.

Joe Lastelic, Capitol Correspondent, knows no one man can cover the Capitol. No. 20 men can cover the Capitol. But every working day, from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., Joe Lastelic gives it his best.

For 11 years, Lastelic has been part of the *Kansas City Star's* two-man Washington Bureau. Through the keys of his typewriter, readers find out what their Senators and Representatives are doing, what federal legislation is passed regarding Kansas and Missouri, and how Lastelic views politics, Washington style.

Some Washington correspondents view life on the Hill with cynicism, but not Lastelic. "The Capitol," he says, "is the symbol of democracy, far more than the White House." He likes his job, and he likes most politicians, finding them a fascinating and generally intelligent group. "You've got to remember, these guys all had to convince the voters back home that they were the best man running," he says.

Joe starts his day at 9 a.m. in his downtown office. First he checks the "tin sheet" supplied by the Associated Press for the 1,500 accredited Capitol correspondents. It includes the committee meetings of the day and a capsule summary. From this, Lastelic chooses his journalistic prey for the day, and by 10 he's at the meeting, if its open to the public (about 30 per cent of the meetings are closed).

Headquarters for correspondents on the Hill are the House and Senate press galleries just off the respective chambers. There, a battery of telephones, Teletypes and typewriters keeps them in touch with the media.

The actual House and Senate sessions are usually of little interest to him, although occasionally news of a hot debate goes around the Capitol press corps and brings reporters flocking to the chambers.

Most of Lastelic's day is spent buttonholing newsmaking Congressmen and cultivating friendships with important contacts. "You can't overestimate the importance of personal friendship on the Hill," says Lastelic, "whether between lawmakers or between reporters and news sources."

Lastelic returns to his office by late afternoon to write and file his stories. If he's lucky, he's home to his family by 6 p.m. But that's not necessarily the end of his workday.

Unable to attend all, most, or even enough of, meetings where Congress does most of its work, Washington correspondents become omniverous readers. Lastelic spends hours at home perusing reports, minutes, statements and press releases.

Congressmen, pages, Capitol police, guides and newsmen, plus all the other thousands who work there, make the Capitol not just a marble monument but a living symbol.

TRIBUTE TO YANKEE REBELS DRUM AND BUGLE CORPS

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute to the Yankee

Rebels Senior Drum and Bugle Corps of the Hamilton American Legion Post No. 20 in Baltimore for their outstanding achievements and promotion of patriotism.

This group has gained national recognition. In August of 1971, the Yankee Rebels won their third consecutive American Legion national championship. They have been the Maryland State champions every year since 1946. The corps are justifiably proud of this record.

On July 22, the Yankee Rebels will sponsor the 19th annual March of Champions at Baltimore Memorial Stadium. Groups from Canada, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut will compete in this event, which is the largest senior drum and bugle corps competition in the Nation. In addition, the U.S. Marine Drum and Bugle Corps and Silent Drill Team will perform. Over 19,000 persons attended the show last year and this year's program is likely to attract an even larger number.

In addition to providing entertainment, drum and bugle corps, many of which are sponsored by veterans' and other patriotic organizations, instill in the spectators a sense of pride in America. The Yankee Rebels won the National Freedoms Foundation Award for their efforts to "preserve and extend the American way of life under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." At a time in our history when patriotism has been subjected to a heavy discount by many, the drum and bugle corps across our Nation are serving a valuable purpose. I salute the members of the Yankee Rebels for their dedication to making Americans proud to be Americans.

GULFPORT, MISS., POST OFFICE WINS SAFETY AWARD

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my warmest congratulations to Postmaster W. B. Harris, of Gulfport, Miss., and the many fine postal employees in his office for their outstanding achievement in winning national recognition for injury prevention safety for 1971. The Gulfport Post Office had no disabling injuries during 1971.

I include as a part of my remarks an article from the June 29, 1972, issue of the Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald:

Gulfport Post Office was the national winner in injury prevention safety for 1971 after a study of almost 1,000 post offices its size, according to Postmaster W. B. Harris.

The postmaster acknowledged receipt of a plaque from the National Safety Council declaring Gulfport the winner of Division 9 indicating the area served by the post office had "no disabling injuries during the year."

Harris commented, "I commend the 135 Gulfport postal employees and publicly thank them for this admirable record. Safety they have proved, doesn't cost you, it saves you."

He added, "I hope that in the future all the post offices in our area will be safety conscious with such good results."

GUNS AND THEIR VICTIMS: CHICAGO TRIBUNE TASK FORCE REPORT, PART I

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, two Congressmen are having an argument over the wording of a bill. Voices become louder; the tension is steadily increasing. There does not appear to be an available compromise. One of the men opens his drawer, takes out a small handgun, and shoots the other. Bizarre? Impossible? Perhaps. Yet the majority of all handgun slayings, 7,000 out of 10,000, were the result of "friendly" disputes, domestic spats, or tavern brawls.

The Chicago Tribune recently put together a task force to study this epidemic of violence. Reporters toured seven States. They bought guns, worked as gun-runners, saw the carnage, talked to victims and survivors. What follows is the first in a series of 10 task force reports.

Today's entry is based on interviews with victims of this firearm plague—people who were never asked to testify before congressional gun control hearings. It describes the fear and the predicament of many, who must live alongside modern street gangs equipped with the firepower of a small army. Although critics of gun control legislation claim they have the right to protect their homes, the most prevalent means by which illegal firearms are obtained is through home burglaries. It is a vicious cycle; as more people buy guns to protect themselves, more criminals become armed by stealing those guns. Opponents to gun control legislation state that all we need to do is enforce our present laws. Yet, current laws are so fragmented and lacking in uniformity that weak laws in one jurisdiction often subvert strong laws in neighboring jurisdictions.

I commend this compelling 10 part series to my colleagues, beginning with the first article which follows:

FIREARMS TO SLAY 10,000 THIS YEAR

(By George Bliss, director, and reporters Philip Caputo, William Currie, Robert Enstad, and Pamela Zekman)

Gerald Carlisle tried to win the hand but lost his life.

The 30-year-old South Sider was playing poker at 6438 S. Drexel Blvd. He and another player began quarreling over who had won a pot.

Carlisle pulled a .32 caliber revolver he carried for his protection and fired a shot into the floor.

REACHES FOR CHANGE

"Be cool, man. Take the money," someone said.

Carlisle reached for the pile of change. It was the last thing he would ever do. The other player opened fire with a .38 caliber handgun, killing Carlisle and another man, Joseph Guster, 52.

Many killings such as this do not get written about in newspapers because 30 gun homicides occur every day in America.

Ten thousand persons are murdered yearly in the United States with handguns, shotguns, and rifles. For every American killed in Viet Nam since 1970, two were killed by gunfire in this country.

Unlike those who died in war, most of the victims of this manmade plague did not die for a cause, or even a good reason.

A few died just because someone felt like killing and had a gun.

Others were slain defending their homes or shops against criminals, but the majority—7,000 out of the 10,000—were shot down in domestic spats, tavern brawls, or in disputes over a card game. Squabbles that might have ended at worst with a broken jaw ended in death for these people.

Like Carlisle, they lost their arguments to the murderous logic of the gun. That is why his death and Guster's are as important as they are commonplace.

They are flesh-and-blood examples of what gun control experts try to say with statistics: The vast number and the availability of guns, combined with the ease of their use, are escalating fights into murders and making murderers out of people who might otherwise never deliberately break the law.

NEVER BEFORE IN TROUBLE

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the vast majority of gun killers have never been in trouble before, ordinary people who pull a trigger in a moment of anger.

But this slaughter is producing more than the loss of life. Each death leaves tragedy and pain that lives on in the families of the victims.

If all those families were gathered together, they would form a long and mournful procession of orphaned children and childless parents, of widows and widowers, of hopes and dreams obliterated in the brief but final blast of a snubnosed .38 or a sawed-off shotgun.

Altho the families of the victims knew better than anyone else the agony caused by the firearms plague, not one of them has been invited to the gun control hearings which the House Judiciary Committee will begin Tuesday in Washington.

"NOT A SOAP OPERA"

Ben Zelinko, staff aide to Rep. Emanuel Celler [D., N.Y.], committee chairman, explained why:

"Congressional hearings are not a soap opera. Their testimony would be useful in mobilizing public opinion, but it would not be important for legislative background."

Nor will the committee hear testimony from even one of America's walking wounded—the tens of thousands who have been scarred or crippled by gunfire.

Instead, it will listen to the same type of witnesses who have appeared at all the gun control hearings held in the last five years—senators, congressmen, mayors, governors, police chiefs, administration officials, and spokesmen for the National Rifle Association.

The committee will probably hear the oft-repeated fact that there are 90 to 115 million firearms in the nation, 24 million of which are handguns, and that handguns account for about 80 per cent of all firearms murders.

It will not hear 10-year-old Pamela Banks tell them that she is too terrified to sleep without the light on. That fear is the emotional wound left by the .22 caliber handgun bullet that struck her in the head three months ago.

The committee, which is holding hearings in response to the shooting and resulting paralysis of Alabama Gov. George Wallace, may also hear that in 1970 there were 9,960 murders, 130,000 robberies, and 80,000 aggravated assaults committed with firearms.

But it will not hear Peter Pannos, 14, tell about the night of April 21, when a .38 caliber slug struck him in the spine, paralyzing him.

The committee will probably hear the N.R.A. argue, as it has in the past, that Americans have a constitutional right to keep and bear arms.

But Mrs. Katherine Malone, a resident of

the Cabrini-Green Homes housing projects, will not be there to describe how street gangs exercise that right by walking around her neighborhood with pistols dangling from their belts and carbines slung from their shoulders.

The Task Force interviewed numerous victims of gun crimes and their families. Pamela Banks, Mrs. Malone, and Peter Pannos are three of them. If they could be at Tuesday's hearings, this would be their testimony:

The door leading to the Banks' family apartment at 1724 W. 66th St. is flanked by the names of two rival street gangs painted on the wall. Those proclamations symbolize the dilemma of the family. The Banks are the noncombatants in the urban warfare waged with guns nightly in their neighborhood. On the night of March 17 the war found them.

TAKES TARGET PRACTICE

Pamela and her mother, Mary, 29, were walking the family dog. Nearby, a group of gang members decided to start practicing with their .22 caliber revolvers.

Had they lived in the country they might have shot at a rabbit or squirrel. But this was the city and the nearest moving animal was Pamela's dog, Uno. Mrs. Banks remembers it this way:

"I heard firecracker sounds and then I saw Pamela drop to the sidewalk. There were four or five teen-agers standing near her and Uno was running in circles with blood all over him. I ran toward Pamela screaming, 'Oh my God, my baby's hurt. I thought she was dead.'"

A bullet lodged behind Pamela's right eye. She lay in the hospital for 33 days mumbling over and over, "No. No. Don't shoot my dog. Don't shoot Uno." Police theorized she was shot while trying to protect the dog from youths who had tortured the animal that summer by driving nails into its back and paws.

SHOOTING LEAVES MARK

Pamela survived the shooting without permanent injury, but the incident has left its mark on the entire family.

"We're always on edge," said Mrs. Banks. "Pamela can't sleep without a light on and she's afraid to sleep alone. I'm afraid myself. When I drive home, I get out of the car and I run into the building."

Now Uno growls at every stranger when Pamela's father, John, walks him. "He'll charge at someone and I'll think, 'Is that the one who did it?'"

The family also has strong views on gun control.

"It has to happen to one of your family before you really understand what these guns and shootings are all about," said John Banks. "I think the only thing they can do is stop manufacturing these small handguns and just make revolvers for the police and military. I don't think the police need small caliber guns, so why make them?"

Ribert Meltzer, president of Criterion Die and Machine Co., a New York City firm that makes 100,000 .22 caliber handguns a year, provided at least one answer to that question:

"Because it's a profitable business," he told a Task Force reporter.

Regardless of caliber, handgun manufacturing is profitable. An estimated 2.5 million handguns are produced each year, with annual sales exceeding \$50 million.

Peter Pannos is one of the byproducts of that business.

Peter made the error of standing in front of a store at Evergreen Street and Washtenaw Avenue when the Latin Kings chose to terrorize their arch-rivals, the Latin Disciples.

BRASS KNUCKLES POSSE

Like all modern street gangs, the Kings do not use brass knuckles or chains. The availability of guns has allowed them to equip

themselves with the firepower of a small army.

Peter knew about the gang rivalry, just as he knew that he was in Disciple territory and that the figure across the street was dressed in the uniform of a Kings—black coat, snap-brim hat, and maroon sweater.

He wasn't afraid because, being of Greek descent, the Puerto Rican gangs never bothered him. Then he heard the youth shout "Kings run it!" As he turned toward the sound the figure raised a revolver and Peter saw an orange flash.

"I guess he thought I was a Disciple," Peter said from his bed in Walther Memorial Hospital. "I heard the shot and felt a burning pain in my stomach. I thought I'd been shot in the stomach because blood was bubbling out of my mouth. I tried to get back in the store. Then my legs crumpled and I was hanging onto the door handle with my hands.

"LEGS WOULDN'T MOVE"

"I shouted to the owner to let me in, but he was scared and locked the door on me. That's when I felt real tired like and rolled over on my back. I couldn't feel anything in my legs. My legs wouldn't move."

Peter's legs will never move. Neither will his hips, nor any part of his body below his chest. The bullet struck him in the mouth, then drilled thru the lower part of his head to lodge in his upper spine. He shifts himself in bed by grasping a trapeze-like bar that hangs above him.

Peter firmly believes he will walk again and continue training to be an auto mechanic. He clings to that illusion as tightly as he clings to the realities of that bar.

However, after a costly but unsuccessful operation to restore use of his limbs, doctors say Peter will be lucky if he lives. The paralysis could creep into his lungs and bring on a fatal case of pneumonia.

PARENTS USE SAVINGS

His parents have emptied their savings for the \$5,000 operation and are applying to public aid to pay for treatments at a rehabilitation center.

Mrs. Malone has become so accustomed to the daily shootings in her neighborhood that she now regards them in the way that farmers regard blizzards and droughts. She feels there is little she can do about them.

There is a bullet hole in her living room window, a reminder of the day three months ago when the Dictators shot at her son. The bullet narrowly missed striking her daughter, Linda, 13, in the head.

There is another bullet hole in her bedroom window, put there by some youths who were taking target practice one night.

FALLS OUT OF BED

"I was in bed and I'll never forget it," she recalls. "I fell right out of bed and stayed there the rest of the night. I have a high bed and lots of nights I sleep on the floor."

Firearms are so much a part of life in the projects, she said, "the kids walk around with them hanging out of their pockets. They have brand new carbines they're walking around with. I saw a 16-year-old kid walking upstairs with one like he's supposed to be carrying it. . . . It would be the best thing that could happen if they could get the guns out of their hands."

With 20,000 gun control laws now on the books, how and why do guns get in the hands of the wrong people? In its investigation, Task Force reporters sought to answer this and other questions about the gun crisis. This is what they found:

The most prevalent means by which illegal firearms are obtained is thru home burglaries. As more people buy guns to protect themselves, more and more criminals become armed by stealing those guns.

SECURITY IS LAX

By a conservative estimate, the number of stolen guns in the nation is 500,000. Yet Fed-

eral security regulations for the storage and transportation of firearms are so lax that amateur burglars can obtain guns with ease from shipments and sporting good stores.

A black market in firearms continues to flourish despite all the gun control laws. Gun-runners daily join with unscrupulous dealers to ship contraband weapons across state lines. To demonstrate this technique, two reporters lived the lives of interstate gun-runners in Florida, Virginia, and Iowa.

Another source is the pilferage of weapons parts from firearms manufacturers. A New York City firm lost enough parts in one year to make 10,000 handguns. The Task Force found how these stolen parts were assembled by gun "bootleggers," then sold on the streets of the Bronx and Harlem.

The nation's courts show an appallingly low conviction rate for persons charged with gun law violations. Statistics gathered from Chicago, Washington, and New York show that only about one of every eight defendants serves even a single day in jail.

Current laws are so fragmented and lacking in uniformity that weak laws in one jurisdiction often subvert strong laws in neighboring jurisdictions. For example, New York and Chicago, which have tough gun registration laws, are flooded with unregistered guns purchased in suburban areas with less stringent controls.

Contrary to popular myth, the manufacturing of the cheap handguns called Saturday Night Specials, is not a cottage industry, but big business. At least two such manufacturers are subsidiaries of prestigious firms.

GUN CURB HEARINGS THIS WEEK

The House Judiciary Committee will open hearings Tuesday on a gun control bill sponsored by its chairman, Rep. Emanuel Celler [D., N. Y.].

The hearings, sparked by the recent shooting of Alabama Gov. George Wallace, are to last until Thursday.

Celler proposes nationwide registration of all firearms; federal licensing of all gun owners if state licensing laws do not meet federal standards, and banning manufacture of all handguns except for use by police, the military, and authorized pistol clubs.

The witnesses will include Mayor Daley, who has called for further gun control; Sen. Edward M. Kennedy [D., Mass.]; Rep. John Murphy [D., N. Y.]; Gov. Marvin Mandel of Maryland, who recently got a tough gun control law in his state; Patrick V. Murphy, police commissioner of New York City and an outspoken critic of current firearms legislation; Gen. Maxwell Rich, executive vice president of the National Rifle Association; Jerry Pritchess, Los Angeles County sheriff; and Jerome Cohn, president of the American Jewish War Veterans Association.

ANTITRUST HEARINGS SET ON ORGANIZED PROFESSIONAL TEAM SPORTS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce that the Antitrust Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary has scheduled public hearings beginning Wednesday, July 26, 1972, on a number of bills regarding the antitrust laws and organized professional team sports.

Included in the subcommittee's consideration will be H.R. 11033, and identical bills, to place all organized profes-

sional team sports under the antitrust laws; H.R. 1206, and identical bills, to end basketball's judicial antitrust exemption; H.R. 2305; and H.R. 10185, and identical bills, proposing the merger of the American and National Basketball Associations.

The hearings will be held in room 2141, Rayburn House Office Building, beginning at 10 a.m. Parties interested in offering testimony or submitting statements for the hearing record should contact the committee.

HIGH SCHOOL SURVEY RESULTS

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, this past spring, I asked each high school in my district to undertake for me a survey of its senior class. My objective was to get the opinion of high school seniors on three major areas of national concern. The first was the extent of their realization of and knowledge about their newly won right to vote. Second was their opinion as to what level of government—Federal, State, or local—is the most effective and efficient and should predominate. Finally, the students were asked in terms of spending more, less, or about the same, what programs should be given priority.

A total of 17 high schools completed the project with 2,123 individual questionnaires returned. The results were very informative. High school seniors in my district showed what I believe to be an unusually high percentage of registered voters with 70.46 percent declaring themselves as having registered. An even bigger percentage, 86.90 percent, knew where and how to register. I believe that these figures reflect a very fine program on the part of North Carolina election officials in making special appearances before high school students to conduct seminars on voting and registration and, in many instances, actually taking the registration books to the schools.

Traditionally, Southerners are supposed to be "State's Righters," that is, to believe in very strong State and local government. The student poll tended to reflect this philosophy, but not as strongly as might have been expected. Questions asked in this category were as follows:

1. At what level do you feel government generally does a better job and more effective job? State, Federal, county, town, no opinion.

Combining the State and local into a single category, 41.9 percent favored State and local; 24.5 percent Federal; and 33.5 percent had no opinion.

2. What unit of government do you think makes the best and most efficient use of the tax money paid to it by citizens? State, Federal, county, town, no opinion.

Combining the State and local into a single category, 52.5 percent favored State and local; 19.1 percent Federal; and 28.2 percent had no opinion.

3. At what level of government do you think the court can most often be relied upon to make rulings which are fair and in accordance with the law? State, Federal, county, town, no opinion.

Combining the State and local into a single category, 39.8 percent favored State and local; 31.8 percent Federal; and 28.2 percent had no opinion.

4. Which laws do you feel are most effectively enforced? State laws, Federal laws, county regulations, town ordinances, don't know.

Combining state and local laws into a single category, 48.7 percent favored State and local laws; 35.3 percent Federal; and 15.9 percent indicated that they did not know.

5. Do you think that the Federal Government in comparison to State and local governments: Ought to be stronger than it is now and take over more things not being effectively done at other levels? Ought to be weaker and let the State and local levels take over more of the things it now does? Ought to remain about as it is? No opinion.

Combining a weaker Federal Government and one remaining about the same into a single category, 50.9 percent favored this power structure; 22.4 percent favored a stronger Federal Government; and 26.5 percent had no opinion.

In the third section of the survey, it was pointed out that we operate in an environment of scarcity; that there is not enough money to do all of the things which would be good to do. On that basis, students were asked whether we should spend more, less, or about the same on a number of specified categories.

The categories and the responses are as follows:

	[In percent]		
	More	Less	About the same
Defense and military.....	30.9	25.0	43.8
Foreign aid.....	11.6	62.3	25.9
Education and job training.....	76.3	6.0	17.5
Farm and rural programs.....	66.7	8.7	24.4
City and urban problems.....	55.2	12.7	32.0
Tax-supported public housing.....	19.0	49.6	31.3
Poverty program.....	48.1	25.2	26.6
Environmental and pollution control.....	75.3	8.5	16.0
Social security including health care.....	55.4	10.8	33.5
Headstart and other programs for educationally deprived children.....	57.2	13.0	29.6
Drug education and control programs.....	66.5	14.3	19.0
Programs designed to stimulate the economy by creating new jobs.....	67.2	11.0	21.6
Space exploration.....	15.7	57.6	26.6

Items of particular interest here were foreign aid, poverty program, social security and health care, program designed to stimulate the economy and create new jobs, and space.

Normally, one might expect young people to have a greater concern than oldsters with vested interests, for foreign peoples and their needs, but by a margin of almost two to one the students favored a decrease in foreign aid. The poverty program drew surprising support for an area where it is generally believed to be unpopular among average voters. Only 25.2 percent of the youngsters favored reduction in the program; 26.6 percent advocated the present funding level; and a whopping 48.1 percent favored an increase. At least mildly surprising for this age group was the 55.4 percent who favored increase in social security including health care. The

young people, contrary to the concept that many youth of today are unconcerned about their economic future, heavily favored increased spending for programs designed to stimulate the economy by creating new jobs with more than two-thirds—67.2 percent—taking this position.

To me, at least, one of the most surprising results was the reaction to the space program. In every single school, a majority of those participating favored less spending for the space program and the total overall percentage in this category was 57.7 percent for less spending; 26.6 percent favoring about the same; and only 15.7 percent advocating more spending than the present levels. On the theory that space is, as the late President Kennedy put it, the unexplored ocean of this century and we must sail upon it, one might well have expected younger Americans, particularly, to have the frontier spirit and to favor a strong program from the standpoint of adventure alone.

Overall, the survey results support the conclusion that the high school seniors in my district are a relatively conservative group on the subject of internationalism, space, and a stronger Federal role. They are moderate to liberal in their support of the poverty program, education, economic development, job training, and social security and health care.

"I'M AFRAID WE DIDN'T REALLY KNOW WE HAD A PROBLEM"—CREDIT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, today's Wall Street Journal contains an excellent article by James C. Hyatt on the problems encountered by women in obtaining credit based on their own credit worthiness rather than on the credit records of their husbands, ex-husbands, deceased husbands, or fathers.

The article is derived from, and expands on, hearings conducted in May by the National Commission on Consumer Finance, created by title IV of the Consumer Credit Protection Act of 1968. The Commission, headed by Attorney Ira M. Millstein of New York City, includes six Members of Congress: Representatives SULLIVAN, GONZALEZ, and WILLIAMS; and Senators SPARKMAN, PROXMIRE, and BROCK; and also Dr. Robert W. Johnson of Purdue University and former Minnesota Attorney General Douglas M. Head. We are to make our final report by December 31 of an investigation into the entire field of consumer credit, with recommendations for improving the structure and regulation of the consumer credit industry.

Our 2 days of hearings in May brought out in great detail the problems encountered by women, particularly working women, in obtaining credit in their own names, or in having their incomes

counted toward eligibility for a mortgage on a family home. Representatives of all major segments of the credit industry were also invited to testify on the legal or other reasons for the many types of discrimination revealed in the hearing.

BUSINESSES NOW REEXAMINING THEIR PRACTICES

These hearings constituted the first solid compendium of facts on this issue. They were organized and handled for the Commission by Ruth K. Holstein, of the Commission staff, under the direction of Staff Executive Director Robert L. Meade.

As the only woman member of the Commission, I strongly supported the idea of holding these hearings, because I felt that if there were a real problem involving credit for women—and the hearings undoubtedly showed there is one—a full and careful exposure of the issues would quickly prompt businessmen to reexamine their often outmoded credit policies, and this is exactly what has been happening since May. For a long time, many State laws had had the effect of virtually forcing creditors to extend credit only to husbands and not to wives, regardless of the wife's credit worthiness. While most of these laws have long since been repealed, the patterns which had been in operation under those old laws continued in effect after the laws had been changed.

As the credit head of one major retailing concern told the Wall Street Journal after this issue had come to a head in the Commission's hearings:

"I'm afraid we didn't really know we had a problem."

NO-ACCOUNT FEMALES

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the attention of the Members of Congress the text of Mr. Hyatt's article, captioned "No-Account Females," along with a companion article giving industry viewpoints, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, July 18, 1972]

NO-ACCOUNT FEMALES—WOMEN COMPLAIN THEY OFTEN CAN'T GET CREDIT BECAUSE OF THEIR SEX

(By James C. Hyatt)

Estelle G. Antell, a federal employee in Dallas, would appear to be an ideal airline customer. Her income is around \$20,000 a year and she flies at least 100,000 miles annually. Thus, she didn't expect any problems last September when she moved to Dallas from Tulsa and applied to Continental Air Lines for a credit card in her own name.

"Back came a letter asking for my husband's signature," she says. "I called up and said, 'You've got to be kidding. How many men in my wage bracket do you ask for the wife's signature?'" She never received the card. And the final insult came recently "when a Continental salesman came by asking why I didn't fly Continental. You can bet I told him."

As Mrs. Antell's experience indicates, many women are finding that liberation hasn't pervaded all segments of the business world. Banks, savings and loan institutions, department stores and other firms that extend credit frequently are reluctant to let an employed married woman do business in her own name. Many widowed or divorced women find the problems become even more troublesome. And for young married couples, the wife's income often carries little or no weight in such vital transactions as securing a home mortgage.

A COBWEB OF MYTHS

Thus, the effort to weed sex discrimination out of the credit card and the loan office is becoming yet another major front in the women's equality battle. Department stores increasingly are finding themselves subject to picketing and account cancellations over their credit practices. State and federal officials are calling for legislation to correct the problem.

"Men and women today don't have equal access to credit," Martha W. Griffiths, Congresswoman from Michigan, testified recently. "Banks, savings and loan associations, credit-card companies, finance companies, insurance companies, retail stores and even the federal government discriminate against women in extending credit. And they discriminate against women in all stages of life—whether single, married, divorced or widowed; with or without children, rich or poor, young or old."

She was a witness at May hearings before the National Commission on Consumer Finance, a government agency. The testimony indicated "the reasoning used to deny women credit is often a cobweb of myths and suppositions unsupported by research on the statistical risks involved or on the individual's credit-worthiness," Virginia H. Knauer, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs, last month told the International Consumer Credit Conference in Washington.

SOME TALES OF WOE

Some examples cited:

A regularly employed woman in her early 30s couldn't get a loan to purchase a vacation home although she could make a substantial down payment. Her fiancé, who had been through bankruptcy, easily obtained a loan to purchase the same property with a smaller down payment.

A woman in her 40s who, as head of her household, wanted to buy a house for herself and her children couldn't get a mortgage without the signature of her 70-year-old father, who was living on a pension.

A woman widowed for six years found it easier to open charge accounts in her dead husband's name than in her own.

As a condition to being granted a mortgage, a couple in Washington was asked by a bank "to agree in writing not to have a child for a specified period of time." Another lender wanted a doctor's assurance that "a proper method of birth control was being used or, in the alternate that the woman wasn't fertile."

Companies and financial institutions contend that such examples aren't typical, and they note with some irony that not so long ago they were being criticized for wide distribution of unsolicited credit cards. "You didn't hear the women complaining then," says one official in the consumer credit industry. Nonetheless, many credit grantors concede their credit policies concerning women are under considerable pressure and are frequently being changed.

AN EXPERIMENT IN ST. PAUL

Some find the problem is getting the word of top-level policy down to the rank and file. Thus, Continental Air Lines says if Mrs. Antell, the Dallas woman, was turned down in spite of a clear credit record, "we made a mistake. Our policy is to treat applicants as individuals. Tell her to refile."

Ironically, working married women who established a credit standing when they were single often appear to have the most difficulty. "You lose your credit when you marry," says Marsha King, president of the Texas division of Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), a nationwide women's group. When she married about two years ago and set about changing the name on her

credit cards, she found Dallas retailers reluctant.

"I had excellent credit and had done a lot of business. But they told me I'd have to re-apply in my husband's name," she says. The demand was particularly irksome, she says, because "I have always paid all the bills in the family. I don't know of anyone who has ever received a check from my husband."

Working married women who are supporting an unemployed husband—a student, for instance—often find their credit status different from that of a man supporting his nonworking wife. Early this year, for example, the St. Paul human-rights department sent a man and a woman separately to 23 area banks to borrow \$600 for a used car.

Each was earning \$12,000 a year and was the sole support of a family with almost identical financial and personal qualification. But about half the banks applied more stringent standards to the woman than to the man, the researchers found. These banks refused to lend the woman money without her husband's signature while waiving the co-signature requirement for the man, for instance.

Following the survey, department officials told the banks their policies appeared to be in violation of the city's antidiscrimination ordinance. "We came up with an agreement that they wouldn't require any more from a woman than a man. They're even rewriting their forms to say spouse instead of wife," says Louis Ervin, director of the department.

Some women are particularly irritated that companies freely let husbands speak for the wife in financial transactions but don't give wives the same privilege. Consider, for instance, the Louisiana woman who discovered about two years ago that her husband had opened up a stock-trading account in her name at an office of a major brokerage house. "The broker apparently was glad to do it, so long as my husband would co-sign," she says. The husband filled out the application, but the wife was never consulted by the brokerage house.

Then the husband began actively trading in the account, and often he transferred funds from "her" account to his. "He generally just manipulated the situation, and they never once had my signature, or any contact with me," says the woman.

When she finally learned about the account, she called the brokerage firm. "Do I have an account at your office?" she asked. "Oh, yes," they said. "But your husband always does your business." I said I'd never done any business with them, and they'd better find a way to indicate that on their records." For some weeks, when she called, the brokerage firm told her the account was still open. Recently, she says, "they've been saying the right words. They tell me I have no account up there. I really don't know if they're telling me that." (So why hasn't she left her husband? "I can't, for financial reasons," she says. "You can say I live with my husband, but it is an awfully big house.")

MRS. CARLOCK'S REFRIGERATOR

Married women say opening new credit accounts in their own name, even when they are employed, is often a problem. About a year ago, Mrs. Vee Carlock, a legal secretary in Baton Rouge, ordered a \$500 refrigerator at her local Sears store. She planned to pay the bill when the item was delivered.

At the store, however, she decided to take a service contract, which cost \$54, and she asked to open a charge account in her own name. "The clerk started explaining that it is illegal in Louisiana to extend credit to a woman. I said I know that isn't the law. I talked to two or three clerks, and finally the credit manager. I kept telling them I work, I earn more than my husband, and I'm perfectly capable of paying my bills.

"After two hours of haggling, it was close to closing time, and I said, 'Let's just forget the whole purchase.' So the manager said,

'Well, we will open the account if you insist!' When he found out I was only charging \$54, he almost had a stroke." Ironically, she never received her refrigerator; the store couldn't fill the order, and she bought at another store where she had had an account for several years.

(At the Washington hearings in May, officials from Sears testified that while the company prefers to open only one account per family, a wife meeting normal credit standards could get her own account. It isn't in Sears' best interest, they added, "to turn customers away from its doors.")

Frustrated by credit problems, women are restoring to a number of tactics. Picketing, refusal to accept credit cards in their husbands' names, and general complaining have led to some changes in department store policies in Chicago and Syracuse, women say. Lynne Litwiler, who heads a task force on credit problems for the National Organization for Women, says that while many retailers routinely will turn down a woman's credit request, "if she calls the credit manager and puts up a big fuss, more and more stores will give credit in her own name. But the stores really don't like to do it. It still hasn't been established as a right."

Other women are considering lawsuits against lenders, although the legal grounds appear far from certain. No state or federal laws appear to directly ban sex discrimination in credit transactions. Attorneys working with the women's movement say lawsuits in the works involve instances such as stores persisting in sending bills to a husband although the goods were ordered in the wife's name, a case involving two women veterinarians who have been turned down for bank loans while younger, less experienced men vets have easily borrowed money, and a case where a bank giving men employees of a major industry a particularly favorable interest rate has refused to give the same rate to women workers whose husbands are employed elsewhere.

In response, lenders often acknowledge that their policies are undergoing constant review, but they caution that the women's demands often ignore real risks in granting credit. "More attention will have to be given to this area of lending in the future," says William E. Jones, vice president of consumer loans at City National Bank, Columbus, Ohio. The bank is a noted marketing innovator. "More women are working than ever before," he says. "More young people are wanting money. Banks have got to be prepared to extend credit to that class of people. We're all learning our lesson on that one every day."

BOB AND CAROL

Indeed, he concedes that while City National will give married women their own BankAmericard if they have their own income and a good credit record, "that wasn't the policy when we started the card six years ago." But he stresses that a young woman borrower in the child-bearing age raises questions for credit men. "Betting on her to be able to work every day for the next four years isn't the same as betting on a man," he asserts. "It is impossible to put a man and a woman on the same level completely as far as extending credit is concerned."

At the Washington hearings, John P. Farry, president of the U.S. Savings and Loan League, said that in the past couple of years "there has been a substantial reshaping of our thinking with respect to real-estate credit involving women." A survey covering 421 S&Ls indicates "that it is fast becoming much easier for a woman to get a mortgage," he said. Most of the institutions said they've liberalized policies toward giving credit to working wives in making mortgage loans.

Clearly some lenders are losing business

due to stringent policies in that area. Bob and Carol Wellman, a Cleveland couple, recently asked Park View Federal Savings & Loan for a home loan and were told the firm wouldn't consider her income in the application. So the couple took their proposition to Cleveland Trust Co., where they got the loan when they assured the lending officer they had no plans to start a family any time soon.

An officer at Park View says that to consider a wife's income when a young couple has no children "does us a disservice and has a disservice," for when they start a family "then they are stuck and she has no income."

CREDITORS SAY ABILITY TO PAY—NOT SEX—IS FIRST CONSIDERATION

Credit grantors, stung by allegations that they unfairly refuse women credit, insist their policies are often affected by factors the protesters don't understand.

"What we have to look at is ability to pay," says a spokesman for Gulf Oil Corp. "And it is a very simple fact of life that women generally make lower salaries than men." (He hastens to add that Gulf is liberalizing many of its credit policies.) And a credit official at another oil company asserts, "There is no obligation by these credit grantors to give credit to anybody, woman or man, unless they have a pretty good idea they'll pay their bills."

Thus, the officials say, when a customer marries, gets a divorce, or loses a spouse, circumstances often have changed, requiring a new look at the customer's credit worthiness. The new marriage partner may have a poor credit record, or divorce proceedings may leave the creditor legally unsure of which party will pay the bills.

Indeed, "the first group that has to be convinced (about extending credit to women) are the lawyers," says James Ambrose, secretary-treasurer of the International Consumer Credit Association, St. Louis. Each status—single, married, separated, divorced, widowed—"is a different legal ballgame," adds another credit official. Mr. Ambrose notes that, in some states, larger credit accounts pay a smaller interest rate; thus, giving separate accounts to a husband and a wife might cause creditors to run afoul of usury laws, because the separate accounts could result in higher interest payments than a joint account.

Many women are puzzled at refusal of lending institutions to include the wife's income in making a loan. "It is actually possible for a woman to go to work and increase the family's buying power by only 25% of what she gets paid," says Mr. Ambrose, "if she needs a second car, clothing, and babysitting services."

Some lenders make the point that young, newly married, better-educated couples are often poor credit risks because they have no clear record of making payments and handling finances in a responsible manner.

Others admit they refuse accounts to married women for selfish reasons. Keeping credit cards in the husband's name, they say, cuts down on paperwork, particularly for retailers without elaborate bookkeeping equipment. (To deny a married woman her own account when a retailer has the computer equipment to do so "is more stupidity than anything else," asserts Mr. Ambrose.)

It's clear, however, that many credit grantors are confused by the sudden complaints. "This was a sort of a shocker to us," says the credit head at one major retailing concern. "Our business is primarily oriented to women. I'm afraid we didn't really know we had a problem."

A WARNING ON McGOVERNOMICS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, incredible as it may seem to thoughtful citizens, the Democratic nominee for President of the United States deliberately proposes a tax program to impose enormous additional taxes on mid-Americans to finance vast giveaways to Americans in lower income brackets. His proposals are also virtually confiscatory when applied to inheritance taxes on decedent's property.

Writing of McGovernomics in the current Saturday Review, John Galbraith makes no bones of McGovern's hostility toward those at upper income levels whether individuals or corporations. The political appeal of such a policy is said by Galbraith to lie in the fact that there are more voters in the have-not category than in the haves.

The consequences of McGovernomics to Americans will mean destruction of the profit motive and a huge loss of incentives and jobs. Mid-Americans and laboring men and women should take careful note of this when choosing their next President.

McGovernomics would be a disaster for the United States.

In this connection I commend a reading of two letters appearing in the financial section of yesterday's New York Times.

The article follows:

McGOVERNOMICS

To the Financial Editor:

Those who favor Senator George McGovern's economic program should be aware of certain facts which show that his program will not "soak the rich," but will assuredly soak the middle class and leave the wealthy essentially unscathed. At the heart of his program is a massive transfer of income taxation burdens to those earning more than \$12,000 or thereabouts from those earning less.

The middle class should be aware that such redistribution of income would be essentially paid out of middle class pockets, since the middle class, not the rich, in the aggregate earns the lion's share of income in America.

The following is a chart of the aggregate income and Federal income taxes for Americans of various income brackets for 1969 (source: 1971 Statistical Abstract of the United States):

[In billions]

Adjusted gross income bracket	Aggregate income	Federal income taxes paid	Net after Federal income tax
Less than \$5,000.....	\$56	\$3	\$53
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	166	18	148
\$10,000 to \$14,999.....	165	21	134
\$15,000 to \$49,999.....	161	28	133
\$50,000 and over.....	38	14	24

To the above Federal income taxes must be added at least 50 per cent for other Federal, state and local taxes to obtain net income after all taxes.

A perusal of the chart shows that even a massive increase of the taxes paid by those

with income of more than \$50,000 and add very little to the net income of the under \$12,000's. Senator McGovern has mentioned figures of \$14-billion transferred to those earning less than \$4,000 and \$29-billion to those earning between \$4,000 and \$12,000. It is clear from the chart, even taking into account inflation since 1969, that such amounts can only come from those with incomes of \$12,000 to \$50,000.

PAUL SINGER.

To the Financial Editor:

Some of our Presidential candidates are suggesting (1) that henceforth estates pay a capital gains tax (on the increased value that results from inflation and other sources) and (2) that estate tax rates be graduated to a maximum of 77 per cent on taxable estates over \$500,000. This last is Senator George McGovern's proposal. (At present, there is no capital gains tax on estates and Senator McGovern's estate tax rates constitute a 120 per cent increase over current rates.)

By speaking always of the rate "applicable to taxable estates over \$500,000," politicians leave the public with an impression that the high rates apply only to the estates of men of great wealth and divert the attention of voters from the fact that the high rates also apply to taxable estates under \$500,000. To illustrate the effect of the proposals on medium-sized estates, consider the following:

Mr. John Hardworker (age 43) and his wife (age 38) have two children (ages 9 and 12). His gross estate consists of: (1) a term life insurance policy of \$100,000 payable to his wife (life insurance is subject to estate taxes if the insured retains any "incidents of ownership" in the policy); (2) a home that cost \$30,000 but (due to inflation) could now be sold for \$42,200; (3) a savings account of \$10,000 in joint name; (4) about \$20,000 of high-quality bonds, and (5) common stocks that cost \$10,000 but are quoted currently at \$20,000. Mr. Hardworker, who thinks of himself as a "poor" man, would be surprised to learn that his gross estate totals \$192,000. If now he should die and his wife should survive him but predecease the children, his estate tax would be computed as shown in column 1 of the accompanying table (at current rates) and in column 2 (at the rates proposed by the politicians).

	Present law	McGovern's proposal
A. Husband's gross estate.....	\$192,000	\$192,000
B. Capital gains tax on estate.....	0	5,500
C. Adjusted gross estate.....	192,000	186,500
D. Marital deduction plus \$60,000...	156,000	153,250
E. Taxable estate.....	36,000	33,250
F. 1st estate tax (at time of husband's death).....	4,080	7,887
G. Inherited estate of wife.....	187,920	178,613
H. Deduct \$60,000 exemption.....	60,000	60,000
I. Wife's taxable estate.....	127,920	118,613
J. 2d estate tax (at time of wife's death).....	29,076	57,824
K. Children's ultimate inheritance...	158,844	120,789

Note: If children keep the home and the bank account and invest the remaining funds in 7-per cent bonds, they would each have annual pretax income of.....

RECAPITULATION OF TAXES ON \$192,000 ESTATE		
Capital gains tax on estate.....	0	5,500
1st estate tax.....	4,080	7,887
2d estate tax.....	29,076	57,824
Total.....	33,156	71,211

Wilford J. Eitman,
Emeritus Professor of Finance, University of Michigan.

PRESERVING WILDLIFE SPECIES
AND THEIR HABITATS

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD the speech recently delivered by Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton before the Outdoor Writers of American in Mazatlan, Mexico. Secretary Morton's speech reflects the Interior Department's firm support for such environmental needs as sound land-use planning and strict enforcement of laws protecting big game and other species of wildlife. I believe that we in the Congress can be extremely grateful that our former colleague, Rogers Morton, has provided his strong and effective leadership in seeking to preserve wildlife species and their habitats and in wisely managing all of our natural resources.

The speech follows:

REMARKS OF SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
ROGERS C. B. MORTON

I can't tell you what a pleasure it is for me to be here in Mazatlan for your convention, not merely because of the great respect I have for your distinguished organization, but to take this opportunity to commend each of you for the magnificent public service you perform in the accuracy, fairness, and eloquence of your coverage of our natural resources.

As Secretary of the Interior my major responsibility is to oversee the balance between the conservation of our natural resources and environmental heritage—and the economic development of these finite resources to meet the continuing demands for social progress.

It is an awesome task of national proportion, requiring the interest and commitment of those not only in government, but the members of our media, of industry, and those in every American home.

I'm reminded of an editorial that appeared years ago in the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, a small Nevada paper edited by the late Lucius Beebe. The editorial addressed an item of great concern to the Board of Education—the construction of a new school—and a hardy, less than elitist group of townfolk who were fighting for the preservation of a historical artifact—as old as Virginia City itself. In this case a rather famous bordello.

I hasten to add that Mr. Beebe was of the view that the interest of the people would be met best by moving the school. As you'll undoubtedly notice, we've made little progress in the last twenty years.

As amusing as this case may be it rather poignantly illustrates a crisis we face not only in national attitudes, but in government. That is an understanding of the difficulty we face in matching our limited natural resources, land, water and air—with the demands of the future.

I would like to take this opportunity to speak with you about our recent accomplishments in the environment, as well as the critical legislation creating a National Land Use Policy, and the actions we are taking now for the future of our fish and wildlife.

As President Nixon has said, "the time to start is now," and we have.

Outlays for major environment programs in Fiscal Year 1973 are expected to exceed 2.5 billion dollars . . . more than three times the level spent in 1969.

We have initiated ambitious programs for the future of our recreation, land and energy resources—setting aside wilderness areas; and banning the use of poisons in predator control on public lands. DDT and other harmful pesticides have been banned from public lands, and we are seeking to curtail their use nationally.

Under the Endangered Species Act we have taken strong measures to protect 8 species of great whales and 8 species of spotted cats. The President has further introduced new legislation giving us additional authority to protect imperiled species before they are actually threatened with extinction. This would allow for example greater protection to the polar bear.

More than 160 civil actions and 320 criminal actions to stop water pollution were filed against alleged polluters in 1971 alone, by invoking the Refuse Act of 1899.

All of these actions exemplify our commitment to act *now* to provide all Americans with clean air, clean water, and continuing access to the open spaces, timberland, deserts, meadows and estuaries that are at the center of our national heritage.

Let me hasten to add, that we cannot produce an instant environment with a new set of dimensions without a long time commitment.

What is still needed, however, is a provision to ensure that this momentum continues—that the spirit and accomplishments of our efforts *now* are combined with our programs for the future.

In the next 30 years America will require twice the dwelling units, water and power systems, waste disposal facilities and recreation areas we have today.

By 1980 alone, our demand for camping and recreation sites will increase by nearly 70%: All of these dimensions of our future will affect land use.

Land is our basic resource. It supports all others. In the face of idealists who wish to halt all construction it is the key to preservation: To the developer it is an inextractable part of economic progress.

We discovered late the character of nature. Regardless of the ascendancy of human progress, our earth systems answer only to the impersonal laws of physics, chemistry, biology and natural law.

Coastal marshlands best illustrate the problem. An average acre of wetlands produces six times as much organic food as an acre of wheat field. Two thirds of our commercial fish and shellfish and most of our sport fish are dependent upon the wetlands ecosystems, to say nothing of our coastal and migratory birds.

In the twenty years between 1947 and 1967 alone, over 256,000 acres, or almost 70 percent of California's estuarine habitat was destroyed.

We must have a land planning system which regards the environment as a whole system—and not a parcel of lots, subdivisions, zoning codes, and isolated construction sites. A system that ensures that the critical decisions affecting the balance of development and preservation at the local level, not be at an environmental or human cost.

A number of states, Vermont, Hawaii, and Maine have adopted statewide land use regulatory systems—all using different techniques, that provide for this.

President Nixon has sent a far-reaching legislative program to the Congress, establishing a National Land Use Policy. In his message to the Congress on the environment he said: "The use of our land not only affects the natural environment, but shapes the pattern of our daily lives."

The legislation already has the strong support of the Senate and House, as well as key environmentalists and developers.

It recognizes that the major obstacle to

sound environmental land use planning is not the lack of technology, building skills, or architectural models—but the lack of government institutions to implement these plans in an orderly and reasoned fashion.

It recognizes that land use control is a state responsibility—the Federal Government is not trying to usurp the state's role. We are merely urging the states to exercise that role more actively.

It recognizes the need for state involvement only in those local land use decisions that spill over jurisdictional boundaries—areas of critical environmental concern like estuaries and flood plains—growth inducing facilities, like airports and highway interchanges—and large scale developments of regional importance.

It provides a series of federal grants—\$20 million a year—motivating the states to create their own land use plans, and to sharpen their relationship with their own constituent governments at the city and county level.

Those states that do not develop land use procedures, will be penalized through withholding federal monies.

The positive spirit of the President's legislation is quite clear: The Federal Government will provide funding and expertise—Washington, however, will not be involved in the administration of local land decisions.

Our local zoning ordinances have failed in the most preposterous way to ensure the preservation of vital non-economic values in land use planning. The President's land use legislation will correct this infirmity—providing a mechanism for continued economic progress that preserves our ecological, cultural, and historic values.

Finally, I would like to discuss some of the major actions we are taking for the future of our fish and wildlife.

In the last decades several thousand tons of lead shot have been deposited into waterfowl habitat—each pellet, if ingested is capable of killing a duck or shore bird. This Fall we are initiating a pilot program on selected federal hunting areas testing iron shot. Hopefully, this will lead to a program preventing the needless death of millions of waterfowl and shore birds through lead poisoning.

Through close cooperation with Canada and Denmark we have prevented the ultimate destruction of Atlantic Salmon stocks within the next year or two.

Canada has banned all commercial salmon fishing for six years, and the Danes have agreed to phase out commercial salmon fishing on the high seas by 1976.

This program will not only mean the preservation of the Atlantic Salmon, but the chance that someday in the future we will have outstanding salmon sport fishing along the north Atlantic.

You are all familiar with our experience in South San Francisco Bay, where the rich marshlands that provide vital foraging for the waterfowl and shore birds along the Pacific Flyway have been dredged and built upon at an alarming rate.

Through close cooperation with the Congress, a bill creating a wildlife refuge, preserving the values of open space and water for the 4 million people living near San Francisco Bay, has passed both the House and Senate, and hopefully will be signed into law.

I'm sure that you outdoor writers are aware that this will be the first time that we have used money from the Land and Water Conservation Fund to create a national wildlife refuge. This is truly a piece of landmark legislation.

We have increased the Duck Stamp fee from \$3 to \$5. Although this represents the third price increase in the last 37 years, it will mean an increase of about 11 million dollars during the next five years to our

migratory bird habitat acquisition program.

This measure will add dramatically to accelerating our vital wetlands purchases, as well as allowing us to acquire land at a better price.

We are stepping up our enforcement procedures and are seeking trial of a number of big game hunters and guides who have flagrantly violated state and federal hunting regulations.

Let me put it on the line—we will pursue maximum criminal action against the unethical hunter who violates state and federal game laws, maligning the reputation of hunting in general.

These are just a few of the actions we are initiating to conserve the integrity of our fish and wildlife for the future.

I would like to conclude with a few words directed to your role in the media.

We're approaching a time when the environmental movement is beginning to backlash against the hunter and fisherman. This wave of anti-hunting sentiment is tragic because we are all working for the same thing: Preservation of wildlife habitat and our natural resources.

It's up to you to relate the principles and accomplishments of good wildlife management to non-hunters and fishermen, as well as castigate the unethical hunter.

It's up to you to represent the vital role hunting and fishing play in conservation, as well as the \$250 million yearly spent by your industry—much of which goes towards preservation of wildlife.

Only through this kind of action can we maintain a common front among all Americans committed to the protection of our natural resources.

I am asking each of you—not only as members of one of our most distinguished environmental organizations, but as members of the media—to join with us in ensuring that the government of our resources be marked not only with restraint and responsibility, but with courage and vision.

WILLIAM F. PYPER

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the people of the State of Michigan lost a valued friend last Thursday night with the passing of William F. Pyper, who retired recently as chief of the Washington bureau of the Booth Newspapers.

Bill Pyper was a newspaperman for 40 years and a Washington correspondent for 27 years. For 15 of those years he served as chief for the Booth Newspaper chain, which serves most of outstate Michigan.

He was a member of the National Press Club and the Gridiron Club, and he would have been president of the Gridiron Club this year except for problems of failing health.

Bill Pyper was not only a good reporter; he was a fine citizen who will be sorely missed by a host of friends.

Among the many friends who mourn his passing are the Members of Michigan's Congressional delegation.

Mrs. Griffin joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Pyper and the Pyper children.

McGOVERN: ONE OF THE GREAT PROMISERS OF OUR DAY

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, the July 16 issue of the Washington Evening Star contains an objective appraisal of the conflict between reality and political rhetoric which I commend to the attention of my colleagues at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The editorial by Crosby S. Noyes follows:

McGOVERN: ONE OF THE GREAT PROMISERS OF OUR DAY

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

MIAMI BEACH.—"I think it comes down to this: Do we have the guts to level with the American people?" When you said that, Lawrence F. O'Brien, you said it all.

The question is: Who is "we"? Who is it that up until now hasn't been leveling with the American people?

"We," no doubt, includes the last three Democratic presidents, whose records and policies have now been officially repudiated by the Democratic party. It also, of course, includes Richard Nixon, whose achievements, as compared to his promises, are not held in high esteem by the Democratic chairman. But perhaps most of all, the "we" whose guts Larry O'Brien was exhorting with such fervor was the Democratic nominee himself.

The point that the chairman was trying to make in his opening address to the convention was that politicians would do well to stop promising things that "we know cannot be delivered by man, God or the Democratic party." His plea was to stop kidding the American people and tell them the truth for a change—to "break the vicious cycle of over promising and underproducing that has corrupted us all."

Well, it so happens that George McGovern, in his quest for the Democratic nomination, has turned out to be one of the great promisers of our day. He has been promising nothing less than a revolution in what this country has stood for over a generation and some radical changes in the way it is run.

Among other things, he is promising \$1,000 to every man, woman and child in the United States and a tax system that will do away with rich people.

He is promising to cut defense expenditures by a cool 40 percent and still keep the United States the strongest nation on earth.

He is promising complete victory in Vietnam to the Communist leaders in Hanoi by scuttling the "corrupt, undemocratic government in Saigon." And after that he is promising to get back American war prisoners by going to Hanoi to beg for their release.

He is promising to keep the faith with our friends and allies around the world while pulling American forces out of Asia and Western Europe. Although he is going to be choosy in deciding just who our friends and allies are, he is promising to work for not just a nation, but a "world of peace, abundance and freedom."

Never mind that all of these promises are very much subject to revision as time goes on. Never mind, either, that McGovern himself has gone to some lengths to reassure people that Congress will never let him do most of the things that he is proposing to do once he is in the White House.

"Just imagine," said Larry O'Brien, "what it would be like to elect a President who made only modest straightforward campaign promises, and then seriously went about fulfilling them." So far as George McGovern is concerned, it takes quite an im-

agination. But undoubtedly O'Brien's plea for some measure of moderation in the upcoming presidential campaign, forlorn as it may be, is perfectly sincere.

There can be no question that the professionals in the Democratic party will do everything in their power from now on to bring McGovern down to earth. For their collective judgment is that if the American people become convinced that McGovern would seriously go about fulfilling the promises he has been making, the whole Democratic party is heading for a disaster next November.

This fear was the only cohesive force behind the abortive effort to stop McGovern here in Miami this week. It failed quite simply because the convention had to nominate somebody and there was nobody else around whom it could coalesce. But the collapse of the anti-McGovern faction and the relatively easy victory for the South Dakotan have done nothing at all to heal the divisions or ease the misgivings that the McGovern candidacy inspires among the party professionals.

Most of them, to be sure, will swallow their bitterness and rally behind the candidate. Even if they are convinced he can't win—and a good many of them still are—they will do their best to minimize the effect of a defeat. They hope, furthermore, to move McGovern toward more moderate positions on the issues that interest them. Only those with irreconcilable ideological and policy differences, such as Henry Jackson and George Wallace, will continue to withhold their support.

How successful the professionals may be in taming their tiger, however, remains to be seen. McGovern would be less than human if he were not very much impressed by his performance here, and he certainly is not beholden to anybody for his victory. His promises already have taken him a long way. And Larry O'Brien notwithstanding, he is quite likely to go right on making them.

U.N. CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, since returning from the U.N. Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm, Sweden, from June 5 to June 16, 1972, the Department of State has compiled a paper presenting highlights of actions taken at the Conference. It also indicates the U.S. position on and evaluation of the Conference actions. The opening "highlights" section of the paper indicates 12 Conference actions considered by the United States to be of major importance.

Also included is a list of members of the U.S. Delegation together with technical advisers and the text of the Declaration on the Human Environment. Following this are separate sections on each of the six subject areas. The text of the resolution recommending the establishment of a new organizational structure in the U.N. to coordinate U.N. environmental activities is included under subject area VI.

Numbers beginning with roman numerals are those given to recommendations in the Conference documents as amended at the Conference; for example, "I-136" refers to the recommendation in

paragraph 136 of the Conference document on subject area I. "Planning and Management of Human Settlements for Environmental Quality" (A/CONF. 48/6). Some numbers refer to new paragraphs developed anew at the Conference.

Mr. Speaker, for the information of my colleagues, I include the text of the Department's paper at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

HIGHLIGHTS OF STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE
ACHIEVEMENTS
SUBJECT AREA

VI-1. Recommended unanimously the creation in the UN of a permanent high level environmental unit to coordinate UN environmental activities, and a UN Environment Fund expected to be funded at \$100 million over the first 5 years. (The U.S. has pledged* up to \$40 million on a matching basis.)

III-2. Urged completion in 1972 of a global convention to restrict ocean dumping.

III-3. Recommended steps to minimize release of such dangerous pollutants as heavy metals and organochlorines into the environment.

III-4. Recommended a global "Earthwatch" program to be coordinated by the UN, to monitor and assess environmental trends in atmosphere, oceans, land and human health.

IV-5. Called for early completion of conservation conventions, including the World Treasures and a convention restricting international trade in endangered species.

II-6. Called for world programs to collect and safeguard the world's immense variety of plant and animal genetic resources on which stability of ecosystems and future breeding stocks depend.

II-7. Urged strengthening of the International Whaling Convention and a 10-year moratorium on commercial whaling.

IV-8. Recommended creation of an Environmental Referral Service to speed exchange of environmental know-how among all countries.

V-9. Urged steps to prevent national environmental actions from creating trade barriers against exports of developing countries.

V-10. Recommended higher priority for environmental values in international development assistance, e.g. more emphasis on conservation, land use planning, and quality of human settlements.

I-11. Urged greater emphasis on population policy and accelerated aid to family planning in countries where population growth threatens environment and development goals.

12. Issued a Declaration on the Human Environment containing important new principles to guide international environmental action, including Principle 21 that states are responsible to avoid damaging the environment of other states or of the international realm.

U.S. DELEGATES AND ADVISERS TO STOCKHOLM
CONFERENCE

Russell E. Train (Chairman), Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality.

Christian A. Herter, Jr. (Vice Chairman), Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Environmental Affairs.

Howard Baker, U.S. Senator (R., Tenn.), Chairman, Advisory Committee on the UN Conference on the Human Environment.

Shirley Temple Black, Alternate U.S. Representative to the UN, Preparatory Committee for the Conference on the Human Environment.

John A. Blatnik, U.S. Representative (D., Minn.).

James L. Buckley, U.S. Senator (C-R., N.Y.).

Clifford Case, U.S. Senator (R., N.J.).

*Subject to congressional action.

Bert Cross, Chairman of the National Industrial Pollution Control Council, and Chairman, Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.

John D. Dingell, U.S. Representative (D., Mich.).

Roger Egeberg, Special Assistant for Health Policy to Secretary of HEW; Consultant to the President on Health Policy.

John Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs.

Seymour Halpern, U.S. Representative (R., N.Y.).

Jerome Holland, U.S. Ambassador to Sweden.

Frank Ikard, President, American Petroleum Institute.

Samuel C. Jackson, General Assistant Secretary, Department of Housing & Urban Development.

Norman Livermore, Secretary for Resources, State of California.

John A. Love, Governor, State of Colorado.

Gordon MacDonald, Member, Council on Environmental Quality.

Warren G. Magnuson, U.S. Senator (D., Wash.).

Robert McClory, U.S. Representative (R., Ill.).

Rogers Morton, Secretary of the Interior.

Frank E. Moss, U.S. Senator (D., Utah).

S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

Gaylord Nelson, U.S. Senator (D., Wisc.).

Claiborne Pell, U.S. Senator (D., R.I.).

Laurance S. Rockefeller, Chairman, Citizens Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality; Member, National Park Foundation.

John Rollins, President, Rollins Leasing Corporation.

William Ruckelshaus, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency.

William Scott, Attorney General, State of Illinois.

Elvis A. Stahr, President, National Audubon Society.

John W. Turkey, Professor of Mathematics, Princeton University.

Ross Vincent, Member, Advisory Committee on the UN Conference on the Human Environment; Vice President, Ecology Center, New Orleans, La.

John Whitaker, Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs.

Robert White, Administrator, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Harrison A. Williams, U.S. Senator (D., N.J.).

TECHNICAL ADVISERS

Henry Brodie, Deputy Director for Multilateral Programs, Office of Environmental Affairs.

Theodore C. Byerly, Assistant Director, Science and Education, Department of Agriculture.

Melvin S. Day, Head, Office of Science Information Service, National Science Foundation.

Alden L. Doud, Assistant Legal Adviser, Department of State.

Slator C. Blackiston, Jr., Executive Secretary, Secretary's Advisory Committee.

Simon Bourgin, Science Adviser, USIA.

James R. Fowler, Special Assistant, Office of the Administrator, Agency for International Development.

Stuart P. French, Principal Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

Fitzhugh Green, Associate Administrator, International Affairs, Environmental Protection Agency.

Richard S. Green, Assistant Surgeon General and Chief Engineer, U.S. Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Stanley M. Greenfield, Assistant Administrator for Research & Monitoring, Environmental Protection Agency.

William A. Hayne, Council on Environmental Quality, Executive Office of the President.

Wallace Irwin, Jr., Sr. Adviser, Environmental Affairs, U.S. Mission to the UN, New York, N.Y.

Clayton E. Jensen, Chief, Environmental Monitoring, National Oceanic & Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce.

Donald R. King, Science Adviser, Office of Environmental Affairs, Department of State.

Saul Levine, Assistant Director, Division of Environmental Affairs, Atomic Energy Commission.

Robert Porter, Science Adviser, Environmental Protection Agency.

John W. McDonald, Jr., Coordinator, Multilateral Development Programs, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, Department of State.

Charles J. Orlebeke, Deputy Under Secretary for Policy Analysis & Program Evaluation, Department of Housing & Urban Development.

Robert B. Rosenstock, Adviser for Legal Affairs, U.S. Mission to the UN, New York, N.Y.

Logan H. Sallada, Deputy Director of the Executive Secretariat, Department of Health, Education & Welfare.

Francis J. Seldner, Deputy Director, Office of International Conferences, Department of State.

Harry Shooshan, Director, Office of International Activities, Department of the Interior.

John Stuart, Press Adviser, U.S. Information Agency.

Lee Talbot, Sr. Scientist, Council on Environmental Quality, Executive Office of the President.

John P. Trevithick, Director, Science & Technology, Bureau of International Organization Affs., Dept. of State.

Sidney A. Wallace, Captain, USCG, Chief, Marine Environmental Protection Division, U.S. Coast Guard, Department of Transportation.

Richard Willbur, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Health & Environment).

THE DECLARATION ON THE HUMAN
ENVIRONMENT

In its closing meeting the Conference adopted without objection the Declaration on the Human Environment, consisting of a Preamble and 26 Principles. This document is the result of a negotiating process which began in a 27-nation working group in New York early in 1971, in which all members of the United Nations were invited to participate. It culminated in a new Working Group created by the Stockholm Conference itself on June 8, open to all participating states. This group met night and day until the final day of the Conference. It used as the basis of its negotiations the Draft Declaration forwarded by the Preparatory Committee as a result of the working group sessions in New York.

Although in the opinion of the United States Delegation the text submitted by the Preparatory Committee (A/CONF. 48/4) was more balanced and more clearly focused on environmental concerns, it is understandable that in the final stage of Conference consideration many members who had not earlier availed themselves of the opportunity to contribute to the text should wish to do so and should press for inclusion of material expressing their main concerns.

The final text, although uneven in the view of the United States Delegation, preserves a number of extremely important principles of conduct for states in dealing with environmental problems of international significance. Chief among these is Principle 21, which declares that States have "the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other States or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction." Also of notable importance are such provi-

sions as Principle 2 declaring that the earth's living and non-living resources, and representative samples of natural ecosystems, must be safeguarded for present and future generations; Principle 6 stating that excessive discharge of toxic substances and heat into the environment must be halted to prevent "serious or irreversible damage" to ecosystems; Principle 16 calling for application of appropriate demographic policies where growth rates or concentration of population are likely to have adverse effects on the environment or on development; and Principle 25 declaring the obligation of States to "ensure that international organizations play a coordinated, efficient and dynamic role for the protection and improvement of the environment."

Principle 26, dealing with the effects of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction, met inflexible opposition from China but was adopted following a statement by the Conference President "noting the statement expressed (by China) regarding these principles".

Agreement could not be reached on Principle 20 of the text contained in A/CONF. 48/4, (not principle 20 of the enclosed text) owing largely to strong opposition of Brazil, and it has been referred to the UN General Assembly for action. This principle read: "Relevant information must be supplied by States on activities or developments within their jurisdiction or under their control whenever they believe, or have reason to believe, that such information is needed to avoid the risk of significant adverse effects on the environment in areas beyond their national jurisdiction."

The record of the Conference will include the following U.S. statement of interpretation regarding four of the 26 principles of the declaration.

"Principle 2. The U.S. places emphasis on the word "representative" which, in our view, ensures that the phrase means retention of a complete system with all of the complex interrelationships intact not a portion thereof. Moreover, the size of the sample must be sufficient to represent the size of the whole.

"Principle 12. The U.S. does not regard the text of this principle, or any other language contained in the Declaration, as requiring it to change its aid policies or increase the amounts thereof. The U.S. accepts the idea that added costs in specific national projects or activities for environmental protection reasons should be taken into account.

"Principle 21. The U.S. considers it obvious that nothing contained in this principle, or elsewhere in the Declaration, diminishes in any way the obligation of states to prevent environmental damage or gives rise to any right on the part of states to take actions in derogation of the rights of other states or of the community of nations. The statement of the responsibility of states for damage caused to the environment of other states or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction is not in any way a limitation on the above obligation, but an affirmation of existing rules concerning liability in the event of default on the obligation.

"Principle 26. The U.S. fully supports the purpose, aspirations, and ultimate goals contained in this paragraph. We are constantly striving to meet such goals in all relevant fora including for example SALT which has recently achieved such success. We regard our commitment under this principle as identical to the treaty obligation we have assumed in connection with the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, specifically Article VI including the requirement of 'strict and effective international control.' We believe it obvious that agreements called for in the principle must be adequately verifiable or they will not be soundly enough based to achieve the purposes of this principle."

TEXT

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment having met at Stockholm from 5 to 16 June 1972, and having considered the need for a common outlook and for common principles to inspire and guide the peoples of the world in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment, proclaims:

1. Man is both creature and moulder of his environment which gives him physical sustenance and affords him the opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth. In the long and tortuous evolution of the human race on this planet a stage has been reached when through the rapid acceleration of science and technology, man has acquired the power to transform his environment in countless ways and on an unprecedented scale. Both aspects of man's environment, the natural and the man-made, are essential to his well-being and to the enjoyment of basic human rights even the right to life itself.

2. The protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well-being of peoples and economic development throughout the world; it is the urgent desire of the peoples of the whole world and the duty of all governments.

3. Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. In our time man's capability to transform his surroundings, if used wisely, can bring to all peoples the benefits of development and the opportunity to enhance the quality of life. Wrongly or heedlessly applied, the same power can do incalculable harm to human beings and the human environment. We see around us growing evidence of man-made harm in many regions of the earth: dangerous levels of pollution in water, air, earth and living beings; major and undesirable disturbances to the ecological balance of the biosphere; destruction and depletion of irreplaceable resources; and gross deficiencies harmful to the physical, mental and social health of man, in the man-made environment; particularly in the living and working environment.

4. In the developing countries most of the environmental problems are caused by underdevelopment. Millions continue to live far below the minimum levels required for a decent human existence, deprived of adequate food and clothing, shelter and education, health and sanitation. Therefore, the developing countries must direct their efforts to development, bearing in mind their priorities and the need to safeguard and improve the environment. For the same purpose, the industrialized countries should make efforts to reduce the gap between themselves and the developing countries. In the industrialized countries, environmental problems are generally related to industrialization and technological development.

5. The natural growth of population continuously presents problems on the preservation of the environment, and adequate policies measures should be adopted as appropriate to face these problems. Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. It is the people that propel social progress, create social wealth, develop science and technology and through their hard work, continuously transform the human environment. Along with social progress and the advance of production, science and technology the capability of man to improve the environment increases with each passing day.

6. A point has been reached in history when we must shape our actions throughout the world with a more prudent care for their environmental consequences. Through ignorance or indifference we can do massive and irreversible harm to the earthly environment on which our life and well being depend. Conversely, through fuller knowledge and wiser action, we can achieve for our-

selves and our posterity a better life in an environment more in keeping with human needs and hopes. There are broad vistas for the enhancement of environmental quality and the creation of a good life. What is needed is an enthusiastic but calm state of mind and intense but orderly work. For the purpose of attaining freedom in the world of nature, man must use knowledge to build in collaboration with nature a better environment. To defend and improve the human environment for present and future generations has become an imperative goal for mankind—a goal to be pursued together with, and in harmony with, the established and fundamental goals of peace and of worldwide economic and social development.

7. To achieve this environmental goal will demand the acceptance of responsibility by citizens and communities and by enterprises and institutions at every level, all sharing equitably in common efforts. Individuals in all walks of life as well as organizations in many fields, but their values and the sum of their actions will shape the world environment of the future. Local and national governments will bear the greatest burden for large scale environmental policy and action within their jurisdictions. International cooperation is also needed in order to raise resources to support the developing countries in carrying out their responsibilities in this field. A growing class of environmental problems, because they are regional or global in extent or because they affect the common international realm, will require extensive cooperation among nations and action by international organizations in the common interest. The conference calls upon the governments and peoples to exert common efforts for the preservation and improvement of the human environment, for the benefit of all the people and for their posterity.

Principles

States the common conviction that—

1. Man has the fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life, in an environment of a quality which permits a life of dignity and well being, and bears a solemn responsibility to protect and improve the environment for present and future generations. In this respect, policies promoting or perpetuating apartheid, racial segregation, discrimination, colonial and other forms of oppression and foreign domination stand condemned and must be eliminated.

2. The natural resources of the earth including the air, water, land, flora and fauna and especially representative samples of natural ecosystems must be safeguarded for the benefit of present and future generations through careful planning or management as appropriate.

3. The capacity of the earth to produce vital renewable resources must be maintained and wherever practicable restored or improved.

4. Man has a special responsibility to safeguard and wisely manage the heritage of wildlife and its habitat which are now gravely imperilled by a combination of adverse factors. Nature conservation including wildlife must therefore receive importance in planning for economic development.

5. The non-renewable resources of the earth must be employed in such a way as to guard against the danger of their future exhaustion and to ensure that benefits from such employment are shared by all mankind.

6. The discharge of toxic substances or of other substances and the release of heat, in such quantities or concentrations as to exceed the capacity of the environment to render them harmless, must be halted in order to ensure that serious or irreversible damage is not inflicted upon ecosystems. The just struggle of the peoples of all countries against pollution should be supported.

7. States shall take all possible steps to

prevent pollution of the seas by substances that are liable to create hazards to human health, to harm living resources and marine life, to damage amenities or to interfere with other legitimate uses of the sea.

8. Economic and social development is essential for ensuring a favorable living and working environment for man and for conditions on earth that are necessary for the improvement of the quality of life.

9. Environmental deficiencies generated by the conditions of underdevelopment and natural disasters pose grave problems and can best be remedied by accelerated development through the transfer of substantial quantities of financial and technological assistance, as a supplement to the domestic effort of the developing countries and such timely assistance as may be required.

10. For the developing countries, stability of prices and adequate earnings for primary commodities and raw materials are essential to environmental management since economic factors as well as ecological processes must be taken into account.

11. The environmental policies of all states should enhance and not adversely affect the present or future development potential of developing countries, nor should they hamper the attainment of better living conditions for all, and appropriate steps should be taken by states and international organizations with a view to reaching agreement on meeting the possible national and international economic consequences resulting from the application of environmental measures.

12. Resources should be made available to preserve and improve the environment, taking into account the circumstances and particular requirements of developing countries and any costs which may emanate from their incorporating environmental safeguards into their development planning and the need for making available to them, upon their request, additional international technical and financial assistance for this purpose.

13. In order to achieve a more rational management of resources and thus to improve the environment, states should adopt an integrated and coordinated approach to their development planning so as to ensure that development is compatible with the need to protect and improve the human environment for the benefit of their population.

14. Rational planning constitutes an essential tool for reconciling any conflict between the needs of development and the need to protect and improve the environment.

15. Planning must be applied to human settlements and urbanization with a view to avoiding adverse effect on the environment and obtaining maximum social, economic and environmental benefits for all. In this respect projects which are designed for colonialist and racist domination must be abandoned.

16. Demographic policies which are without prejudice to basic human rights and which are deemed appropriate by governments concerned, should be applied in those regions where the rate of population growth or excessive population concentrations are likely to have adverse effects on the environment or development, or where low population density may prevent improvement of the human environment and impede development.

17. Appropriate national institutions must be entrusted with the task of planning, managing or controlling the environmental resources of states with the view to enhancing environmental quality.

18. Science and technology, as part of their contribution to economic and social development, must be applied to the identification, avoidance and control of environmental risks and the solution of environmental problems and for the common good of mankind.

19. Education in environmental matters,

for the younger generation as well as adults, giving due consideration for the underprivileged, is essential in order to broaden the basis for an enlightened opinion and responsible conduct by individuals, enterprises and communities in protecting and improving the environment in its full human dimension. It is also essential that mass media of communications avoid contributing to the deterioration of the environment, but, on the contrary, disseminate information of an educational nature on the need to protect and improve the environment in order to educate man to develop in every respect.

20. Scientific research and development in the context of environmental problems, both national and multinational must be promoted in all countries, especially the developing countries. In this connection, the free flow of up to date scientific information and experience must be supported and assisted, to facilitate the solution of environmental problems; environmental technologies should be made available to developing countries on terms which would encourage their wide dissemination without constituting an economic burden on the developing countries.

21. States have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other states or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

22. States shall cooperate to develop further the international law regarding liability and compensation for the victims of pollution and other environmental damage caused by activities within the jurisdiction or control of such states to areas beyond their jurisdiction.

23. Without prejudice to such general principles as may be agreed upon by the international community, or to the criteria and minimum levels which will have to be determined nationally, it will be essential in all cases to consider the systems of values prevailing in each country, and the extent of the applicability of standards which are valid for the most advanced countries but which may be inappropriate and of unwarranted social cost for the developing countries.

24. International matters concerning the protection and improvement of the environment should be handled in a cooperative spirit by all countries, big or small, on an equal footing. Cooperation through multilateral or bilateral arrangements or other appropriate means is essential to prevent, eliminate or reduce and effectively control adverse environmental effects resulting from activities conducted in all spheres, in such a way that due account is taken of the sovereignty and interests of all states.

25. States shall ensure that international organizations play a coordinated, efficient and dynamic role for the protection and improvement of the environment.

26. Man and his environment must be spared the effects of nuclear weapons and all other means of mass destruction. States must strive to reach prompt agreement, in the relevant international organs, on the elimination and complete destruction of such weapons.

SUBJECT AREA I

Planning and management of human settlements for environmental quality discussed in Committee I

See Report of Committee I A/CONF. 48/6 for most paragraph references below I-136.—*Development Aid*

This paragraph supported by the U.S., contains two recommendations. The first calls for all development assistance agencies (international, regional, and national) to give

high priority to human settlement problems such as housing, transport, water supply, and sewerage. This is a significant action in that past development assistance has been oriented heavily toward the industrial and agricultural sectors. The second recommendation calls for the assistance agencies to help developing countries recruit environmental staff to advise them on environmental aspects of development projects.

I-137.—Environmental Improvement Areas

This paragraph, supported by the U.S., recommends a new international program of "Environmental Areas." Governments are urged program of "Environmental Improvement Areas." Governments are urged to designate areas, varying in size from a region to a city block, in which they are prepared to carry on long-term environmental improvement, emphasizing international cooperation and sharing information on their problems and solutions. This program offers the possibility of important breakthroughs in community environmental progress.

I-138.—Consultation Across Boundaries

This recommendation, supported by the U.S., calls for bilateral or regional consultation where human settlement problems have repercussions across national boundaries.

I-140.—Research

This paragraph, supported by the U.S., deals with research in environmental problems of human settlements. It recommends that such research be coordinated at the international level by the anticipated new UN environmental unit (see Subject Area VI) and identifies certain priority research topics such as water supply and sewage disposal in tropical areas; rural-urban migration and squatter settlements; urban transport; and psycho-social stresses of city life. Companion recommendations, also supported by the U.S., were in paragraph 141 (regional research cooperation) and 144 (sharing of research results).

I-146, 148, 149.—Training

These recommendations, supported by the U.S., all deal with the need for greatly expanded training, both sectoral and interdisciplinary, in all aspects of the environment of human settlements. They call on all countries and the Secretary-General to step up training activities so that the necessary personnel are available to apply sound environmental principles and practices.

I-150.—Natural Disasters

A new paper on this subject was written in Committee I, in view of general dissatisfaction with the Secretariat document on this subject. The recommendation calls for, among other things, greater recognition of the need for disaster warning and prediction systems against a wide range of disasters (earthquakes, typhoons, tsunamis, drought, etc.). More research data are called for; also better communication systems to bring immediate warning of a coming disaster to the threatened area—such as might have saved countless lives in the Bay of Bengal hurricane of 1970. Also stressed was the need for public perception of the vulnerability of certain areas to disasters. The entire recommendation is referred to the recently appointed UN Disaster Relief Coordinator for further action.

The United States delegation took an active part in drafting this recommendation and strongly supported it.

I-152, 153.—Water Supply, Sewerage

These recommendations, supported by the United States, call on WHO and the UN development assistance agencies to give higher priority to supporting governments' efforts to improve water supply, sewerage services, and waste disposal. These recommendations address some of the most critical problems faced, particularly by developing nations which are rapidly urbanizing.

The United States supported these recommendations.

I-154.—Population

Recommendation that the Secretary-General ensure that population concerns bearing on the environment of human settlement be given special attention at the 1974 World Population Conference.

The United States delegate to the committee, Mr. Rockefeller, made a statement underscoring United States support for the recommendation, and it was passed without dissent.

I-155.—Family Planning

This was a new recommendation submitted as an amendment by Norway, which called for WHO and other UN agencies to increase family planning assistance to governments "without delay" and intensify research in this area.

The United States supported this recommendation (upheld in Plenary vote, 55-18 with 4 abstentions after long debate) because of our conviction that the world population problem, with its great environmental implications, should be faced in this conference, even though a World Population Conference is to be held two years hence.

I-156.—Malnutrition

This new recommendation, proposed as an amendment by Pakistan, calls on UN agencies to focus special attention on the need to combat "the menace of human malnutrition rampant in many parts of the world." This significant problem had not been included in the committee's original agenda.

The United States joined in supporting the amendment.

I-157.—Noise

This recommendation, sponsored by Sweden, called for the UN body to be created to work toward creating international noise emission standards which would apply internationally to the production of "motor vehicles and certain kinds of working equipment."

Although the recommendation was passed, the United States abstained, regarding it as a far too limited and fragmented approach to the problem of noise pollution in human settlements.

I-158.—International Programs for Human Settlements

A new recommendation that the Secretary-General in consultation with UN bodies formulate programs to assist countries to meet growth requirements of human settlements and to improve the quality of life in existing settlements, particularly squatter areas. This recommendation was adopted without objection.

I-159.—Regional Centers

This was also a new recommendation calling for the creation of regional centers to provide assistance in human settlements problems through research, training, information exchange, and financial, technical, and materials assistance. The United States voted against this recommendation on the grounds that it was impractical.

I (no number)—Human Settlements Fund

This recommendation proposed by India and Libya had strong support from many less developed countries. It called for a financial institution whose primary objective would be to strengthen national programs in the human settlements field by providing seed capital and technical assistance. The United States and most developed countries voted against it. The United States shared the views of Sweden, the UK, and Canada who spoke against the recommendation in Plenary noting that existing financial institutions were logical sources for human settlements funding.

SUBJECT AREA II

Environmental aspects of natural resources management discussed in Committee II; see

A/CON. 48/7 for most paragraph references; and conservation conventions from Subject Area IV (A/CONF. 48/9, paragraphs 121-126).

Agriculture and Soils

II-46

Recommends that FAO, in cooperation with other international agencies concerned, strengthen the machinery for international acquisition of knowledge and transfer of experience on soil capabilities, degradation and conservation.

The U.S. strongly supported this recommendation. It will help to develop and apply the technology necessary for increased production of food and fiber.

An amendment was adopted recommending action to give value and stability to prices of agricultural raw materials in international trade, on the ground that this would provide funds for soil improvement.

The U.S. opposed this amendment, pointing out that its intent was far afield and soil improvement and could in any case not be achieved by this means.

II-47

Recommends that Governments, in cooperation with UN specialized agencies, strengthen and coordinate international programs to control pests and reduce harmful effects of agrochemicals.

The recommendation, amended to note that national and ecological variations must be taken into account in developing guidelines and standards, was accepted with U.S. support.

II-48

Recommends recycling of agricultural and agroindustrial and municipal wastes through the soil.

Accepted with U.S. support.

Livestock

II-(no number)

A new recommendation, proposed by Nigeria, was added on rapid development of livestock in areas of low productivity.

Rural development

II-(no number)

A new recommendation, proposed by France, was added calling for increased attention to rural development.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

Forests

II-66a

Recommends that the Secretary-General take steps to ensure that UN bodies cooperate to meet needs for new knowledge on forest management. Accepted after explanations by "Man and Biosphere" Program (UNESCO) that that program would support ecosystem research on forests to complement FAO studies in forest management, economics, legislation, land tenure, and the like.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

II-66b

Recommends monitoring of the world's forest cover through various techniques including remote sensing by satellite.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

II-67a

Recommends that FAO coordinate an international program for research and exchange of information on forest fires, pests and diseases.

Accepted with U.S. support.

It should be noted that II-66a (and b) and 67 (a and b) can contribute greatly to environmental quality, especially in tropical forest ecosystems where current exploitation endangers productive capacity and stability in many areas.

Wildlife (including whales)

II-81

Recommends that the Secretary-General insure that effects of pollutants on wildlife are considered within environmental monitoring systems.

The U.S. supported this recommendation. Wild species serve as particularly sensitive indicators of the levels of various types of pollutants, such as heavy metals, pesticides, and plasticizers (PCBs); and in a broader sense, are indicators of environmental health and stability. They can thus play a valuable part in global monitoring systems.

II-82

Recommends an international program to assess the total economic value of wildlife resources.

The U.S. supported this recommendation. Wildlife has often been overlooked as a valuable economic resource. This assessment program can help to chart future conservation policies.

II-83

U.N. agencies to cooperate with governments of developing countries to develop wildlife management training courses.

The U.S. supported. Trained personnel in this field are in very short supply in developing countries.

II-84

Recommends that governments consider enacting international conventions and treaties to protect species inhabiting international waters or those which migrate from one country to another, and that a working group be established without delay to develop a broadly based convention on game regulations, etc., to avoid overexploitation of wildlife resources.

The U.S. supported this recommendation. No single nation can protect such species adequately, nor should any single nation have the right to exploit them; consequently, international action is required.

II-86

Recommends that governments agree to strengthen the International Whaling Commission (IWC), increase international whale research efforts, and as a matter of urgency, calls for an international agreement for a ten-year moratorium on commercial whaling. "This recommendation passed 53 (U.S.) for, 0 against, 12 abstentions."

The U.S. initiated this recommendation and strongly supported it against vigorous opposition by Japan. It was strengthened by U.S. amendment which called for direct recommendation for moratorium under the IWC, but also including other interested governments (since not all whaling nations are IWC members). The U.S. amendment also called for increased international research efforts.

Despite regulation by the IWC, world whale populations have drastically dropped, to where all exploited whale species are immediately or potentially endangered or greatly depleted. Present trends under the IWC would not allow rebuilding of depleted stocks and probably would result in further reduction. This recommendation reflects worldwide recognition that whales, inhabiting the international seas, are the concern of mankind as a whole—not solely for economic reasons but also for their role in marine ecosystems and for their distinction as the largest and possibly the most awe-inspiring members of the animal kingdom.

Parks

II-95, 96, and 97

Recommends (1) special attention to training requirements for park planning and management; (2) a mechanism for international transfer of information on park planning and management techniques; (3) that UN agencies assist developing countries to plan for visitor use of protected areas in such a way as to reconcile revenue and environmental considerations.

The U.S. supported these recommendations.

II-98

International protection for ecosystems. Recommends governments (1) cooperate in

managing neighboring protected areas; (2) set aside areas representing ecosystems of international significance for protection under international agreement.

The U.S. supported this recommendation, noting that such agreements should be consistent with international law.

Genetic resources
II-107-120

A major set of recommendations for global cooperation program to preserve the world's immense variety of genetic resources, including domestic and wild plants and animals, insects and microorganisms. Includes a 5-year crash program of plant exploration and collection where species are endangered (110); national and regional genetic resource conservation centers (112); a network of protected areas containing samples of the world's ecosystems with their component wild plant and animal species (113); steps to preserve germ plasm of animals (115); microorganisms (116); insects (117); a global cooperative network embracing all these and other activities.

The need for such an ambitious new program arises from two concurrent trends: man's increasing dependence on a few genetic stocks of crop plants and livestock, all vulnerable to pests and disease; and his increasing impact on the biosphere which puts in jeopardy countless living species, thus threatening to reduce at an accelerating rate the variety of life forms, the stability of ecosystems, and the genetic resources on which man can draw in the future for food, fiber, aesthetic and other purposes.

This program is likely to be one of the major contributions of the Conference. It was a U.S. initiative in substantial part, and was adopted by consensus in its entirety.

Fisheries
II-131-135

These recommendations call on governments and the Secretary-General, in cooperation with FAO and other UN organizations, to: (1) support information exchange, monitoring and assessment of fishery resources, more efficient international management of fish stocks; (2) ensure an adequate role for fishery agencies in preparing for the coming UN Law of the Sea Conference; (3) help prevent national resource utilization from harming international fishery resources; (4) strengthen (and in some areas create) international machinery for developing and managing fisheries.

The U.S. supported this set of recommendations. Their importance can be gauged from such facts as these: In 1970, world fish catches came to 57 million tons; proteins from the sea are being harvested at a rate that is increasing 6 per cent a year; but potential resources are jeopardized by overfishing, pollution of coasts and inland seas, coastal land reclamation, dredging, offshore oil operations, etc. To protect these living resources which so largely inhabit the international realm, improved international cooperation is increasingly urgent. In the U.S. view, better knowledge acquisition is especially important; to this end, a fisheries data center, in which all nations using fishery resources would cooperate in research and furnish data on their catches, would be most desirable.

Water
II-159

Recommends that governments consider creating new machinery, such as multinational river basin commissions, for study and management of water resources common to more than one jurisdiction, settlement of disputes over their use, etc.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

II-160 (a), (b), (c), (d)

Recommends steps by the UN system to: (1) establish regional centers for training and information exchange on water resources management problems; (2) provide techni-

cal and financial assistance to governments and create a roster of experts to advise them in this field; (3) assess the environmental effects of man's continental water management on the oceans, which are the ultimate repository of water runoff and waterborne wastes from the land.

The U.S. supported these recommendations.

Minerals
II-175

Recommends an appropriate vehicle be provided to exchange information on mining and primary mineral processing and to provide information to developing nations on technology for preventing adverse health, safety and environmental effects associated with the mineral industry.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

Energy

II-196 (a), (b), (c)

Recommends steps to develop data and exchange information, as part of the world monitoring effort, on environmental effects of present and future production and use of energy. These data are to be developed in the framework of studies drawing on the expertise of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, and are to take account of new technology. The first report would be made in 1975.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

Resource Development: Environmental Assessment
II-201

Recommends (1) environmental audits (pre-audits where feasible) of resource development projects in representative ecosystems of international significance; and (2) steps to assess the environmental impact of alternative approaches to the survey, planning, and development of resource projects.

The U.S. supported this recommendation with the interpretation that rights under international law would be guaranteed.

Environmental impact of development assistance
II-203 (b)

Recommends that development assistance agencies, in cooperation with recipient governments, broaden the criteria of development project analysis to incorporate environmental impact considerations.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

Synthetic versus natural products
II-203 (c)

Recommends the appropriate UN agencies undertake studies on the relative costs and benefits of synthetic versus natural products serving identical uses.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

Biosphere research
II-203 (d)

Recommends that the international program of biosphere research be vigorously pursued. This was construed to refer to the UNESCO "Man and Biosphere" Program.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

Development and climate
II-204

Recommends that the World Meteorological Organization initiate or intensify studies on the inter-relationship of resource development and meteorology.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

Remote sensing
II-207

Recommends further development of remote sensing technology in resource surveys and appropriate utilization of the use of these techniques on the basis of proper international arrangements.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

Marginal lands

II-227 (b)

Recommends that the Food and Agriculture Organization expand its present program on stabilization of marginal lands.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

Conservation conventions
IV-124.—World Heritage

Recommends that governments, with assistance of UN, specialized agencies, and other inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, continue preparation of present and future conventions required for conservation of world's natural resources and cultural heritage. Consideration to be given to possible technical and financial assistance to governments for protection of elements of national heritage of universal value.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

IV-125 (a, b).—World Heritage Trust Convention

"The Conference took note of the Draft Convention, prepared by UNESCO, concerning the protection of the world national and cultural heritage, marking a significant step toward the protection, on an international scale, of the environment; and invited governments to examine the draft Convention with a view to its adoption at the next General Conference of UNESCO (autumn 1972)."

The U.S. initiated and strongly supported this recommendation. The World Heritage Trust, proposed by President Nixon in February 1971, calls for international recognition and protection to areas of natural or cultural heritage of universal significance.

IV-125 (c).—Wetlands

The Conference invites all interested Governments to sign the Convention on Conservation of Wetlands of International Importance, approved at the Conference of RAMSAR (Iran).

The Convention is not entirely satisfactory to the U.S., since we do not believe it goes far enough in the protection of wetlands, an objective which we strongly support.

The U.S. nevertheless supported the recommendation as a step in the right direction.

IV-125 (d).—Islands for Science

Recommends that the Secretary-General make arrangements, in consultation with the competent agencies of the United Nations system and the non-governmental organizations concerned, for a detailed study of all possible procedures for protecting certain islands for science.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

IV-125 (e).—Endangered Species

Recommends that a plenipotentiary conference be convened as soon as possible to prepare and adopt a convention on export, import and transit of certain species of wild animals and plants in order to protect them from overexploitation or extinction.

The U.S. supported this recommendation. Under the terms of the Endangered Species Act of 1969, the U.S. is to hold such a conference and has been working with IUCN and interested governments to develop a draft convention.

SUBJECT AREA III

Identification and control of pollutants of broad international significance

Discussed in Committee III; see A/CONF. 48/8 for most paragraph references below.

III-218.—Climate

Recommends governments be mindful of activities in which there is an appreciable risk of effects on climate, and evaluate the potential for resulting climate changes. The long-range effects of increases in particulate matter and carbon dioxide, for example, are uncertain and the need for further study is obvious.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-219.—Dangerous Substances

Recommends governments use the best practicable means to minimize environmental release of toxic or persistent substances (particularly heavy metals and organochlorine compounds) if their release otherwise would produce unacceptable risks. Although the language is unclear, it is our interpretation that such substances would not be exempt merely because their use is considered essential to human health and food production; in such cases benefits should be weighed carefully against risks. However, the wording of the recommendation is unclear in this respect.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-220.—Pollutant Standards

Recommends that national standards for pollutants of international significance take account of internationally accepted standards and act in concert with competent international organizations and other concerned governments. This approach by governments would represent considerable savings in manpower, time, and funds.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-222.—Knowledge

Recommends governments join in international programs to acquire knowledge for the assessment of pollutant sources, pathways, exposures and risks; and also assist developing countries to participate.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-223.—Pollutant Warning

Recommends that the UN system and all competent bodies provide warning of deleterious effects of manmade pollutants on human health and well being, both short-term and long-term. To accomplish this an intercalibration program for sampling and analytical techniques to provide meaningful comparisons of data is essential. Although we do not object to a registry of data on chemicals, the U.S. noted that requiring hard-to-get data on pathways from factory to ultimate disposal would unduly hamper the effort.

The U.S. supported this recommendation which we consider basic. However, we voted against an additional paragraph which was adopted in committee, calling for creation of an international registry of data on chemicals in the environment; although we favor the idea of such a registry, we regarded the inclusion of a provision for data on pathways from factory to ultimate disposal as unworkable.

III-223(a).—Radioactivity Registry

Recommends exploring the feasibility of an international registry of significant radioactivity releases. The U.S. indicated that it is fully prepared to continue working with IAEA in establishing a suitable registry addressed to peaceful activities involving releases expected to go beyond national boundaries."

III-224.—Pollutants and Health

Recommends a major effort to obtain data on agents to which man is exposed. WHO is recommended as the agency most competent to coordinate an international collection and dissemination system to correlate medical, environmental, and family-history data.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-225.—National Air and Fresh Water Monitoring

Recommends that WHO further assist Governments, especially in developing countries, in monitoring their air and fresh water sources, particularly in areas where there may be a risk to health from pollution. Although WHO has performed this function for many years, the U.S. agrees that there is urgent need for increased support in some areas.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-226.—Food Contaminants

Recommends an FAO-WHO program of research and monitoring to help prevent food

contamination by chemical and biological agents and provide early warnings.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-227.—Atmospheric Monitoring

Recommends a network of 10 "baseline" stations remote from pollution sources, and over 100 regional-level stations, to provide data needed to determine the nature and extent of atmospheric pollution and direction and rate of change, so as to predict long-term effects on climate.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-228.—Terrestrial Ecology

Recommends coordinated research in terrestrial ecology through appropriate international agencies and the "man and biosphere" program, and surveillance of the effects of pollutants on ecosystems. It should be noted that recommendations III-203(d), III-227 and III-234 together with 228 are all essential to the development and implementation of a global environmental monitoring program.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-228(a).—Air, Water, and Food Standards

A recommendation that WHO, together with competent international organizations, continue to study and establish primary standards for the protection of human organisms, especially from pollutants that are common to air, water, and food, as the basis for establishment of working limits. Recommendation was approved without objection.

III-229.—Food Contaminant Control

Recommends steps to increase the capabilities of FAO and WHO to assist the Codex Alimentarius Commission in developing international standards for pollutants in food, and to guide developing countries in the field of food control.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-230.—Pollutant Limits

Recommends that UN agencies develop procedures for setting derived working limits for concentrations of pollutants in ambient air and water, based on internationally agreed criteria.

Although mention of WHO was deleted, over U.S. opposition as the key agency for this action, the U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-231.—Information Exchange of Pollution Research and Control

This recommendation to utilize the proposed international referral service to make available information which may be requested by governments on pollution research and pollution control activities including legislation. Approved without objection.

III-232.—Activities of Proposed UN Environmental Body

Recommended tasks of Environmental Body to include:

Development of internationally accepted procedures for identification of pollutants; appointment of intergovernmental bodies to assess exposures, risks, pathways, and sources of pollutants of international significance; examination of needs for technical assistance from member states; review of international cooperation for pollution control. Adopted without objection.

III-233.—Marine Pollution, General

Recommends that governments

(1) accept and implement available instruments on control of maritime sources of marine pollution;

(2) ensure that the provisions of such instruments are complied with by ships flying their flags and by ships operating in areas under their jurisdiction;

(3) control ocean dumping and continue work on ocean dumping conventions;

(4) refer the draft ocean dumping convention to the Seabeds Committee for its comments and to a conference to be held in the United Kingdom for final consideration, if possible, before end of 1972;

(5) participate in the approaching Law of the Sea Conference and the 1973 IMCO Marine Pollution Conference with objective of bringing all significant sources of pollution in marine environment, including radioactive pollution from nuclear vessels, under appropriate control and eliminating completely by middle of present decade all intentional discharge of oil from ships.

(6) strengthen national controls over land-based sources of marine pollution.

The U.S. strongly supported paragraph (4) of this recommendation as offering the best possible opportunity for prompt conclusion of the work on the ocean dumping convention first proposed by U.S. in June 1971. The U.S. also supported the entire recommendation as it urges states to take legal measures nationally, regionally, and internationally to bring major sources of marine pollution under control. The U.S. has misgivings about carte-blanc endorsement of all available instruments and believes case-by-case review is necessary, especially of non-binding instruments in form of resolutions, etc., of international organizations. The U.S. does not accept that references in paragraphs (2) and (3) constitute endorsement of jurisdiction other than that widely accepted in international law. "The U.S. interprets the reference to appropriate controls of radioactive pollution from nuclear vessels to mean that each government will establish and enforce controls over its own nuclear powered naval vessels and that these governments will take into account generally recognized international radiation standards."

III-234.—Knowledge

Recommends that governments support national research and monitoring efforts that contribute to international programs; provide data to the UN, FAO, and UNCTAD; and make the International Oceanographic Commission (IOC) a more effective coordinator.

The U.S. strongly supported this recommendation as essential to an efficient scientific approach to marine pollution control and as a key part of "Earthwatch."

III-235.—GESAMP

Recommends IOC's Group of Experts on Scientific Aspects of Marine Pollution (GESAMP) reexamine annually its "Review of Harmful Chemical Substances" and provide advice on scientific aspects of marine pollution.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

III-236.—Research

Recommends—

(1) methods be developed to combine world statistics on the mining, production, processing, transport and use of potential marine pollutants;

(2) GESAMP propose guidelines to evaluate the toxicity of these substances;

(3) FAO, WHO, IOC, and IAEA encourage study of the effects of high priority pollutants on man and other organisms; and

(4) IOC, with FAO and WHO, explore creating an institute for tropical marine studies.

The U.S. supported these recommendations.

III-237.—Monitoring

Recommends that IOC, with WMO and other bodies, promote monitoring of marine pollution, preferably within the Integrated Global Ocean Station System (IGOSS).

The U.S. supported this recommendation as aid to Earthwatch and as a scientific approach to marine pollution control.

III-238.—Information Exchange

Recommends steps to assure that information from marine research and monitoring be made available in a form usable by governments; also possible expansion of data centers and referral systems to meet new needs.

The U.S. supported this recommendation. See under IV-137.

III-239.—Control of Marine Pollution

Recommends that governments (1) endorse the marine pollution principles and statement of objectives reported from the Ottawa meeting of the Intergovernmental Working Group on Marine Pollution (November 1971); (2) control land-based sources of marine pollution and concert thereon regionally and internationally. Also recommends the Secretary General and appropriate organizations provide guidelines to governments for this purpose.

The U.S. opposed this recommendation, stating that although there is much we approve of in the Ottawa principles and objectives, these have wide-ranging implications for law of the sea problems and vessel operation outside purview of this conference. The U.S. therefore believes the proper form for examining these subjects are the LOS Conference and the 1973 IMCO conference.

III-240.—UN Support

Recommends that the anticipated new UN environmental mechanism should provide needed advice to Governments on marine pollution.

The U.S. supported this recommendation since the magnitude of controlling marine pollution makes early dissemination of such advice to all governments desirable and economical.

III-241.—Developing country role in pollution work

Recommends additional financial support to enable developing countries to participate in international programs of research, monitoring and control of pollutants.

The U.S. supported this recommendation. We believe it essential that the widest possible participation in international pollution control work be achieved.

III—No number.—Nuclear Weapons Testing

This resolution, which condemns nuclear weapons tests, especially in the atmosphere, was introduced by Peru and New Zealand. It was adopted 56 for, 3 against (China, France, Gabon), 29 absentions including the United States.

The United States explained its abstention on this resolution as follows: "Although the United States supports the principle of an adequately verified total weapons test ban, the wording of the draft resolution is ambiguous regarding its applicability to underground weapons testing. Nevertheless, the United States believes that its tests are in consonance with prudent safeguards since the United States pays scrupulous attention to minimizing the environmental effects of its tests. In any event, the solution to this sensitive and highly complex arms control matter should be dealt with in a more suitable form."

SUBJECT AREA IV

Educational, Informational, Social and Cultural Aspects; also Conservation Conventions

Discussed in Committee I; see A/CONF. 48/9 for paragraph references.

IV—III—Continuous Social Diagnosis

Recommends arrangements for continuous diagnosis to measure social and cultural impacts of environmental developments. This would include UN financial and technical assistance to governments for: (a) preparing national reports on the environment; (b) developing social and cultural indicators for the environment with a view to a common methodology for assessing environmental quality in this area; and (c) organizing the exchange of information on methods for continuous social diagnosis.

The U.S. supported this recommendation. It will help foster needed data collection and assessment methods in the area of social monitoring. A great deal more study is required before meaningful international reports on socio-cultural environmental quality can be envisioned.

IV—114.—Education

Recommends that the Secretary-General and the organizations of the UN system especially UNESCO, establish an international environmental education program. The program is to be interdisciplinary and experimental in approach and to be directed towards all levels of the education continuum, including preschool, primary, secondary, and adult education.

The U.S. supported this recommendation. This program would include technical and financial support for an inventory of existing systems of education which deal with environment; exchange of information on such systems; environmental training and retraining of teachers and other professionals; expert groups to exchange experience between countries with similar environmental conditions; new materials and methods for environmental education.

IV—115.—Training

Recommends UNESCO, under the MAN and the Biosphere Program, WHO, FAO, UNIDO, WMO, the scientific unions, etc. should develop innovations in environmental training of specialists and technicians, and foster environmental training at the regional and international levels.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

IV—116. Volunteers

Recommends that international organizations for voluntary service and, in particular, the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service, in consultations with the United Nations Volunteer Program of UNDP, include environmental skills among the services they provide.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

IV—119.—Public Information

Recommends an information program to create public awareness on environmental issues and elicit contributions from non-governmental organizations; an annual "international environment day"; translation and circulation of Conference documents; integration of environmental information into public information work of the United Nations system; and cooperation on environmental information among United Nations regional economic commissions.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

IV—120.—Environmental Information in Development Programs

Recommends that certain international development programs be adapted to disseminate environmental information and strengthen community action on environmental problems. U.S. supported this recommendation.

IV—126.—Duties of Secretary-General

A recommendation that the Secretary-General make arrangements to be kept informed of national pilot schemes for environmental management; assist countries, on request, with experiments and research; and organize international exchange of information adopted by consensus.

IV—137.—Exchange of Information: Referral Service

Recommends Secretary-General establish an international Referral Service for efficient international exchange information on environmental problems and solutions.

This U.S.-introduced Recommendation was approved unanimously.

Hundreds of environmental information services and data are in operation but, except to relatively small user constituencies, are relatively unknown and unused. The Referral Service would be a modest and practical tool to tell what information services exist, where they are, and how to gain access to them. It would, in effect, place countries requesting information of all types in contact with appropriate information resources in support of local, national, or international environmental programs.

SUBJECT AREA V

Environment and Development

Discussed in Committee II; see A/CONF. 48/10 for paragraph references.

Of 8 recommendations on Environment and Development, the U.S. supported 5 and abstained on 3.

V-31. Role of regional organizations

Recommends active participation by regional organizations in developing areas, including those of the UN as well as others, in environmental work including: attention to environmental problems common to the region, especially those of the least developed countries and countries exposed to marine pollution; exchange of information and experience between regional organizations on environmental problems common to developing countries worldwide; training development personnel in environmental skills; research, education, health, human settlements and soil problems.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

V-32.—International trade

Recommends five principals of which the U.S. supported three and opposed two (later seeking unsuccessfully to have them amended); *abstaining* on the whole paragraph. Specifics: (1) Endorsing key principle that participating countries not use environmental actions as a pretext for discriminatory trade practices:

U.S. supported.

(2) Calling for "compensation" to exporting countries (especially developing countries) when environmental actions hamper their exports:

U.S. opposed, pointing out that many forces affect export earnings and to single out any of these, such as environmental actions, for compensatory treatment would be wrong in principle and a disincentive to environmental responsibility, but stated readiness to deal with any complaint that its environmental actions violate GATT obligations.

(3) That existing machinery of GATT be used to examine trade and environment question:

U.S. supported.

(4) Calling for advance consultation on planned environmental actions affecting trade, and assistance aimed at removing obstacles to trade which these actions create:

U.S. opposed, because the recommendation is too vague and general to permit effective implementation.

(5) Stating a principle that environmental standards in given products or processes need not be uniform in all countries where environmental disruption to other countries is not involved; and that the purpose of these standards is to protect the environment, not to gain trading advantages:

U.S. supported this principle.

V-33.—Action by UN system

Recommends UN agencies identify environment and export problems and remedies; also help governments negotiate international standards on traded products.

U.S. supported this important recommendation which will help reduce arbitrary and discriminatory trade actions.

V-34.—Action by GATT and UNCTAD

Recommends these agencies monitor and report on trade barriers arising from environmental policies.

U.S. supported this recommendation.

V-36.—World distribution of industry

Recommends (A) that developing countries consider establishing industries in which their environmental situation may confer comparative advantages, but avoid creating the environmental pollution problems in the process; and (B) that the UN review the implications of environmental concerns for future world distribution of industry, especially in developing countries.

The U.S. abstained on this recommenda-

tion, noting that the study called for in (B) would be meaningless generalities if made on a global basis since relevant factors vary so widely from country to country.

V-38.—International Financing

Recommends a UN study of appropriate mechanisms for financing international environmental action.

The U.S. supported this recommendation.

V-39.—Environmental technologies

Recommends studies of means to make environmental technologies widely available to developing countries.

U.S. supported this recommendation.

V-40.—Development strategy and aid flows

Following adoption of Indian amendment in Committee, recommends (A) that the UN review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy (Second Development Decade, 1971-80) take into account environmental considerations; and (B) that developed countries' environmental preoccupations not affect aid flows to developing countries, which should be "adequate to meet the additional environmental requirements of such countries."

U.S. abstained on this recommendation, pointing out that the resolution on Institutional Arrangements (see Subject Area VI) contains in paragraph 10 a good formulation on this subject which the U.S. supports, and that the Conference should avoid varying recommendations on this important matter.

SUBJECT AREA VI

International organizational implications of action proposals

Discussed in Committee III; text of draft resolution attached.

The Conference action on this subject consists of a single recommendation, in the form of a Conference resolution recommending a new organizational structure in the United Nations with the following elements:

1. A *Governing Council for Environmental Programs*, to consist of 54 member states elected for three-year terms on the basis of equitable geographic distribution, and to have among its functions (a) the promotion of international environmental cooperation; (b) general policy guidance for direction and coordination of environmental programs in the UN system; (c) review of reports on implementation of these programs; and (d) review and approval of programs financed by the Environment Fund (see below). The Council is to report to the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council, the latter to comment on coordination and on relation to other economic and social matters under its jurisdiction.

2. A small *Environment Secretariat*, headed by an *Executive Director*, to be established as the focal point for cooperation, coordination and effective management of environmental activities in the UN system. (The location of the Secretariat will be decided by the General Assembly this fall. At least ten sites have been offered by various countries.)

3. An *Environment Fund*, administered by the Executive Director under the guidance of the Governing Council. The Fund will finance the new environmental initiatives coming out of the Stockholm Conference.

4. An *Environmental Coordinating Board*, chaired by the Executive Director and designed to ensure cooperation and coordination among all of the UN agencies involved in environmental programs.

This will be considered by the General Assembly at its 27th session in New York this fall.

The Delegation worked long and hard to develop the consensus which enabled the Conference to adopt this resolution unanimously. We are pleased with the results.

RESOLUTION ON INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment convinced of the need for

prompt and effective implementation by governments and the international community of measures designed to safeguard and enhance the human environment for the benefit of present and future generations of mankind, recognizing that responsibility for action to protect and enhance the human environment rests primarily with governments and, in the first instance, can be exercised more effectively at the national and regional levels, recognizing that environmental problems of broad international significance fall within the competence of the United Nations system, bearing in mind that international cooperative programmes in the environment field must be undertaken with due respect to the sovereign rights of states and in conformity with the United Nations charter and principles of international law, mindful of the sectoral responsibilities of the organizations of the United Nations system.

Conscious of the significance of regional and subregional cooperation in the field of the Human Environment and of the important role of the Regional Economic Commissions and other regional intergovernmental organizations, emphasizing that problems of the human environment constitute a new and important area for international cooperation and that the complex interdependence of such problems requires new approaches, recognizing that the relevant international scientific and other professional communities can make an important contribution to international cooperation in the field of the human environment, conscious of the need for processes within the United Nations system which would effectively assist developing countries to implement environmental policies and programmes compatible with their development plans and to participate meaningfully in international environmental programmes, convinced that, in order to be effective, international cooperation in the field of the human environment requires additional financial and technical resources, aware of the urgent need for a permanent institutional arrangement within the United Nations for the protection and improvement of the human environment, and governing council for environmental programmes.

1. Recommends that the General Assembly establish the governing council for environmental programmes composed of fifty-four members, elected for three-year terms on the basis of equitable geographical distribution:

2. Recommends further that the governing council have the following main functions and responsibilities:

A. To promote international cooperation in the environment field and to recommend, as appropriate, policies to this end.

B. To provide general policy guidance for the direction and coordination of environmental programmes within the United Nations system.

C. To receive and review the periodic reports of the Executive Director on the implementation of environmental programmes within the United Nations system.

D. To keep under review the world environmental situation in order to ensure that emerging environmental problems of wide international significance should receive appropriate and adequate consideration by governments.

E. To promote the contribution of the relevant international scientific and other professional communities to the acquisition, assessment and exchange of environmental knowledge and information and, as appropriate, to the technical aspects of the formulation and implementation of environmental programmes within the United Nations system.

F. To maintain under continuing review the impact of national international environmental policies and measures on developing countries, as well as the problem of additional costs that might be incurred by

developing countries in the implementation of environmental programmes and projects, to ensure that such programmes and projects are compatible with the development plans and priorities of those countries.

G. To review and approve annually the programme of utilization of resources of the environment fund.

3. Recommends further that the governing council report annually to the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council, which would transmit to the Assembly such comments on the report as it may deem necessary, particularly with regard to questions of coordination and to the relationship of environment policies and programmes within the United Nations system to overall economic and social policies and priorities.

Environment Secretariat

4. Recommends that a small Secretariat be established in the United Nations, with headquarters in (—), to serve as a focal point for environmental actions and coordination within the United Nations system in such a way as to ensure a high degree of effective management.

5. Recommends further that the Environment Secretariat be headed by the Executive Director, who shall be elected by the General Assembly on the nomination of the Secretary-General, and who shall be entrusted, inter alia, with the following responsibilities:

(a) To provide substantive support to the governing council.

(b) Under the guidance of the governing council, to coordinate environmental programmes within the United Nations system, to keep under review their implementation and assess their effectiveness.

(c) To advise, as appropriate and under the guidance of the governing council, intergovernmental bodies of the United Nations system on the formulation and implementation of environmental programmes.

(d) To secure the effective cooperation of, and contribution from, the relevant scientific and other professional communities from all parts of the world.

(e) To provide, at the request of all parties concerned, advisory services for the promotion of international cooperation in the field of the environment.

(f) To submit to the governing council, on his own initiative or upon request, proposals embodying medium-and-long-range planning for United Nations programmes in the environment field.

(g) To bring to the attention of the governing council any matter which he deems to require consideration by it.

(h) To administer, under the authority and policy guidance of the governing council, the environment fund.

(i) To report on environment matters to the governing council.

(j) To perform such other functions as may be entrusted to him by the governing council.

The environment fund

6. Recommends that, in order to provide for additional financing for environmental programmes, a voluntary fund be established in accordance with existing United Nations financial procedures.

7. Recommends further that, in order to enable the governing council to fulfill its policy guidance role for the direction and coordination of environmental activities, the fund finance wholly or partly the costs of the new environmental initiatives undertaken within the United Nations system. These will include the initiatives envisaged in the action plan adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, with particular attention to integrated projects, and such other environmental activities as may be decided upon by the governing council. The governing council shall review these initia-

tives with a view to taking appropriate decisions as to their continued financing.

8. Recommends further that the fund be used for financing such programmes of general interest as regional and global monitoring, assessment and data-collecting systems, including, as appropriate, costs for national counterparts, improvement of environmental quality management, environmental research, information exchange and dissemination, public education and training, assistance for national, regional and global environmental institutions; promotion of environmental research and studies for the development of industrial and other technologies best suited to a policy of economic growth compatible with adequate environmental safeguards; and such other programmes as the governing council may decide upon. In the implementation of such programmes due account should be taken of the special needs of the developing countries.

9. Recommends that the costs of servicing the governing council and providing the small core Secretariat be borne by the regular budget of the United Nations, operational programme costs, programme support and administrative costs of the fund shall be borne by the fund.

10. Recommends further that, in order to ensure that the development priorities of developing countries are not adversely affected, adequate measures be taken to provide additional financial resources on terms compatible with the economic situation of the recipient developing country. To this end, the Executive Director, in cooperation with competent organizations will keep this problem under continuing review.

11. Recommends that the fund, in pursuance of the objectives stated in paragraphs 7 and 8, be directed to the need for effective coordination in the implementation of international environmental programmes of the organizations of the United Nations system and other international organizations.

12. Recommends that, in the implementation of programmes to be financed by the fund, organizations outside the United Nations system, particularly those in the countries and regions concerned, also be utilized as appropriate, in accordance with the procedures established by the governing council; such organizations are invited to support the United Nations environment programs by complementary initiatives and contributions.

13. Recommends that the governing council formulate such general procedures as are necessary to govern the operations of the fund.

COORDINATION

14. Recommends that in order to provide for the maximum efficient coordination of United Nations environmental programmes, and environmental coordinating board, chaired by the Executive Director, be established under the auspices and within the framework of the administrative committee on coordination.

15. Recommends further that the environmental coordinating board meet periodically for the purpose of ensuring cooperation and coordination among all bodies concerned in the implementation of environmental programmes and that it report annually to the governing council.

16. Invites the organizations of the United Nations system to adopt the measures that may be required to undertake concerted and coordinated programmes with regard to international environmental problems, taking into account existing procedures for prior consultation, particularly on programme and budgetary matters.

17. Invites the regional economic commissions and the economic and social office in Beirut, in cooperation, where necessary, with other appropriate regional bodies, to further intensify their efforts aimed at contributing

to the implementation of environmental programmes in view of the particular need for rapid development of regional cooperation in this field.

18. Invites also other intergovernmental and those nongovernmental organizations which have interest in the field of the environment to lend their full support and collaboration to the United Nations with a view to achieving the largest possible degree of cooperation and coordination.

19. Calls upon governments to ensure that appropriate national institutions shall be entrusted with the task of coordination of environmental action, both national and international.

20. Recommends that the General Assembly review, as appropriate, at its Thirty-first Session, the institutional arrangements which it may decide upon in pursuance of this recommendation, bearing in mind, inter alia, the responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council under the charter.

LADY PEARL MITCHELL

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, on June 17, 1972, the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority in Cleveland, Ohio honored Miss L. Pearl Mitchell at a luncheon. It was a fitting tribute to a woman who has long been recognized as "Miss AKA."

Miss Mitchell has also achieved the distinction of being "Miss NAACP." She is a woman without peer, an individual who has devoted her lifetime to community service. The AKA's and the NAACP are only two of the many beneficiaries of her untiring efforts in behalf of her fellow citizen.

Miss Mitchell was born in Wilberforce, Ohio. Her father was, at that time, president of Wilberforce University while her mother taught there. After her father's death, Lady Pearl moved to Washington, D.C., Florida, Illinois, and Michigan.

It was Cleveland's good fortune that Lady Pearl decided to settle there. She has been an invaluable asset to the city of Cleveland, concentrating her energies upon the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Mount Zion Congregational Church; and her sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha. She serves on the board of the Ohio Soldiers and Sailors Home.

In 1955, Wilberforce University honored her with its alumni award for distinctive service. In 1966, she was named Alumna of the Year.

She is a recipient of the NAACP Distinguished Service Award; the Artha-Jon Cultural Foundation's Ukoya Award; the Sojourner Truth Award from the Cleveland Chapter of the National Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs; the Zeta Phi Beta Award; the Women's Medical Association Award for Distinguished Services; and the AKA 50th Anniversary Award.

If Lady Pearl's past achievements are any indication of what lies ahead, then future years promise to be good years—not only for Lady Pearl, but for anyone who is fortunate enough to come in contact with her.

LARRY O'BRIEN FIRST-CLASS STATESMAN

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. OBEY, Mr. Speaker, the job of national chairman of any political party is not usually an endearing one. The stereotype view of political party chairmen is that they are usually political hatchet men for the leading elected officials of their party.

But now and then those positions are occupied by individuals of such sensitivity, intellectual honesty, good taste, and even rhetorical restraint, that they do the entire political process high honor. I am inserting in the RECORD an article by Milton Viorst which appeared in last night's issue of the Evening Star and Daily News which sums up my sentiments and I am sure the sentiments of a good many others in this House who have come to know and respect Larry O'Brien:

LARRY O'BRIEN FIRST-CLASS STATESMAN

It is not the chairman of a political party from whom one normally expects the highest order of statesmanship—but for his services last week and over the past three years I present to Larry O'Brien the award of "American Statesman 1st class."

What O'Brien has demonstrated so brilliantly is that the expression "old pol" need not be a term of derogation. He has shown that a man who has spent a lifetime in party politics can be much much more than a "party hack."

I confess to having felt a certain apprehension when O'Brien was appointed chairman of the Democratic National Committee in March 1970. He seemed like an old face and an old-fashioned operator in a time that desperately called for new faces and new methods of operation.

A public relations man by profession, he had been running political campaigns in Massachusetts since the 1940s, had masterminded the election of John F. Kennedy, had twisted arms as a congressional lobbyist, became President Johnson's postmaster general and served as national chairman when Hubert Humphrey was the presidential candidate in 1968.

His most distinguished intellectual achievement, it seemed to me, was to write a handbook of practical politics. O'Brien was known as a good Democrat and a straight guy—but many of us thought that the times called for more.

After all, in 1968 the Democratic convention in Chicago—in a seeming afterthought to the disastrous nominating procedure—had mandated a thorough reform of the delegate-selection process. Sen. Fred Harris, who became national chairman after the election, had chosen a highly regarded senator named McGovern to direct the drafting of those reforms.

O'Brien, Harris' successor, might very easily have taken to sabotaging those reforms. On the face of it, his loyalty was to the old school—to Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson, to Richard Daley and George Meany. Faced with a \$9 million campaign debt, he might even have been excused if he had made big concessions to the old-time party contributors.

Again and again, publicly and privately, O'Brien proclaimed his dedication to both the principles and the practices of reform. Still, some of us remained skeptical.

Gradually, however, what emerged under O'Brien's firm but sensitive hand was a pat-

tern of state delegations, first, recognizing that the party was taking the reforms seriously and, then, moving hesitantly, often reluctantly, into compliance.

The reformers had a little scare last spring, when O'Brien appointed Patricia Harris, a former Humphrey supporter, as head of the convention's credentials committee. Among the wary, it looked like a plot to give the Old Guard by indirection the delegates that it could not get directly. O'Brien pointed to Mrs. Harris' own good reputation, and denied the charge.

The proof was in the performance. As chairman, Mrs. Harris was indisputably fair—and the convention, though far from being free of seating wrangles, was closer to the American grass roots than ever before. McGovern's delegates, having been duly elected, dominated. Outraged, the bosses did not. For this, the bulk of the credit, I think, should go to O'Brien.

Then, from the other side, O'Brien was accused of showboating for the "new politics" when he chose a black lady from California to be convention cochairman. But Mrs. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, in conjunction with O'Brien himself, gave the convention unprecedentedly fair and masterful leadership.

Finally, in this list of encomiums, I'd like to submit that O'Brien delivered the most honest, thoughtful and penetrating speech of the convention. Far more than McGovern's, it reflected what troubles Americans about our politics today.

To an assembly accustomed to hoopla from its party leaders, he had the seriousness of purpose to decry the custom of promising "what we know cannot be delivered by man, God or the Democratic party."

"... But we have lacked the courage to say this. Instead, we have promised something to everybody, and then hoped that nobody would keep score. It didn't work. The people can count. And they aren't easily fooled."

Indeed, just as there is in the idealism of the Old Pro a lesson for the Daleys and the Means, there is in his forthrightness a lesson for the candidate and his young staff.

Larry O'Brien proved last week what politicians can be. The party will be lucky if he stays around as an example.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE ORDER OF AHEPA

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to extend my congratulations to the Order of Ahepa, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, on the occasion of its golden anniversary. For the past half century this nationwide, fraternal organization has sought to improve American life by infusing American culture with the values and ideals of the Hellenic culture of Ancient Greece, the cradle of Western civilization.

The Order of Ahepa's record of accomplishments is indeed laudable. It reflects full comprehension of the needs of man and society in an area when those considerations frequently have been ignored or accorded less than total commitment. Its efforts on behalf of citizenship, education, and democracy are a most appropriate continuation of the

Hellenic ideals. The order has shown the values of this 2-millennia-old culture to be vibrantly relevant to man today.

Among those who are united in its bond of friendship and understanding, the Order of Ahepa numbers the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, former President Harry S. Truman, Vice President Spiro Agnew, and many other Cabinet members, U.S. Senators and Representatives.

The Order of Ahepa really needs no tribute—its own deeds honor it more than words can. Nevertheless, to show my support for what Ahepa has accomplished, I wish once more to extend congratulations and the hope that the next 50 years may be as golden as have the past 50.

BILL SHARKEY

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, we are too often reminded that good people pass our way only after they have gone.

Fortunately, such is not the case with a man in Attleboro, Mass., who was honored throughout his career by those who knew him and, just recently, when he retired, was collectively paid tribute for that career.

The man is Robert W. "Bill" Sharkey who has just ended 26 years as superintendent of parks for the city of Attleboro. His life of service is his monument.

More than 400 of his friends, representing many more who could not be there, gave him a testimonial as their gesture of gratitude.

I take this occasion to add my own gratitude to him and congratulations for a job well done.

The complete story of Bill Sharkey is included in the attached piece from the Attleboro Sun Chronicle of June 28, 1972:

IT WAS BILL SHARKEY NIGHT

(By Bill Hannan)

WRENTHAM—"Attleboro is a good place to bring up children." That's what Robert W. (Bill) Sharkey's mother told him a few score years ago.

On Tuesday night in the King Philip Restaurant here, surrounded by upward of 400 of his friends, Sharkey said he believed more than ever that the words of his mother were true.

The occasion was a Friendship Dinner accorded the man who is retiring after 27 years with the Park Department, 26 of them as superintendent of parks.

Sharkey expressed his appreciation for the testimonial for him and his wife, Mrs. Ismay (King) Sharkey. His talk came after an evening that was a mixture of the serious and the lighthearted, just, as he brought out in his talk, the life of a parks superintendent is as he lived it.

There were serious presentations: State Sen. John F. Parker of Taunton presented a Golden Dome certificate signed by the governor, majority and minority (Parker) leaders and the secretary of the state. Ticket Chairman James H. Conlon presented a monetary gift from the assemblage and from others who were unable to attend but who remembered "Bill" on his night.

There were humorous presentations: Toastmaster James H. Sullivan presented to the guest of honor a gold-plated shovel and a gold-plated hoe as reminders of his long service to the parks and the city. He also presented a framed likeness of King, a lion who was almost as much a fixture at Capron Park as Sharkey was.

Sullivan and Mrs. Lillian Poirier Johnson sang vocal solos and duets just as they often did in the music shell at Capron. Music was provided by Thomas Caruso.

From the time the Right Rev. Gerard J. Chabot, pastor of St. Theresa's Church, South Attleboro, gave the invocation until the Rev. David S. Dahlberg, pastor of the Evangelical Covenant Church, pronounced the benediction, Sharkey was extolled for his honesty, hard work, devotion to his family and to his goal of making Attleboro's parkland second to none.

Mayor Raymond L. Macomber noted the frustration he said Sharkey had endured at budget-making time but he noted, too, how the veteran superintendent refused to show frustration in his work. The mayor said the city had benefited greatly because of Sharkey's work and leadership.

The principal speaker was Edward A. Connell, superintendent of parks and natural resources in Stamford, Conn. Connell, a long-time associate of Sharkey's in regional and national associations concerned with parks, praised the retiring superintendent for "provoking park people into reconsidering what was handed out to the them by 'the great thinkers' and for refusing to accept on face value what had not been proven."

Connell reminisced in an occasionally light and occasionally serious vein but the recurring theme of his speech was that "it is the little people who hold the world together." He noted that it was "the little people" of Attleboro who predominantly made the evening a success.

About a dozen parks superintendents from as many communities in the Northeast were present to honor Sharkey. So, too, were his associates and his successor, all of whom received praise from Sharkey for what he described as their loyalty and their willingness to work.

The evening ended with the audience filing past the head table to greet Mr. and Mrs. Sharkey.

The superintendent was visibly affected by the tribute but he said he had promised his family he would not give in to his emotions and he did not let them prevent him from making his acceptance speech.

He wound up his talk, that included praise for the help of the park commissions as well as that of the employes, with words of thanks that his family had turned out so well. He concluded with the statement that more than ever he believed that his mother was right: Attleboro is a good place to bring up children.

ORDER OF AHEPA CELEBRATES GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Order of Ahepa, founded July 26, 1922 in Atlanta, Ga., is celebrating its golden anniversary during the year 1972.

During the past half-century the Order of Ahepa, a nonpolitical and nonsectarian fraternal organization, has contributed financially to and has championed the causes of education, ethnic

minorities, and victims of disasters on a national and international level. Local Ahepa chapters have always vigorously supported local community activities in the fields of education, charity, and civic improvement.

I congratulate the Order of Ahepa for its distinguished 50-year record of service and accomplishment.

HEALTH INSURANCE PLANS PAYING FOR MORE OUT-OF-HOSPITAL CARE

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, we all know that one of the most rapidly rising cost items in recent years has been hospital care. During the period from 1960 to 1970, hospital charges increased by about 15 percent per year.

In the years following World War II, when health insurance policies became common in many families, emphasis was on hospitalization insurance. Even in those days a lengthy hospitalization could cost thousands of dollars. Today hospital costs have risen so fast that even a stay of a few weeks can cost thousands of dollars. Of course there are many factors which cause these higher hospital costs, but they are primarily due to the higher cost of labor since wages and salaries make up to 60 to 70 percent of the hospital's expenses.

In recent years there has been a gradual change in the coverage of health insurance policies to include outpatient and preadmission care. The American public has begun to realize that it is good business to try to hold down costs by rendering care, where appropriate, on an outpatient or preadmission basis rather than in an expensive hospital setting.

Accordingly health insurance is increasingly paying for outpatient care as well as inpatient care. Care is increasingly being given on an outpatient basis rather than on an inpatient basis. For example, hospital admissions increased 11 percent between 1965 and 1970, while outpatient utilization increased 44 percent.

As another example, the Blue Cross Association recently announced that 56 of its 74 plans are now providing some form of coverage for preadmission hospital testing. In one study such preadmission testing resulted in an average saving of 1.4 days of bed care for each patient involved.

Mr. Speaker, I include two articles which indicate the trend in health insurance toward coverage of outpatient and preadmission care. The first article is from the Chicago Sun-Times of March 27, 1972, and is entitled "Outpatient Emphasis Eases Hospital Crowding."

The second article is from the American Medical News of February 21, 1972, and is entitled "Most Blue Plans Cover Preadmission Testing."

The articles follow:

OUTPATIENT EMPHASIS EASES HOSPITAL CROWDING

(By Bette Scanlan)

The almost "impossible to get a hospital bed" situation may be easing a bit.

After analyzing data from the American Hospital Assn., the Health Insurance Institute reports that in many parts of the United States it is easier to get a bed in a hospital than it has been in many years.

The availability of beds is more pronounced in rural areas where some hospitals are only half-filled, the institute says, but even in big cities, if you are not able to get a bed immediately in your hospital, there are beds definitely available in nearby hospitals.

MORE OUTPATIENT CARE

One of the prime reasons for the break in hospital crowding, it noted, is the greater emphasis now being placed on outpatient care. As an example, hospital admissions increased 11 per cent between 1965 and 1970, while outpatient utilization jumped 44 per cent.

Another reason cited for the break in the overcrowded hospital situation is the health insurance policies are now being designed to help pay for out-of-hospital services.

Also, family health centers, community health centers and other ambulatory care facilities seem to be catching on, reducing the need for beds.

AVERAGE DOWN

On an average day last year, there were 1.7 fewer patients in U.S. community hospital beds than there had been in the previous year, and the average length of stay in community hospitals nationally was down from 7.8 days in 1970 to 7.7 in 1971, the institute said.

The HII explained that a tenth of a point may not sound like much, but when that's happening in the 5,859 community hospitals in the nation, it affects a lot of people.

Institute statisticians estimate that if a single day were cut from the average length of hospital stays, the public could save as much as \$2 billion annually.

Health and health insurance authorities are stressing the need for increasing ambulatory services. This care concentrates on treating patients in out-of-hospital facilities when possible rather than in hospitals. This reduces overcrowding, cuts down on costs and eases doctor shortages, the institute said.

MOST BLUE PLANS COVER PREADMISSION TESTING

The Blue Cross Assn. announced that 56 of its 74 member plans are providing some form of coverage for pre-admission hospital testing (PAT) to reduce hospital stays and patient costs.

PAT coverage pays for tests a patient needs before being hospitalized for surgery or treatment for a diagnosed medical problem, instead of after.

A recent study by Blue Cross at Baltimore's Sinai Hospital indicated that pre-admission testing resulted in average savings of 1.4 days of bed care for each Blue Cross patient who used it.

Typically, PAT works this way. A physician decides his patient needs surgery and schedules it, for example, on Wednesday. Instead of checking into the hospital on the preceding Monday or Tuesday, as in the past, the patient goes to the hospital on Monday for appropriate tests as an outpatient. He returns to work on Tuesday and does not enter the hospital as an inpatient until that evening, or perhaps on Wednesday.

In the meantime, the physician has on hand the tests a plan would normally cover on an inpatient basis.

Although PAT is most frequently used in non-emergency surgical cases, it is also applicable to obscure and rare medical conditions that require extensive testing prior to

final diagnosis and hospitalization. However, PAT will not pay for purely diagnostic tests where a physician feels his patient will not need hospitalization.

A side benefit, BCA officials said, is that sometimes the tests reveal that no hospitalization is necessary.

POLLUTION FROM DEVELOPING RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, there is no longer a clear-cut distinction between urban and rural interests in the use and management of natural resources. Everyone benefits from bountiful supplies of food and fiber, unpolluted streams and reservoirs, and the good fishing and swimming that can result from better use and management of our natural resources. Similarly, everyone benefits from good roads, safe waste disposal, and selection of building sites free from soil limitations and excess water hazards.

Similarly also, both urban and rural areas contribute to the pollution problems confronting us now. Some 1.5 million acres are converted from rural to urban use annually. Development plans have not recognized the need or included provisions for controlling runoff, erosion, and sediment.

Sediment sources and amounts are constantly changing with changes in our patterns of living.

Independent studies have shown the seriousness of sedimentation problems on construction sites.

Though similar to rural areas in some aspects, developing rural-urban areas: first, involve smaller drainage areas; second, constitute more highly dynamic and complicated environmental interactions; third, involve extensive exposure of soils and subsoils; fourth, result in increased runoff, of often 1,000 or more times higher concentrations of suspended sediment; and fifth result in rapidly aggrading or degrading channels from excessive sediment or water discharge in concentrated areas.

Urban areas in the development stage are producing erosion and sediment out of all proportion to comparable areas in the agricultural sector. As an example, in the Potomac River Basin, the sediment discharge rates of streams in areas undergoing urban growth are 10 to 50 times greater than those in rural areas. In one subwatershed in the Potomac Basin, sediment rates of 89,000 tons per square mile per year have been measured at the source.

An example of accelerated erosion due to urbanization is shown in a study of a 14.3 square mile watershed above Lake Barcroft in Virginia, a suburban area of Washington, D.C. As the area of the watershed undergoing construction rose from 0.5 percent to nearly 9 percent annually, the volume of sediment reaching the lake rose from 4 to 25 acre-feet per year. On a small construction site at Johns Hopkins University, encompass-

ing 1 to 1½ acres, sediment yields of 140,000 tons per square mile per year were measured.

This severe erosion and sediment runoff clogs streams and lakes, produces flooding problems, and causes severe damage to the development areas themselves. In fact, the most significant non-point source of pollution within metropolitan areas is that caused by uncontrolled growth.

Most new subdivisions are stripped of all trees and plant cover thereby removing natural restraints to topsoil movement during spring thaw and rainstorms. Of course, the closer any developments—housing developments, shopping centers, and highways—are to a lake or stream, the more the danger of sediment pollution.

Urban development, as it paves over land and intensifies development of flood plains, has diminished the absorptive capacity of natural floodwater shortage areas and overburdened urban drainage systems. Consequences include the flooding of basements and traffic underpasses, causing extensive damage, inconvenience, and loss of life. Attempted solutions have ranged from control of the stream, via damming, zoning, and subdivision regulations, to emergency procedures such as temporary evacuation. Debate has arisen over the effectiveness of the above solutions in maintaining natural drainage processes and in meeting environmental quality objectives of the new water resources environment. This all presents a rather baffling array of problems to local officials.

The haphazard nature of urban development has meant that the related pollution is scattered throughout the country and changes location with each new development. As a result, public awareness of the problems and efforts to control them are usually localized, with only a few government officials actively involved. Too many Federal, State, and local officials fail to realize the seriousness of the problem, and are unaware that the basic principles of resource conservation are applicable to urban as well as rural areas.

The aggravated erosion and sediment pollution problems in developing areas can be significantly reduced by simply using the most basic technique which has been used for years in rural areas. In controlling topsoil erosion on exposed areas, some type of ground cover should be provided. Inexpensive and effective materials have been developed for developing areas where vegetation is not feasible. These include liquid asphalt, spun glass, and fiber net ground covers, which are already being used in several areas with great success.

The mechanics of controlling erosion and sedimentation problems in developing areas are already known. Monumental waste and environmental damage can be prevented if the knowledge and resources are channeled into localities where they are needed, and the watershed program as it now stands, is simply not doing the job.

I have introduced a bill into the House, H.R. 15596, which would provide a direct link between the Secretary of Agri-

culture and developing areas, and would provide for binding agreements of up to 10 years. The Secretary is authorized to cooperate and furnish financial and technical assistance to States, counties, municipalities, and other public agencies in formulating development land use plans and controlling erosion and sediment in developing rural and urban areas. In the assistance agreements, the Secretary shall require the cooperating agency to assure him it will enact and enforce adequate regulations and bear proportionate costs for preparing the plan.

The Secretary is also authorized to initiate and accelerate educational programs across the Nation. These programs can be instrumental in correcting the discouraging lack of knowledge that has made our developing areas a blight on the environment. A summer job corps made up of students in agriculture and related areas is established, and \$5 billion is provided for implementation of the needed programs. My bill provides the energy and means to direct resources where they are needed, and should receive the attention and enthusiasm that it needs to make its programs possible.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, this week of July 16–22 we mark the 13th annual observance of Captive Nations Week. Every year since 1959, by Presidential proclamation, we have taken the observance of Captive Nations Week to rededicate ourselves to the ideals of freedom and self-determination for all people. It is a week in which we remember the plight of over 1 billion people in captive nations existing under a form of government not of their choosing.

I believe it is important that we continue to remember and to remain aware of the situation existing in the many captive countries of the world. As our Nation enters what some consider a new era of peaceful coexistence and negotiation, we cannot allow ourselves to be lulled into apathy or complacent self security that would ignore the conditions of one-third of humanity which lives in the 27 captive nations. Despite all of our changes in policy and countless diplomatic agreements the reality of these 27 nations remains to challenge our concern and commitment to freedom.

The people of the world and especially those in bondage look to us for encouragement in their quest for freedom, liberty and basic human rights. This week the Governors and mayors in 37 States join 17 other countries in the observance of Captive Nations Week.

I welcome the observance of this week as we mark it with a reaffirmation of America's commitment to liberty and an end of oppression for all the peoples of this planet.

EISENHOWER MISQUOTED AGAIN

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I presume that during this campaign there will be many misquotations and may misquoted candidates. One candidate has been trying to represent himself as a disciple of former President Dwight Eisenhower.

These misunderstandings come from taking quotations out of context. The Boston Sunday Herald Traveler and Sunday Advertiser of July 2, titled, "Eisenhower Misquoted Again," gives you some idea of how that particular candidate considers himself a disciple of Eisenhower. Nothing could be further from the truth as the editorial so well explains. The editorial follows:

EISENHOWER MISQUOTED AGAIN

Guess who was trying to pass himself off as a "disciple" of former President Eisenhower the other day? Not Richard Nixon, who could claim that distinction with considerable justification, since he did serve eight years as Ike's Vice President.

No, the alleged "disciple" is none other than Sen. George McGovern.

Because Eisenhower once made a brief reference to the so-called "military-industrial complex"—a spectre which McGovern finds so frightening that he has proposed a 40 per cent slash in defense spending—somebody recently pinned the "disciple" label on the Senator from South Dakota. And the other day McGovern declared that he was proud to accept it.

Eisenhower, he said, was a man "who concluded his administration with a farewell address in which he said that the great single danger to this country is the mounting power of the military and industrial complex."

President Eisenhower, of course, never said any such thing. And McGovern should know it, though Ike's statement about the military-industrial complex has been misquoted, distorted and taken out of context so often that one more misrepresentation comes as no great surprise.

In his farewell address on Jan. 17, 1961, Eisenhower did indeed warn that the nation should "guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex." But he added rather significantly that the existence of that complex, though potentially dangerous, was largely unavoidable.

"We recognize the imperative need for this development," he said, noting that "we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions."

Another phrase in his address almost never quoted by those who seek to depict General Eisenhower as a budding pacifist: "A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be kept mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction."

Any similarity between these statements and the twisted version of them by Sen. McGovern is rather hard to find.

No one knows, of course, what President Eisenhower's attitude toward the current political and military situation might be if he were alive today. But our guess is that he probably wouldn't smile on Sen. McGovern's plan to emasculate our defenses or be amused by the prospect of the South Dakota Senator posing as his "disciple."

To quote Ike's son, Col. John Eisenhower: "If Sen. McGovern is indeed a disciple of my father in his military opinions, then the Boss must be rotating in his grave at the failure of his pupil to learn his lessons."

MONTHLY CALENDAR OF THE
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to insert in the RECORD the monthly calendar of the Smithsonian Institution. The July calendar of events follows:

CALENDAR OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
JULY 1972

SUMMER HOURS

Museum of History and Technology; Museum of Natural History; Arts and Industries Building: 10 a.m.—9 p.m. seven days each week.

Freer Gallery of Art; National Collection of Fine Arts; National Portrait Gallery; Renwick Gallery: 10 a.m.—5:30 p.m. daily.

National Zoo buildings: 9 a.m.—6 p.m., daily.

Anacostia Neighborhood Museum: 10 a.m.—6 p.m., weekdays; 1—6 p.m., weekends.

MUSEUM TOURS

INFO '72. Museum of Natural History, Museum of History and Technology, Arts & Industries Building. Walk-in tours are conducted by summer volunteers beginning every half-hour between 10:30 a.m. and 12 noon and between 2 and 4 p.m. at the Info Desks. Special group tours for these buildings can also be arranged by calling 381-5304.

National Portrait Gallery. Group tours by appointment, 381-8285. "Acoustiguide" tour (45 minutes) of the exhibition "If Elected . . ." Unsuccessful Candidates for the Presidency, 1796-1968. Recorded by Dr. Marvin Sadik, Director of the NPG. \$1.

National Collection of Fine Arts. Group tours by appointment, 381-6541.

Dial-a-Phenomenon—737-8855 for weekly announcements on stars, planets and worldwide occurrences of short-lived natural phenomena.

DEMONSTRATIONS

Museum of History and Technology

Music Machines—American Style. Mechanical and electronic music machines. Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday, 1:30 p.m., 2nd floor. As part of the Music Machines exhibit, excerpts from filmed musical productions are shown continuously during the museum hours.

Spinning and Weaving. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, 10:30-12:30.

Machine Tools. Wednesday, Thursday, Friday 1-2 p.m.

The Smithsonian Monthly Calendar of Events is prepared by the Office of Public Affairs Editor: Lilas Wiltshire. Deadline for entries in the August Calendar: July 5.

Dial-A-Museum—737-8811 for daily announcements on new exhibits and special events.

FOREIGN STUDY TOURS

For members of the National and Resident Associates. For further details on tours, listed below, write Miss Schumann, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560.

1972:

The Pilgrimage Road: Sept. 11-Oct. 9.

No-Tour Tour (Dulles-London-Dulles): Sept. 11-Oct. 2.

Russia: Sept. 12-Oct. 3. Waiting list only.

Pakistan and Afghanistan: Oct. 9-Nov. 8. Waiting list only.

1973:

Peru (archeology tour): Feb. 8-Mar. 5.

Morocco: Mar. 6-3 weeks.

Prehistoric Caves of Spain and France: April 2-3 weeks.

Middle East (Lebanon, Jordan, Cyprus and Israel): April 13-3 weeks.

Sites of Civilization: Oct. 7-3 weeks on the cruise ship Argonaut.

African Safari (Tanzania and Kenya Game Parks and Seychelles): Oct. 3-3 weeks.

CLASSES AND WORKSHOPS SPONSORED BY THE
SMITHSONIAN ASSOCIATES

Classes are available in the following categories on a subscription-only basis. For information, call 381-5157.

Tiny Tots (ages 4-7). Two-week sessions every Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. July 11-20; July 25-August 3; August 14-24.

Young People (ages 8-13). Same schedule as above.

Teenagers and Adults: Twice a week for three weeks. July 10-27; August 7-24.

Changes of address and calendar requests: mail to Central Information Desk, Great Hall, Smithsonian Institution Building, Washington, D.C. 20560. When applicable, please include old calendar label.

RADIO SMITHSONIAN

Radio Smithsonian, a program of music and conversation growing out of the Institution's many activities, is broadcast every Sunday on WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5) from 9-9:30 p.m. The program schedule for July:

2nd The World of Ants. Ronald Goor of the National Museum of Natural History describes the complex lifestyle of ants. Exploring Oriental Art, with Harold Stern, Director of the Freer Gallery of Art.

9th Concert featuring Sebastian Kelber, recorder; Lane Anderson, cello; and James Weaver, harpsichord.

16th The Megastates of America. Journalist Neal Peirce, a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, discusses our ten largest states—their similarities and differences.

23rd Folk Concert, featuring British singers David and Toni Arthur and John Harrison.

30th Understanding Drugs. A look at the drug scene today, as reflected in the Smithsonian's current exhibition on drugs.

PUPPET THEATRE

Tom Sawyer. A return engagement of Allan Stevens and Company's original production of the Mark Twain classic. The fifteen puppets include Tom, Huck, Injun Joe and Becky Thatcher, all acting out their adventures in a multi-media setting. Performances begin at 11 a.m., 12 and 1 p.m., in the History and Technology Building auditorium, and will run through July 9 (except July 3rd). Admission is \$1 for children; \$1.25 for adults. Reservations may be made by calling the Box Office, 381-5395. The Marvelous Land of Oz returns to the Puppet Theatre July 12 and will remain through Labor Day. Performances are 11 a.m., 12 and 1 p.m. Wednesdays through Sundays. The Smithsonian Resident Puppet Theatre is produced by the Division of Performing Arts.

JUNE 30—JULY 4

Festival of American Folklife—featuring the State of Maryland, Union Workers, and the American Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. Sixth annual presentation sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution Division of Performing Arts. Crafts, cooking and horse demonstrations, hayrides, concerts, dances, music workshops and panel discussions will be among the activities scheduled from 11-5:30 daily on the Mall, with a special all-day gospel sing on Sunday and the first Smith-

sonian Fiddlers Convention and competition on Tuesday from 1-7 p.m.

In cooperation with the National Park Service, a Maryland Waterways Area has been organized at Hains Point with the ships and crafts of the Eastern Shore, demonstrations of waterfowling with Chesapeake Bay Retrievers, and workshops in fur trapping and boat building. A shuttle will be available between the Mall and the Waterways Area from 11 a.m.—5 p.m.

On the Mall, the Maryland Horse Area will feature many breeds and uses of horses and ponies with dressage and hunting demonstrations as well as the horse-drawn fruit vending carts of Baltimore's "Arabbers." The Maryland Area will also include the music and food of the varied ethnic communities—Italian, Greek, Polish, Amish, and Turkish.

The American Indian Area this year will feature the traditional culture that still plays a large part in the Indian community of the Southwest—the crafts, dances, food and clothing. Workshops and panel discussions will also be held each day, and intertribal dances will be performed Friday and Sunday evenings at 9 o'clock.

The Union Area will include lithographers, needle trades workers and cabinetmakers. The oral traditions of the labor movement will be told by folklorists and craftsmen through songs and discussions.

Films related to the Festival will be shown in the auditorium of the Museum of Natural History from 11-4, and informal concerts will continue on the Mall each evening until 8:30 p.m.

SAT. 1

Exhibition: *The Monotype: An Edition of One*. Thirty-nine one-of-a-kind prints by four American artists—Maurice Prendergast, Abraham Walkowitz, Milton Avery, and Matt Phillips. Each artist is also represented by one example of his work in another medium. At the National Collection of Fine Arts, through August 6. Circulated by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service.

TUE. 4

Lecture: *Colonial American Craftsmen: the Age of Pride*, by Leonard Everett Fisher, designer of four new postage stamps, commemorating colonial artisans, that will be issued on Independence Day at Williamsburg, Va. Jointly sponsored by the Smithsonian and the Postal Service, this is the first in a series of Philatelic Dedicatory Lectures. 4:30 p.m. National Museum of History and Technology auditorium.

WED. 5

Design film: *The Music Rack*. Filmed by the American Crafts Council, wood craftsman Wendell Castle is shown making a complex laminated music rack. Continuous half-hour showings from 11 a.m.; last showing 2:30 p.m. The Renwick Gallery.

THU. 6

Creative Screen: *Our Country's Flag*—Prints, paintings, manuscripts and maps document the dramatic history of the American flag; *Photography as an Art*—Ansel Adams explains his photography and discusses his methods of teaching; *Multiply and Subdue*—A new film that uses abstract photography to portray an ecological theme. Three-film program begins at 11 a.m., 12 noon, and 1 p.m. National Collection of Fine Arts.

SAT. 8

Creative screen: *Our Country's Flag*; *Photography as an Art*; *Multiply and Subdue*. Repeat program. See July 6 for details.

WED. 12

Exhibition: *Hall of History of Money and Medals*. New hall displaying the remarkable Josiah K. Lilly Jr. Collection; demonstrating the art of coin-making from the 7th century B.C. to the latest electronic methods, and depicting the work of counterfeiters. Children's Corner includes buried Roman

coins, shipwrecked Spanish bullion and hoarded pirate "pieces-of-eight." Third floor, National Museum of History and Technology.

Design film: *Design and Man*. A filmed look at industrial and commercial design, and the design process. Continuous showings from 11:00 a.m.; last showing 2:30 p.m. The Renwick Gallery.

FRI. 14

Exhibition: *Hall of Printing and Graphic Arts*. New hall illustrating the printer's craft over five centuries. Among the period rooms is an 18th century shop like one Benjamin Franklin might have used. In the printmaking section, techniques of such great masters as Rembrandt and Munch are shown. Third floor, National Museum of History and Technology.

Exhibition: *Artist-Naturalists: Observations in the Americas*. Some 70 works dating from the 1720's to the 1920's by American artists Mark Catsby, Alexander Wilson, John James Audubon, Martin Johnson Heade, the Thayer family, and Louis A. Fuertes. National Collection of Fine Arts, through September 10.

TUE. 18

Lecture: *The Glass of Frederick Carder*, by Paul V. Gardner, Smithsonian Curator of Glass and Ceramics. Mr. Gardner, who worked for Carder at the Steubens Glass Works, will give a personal glimpse into the life of Carder—a major figure in the late 19th century and early 20th century English and American glassmaking. The lecture will also focus on the sources of Carder's inspiration and the development of his various complicated processes. 8:30 p.m., The Renwick Gallery.

WED. 19

Design films: *The Music Rack*. Repeat. See July 5 for details.

THU. 20

Creative screen: *Matrix*—Design in motion using graphic computer instrumentation; *Mark Tobey*—The rhythms and designs of Tobey seen in his paintings from the early market scenes to the abstract Broadway light series. Background music and narration by the artist. Two-film program begins 11 a.m., 12 noon and 1 p.m. National Collection of Fine Arts.

SAT. 22

Creative screen: *Matrix; Mark Tobey*. Repeat. See July 20 for details.

WED. 26

Design film: *Glas-Ierland*. The design and manufacture of glass. Continuous showings from 11 a.m.; last showing 2:30 p.m. The Renwick Gallery.

DRUGS: A SPECIAL EXHIBITION

Schedule of special activities arts and industries building

(For last-minute schedule changes, call 737-8811)

July

1-2 *Dusty and Sweets McGee*, film by Floyd Mutrux. 11:30 a.m., 2:30, 4:30 and 6:30 p.m. Question/answer sessions follow.

3 *Inner Voices of Lorton*—Performances at 1:30 and 4:30 p.m. *Dusty and Sweets McGee*—6:30 p.m.

4 *Dusty and Sweets McGee*. See July 1.

5 Films: *Skezag*—11:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. *US*—2:30 and 6:30 p.m. Discussion of film and related questions follows each screening.

6 Films: *Speedscene*—11:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. *The Opium Trail*—2:30 and 6:30 p.m. Discussion of film and related questions follow each screening.

7 Films: *David*—11:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. *Brian* at 17—2:30 and 6:30 p.m. Question/answer session follows.

8-9 *New York Free Theatre*—Performances at 1:30 and 5 p.m.

10 Panel discussion: *Ethics of Addiction*, 10:30 a.m. and 2 p.m. Panel discussions follow

presentation of papers with time devoted to questions from the audience.

11-12 Video replay of July 10 panel discussion. 10:30 a.m. and 2 p.m.

13-14 Films: NIMH documentary *Drugs*—10:30 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. *Curious Alice*—11:30 a.m., 3:30, 5:30 and 7:30 p.m.

15-16 Film: *Long Day's Journey Into Night*—11:30 a.m., 2:30, 5 and 7 p.m. Question/answer session follows.

17 *Inner Voices of Lorton*—Performances at 11 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m.

18 Films: *Darkness, Darkness*—10:30 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. 11:59 *Last Minute to Choose*—11:30 a.m., 3:30, 5:30 and 7:30 p.m. General question/answer session follows.

19 *Inner Voices of Lorton*—Performances at 11 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m.

20 Films: *US*—10:30 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. *Speedscene*—11:30 a.m., 3:30, 5:30 and 7:30 p.m.

21 Film: *The People Next Door*—11:30 a.m., 2:30, 4:30 and 6:30 p.m. Question/answer session follows each showing.

22-23 *Marathon House Players of Boston*—Performances at 1:30 and 5 p.m.

24 Panel discussion: *Drugs in Transit*. Panel discussion follows presentation of papers with time devoted to questions from the audience. 10:30 a.m. and 2 p.m.

25 Films: *US*—10:30 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. *Speedscene*—11:30 a.m., 3:30, 5:30 and 7:30 p.m.

26 Films: *David*—10:30 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. *Curious Alice*—11:30 a.m., 3:30, 5:30 and 7:30 p.m.

27 Films: NIMH documentary *Drugs*—10:30 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. *Ebena*—11:30 a.m., 3:30, 5:30 and 7:30 p.m.

28 Films: *To Find Our Life*—10:30 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. *Darkness, Darkness*—11:30 a.m., 3:30, 5:30 and 7:30 p.m.

29-30 Film: *The Trip*—11:30 a.m., 2:30, 4:30 and 6:30 p.m. General question/answer session follows.

31 Films: *Epitaph*—10:30 a.m., 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. *US*—11:30 a.m., 3:30, 5:30 and 7:30 p.m.

THE SMITHSONIAN BOOKSTORE

A handsome new bookstore, operated for the Smithsonian by McGraw-Hill, Inc., opened June 20, with general and specialized publications reflecting subjects of Smithsonian exhibits and research. It features a replica of the now defunct "Shakespeare & Co.," in Paris, the famous American bookshop which figured prominently as a gathering place during the 1920's and 1930's for Hemingway, Joyce, Pound, Gide, Gertrude Stein and Scott Fitzgerald. At the Constitution Avenue entrance of the National Museum of History and Technology.

HELP FOR SMALL BUSINESSES

HON. H. JOHN HEINZ III

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. Speaker, we all recognize that small business forms the backbone of America's economy and that, with the growth of bigness and the increasing merger of firms in industry, it is vitally important for the Government to protect and encourage the independence of small businessmen.

In recognition of this, the Department of Commerce recently activated a program to assist small businesses. What follows is a story carried in the Pittsburgh Press on May 7, 1972, which describes this important effort.

I am sure my colleagues join me in saluting the initiative of both the public and private sectors in combining to bring meaningful assistance to perhaps our most valuable resource for new economic growth, the small businessman.

"PROBLEM-SOLVERS" GIVE SMALL MANAGEMENT A LIFT

(By William H. Wylie)

Sometimes it's shocking what the president of a small to medium-size company doesn't know.

One chief executive drew a blank when asked how big the market is for the three-sided widgets his firm manufactures.

Another's knowledge of recent tax changes was disturbingly lean.

A third was hopelessly out of touch with the latest thinking on corporate planning.

Each situation had the makings of a business tragedy because in a company that does \$2 million to \$4 million a year the mantle of leadership rests squarely and sometimes solely on the president's shoulders.

Obviously these "minis" of the business world cannot afford full-time staffers for market research, legal and tax counsels and corporate planning. But there are ways to keep in touch with the latest management skills without straining the pursestrings.

One morning last month nearly 100 small company executives met at the Mountain View Inn near Greensburg. Lewis E. Conman, director of the Pittsburgh Field Office of the U.S. Department of Commerce, presided at the day-long session.

At his disposal were a half-dozen panelists—high-priced talent that few, if any, of the companies could afford on their payrolls full time. But for Conman—and Uncle Sam—they were working free.

One of the panelists, Marvin S. Lieber, a tax consultant and partner in the Pittsburgh law firm of Berkman, Ruslander, Pohl, Lieber and Engel, explained during a recent interview why he was there.

"These seminars give business executives exposure to opportunities they aren't even aware of," he said, stressing the lack of management expertise in smaller firms.

"Some of the small companies of today will be the big ones of tomorrow," he added, "if they make the right moves."

Lieber cited one of the chief concerns at the White House conference on business planning earlier this year—failure of many companies to exploit management techniques, which Americans have a genius for perfecting.

Another panelist, Richard C. Andres, president of Marketing Services Associates, said the session was an opportunity to tell businessmen "what market research can and cannot do."

Conman's "road show," which he said is unique to the Commerce Department's Pittsburgh office, also appeared in Erie and is booked for Cleveland. While the "actors" may change, the plot remains the same—offering businessmen a look at tax advantages, marketing, accounting and other management tools.

If there is a quick way to get a businessman's attention, it's by discussing tax breaks. Consequently Lieber touched some tender nerves.

He advised how to use the new 7 percent investment credit (even a new grocery counter may qualify) and how to take advantage of the faster depreciation rules.

Lieber also explained how an employer can reduce his taxes by providing jobs for disadvantaged workers. For each dollar in wages, an employer actually pays only 25 to 30 cents after applying tax credits, he said.

"Once an employer learns how to communicate with a ghetto-type worker, he often gains a valuable employee," Lieber added. The federal government prods busi-

nessmen to take a chance by offering tax incentives.

As for market research, Andres listed these objectives:

A measurement of market size and growth, including geographic dimensions, so "sales muscle" can be applied in the right places (don't assign 10 salesmen to Memphis if only 1 percent of the market is there).

An audit of the competition to determine who has what share of the market.

A determination of the best ways to reach customers—through distributors, dealers, catalogs, etc.

Andres said it's important to get market research into decision-making early to make sure ideas are salable. A company ought to know whether a product should be "red, square and under \$500," long before it goes into production, he explained.

Joseph F. Di Mario, a partner of Touche Ross & Co., discussed accounting as a planning and management profit tool.

International business planning was tackled by Arthur L. Fitch of Fitch Associates, and Edward A. Hebditch spoke on corporate planning for large and small companies.

Sales training, a luxury for most small firms, was discussed by G. Edward Winner whose company (same name) has trained nearly 30,000 salesmen.

Their topics represent the sophisticated tools needed for modern management, whether a company is big or little.

Andres used this analogy:

On a clear day a pilot bound for Erie can see his destination from Pittsburgh once he gains altitude. All he has to do is point his plane in the right direction.

But on a foggy day a pilot needs instruments—altimeter, compass, radar, etc.—to make the same flight.

In the years following World War II, the "weather was clear" for business. But in recent times fog has set in and a businessman needs instruments—tax expertise, sales training, market research, etc.—to keep from "hitting the mountains."

He may still hit a mountain if he's a poor pilot but if he reads the instruments correctly his journey should be profitable.

Commerce is trying to steer small companies away from the "wing-and-a-prayer" strategy and into a more scientific flight plan.

NEWS BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting the July 10, 1972, edition of the Bulletin of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission—ARBC—into the RECORD. I take this action to help my colleagues be informed of ARBC developments leading to the observance of the Nation's 200th anniversary in 1976. The bulletin is compiled and written by the ARBC Communications Committee staff. The bulletin follows:

[From the Bicentennial Bulletin, July 10, 1972]

EXCERPTS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

On the Fourth of July, President Nixon delivered a radio address to the Nation and announced that in the near future he would be extending an invitation to the World for the Bicentennial. In his speech, the Presi-

dent briefly mentioned the three interrelated programs of the ARBC and then said, "The third major program, the one I especially want to talk about this morning, will be known as Festival USA. Its concern will be travel, discovery and hospitality. Hospitality by Americans to Americans and hospitality by Americans to millions upon millions of visitors from nearly every other country on the globe.

"In the near future, I will be sending in the name of all the people of the United States, formal and official invitations to the governments of nations around the globe, extending a welcome to the people of those nations to visit the United States as laws and circumstances permit during the Bicentennial Era and especially during the year 1976.

"This unprecedented invitation to the world is particularly appropriate for two reasons, first because America is and always has been a nation of nations.

"A second compelling reason for this invitation to the world relates to our hopes for a genuine and lasting peace among nations.

"Nations, like individuals, stand a better chance of working constructively together if people on both sides can learn to respect one another as fellow human beings.

"Our invitation to the world can contribute significantly to that crucial process. As we move toward 1976, the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission will follow up on this invitation with a vigorous action program. I urge every American to join in support of that program."

AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL

On the Fourth in Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, the Bicentennial's Philatelic-Numismatic Combination was unveiled by 17 year old David Halaas, a member of the ARBC's Philatelic Advisory Panel. He also mailed the first medal-stamp envelope to President Nixon in a special ceremony following the presentation of the Bicentennial flag on the Market Green. In the U.S. Postal Service's ceremony presenting the four new Bicentennial stamps in front of the Old Colonial Post Office, Halaas noted that he was among several young people participating in various ways to help plan the Nation's Bicentennial.

The District of Columbia government announced over the Fourth holiday weekend that a year-long study at a cost of \$57,000 will commence to ascertain ways to alleviate transportation problems for the Bicentennial.

The ARBC wishes to salute the producers and directors and all associated with the Fourth of July special on NBC, "The Stars and Stripes Show." A special thanks is also extended to Mr. Bob Hope for his Bicentennial Message and to all the entertainers and sports figures who participated in this nationwide show that was incorporated in the ARBC's official 1972 "Spirit of '76" program from coast to coast.

The District of Columbia's Bicentennial Assembly, formed by Mayor Walter E. Washington, was sworn in on June 25 and will work in conjunction with the D.C. Bicentennial Commission. The Assembly resolved that "complete self-government and full congressional representation become the No. 1 priority for the Bicentennial." The Assembly, which will serve as the Commission's liaison with the community at large, will develop plans for tourism, economic development, rehabilitation of neighborhoods, pollution control and public safety. The 75-member group was elected by communities in D.C. and then appointed by the Mayor.

Commission Members Thomasine Hill, Roy Brooks and Ken Beale participated in the annual nationwide assembly of high school student council leaders June 25-29 at Forest View High School in Arlington Heights, a suburb of Chicago. The Commission Members encouraged the student reps to return

to their states and schools with the ARBC message—that there is to be a national renaissance between now and 1976 and that students as the Citizens of Century Three should be in the forefront. The Resolution passed by the Conference reads as follows:

"RESOLUTION"

"Whereas, The Congress of the United States in 1966 created a Commission, the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, to plan, encourage, develop and coordinate all commemorative aspects for the 200th anniversary of the nation in 1976; and

"Whereas, The Congress of the United States, and both Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon have charged the Commission with the responsibility of making the Bicentennial national in scope, by providing opportunities for participation on the part of all Americans, transcending through every level of Government; and

"Whereas, The President, in discussing the concept of a Bicentennial Era, beginning in 1970 and continuing through 1976, the focal year, stated, "We want this celebration to be national. It must go directly to the people and derive its strength from the people. And we want people all over this land to sense the greatness of this moment, to participate in it, and help us all to discover what that national spirit is;" and

"Whereas, The President and the Commission have endorsed a community goals-setting program as a call for achievement from coast to coast and border to border within the nation under the concept of "Horizons '76" to urge the people to survey the conditions of their communities, to determine their goals and priorities for achieving and answering the challenge that confronts cities and communities across the land; and

"Whereas, Young people nationwide have a special responsibility at this moment, given the franchise of the landmark 26th Amendment.

"Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the National Association of Student Councils shall join the United States Congress and the President in commemorating the anniversary of this great Nation and honor the challenges of the day to join in a national spirit of community improvement; and

"Be it further resolved, That the National Association of Student Councils shall actively encourage high school participation in community activities during this Bicentennial Era and shall encourage a positive youth movement to be in the forefront of community Bicentennial activities; and

"Be it further resolved, That the National Association of Student Councils in the spirit of its 1972 "Youth in Action" Conference, serve as catalyst to high school students, the citizens of Century Three in encouraging them to use the time of the Bicentennial Era to translate their many goals into action."

During the ARBC Seminar on June 28, 85 student delegates representing 28 states handed the ARBC Members their names and asked for assistance in getting involved in the Bicentennial.

Contact Duke Zeller (202) 254-8007.

CRIME AND NARCOTICS POSITION PAPER

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, at a recent press conference our former colleague from Westchester County, Richard Ottinger, made some relevant comments regarding crime in our society. I

consider Mr. Ottinger's remarks to be extremely noteworthy and informative.

Mr. Ottinger's comments are significant, because he proposes realistic suggestions to finding solutions to crime—rather than just engaging in the normal rhetorical criticism of crime. His proposals are far-reaching and cover all aspects of crime in our society—from the hardened to the potential criminal—from the crimes in the ghetto to those in affluent suburbia. He also criticizes a society which has become too permissive about criminal behavior by stating that we have been "agonizing more over the fate of criminals than over the fate of victims and potential victims."

For the benefit of my colleagues, and considering the timeliness of Mr. Ottinger's remarks, I submit them in the RECORD at this point:

CRIME AND NARCOTICS POSITION PAPER

THE BACKGROUND

It's time to get tough on crime. It's time to stop talking and start acting, fast, before our entire civilization breaks down.

In the Bronx today many of the public schools are jungles. There are daily reports of knifings, shootings, and muggings. Parents, teachers, and students alike are terrorized. This is one of the principal causes of the disastrous flight from the cities of the solid, middle income people who must form the background of any healthy community.

All the central city areas of the district, in the Bronx and in Westchester, are like ghost towns at night. Their stores are closed, their windows guarded with iron gates. Their streets are deserted. Fear is evident in those who must be out as they scurry furtively to their destinations.

Even in broad daylight, the people of our cities don't feel safe. There are pervasive muggings and robbery everywhere. Gangs roam many of the streets. The subways and buses are unsafe. Even those in quiet suburban homes live in constant apprehension about burglaries. Car thefts are rampant.

Small businesses vital to the economic health of the community are rapidly being forced to close. Their theft and robbery losses are becoming prohibitive and insurance rates are climbing beyond their reach. Insurance is often unavailable at any price.

If present trends continue, our society will regress to wild west days when everyone lived by the law of the gun. Anarchy is pressing close upon us.

These are conditions that simply cannot be allowed to persist. There is only freedom for anyone under law. What we are witnessing is a massive breakdown of our systems of law and justice. Under these circumstances, law-abiding citizens have no freedom; only the outlaw is free.

I have no question but that our crime problems can be attacked effectively and constructively without embracing repressive measures that infringe on the rights of people accused of crime.

Politicians have given lip service to the soaring problems of crime, but have done little to devote the resources and efforts needed to resolve them. As I go around the district I find that this is a top concern of all citizens, black and white, in all areas. Obviously a crash program with real teeth in it is urgently required. I am therefore proposing a comprehensive crime control program designed to stamp out the blight of violent crime in our society.

POLICE SUPPORT

Prevention has to be the first line of defense against crime. People want security. They want not to be stricken or molested, mugged or robbed.

The best defense is a good offense, in crime

prevention as in sports. Nothing is more reassuring to the citizen than a visible patrolman. We should act to enable high crime areas to restore the "cop-on-the-beat", an institution that served us well in days gone by but which has become prohibitively expensive for our hard-pressed cities today.

I am therefore proposing that the federal government beef up the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, adding \$3 billion a year to enable high crime communities to at least double their police forces and give them the pay, training and support they need to do the job of protecting the citizenry.

Our police today are undermanned, undertrained and underpaid. They take enormous risks of life and limb, work hard hours, endure incredible abuse. This is unfair and unwise. Police should be adequately compensated for the risks they endure for us.

They are also too frequently abused. They get blamed for conditions that are the fault of our society. They deserve greater support. I therefore support wholeheartedly the legislation authored by Congressman Mario Biaggi and sponsored by 130 other Congressmen, the Policemen's Bill of Rights.

CREATE POLICE ACADEMIES

The rookie policeman today receives only six weeks training before going on the job. In that short time, he has to learn all about the intricacies of criminal law, court processes, proper procedures, traffic control, narcotics, the technicalities of arrests, how and under what circumstances to use force, and a myriad of other complicated matters. Such skimpy training is unfair to the police and to society.

I am therefore proposing that there be established local police academies on a county-wide basis for training local police recruits and the upgrading of the training of present officers, similar to what modern businesses like IBM do for their employees. Specifically I endorse Sheriff Daniel McMahon's excellent proposal for a Westchester Police Academy and will introduce legislation to see to it that federal funds are available for its support.

I am also proposing that there be a national police academy on a par with the military academies to give top police prospects the very best of education and training in modern methods of police work.

LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ACT FUNDS

The Law Enforcement Assistance Act has been a giant boondoggle, distributing money to communities regardless of need or their ability to use the money effectively. The waste of these vitally needed funds is close to becoming a national scandal. I will provide that the funds under the Act be distributed according to the rate of crime in the applicant community and that priority in funding go to police manning, training and pay.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Added numbers of police in high crime areas probably will not be enough to stem the tide of violence. The active participation of the citizenry in crime detection and prevention will be needed. There are just too many reported incidents today where citizens fail to report crimes they see because of a fear of becoming involved and the demand it will make on their time and resources.

EVIDENCE INCENTIVE PROGRAM

I therefore propose an Evidence Incentive Program that will give rewards to those who give police information leading to criminal indictments. I also advocate establishment of a "hot line" on which a citizen can report what he knows about a suspected crime without becoming involved, and still be eligible for a reward for his information.

EXPAND AND UPGRADE AUXILIARY POLICE

Beyond this, I advocate a vast expansion of the Auxiliary Police with the help of federal funds and having them assume signifi-

cant roles relieving police of non-crime duties and aiding police in the detection and prevention of crimes. Auxiliary police should be offered basic police training and, upon its completion, should be authorized to hold peace officer status, make arrests, and perform other appropriate police functions. To the extent possible, Auxiliary Police and civilian police employees should take over all work unrelated to the detection and prevention of crime, such as directing traffic, controlling crowds, guarding parades, performing clerical work, giving parking tickets, etc.

CONTROL HANDGUNS

Today there are still many jurisdictions in which it is as easy to get a handgun as it is to buy a peice of candy. While mail-order sales have been curbed, local sales have not. Much stricter control including licensing of holders and registration of concealable weapons will be required to reduce the currency of these lethal weapons. No interference should be placed upon the legitimate sportsman—not even a fee for licensing—but a real national effort is required to keep handguns out of criminal hands. I also support legislation to impose drastically stiffer penalties on people who use a gun to commit a crime.

LIGHTING

Statistics prove that adequate street lighting can be invaluable to preventing crime. Federal funds should be provided on a matching basis to encourage cities to install modern lighting systems.

ADD COURT PERSONNEL

One of the greatest causes of police frustration today is that their arrests results in so few convictions and there are such long delays between arrest and trial. It seems fruitless to the policeman to make an arrest when he knows that within hours the person arrested will be out on the streets again and it will be months before he comes to trial. The chances that he will be in jail are less than 1 in 100.

Added numbers of police in high crime areas will bring increased numbers of arrests, even though the main benefit to be hoped for is a preventive reduction in crime. There is no use adding police without providing additional judges and judicial personnel to process their arrests. A key to reform of our criminal debacle, therefore, is streamlining our judicial machinery.

I will therefore propose federal legislation providing an additional \$1 billion a year for the hiring of additional judges and judicial personnel, these funds to be distributed in accordance with the number of police deployed on the streets of a community. This formula is suggested rather than a formula geared to the backlog of cases so as not to reward inefficient judicial systems and penalize those which have done a good job of internal management.

No funds are proposed for courthouses. There are plenty of available facilities in every city, from abandoned storefronts to schoolhouses that stand empty half the day. Priority should go to getting the job done. We've seen too many bricks and mortar investments that merely end up as permanent homes for bureaucracies.

STIFF MANDATORY SENTENCES

Just as arrests too infrequently result in convictions, people convicted too frequently get sentences not at all commensurate with their crimes. This is partially the result of the inadequacy of our prison facilities and partially the result of a society that has become too soft on crime, agonizing more over the fate of criminals than over the fate of victims and potential victims.

For all crimes of violence, there should be stiff mandatory sentences. For willful homicides and those who sell hard narcotics to youths, the maximum penalty should be im-

posed. Getting a youngster hooked on drugs is the equivalent of taking his life. There is no known cure. We should throw the book at these offenders.

ADDED JAIL FACILITIES

Adequate jail facilities must be constructed. For every felony conviction, some period of the sentence should be devoted to severe punishment—confinement without such amenities as television and socializing. The bulk of the sentence should be devoted to rehabilitation. Serious efforts should be made at job training, and jobs must be provided by the government where private employment is unavailable. Half-way houses are badly needed so that released convicts have a constructive environment in which to stay. The present—average rate of recidivism is intolerable.

I therefore propose a \$1 billion a year program for jail construction, rehabilitation programs and half-way houses, to be distributed in accordance with need in communities across the country.

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHILDREN

An appallingly high percent of violent crime is committed by youths. To a great extent this is the result of the failure of parents to give their children adequate supervision. Parents should be given greater legal responsibility for the criminal acts of their children under age 18 who commit crimes harming the person or property of innocent victims. I therefore propose legislation that would make the parent of such child civilly liable for the damages their children cause others through the commission of a crime.

JOBS FOR YOUTH

Youthful offense is also caused by the failure of young people to obtain jobs. There is nothing so inviting to youthful misbehavior than the situation in which thousands of youngsters are on the streets with nothing constructive to occupy their time and no legitimate way of earning money. Furthermore, a valuable human resource is being lost to society. The government should become an employer of last resort, offering jobs and job training to every one, and denying welfare to all employable except mothers of small children.

LOWERING AGE OF YOUTHFUL OFFENDER TREATMENT

Lastly we have gone too far in protecting older youngsters from responsibility under the law. If 18 year olds are to be given the right to vote, they should be made fully responsible for their criminal acts. I therefore propose decreasing the age of youthful offender treatment to age 18.

WAR ON NARCOTICS EPIDEMIC

Narcotics addiction is at the root of a high percentage of violent crime in our cities today. In the New York metropolitan area it is estimated that there are 150,000 abusers of hard narcotics who must steal an average of \$150 per day to feed a \$50 heroin habit. In some jurisdictions, it is estimated that as much as 70% of violent crimes are committed by addicts. The specter of 150,000 people having to mug, rob and steal from 150,000 innocent victims every day is alarming as in itself to cry for drastic treatment.

I will reintroduce and press for the program I introduced in Congress four years ago to engage in a real war on narcotics addiction, including: 1) stiff mandatory sentences for non-addict pushers, sellers and processors of hard narcotics; 2) a crackdown on countries that permit illegal processing and export of hard narcotics including boycotting their exports; 3) increased funds for narcotics education; 4) increased funds for addict rehabilitation, including half-way houses; and 5) providing for the treatment of addicts as health problems and establishing clinics for their treatment so as to remove the necessity of their terrorizing society

to feed their habit, to take the profit motive out of the narcotics traffic, and to end that traffic as a source of financing organized crime.

Full Federal support has never been given to the Narcotics Rehabilitation Act which I authored with Senator Robert Kennedy. I will push for full implementation and funding of this Act.

Certain it is that the present system of attacking our narcotics problem isn't working. Addition is spreading like an epidemic, with an estimated 40% increase just last year. Radical new steps must be tried to stem this crisis.

WESTCHESTER COUNTYWIDE DETECTIVE FORCE

On the local scene there arise special problems of criminal enforcement in Westchester County arising out of the proliferation of police jurisdictions. Westchester has 47 jealously guarded kingdoms, and each one insists on its own police department that operates unfortunately independently of all the others, despite recent steps taken to at least provide common communications systems.

Local pride and local interest undoubtedly make it impractical to advocate a single county police force. But at the very least, there ought to be a county-wide detective force to investigate crime anywhere within the county and to give assistance to the local police upon request.

CENTRAL PURCHASING

And there surely should be central purchasing of all police equipment county-wide. Economies of scale in quantity purchasing could save local communities an estimated—million dollars a year. The taxpayer would get a far greater return on his dollar and police departments could get better equipment for less money.

GO AFTER MAJOR CRIMINALS

Westchester in particular, though this is undoubtedly true as well of other communities, should make greater use of grants of immunity to small fry criminals in order to more effectively prosecute the criminal big fish. The tendency today is to throw the book at the small guy who is easier to catch and convict so as to show a better conviction record, and ignore the major criminals who hire the small guys, mastermind the crimes and make most of the money out of the business of crime.

COST

Only a program as far-reaching, comprehensive and pervasive as this has a chance of succeeding. The cost at an estimated \$5 billion additional federal dollars a year is high, but when you realize that we're spending that much every year to build superhighways, to go to Mars and to subsidize rich farmers not to grow crops, in perspective, it seems like a small price to pay for our security. Also, crime and the narcotics traffic is costing this country almost this much every year—a very unproductive expense.

ELIMINATING CAUSES OF CRIME

In the long range, radically reducing our crime rates will require much greater attention to the causes of crime as well as to the direct incidents of crime. In addition to providing adequate jobs, our cities will have to be rebuilt, decent housing made available at prices all citizens can afford to pay, adequate health care delivery systems will have to be instituted and hunger and malnutrition must be eradicated to make full and productive use of our human resources.

These undertakings are monumental, however. An immediate start on them is vital, reordering our spending priorities drastically and closing our gaping tax loopholes to pay for the huge investment they will require.

But these long range programs can't be expected to come to fruition quickly—they

will take years. In the meantime we can't let our society disintegrate into lawlessness. Action on crime itself is needed urgently. It is needed now.

TASK FORCE

To refine these proposals and translate them into specific legislation, I am creating the first of a number of task forces of qualified citizens within our community. The Crime and Narcotics task force will include retired policemen, prosecutors, prison personnel, parole officers, narcotics experts and citizens who have been working on crime problems through civic organizations.

I am establishing the crime and narcotics task force first, however, because these problems seem first among the concerns of the people with whom I have talked in our district. Rather than just take a survey of their concerns, I have developed a specific program of action which I will do my utmost to see adopted.

NECESSITY FOR NATIONAL PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, every convention reinforces my belief concerning the desirability, and now the necessity, for a national Presidential primary. As a first-time delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Miami last week, I saw the enormous complexities of housing, security, and communications and the process as it has come to be is something less than democratic. I know personally that many delegates who attended the convention were not representative of the area from which they came.

In April of 1971, Prof. William H. Gerlach, of the Political Science Department at Columbus College, Columbus, Ga., developed a suggested constitutional amendment for the election of the President and Vice President of the United States. His thoughtful proposal includes a provision for a national Presidential primary and commends itself to our careful study in moving towards an improved method for filling the highest offices in the land.

Professor Gerlach's proposal reads:

A SUGGESTED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(By William H. Gerlach)

OBJECTIVES OF THIS SUGGESTED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

1. To compromise between the proponents and opponents of election of the President by popular vote.
2. To compromise between the proponents and opponents of unrestricted grants in aid to the States.
3. To abolish the possibilities of fraud and the effect on voting behavior from news releases and projections by the mass media as presidential elections move westward.
4. To return the office of Vice-President to the status the constitutional convention intended it should have.
5. To increase the probabilities of electing Presidents by a majority.
6. To decrease the probabilities of all candidates failing to win a majority of electoral votes.

1. For the purposes of this amendment only, the word "State" includes the District of Columbia. "Party" means political party. "Party members" are those qualified voters of a State who are identified with a party on the voter registry of a State.

This avoids repetition of the phrase "a State or the District of Columbia," it provides for closed primaries to prevent "party raiding," which can deny the electorate of its right to choose from among the best candidates that all parties can offer.

2. In each year immediately preceding a year in which a President's term expires, on days to be determined by the Congress, presidential primary elections and presidential general elections will be held. The Congress shall determine the voting hours by local time in all time zones, providing for all polls in the United States to open and close simultaneously. The Congress shall determine the maximum compensations and rentals to be paid to conduct presidential primary elections, presidential general elections, and all other primary and general elections for the nomination and election of Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, including special elections when vacancies occur; and the United States shall reimburse each State for all expenditures incident to conducting any such election, exclusive of the cost of capital investments, although candidates for other offices may be nominated and elected at any such election.

If States schedule all elections concurrently with those named, they will be relieved of all election expenses now borne by them. Each State will know how much money will be freed for general unrestricted use. The need for grants in aid will be less crucial. The uncertainties of new Congresses reducing appropriations for grants and questions as to whether States are using grants for other purposes than the national general welfare will be eliminated. Equality in aid will exist because election expenses are in ratio to population. There will be no justification for high filing fees which limit candidacies to the affluent. The fact that expenses may now be paid by counties and municipalities is irrelevant. They are agencies of the States and it is mostly for their needs that the States seek grants. The State problem of making equitable allocations to its subdivisions would also be solved.

Capital investments are excluded to prevent States from periodically purchasing new voting machines or expensive computer systems at national expense. Control of voting hours will decrease the possibility of fraud and influence on voting behavior from the news releases and projections of the mass media as presidential elections move westward.

3. Any person constitutionally qualified to be elected President may become a candidate for a party's nomination for President by filing, in each of any combination of States which together have a majority of the total electoral vote of the United States, a petition signed by himself and by a number, to be determined by the Congress, of that party's members in the State. The names of persons so qualifying shall appear on the ballots of the presidential primary election in all States as candidates for the nominations of such parties for President.

The signature of candidates is required to prevent groups from qualifying candidates without their consent. Petitions are to be filed in the States because the States will have the voter registry lists to validate signatures. Validation expenses would be reimbursable as expenses incident to the election. The requirement for voters' signatures is minimal and will be no problem for recognized candidates. It will hamper publicity seekers who attempt to use elections as a vehicle. Serious candidates can concentrate in areas of strength. If urban-oriented they

can file petitions in a relatively small number of largely populated States. If rural-oriented, they can file petitions in more States with smaller populations.

4. In presidential primary elections, every citizen of the United States, qualified to vote in any State election, shall be qualified to vote in that State for two candidates for his party's nomination for president. The candidate in each party receiving the plurality of the total vote cast for each party's nomination shall be that party's nominee for president. The candidate in each party receiving the second highest number of votes shall be that party's nominee for vice-president, and shall become the party's nominee for president if the presidential nominee dies or withdraws before the date of the presidential general election. The candidate in each party receiving the third highest number of votes shall become that party's nominee for vice-president if the vice-presidential nominee dies, withdraws, or succeeds to the presidential nomination before the date of the presidential general election. Additional substitutions for party nominations made necessary by other deaths or withdrawals shall be made by parties as Congress shall provide.

The nomination of candidates by popular vote is more likely to be accepted by States than the forfeiture of the electoral power they now hold with electoral votes. It certainly gives the people a louder voice than they now have. Voting for two candidates is a return to the original Constitution which provided in Article II that "... The electors shall ... vote by ballot for two persons (for President) ..." This amendment makes every voter an elector in the primary. The nominees for both offices will be persons who party members believe are qualified for the Presidency. It embodies Alexander Hamilton's thought when he wrote in *Federalist Essay No. 68*: "... as the Vice-President may occasionally become a substitute for the President, in the supreme executive magistracy, all the reasons which recommend the mode of election prescribed for the one apply with equal force to the other." Such substitutions have been more than "occasional" and the 25th amendment increases the possibility of their frequency. Vice-Presidents have completed terms of 8 of the 31 men who have been elected President. That is more than 25%. Since 1900, in 18 presidential elections, 29 men have had major party vice-presidential nominations. Only five of them, and some of those may be doubted, were serious contenders for the presidential nomination at the convention that nominated them. They were Garner, Bricker, Warren, Kefauver, and Johnson. The constitutional convention rejected the proposal that the Congress elect the President because the concept of separation of powers demanded that he not be subservient to the Congress. The same concept demands that the presiding officer of the Senate not be subservient to the President. It will be argued that parties will have two candidates with different political philosophies. It is more likely that each voter will vote for two candidates with similar philosophies. How many Republicans entitled to two votes in a primary in 1964 would have voted for Rockefeller and Goldwater? How many Democrats entitled to two votes in a 1960 primary would have voted for both Kennedy and Johnson for President?

5. In presidential general elections, every citizen of the United States, qualified to vote in any election in a state shall be qualified to vote in that state for one candidate for President and for one candidate for Vice-President, from among the nominees of all political parties whose candidates for nomination received no less than ten percent of the total vote cast for all candidates for nominations in the presidential primary election in each of any combination of states which together have a majority of the total

electoral vote of the United States. Nominees for the office of President and Vice-President respectively who receive a plurality of the total vote in any state shall receive the total electoral vote of that state.

It will be easy for any party with a national appeal to qualify its candidates for the ballots of the Presidential General Election. It will be more difficult for ideological and regional parties. Such parties will not be discriminated against. All parties have equal opportunity, with the very small requirement of polling approximately 5% of the popular vote distributed in a way that indicates some national appeal, to qualify their candidates for the ballots in the Presidential General Election. The people are given the opportunity to reject the ideological and regional parties by denying the vote distribution that would indicate a national appeal. The possibility of electing a President by a majority is increased. The danger of crises from elections by the House of Representatives is decreased. Voting by electors is abolished but electoral votes are retained.

6. Each state shall have the number electoral votes equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in Congress. The District of Columbia shall have the same number of electoral votes as the state with the least number.

This makes no change in the status quo in the foreseeable future.

7. Nominees for the office of President and Vice-President respectively who receive a majority of the total of electoral votes shall be the President and Vice-President. If no nominee for President has such majority, the House of Representatives, immediately following its organization in the January next following the presidential general election, by ballot will choose the President from among the nominees, not exceeding three, having the highest number of electoral votes. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by State, the representation from each State having one vote: a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States and a majority of all States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon it, before the 20th day of that month, then the Vice-President shall be the President. If no nominee for Vice-President has such majority, the Senate immediately following its organization in the January next following the presidential general election, by ballot will choose the Vice-President from among the nominees, not exceeding two, having the highest number of electoral votes. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

The only change made here is the imposition of a time limit on the power of the House of Representatives to elect a President. It is possible under the 12th amendment, as amended by the 20th amendment, for the House to elect a President at anytime in a four year period to replace a Vice-President who is "acting" as President and whenever the House was in session he would never know how long he would so act.

8. The Congress shall have power to put this article in effect by appropriate legislation.

DAVID F. MULLEN

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. Speaker, there are those who say that of

all the vocations open to people, the most rewarding is that of teaching and coaching the young. I am inclined to agree.

David F. Mullen pursued such a vocation for 42 years at Taunton High School in Taunton, Mass. where he taught science and coached football, baseball, and track.

His rewards were as many as the host of fine young men he turned out. A number of them gathered to pay tribute to him in 1965 upon his retirement.

His was a full life. He died June 28 at the age of 74.

I extend my sincere condolences to his family, reminding them that he lives on in many of the boys who felt his influence.

The full story of his life and death are told in this article from the Taunton Daily Gazette of June 29:

DAVID F. MULLEN DIES IN 75TH YEAR

More than seven years ago Mayor Benjamin A. Friedman prefaced the testimonial remarks by saying:

"The boys have come home tonight, Dave, to pay tribute to a man they have admired, loved and respected for many years."

Among the men that were considered his "boys" back in their high school days are lawyers, a police chief, Catholic priests, professional businessmen and civic leaders.

Hundreds of former students, teachers, friends and relatives gathered during that evening in May 1965 to honor David F. Mullen whose teaching and coaching career at Taunton High School had spanned over 42 years. Mullen died last night at 74.

It was at that 1965 testimonial that Mullen received a Golden Dome citation from Gov. John A. Volpe.

It reads: "For service to youth, awarded to David F. Mullen, coach, teacher, friend, who for more than 40 years produced fine athletes and students at Taunton High School and whose service to his city, state and nation is hereby recognized."

Police Chief John A. Bobola had played guard on Mullen's 1927 football team. At the testimonial Chief Bobola presented Mullen with a color television set as a gift from many friends of the coach supporting the testimonial.

Edward Litchfield, now news director for Radio Station WPEP, presented Mullen with a music box at the testimonial in behalf of the Taunton High School class of 1931. The music box played the alma mater song from Mullen's Boston College.

Atty. Philip J. Assiran, a football and basketball player for the class of 1936 at Taunton High School, was toastmaster at the testimonial and Henry G. Crapo, register of deeds, was general chairman.

Jeff Hayes of Taunton, a nationally known cartoonist, had painted a cartoon which brought out highlights of Mullen's career and that was also given to Mullen at the testimonial.

Taunton High School had its first football squad in 1922, the year that Mullen started his career here.

A native of Framingham, Mullen had been an outstanding football player and track star at Framingham's high school and he graduated from the school in 1916.

A year later he carried his talents to Williston Academy and in September 1917 he entered Fordham University on an athletic scholarship. He attended that university for two years, entered the Army and trained at Plattsburg, N.Y., where he was later commissioned following officer candidate school.

Mullen served at Fort Pitt, Pittsburgh, and was honorably discharged the following year as a veteran of World War One and holding the rank of second lieutenant.

When he learned that Fordham had

dropped football, Mullen sought athletic scholarship assistance at another school. He went to Boston College and graduated from the college in June 1921 with a bachelor of science degree.

It was in 1922 that the Taunton school committee elected to hire a football and baseball coach on a full-time basis and Mullen started his coaching career and teaching science the following September.

Last night Mullen died unexpectedly at his home, 26 Newcomb Place. Associate Medical Examiner Theodore R. Thayer listed the cause of death as a coronary. Mullen was married to the former Bessie S. Miller.

Born in Concord, he was son of the late Thomas and Johanna Mullen and had lived in Taunton for the past 50 years.

He had served on the Taunton Recreation Commission for five years, retiring earlier this year. He retired in 1964 as acting headmaster of Taunton High School.

He had been a chemistry instructor at Taunton High School and was the head of the science department there. For 18 years he served as football, baseball and track coach for the high school.

Mullen played professional football with the Providence Steam-Rollers. He was coach of Taunton High School's baseball and football teams and for several years was coach of the track team until 1939. He became assistant headmaster and completed his career of some 42 years serving as the acting headmaster of Taunton High School between September 1963 and June 1964.

His 1922 football team, 1926 and 1935 baseball teams were cited as outstanding, the latter club was the last Taunton High School team to join the state championship playoffs.

A communicant of Sacred Heart Church, Mullen is survived by his widow; a son, David F. Mullen Jr. of Taunton; a sister, Mary Mullen of Framingham, and several nieces and nephews.

RECYCLING OF SCHOOL BOOKS

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, new ideas and products which contribute to the movement to preserve and improve our environment are always in demand. The city of Ann Arbor has long been a leader in this movement, with many groups and individuals making significant contributions. Today, I would like to commend the Ann Arbor Publishers Co., whose development of a reusable paper is indeed one such contribution to the field of ecology.

The paper, when used in conjunction with a special ink, will retain no lasting marks. Any writing on the surface will remain no longer than a week. The paper would be used primarily in the books for schoolchildren, whose continuous scribbling renders the books useless after a few years.

This means books would no longer have to be thrown away. It would make unnecessary the maintenance of large inventories of books and the costly reordering of texts each year. Although the paper is 100 percent recyclable, it does not have to be recycled as often as normal paper because of its longer life. The image can be activated hundreds of times so that reusable books can be used again and again.

The coating on the sheet and the ink in the pen have been approved for school-room use by the Federal Food and Drug Administration.

Obviously, in a more humorous vein, the potential of this paper is almost unbounded. Think of the luxury which politicians across the Nation would enjoy by writing their speeches and making promises on this paper.

Mr. Speaker, the more serious contributions made by this invention surely deserve recognition and more importantly, utilization. The Ann Arbor Publishers Co. has developed a product whose advantages are manifold. Even more significant is the fact that they have developed a product which renders sound ecological practices a more feasible and realistic goal. They are to be commended for that effort.

SPEECH OF JERRY L. PETTIS

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the House a recent speech by my good friend and colleague, Congressman JERRY L. PETTIS. In his speech, he discusses one of the critical problems facing many of us whose districts include rural areas.

You will note that he suggests several possible alternatives to solving the medical personnel shortages in these areas. I recommend the study of his speech to you as the Congress begins to debate important alternatives to this vital problem.

The speech follows:

FINANCIAL INCENTIVES FOR MEDICAL AND OTHER HEALTH PERSONNEL TO LOCATE IN DEPRIVED AREAS

(Remarks of Representative JERRY L. PETTIS of California, before the Symposium on Distribution of Health Manpower, San Francisco, Calif.)

The topic assigned me is—frankly—not one to stir man's imagination. Whether we are talking about financial incentives or some other kind of incentive to get doctors and other health personnel into shortage areas, it is just not an exciting topic.

Nevertheless, it is an important topic. It is also a very frustrating topic. Many of us have tried to figure out how to get medical personnel into shortage areas. There are various financial incentives in present federal law. There are financial incentives in many states. According to my information, these programs have only limited success.

Such programs primarily involve forgiveness of student loans or some form of direct payment of tuition, perhaps a scholarship sponsored by a shortage area or the state medical society. There are also practice grants.

As you probably know, the federal legislation provides that medical students who practice in shortage areas and in poverty areas will be forgiven a portion of any federal loan they received as a medical student for each year they practice in such areas. There are experts here from HEW who could probably tell you how much we have achieved from such legislation. I suspect it is very little.

One of the newer suggestions for financial incentives is the bill sponsored by Senator John Tower of Texas which would provide tax incentives to encourage physicians, dentists, and optometrists to practice in physician shortage areas. This bill—S. 3499 and its predecessor S. 576—would provide that certain medical income would not be counted as gross income for tax purposes.

Keeping in mind that this exclusion is limited to medical income, the Tower bill would provide that a practitioner in a shortage area could exclude \$20,000 during the first taxable year of such practice, \$15,000 during the second year, and \$10,000 \$7,500 and \$5,000 during the third, fourth and fifth years.

The practitioner would be eligible for this benefit only if he is in practice in a shortage area for at least two years, and a practitioner would be eligible for the benefits only once in his lifetime.

The bill also sets out the criteria for certification by the Secretary of HEW as to what is a shortage area.

I am advised that the AMA's Council on Legislation looked at both of these bills and generally expressed support for this type of approach which uses the voluntary mechanism to establish incentives for physicians to practice in needy areas.

Indeed, I understand that in the Board of Trustees Report Q the Council on Rural Health and the Council on Health Manpower recommend support for legislation such as the Tower bill.

Many of you have spent years working in your state medical societies, on AMA councils and committees, working with rural communities and medical schools in trying to find physicians for shortage areas. Many worthwhile programs have been tried. The National Health Service Corps is the newest of a long line of ideas. I applaud the statement of the Council on Health Manpower and the Council on Rural Health found in Report Q that "There is no one, simplistic solution applicable to all medically deprived rural cases; rather, each area will need to develop its own plan, incorporating those approaches most appropriate to their particular needs."

As a Member of the Congress, I wish we could find the financial answer. I don't think we have it yet, in the present laws or in the Tower bill, although I certainly would support the Tower bill and hope that it would take care of the need in some places. In my own Congressional district—San Bernadino County in Southern California—I have great contrasts. I have the city of San Bernadino with over 100,000 population.

I also have vast expanses of the Mojave Desert broken occasionally by towns and cities such as Needles, with some 4,000 inhabitants, and many which are much smaller. So I know what we are talking about when we talk about areas of physician shortage. Bernardino County has a population of nearly 3,000 quarters of a million. We have over 1,000 physicians in the county but fewer than 200 in general practice and few of those in the desert towns.

But there are a half dozen towns and small cities in my district which have physicians who have left lucrative practices in Los Angeles or New York City. These are mostly men in their sixties who are tired of the pace of metropolitan medicine and who are performing a real service to the people in these towns and cities. I shudder to think where we would be without these men. Maybe AMA should forget the financial incentives and just try to get more over-sixty physicians and maybe some over-fifty physicians to get off the rat race in the big cities and move to the shortage areas. I think the all-too-high coronary rate for physicians might drop if more of you considered it. To paraphrase the T.V. commercial "Try it, you may like it." Now,

ladies and gentlemen, seriously though, your report probably hit the nail on the head when it said no one plan, program, incentive, or what have you will solve the problem. It isn't the nature of a country this big or this diverse.

Looking at this problem of medical care in shortage areas and deprived areas and listening to my colleagues in the Congress, I think we had better face up to the fact that there is a real concern in this country about access to medical care. And when there is concern in this country, the politicians, be they office seekers or office holders, are going to respond. That is why there are over a dozen national health insurance bills. It is why many in Congress are so taken by the HMO concept. That is why there is so much conversation about the medical system in other countries, although I don't think it's either logical to compare the U.S. with another country nor reasonable to think that Americans are—at this time—embracing some other system of delivering care.

But I would be wasting your time if I didn't tell you some blunt truths:

First of all, if you and the others who are working on these problems—including those in the Congress and in government everywhere—don't solve the problem, through some combination of programs, then the people unfortunately may well turn to some much more radical idea.

Secondly, in the Congress I heard every sort of suggestion for tackling these problems, and many of them would cause you all sorts of mental anguish at best.

Finally, if you think Senator McGovern's plans to put nearly half the country on welfare are extreme, can you imagine what he would propose in order to solve the problem you are discussing today?

Many of you know me and know that I am part of the "medical establishment", or at least so my opponents have charged with monotonous regularity. My association with CMA goes back more than 20 years. My doctor friends are too numerous to count. I know that you are individually and collectively interested in your patients singularly and as a whole, that medical schools are expanding and enrollment increasing, that there are all kinds of experiments and active programs to solve shortage and distribution problems. I know all these things but the truth is that the problems exist and the people are becoming impatient. I did not come across the country to give you some pap about how good things are in Washington. You have some real problems and there are many of us who want to work with you in solving these problems. This meeting today is evidence of your concern. And anyone who knows AMA and its activities and the activities of the state medical societies knows that medicine is more responsive today than it has probably ever been.

My message to you is only this:

As a friend, I want to tell you you had better be responsive and we in government had better be responsive because there is a wave of dissatisfaction which includes medical care. It is probably caused mostly by higher costs but it is certainly caused in part by lack of access because of poor distribution and shortages. Because we have been too slow in providing the opportunities, expanding medical schools and starting new ones, hundreds of California pre-med students have created another medical school called Guadalajara. As some of you know, the Guadalajara graduates are coming to this state and taking their exam because the state legislatures passed a law that said they can. They will be practicing with you in a few years.

This situation illustrates my point. The people were fed up. They did not care why there were not enough spaces in medical schools and they took action which many

of you may well believe is not a sensible action—an action which will result in physicians who are not as well-prepared, not as well-trained as those who graduate from American schools. But the point is that they took action.

I do not say that the Russian system is better, but at least they have a system under which the patient knows the point of entry to the medical care system. I do not say any country has better medicine than the United States, because no country does. But other countries apparently have done a better job of distribution and so the people have some place to turn. Is it possible for us to meet this problem and still give the top quality care which you get in America?

That is your challenge in the medical profession. It is our challenge in the Congress. It is a challenge that we had better meet or we may find all kinds of strange and radical new plans sent out from an administration in Washington which decides that the job will be done and the hell with the doctors.

REAL HOPE FOR DISASTER VICTIMS

HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. Speaker, in the days and weeks ahead, Congress will be considering disaster relief legislation proposed by the administration and by others because of the recent tragedies in my hometown of Rapid City, S. Dak., and on the east coast.

Those bills contemplate lowering the interest rates on disaster loans, which I support.

Some of them further contemplate expanding forgiveness features of disaster loans.

The President's proposals, for instance, would increase the forgiveness feature from \$2,500 to \$5,000.

This is certainly generous, but painful experience has taught me that it simply is not enough. What is needed, and what will do the job, and what will spell real hope for thousands of innocent families so brutally victimized, is something more on the order of a 90 percent forgiveness.

Every day my mail provides new proof of the need for 90 percent forgiveness. It is not some wild giveaway. It is not high-risk venture investment. No, very simply, it means putting people back on their feet after their homes and businesses had been wiped out through no fault of their own.

The people who need this forgiveness are not loafers. They are the backbone and fiber of a community. They are not asking for a handout so they do not have to work.

They are asking for help so that they can work, so they can get their payrolls back in operation, so that they can get their businesses rolling, their homes rebuilt.

At first blush, granted, 90 percent sounds high. But I intend to prove to the Congress that it is only fair and reasonable in the wake of a disaster.

My mail makes the case far more persuasively than I ever could, and so I insert into the RECORD at this point, a letter from my good friend, Dean Nau-

man. Dean runs a printing company and an advertising firm in Rapid City.

His letter:

JULY 3, 1972.

Mr. JAMES ABOUREZK,
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JIM: This June 9 flood wiped me out business-wise, as it did others. Everyone thinks his story is different and, of course, it is. Mine, however, puzzles me in the abstract sense.

I had made the last payment on western South Dakota's volume print plant in April of this year. The business employed an average of 20 people. Now they are out of jobs; most will probably leave the state, eventually.

Why am I out? Can't a loan help me? The answer is no. The problem is complicated but, in a sense, simple.

I paid \$200,000. It grosses about \$400,000 and the past few years has netted a meager \$20,000 to \$30,000.

In setting up all values for an SBA loan application, I found that because we are in full-color printing and my two-color press was flooded so badly that the machine shop in Denver would not guarantee its running (even after \$12,000 worth of cleaning), along with the \$42,000 note I owe on it, I would have a near-worthless machine that would still cost me \$54,000 just to get it back in the shop.

This expense, along with other new pieces to get me back in operation and something for all our people to do, would be \$475,000.

Why \$475,000? This is the tough part. This is the part that collapsed our company and caused me to lose my life's savings that I had put into this business.

The building I was in was damaged to the extent that the landlord, also, has to get an SBA loan; but he cannot risk going ahead because the Corps of Engineers is making a flood plain study and does not permit the City of Rapid City to grant written building permits. In a sense, this building is being held in limbo for consideration of condemnation because it is just over one-half block from Rapid Creek.

In the meantime, I cannot operate and my talented people are leaving me, without anything of value to do.

Sure, I no doubt could get an SBA loan immediately, but I have to build a special purpose building and that, my architect tells me, will take four to six months. Why a special purpose building? The building I was in barely met the standards of special purpose, which is, in the main, a building that can hold pressure of air constant for humidity control. We have to have humidity control to print four-color process, high registration.

So, if I could survive these six months, by farming-out, taking a very small profit and causing new overhead and new borrowing, I still could not make it on 3% money if the bill does pass.

The new building will cost me \$150,000, at least. The equipment, replacement, and clean-up will cost \$325,000, at least. This is \$475,000. The annual principal and interest payment will start out at (on 3%) \$29,800. The business will not warrant that kind of pay back and leave anything for the investor, myself. I am not assured I would get a disaster loan for a building.

Therefore, a man with my kind of problem, in the abstract sense, cannot achieve economic recovery from this terrible flood of June 9, even with a 3% loan. Even a 1% loan will not solve my problem.

What a firm like mine needs is outright condemnation of the building and contents, with grant for recovery for both parties. I'm assuming, however, that this is impossible. I have exhausted all resources. I've talked to Denver 1965 flood victims with print shops, printing suppliers and finance people, as well.

I close, on the "abstract" sense of it with which I opened. What is the use of the federal grants, loans, etc. if they are not for the business that provides the tax revenue for the community, state and nation, such as ours did? We generated income taxes on \$130,000 payroll. At the same time, grants are made to such things as Story Book Island, a kiddie park where no admission is paid; no tax of any kind is collected!

Ideas?

Cordially,

DEAN S. NAUMAN.

McGOVERN'S BEDSIDE MANNER

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an editorial from the July 15, 1972, edition of the Chicago Tribune entitled "McGovern's Betside Manner" relates to the acceptance speech of the Democratic presidential candidate and also discusses the concept of invested wealth which Mr. McGovern spoke of so disapprovingly.

The editorial helps to keep the record clear as to just what the candidate stands for and I hope that we will see a good deal more of this type of reporting from all phases of the media during the upcoming campaign so that the voters in November will not be confused as to just what the Democratic candidate does and does not advocate.

I insert the text of the editorial in the Record at this point:

McGOVERN'S BEDSIDE MANNER

Sen. McGovern's acceptance speech, like his platform, is the work of a man who does not want to be thought of as a radical, at least not for the next few months. It is an olive branch extended to the many Democrats who were flattened by his steamroller in the days leading up to his nomination—labor, the South, the old guard, and others—and it is intended to persuade them to "come home" to the party.

We can't yet tell how effective this bedside manner is going to be. A certain amount of disturbing notions still show thru. "We believe Mr. McGovern is an honest man," the London Daily Mail observed with dry humor. "He really does want to soak the rich to subsidize the poor." The London Times sees the Democratic Party becoming a party of the have-nots, "something approaching a social-democratic party on European lines." In Europe, "social-democratic" means socialism.

Consider, for a moment, the "invested wealth" which Mr. McGovern spoke of as if it were a villain that should be punished. This is tempting populist rhetoric that is hard to answer without seeming to defend privilege and "special interests."

But there is a synonym for invested wealth and it is private enterprise. Invested wealth is the ownership of industry by the private sector rather than by government. It has nothing to do with "special interests" or privilege, unless private enterprise as a whole is one big special interest. In short, it is capitalism as distinguished from state socialism, and Mr. McGovern's logic is reminiscent of the "revolt against capitalism" which he seemed to be advocating 20 years ago.

Of course it is healthy for as many people as possible to share in the ownership of industry, and the trend has been in this direc-

tion for years. Invested wealth is increasingly common in the middle classes, both individually and thru profit sharing or pension plans.

But this isn't what Mr. McGovern has in mind. The proposals that Mr. McGovern has espoused would tax everyone above the level of about \$12,000 to support the poor. This would not spread the ownership of industry; it would confine it. The middle class would have less money to invest. There would be less money for the expansion of industry and for new jobs. And in the end, who would own American industry—and would it still be private?

To confuse "invested wealth" with "privilege" and to spread this confusion as if it were gospel is a dangerous mistake which we trust most Americans will recognize even if Mr. McGovern and his staff seem not to.

THE 22D BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE

HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 29, 1972

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleague, Mr. MATSUNAGA of Hawaii, in paying tribute today to Americans of Japanese ancestry on this the 22d biennial convention of the Japanese-American Citizens League.

My colleague from Hawaii and my other colleagues have already clearly and in detail spelled out the massive contributions to our society which have been made by the dedicated citizens of Japanese origin. It has also been eloquently stated the part the JAACL has made in being a positive force in our society.

For that reason, Mr. Speaker, today I wish to confine my remarks not to the general picture of the contributions, the loyalty, the ability or the law abiding qualities of our fellow citizens of Japanese origin, qualities so clearly demonstrated by my able colleague from Hawaii, rather, I will speak about experiences I have had with an American of Japanese origin of whom I have personal knowledge and understanding.

As many of my colleagues are aware, my personal secretary is an American citizen of Japanese origin. Her name is Ayako Honda Ely. Her life, as she has lived it, has mirrored both the hardships and successes experienced by so many of her fellow Japanese Americans.

For as a young teenage girl, an American citizen by birth, living in Santa Barbara, Calif., with the outbreak of World War II, she, like others of her race then living on our west coast, was removed from her home and, for no reason except that she was of Japanese origin, placed in an internment camp. There, in the desert, her family spent 4 long years.

And there, like her fellow prisoners who through their ability for hard work and self-discipline, made deserts bloom, she entered into the life of the camp and participated in and helped create a viable community within the camp.

Also, like her fellow internees—and like her father and mother and sister and

brother—after the war she went on to rebuild her life and to participate fully in the activities of the community, the American community, throughout her life. Like them, she was and remained an outstanding citizen of which any nation and any people could be justly proud.

For 3 years, Mrs. Ely was private secretary to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dillon S. Myer. She has been with me for 5 years as my private secretary. In that time she has demonstrated on a day-to-day basis the qualities of hard work, dedication and ability for which any individual or any group can be justly proud.

Mr. Speaker, just as my office and my life would be poorer without the contributions made by Ayako Honda Ely, so our Nation would be poorer without the great contributions made by our fellow American citizens of Japanese origin. It is for these reasons that I feel particularly honored today to have the privilege of joining with my honored colleague from Hawaii in paying tribute to all Americans of Japanese descent.

GOVERNMENT BY BALLOTS—NOT BULLETS

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, during the past decade our Nation has been shocked by a rash of violent, senseless attacks on the lives of public figures. At this time, it is especially important that our young people have faith and hope in America's future.

The Kent Good Times Dispatch has given young people the opportunity to voice publicly their beliefs and hopes for a better America through their Freedom Award Essay Contest. I applaud the GTD and commend this year's contest winner, Elizabeth McCall.

For the interest of my colleagues, a copy of Elizabeth McCall's fine essay, "Government by Ballots—Not Bullets," which appeared in a recent issue of the GTD follows:

GOVERNMENT BY BALLOTS—NOT BULLETS

(By Elizabeth McCall)

November 22, 1963: Our president, John F. Kennedy was fatally shot in Dallas, Texas. Accused: Lee Harvey Oswald.

April 4, 1968: Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King was fatally shot in Memphis, Tennessee. Accused: James Earl Ray.

June 5, 1968: Senator Robert F. Kennedy fatally shot in Los Angeles. Accused: Sirhan Sirhan.

In less than a decade, three important government officials have been shot and killed. Is this the American way? Does shooting, killing, assassinating a candidate "solve" everything? No. It shouldn't be like this. The people have got to realize that we have to take action against this unjust, unAmerican, uncivilized way immediately. Most of us would say, why . . . why must we? It's not my fault . . . I didn't do it. It's the assassin's

fault—he is to blame. But think about it . . . is he really?

The people who are behind such action are usually the people against the majority. They are the ones who think they are pathetically outnumbered and altogether ignored. Their attack to change the majority's minds is just that—an attack. It's more a battlefield of demonstrations, arguments and guns—anything but peaceful talking. The reaction is usually negative, his temper slowly gives way. As his dislike for the candidate grows, the crowd against his view does too. Suddenly he is extremely confused and develops a great sensation of defeat, feeling no one will give him a chance. And finally, in an explosion of frustration and anger, he turns to the gun to win his way.

That is the problem in most cases, and it is no easy task to solve by any means, but time and patience are important factors. It lies within the people and can be solved by the people. To start, we should educate the public of three important fundamentals to help stop further situations, like the one I mentioned, from arising.

1. Attempt to show the minority the justice of majority rule. Teach them that majority rule is a powerful and right procedure, and that they should listen to learn the facts on this side of the argument.

2. Try to teach the minority to present and express their views in such a way to make them a majority.

3. Candidates and other persons should try to make clear to the minority that they are listening to their ideas and outlooks of the election or whatever. This is so the minority feels they are getting a hearing and, most of all, what they say is being taken into consideration.

If these three things were seriously attempted, an election would probably run more smoothly, efficiently and with a notable decline in the risk. Most people of the minority would be satisfied with just one fact—that they are getting a hearing and that their ideas will be considered.

Even so, if this were done, there would still be a good 50% chance that someone would want to kill a candidate for other unknown reasons. Maybe someone slightly mentally sick like Oswald, Sirhan and Arthur H. Bremer (who just recently tried to put candidate George Wallace's name to the list of assassinations), all three—unsuccessful, unhappy and lonely, with faintly distorted ideas about life.

To lower this risk, the candidate would have to drastically reduce his contact with large crowds and be under complete protection at all times.

Basically, most reasonable people would agree that ballots are superior to bullets. But there always may be one person, out of any crowd, who feels differently; who just has to make his argument known in the most violent way of all. He feels that anything he says or does will be smashed to pieces or, worse yet, utterly ignored. Finally he reaches his climax, and ultimately he has just to be given the chance to press the trigger.

I feel the most essential thing to remember is to make perfectly clear to the minority—under any circumstances—that they are being heard and their aspects on the situation are being regarded with seriousness; not sarcasm. We may never completely conquer this problem, but we certainly must try to reduce some of the conditions that lead up to that peak of injustice.

Obviously, there has been notably more American spokesmen felled by bullets than the three I've mentioned. And quite a few in the past decade. More assassinations have gone to us than any other industrial nation of our time. This rapidly increasing crime makes us wonder—has an age of assassinations begun? And we try to convince ourselves: no. Yet . . .

America. Growing, thriving, excellent in power. It is our wonderful country—we love it and respect it and try to demolish that which is wrong. And for America to be better, we must make it so and try harder, with good intentions always in mind.

Our country prospers on our justice, democracy and peace—let's keep it that way.

And fight, America, for the things that make us better.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT COMMENTS ON OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Labor-HEW appropriations bill adopted by both the House and the Senate includes an amendment prohibiting for 1 year the enforcement of OSHA standards on small businesses.

It is my best judgment that this is not the correct approach. Safety and health hazards are not simply a factor of the size of a business or the number of employees. My recent statement to the House Small Business Subcommittee hearings pointed out that a small sawmill or chemical company can be every bit as dangerous as a large one.

I have received the following excellent letter from Mr. Frank Bonadio, president, Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, and I would like to share it with my colleagues:

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT,

Washington, D.C., July 11, 1972.

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STEIGER: The Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO through its 17 affiliated National and International Unions representing approximately 3.5 million workers strongly urges your reconsideration of an amendment passed by the House and Senate to H.R. 15417. The House amendment reads as follows:

"None of the funds appropriated by this Act shall be expended to pay the salaries of any employees of the Federal Government who inspect firms employing twenty-five persons or less for compliance with the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970."

In the Senate the amendment was changed to fifteen persons or less instead of twenty-five which is in substance practically the same.

This amendment would exempt 80 to 90 per cent of the five million employers and approximately 25 to 30 per cent of the fifty-five million employees presently covered by the Federal Construction Safety and Health Act of 1969 and the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970. It would affect practically every construction site throughout the country.

Construction is a very hazardous occupation in terms of both the frequency of accidents and their severity. The Department of Labor Statistics show very high rates for construction ranging from 20.7 per million man-hours worked for electrical work to 24 for heavy construction to 20.8 for general building to 43.9 for roofing and sheet metal work.

This compares to the all-industry rate of 6.91. In fact, statistics will also show that the overwhelming number of accidents in the construction industry occur among small subcontractors.

The construction industry is unique and involves many factors which are not prevalent in other industries. Building tradesmen are in large part generally employed by subcontractors who specialize in a particular craft. Although there may be 50 to 100 building tradesmen employed on a construction site at one time, there could also be 10 or more subcontractors engaged in work on the same construction project. In a large number of cases the small subcontractor would have only a few craftsmen working at any given time. These subcontractors would be exempted under this amendment to the detriment of workers employed by other contractors working side-by-side on the construction site who are required to enforce safety and health standards on the same job. This situation would cause a serious problem and expose every building tradesman on the construction site to serious disabling injuries or death.

The Associated General Contractors of America are also opposed to this amendment. This association represents more than 9,000 of the Nation's leading general construction companies, of which 90 per cent are small contractors. In a statement presented June 27, 1972 by Vernie C. Lindstrom Jr., Chairman of the National Safety Committee of the AGC before the House Select Committee on Small Business he had this to say about the amendment:

"At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to state that AGC is opposed to the Findley Appropriation Bill Amendment. This bill, as you know, would exclude employers with less than 25 employees from OSHA. Most general contractors have more than 25 employees and would naturally be enforcing safety as we have for years, as I stated in the beginning. We do see serious problems, though, with the subcontractor who has less than 25 employees who would not be required under this amendment to enforce safety on the same job where the general contractor would be required to do so."

Based on the position taken by the AGC against this amendment and the facts as stated herein, I firmly believe that Congress was misinformed and misled in regard to the merits of this issue. I am sure they were not aware of the serious affect this amendment would have on practically every construction site throughout the country. Furthermore, I do not believe that it was the intent of Congress to deny millions of construction workers, the most hazardous occupation in the country, the right of a safe place to work. It is with this understanding that I strongly urge members of the House and the Senate to take appropriate action under whatever parliamentary procedure is available to delete this amendment from the bill before final passage.

I trust you will give this matter your immediate attention. With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

FRANK BONADIO,
President.

THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF H.R. 13918

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN
OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, on June 30, 1972, President Nixon announced his

veto of H.R. 13918, the 2-year authorization bill for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. This veto took many of us who were involved in the hearings and House activity on this measure by complete surprise; the bill was a broadly bipartisan measure which had the support of a wide variety of interested groups. Our surprise was intensified by the far-reaching and serious consequences the veto is having:

Extensive cutbacks in children's programming, including elimination of several specials, cancellation of a new series, and the removal of five segments of the popular "Zoom" show for 7- to 12-year-olds.

Substantial reductions in public affairs programming, with elimination of several National Public Affairs Center for Television specials and segments of "Black Journal," "The Advocates," and "Firing Line."

Considerable reduction in the amount of dramatic programming, including one of Hollywood Television Theater's scheduled five programs.

Tabling of 12 requests by new television stations to join the Public Broadcasting service.

A halt in the planning and funding of new programming, including elimination of a new adult learning program designed for those who have not completed their high school education.

Mr. Nixon cites "some serious questions which must be resolved before any long-range public broadcasting financing can be seriously devised" in explaining his veto.

I might note initially that although the President's sprawling Office of Telecommunications Policy has repeatedly promised to contribute to the debate on long-range financing for CPB, it has consistently failed to do so.

Indeed, Broadcasting magazine reported recently that, after the passage of H.R. 13918, OTP abandoned even its facade of concern with long-range financing.

The chief irony of the President's statement, however, is that he adopts the catch-phrase of localism as the principal defense for his veto. This defense, however, is little more than a sham, an inarticulate and uninformed attempt to defend an irrational action. The President said:

By not placing adequate emphasis on localism, H.R. 13918 threatens to erode substantially public broadcasting's impressive potential for promoting innovative and diverse cultural and educational programming.

In examining this statement, let us look at the actual facts involved. This veto, which professes to protect localism, actually destroys a measure one of whose principal accomplishments would have been the enhancement of localism. The President's action has the effect of reducing potential local station income by \$18 million—\$12 million from the educational broadcasters facilities program, and \$6 million in community service grants. Of course, the stations' share of programming grants will also decline.

During the appropriations hearings, William G. Harley, president of the National Association of Educational Broad-

casters, which includes in its membership most local public TV and radio stations, stated the following position:

The Corporation is now in full operation with lower funding than originally intended, but its potential value is being daily demonstrated and it must be provided adequate funds over a period of time to enable it to function effectively while plans are being developed for its genuine permanent financing.

And as if anticipating the President's argument, he quoted the report accompanying H.R. 13918, which said:

The process by which television programming for national distribution is funded by CPB is as follows: Proposals for programs and program series are developed by public television stations and other program production centers in cooperation with the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), the public broadcasting television network. Four times each year PBS conducts a poll of local station managers concerning their evaluation of programs carried by PBS. In addition, an annual poll is conducted of these managers with regard to their program needs for the coming year. The Corporation received funding proposals from these public broadcasting stations and program production centers.

In sum, he saw a "close and effective relationship" between CPB and local stations and communities and stressed the urgent need of the local stations for passage of H.R. 13918.

Compare this statement of the local stations themselves with the President's message. It is apparent that the continuing experience of the local broadcasters directly refutes the President's assertions.

As a result of his concern about the issues related to localism, Mr. Nixon apparently concluded that \$65 million was excessive until "the structure of public broadcasting has been more firmly established." To solve the problem, he vetoed a bill, without which the industry can barely survive. Mr. Ziegler's statement that \$65 million is "massive" appropriation is simply ridiculous in the light of the original Carnegie Commission recommendation of minimum \$100 million annually.

The most significant injury to public television brought about by this veto is, however, the loss of ability for advance planning.

To develop creative programming—

Says Douglass Cater in the current issue of the Columbia Journalism Review—

takes a critical mass of money and talent and planning time.

He continues:

(P)ublic broadcasting in the U.S. is a long way from unleashing a great outpouring of creativity. Most program schedules are planned and funded in a state of chaotic uncertainty. At the present rate of development, according to one critic, we will celebrate our 200th anniversary as a nation by watching a BBC produced series on the American Revolution.

I think that I have shown the arguments in the President's veto message to be empty cloaks: Appearances which deny the reality. The question then becomes: What are the appearances trying to hide? Douglass Cater suggests an answer:

Recent events have raised legitimate fears of a system capable of being manipulated by budgetary and appointive pressures from the White House.

Mr. Nixon is correct when he speaks about a threat to localism in public broadcasting. But that threat comes from the White House and not from H.R. 13918. No better testimonial could be made in favor of the Carnegie Commission's suggestion for permanent financing.

CLEVELAND LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL CALLS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the Baltic nations are composed of proud people who have lived peacefully for centuries, and who have suffered throughout that time from the "accident of geography" which made them vulnerable from the west by invasion by the Teutonic knights and from the east by the Russians. It has taken tremendous spiritual and ethnic strength and courage to survive this seemingly endless squeeze. It should be kept in mind, by the way, that neither the Lithuanians, the Latvians, nor the Estonians are ethnically related to the Germans or Russians.

In this century the Baltic States have been the victims of Soviet captivity for 32 years, since the Russian invasion in June 1940, that took them by force of arms. The Communist regime in these countries did not come to power by legal or democratic process.

Since the very outset of the Soviet occupation, the Balts have waged an intensive fight for freedom. The price has been high. More than 30,000 Lithuanian freedom fighters gave their lives in an organized resistance movement between 1940 and 1952. More than 150,000 Balts have disappeared in Siberian slave-labor camps.

Two events of recent months indicate the desperate plight of Lithuania's Roman Catholics, who have been a primary target of the Communist government's repression. In March 1972, a petition carrying more than 17,000 signatures was forwarded to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, asking him to relay their protest to Leonid Brezhnev. Three earlier letters to the Soviet Secretary General had gone unanswered. And, even more recently, in May of this year, demonstrations against the Soviet occupation of Lithuania and Communist persecution of religion took place in the city of Kaunas and other cities. The tragic death of a young Roman Catholic, Romas Talanta, brought international attention to the miseries besetting captive Lithuania.

On June 1 the Cleveland Chapter of the Lithuanian American Council adopted a strong resolution of protest which merits the attention of every freedom-loving Member of this House.

RESOLUTION

We, Cleveland Lithuanians and representatives of other nationality groups, whose homelands have been enslaved by the Soviet Union, gathered here in Public Square in Cleveland, Ohio, this 1st day of June, 1972, to protest the severe suppression of human rights in Soviet enslaved Lithuania, have adopted the following

Whereas, the Soviet Union, acting in conspiracy with Hitler's regime, broke all existing treaties with the Republic of Lithuania and on June 15, 1940 militarily occupied its territory and two days later repeated the same criminal act against Latvia and Estonia; and

Whereas, the tyrannical clique of the Soviet Union has not only refused to leave the Baltic States, but has and still is carrying on physical annihilation, religious and other forms of persecution, together with Russian colonialization and mass deportations of the native population to Siberia and other places with the expressed intent to destroy their national identities; and

Whereas, such prevailing inhuman conditions caused Roman Kalanta, a young Lithuanian to burn himself to death on May 14th of this year in the city of Kaunas in protest to Soviet denial of basic human rights in Lithuania; and

Whereas, Kalanta's funeral precipitated a youth riot, which was brutally suppressed by special Soviet troops, who acting in their barbaric ways inflicted death and injury to many and to this day continue to arrest people by the thousands and in other ways terrorize them.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that we condemn these savage acts of the Soviets, who use troops to squash the quest for freedom by the Lithuanian patriots and once again remind all that these acts are a direct result of Soviet imperialistic policies that have illegally occupied Lithuania and the other Baltic States; and be it

Further resolved, that we demand the withdrawal of Soviets and the complete restoration of independence of Lithuania and ask the President of the United States to use the position of his office to influence the Soviet leaders to cease their barbaric acts and to stop persecuting the people involved in this ill-fated uprising and all other peoples behind the Iron Curtain; and be it

Finally resolved, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, Members of U.S. Congress from Ohio, other public officials and to the news media.

LEE HAMILTON'S WASHINGTON REPORT TO INDIANA'S NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I include the complete text of my recent Washington report on the first anniversary of the U.S. Postal Service:

WASHINGTON REPORT

The U.S. Postal Service, created by the 1970 Postal Reorganization Act, completes its first full year of service on July 1, 1972. While a year is hardly sufficient to gauge the success or failure of the new venture, it does provide some indication of the Postal Service's direction, and whether it will lead to success.

Unquestionably, the Service began under extremely difficult circumstances, saddled with a history of 196 years of politics, which in large part determined the setting of postal

rates, the appointment of personnel, and the promulgating of service goals. During these years, low budget priorities curtailed critically needed capital improvements and modernization, labor management relations remained unstable, and a myriad of Congressional directive only made the system more inefficient.

The 1970 Postal Reorganization Act promised to cure most of the ills of the past. The legislation permits the new Postal Service to do what the old Post Office Department could not: borrow money to improve facilities and equipment, enter into employee-management agreements, adjust postal rates and mail classification systems to help the Service pay its own way, and free the system from the pressures of politics.

Despite an auspicious beginning, the Service quickly became the target of public criticism as service deteriorated and postage rates increased. Meanwhile, postal workers are restive for the most part, and the Service faces increasing competition from private mail services which promise reliable and relatively inexpensive delivery of third-class bulk mail.

The public image of the Postal Service remains low, perhaps at an all-time low. But I believe the Service should be given several years without continual Congressional interference to achieve substantially its goal of good postal service for every citizen at reasonable cost. A quick assessment of the first year of the Service looks like this:

SERVICE

To understand the dilemma of the Postal Service, one must understand that Congress has decreed that the Service must begin to pay its own way. The Postal Service was left with three alternatives to operate: (1) initiate massive rate increases, (2) reduce service to the barest minimum which present rates would support, or (3) reduce service goals to levels which less drastic rates would support.

The Service has chosen the third alternative—the only feasible one under the circumstances. Rather than increase rates to offset deficits, the agency has attempted to reduce costs by cutting back on mail pickups and some deliveries. A 90-day ban on hiring was initiated in March, and 3,000 revenue-draining jobs at regional and headquarters levels have been eliminated.

Complaints can be heard in any community that delivery is too slow, rates are too high, packages are battered, and neighborhood mailboxes are disappearing. The Service has revealed that it has received 3,000 Congressional inquiries in the last year concerning mail deliveries. By its own statistics, it now takes an average of 1.72 days to deliver a letter, compared with 1.5 days in the first part of 1969. Poor service has prompted many companies to hire private mail services. Last year, for the first time, United Parcel Service moved ahead of the Postal Service in delivering parcels, showing a \$30 million profit. So far, at least, the reorganization has not had a strong impact on the quality of service.

MODERNIZATION

The Postal Service finds itself in the position of beginning a crash program to rectify years of abuse while at the same time keeping pace with a daily volume of mail with a largely out-of-date delivery system.

With authority to increase obligations for capital improvements to \$1.5 billion in any one year, the Service has made a beginning. It has invested \$40 million in remodeling and improving some 800 post offices across the country, and plans to spend \$1.5 billion by 1975 to build new bulk mail centers. These expenditures, however, simply are inadequate to correct years of neglect.

One year ago, the U.S. Postal Service was given the task of moving the country's growing volume of mail quickly and inexpensively.

sively. The new agency, created by the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970, finds itself saddled with many of the problems and most of the inefficiencies of its predecessor, the old Post Office Department, however.

The public, anticipating an immediately-effective new mail service, is growing increasingly critical of inadequate service, rates that are too high, and too many battered and damaged parcels. Efforts to improve the service and modernize the facilities were discussed in last week's Report. This week's evaluation includes:

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

Probably the most vexing problem is the Postal Service's labor-management relations. The postal reform act launched what was heralded as a new era, with collective bargaining to replace long Congressional harangues over pay levels, fringe benefits and working conditions. No longer was the Postal Service to be shackled with rules which prevented sound management. So far, the new era of collective bargaining has yet to surface.

Despite the fact that a major wage settlement was agreed to last year without compulsory arbitration, the first year's labor-management experience has not been favorable. Postal unions now insist they need the right to strike—a right which was not granted by the legislation. A recent postal union campaign to lobby the Congress for additional health benefits—which the unions were unsuccessful in obtaining in collective bargaining—points up the ineffectiveness of the present collective bargaining system.

RATES AND REVENUES

Under the reorganization, neither the Treasury nor other classes of mail would be required to subsidize any other mail category. Postal reform required that preferential rate categories be eliminated.

Despite what appeared to be across-the-board support for postal reform, including the requirement that each class of mail pay its own way, there are growing pressures to revert to some of the preferential rate categories. To accede to those pressures could be the beginning of a return to the old system.

The Postal Service, wary of the public's reaction to a rate increase, has moved to cut costs wherever possible. Further rate increases are inevitable, however.

COMPETITION

Although the Postal Service has a monopoly on first-class mail, it does not in the second, third and fourth-class categories. Recent postal rate increases and increasing complaints about poor service have prompted many firms to turn to private mail services. Some metropolitan utility companies are now delivering their monthly bills themselves, and many newspapers are relying more on carrier service than on mail delivery.

It is now projected that the percentage increase in volume of growth of the U.S. mail will be the lowest since 1930, and, in fact, this may be the first year that the volume of mail has not increased over the previous year. One reason for the lack of growth is postal rate increases, but another is poorer service and more competition.

POLITICS

In the last year, 5,389 local postmasters were appointed by merit rather than by politics. The reform act removes postal appointments from Members of Congress. The Postal Service, however, has carried this reform too far when it forbids any contact with Congressmen by postal workers. In addition, top-level appointments have come mostly from the business world, not the ranks of postal executives, and other large-order contracts smack of "business politics." The Service should take the same hard line against industrial politics as it takes against the Congress.

APPROPRIATIONS

Despite the move towards self-sufficiency, the Postal Service will need some help in the immediate years ahead, as the Postal Reorganization Act expected. The Congress will continue to provide subsidies of about \$1.5 billion annually. Without them, the Postal Service would be faced with (1) financial disaster without massive rate increases, (2) rebellion by the Congress and the public if increases are initiated, or (3) intolerable service cuts to avoid the increases.

The Congress now should watch and wait, criticizing when necessary, praising when it's deserved, and allow time for the Postal Service to achieve its goal of efficient, inexpensive mail service to all.

SOCIETY OF REAL ESTATE APPRAISERS

HON. H. ALLEN SMITH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William W. Abelmann, the new president of the Society of Real Estate Appraisers and a constituent of mine, made the following remarks:

THE APPRAISER AND CRISIS

(By William W. Abelmann)

The worst floods in the history of the United States and the recent national scandals in government subsidized housing programs, combine to highlight the role of the little noticed and often unsung professional, of vital importance to the economy; the Real Estate Appraiser.

In areas as widely separated as private insurance and federally guaranteed insurance; the appraiser functions to guarantee economic feasibility of both operations. It is the Realty Appraiser who helps estimate the cost of both the storm and the government program.

To function in these vital economic areas, he must be trained and re-trained. Today's professionally designated appraiser is just that. His evolution upon the economic sense goes back to the great depression and the birth of the Society of Real Estate Appraisers.

Following World War I, a decade of excesses descended upon the United States. With a lack of controls "miracles of sudden wealth" became common-place, both in the stock markets and the realty markets. Housing demands soared to new heights. Income producing properties appeared magically, often where there was no market. A short term mortgage was common; interest only was paid during its life, the equity was due at the end. Down payments were small or non-existent. Loans were often made for more than the property was worth. When panic struck, the nation's realty, as well as the stock market, was in shambles.

During 1931-32 the nation's near economic collapse was destined to worsen as bankruptcy followed upon bankruptcy. In response the government created the Federal Savings and Loan Associations and the Home Owners Loan Corp. to bring about the revolutionary concept of low interest, long term mortgage. At the same time, rational appraisal of real property was demanded, at which point a group of concerned appraisers banded together to create a professional body to train and police this new cadre. Thus, was created the Society of Real Estate Appraisers.

In the years since, as a government's role in helping our nation, help itself has grown;

the Society's role in creating better and better trained appraisers has grown a pace. Today while the nation may ponder the poor practices of some speculators, builders, brokers and appraisers, government and fee, who have brought scandal to the Federal Housing Administration's programs, very very few, if any, of the appraisers involved will be found to be professionally designated members of the Society of Real Estate Appraisers. This is due primarily to the extensive training of the Society's 6,000 designated members who have achieved their status as professionals. As presently structured, the Society of Real Estate Appraisers requires its members to hold college degrees, have years of experience in practical appraising, while passing courses on real property appraising, income property appraising, appraisal report writing and technical subjects dealing with the financial structure of markets and properties under consideration. Additionally, members must pass inspection of their peers as to character.

It is in this latter area where any Society member found to be criminally guilty in a court of law, malfeasance or unethical conduct, will also be judged by his profession. This judgment is often severe. To protect the public, members are expelled from the Society where deemed necessary.

For this reason, it is important for the public to realize the difference between the professionally designated real estate appraiser and the non-professional society member who feeds off the public, because of lack of knowledge. The professional Society member will hold the titles of "Senior Residential Appraiser" or "Senior Realty Appraiser" or "Senior Real Estate Analyst" after his name. In addition to designated members, some 11,000 Society associates are working toward these titles. They are not allowed to claim membership in the Society, however, so strict is its attitude toward professionalism. As a result of that attitude, the public and the government can rely on protection from the storms and floods of economic mismanagement, if they insist upon the use of a professionally designated appraiser. Thus, while the current crisis over FHA subsidized housing programs may seem tragic to many, it will be helpful if it serves to point out to the nation its needs to avoid use of those appraisers, both government and fee, who are either untrained or are self-designated experts in what today is a demanding technical profession.

STEEL WHEELS ON STEEL RAILS

HON. ROBERT H. STEELE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Carl O. Anderson, of Somers, Conn., has brought to my attention his treatise on American railroads, "Steel Wheels on Steel Rails." Mr. Anderson clearly outlines many of the current problems of our transportation system and the role of the railroad in the total transportation scheme.

I am today submitting a condensation of "Steel Wheels on Steel Rails" for the perusal of my colleagues:

STEEL WHEELS ON STEEL RAILS

In 1830 the first passenger boarded a railroad train for the purpose of being transported to another city. Today, just 142 years later, we can clearly foresee the day when the

LAST intercity traveller is carried by a railroad! Railroad passenger service is gasping its last breath!

If this service dies, and at this point it appears that it surely will, all America could well mourn the greatest loss it has ever known. There will, however, be little mourning. The passing will go unnoticed by all but the few who see beyond tomorrow. At a later time, a time which men of vision can now clearly see, the passing will be sadly regretted. For, then, without an exceedingly efficient means of transporting mass volumes of people, our cities too may die!

Other modes of passenger travel have passed into history without notice. The canal boat; horse and carriage; river packet; stage coach. Each has been replaced by faster, more comfortable, more efficient transportation.

If these methods of passenger transport are no longer used, for reasons indicated, it can be assumed that our rail service is being displaced for the same reasons. However, it has been firmly established that the most efficient transport ever devised by man is steel wheels on steel rails.

Indeed, if this fact is absolute, only the absence of comfort and speed can account for our pending loss. But, even in the more recent years of decline, superb levels of comfort have been provided in most of our railroad passenger cars. But for the lack of maintenance and replacement—in the face of continually declining revenues—little in the way of comfort could be questioned in most of our nations rail facilities. Alone, one reason remains for the demise of intercity rail transportation... Time!

Our civilization of today is, seemingly above all things, conscious of time. In commerce, in government, in everyday living, time is the major determinant of accomplishment. No measure of nostalgic yearning for an earlier, easier pace alters this fact. We are committed to the pressure of time, and all factors so controlled must relate or be discarded. Before we discard, heedlessly, an essential factor, it must be searched and researched for its potential of improvement and total capability.

In our world of today, time equates to speed. In travel, speed (thus a minimum of time) is the one dominant expectation. Failure to provide speed in any mode of transportation will assure nearly total rejection by the public. In this view, rail passenger service today has been, for the most part, rejected. The validity of this point may be proven by merely observing the converse effect where substantial improvement has been made in rail passenger service schedules, albeit within the limitations of old traditional concepts.

We do not express concern here for railroads in basic form. They shall exist throughout the foreseeable future. Without railroads, this nation and the world would be totally different from that which we know. Without railroads the United States would still be a small nation, hugging the ocean shores and river banks. Vast areas of wilderness and open plains would separate our shores if, indeed, east and west were still united. No modern industry would exist. It is, in fact, quite probable that, without railroads, neither the automobile nor the aeroplane would have evolved. Ironically, it is these newer and faster means of transport that are hastening the end of railroad passenger services!

Only now are we becoming aware of the possible areas of detriment which may be attributed to our newer, faster and more glamorous forms of our transportation. If we can successfully relate each mode of transport to its primary level of efficiency in today's world; if we can realize that no single method of travel is superior to all others; if we can learn that each has its own point of maximum efficiency; the priorities of an

efficiency will be established within the overall pattern of our many transportation needs. Hopefully, we will do this before it is too late.

One of man's most revolutionary creations, the automobile, might, in the end, strangle man's civilization! The automobile, either as a passenger carrier or a cargo mover, is—in specific areas of use—most superior to any other form of transport. This area should be defined and limited. Limited not by law or license, but by encouragement of its efficient use and discouragement of its abuse by civilization. The recently realized science of ecology has caused man to know that he cannot, increasingly, befoul the very air we rely upon for life, merely for the selfish whim of "personal convenience". Nor, can he pave the world. The dimensions of the highways and byways of our urban centers can contain but a measurable limit of motor vehicles in transit. A breach of this limit must result, almost immediately, in utter chaos. As frustrations mount, we come to realize that mass volumes of people must be moved in, out, and between our cities by a form of transportation exceedingly superior to the private motor vehicle in degree of efficiency. It is the wheeled conveyance on rails, for localized service (as the rapid transit system) and for interurban travel (as the high speed train) that can provide the ultimate in efficiency. To obtain the greatest measure of this efficiency however, we must improve the journey time factor. This, by the exploration and research of totally new concepts.

A triumphant accomplishment of man is the aeroplane. Capable, as it is, of traveling long distances at speeds foreign to the mind of average man, this newest form of transport has completely revamped man's pattern of travel throughout the world. For all of its speed, technological glamour and presumed convenience, air travel is even now being seen having definite limitations of efficiency, most evident in the range of short to medium distance travel. Regardless of a journey's length, each aircraft requires the same dimension of air space in flight and the same facilities for both take-off and landing. The consequence can be noted in most of our major metropolitan centers, where delays, due to sheer numbers of units in arrival and departure, are becoming the rule rather than the exception. This is particularly true at an hour of peak demand traffic. These consequential delays may be accepted as a part of the journey time factor for a trip of several hundred (or thousands) of miles. Equal delays applied to travel distance of but a few hundred or so miles become ridiculously disproportionate. Frequently, in such cases, the unhappy traveller seeks alternatives which all too often (in the absence of high speed rail facilities) becomes the automobile. The alternatives of choice are but of two negative factors. They must contribute either to the overburdening of metropolitan airports or to the overloaded urban and intercity highway capacities. With either choice, frustration and chaos reign while empty paths of steel rails stand available, capable of carrying the existing burden of traffic many times over.

Considering the foregoing evaluations, it might be interpreted that the priorities of transportation efficiencies have been established. True, but only in that they are identifiable, not detailed. In the overall pattern of passenger transportation it is clear that:

(A) Air service is far superior in the journey time factor over a long distance range. It is increasingly inferior as the travel distance lessens, reaching a peak of inefficiency in the short, city to city range where the "in flight" segment is but a fraction of the total journey time.

(B) The automobile must be regarded as superior in the suburban/rural areas in short

to medium range travel, particularly for initiation or concluding portions of an individual passenger's journey beyond the perimeter of local transit systems. In crowded metropolitan areas, the automobile is extremely inferior in efficiency. This is especially true of the single occupant, private, personal vehicle. It is, likewise, usually inferior where the journey time factor is essential and need for multiple intermediate stops is not present. For long distance "family leisure" type travel the journey time factor is often secondary to supposed economy. Responding to this, our transport systems can adapt to economic considerations through lower "family" or "off peak" fares, coupled with package plan car rentals at destination points.

(C) Railroad passenger service, in light of today's demand for speed, and in competition with the journey time factor in air travel, is inferior in the long distance range. In this range, a moderate demand—peaking in vacation periods—would exist for leisure "see America" travel, and for those unwilling to travel by plane. Rail travel is overwhelmingly superior to all other forms of transport (where fast, modern service exists) within and between our large population centers, as either rapid transit or as high speed intercity service.

These are the general priorities. Regrettably they have been neither applied nor even acknowledged in the constant drive to make each form of transport all things to all people. With co-ordinated planning, the priorities can be meaningfully applied. If they are not, we may see our civilization moving backward!

We cannot, immediately, implement any recognized order of priorities. We cannot, for one exists almost entirely in the realm of theory—a high speed, modern, intercity rail system. While we may readily accept the superiority of such service in theory, little, in fact, exists! In the years since 1935 railroads have failed to keep pace with the need for technological improvement and advancement of passenger service. They surrendered, without consideration of consequence, to the motor vehicle and aeroplane. As a result, these newer forms of transport now attempt, quite inefficiently, to serve the very critical and complex short/medium distance range. Compounding the problems which have resulted from such inefficiency is the false demand for more and larger airports close by our cities, and for an increasing and ever more entangling network of new highways. While we continue on this course there will be no end to such demand, until our pattern of civilization is literally destroyed in final consequence.

It is readily apparent that the railroad companies, alone, cannot take blame for failure to bring about the needed technical or functional improvements in rail passenger service. Railroads are a major, and most important, business of our nation, committed to the earning of profits. Freight hauling—the "desirable" aspect of railroading—can earn a profit while carrying a normal share of taxation. Passenger service, never a source of attractive profit (and usually operated at a loss) can be recognized as being in the realm of public service, incapable, alone, of bearing inequitable taxation and financial loss while providing funds for research and development. Certainly precluded is the investment of outright capital to the extent that it is needed. This situation exists in poor contrast with newer modes by the existence of highway and airport funds provided and maintained by taxes, plus government support of, and subsidies for, aircraft development and operation. This fact, alone, could be the reason for the "surrender" of our rail passenger service to the automobile and aeroplane.

Tax support of our passenger transport systems is not wrong. They can be seen as public services, without question. The denial of equal status and support to one of the many systems IS wrong! Other nations seem to have corrected these areas of imbalance. So, too, must we.

Amtrak appears to be a potential, if only partial, remedy for existing shortcomings in our rail passenger situation. The intent of Amtrak is commendable. It is seen as providing much needed research & development, as well as improving and revising existing service. It remains to be seen whether the intent will produce the necessary result or not.

Two factors, as established, would assure superiority of rail service in intercity passenger movement within the short/medium distance range. To one, the known efficiency of rail transport, we must add the other . . . Speed! Speed on an overall 'initial departure' to 'final destination' measurement. In other words, speed on either a high average basis, or on a high sustained level throughout the duration of a journey. The developed ability to provide and hold this standard would, once again, put full emphasis on the efficiency of steel wheels on steel rails.

Acceptance of the new Metroliner service between New York and Washington has been most gratifying. While this service is based on the standard concepts of railroading—operating at less than potential speed—it is proof of public acceptance of improved rail service and improved speed. It is interesting to note that the identical New York-Washington trip was made in 1927, with heavyweight, steam powered equipment, in just seven minutes more than today's scheduled time!

It would appear that only in the United States is rail passenger service in danger of an imminent demise. Progressive conceptual advancement of railway service is taking place throughout the world.

In America we have the ability, capacity and means to advance intercity rail transportation to undreamed of levels. Consider our accomplishments in the area of computer science. They remain unmatched anywhere in the world. With this science we have done the impossible, we have enabled men to journey to the moon. And yet, we are unable to move a traveller between two cities, a hundred miles apart, at speeds better than those of forty years ago. Certainly not at speeds that are in keeping with the demands and technology of today. Why?

Must we regret, once more, that other nations have taken the lead in advancement of public transportation and the preservation of an orderly functioning of civilization? This, while the United States is turning out many more millions of motor vehicles and paving thousands of additional miles of highways to take us. Where?

Of our problems in establishing a viable intercity passenger service in the United States, a prominent British railway expert recently stated, "—such problems—are secondary (in the U.S.) to political considerations". Our need for meaningful solutions to all of our problems of transportation is so essential, so pressing, so urgent that we cannot, for one minute, regard them as "secondary". We must pursue and adopt effective solutions with forceful and vigorous effort, devoid of self-serving political considerations.

While our primary concern, here, is with the present and future status of our rail passenger systems, we must not confide this concern to the single basic subject. If we do, we do a great disservice to the many problems of our present passenger transport pattern in its entirety. We must recognize and expedite the identified priorities. We must explore and develop new concepts of rail travel which will complement rather than compete with other existing and newly devel-

oped modes of travel. If each system can relate, totally, with the others there can be little doubt that most of today's urban problems of congestion will be substantially resolved.

In creating a plan, we must not be reluctant to borrow from, or give consideration to, advancements in planning and achievements of other nations. While it might be said that problems of transport in foreign countries do not by any comparison of standards, parallel those of the U.S., basic concepts and accomplishments—anywhere—should be a source of valued data, contributable to our specific requirements.

The very fact of differences in our transport problems is a persuasive reason for new conceptual planning without further delay. Although we have fallen behind in correcting transport deficiencies, we may now devise an even better 'total transportation pattern' wherein we fully integrate the many modes of travel according to maximum efficiencies.

Within the area of rail transportation, research of new concepts must be far reaching. Our planning must reach into a new century. New modes of travel must be tailored to new modes of living. We, with our mobile and shifting status, must realign many facets of our transportation pattern. With this realignment will come dramatic changes in our life style.

Our cities may evolve, almost exclusively, as centers of commerce and government; science and services; art and culture; education and entertainment; warehousing and distribution, with but a small percentage of people living within the core city. A residential "suburb" may extend for fifty to a hundred miles in every direction from the city center. Commuters, up to 80% or 90% of the work force, may travel this distance in less time than is now spent in commuting ten or twenty miles! Modern rapid transit systems would interchange with high speed intercity lines. The high speed systems would, in turn, interconnect our metropolitan centers within the corridors of concentrated population. These systems would intersect giant transcontinental/international regional air terminals located in open areas forbidden to residential use. This type of terminal would serve all long distance transport needs of several cities, while freeing the individual cities from increasing spread, noise and peril of huge, close-by airports. Journey time to and from these major terminals would actually be less than that presently required for city/airport travel. Intermediate range air travel, interline connections, and private aircraft would continue to be served by present airports. An integration with rapid transit/high speed systems would provide fast and frequent service between these airports and city centers or suburban interchanges. Further expansion of present airports would be unnecessary.

Private automobiles may be all but excluded from future city centers! They would function best beyond the reach of rapid transit/high speed intercity lines as initial or final stage transport between individual homes and public transportation interchanges. They would serve, as now, family convenience in shopping or leisure travel. Electric/pneumatic shuttles (people movers), buses and taxis would complete the metropolitan transit web. No crushing influx or exodus of motor vehicles would press in and out of our cities on small pace "expressways", fouling our urban atmosphere with noxious fumes. Travellers would move swiftly, smoothly, through the transportation pattern from trip initiation to conclusion.

This vision cannot be far from accurate. Continued rape of our urban ecology and space through failure to provide efficient city/intercity transport systems can only

lead to a final strangulation of the cities and of our total life style as well.

The proposed planning and implementation is far beyond either the means or capacities of private interests. Public funds are essential to the ultimate accomplishment of such purpose. The "total transportation pattern" program would acknowledge all public passenger transportation as a public service. It must, and will, be done. But . . . When?

Consider the alternatives, and decide . . . Now!

FOUR FACES OF FREEDOM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Martin M. Weitz, director of the Center for Interfaith Studies at Lincoln University, and Rabbi of Adas Sholom Temple in Havre de Grace, Md., has written an article about America's four faces of freedom carved in Mount Rushmore. I should like to share his article with my colleagues:

FOUR FACES OF FREEDOM

In the Black Hills of South Dakota is one of the world's largest works of sculpture. It was carved by Idaho-born American sculptor, Gutzon Borglum. It took 14 years for the master craftsman aided by many hundreds of faithful artists and co-workers, to carve with monumental proportions on Mount Rushmore, the faces of four great Americans: Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt.

This work of art in reality is the "Grand American," the composite Statesmen of the Spirit for a century and a half of our life. The work is as enormous in proportion as it is bold in execution. Four hundred thousand tons of granite were removed by dynamite, compressed air, steam shovel and other methods so that it all could shine on a landscape of national imagination and in the midst of a core of mountainous granite in mid-America as Four Faces of Freedom.

Geologists tell us that these Faces will endure for three million years. Onlookers inform us that the artists seemed as ants, as they swung on scaffolds for their sacred script in stone.

These Faces are the equivalent of five-story structures and a tall man may stand comfortably in the open eye of a Lincoln, while the nose of Washington is greater than the entire head of the Sphinx. . . . The dome of the Capitol in the City of Washington would fit the head of George Washington here like a crown.

These Four Faces of Freedom are an epic carved in stone—an epic of Independence and Interdependence writ large.

George Washington stands above the rest as the "Founding Father" of a nation, in Independence. In him, mood for liberty and quest for amity saw fruition. Magnetic qualities of personal leadership, typical American pety, skill as a Commander-in-Chief, personal integrity, dedication of spirit as a lifeline for the Thirteen Colonies so that they could stand firm in war and united in peace—all are here captured for endless generations. He bespeaks "the right to safety and security of person," as a practical statesman of the spirit. "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen," he continues because he believed in fellowman broadly as he worshipped God profoundly. . . .

Thomas Jefferson authored the "Declaration of Independence." That would have been history enough. He is a titan in American destiny, as a foe of tyranny in any form. His greatest gift, even on his own epitaph, was the authorship of a Statute for Virginia, on religious freedom. He served as architect of his own Monticello, builder of a new Washington, originator of the Louisiana Purchase and spokesman for the frontier, physically and spiritually. His hearth at Monticello was a "more stately mansion" for the future of man. He breathed life into "the right to citizenship, its privileges and responsibilities."

Abraham Lincoln . . . merciful mystic of union and foremost American of all time. He, more than any other, preserved the Union when threatened with dissolution. His depth of wisdom and breadth of understanding, gave new life to freedom. Personal intuition, blended with frontiersman's vision, gave to America and to the world a portrait of greatness: humble, sad, merciful and meaningful beyond his time. In emancipation of slaves and preservation of the Union, he was synonymous with "the right to freedom and gift of conscience."

Theodore Roosevelt, practical idealist who ignited the imagination of his generation, was reformer in politics, "trustbuster" in economics, conservator for the public domain, cowboy of the West, explorer in Africa, robust American everywhere. As Mount Rushmore depicts him in stone, so the Panama Canal is his "landmark"—and life-line on the seas. . . .

Four Faces of Freedom is the skyline of the spirit in America, a setting of Independence and Interdependence in mid-America . . . and for the world.

Though carved in stone they sing in rhyme . . . our saga of Freedom . . . in dependence on God, independence for man and, interdependence among men . . .

RAIL TAKEOVER BY THE UNITED STATES?

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I thought my colleagues would be interested in this investor's report from the Christian Science Monitor when our next call comes for funds for Amtrak:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, July 5, 1972]

RAIL TAKEOVER BY UNITED STATES?

Q.—I read recently that American railroads are facing bankruptcy or nationalization. Could this prediction be possible? I own stock in both Chesapeake & Ohio and Norfolk & Western, which have been paying very good dividends, and I have felt that these railroads were very secure. I would have to sell now at a great loss.—E.B., Va.

A.—Although talk of nationalization keeps cropping up, it does not appear likely in the foreseeable future. Both Congress and the rail industry itself are exploring ways to keep things rolling along present lines.

Congress is considering several important new steps to strengthen railroads financially and to improve their ability to compete with other forms of transportation. And the Association of American Railroads is, among other things, looking into ways to keep better track of freight cars and thereby gain extra carrying capacity.

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Some railroads have tried to help themselves by enlarging their base to include non-transportation businesses.

These days, therefore, one railroad is quite different from another, and there are many aspects to consider when you use the word "secure." It appears that the industry as a whole is secure, but stocks of various railroads will perform quite differently in coming years.

Both of the stocks you own are down about 12 percent from their highs of the year but yield around 6 percent, so if this income is sufficient, you may be in a position to wait for a recovery in share prices. But if these railroad stocks constitute all or the major part of your securities portfolio, you might consider finding a mutual fund that yields a similar dividend but is not so heavily dependent on one industry.

LET'S LOOK AT BOTH SIDES

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the continued Communist military aggression in Vietnam and the consequences of U.S. military support of South Vietnam are subject to accelerated debate due to the U.S. political campaign.

My attention has been directed to an editorial in the New World, a publication of the Catholic archdiocese of Chicago, of July 14. The editorial very properly directs attention to aspects of the Vietnam conflict that are not often enough brought to the attention of the American public.

The editorial follows:

LET'S LOOK AT BOTH SIDES

In certain suburbs of Saigon are villages—homes and churches and shops—of thousands of North Vietnamese who fled to the South when communism took over control of North Vietnam.

This is the other side of coin to the Vietnam war.

The New York Times recently published "The Human Cost of Communism," written by Sir Robert Thompson, described as "the British expert on guerrilla warfare who has undertaken secret missions for President Nixon to report on events in Vietnam."

His comments are startling and very revealing.

"Everyone has heard of Mylai," he writes, "but who has heard of Calbe where the Vietcong, after its capture, lingered only to murder the wives and children of all the local militia? Or of the Montagnard village of Dakson, where they moved from hut to hut with flame-throwers incinerating more than 250 villages, two-thirds women and children?"

"Most people have heard of the massacres at Hue in 1968 where the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, after its capture, executed 5,700 people (as assessed from the mass graves found afterwards) but who knows that in captured documents they gloated over these figures and only complained that they had not killed enough? These were not aberration, not savagery for savagery's sake, nor the work of undisciplined soldiers acting in violation of instructions, but part of a ruthless deliberate policy designed to break a people who would not otherwise bend to their will."

Sir Robert said: "There are distressing implications for the future. If the invasion

succeeds and the North takes over the South what will the bloodbath be? Four years ago I estimated that it would be several hundred thousands.

"I now wish to amend that figure to well over one million (out of 18 million people)."

LAKEVILLE, MASS., UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST REDEDICATED

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, tribute is due to the members of the Lakeville United Church of Christ in Lakeville, Mass., for their unusual achievement.

The congregations of Precinct Church and Grove Chapel, having merged as the LUCC in 1966, they decided in 1970 to move their church building and restore it.

The move and restoration have just been completed and the restored 137-old building was rededicated in an ecumenical service recently.

The restoration work was done by church members. For this and for their spirit of concern, they deserve not only congratulations but also a great deal of credit.

I include the story of the rededication in an article in the Taunton Daily Gazette:

UNITED CHURCH DEDICATED ANEW AFTER RESTORATION (By Sandra Buttermore)

LAKEVILLE.—Members and friends of the Lakeville United Church of Christ (LUCC) gathered Sunday afternoon at the church, located at the corner of Precinct and Bedford Sts., to celebrate the rededication of the newly restored church and its members.

The congregations of Precinct Church and Grove Chapel, merged and incorporated on June 19, 1966, decided to move the Precinct Church building onto a new site and restore it.

The building, built in 1835, was moved one and one half miles, beginning on April 13, 1970. The journey of the 78 foot tall, 100 ton building, which took four days, was completed without any problems, and the restoration process was begun by committee members.

Abraham Van Lenten, chairman, and Mrs. Marguerite Mills, Frank Jenkins, Mansfield Whitney, Donald DeMoranville, Robert Mann, Neil Newton, Richard Williams, and Wallace Wilkie, served on the restoration committee and put in untold hours of work on the project.

The service of rededication began with a half-hour organ recital by Bradford Bates of Middleboro. Participants in the hour long service included the Rev. Wayne Philbrook of Greensboro, Vt., pastor of the two churches from 1960-1962; the Rev. Herbert Wilber of Middleboro, a former pastor of Precinct Church; the Rev. Frederick Lyon of Brookfield, Conn., former pastor of LUCC.

Also, the Rev. Charles Carder of the Lakeville Church of the Nazarene, the Rev. Paul Sinn of Plymouth, southeast area minister of the Mass. Conference of the United Church of Christ; and the Rev. Dr. Robert Dodds, present pastor of the church.

Russell Gardner, historian of the Wampanoag tribes; Phillips Baird, chairman of the

Board of Deacons; Wilkie, chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Abraham Van Lenten, chairman of the Restoration Committee, also took part in the service.

Special music was supplied by guest soloist, Mrs. Joan Frates of Middleboro; Mrs. Claire Rousseau of Lakeville, guest organist; and the LUCC choir and the LUCC Brass Quartet.

Following the service, a buffet was served in the Fellowship Hall, where historical items were on display. The blessing before the meal was pronounced by the Rev. Father Daniel Moran of Sts. Martha and Mary Church in Lakeville.

A program of slides and movies of the restoration process was enjoyed, and the evening ended with a short hymn sing. The benediction was given by the Rev. A. Chester Gushee of Mullen Hill Baptist Church, Lakeville.

POLLUTION IN THE TIPPY: PRELIMINARY REPORT

HON. ELWOOD HILLIS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HILLIS. Mr. Speaker, on July 1, 1972, I had the pleasure of canoeing down a stretch of the Tippecanoe River. Located in the northern part of Indiana, this river has long been one of the State's favorite fishing streams.

In the past, Hoosier anglers have fished the Tippy in quest of northern pike, smallmouth and largemouth bass, redeyes, silver bass, and catfish.

However, last summer pollution struck and a section of the river suffered a severe setback—thousands of fish and aquatic organisms were killed. Thus the reason for my float to inspect the river and run tests for water pollution.

I took two types of water samples, one from a sterile container for finite evaluation and another for more general analysis. The water from the sterile container will be used to run lab tests for the presence of harmful micro-organisms and the second water sample will be used to check for the presence of oil and similar substances.

A third test was run with the aid of an instrument called an oxygen meter. This meter gave us two different sets of data: The water temperature and a dissolved oxygen—D-O₂—reading. The instrument, designed to read D-O₂ directly in parts per million—p.p.m.—uses two thermistors in a unique circuit to compensate for temperature effects on both probe membrane permeability and oxygen solubility in water. The probe measures temperature with a thermistor sensor providing water temperatures with calibration and as additional data. Although the analysis of this is not complete, I am pleased to report that most D-O₂ readings were right around 7.5 p.p.m. The critical D-O₂ range is about 4.0 p.p.m. and I understand it was 0.2 p.p.m. when the river was polluted by liquid manure last summer. This explains the large fish kill—the fish simply did not have enough oxygen.

Although the laboratory report has not been completed, the Tippecanoe River seemed to be in pretty good shape. The

river showed no physical signs of pollution in reference to the earlier oil leaks or manure spill. In fact, the entire stream was quite clear with only a slight amount of turbidity.

The wildlife species encountered were normal for the area, including several sets of deer tracks. The aquatic habitat seemed complete with vegetation and several species of fish. However, State biologists recently conducted a fish shocking survey that will be available later for further evaluation.

Only on two occasions did I see any manmade products at the water's edge and I was assured that with the exception of being eyesores, they were not polluting the stream.

As soon as the lab tests are finished, I will be able to give a more detailed report on the results of my float trip.

GENERAL LAVELLE DESERVES THE HEARTFELT THANKS OF HIS COUNTRY

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the Fighter Pilots Credo in Southeast Asia says:

If it must be said—say it now. If it must be done—do it now . . . for there may be no tomorrow.

With the hue and cry being raised for the scalp of Gen. John D. Lavelle in the "peace at any price" forums from Boston to Los Angeles and especially here in Washington, the time has come for Americans of other persuasions to give him the credit that is his due.

General Lavelle was a combat commander responsible for the lives of his men and the safety of a land and people in terrible danger that look to us for help. His situation was not dissimilar to that of Gen. Douglas MacArthur almost 20 years ago, when he faced hordes of Chinese Communists assembling at staging areas on the Yalu River, ready for a deadly onslaught that was to cost the lives of some 30,000 American fighting men defending South Korea. General MacArthur was relieved of his command for insisting that we ought to attack the enemy across the Yalu, but came home to a tumultuous welcome by millions of Americans, an honorary degree from the university where I was then a senior, and an invitation which he accepted to address a joint session of Congress.

General Lavelle, on the other hand, was summarily relieved, demoted, and retired from the service, at first with little public notice and then in the face of a rising crescendo from his critics. Not until June 12 was a brief hearing on his case held in the House of Representatives, with public statements by General Lavelle and Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. John D. Ryan. The gist of the charge against General Lavelle was that

he had hit the enemy too soon and too hard.

His fighter pilots, scouting across the demilitarized zone—DMZ—into North Vietnam and from Laos into North Vietnam, could watch tons of supplies and military equipment being assembled to kill more Americans and South Vietnamese, whenever convenient to the enemy's timetable, just 2 miles beyond the line limiting our air attack—except in direct retaliation against air attacks on our planes—which derived from President Johnson's virtual surrender in 1968 calling off the air war in the North. Based on this information coming to him, General Lavelle "chose to make a very liberal interpretation of the rules of engagement," noting that his airmen even on unarmed reconnaissance flights "were operating in an environment of optimum enemy defense."

Knowing that the enemy was preparing a massive mechanized offensive to conquer and destroy South Vietnam, he acted to stop the invasion before it began. His air attacks forced the North Vietnamese aggressors to step up their invasion timetable a full 2 months, beginning it before they were fully ready, while over 400 tanks still sat at the port of Haiphong, unable to take part in the battle. Because of General Lavelle, Hanoi dared not wait for them. As columnist Paul Scott pointed out June 21:

Had these tanks and others destroyed by Lavelle's strikes been available, American military officials doubt that the North Vietnamese invaders could have been stopped short of Saigon.

Enter the picture one disgruntled Air Force sergeant, a photo-interpreter sitting in an air-conditioned trailer on Ton Son Nhut Air Base in Saigon, who probably never looked down the muzzle of a gun fired at him in anger with the intent to take his life or—as perhaps he deserves—to enslave him to a Communist master. The Sergeant wrote to a "peacenik" Senator telling him that General Lavelle was violating the rules of engagement. The Senator told General Ryan, who removed General Lavelle from his command. Nobody to date has questioned the fact that this sergeant transmitted top secret material in the process of destroying his commander's career.

As he himself stated and as General Ryan confirmed, General Lavelle was working under a document—the limiting rules of engagement—made obsolete by the rapidly changing situation in Vietnam. He took the initiative of a commander in the field to protect his men and to forestall the great invasion which might otherwise have rendered futile all the efforts and sacrifices that have been made to save South Vietnam from communism. For this he was punished, in the name of political expediency, by the armchair quarterbacks in Washington.

General Lavelle deserves the thanks of Americans in uniform and out of it, Mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, of American and South Vietnamese soldiers owe the lives of their loved ones and the preservation of South Vietnam to this man. The President, as Commander in Chief, should render public recog-

dition for the courage and the triumph of General Lavelle. Those who punished him for the unpardonable sin of victory owe the most profound apology to him and to the American people. General Lavelle, himself a former fighter pilot, acted in the spirit of their credo:

If it must be done, do it now—for there may be no tomorrow.

MISSISSIPPI'S POULTRY INDUSTRY

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, we in Mississippi are proud of our poultry industry and the people in it. Not only has poultry become the largest food producing industry in Mississippi, but also this industry has developed the State into a national leader in poultry production.

Today millions of Americans are enjoying quality poultry and eggs shipped from Mississippi producers. The Mississippi poultry industry is making a significant contribution to the American consumer as well as to the economy of our State.

I would like to include in my remarks an article from the McComb Enterprise Journal on the important poultry industry of Mississippi, as outlined by Pike County Agent George Mullendore. It follows:

POULTRY INDUSTRY IS HIGH IN MISSISSIPPI
Poultry is the largest food producing industry in Mississippi.

County Agent George Mullendore, speaking of last year's production in Mississippi, said, "We produced one and a quarter billion pounds of top quality poultry meat and eggs—890,000,000 pounds of poultry meat and 282,000,000 pounds of eggs—a total of 1,172,000,000 pounds of the highest quality poultry meat and eggs produced anywhere in the world.

"We used about 28 per cent of these eggs and about 12 per cent of our poultry meat to feed our Mississippi people. The rest of our production—72 per cent of eggs and 88 per cent of poultry meat were shipped all over America and to several foreign countries to feed untold millions beyond our state's borders."

"The statistics show that we produced a gross income of \$184,430,000—\$66,540,000 from eggs, \$11,250,000 from broilers, \$5,440,000 from farm chickens and \$176,000 from turkeys. And this is not all. We have some \$250,000,000 invested in buildings and equipment—broiler houses, laying houses, breeder houses, hatcheries, feed mills, processing plants and the equipment to operate them.

"Our on-the-farm production houses alone (layers, breeders, broilers) have a combined floor space of more than 100,000,000 square feet. It takes a lot of Mississippi lumber and labor to build these houses.

"Our hatcheries produced 260,100,000 chicks for layers, breeders and broilers.

"Our feed mills produced one and three-fourths million tons of feed and that was used in the production of our chicks, broilers and eggs. Some of these mills produced as much as 450 tons of poultry feed every day in the year. In making this feed, our mills used, in addition to other ingredients, 43,000,000 bushels of corn and 365,000 tons of soybean meal.

"For every ton of feed fed, our poultry produces two to two and one-fourth tons of manure. We produced more than 3,000,000 tons. The fertilizer value is figured from \$16 to \$25 per ton. Using a conservative figure of \$15 per ton, we produced fertilizer valued at over \$45,000,000. Poultry fertilizer is used on crops, but its most dramatic use is to build better pastures.

"Our processing plants are shipping top quality U.S. government inspected poultry to population centers all over our nation and to several foreign countries. No state or area markets better quality. Some of our plants process from 9,000 to 12,000 broilers per hour and employ up to 475 people per plant. Our plants employ several thousand people.

"Our egg processing plants ship top quality U.S. Government inspected eggs to the population centers of our nation. Several of the larger buyers in the nation prefer Mississippi eggs to those produced in other areas. They say we produce the best quality eggs available anywhere in the nation. These plants also employ thousands of people.

"The operating capital and working inventories of our poultry operations will run to some \$500,000,000 (half a billion dollars).

"Our annual payrolls will run well over \$100,000,000—on the farms (broiler, layer, breeder), hatcheries, feed mills, processing plants, truck drivers, servicemen, administrative personnel, accountants and many others—many thousands of Mississippians have a good livelihood in our poultry industry.

"Our Mississippi poultry industry people are recognized throughout the poultry world as being the best. The people in our industry growers contractors and all those working in the poultry industry in any capacity, are throughout the nation as very efficient operators, as producers of very high quality products and as very fine people.

"Our industry leaders stand high in regional and national poultry circles. Two of our poultrymen have served as president of the National Broiler Council. One of our growers served as vice president of National Broiler Council's Producer Committee. Three Mississippians have served as president of the Southeastern Poultry and Egg Association. Two have served as president of the American Poultry and Hatchery Federation. Two have served as president of the National Egg Co. Two are officers (chairman and secretary) of our newly organized National Broiler Co-op. One is chairman of the board of directors of the Poultry and Egg Institute of America. One served as president of United Egg Producers. Others have served on regional and national committees of the USDA.

"Of course we have men serving as directors on the official boards of our regional and national poultry organizations, some as officers.

"We are real proud of our poultry industry and the people in it. Our industry operates strictly on the free enterprise system. Our industry is mature, sound, solid. We expect to continue to grow.

"At present we rank number five in the nation in the production of commercial broilers and number 11 in the production of commercial eggs."

OPPOSITION TO FORCED CROSS-DISTRICT BUSING

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from James N. Castle-

man, secretary and business manager of the Board of Education, Wyandotte, Mich., setting forth the position of the Wyandotte Board of Education in opposition to forced cross-district busing and reporting on the strong opposition of the citizens of Wyandotte to such busing as expressed in the annual school board election on June 12, 1972.

I am in complete agreement with the views of the Wyandotte Board of Education on this matter and would like to share the information contained in Mr. Castleman's letter with my colleagues. Therefore, I insert the text of his letter at this point in the RECORD:

BOARD OF EDUCATION,

Wyandotte, Mich., July 11, 1972.

HON. JOHN DINGELL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please be advised that the Wyandotte Board of Education has gone on record as being opposed to forced cross-district busing. Their official position is set forth in the following resolution that was passed unanimously at a regular Board Meeting on May 15, 1972:

Whereas, the Wyandotte Board of Education was one of the first public bodies in Michigan to recognize the harmful and disruptive effect upon the educational system inherent in forced cross-district busing; and

Whereas the Wyandotte Board of Education was a leading force in organizing the suburban school districts to jointly intervene in the law suit now pending in the United States District Court before Judge Stephen Roth in order to protect the rights and interests of the school districts and the communities which they serve; and

Whereas the Wyandotte Board of Education was instrumental in obtaining the services of one of the nation's outstanding attorneys, Dr. William Saxton, as legal counsel to the 40 suburban school districts; and

Whereas the Wyandotte Board of Education has made available its Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Fred P. Davenport, to serve on the coordination committee for the 40 suburban school districts in their opposition for forced cross-district busing and to assist the legal counsel, Mr. William Saxton, as needed; and

Whereas the Wyandotte Board of Education remains firmly convinced that the neighborhood school concept is in the best interests of children generally and is representative of the wishes of the overwhelming majority of parents everywhere,

Therefore be it resolved that the Wyandotte Board of Education reaffirm its opposition to forced cross-district busing; and

Be it further resolved that the Wyandotte Board of Education continue its leadership role among the school districts of Wayne, Oakland and Macomb Counties; and

Be it finally resolved that the Wayandotte Board of Education go on record as unequivocally supporting whatever legal defense is necessary to protect the interests of Wyandotte children and parents up to and including, if necessary, an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

The electorate has also given expression to the matter of forced cross-district busing by responding to the following advisory questions on the ballot at the Annual School Election of June 12, 1972:

Are you in favor of amending the United States Constitution to prohibit forced busing and guarantee the rights of each student to attend the school of his choice?

Yes, 1,822; no, 521.

Do you believe busing of children will produce better education?

Yes, 128; no, 2,177.

The wishes of your constituency are quite conclusive as being opposed to forced cross-district busing and feel that forced cross-district busing will in no way produce a better education for their children. Parents and concerned citizens are vitally concerned about this issue and are expecting you to support the community school concept of education to the fullest extent.

The Wyandotte Board of Education requests you and your colleagues to use the full power of your offices to oppose all present and future legislation favoring forced cross-district busing and support the President's program as recommended to Congress.

Very truly yours,

JAMES N. CASTLEMAN,
Secretary and Business Manager.

ORDER OF AHEPA'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, a half century ago in Atlanta, Ga., was founded the Order of Ahepa, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association.

During these 50 years, the Order of Ahepa has had many distinguished and dedicated members who have been responsible for many, many civic and charitable activities.

In my home city of Buffalo, N.Y., we have an active chapter, one of 36 in the Empire State. Incumbent officers of the Buffalo chapter are: Angelo E. Pefenis, president; Tasos Kellaris, vice president; Chris Liaros, secretary, and Nick Kafasis, treasurer.

George Carcales of Buffalo is athletic director of the New York district lodge. Dennis J. Livadas, a member of the nearby Rochester, N.Y. chapter, is serving in national office as supreme counsellor.

Membership in the Order of Ahepa is open to men of good moral character who are citizens—or have declared their intention to become citizens—of the United States or Canada. In this connection, the organization has placed emphasis on its aid to members seeking citizenship.

The order has a notable single purpose: The improvement and betterment of our social, moral, and family life.

In elaboration of that purpose, the Order of Ahepa seeks:

First. To promote and encourage loyalty to the United States of America;

Second. To instruct its members in the tenets and fundamental principles of government, and in the recognition and respect of the inalienable rights of mankind;

Third. To instill in its membership a due appreciation of the privileges of citizenship;

Fourth. To encourage its members to always be profoundly interested and actively participating in the political, civic, social, and commercial fields of human endeavor;

Fifth. To pledge its members to do

their utmost to stamp out any and all political corruption; and to arouse its members to the fact that tyranny is a menace to the life, property, prosperity, honor, and integrity of every nation;

Sixth. To promote a better and more comprehensive understanding of the attributes and ideals of Hellenism and Hellenic Culture;

Seventh. To promote good fellowship, and endow its members with the perfection of the moral sense;

Eighth. To endow its members with a spirit of altruism, common understanding, mutual benevolence, and helpfulness, and

Ninth. To champion the cause of education, and to maintain new channels for facilitating the dissemination of culture and learning.

Mr. Speaker, as the Order of Ahepa marks its golden anniversary, I extend my personal congratulations and take pleasure in calling the Order's work to the attention of my colleagues.

LEE HAMILTON'S WASHINGTON REPORT TO INDIANA'S NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the complete text of my recent Washington Report on Federal spending:

WASHINGTON REPORT OF CONGRESSMAN LEE HAMILTON, JULY 10, 1972

The federal government spent \$23 billion more than it took in during Fiscal Year 1971, will probably overspend by about \$26 billion in Fiscal Year 1972, and by \$25 billion in Fiscal Year 1973. In short, the federal budget is in serious trouble.

No wonder, then, that Ninth District residents, responding to my annual questionnaire list government spending a close second to crime as their chief concern. Across the nation, and in the Congress, there is growing distress about the soaring costs of government and the regularity of huge budget deficits. These deficits are unsettling, regardless of political views or economic philosophies, and no matter how appropriate a deficit may be to stimulate the economy in any given year.

Federal civilian expenditures as a percentage of all goods and services produced in this country have doubled in ten years as Americans have come to expect the government to take an expanded role in dealing with the whole range of national, state and local problems. During this time of increased outlays, federal income and excise taxes have been sharply reduced.

From 1955 to 1965, total government expenditures increased modestly, but from 1965 to 1970, federal expenditures have accelerated by some 10 percent each year. Moreover, the growth in federal spending in the coming years will continue at a substantial rate because of:

The backlog of unmet needs for federal assistance,

The continuing belief that the federal government should play a major role in dealing with our social problems, and

The increased demand for more and varied public services.

Programs with fixed costs such as Social Security, Medicare, retirement benefits, interest on the national debt (now \$21 billion a year, enough to run the entire government 30 years ago), the everyday expenses of the Executive, Judicial and Legislative branches, and ongoing programs under government contract now account for about two-thirds of the federal budget. Only a third of the total budget is subject to cost-cutting actions by Congress and the President.

The pressure to spend more money for worthy purposes will not relent. Several new federal assistance approaches are now being given serious political consideration, among them the replacement of local property taxes with federal financing, the equalization of expenditures per pupil within the states, costly water pollution control proposals, and greatly expanded health insurance plans.

A respected Brookings Institution study recently concluded that our projected economic growth, coupled with our current tax levels, simply will not provide the funds for new federal programs within the next few years.

Only two means are available to deal with this growing fiscal crisis: expenditure reductions and tax increases. We face many difficult choices in the years ahead as we deal with the nation's needs. The setting of priorities in meeting these needs, the problem I have often called the toughest in government, is becoming more difficult each year, despite the increase in the national income.

Although this, and next week's Report, deal only with the expenditure reduction approach to our fiscal crisis, it should be kept in mind that probably the best remedy is a booming economy, with full employment. The government's share of the revenues produced under these circumstances would go a long way in helping us meet the fiscal crisis.

The Congress deals with the budget without a coherent vision of where the nation stands and where it is going and without a clear understanding of the relationship of competing federal programs, both to each other and to the whole. Instead, Congress dismembers the budget and sends pieces of it to a number of committees. No committee has an overview of the economic condition of the country or a concept of the overall budget.

If the Congress is to make prudent decisions in light of expenditures and revenue-outlook, economic conditions, the provisions of existing laws, and other conditions, reforms are necessary. Principal among them:

Spending Scrutiny. All spending must be scrutinized, and especially military spending, in order to do a better job in eliminating waste and mismanagement. For example, a recent analysis of defense costs showed that 45 weapons now being built had cost overruns of \$35 billion. In the past, Congress has concentrated on exceptional items in the defense budget, such as the ABM system, the strategic bomber, and the nuclear aircraft carrier. These large items are significant, but we should focus even more on fundamental questions, such as the effectiveness of our forces, how they are to be supported, and the long-range consequences of spending decisions, rather than the present fiscal year.

Subsidy programs, now totaling over \$60 billion a year, should be given the most careful and continuing scrutiny to eliminate waste and unfair and outmoded fiscal favoritism to special interests.

Spending Ceilings. A rigid expenditure ceiling to assure the public that the federal budgetary process is not out of control is necessary. It would have the dual effect of keeping the budget within projected revenue receipts and dampening inflationary pressures. This type of budgetary perspective also would force attention to alternative or substitute measures when pressure is exerted on the spending ceiling.

Long Range View. Since most important budget decisions do not have an immediate impact on the budget, the Congress should deal each year with a five-year budget outlook. The Joint Economic Committee of the Congress should hold hearings on this outlook and report its evaluations. Appropriations, where possible, should be made a year in advance to permit better planning, while other programs should be shifted to appropriations on a three-year basis.

Zero-Based Budget. Spending programs should be evaluated from the ground up at least once every three years. This approach would require that agency appropriations be justified on the basis of its program's proven worth. Too often, Congress simply looks at the agency's appropriation last year, then adds a little more for the current year.

Congressional Oversight. The awesome size and complexity of the budget demands that a single, joint Congressional committee assign spending priorities and make a comprehensive review of the fiscal and monetary ramifications of the President's annual budget request.

New Approaches in Federal Programs. New incentives should be initiated to improve federal programs, such as (1) the use of a tax on each instance of pollution, giving polluters an economic incentive to reduce pollution, (2) making it worthwhile for welfare recipients to work, or (3) encouraging more efficiency in hospitals by allowing a single fee in advance for services rather than reimbursement for each delivered service.

The federal government also should use experimentation to find the techniques which really work before massive programs are funded.

THE GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORDER OF AHEPA

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, it is a very great personal pleasure for me to join in the national tribute being currently paid to the Order of Ahepa, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association. The Order of Ahepa is celebrating its golden anniversary during this month of July and the American people are saluting Ahepa on this notable occasion in recognition of its tremendous contributions, throughout this half century, to our national progress.

The Order of Ahepa was founded July 26, 1922, in Atlanta, Ga., and its membership and activities extend to 49 States, Canada, and Australia, with a total of 430 local chapters. The order, a fraternal organization which is both non-political and nonsectarian, is open to men of high moral character from all walks of life and is dedicated to the wholesome goals of good fellowship and common understanding.

The many outstanding members of the Order of Ahepa include such notable and distinguished Government leaders as the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and former President Harry S. Truman. In my home district, AHEPA members and officers, in pursuit of the order's objectives, bring to their respective communities a vitalizing community spirit of responsible citizenship and cooperation for progress.

It is obvious, Mr. Speaker, that the AHEPA membership, through persevering dedication to the fulfillment of their organization's ideals and their civic duties, have truly demonstrated their total commitment to improving the quality of this Nation's moral, social, and economic life. A distinctive part of this commitment includes such wholesome objectives as giving help and encouragement to aliens seeking to attain full American citizenship, granting scholarship awards to worthy students on the local, State, and national levels, and financial and humanitarian assistance to the distressed victims of floods, hurricanes, and earthquakes both in this country and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, AHEPA's golden record of organizational accomplishment on behalf of their fellow Americans and fellow human beings everywhere parallels the spirit and achievements of the golden age of Greece. In extending my congratulations to this distinguished organization on its 50th anniversary, it is my earnest hope that the Order of Ahepa will forever continue to experience increasing success in the fulfillment of all their great principles and ideals on behalf of mankind.

APPEALS TO "SILENT MAJORITY"

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago in May, the border of Hong Kong was the scene of a strange but heart-rending phenomenon as tens of thousands of refugees from the Chinese mainland sought entry into the British colony. Why the Chinese Communist regime allowed such a massive flow of its populace to the free world has baffled all China watchers. According to impartial foreign press reports, 75,000 reached Hong Kong in that 1 month, but a number of them were later rounded up and sent back by British authorities.

Said the New York Times of May 26, 1962:

The world has seldom, if ever, experienced a situation quite like that which developed with the recent massive flow of people from continental China into the tiny colony of Hong Kong. The exact reason for the mass outflow is not clear . . . Was it caused by food shortage, asked the New York Times? Or as the New York Herald Tribune theorized on May 25, "This tolerated mass exodus from Communist China can only mean that the regime of Mao Tse-tung is on the verge of a major crisis of the most convulsive sort.

The Communists closed the gates as abruptly as they opened them when worldwide publicity proved to be embarrassing to the regime. Controls were tightened and patrols were ordered to shoot anyone attempting to cross the border in a dash for freedom. They still escape but in much harder way—by swimming 7 miles of ocean before reaching one of Hong Kong's outlying islets. During

1971, authorities in Hong Kong estimated that more than 17,500 Chinese refugees entered the colony that way.

A number of them made their way to the Republic of China from the British colony. Recently, commemorating the 10th anniversary of the "May Exodus," more than 1,000 such refugees gathered at a rally in Taipei. Lest their experience be forgotten in the atmosphere of illusion created by President Nixon's journey to Peking, they have made a stirring appeal to the American people, particularly the "silent majority," in the following open letter:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE SILENT MAJORITY OF THE UNITED STATES

In May 1962 there was a massive exodus of refugees from the Chinese mainland which attracted such worldwide attention that it has since been known as the "May Exodus of 1962." We were among that unique group of refugees comprising Chinese Communist party members, military officers, cadres, teachers, doctors, students, and workers and peasants. We have since regained our freedom on Taiwan in the Republic of China. Today, as we are assembled in Taipei to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the "Exodus," we wish to convey our sincere appreciation and profound respect to the United States Government and American people for their dedication in upholding justice and in resisting the sinister influences of communism.

It is our firm conviction that we represent the voice of our 700 million compatriots on the mainland who have no freedom of expression. We must point out that if the source of all the troubles in the world lies in Asia, then the Chinese Communist regime is the root of Asia's troubles. It is only by eradicating that evil root that peace and happiness for mankind will be assured and safeguarded.

Unfortunately, there are myopic politicians in the free world and a handful of appeasers in the United States who believe that it is possible to "sit down and talk" with the Chinese Communists. They advocate such views as "waiting for a change to come among a new generation of Chinese Communists," "containment without isolation," and "two Chinas formula." This has enabled the Chinese Communist regime to usurp Chinese representation in the United Nations, thus rendering bankrupt the lofty goals of that international body and destroying the symbol of the pursuit of mankind for peace and justice. In the meantime, that price paid by thousands and tens of thousands of American soldiers with their blood in Korea and is still being paid in Vietnam is nothing but humiliation and disgrace to the United States itself.

In fact, the Communist bloc is nothing but a sinister organization which is obsessed with worldwide class struggle by brutal force. The Chinese Communist regime, claiming to be the leader of the Third World, is even more rampant. It has repeatedly clamored that it must eliminate its "No. 1 enemy" and "bury United States imperialism." For many decades, it has been proven by historical facts that "anti-U.S. imperialism" has been the unalterable goal of the Chinese Communist pursuit of "world revolution."

When the United States published the "White Papers" on China in 1949, the Maoist regime stigmatized the document as "the confessions of crimes of U.S. imperialist aggression on China." When North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950, Mao Tse-tung plunged into the war under the pretext of "resisting U.S. and helping Korea" and unleashed the so-called "hate-America, despise-America and downgrade-America" movement against U.S. imperialism. During the anti-American riots in the Panama Canal

zone in 1964, the People's Daily immediately suggested that an "anti-U.S. imperialism united front" be organized. In 1965, Lin Piao declared in his article entitled "Long Live the Victory of People's War" that the "rural villages of the world" should arise to besiege the "cities of the world." Since the expansion of the war in Vietnam, the Chinese Communists have engaged in constant denunciation of the United States, waging a sanguinary struggle in Indochina against the U.S. directly or indirectly.

The Chinese Communist chieftains and their propaganda machines have overtly and covertly engaged in inciting and provoking racial strifes or other anti-government activities in the United States. With the advent of 1970's, the Maoists have clamored even more loudly that "the entire world's people unite to defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys," asserting in the meantime that "we will struggle relentlessly against the U.S. for one, two or even three hundred years." It is thus patently clear that the Chinese Communist regime regards the United States as its irrevocable enemy. In the light of these facts, how can the appeasers justify their penchant to open relations with the Peiping regime?

The traditional spirit of democracy, freedom, and human dignity has insured the United States role of leadership in the free world. Recently, President Nixon has courageously decided to mine the ports of North Vietnam in order to stem the enemy offensive against South Vietnam. It is gratifying that this sagacious policy has won the overwhelming support of the silent majority. We hope that beginning from now, the United States will no longer compromise with the brutal forces of world communism, or kowtow to international appeasers. However, in order to adopt such a firm stand, much will depend on the silent majority of the United States which, it is hoped, will no longer remain silent, but will articulate its righteous stand to demand victory in Vietnam.

Let us stand together shoulder to shoulder in our common endeavor to defeat the Chinese Communist regime which is a peril to all mankind, and to build a free world of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Signed by Lin Hsiao, chairman of the Rally Commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of the May 1962 Exodus of Refugees from Mainland China, on behalf of more than 1,000 such refugees, Taipei, May 21, 1972.

ALMOST ALL USES OF DDT BANNED

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1972

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, the decision several weeks ago by Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Ruckelshaus to ban almost all uses of DDT in this country was one of the most environmentally sound decisions ever made by a Federal agency.

It was certainly a decision long in coming, and one made only after passing through what seemed to be an endless series of roadblocks.

It was over 3 years ago, in April 1969, that Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch created a Commission on Pesticides headed by Dr. Emil Mrak which was directed to "reappraise the problem of persistent pesticides with special emphasis on DDT."

In July 1969, the USDA suspended the use of DDT, but only for 30 days.

In November 1969, the so-called Mrak Commission on Pesticides reported back to Secretary Finch and concluded that all but essential uses of DDT be ended within 2 years. In that same month some uses of DDT were prohibited, but because of various appeal procedures it was to be a long time before those prohibited uses were actually stopped.

In June 1970, Secretary of Interior Walter Hickel banned the use of DDT and other persistent pesticides on Department of Interior lands. And, in September 1970, an advisory committee of the National Academy of Sciences reported that DDT and its derivations were "serious environmental pollutants."

In May 1971, EPA Assistant Administrator John Quarles said:

Because there is a substantial question as to the safety of DDT to man, wildlife, and the environment, the benefits and risks as-

sociated with its continued use should be resolved as quickly as possible.

In March 1972, after hearing from 125 witnesses and receiving over 300 documents and 8,900 pages of testimony over a period of 7 months, the EPA closed its hearings on whether or not DDT ought to be banned in this country.

Mr. Speaker, because a great many of us have been trying for so long to ban this persistent pesticide, I do not even know now whether to believe it has actually happened.

In a sense, it has not, for while the EPA decided to ban this pesticide for most purposes, that action has been put off, at least until December 31, 1972.

I think a lot of people deserve a great deal of credit for this action regarding DDT.

One thinks certainly of Rachel Carson who brought the problems associated with this pesticide to the public's attention. I think also of Senator GAYLORD NELSON of my own State of Wisconsin who was fighting against DDT when no one else would or could. And I think, too, of the many environmental groups which battled through administrative reviews, scientific reviews, public hearings, and lawsuits in their effort to rid our environment of this pesticide. Certainly their persistence rivaled that of their target.

Even with this latest announcement that the days of DDT are numbered at last, it is very obvious that the legacy of DDT will be with us for some time to come. DDT is a persistent pesticide. It stays in the environment for 10 or 15 years after it is used. Even though the use of this pesticide has decreased in this country in recent years, amounts of DDT have not perceptively decreased in the water and the soil.

The same is true, of course, of other pesticides and other chemicals which we are daily putting into our air, water and soil. So, while we can take heart from the DDT decision, we must do so with the recognition that a great deal more in this area remains to be done.

SENATE—Wednesday, July 19, 1972

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. JENNINGS RANDOLPH, a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, who giveth wisdom and understanding to all who call upon Thee, we beseech Thee to come upon Thy servants in this place to renew their energies, guide their consultations, conciliate their differences, accelerate their efforts that the work undertaken may be completed for the welfare of the Nation and in consonance with Thy will. Reward them with inner peace and harmony with Thy spirit. Guide the President and all our leaders through this age of peril and high promise to the day of the coming of Thy kingdom on earth.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., July 19, 1972.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. JENNINGS RANDOLPH, a Senator from the State of West Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
President pro tempore.

Mr. RANDOLPH thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the customary order, recognition of the majority and minority leaders, if they so wish, is in order.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, July 18, 1972, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FULL U.S. PARTICIPATION IN INTER- NATIONAL TRADE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 918, S. 1798.