

ment, which was offered for the Senator from Montana (Mr. METCALF), and which was inadvertently stricken from the bill be readopted and that, as thus amended, the bill be read a third time and passed, and that the vote be considered as having been reconsidered and laid on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. HART. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not—but I am glad that the very able Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) is still in the Chamber because I should like to remind him again of the hazards we are in when we proceed before we fully understand what we are doing.

I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLEN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the Senate will convene at 9 a.m. on Monday, October 9, 1972.

Following the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, the distinguished Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES) will be recognized for 15 minutes, to be followed by the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD) for

15 minutes, after which there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to exceed 15 minutes, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes.

Following morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of the unfinished business, H.R. 13915, the equal educational opportunities bill.

There is no assurance that ye-and-nay votes will not occur on Monday. They can occur on tabling motions, conference reports, and other bills which may be called up under short-time limitations, and so forth.

There will be a vote on Tuesday next, on the motion to invoke cloture on H.R. 13915.

The political weather for the week ahead appears to be somewhat cloudy and unsettled, with some turbulence showing on the radar. The barometer is falling, and as the week progresses, temperatures are expected to rise, with strong winds—gusty at times. Seat belts should be kept buckled in the event the busing becomes hazardous. Nothing, really, to be alarmed at—just seasonal expectations, the political calendar being what it is.

By Saturday, October 14, however, it is hoped that there will be a noticeable improvement in the forecast, with sunny skies and even temperatures—and, hopefully, a closing down of the weather station sine die.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY,  
OCTOBER 9, 1972, AT 9 A.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 9 a.m. on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to, and, at 6:08 p.m., the Senate adjourned until Monday, October 9, 1972, at 9 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 6, 1972:

UNESCO REPRESENTATIVES

The following-named persons to be Representatives of the United States of America to the 17th session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization:

- William B. Jones, of California.
- R. Miller Upton, of Wisconsin.
- Louise Gore, of Maryland.
- Jaquelin H. Humes, of California.
- Benjamin F. Marsh, of Ohio.

The following-named persons to be Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 17th Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization:

- E. Dorothy Dann Bullock, of Pennsylvania.
- Henry David, of the District of Columbia.
- Pierre R. Graham, of Illinois.
- James C. Haahr, of Minnesota.
- Chauncy D. Harris, of Illinois.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

PENSION LEGISLATION SHOULD  
BE DEBATED

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the Detroit Free Press has demonstrated a keen awareness of the urgent need for pension reform legislation as well as the failure so far of this Congress to produce.

A bill, S. 3598, is now on the Senate calendar. While it is not a satisfactory bill as it stands, that is no reason for the Democratic leadership not to call it up for debate so we could have a chance in this session to consider the subject of pension reform. If that opportunity is afforded, then I could, and would, be able to offer my stronger, more effective pension reform proposal as a substitute amendment. I stand ready to do just that, and I am confident that a majority in the Senate would support such an amendment.

The time remaining in this session of Congress is rapidly running out. Surely, there can be no excuse if the Senate adjourns for the year without even debating the subject of pension reform.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Detroit Free Press of October 5, 1972, be printed in the RECORD.

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

CONGRESS MUST PROTECT WORKERS ON  
PENSIONS

The Senate Finance Committee's dismissal of most key provisions of a plan to oversee and guarantee private pension systems cannot be permitted to stand. Too many workers in Michigan and around the nation have lost their pension rights after contributing to various plans for years.

Sen. Robert Griffin, who introduced the bill more than a year ago, has promised a hard fight to restore the deletions made by the committee without so much as a public hearing.

Still vivid in Sen. Griffin's mind is the experience of thousands of Studebaker Corp. workers who discovered there was no money in the pension kitty when the company failed. Studebaker has not been the only one; hundreds of plants have gone down, leaving faithful employes without the benefits around which they had planned their retirements.

There are other ways a worker can lose out on a pension, too. He may change jobs before he acquires pension rights, or hire on with a firm that does not have a plan for which he is eligible when he reaches retirement age.

Sen. Griffin's proposal would vest all participants in private plans after 10 years of service, meaning that if they should change jobs they would receive pensions at age 65 based on their previous service. A person might benefit from several pension systems, almost the equivalent of pension portability.

And an important feature of Sen. Griffin's plan is a provision for a federal pension insurance program covering losses of vested

benefits. Such a program would provide a pension in the event the firm went out of business in the interval between a worker's leaving it and his attaining pension age.

Ideally, a pension fund should have enough money in it to pay all current claims and those that might be made in the future. This is difficult where large numbers of workers are employed but the government should encourage sound pension funding.

Private pension plans are supplemental to Social Security. But Social Security benefits, even with the recent 20 percent increase, do not provide much more than minimum needs. Workers who toil for years to build up pension benefits should not lose them. There are few legal safeguards to protect them, however, and there should be.

TENTH CONVENTION OF BYELORUS-  
SIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Toronto, Canada, was the site of the 10th convention of Byelorussians of North America on September 2, 3, and 4. I insert in the RECORD a resolution unanimously adopted at the convention relating to Soviet-Russian domination of the Byelorussian people:

RESOLUTION

Whereas Russian rule over Byelorussia—first forcibly annexed by Muscovy in 1772

and 1793—was re-established by force of Bolshevik arms through destruction of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, which had been proclaimed independent on March 25, 1918;

Whereas the Soviet Byelorussian government, including its spokesmen in the United Nations, does not represent the will of the Byelorussian people, but constitutes a docile instrument of Russian imperialism and propaganda;

Whereas the wealth of the Byelorussian land is being siphoned off by the central Soviet government to finance Russian expansionist schemes throughout the world (with Byelorussian territories partitioned by Moscow in a political game between herself and Byelorussia's neighbors);

Whereas the Communist Party in Byelorussia, under the subterfuge of the so-called merging of nations, conducts an intensive campaign of Russification and discrimination against Byelorussian culture;

Whereas many Byelorussian patriots in Byelorussia, especially among the young and the intelligentsia, do their utmost to defend and develop Byelorussian national interests,

Therefore we the Byelorussians of Canada and the United States of America, gathered at the 10th biennial Convention of Byelorussians of North America in the great city of Toronto, Canada, on September 2-3, 1972, to commemorate the 90th birthday of two of the foremost Byelorussian poets and national leaders, Janka Kupala (murdered in Moscow in 1942) and Jakub Kolas (d. 1956), as well as to mark the 450th anniversary of printing in Byelorussia, to unanimously resolve—

To continue the struggle for re-establishment of a free and independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic;

To encourage in Soviet Byelorussia manifest trends toward liberalization, extension of civil rights, and cultural freedom;

To expose economic exploitation and Russification of Byelorussia, now being continued under the smoke screen of the 50th anniversary of Soviet federation;

To preserve in our own midst, along with Canadian and American values, our Byelorussian heritage—language, history, traditions, and the concern for the well-being of the entire Byelorussian nation;

To support any resistance among the Byelorussian people in the Soviet Union directed toward the restitution of Byelorussia's territorial integrity and free development of material and cultural values.

**MR. ABE HARSHMAN HONORED BY B'NAI B'RITH, CITY OF YOUNGSTOWN**

### HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, October 1, 1972, I had the pleasure of attending a banquet in honor of Mr. Abe Harshman at the Ohio Hotel in Youngstown, Ohio. The city of Youngstown proclaimed Sunday, October 1, 1972, "Abe Harshman Day" in his honor, and he received the National B'nai B'rith's 1972 Guardian of the Menorah Award. The Menorah, a seven-branched candle used in Jewish religious services, was inscribed on the base, "Mr. Abe Harshman, Guardian of the Menorah, October 1, 1972."

The Youngstown B'nai B'rith extended its appreciation to Mr. Harshman as an

outstanding humanitarian who is dedicated to the sacred task of preserving and extending the enduring values of the American and Judaic heritage. The tribute to Abe Harshman climaxed a 4-week campaign to raise funds for local and national service in human relations activities identified with youth, culture, and education.

In my remarks to the gathering, I said:

In my twenty-four years of public life, I have found that there are two characteristics that distinguish the leader from ordinary men: consideration for others, and integrity. These are virtues that spring from the heart. Abe Harshman possesses these qualities in abundance. To know Abe is a privilege. To be his friend is an experience to treasure.

During the banquet, Mr. Harshman received a copy of a resolution passed by the Ohio General Assembly honoring him, which was presented by State Senator Harry V. Meshel, and also a proclamation from Gov. John J. Gilligan, which was presented by Mr. J. Phillip Richley, director of the Ohio Department of Transportation.

Abe Harshman's accomplishments are many. He is a former city finance director and Youngstown Board of Education president, board member of the Youngstown Area Development Corp., Heritage Manor, Jewish Federation of Youngstown, and Youngstown-Mahoning Lodge 399 B'nai B'rith. In addition, he heads his own accounting firm and serves as secretary-treasurer of the Western Reserve Transit Authority. Above all, Abe Harshman is a fine human being. We are most fortunate to have Abe, his charming wife, Florence, and their children as members of our community.

### MSGR. REV. GENO BARONI IS HONORED

### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, tonight Msgr. Rev. Geno Baroni is being honored in my home town of Newark, N.J., as a favorite son of Columbus, Mr. Stephen Adubato, director of Newark's North Ward Educational and Cultural Center. As the keynote speaker for this evening, I would like to share my words with you at this time:

#### SPEECH BY PETER W. RODINO

It is with much pleasure that I stand before you tonight to honor Rev. Msgr. Geno Baroni as a favorite son of Columbus. Earlier this week, when I began to think about the specific remarks I would make at this time, I found the more I reviewed Columbus' character, goals and achievements, and the more I recalled the beliefs and actions of Father Baroni, these two men are so alike in their approach, their spirit, their leadership and their dreams that no honor could possibly be more fitting and no man could truly be more deserving of the recognition Msgr. Baroni is receiving from us this evening.

What does Christopher Columbus mean to us, to men of the 20th Century? Columbus was a prophecy of the America to come—of the immigrant who uprooted himself from his homeland in search of opportunity, of

freedom, of justice and of peace. While those of us of Italian heritage rightly point with pride to Columbus' origins and accomplishments, let us not forget the Hispanic contribution which supported his venture, the Portuguese charts which guided him, the British who colonized our shores, and the Irish, Italians, Germans, Slavs, and Poles, the men from every part of the globe, men of every color and creed who inhabited these shores, improved them, grew with them and who inspired their development. When we honor Columbus, we honor America's ethnicity.

"Every ship," wrote Emerson, "got its chart from Columbus". For Columbus personifies the very spirit of discovery, of distilling truth from myth, of overcoming seemingly insurmountable odds. He is remembered as a man who fought tenaciously and suffered terribly because he wanted to find the truth and make it triumph. He roused the world—he stirred it up—and he launched it toward a new destiny. Through his own suffering, his own feelings, he came to know man; he penetrated deep into the human soul. He stands as a great example, a great light that permits us to understand in a better way, our world of today. The challenge of discovery, of invention, of exploration continues to kindle in our hearts. From the crucial clues to the causes of our fatal diseases, to the complicated answer to the problems of crime in our streets, to the myriad of perplexing questions confronting us today, this is a time for renewing our struggle to improve the quality of life and to search for betterment in all aspects of society.

Rev. Msgr. has become a leading social and intellectual force behind a growing realization, behind a rediscovery throughout our country that by emphasizing the positive aspects and benefits of ethnic awareness and ethnic identity among the many ethnic groups that comprise this nation, we can help foster greater understanding among all peoples. He calls for "a new American dream"—"the dream of an urban ethnic pluralistic society to enable diversity to become an asset instead of a liability."

Father Baroni feels that the melting pot not only did not work in our society, but the idea that it should work has left a great many people in doubt about their own heritage. Economically, culturally, socially and politically, ethnics are alienated and disillusioned. He believes this nation suffers from a lack of social conscience: we fail to recognize the interdependence of our society. A greater degree of personal awareness, a stronger feeling of self respect must be generated. Msgr. Baroni believes that once an individual is able to better answer the question, "who am I", he can begin to relate to, to respect and to understand other cultures and other heritages. And, once this sensitivity gathers strength and momentum, once men reaffirm their belief and trust in their own abilities, they will view much more clearly their own contribution to the continued development of those basic goals of freedom and self-fulfillment first established by Columbus and our early immigrants.

I recall the words of the ancient biblical scholar, Hillel: "If I am not for myself, who then is for me? But, if I am only for myself, what am I?"

Father Baroni strongly feels that the working class ethic of self-help and self-determination must be reemphasized. He stresses the need to zero in on issues of primary concern to white ethnics—inner city home financing, employment, occupational safety, health care.

On September 29, *The New York Times* published an article entitled, "The City's Italian-American Needy: Too proud to take aid they earned". The article explained how many ethnic groups are completely unaware that funds are available for their utilization. The work of father Baroni is sited.

Father Baroni has set about the task of making these groups aware—of providing them the information and research services, of helping them to develop the community structures and leadership to enable them to meet their legitimate needs more effectively. He has sponsored workshops and discussions on such vital topics as "Issues and Priorities of Urban Ethnic America." The son of an immigrant coal miner, raised in Acosta, Pennsylvania, Msgr. Rev. Geno Baroni, a graduate of Saint Mary's College and Seminary, came to Washington in the early 1960's. Since that time, he has not stopped representing the Archdiocese in his fervent efforts in civil rights, poverty, housing, employment, in all areas of urban affairs. He has served as a consultant to congressional committees, to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, to the Office of Economic Opportunity, to the D.C. Human Relations Committee, and to the National Commission on Cities. In 1968, he helped organize project commitment, a program that brought 6000 suburban whites and inner city blacks into a series of meetings on race and poverty.

Father Baroni refers to himself as a "Church Urban" guy and in the 1970's, he became the cofounder of programs including the University Neighborhood Council, Capitol Hill Start, the Model Inner City Community Corporation, the Housing Development Corporation, Washington Pre-schools incorporated, the Opportunities Industrialization Center and the Inter Religious Committee on Race.

Rev. Msgr. Geno Baroni is the director of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs in Washington, D.C.—a center established as a response to the intensifying urban crises and the needs of working class ethnic Americans as a key step towards developing meaningful social change and a new direction for urban America. The task confronting father Baroni is most difficult. He hopes, through his endeavors, to lay the groundwork for possible cooperative efforts between black, brown, and ethnic groups on issues of mutual convergence and self-interest. For all men, from all walks of life, basically desire health, happiness, and the freedom to grow, develop and to seek the fulfillment of all life's blessings. Thus, Msgr. Geno Baroni, in his hopes, his goals, and his dreams and leadership, is a true descendent of Columbus. Let us truly welcome him tonight and let us all wish him continued success in his voyage for justice, peace and freedom for all men.

#### CONSEQUENCES OF RATIFICATION OF THE EASTERN TREATIES FOR EUROPE

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Rupert Dirnecker is the chief foreign affairs counsel of the Christian Democratic Party—CDU. In this capacity he is responsible for the input in the field of foreign affairs on the policymaking level in the CDU as it effects the current campaign before the forthcoming November 19 elections in West Germany.

This article of Dr. Dirnecker's, to be published soon, gives a clearcut view of the CDU policymaking group on the East-West relationships and the necessity for commitment of the Federal Republic of Germany towards the Atlantic Alliance and the United States as opposed to risky "opening to the East" and

excessively strong attachment to the Soviet Union. Dr. Dirnecker thinks that the "Western-culture nations of Europe are bound closer to America, the sister of Europe, than to Russia," and that "neither enticements nor threats will deter the CDU/CSU from the path of unification of the free part of Europe and the Atlantic Defense Alliance."

The CDU/CSU party modified the eastern treaties with Moscow and Warsaw of the present West German Government by the joint resolution of the German Bundestag of May 17, 1972, approved by the Bundestag during the ratification debate. Dr. Dirnecker explained in this article the meaning of this resolution and clarified its consequences.

I commend this insightful article to my colleagues:

#### CONSEQUENCES OF RATIFICATION OF THE EASTERN TREATIES FOR EUROPE

(By Rupert Dirnecker)

I

The Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic of August 12, 1970, as well as the Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Polish People's Republic of December 7, 1970 passed the legislative bodies of the Federal Republic of Germany and became effective under international law with the exchange of ratification documents.

The Four Power Agreement on Berlin, jointly with the incorporated understandings between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Berlin Senate on one side, and the German Democratic Republic on the other, came into force by signing the final protocols on the same day.

Thus ended the first phase of the Ostpolitik of the Brandt Government.

Many people in Germany or in the friendly Western countries who have been concerned that the internal political confrontation over the Eastern Treaties could endanger the present stability of the democratic system in the Federal Republic of Germany could be inclined to breathe easier now that the controversial treaties are no longer on the agenda. Unfortunately there is no reason for rejoicing. The treaties are still very much on the agenda with all the consequences for the future of Germany and Europe which are not foreseeable now. Pressures emanating from the Eastern Bloc can already be felt to the effect that immediately after the struggle for the ratification of the Eastern Treaties the fight for their interpretation and implementation must start.

II

CDU/CSU, the strongest party in the German parliament, was always conscious of its responsibility for the reconstruction initiated by the CDU/CSU, of a democratic Germany linked closely with the free world. The CDU/CSU, therefore, warned from the very beginning against the dangers of the Brandt Government's Ostpolitik in view of its basic concept, timing and methods of negotiating. The party therefore could not agree with these treaties inasmuch as they were the product of an exclusive policy and one-sided initiative of the Federal Government.

The CDU/CSU has tried time and again to limit to an acceptable level the dangers and risks of this Ostpolitik for the national and European interests. By maintaining its consistent attitude the party not only contributed to the improvements in the Berlin Agreement which is politically inter-related closely with the Eastern Treaties, but it also induced the Soviet leadership to re-evaluate its previous absolute rejection of the Western European unification. Finally, due to the fact that the Federal Government in the meantime became dependent on the support

of the opposition after sliding to the parliamentary minority, the CDU/CSU was able to approve in the Bundestag a *Joint Resolution of the German Bundestag to the Eastern Treaties of May 17, 1972.*

This political and legal declaration of principles by the German Bundestag, approved subsequently by the Bundesrat, was then adopted by the Federal Government and presented to the parties of the Treaties as an official note of the Federal Republic of Germany. This note establishes effectively, in terms of international law, the German interpretation of the ambiguous Treaties and the ensuing necessary German legal reservations.

The Resolution contains, first of all, the following significant clarifications:

1. The treaties, according to the German interpretation, serve to establish a *modus vivendi* for the Federal Republic of Germany with its Eastern neighbors, however, the treaties do not prejudice the final settlement of the central problem of security and peace in Europe.

2. In particular, the treaties are not a substitute for the peace treaty settlement for Germany as a whole and do not constitute a legal basis for the frontiers as they exist at the present time.

3. The inalienable right of the German people for self-determination is not affected by these treaties and the solution of the German question is not prejudiced. A peaceful policy of restoring the national unity of the German people is not in contradiction to these treaties.

4. The treaties do not affect the continuing and unlimited validity of the 1954 German Treaty in which France, Great Britain and the USA have pledged to work together with the Federal Republic of Germany in order to achieve, "by peaceful means," the common goal, i.e., a reunited Germany, having a liberal democratic constitution, similar to that of the Federal Republic of Germany, and integrated into the European Community.

5. The treaties do not infringe upon the rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers with regard to Germany as a whole as well as with regard to Berlin; the continuation of these rights and responsibilities to remain in force until the final settlement of the German question is considered to be of essential significance by the Federal Republic of Germany.

6. The Federal Republic of Germany is reiterating its allegiance to the Atlantic Defense Alliance and its resolution to unflinchingly continue to work for the policy of European unity with the view of gradually developing the European Community into a political Union.

7. The Federal Republic of Germany is confirming its determination of maintaining and further developing its ties with Berlin.

8. The Germans in Germany are guaranteed the free movement of people, ideas and information by the process of normalization of relations between the two parts of Germany.

The improvement of the treaties through this Resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the voices of the opposition, opened the possibility for the CDU/CSU to abandon its negative attitude towards the treaties themselves and instead, by an abstention vote (qualified by a few "nay" votes) to permit the passage of the treaties, but at the same time disassociate itself from bearing the responsibility for these treaties.

This abstention vote, therefore, was not a flight from a decision but a deliberate and firm decision made in an unfortunate situation where a choice had to be made between several evils. There was on one side the choice of wrecking the treaties signed by the Federal Government with all the consequences harmful to the international credibility of the Federal Government and the Federal Republic of Germany; or on the other the

unqualified acceptance of the treaties; or finally the choice of letting the treaties pass only by the vote of the governmental coalition with a simultaneous adoption of a resolution of the German Bundestag containing the German interpretation of the treaties and establishing political and legal limitations.

The abstention vote does not mean that with this action the overall Ostpolitik concept of the Federal Government or the conduct of negotiations are subsequently approved.

The abstention vote does not mean the approval of the ambiguous attitude of the Federal Government when on one side it accepts without protest the Soviet and Polish interpretation of the treaties while on the other a different interpretation is being used for the domestic purposes. On the contrary, the resolution adopted by the German Bundestag laid open the discrepancies contained in the treaties and obligated the present Federal Government as well as all future ones to defend the German interpretation of the treaties contained in the resolution. By notifying, in accordance with requirements of the international law, all partners to the Treaty the safeguards have been taken that a policy conducted on the basis of this interpretation could not be held against the Federal Republic of Germany as a violation of the Treaty.

### III

It follows therefore that the Resolution of the German Bundestag is of considerable importance to any future German policy. Since however the Resolution cannot change the treaties themselves, being only a unilateral German interpretation of the treaties, *the misgivings of the CDU/CSU remain as strong as ever against the treaties and against the policy they are serving, that is either the Western policy of Moscow or the Ostpolitik of the Brandt Government.*

These misgivings are caused, *firstly*, by the ambiguity of the treaties. According to the German interpretation the treaties are solely supposed to establish a modus vivendi, keep the German question, including the territorial question, open and not exclude or prejudice the settlement by a peace treaty. The Soviet and the Polish partner on the other hand interpret the treaties in the sense of a final recognition of the territorial status quo in Eastern and Central Europe and of the partition of Germany.

According to the German interpretation the pledge to forego the use of force stipulated in Article 2 of the Moscow Treaty is the dominant concept, to which the pledge not to apply force against the existing frontiers in Europe, contained in Article 3, is subordinated. The Soviet Foreign Minister on the other hand declared during the ratification debates of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on April 12 and again on May 30, 1972, that Article 3, dealing with the frontiers constitutes the heart of the Moscow Treaty and made the pledge for a mutual renouncement of the use of force dependent upon the recognition of frontiers as well as upon a positive political conduct of the Federal Republic of Germany.

This fundamental difference threatens to become a source of future conflicts in which, due to the absence of a neutral peace court, the stronger treaty partner, in this case the Soviet Union, could be tempted to try to win by applying pressure. Because of this possibility alone the treaties seem to be unsuitable to achieve a true normalization which is also being sought by the CDU/CSU.

*Secondly*: In the already announced struggle by the East for the interpretation and implementation of the treaties the political strategy of Moscow strives towards extension of the achieved capitulation of the Federal Government before the demands placed by the Soviet Bloc for several decades from the treaty level into the level of practical politics.

The Federal Government will now have to prove by deeds that it stands by the interpretation of the treaties as stated in the German Parliament and announced to the German public, as confirmed in the Joint Resolution of the German Bundestag. The Government would have to prove by deeds that in the implementation of these treaties it strives to achieve different goals than those pursued by the Soviet Western policy.

The CDU/CSU conscious of national and European responsibility will support the Federal Government in this respect. The CDU/CSU will remain true to this commitment also when it will take over again the government itself.

*Thirdly*: A German policy bound by the principles set forth in the Joint Resolution of the German Bundestag is being confronted first of all after the ratification of the Eastern Treaties with the Soviet demand of recognizing the partition of Germany. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Podgorny while passing the Moscow Treaty on May 30, 1972, have already urged to speed up the fulfillment of pledges given by the Federal Government in the Resolution of Intent, added to the Moscow Treaty, as well as during the Brezhnev-Brandt meeting at Oreanda near Yalta in September 1971, to promote the admission of the two German States into the United Nations and, thus, pave the way to a general international recognition of the second German State.

The Federal Government will now have to prove by its actions whether its Ostpolitik and policy on Germany, both of which based on the "change through rapprochement" thesis proclaimed by Bahr already in 1963, are producing the expected results. The Government must prove that it can overcome the policy which it introduced in 1969 by a unilateral hasty recognition of the state status for the so-called German Democratic Republic which was the breach of the existing unanimity of opinion of all democratic parties and lead to policies which will bring about the opening of the bloody demarcation line stretching across Germany, permitting more freedom for the Germans in the part of Germany occupied by the Soviets, to alleviate the hardships of a divided nation and finally to overcome the division.

Or, on the other hand could it be that these apprehensions will prove to be tragically true, and the result of this policy will be the permanency of the partition of Germany by constitutional and international law, with a simultaneous acceptance of a totalitarian regime on the German soil and a further partition of this regime from free Germany under the slogan of "ideological struggle"?

Will the present self-assurance of the German people become so shattered by this policy of unilateral rapprochement of the Federal Republic to the Communist power regime that the Germans in both parts of Germany politically and morally confused, might be induced to give up their birthright of self-determination and become satisfied with a paltry dole of phony relaxation adorned with some easing of tensions, welcome, of course, but revokable at any time?

The will for reunification of the German people constitutes so far one of the strongest pro-Western political potentials due to the manifested desire of German people for a liberal, democratic, and constitutional state well integrated in a free and unified Europe. The question is, however—will the combination of the Volksfrontpolitik at home and the Soviet carrot and stick policies succeed in transforming this potential to the extent that the expected future national communist slogans of reunification emanating from East Berlin would induce Germans in the Federal Republic of Germany to give up their own freedom and solidarity with the West for a national reunification under a neutral or

communist banner, that is in any case under an anti-Western banner?

The present Federal Government will have to prove now its clear dissociation from the tendencies toward the Volksfront of left-Socialist and communist at home lingering in the shadow of the Eastern treaties and also from the neutralist tendencies of the "socialist in between Europe from Scandinavia to Sicily" or a "mediation role of a neutral Germany," and by its policies to prove that it is really committing itself for free democracy and the solidarity with the European and Atlantic community.

*Fourthly*: The struggle for the domestic and foreign policy orientation of the Federal Republic of Germany which intensified in connection with the Eastern Treaties now assumes European and global political dimensions. Referring to the ratified Eastern Treaties Moscow is demanding with increased insistence that the Federal Government honors pledges contained in the Resolution of Intent to the Moscow Treaty and those made at Oreanda for an active support of the "Conference for the Security and Collaboration in Europe" which is being launched by Moscow.

The aims and purposes for this initiative launched by Moscow already in 1954 and pursued with increased vigor since 1966 are well known—

Multilateral approval of the legalization of the direct and indirect Soviet annexations in Eastern and Central Europe which were so far confirmed bilaterally by the Eastern Treaties;

Automatic reevaluation of the German Democratic Republic by allowing its participation in the Conference on equal footing, thus consolidating the partition of Germany;

Disrupting and preventing the policy of West European unification;

Utilization of the West European economic and technological potential for the Soviet Bloc;

Exclusion of the United States from Europe.

By using the slogan of "One Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic" as a decoy, the unification of the free Europe would be arrested. At the same time the political and psychological basis for the presence of the United States in Europe is being questioned by the switch in the meaning of the geographic concept of "Europe," which, as viewed from Moscow, includes the "European" Soviet Union but excludes the "geographically alien" America. The final goal of the overall European concept advanced by Moscow is, therefore, the destruction of the results so far achieved in the unification of the free part of Europe, the splintering of this Europe into powerless and defenseless national states of an antiquated character, and the dissolution of the Atlantic Defense Alliance. The outcome of this policy would be not only the final consolidation of the Soviet domination over Eastern Europe, but its extension until the Atlantic Ocean as well. In conformance with this global concept Moscow would thus secure her Western flank for her confrontation with China. At the same time Moscow would have achieved a decisive preponderance over its American rival with the absorption of the human and material potential of Western Europe.

It is difficult to understand what were the reasons which induced the Brandt Government, not only to agree to this anti-European and anti-American Moscow concept in the framework of the Moscow Treaty, but also to become its most active supporter in the non-Communist world. The Federal Government will have to face very soon the decision either to yield further to the enticements and pressures on the part of Moscow or prove in actions that it stands behind its verbal pledge to build its Ostpolitik on the Western Alliance.

### IV

The CDU/CSU, the Party of Konrad Adenauer, in face of these on-rushing historic

decisions is conscious more than ever of its responsibility towards Germany and Europe. In the Joint Resolution to the Eastern Treaties the CDU/CSU has succeeded to reassert that a resolute continuation of the unification of the free part of Europe and the strengthening of the Atlantic Defense Alliance remains the guiding principle of German security as well as of the German foreign policy. Neither enticements nor threats will deter the CDU/CSU from the path of European unification which was traced out by Konrad Adenauer, Robert Schuman and Alcide de Gaspari. The party will see to it that Germany will never again venture in an unprotected and, in view of the contemporary balance of power, more than ever fateful adventure in nationalistic see-saw politics between West and East.

For the CDU/CSU a united and strong Western Europe is an indispensable prerequisite to ensure security, peace and progress in Europe through an equally balanced and equal Atlantic partnership, and an open German question for a free Germany.

The attempts to re-establish the historic links with the countries of Eastern Europe and steps for real negotiations with them and with the Soviet Union became possible and meaningful only on this strong common basis whenever these countries were ready not only for negotiations but also for understanding.

The CDU/CSU hopes that with these policies it will not stand alone. The catastrophic consequences of the appeasement policies of Western Democracies against the dictator Hitler, which once before abandoned the freedom-loving forces in Germany must be a warning against the repetition of similar policies towards the communist dictatorships.

Finally, let us hope that the friendly nations of Europe will not become seduced by the psychological image of preparations for the "Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe" and by the anti-American propaganda from Moscow. Let us hope that those nations of Europe will understand the common historic, spiritual, political and socio-economic background by which the real Europe, including the Western-culture nations of Eastern Europe are bound closer to America, the sister of Europe, than to Russia with her 1000-years of distinct historical development, even though geographically closer.

#### MARXIST AGRICULTURE FAILS TEST

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, growing evidence is reaching us of the extent of the Soviet crop failure which observers agree is not merely caused by abnormally poor weather, but by the basic structure of Soviet agriculture. A very timely and hard-hitting column by Dumitru Danielopol, the distinguished international correspondent of the Copley Press, in the Sacramento, Calif., Union of September 16, is a thorough analysis of this subject. I insert it into the RECORD at this point.

#### MARXIST AGRICULTURE FAILS TEST (By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—The chickens of Russia's Marxist agriculture are coming home to roost with a vengeance.

The Soviet plan to buy \$750 million in farm products from the United States in the next three years "clearly indicates that the

Soviet Union is on the verge of a major agricultural crisis," writes London's "Soviet Analyst."

The 1972 grain outlook in the USSR is 125 million metric tons, compared with 145 million in 1970 and 140 million in 1971.

The Kremlin blames it on cold spring weather, the hottest summer in 26 years and heavy rains during the harvest.

Weather was undoubtedly a factor but real causes of the present disaster, says the "Soviet Analyst," go back decades, to Stalin's collectivization.

"Agriculture has been run in a state of semi-permanent emergency, which now and then erupts into a full-fledged crisis," the London paper says.

The Soviet counterpart of a United States farm which employs seven workers in the United States needs 211 people and produces less.

Lack of incentives, lack of enthusiasm, unproductive supervisory labor have brought catastrophic results.

One American farm worker feeds himself and 39 others on a high protein diet.

One Soviet citizen working on the land feeds himself and six others on a starch diet.

Soviet leaders are not oblivious of these facts.

The efficiency and high production of American farms has fascinated Russia's Communist leaders for years.

Nikita Khrushchev tried to emulate some of the American techniques and the Soviet Union reported an over-all crop increase of 44 per cent between 1957 and 1968.

But, the Russian farmers had to be given what the U.S. News and World Report calls "a sweet taste of capitalist incentives."

The private plots allocated to the collective workers totaled only 3 per cent of the farm land but produced in 1971 as much as 63 per cent of the country's potatoes, 38 per cent of the vegetables, 51 per cent of the eggs and 33 per cent of the meat.

Even a diehard Communist planner must see that the obvious answer to the farm crisis is to redistribute the land to the farmers.

The Kremlin balks. It prefers to spend hard cash and gold abroad rather than risk a market economy at home that would free farmers from governmental control.

Under similar circumstances in other years, Stalin let the peasants starve and kept his cash.

Khrushchev began buying grain only after bread was rationed and ugly tempered lines formed in the cities.

Brezhnev and Kosygin obviously have decided to buy now before people start getting hungry.

It tells something about their own estimate of the people's mood in the USSR.

Twenty years after Stalin's death, food riots could get out of hand.

#### TRIBUTE TO TOM PELLY

### HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1972

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding citizen of the great Pacific Northwest will soon end 20 years of distinguished service in this body and return to his native State of Washington to retire. I view TOM PELLY's impending departure from Congress with mixed feelings. Because it is his wish to close the cover on his CONGRESSIONAL RECORD after a full score years of service, I bid him aloha and wish him well in all of his future endeavors. Because of his

considerable expertise in maritime matters, however, I deeply regret his departure from Capitol Hill.

TOM PELLY, as the ranking minority member on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, demonstrated time and time again a complete understanding and full appreciation of the problems of insular Hawaii. Representing a district in a State that borders the vast Pacific, he knew the demands and the treasures of the sea. This knowledge he applied with keen insight and good judgment whenever the interests of Hawaii were involved in pending legislation.

From the time he cast his vote in favor of statehood for Hawaii to his recent support of a bill signed into law on September 29, 1972, which is designed to revive the tuna fishing industry in Hawaii and our Pacific territories, Tom has built a solid record as one of Hawaii's foremost champions in Congress. The citizens of the insular State are indeed grateful for all that TOM PELLY has done for them.

As TOM returns to the State of Washington for his hard-earned retirement years, I sincerely hope that he and Mrs. Pelly will have occasion to visit Hawaii frequently. It is also my sincere hope, in order that this Nation may continue to have the benefit of his extensive knowledge and experience in the maritime field, that he will be given an early appointment as U.S. delegate to one of the sea conventions.

#### FOREIGN FISHING ACTIVITIES OFF ALASKA

### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, according to the August 1972, "Report on Foreign Fishing Off U.S. Coasts" recently released by the National Marine Fisheries Service of the Department of Commerce, foreign fishing off Alaska peaked in July when over 500 vessels were observed, and decreased by almost 50 percent in August. This decrease was due in large part to the departure of the Japanese salmon fishing fleets—about 240 vessels. However, approximately 215 Japanese vessels engaged in fisheries off Alaska in August. In contrast to the Japanese effort, that of the Soviet fishermen was small.

I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that portion of the "Report on Foreign Fishing Off U.S. Coasts" which deals specifically with foreign fishing off the coast of the State of Alaska:

#### OFF ALASKA JAPANESE

Approximately 215 Japanese vessels engaged in fisheries off Alaska in August. This sharp decline from the 470 vessels fishing there in July resulted from the departure of the Japanese high-seas salmon fleets at the end of July.

In the Pacific ocean perch fishery, the Japanese deployed 18-24 stern factory trawlers from the Gulf of Alaska to the western Aleutians. The number of stern trawlers in the Gulf of Alaska decreased slightly from 10 in July to about 8 vessels in August. The

fishery was widespread along the Continental Shelf edge in the eastern and central Gulf (see Fig. 5). The number of stern trawlers fishing for ocean perch along the Aleutian Island chain (primarily along the central Aleutians in the Seguam-Amukta Passes area) decreased from 14 to 10. A few trawlers fished along the western Aleutians.

In the Alaska pollock fishery, the Japanese deployed in early August 107 vessels, including 6 motherships. Later in the month, one mothership and 9 trawlers departed the Alaskan area, leaving 5 motherships and 96 trawlers fishing on the Continental Shelf in the northern central Bering Sea.

The number of "Independent" (because they operate independently of the motherships) stern trawlers fishing for groundfish in the Bering Sea increased from 15 to 24. At least 3 refrigerated transport vessels serviced the trawlers which fished along the Continental Shelf edge from Unimak Pass to northwest of the Pribilof Islands (see Fig 5).

In the crab fisheries, the Japanese had 46 vessels identified as 2 motherships, 38 catcher boats, and 8 "Independent" vessels. Their catch was primarily tanner crab. In early August, one fleet fished off the Pribilof Islands in the central Bering Sea, the other north of the Alaska Peninsula in the eastern Bering Sea. By mid-August, the fleet off the Pribilofs shifted to the eastern Bering Sea. The "Independent" processing and catcher vessels continued to fish with pots primarily for tanner crab west of 175° west longitude in the central Bering Sea. This fishery is outside the area covered by the U.S.-Japan crab treaty.

Reports in the Japanese newspapers, based on information obtained from the 2 crab motherships, indicate that in 1972 the catch of tanner crabs in the eastern Bering Sea decreased by about 30 percent compared with the 1971 catch. Whether this was caused by changing oceanographic conditions or diminishing abundance of the resource is unclear, the Japanese sources add.

The number of longline vessels fishing for sablefish in the Gulf of Alaska remained at 8. The vessels were widespread in the eastern and central Gulf with the principal effort being off the southwestern coast. Late in August, one vessel was sighted fishing south of the Fox Islands in the eastern Aleutians.

#### SOVIET

The number of Soviet vessels engaged in fisheries off Alaska increased slightly from 30 in July to 32 in August (compared with 24 in August 1971).

The number of trawlers fishing for groundfish along the Continental Shelf edge in the Bering Sea increased from 14 to 18. The fleet was divided: 8 medium trawlers fished north of the Fox Islands in the eastern Aleutians and 10 medium trawlers fished northwest of the Pribilof Islands in the central Bering Sea.

In the Soviet ocean perch fishery in the Gulf of Alaska 11 stern trawlers, supported by a refrigerated transport, fished along the outer edges of Portlock and Albatross Banks south and east of Kodiak Island. One whale catcher vessel was sighted in the area, but it is believed that it was serving as a patrol vessel and was not whaling. Along the western Aleutian Islands chain the number of Soviet trawlers increased from 4 to 2.

#### REPUBLIC OF KOREA

The number of South Korean vessels fishing off Alaska decreased from 4 to 2 stern trawlers in August. The two trawlers which had been fishing off the Pribilof Islands in the central Bering Sea departed. The two remaining stern trawlers continued fishing for ocean perch in the Seguam-Amukta Passes area in the central Aleutians.

Korean newspapers report that most of the country's vessels fishing for Alaska pollock in the North Pacific (including the 4 off

Alaska) shifted to the Atlantic. The price of Alaska pollock on Korean markets is about 50 percent below its normal, making this fishery uneconomical.

### CONGRESSMAN MINISH REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE ON THE 92D CONGRESS

#### HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, it is a time-hallowed custom for Members to point with pride to the achievements of their party and to view with alarm the shortcomings of their friends on the opposite side of the aisle. In all candor we must concede that there is a certain degree of substance to the criticism that the intensity of our pride and our alarm accelerates with the nearing of election day. However, the 92d Congress has achieved a record in many important fields that requires no embellishment. The facts speak for themselves. To illustrate:

#### HEALTH

"Health is our first wealth," but the truth is that the most affluent society in world's history is far from the healthiest. The life expectancy of American males ranks 18th compared to all other nations; the female life expectancy ranks 11th.

It is gratifying that this Congress has responded to our crisis in health by the enactment of such notable measures as the National Cancer Act of 1972; the National Heart, Blood Vessel, Lung and Blood Act of 1972; the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act; the Nurses Training Act; the National Institute of Arthritis, Metabolism, and Digestive Diseases Act; the Communicable Disease Control Amendments Act of 1972; the Sickle Cell Anemia Prevention Act; and the National Cooley's Anemia Control Act. In addition, the House has passed the National Institute of Aging bill while the Senate has acted upon the Emergency Health Personnel Act Amendments of 1972; the Health Facilities, Manpower and Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1972; and the Health Maintenance Organization and Resources Development Act of 1972. Other important public health measures have been reported from committees but have not yet received floor consideration.

As a prime sponsor of the Conquest of Cancer Act and cosponsor of the Cooley's anemia prevention bill and several other measures, I am heartened that this Congress has demonstrated its concern with preserving our most precious resource—health.

It must be emphasized, however, that laws, no matter how sound and prudent, are ineffective if not properly funded. The Presidential veto of the original appropriations bill for cancer research, hospital and health projects, and education programs was, in my judgment, shortsighted economy. The American

taxpayers are entitled to an adequate investment in programs that are literally of life and death importance to them and their families.

#### EDUCATION

The precept of the ancient Greeks, a sound mind in a sound body, is no less valid today. Again, this Congress has recognized its responsibility by the enactment of the landmark Higher Education Act Amendments which have been described as the most significant advance in the history of Federal support for higher education since the Land Grant College Act over a century ago. As a member of the generation whom the depression largely robbed of the chance to attend college—and as a parent of two college students—I was happy to support this breakthrough for higher education. Access to higher education should be the hallmark of a democratic society founded by men of vision and learning—regrettably, the public image of our founding Ms's is largely confined to Betsy Ross.

Unfortunately, confusion over the Office of Education regulations setting the eligibility standards for the guaranteed student loan program created grave difficulties for families, colleges, and banks. The emergency legislation postponing the effective date of this provision resolved the immediate problem. The Special Subcommittee on Education is considering the legislative changes needed to insure that, as intended by the Congress, more emphasis is given to the sons and daughters of middle-income families who have been barred from most educational aid programs. Caught on the horns of excessive taxes and spiraling living costs, middle-income Americans must sacrifice and go into debt to finance their children's education. It is past time that a way out of their dilemma was offered in our educational aid programs.

At the elementary and secondary level, the House passed in August the Equal Education Opportunities Act. The bill, which I voted for, states that the neighborhood school is the proper basis for determining school assignment; prohibits busing which alters established school district lines; prohibits busing except as a last resort; and prohibits any busing beyond the boundaries of the closest school or the next closest school. Grants are provided for basic instructional and supportive services for educationally-deprived students.

The thrust of our educational programs must be at giving all children a first-rate education that will enable them to develop their full potential.

#### SENIOR CITIZENS

If youth must be served, so must our seniors whose contribution to our national strength and progress can easily be overlooked by our affluent society. I am proud that this Congress responded to the urgent needs of our senior citizens by the enactment of the 20-percent increase in benefits effective October 1. But we must not respond only to an emergency; we must make the social security system worthy of its name by enacting the improvements that are so

obvious and yet so ignored. To name only a few: a realistic "retirement test" standard; equity for working wives; coverage for prescription drugs under medicare. It is gratifying that the Senate is finally considering H.R. 1, the Social Security Amendments, which passed the House June 22, 1971. I applaud the Senate decision to raise the amount which can be earned by retirees to \$3,000 and to direct the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct a study of the retirement test. The HEW Secretary must submit to Congress by June 1, 1974, his recommendations as to the feasibility and desirability of eliminating the retirement test altogether. I urge the Senate to act expeditiously on the other provisions of this major legislation. Time is precious to our senior citizens. Let us not dawdle.

#### ENVIRONMENT

Both youth and age—and the generations between—must depend upon our air and water for existence. As with our human resources, we have been wasteful of our natural environment, but there is reason for hope in the reawakening of the vital importance of our environmental relations. A constituent wrote me from Florida:

Here we are conscious of environmental relations, some of which are still being handled badly. Most of them, however, are being handled better than they were ten, or even five years ago. There is an observable increase in the awareness of the need for identifying our priceless, irreplaceable natural resources and treating them with the respect to which they, and our own survival as a race, entitle them and ourselves.

That this Congress has been aware of that need is evident in the Federal Water Pollution Control Amendments that won final approval last night after more than 2 years of work. As a sponsor of the original Clean Waters Act, I am most pleased at the successful culmination of the long drive to secure its enactment.

It is an appalling fact that 50 percent of the Nation's drinking water has been discharged only a few hours earlier from some industrial or municipal sewer. In the last 10 years, 128 known outbreaks of diseases or poisoning have been caused by contaminated drinking water. The pending legislation, designed to clean up our Nation's waters by 1985, will give new strength to rectifying these conditions.

Included in its far-reaching provisions is an allocation of \$18 billion for the construction of waste treatment plants over a 3-year period. The funds will be distributed to municipalities on a flat 75 percent Federal share without the requirement of State involvement. Many communities in the 11th district, as elsewhere in the Nation, have been anxiously awaiting this urgently needed assistance.

With respect to our total environmental relations, it should be noted that a modest estimate of the demands on the Federal budget for an adequate program would raise the present outlay of \$5 billion a year to about \$15 billion, an increase of some \$50 billion over the next 5 years. It is obvious that the costs can be met only through a vigorous, growing economy.

#### REVENUE SHARING

The problems faced by our local governments in financing waste treatment plants and other essential public services point up the absolute need for a Federal revenue-sharing plan. I have long advocated this concept as the only viable means of enabling hard-pressed State and local governments to meet the ever-growing demands for public services. Reliance upon regressive property and sales taxes for local needs has reached the saturation point; excessive property tax increases entail real sacrifices to homeowners. The revenue-sharing legislation, now happily nearing final congressional action, will allocate Federal funds for 5 years to States and localities.

This should be a substantial step forward in alleviating the drain upon local revenue systems, helping local governments make flexible and innovative responses to their particular problems, and redressing the imbalance in our present intergovernmental fiscal relationship.

This is one of the most significant measures taken up by the Congress for the citizens of our urban areas who have for too long borne the burdens of our changing society. The need for relief from those burdens is evidenced in the fact that in my recent poll property taxes ranked second of 15 major issues of concern to the residents of the 11th Congressional District.

#### DRUGS AND SAFE STREETS

As reflected in my recent poll, property owners, tenants and landlords—all groups of citizens—are deeply troubled about these related problems. They ranked third and fourth as issues of chief concern to my constituents. It is clear that these challenges to safety, health, and morals must be met far more effectively than at present.

The crime problem in our country has never been as serious as it is today. We all know this from our own experience, and we can see it in the deserted streets and parks. This is confirmed by the FBI crime statistics that show a 33-percent crime increase since 1968.

The greatest single cause of our high crime rates is the need of heroin addicts to commit muggings and burglaries to finance their drug habits.

Eradication of the scourge of dangerous drugs is a formidable undertaking, but it must be done. For the addict and for our whole society nothing could contribute more to improving the quality of life than an end to heroin addiction. In an attempt to control the international narcotics trade, Congress gave authority to the President in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1971 to suspend all aid to any country not cooperating with the United States in stopping the flow of narcotics. Unfortunately the administration has not chosen to use this power to date although it is encouraging that the President on September 18 warned that he would suspend economic and military assistance to noncooperating regimes. But I fear that warnings of possible suspension are an ineffectual response to the very clear and present danger caused by increased traffic in drugs from abroad. Forceful diplomatic measures must be employed together with strengthened en-

forcement by U.S. agencies responsible for controlling the international narcotics trade. Every day we temporize means fresh tragedies for innocent victims of crime and their families.

While an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, it is good nevertheless that legislation is underway to grant Federal compensation to innocent victims of violent crime. This provision is contained in an omnibus anticrime package, recently passed by the Senate, that also includes: new national life insurance and death-compensation benefits for police and firemen; a 1-year extension of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, with \$1.75 billion authorized for grants to the States to beef up law enforcement; a provision making it a Federal crime to kill or injure police or firemen; a requirement that States receiving U.S. funds under the Law Enforcement Act set up narcotic and alcohol treatment programs in prisons and in probation and parole facilities; new legal tools to combat cargo theft and racketeering against businesses. I have urged the House Judiciary Committee to facilitate the submission of this meritorious legislation to the House.

#### HOUSING AND CITIES

As we work to insure the security of our homes and the safety of our streets, we must also advance the unfulfilled goal of a decent home in a suitable environment for all Americans.

The Oversight Task Force on Housing, to which I have been named, has been charged with the responsibility of assessing the effectiveness of the administration of model cities and other housing programs throughout the Nation. If programs are not meeting their objectives, despite the huge allocations of taxpayers' funds, it is essential that Congress ascertain whether the fault lies with the laws as written, with the regulations as devised by HUD, or with the execution at the local level. It is regrettable that an objective inquiry of this nature—which incidentally requires the sacrifice of precious weekends in their own districts for task force members—is libeled by those who apparently do not share the determination of Congress that the benefits reach the people for whom the programs were enacted.

I can speak for my colleagues on the task force as well as for myself in making clear that we will not be intimidated nor will we knuckle down under this unwarranted pressure.

#### ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I should like to comment briefly on the overriding domestic issue—the cost of living. Next to an end of the war, the high unemployment-high inflation morass in which this country has been floundering ranks first among the issues of concern to my constituents as it must to residents of all sections of the Nation.

I feel most strongly that we must achieve anti-inflationary policies that meet the objectives of public confidence, equity and effectiveness. It is only too evident that while wages and salaries are restrained prices and rents are allowed to soar. Inflation is ground into every

pound of hamburger until that once common item is becoming almost a luxury for the average family. Tenants in areas of acute housing shortages are paying luxury rents for antiquated, poorly maintained apartments. Since one must have food and a dwelling place, the average citizen must endure the inequalities and injustices under the so-called controls. I deeply resent the hardships to so many of my constituents and I shall continue to work for an effective and equitable stabilization program.

Mr. Speaker, this summary of the efforts of this Congress to respond to the

needs of the American people is only a measure of what remains to be done. The people have reason to wonder why all the programs beneficial to them are characterized as reckless spending and inflationary while subsidies to, for example, big agriculture, Lockheed, SST, and the Pennsylvania Railroad are defended in the most glowing terms. In the campaign 20 years ago—how distant it seems—Adlai Stevenson said words that bear repeating today:

Let's tell (the American People) the truth, that there are no gains without pains, that this is the eve of great decisions, not easy

decisions, like resistance when you're attacked, but a long, patient, costly struggle which alone can assure triumph over the great enemies of men: war and poverty and tyranny—and the assaults upon human dignity which are the most grievous consequences of each.

Mr. Speaker, the American people deserve no less from those who seek to serve them at all levels of government.

The preliminary results of a questionnaire sent in August to my fine constituents follow. These are based on approximately 25,000 replies received before the middle of September:

[In percent]

Do you favor—	Yes			No			Undecided		
	Yes	No	Undecided	Yes	No	Undecided	Yes	No	Undecided
1. Setting a "date certain" for complete American withdrawal from Southeast Asia contingent upon release of POW's?	59.0	32.5	8.5	48.0	41.0	11.0			
2. The current administration's Vietnam policy?									
3. Gun control:									
(a) Registration of all firearms?	78.5	15.0	6.5						
(b) Licensing of all purchasers?	81.0	11.0	8.0						
(c) Prohibition on handguns not suitable for sporting purposes except for law enforcement officers and the military?	75.0	18.0	7.0						
4. Maintenance of wage-price-rent controls indefinitely?							34.5	48.5	17.0
5. Diversion of some funds from Interstate highway System (now running about \$17,000,000,000 a year) to urban mass transit?							70.5	20.0	9.5
6. Prohibition of busing to overcome patterns of racial concentrations and equalize educational standards?							72.0	22.0	6.0
7. Tax reform:									
(a) Tax credits for college tuition expenses?							71.0	21.0	8.0
(b) Increase personal exemption rate to \$1,000 per dependent?							81.0	11.5	7.5
(c) Elimination of mineral depletion allowances?							53.0	18.5	28.5

Respondents were asked to check three domestic issues of chief concern to them. Following are the results for each topic listed:

Child Care Programs	1,200
Cost of Living	13,702
Consumer Affairs	1,476
Drug Traffic	9,876
Environmental Quality	7,925
Equality of Sexes	430
Higher Education Costs	1,423
Property Taxes	10,674
Rents	2,269
Safe Streets	9,778
Senior Citizens Housing	1,175
Social Security & Medicare	3,580
Tax Reform	6,572
Unemployment	3,025
Veterans Benefits	975

CHARLES E. KINNEY IS HONORED

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, September 30, Charles E. Kinney, commanding officer of the Newark Police Department's intelligence unit, was honored by the Veterans Civic League of New Jersey as "Veteran of the Year."

As a close friend of Mr. Kinney and as one who is well aware of his dedicated service to the citizens of the Newark community, I strongly feel that no honor could possibly be more fitting and no man could truly be more deserving of this particular commendation.

The recipient of the Silver Star, the Bronze Star, the Purple Heart, and the Combat Infantryman's Badge, Captain Kinney has been a member of the Newark Police Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars for more than 25 years. In 1950, he served as commander of this post and soon afterwards was elected commander of the Essex County VFW, followed by the positions of national chief of staff, na-

tional inspector general, national sergeant at arms, and national VFW council member.

In 1947, following in the footsteps of his father, Frank, a detective during the 1920's and 1930's, Captain Kinney joined the force of the Newark Police Department. Over the past 26 years, he has concentrated his efforts in detective work and presently holds a position of great responsibility in the department's intelligence unit.

As one who is deeply concerned with the crucial problems of crime in our streets, of drug addiction, and of safety for all Americans, the efforts and achievements of Mr. Kinney are of particular significance to me. I am pleased to have had this opportunity to share his accomplishments with you. I join with all those who so justly honored him last Saturday evening in wishing him continued years of success, happiness, and the fulfillment of all life's blessings.

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1972

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I certainly wish to join my colleagues on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries along with other Members who have addressed the House today on the planned retirement at the end of this Congress of the gentleman from Washington (Mr. Pelly), ranking minority member of the committee. Congressman Pelly and I were both elected to Congress for the first time in 1952 and were assigned to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries after we took our seats in the 83d Congress. I have had the pleasure of serving with him on that committee ever since.

While we have not always agreed in our positions on legislation coming before that committee, we have worked closely together on many bills and issues over the years out of a mutual desire to strengthen the American merchant marine as a vital part of our economy and of our national defense.

I express to Congressman Pelly my deep appreciation for the decent and honorable fashion in which he has always argued his viewpoints within the committee and for his willingness to consider alternatives and reach effective compromise solutions to controversial issues.

It is no wonder that he is so well liked by all of his colleagues in the House. He has been one of the most popular Members of the House—regarded as a friend who has never permitted political or ideological differences to color his personal relationships with other Members. I have enjoyed working with him, as I know other Members have, too.

Our best wishes go with him as he answers his last rollcalls here, turns the arduous duties of representing his constituents over to his successor, and frees his time for other interests after 20 years of very hard work as a conscientious Member of Congress.

HON. TOM PELLY

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, it is with pride and also regret that I join in this tribute to my freshman colleague in the 83d Congress and my respected friend over the past 20 years, the Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY.

I am proud to have been his associate, but I regret that his services in the Con-

gress of the United States will soon come to an end.

I do not know of any Congressman who has worked harder for the Nation over a period of 20 years than TOM PELLY. In his quiet way, he has been almost a master at getting things done.

The Nation will miss him and we, his friends, will miss him. I join in wishing TOM and Mrs. Pelly everything they desire in their well earned retirement.

#### JUDGE NANETTE DEMBITZ

### HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, after a hard, uphill struggle in the recent Democratic primary election in New York, Family Court Judge Nanette Dembitz has become the first woman ever nominated for the New York Court of Appeals, our State's highest court. Judge Dembitz has served on the family court in New York City for a number of years, prior to which she served as general counsel to the American Civil Liberties Union. She is an able and respected lawyer and jurist.

Recently the New York State Bar Association, without stating its reasons and without affording Judge Dembitz any opportunity to appear before its committee on judicial selection, declared her "not qualified" for the position which she seeks. The outcry from the bar in the State has been deafening, as well it should be. Among those speaking out in defense of Judge Dembitz is Walter Gellhorn, Betts professor of law at Columbia University and one of the Nation's foremost experts in the fields of administrative and constitutional law. Professor Gellhorn's letter to the New York Times is a most eloquent one, and I wish to include it in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks:

#### JUDGE DEMBITZ AND THE BAR

To the Editor:

Without entering discussion concerning the procedures of the New York State Bar Association's Judiciary Committee, to which The Times referred editorially on Sept. 27, I wish to record my belief that the committee (and, derivatively, the association) has made an amazingly inaccurate judgment of Judge Nanette Dembitz' qualifications to be a member of the Court of Appeals.

I have observed Judge Dembitz' professional work over the span of thirty-five years, ever since she was my student at Columbia Law School. Later I encountered her in governmental posts and as a leading appellate lawyer in cases of great difficulty and large public importance. I have also read a number of her unusually able writings in professional periodicals like the Columbia Law Review, the Federal Bar Journal, the American Bar Association Journal, the Cornell Law Quarterly and The Record of the Association of the Bar.

Most recently I have benefited from some of the penetrating opinions she has written as a judge of the Family Court, which has unfortunately not had a tradition of explaining important decisions, as she has done so usefully. Every phase of her activity has been marked by effectiveness in thought and execution. Her briefs have strongly influenced both substantive and procedural issues. She

has participated as well in many appellate cases in New York and Federal courts.

In sum, I know few lawyers who are as fully equipped as is Judge Dembitz—by intellect, experience, temperament and detachment—to sit as a member of our highest state court. Whatever may be the cause (and as to that I have no knowledge), I am convinced that the State Bar Association has erred badly—to the disadvantage of Judge Dembitz and to all who look to the association for disinterested guidance.

WALTER GELLHORN,  
Betts Professor of Law.

#### WEEKLY REPORTS

### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the following are my three weekly newsletters up through November 18, 1972:

[Report No. 44—October 29—November 4, 1972]

#### WHO KNOWS WHAT ABOUT CONGRESS?

"Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh." (Ecclesiastes, XII, 12)

This phrase comes to my mind with announcement, recently, of yet another "study" of the U.S. Congress. I imagine Congress must rank among the most-studied and written-about topics of all time. Sex, religion and war might nudge it out for first three places, I do not know. At any rate, the Library of Congress has no less than 144 drawers with reference cards under the heading "U.S. Congress." This fact alone makes claims for any study to be the definitive study quite hollow, I would think.

This latest one is under the auspices of Mr. Ralph Nader. Admittedly, his "Congress Project" is a sizeable undertaking. But anything even trying to go "in depth" on 435 Representatives, 100 Senators, 53 committees, rules, organization, and what-have-you, is going to require much more time, I would think, than the 12 months this project has been underway. Ph.D. candidates spend 2 to 3 years on one tiny topic.

Each Congressman and Senator received a questionnaire on this project with 633 individual questions. Some of them had multiple parts; my own count showed right at 1,000 line items. The Wall Street Journal said two years should have been allowed for completing the questionnaire. Another source figured completing it by all Congressmen and Senators would take up almost \$1,000,000 worth of time.

I answered mine in letter form (some Members refused to do anything with it at all) in a letter of 14 single-spaced typewritten pages. What use will be made of my replies, along with those of others, I do not know. I have read comments by Mr. Nader's people that they feel, now, the questionnaire was a mistake, as it will be too difficult to get any sort of accurate reading due to the size of it alone.

At any rate, Mr. Nader's project is getting considerable attention. It will, eventually, qualify for three or four more file cards in the 144 drawers of cards in the Main Reading Room of the Library of Congress. For the balance of this newsletter, I want to quote, verbatim, the concluding paragraphs of my letter to Mr. Nader:

"For the House of Representatives itself, I wish to repeat my earlier statement that it is, as it was originally intended to be, the actual 'voice of the people' in our system of government.

'It is interesting to note that when the

Constitution was proposed to the states, there were doubts about the House, that it might 'swallow up the liberties of the people.' John Jay and Alexander Hamilton argued against that idea in the New York convention. Hamilton put it bluntly: 'Here, sir, the people govern. Here they act by their immediate representatives.' Jay responded to the fear that the representatives themselves would prove dangerous to the country's liberties: 'I am not fearful of my countrymen.'

"The same point of view came up in the Massachusetts convention. Fisher Ames answered it eloquently:

"Much has been said about the people divesting themselves of power when they delegate it to representatives, and that all representation is to their disadvantage, because it is but an image, a copy, fainter and more imperfect than the original, the people, in whom the light of power is primary and unborrowed, which is only reflected by their delegates.

"I cannot agree to either of these opinions. The representation of the people is something more than the people. I know, sir, but one purpose which the people can effect without delegation, and that is to destroy a government. That they cannot erect a government is evinced by our being thus assembled on their behalf."

"And, as if to anticipate the 'studies' and 'watchdogs' who would 'make Congress more responsive,' Samuel Stillman noted at the same convention that a two-year term for Representatives was a major safeguard:

"They who are out of office will watch them who are in, with a most critical eye, in order to discover and expose their malconduct, if guilty of any, that so they may step into their places.' Besides, the Representatives . . . are ourselves, the men of our own choice, in whom we can confide; whose interest is inseparably connected with our own."

"Therefore, the burden of responsibility for ensuring that the Congress is 'responsive' to the needs of the country—not any one individual, axe-grinding group—was meant to rest, does rest, and always will rest with the American electorate.

"Whatever changes are made in Congress can, and only should, come about through the will of the very people who elect it. I have no patience with those who, when unable to bend Congress to their own particular will, start peevishly carping that the institution in and of itself is archaic, corrupt and unresponsive. The Congress has weaknesses; it has strengths. As to which weighs heavier in the balance, let me observe that we are soon to celebrate our two-hundredth anniversary, which will make us the world's oldest Republic, other than Switzerland. I scarcely think we could have reached our bi-centennial if our institutions were, or have been, so degenerate, and unworkable, as they have often been painted.

"In the end, it all boils down to one simple thing. Inasmuch as I have a 'creed' of my own that I follow, I, too, subscribe to this. It was the lifetime guidepost for Samuel Tilden, who suffered the great disappointment of having come within an eyelash of the Presidency in 1876. It is also carved on his tombstone:

"I still trust in the people."

WILLIAM G. BRAY,  
Member of Congress.

[Report No. 45—November 5—November 11, 1972]

#### ALL RIGHT, SO WHY VOTE?

"Language includes some noises which, first heard,

Cleave us between belief and disbelief.

The word America is such a word."

(WILLIAM MEREDITH).

It has been 130 years since the last attempt was made in America to deny the franchise to white male Americans. Since

that time, it has been downhill, as far as getting everyone access to the ballot box. True, progress has been slow; it has been accompanied, at times, by civil strife and bloodshed. But it has been achieved.

Of all our freedoms this one is probably most taken for granted. "Just one vote . . ." examples fill the printed page during every election year. What the election of November 1972 will do to past voting records in this country is, of course, yet to be calculated.

But, the question, "Well, why *should* I?" always comes up. Now, for this election, it might be well to take a look at the road that has brought us where we are now.

17th Century English colonists brought the idea of representative government. They also had the idea *all* voters must think alike. Massachusetts Bay wouldn't let a man vote unless he was a Congregationalist. A Presbyterian tried it; he went to trial for trying to destroy the government. Thomas Jefferson wrote, five years after the Declaration of Independence, that half the men in Virginia who paid taxes and served in the militia couldn't vote. John Adams, writing a state constitution for Massachusetts, narrowed the franchise.

It hasn't been without humor, this road. In the early 1800's in New Jersey a constitutional oversight gave women the vote. Men and boys dressed up in skirts and came back to the polls for a second time. Maybe a third, too, I don't know how far the art of cosmetics, eyelashes, corsets, wigs—everything and anything to change female appearances—was developed then. At any rate, New Jersey changed its constitution.

The Charter for the Virginia Colony was rather smug; one of the reasons for colonizing that area was "to bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility and to a settled and quiet government." The Englishmen had an impossible time setting up a "quiet government." However, Powhatan and his Indians already had one that was doing quite nicely.

Historians note that the plutocratic Athenian democracy had to pay citizens to vote; a sure sign, this, of decline in popular civic spirit and morale. The French Revolution enfranchised a large chunk of Frenchmen; yet, few of them bothered to vote in the pre-Napoleonic years. The Italians were indifferent to parliamentary government and the voting right prior to 1922. The result was the rise of Mussolini, and Fascism.

Germany in the 1930's shows nonvoters were an important factor in Hitler's rise to power. One-fourth failed to take part in the Reichstag elections in 1928. The number of participants rose in the early 30's. This was due to Hitler's promises of removing the frustrations millions felt under the Weimar Government. The older, more established parties kept their same figures, relatively. The Nazi Party increased, dramatically, and Hitler was on his way. Those who would have supported the other parties did not vote.

There are suggestions to make Election Day a national holiday. I find merit in this on several counts. One of the most important is to focus attention on the ultimate answer to and judgment upon what every elected public official does. The answer, of course, lies in the ballot box; so does the judgment.

So you don't like *any* of the candidates? You don't like the process? You think it is all a farce? I hope you recover from this feeling. Until you do, at least cast your vote for the overall institutions of the American Republic. Consider these lines from Shapiro's *Elegy for a Dead Soldier*:

"He cast his vote. Distrusting all the elected but not the law."

Indeed, The elected pass; the laws remain. So does our Republic.

[Report No. 46—November 12—November 18 1972]

#### DO YOU HAVE FAITH IN YOUR GOVERNMENT?

Has your confidence in the Federal Government slipped? A recent study by an Ohio State University political scientist says overall trust of the Government dropped nearly 20 per cent from 1964 to 1970.

I think a look at the possible "reason why" is in order. This survey, no doubt, will give ammunition to the enemies of our institutions, both domestic and foreign. But I believe using this figure would be firing blank ammunition.

What happened during those years to cause such slippage? Well, Al Smith always said, "Let's look at the record."

For openers—a presidential campaign statement in 1964 said:

"So just for the moment I have not thought that we were ready for American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys."

Encouraging, I'd say. It didn't work out that way. In the ensuing four years of the term as President of the man who said it (there were 23,300 in Vietnam when he said it) the total went to 549,000; 1968 saw 14,592 dead and 92,820 wounded.

For the record, the last American combat patrol was on August 11, 1972; total forces today are below 30,000, and shrinking.

I believe most of the decline in trust, however, can be traced to domestic developments. New Frontier—Great Society—they promised so much! I find it interesting, incidentally, that since 1968 both major political parties have shied away from attempts to use catchy slogans or titles. The Nixon Administration experimented—very briefly—with "New Federalism" or something like that, then dropped it like a red-hot anvil.

It was open market for theorizers of all stripes, beginning around 1961. The trend didn't really start to die until 1969. But in the meantime:

Crime? Oh, crime is the result of poverty! End poverty; end crime. Social welfare spending soared from \$25 billion in 1960 to \$91 billion in 1971. The end of neither poverty nor crime is in sight.

Alienation of minority groups? Waves of civil rights legislation surged through Congress. What was promised was much; what was delivered was broken hopes. Broken hopes, in part and in one way or another, resulted in the hideous spectacles of Watts, in Los Angeles; Detroit; Chicago—the riot list was endless, and culminated in the Washington, D.C. blow-up of 1968 when the tide of violence surged ten blocks from the White House and smoke from looters' fires framed the Capitol Dome itself.

Academic performance, in schools, and in terracial tolerance? Why, bus school children! The net result is the most bitter, divisive issue since the Civil War. (It's neither raised performance nor helped tolerance. I've never seen any idea blasted and damned so thoroughly as busing is getting in some recent reports.)

Housing? More public housing! Billions! Net result: communities torn apart, hideous scandals, billions lost, families uprooted, and a violent shove upwards on housing costs.

There was plenty of insight, centuries ago, as to why this sort of attitude was questionable at best and downright wrong at worst. Immanuel Kant wrote, "From such crooked wood as human beings are made, nothing exactly straight can be constructed."

Is it, really, any wonder that confidence in the Federal Government dropped? I think not. What else could be expected, given the glittering promises, and the sordid performance?

Now, this survey, be it right or be it wrong, will also give impetus to the columnist John

Roche calls "credit card radicals." It will also, as noted, mean an extension of the season for attacks on our institutions. There will be much weeping for "reform" (a treacherous word; reform is a constant process; no one group or individual has a corner on it) and anguished shrieks that not enough has been spent, so more must be committed.

However, these people were nailed accurately, albeit painfully, in a speech by one of our really intellectually honest liberals, Miss Midge Decker, at a League for Industrial Democracy banquet recently. I quote:

"As the nations of Western Europe, secure under the American nuclear umbrella, liberated from the palling economic necessities of their own defense, were freed thereby to become heedless critics of American foreign policy, so have (the radical intellectuals) been freed to deplore as recklessly and self-servingly as they wish the fruits of both our political liberty and our economic achievement."

But if this confidence has slipped, overall, it is only in what has been done in the name of the Federal Government, not in the institution itself. Of that I am certain. And the process can, and will be, turned around.

In *Julius Caesar* Cassius says to Brutus: "Men at some times are masters of their fates: The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings."

No—there is no fault in our stars—if I may use the term to indicate the intrinsic strength and fiber of our people, and of the strengths of our systems. "Ourselves," here, does not mean each of us individually, as I use the term. Rather, it applies to those who have set our course on the wrong road—a road, incidentally, I think we are now leaving for all time.

If we leave the course that has sent us whoring after false gods, which the courses of the Sixties certainly did, then I am confident that another such survey, taken in 1976, the 200th anniversary of our birth as a Republic, will see trust and confidence in our institutions and our Government on the rise. And I believe we will see it kept there, too.

#### FRANCHISING AND THE FTC: A BUSINESSMAN'S VIEW

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, for many individuals and for many political leaders the answer to every problem in our society, whether it is political, social, or economic, is Government intervention and Government control.

The fact that Government intervention in the past has created more problems than it has solved is consistently overlooked.

Now, the Federal Trade Commission is proposing new and similarly stifling regulations of the franchising industry. The need for such regulations, declares the Commission, comes from 12 days of hearings, 84 witnesses, and over 1,700 pages of testimony. The complaints, declared the Commission, were so many and so serious that Government intervention and regulation is needed.

One businessman, Ray O. Burch, vice president for marketing of the Schwinn

Bicycle Co. and chairman of the International Franchise Association's Legal-Legislative Committee, decided to review the evidence.

What Mr. Burch discovered was that many of the more than 2,000 pages submitted as evidence by the Federal Trade Commission did not relate to alleged complaints at all. The first documents were letters of transmittal, a college thesis, and a report on minority franchising. Following this were 66 sets of documents and comments on the new rules proposed by the FTC. Following this were 55 items billed by the FTC as franchise complaints, as well as 116 other complaints.

These complaints, Mr. Burch points out, were primarily concerning vending machines, and not franchising. Included were items concerning phony distributorships.

The complaints set forth as a basis for regulating the franchising industry are essentially cases of fraud which have nothing to do with franchising at all. Since the FTC does not have sufficient personnel to track thieves of this kind, suggests Mr. Burch, they have decided to remedy the problem by enlarging the definition of franchising so it covers every kind of business from General Motors to gas stations and bunco artists and have everybody file full disclosure statements with 27 different kinds of information and a 10-day cooling-off period to protect the innocent investor.

If these proposed FTC regulations are adopted the entire franchising industry will be subjected to the kind of bureaucratic harassment which, as we have seen, has destroyed competition and initiative in a host of already regulated and controlled industries. Franchising, notes Mr. Burch, may be the last frontier, the last chance for the small businessman.

If free enterprise is to continue, Government regulation must not be permitted to interfere with it, and to deprive the American consumer of a real choice in the marketplace.

I wish to share with my colleagues the statement made by Mr. Burch at the IFA's 5th Annual Legal and Government Affairs Symposium held in Washington, D.C., May 15-17, 1972. That statement follows:

I would like to extend our special thanks to Bob Pitofsky and Dan Hanscom for being on our program and sharing their views with us. Of course, protocol usually requires them to remind us that the views they express are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the commission. I hope they will extend me the same privilege and realize that any remarks I may make, complimentary or otherwise, are not necessarily my own views or my company's views or IFA's views. They are just an ordinary businessman's normal reaction to any proposal for more government red tape. With that disclaimer, I would like to talk to you about the recent FTC hearings on the Proposed Trade Regulation and Rule on Franchising.

Many of you here in this audience, lawyers and businessmen alike, attended the FTC hearings in February and many of you testified. During the twelve days of hearings, 84 witnesses were heard and over 1700 pages of testimony were put in the record, most of it by franchisors who opposed the rule either in whole or in part and who did a fine job

generally in representing the franchise community.

The record of the hearings support what most of us already accept as fact:

1. That franchising is big—a \$141 billion business annually.

2. That franchising is not an "industry," but a loosely defined method of distributing goods and services of all kinds in a wide variety of business arrangements which defy any common definition.

3. That franchising is good for the economy because it:

a. Serves the consumer better.  
b. Assures uniform quality of products and services.

c. Offers opportunity to "own your own business."

d. Helps the small businessman to compete successfully against big business, and last,

e. That the popularity of franchising has attracted a fringe element of fast-buck operators and bunco artists—and also there is a certain amount of discontent in some types of franchising. These two kinds of problems add up to what are commonly referred to as the "abuses" of franchising which are said to require regulation.

The so-called abuses of franchising in my opinion are badly misunderstood not only by government people but within the franchise community itself.

What are the "abuses?" What kind of "fraud" is taking place? Who is doing it? How are they doing it? What kind of complaints do franchisees register against franchisors? What kinds of franchise businesses are most often involved in business disputes or complaints?

These are the kinds of questions which need to be answered, I think you will agree, before any effective remedy can be devised. If you had sat through all 12 days of the FTC hearing as I did, you would have heard witness after witness endorse the principle of stopping the abuse. The first witness at the opening of the hearing, representing a U.S. Senator, said: "The records of this Commission show that there have been a substantial number of complaints. These abuses are too many in number to go unheeded."

If you will read the transcript of the twelve days of hearings, you will find almost no testimony was given which actually describes the unidentified abuses which were said to exist.

We had 84 witnesses and most of them spent twelve days telling about their own operations and vowing allegiance to morality in business, without ever once looking at the FTC records to see what kinds of complaints, fraud and abuse the proposed rules are supposed to correct.

Now, it occurred to me that someone should take a good look at that "substantial number of complaints" in the record to more accurately identify the problem before IFA could intelligently offer suggestions about revising the proposed Rule.

This book I have here contains the results of that study. This has been filed, by the way, with Mr. William Dixon, presiding officer at the hearing before the Federal Trade Commission. It contains one summary sheet for each of 246 documents or sets of documents which were filed in category (4) which is the category for complaints received from the so-called victims of franchise abuses.

The first thing I discovered was that many of the 2100 pages were not complaints. So I put the pages into classifications. The first six documents are letters of transmittals, a college thesis, a report on minority franchising, nothing to do with complaints.

Secondly, 66 sets of documents are comments on the rules. The Federal Trade Commission obviously had written to many lawyers, franchisees, ex-franchisees, trade asso-

ciations and had asked, in effect, "What do you think of these proposed rules?"

These are the replies. Now, some of them make some vague reference to some sort of complaint or problem or abuse, but as such, they do not state any complaints.

Next, we had 55 "franchise complaints." At least they claim to be franchise complaints. Some of them involve companies that we know. Some of them are companies that we do not know. But they claim to be franchise complaints, so I took their claim at face value. That makes 55 "franchise complaints," and I'll come back to these later.

Now we come to the last category, 116 non-franchise complaints. I say these are "non-franchise complaints" because they have nothing to do, any of them, with the kind of franchising that we deal with in this association or that we are talking about here in this room today.

What are they? For the most part, they are vending machine complaints. They are fraud, most of them. Thirty eight of the 116 are vending machine complaints, most of them alleging fraud: The machines never delivered, fictitious locations, default on money-back guarantees—"take the front money and disappear."

Fourteen are rack jobber complaints, essentially the same thing—"take the money"—and then your merchandise doesn't get there or you can't find the man who sold it to you or he won't answer your letters.

Next we have 42 complaints about phony distributorships. Con men used to sell pieces of the map for all kinds of merchandise territory arrangements. A few of them claim to be selling franchises but, by and large, they are represented to be, and are in fact, offerings of merchandise distributorships. You find them advertised in your Sunday paper under "business opportunity."

Next there are 14 miscellaneous businesses—car leasing, tax services, tutoring—more fraud, but not franchising.

And last we have eight plain, ordinary pyramid schemes—the old chain letter racket again. One of them has to do with Koscot and Glenn Turner—and there are others.

Now let me give you just a rough idea about these complaints and what the people say, because not one FTC witness, to my knowledge, had ever looked at these and knew what kinds of complaints he was talking about. I think the Federal Trade Commission was talking about one thing and, by and large, the franchisor witnesses were talking about something else.

Here is the first one. This is a complaint concerning a distributor in St. Louis, Missouri. A letter from an individual to the FTC says he gave a company representative a check for \$1500 for vendor items and vending machines, but never received delivery and now is unable to locate the company. Now, this is vending machine fraud—not franchising at all.

The next one is about a marketing and vending company in Florence, Alabama. There is a copy of a letter from the North Carolina Department of Justice seeking to obtain a refund of \$1750 paid by the complainant for vending machines and snack products which were never delivered. The complaint says the company has operated from several addresses in Atlanta, Georgia, Arlington Heights, Illinois and Florence, Alabama. The file contains copies of complaints to the Federal Trade Commission and the Attorneys General in Alabama, Georgia and Illinois.

Here is another one about a marketing corporation in Springfield, Missouri—a letter to FTC in Washington, claiming that a check for \$2069.40 was sent to the subject firm on February 3, 1971, in payment of vending machines and supplies which still had not been delivered as of November 8, 1971—unable to contact the company—another vending machine fraud.

Here is a page from yesterday's Tribune Classified Ads—The Distributors and Manufacturers column. Listen to this ad—"Spare-time income, a business of your own, \$585 cash will bring excellent return, servicing a route of U.S. postage stamp machines in your area. Call Mr. Port."—A phone number.

The next one. "Set your own income, part—or full—time. We need ambitious people excited about doubling or increasing their present income." Another blind ad. Telephone number only. No company name.

The next one. "No selling. Part—and full—time, your own route. Guaranteed with contract agreement. \$1000 to \$2000 deposit required."

Here's one at the top of the page. This company, I won't call its name because I don't know whether they are guilty or not, but there is a complaint in this file in the FTC record about this same company selling merchandise that it is claimed cannot be resold.

Going on to illustrate the confusion that I think exists, I came across a speech given by the President of the Better Business Bureau in the St. Louis office in which he talks about vending machine and rack distributorship fraud. Now, this was at a franchise meeting and he referred to this kind of fraud as being "franchising." He said, the promoters from unrelated industries are invading franchising because they feel this is where the action is. They rent desk space with an answering service and use a post office box number as an address and when their fraud is committed some people are careless enough to call it "franchising." Now you might say these are isolated problems. Let me tell you that this is most of what is in the FTC franchise public record. That's most of it, over two-thirds of it.

Beyond that, in their background paper for the hearings and for the proposed Rule, FTC cites the same kind of complaints. They refer to 612 mail fraud prosecutions from 1965 to 1969 and if that is all that were prosecuted over that period of time that must be a very small percentage of those that actually existed.

Now, these kinds of fraud are not franchise complaints. They are not franchising in any form—even under the broad definition in the proposed Rule.

First, there is no "trademark or "service mark" involved. In fact, many of these ads don't even give a company name and address; only a box number or telephone number.

Second, there is no "series of transactions" or any "continuing commercial relationship," nor does the franchisor continue to exert any control. On the contrary, the typical swindler collects the money, disappears completely or refuses to answer calls from his victims.

This kind of fraud has nothing to do with franchising, even in those few instances where the word "franchise" is used in the come-on ads. That still doesn't make it a franchise. And yet, this is the major part of the evidence which is cited in the FTC background paper and public record as showing need for the proposed Rule.

Now, make no mistake about it. Every franchisor wants this kind of fraud stopped and stopped now. But how do you do it?

Any ordinary six-year-old kid who watches television knows how you catch a crook. The marshall rides out, arrests him and puts him in jail. It's that simple.

But some of my friends in government tell me this won't work because the Federal Trade Commission does not have sufficient personnel to track thieves of this kind. No. The way you remedy this problem, it seems, is to enlarge the definition of franchising so it covers every kind of business from General Motors to gas stations and bunco artists and have everybody file full disclosure statements with 27 different kinds of informa-

tion and a ten-day cooling-off period to protect the innocent investor.

Let me ask you this: Does anyone here seriously believe that a regulation of that kind is going to deter one iota the kind of criminals we are talking about here when they have been flaunting the criminal statutes now for years and getting away with it?

I'll remind you again that these 116 complaints make up over two-thirds of what is in the FTC public record. Now, of course, there are complaints also about franchisors, people we know. But if you look at the complaints, they are business disputes, by and large. Many of them involve questions of fact.

Two of them involve gasoline service stations complaints about zone pricing, low profitability. Four complaint letters concern coin laundries—mechanical problems, low earnings. Five convenience food stores—low profitability, long hours. Five about campgrounds—low earnings, understated initial investment. Two job referral services. Four employment agencies. Four ice cream stores. Two doughnut stores.

That brings the total down to about 20 franchise complaints actually in the record that we can identify at this time that might be under the rule. That is a pretty skimpy record to justify burdening the franchise community with the kind of disclosure regulation proposed in the Rule.

The International Franchise Association has gone on record a long time ago as being in favor of appropriate remedies to cure real abuses. But we already have laws against fraud. I don't think anybody here could very well excuse enforcement agencies for permitting fraud, outright fraud of this kind, to go unchallenged year after year. And, yet, it seems to be happening.

So, first of all, let us call for better enforcement of existing laws to stop this fraud. Then, if we have a need for some sort of regulation for franchising, I say let us study it carefully. Let the Commission study it carefully. Let's investigate those complaints that do relate really to franchising. Let's have another hearing, if necessary, and see if there are enough complaints to justify a rule. And if so, let us work together toward a reasonable rule that will protect the real franchisee and the real franchisor.

We have heard some discussion here today about franchising being the last frontier, the last chance for the small businessman. I think that is true.

In the proper franchise relationship, the little man can join with others in an organized marketing plan and thereby begin to compete with the big firms. As marketers, we do not exist in a vacuum. We all have competition. I happen to sell bicycles. The biggest, most successful retailer of bicycles in the world is Sears and Roebuck. I admire the way they do it. I wish we could do the same. Sears can pick their locations. Still, locations cause problems for franchisors, especially those with independent distributors. Did you ever see Sears put a Sears store across the street from another Sears store? Or put three or four in a community that's only big enough for one? No—because it would be a wasteful duplication of effort which would raise their costs of retail distribution and eventually, their prices. Yet government lawyers attack small business when they strive for similar efficiencies in order to compete.

My friends at FTC don't like fair trade. Yet Sears has the same price on their bicycles in all their stores. Eighteen stores in the Chicago area list in a four-page ad, all on one page with one price. But if small businessmen do that, it's price fixing—unless it's in a fair trade state. And it will be price fixing everywhere if FTC can kill fair trade as they are trying to do.

How about organization? Franchisors used

to be able to talk to their franchisees and say, "Do it this way, Jack, because this is the right way." Still, if a franchisor today insists that franchisees follow a prescribed plan, he may be sued. He can't exercise too much control; that's coercion. If you don't control him enough, you have consumer problems. You can't threaten to cancel him; that's coercion. Franchisors run that risk.

So when you get right down to it, the people who are the most successful merchandisers are the integrated chains that are able to organize their businesses.

But government lawyers say we need more competition. I remember several years ago, we used to travel to Honolulu when two airlines served it, everybody was happy. The last time I went, I went on the 747. There were five people in the first-class section and 23 in the back and somebody was losing his shirt. That year, the airlines lost three hundred million dollars. Why? Because the government opened up routes to eight carriers when there were only enough passengers for two or three and they all lost money in the name of more competition.

Now they say franchising is a big industry, too big not to be regulated. Well, the railroads were regulated and we have Penn Central. Airlines are regulated and they lost two or three hundred million dollars. Now FTC is going to work on the soft drink bottlers.

Does anyone here think that the major soft drink companies couldn't put in their own distribution if they have to do it?

Right now, there's some concern about franchisors holding back. Some have stopped franchising. Some are staying out of Arkansas or Washington or this state or that state. I predict there is going to be more of this unless there is better understanding between businessmen and the government on how marketing really works.

Franchisors must have some latitude to build an effective marketing organization. When the airlines had a three hundred million dollars loss, if they were not a regulated industry, they would surely have raised their prices to try to offset the loss. This is what happens when you have increased costs to sell any merchandise.

If you put six retailers in a town big enough for two, every one of them runs at a loss and they all want to raise their prices. Now, if their prices are not controlled, they will raise them and then they do even less business. Then your distributors will start looking for even more accounts.

Meanwhile, Sears, Roebuck is up to ten and one-half billion dollars a year in sales, growing at a fantastic rate through organized efficiency. They are not alone—Montgomery Ward, A & P, all vertically integrated merchandise chains have the same advantage. What we would like in franchising is to have a chance to compete with them on an even basis—no special advantage because we are small business—just an even chance.

#### CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE CONSUMER

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the Consumer Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Commerce recently took a survey of the first 300 companies on the Fortune 500 list, asking them to tell, in their own words, their moves in the field of corporate responsibility toward the consumer.

I am happy to insert from the subcommittee's report the reply sent in by Eli Lilly & Co. of Indianapolis:

Eli Lilly & Co.,  
Indianapolis, Ind., March 13, 1972.

Hon. FRANK E. MOSS,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MOSS: This letter and the accompanying material are in response to your recent letter requesting information concerning the voluntary steps Eli Lilly and Company has taken in the interests of consumers.

The company, founded in 1876, is scientifically oriented, having invested more than \$412 million in research and development during the last ten years. The corporation produces one of the broadest lines in the pharmaceutical industry, with about 740 pharmaceutical products for human use in its price list.

The company does not promote any of its pharmaceutical products—either prescription or nonprescription—to the consumer. Our sales efforts are directed toward physicians, dentists, pharmacists, and allied members of the health professions. This means that our pharmaceutical salesmen, most of whom are graduate pharmacists, transmit information about specific products to health-care specialists. While our pharmaceutical marketing function does not directly approach the consumer, we have always had concern for the safety and effectiveness of our medicines. This is where the products touch the lives of the patients—the ultimate consumers in our industry.

Over the years our corporation has developed various programs, policies, and practices related to consumer interests: Identi-Code and Identi-Dose, two complementary drug identification systems, are directed at consumer safety.

Lilly service items (drugs having little or no marketing or economic importance) and our emphasis on product availability are aimed at consumer convenience and service.

Our ability to effect cost savings through research, developmental, and production efficiencies has kept down our prices to wholesale distributors during an era in which the American people have experienced dramatic increases in prices for nearly all other consumer items.

Our large-scale commitment to protecting the environment dates back to 1944 with construction of our first water-treatment plant. Since then the design of new manufacturing plants has called for pollution control systems.

Most of these programs have been undertaken by Eli Lilly and Company on a voluntary basis and not as a result of legislation.

Because we have worked through the years to improve our operations, we do not view the current consumer movement in a pessimistic manner. We believe every company can benefit from constructive criticism whether it originates inside or outside of organization. Progress has always been made by recognizing existing deficiencies and working to correct them. Hopefully, the present emphasis on consumerism will enable all of us—industry, government, and private citizens—to continue to move toward improving the quality of life.

Thank you for this opportunity to participate in your efforts to help balance the public record.

Sincerely yours,

E. N. BEESLEY,  
Chairman of the Board.

Enclosures.

IDENTI-CODE® AND IDENTI-DOSE®

Identi-Code, a system pioneered by Eli Lilly and Company, provides for printing a code

on each Lilly capsule and tablet and on each label of suppositories and of powders for oral suspension. By checking this code against the *Identi-Code Index*, each unit can be quickly and accurately identified. Identi-Code has proven to be an invaluable safety factor for patients.

The usefulness of Identi-Code can best be illustrated by two hypothetical, but very real, cases:

Two children play "doctor" and consume large numbers of tablets or capsules found in the forbidden family medicine cabinet. Should this occur with a Lilly product, the Identi-Code found on even one unconsumed tablet or capsule provides quick identification and permits prompt prescription of an antidote in the emergency.

A man suffering from a chronic heart condition decides to extend a visit with relatives and finds he hasn't brought enough medication with him. If he is taking a Lilly product, he can go to any physician, give him the code number of the tablets, and physician can prescribe the exact medication he has been taking.

When the code was introduced in June, 1966, then FDA Commissioner James L. Goddard said: "Your firm is to be commended for having pioneered in this development. I feel that it is an important step forward and it will be significant."

The Identi-Code system consists of a combination of one letter and two numbers that specify the form of medication and its name and formula when reference is made to the Lilly code index. The index is distributed to physicians, dentists, pharmacists, nurses, law-enforcement agencies, poison-control centers, and others who deal with medical emergencies.

In the current national plague of drug abuse, Identi-Code has been an aid to law-enforcement agencies when dealing with the abuse of drugs and contraband drugs. The identifying code helps to determine if any Lilly products are outside legal channels and enables the company to take corrective action.

The state of California recently passed a drug identification law that requires the identification of each tablet and capsule of a controlled substance dispensed in that state. Eli Lilly and Company strongly supports this law and its rigorous enforcement, and would encourage similar legislation in other states. By pinpointing the source of the drugs, such laws can play a significant role in reducing the amount of illicit and/or unidentified drugs now found in street trade.

In conjunction with the Identi-Code program, the company introduced Identi-Dose, a unit-dose packaging and labeling system, in February, 1967.

The dispensing of medicines in hospitals has always presented special problems. The Identi-Dose package makes it possible for each dose of medicine to reach the patient's bedside in its own airtight, labeled container, thus providing instant and accurate identification.

The Identi-Dose packaging reduces waste and patient expense, for any unused medication can be returned to the hospital pharmacy in its sealed container. Even though initial costs are higher for unit-dose medication, time and motion studies have indicated that the hospital can actually save money through the reduction of distribution costs.

#### SERVICE ITEMS

Eli Lilly and Company has more than 740 pharmaceutical products in its price list. Among these medicines are a variety of service items—products of little or no marketing or economic importance—that are furnished to members of the medical profession for rare diseases or unusual needs of their patients. Following are examples of some of these products:

BCG Vaccine—immunization against tuberculosis.

Cyanide Antidote Package—combined therapy in cyanide poisoning.

Typhoid H Antigen—production of nonspecific febrile response. Fever therapy may be useful in certain infections and inflammations of the eye, particularly of the uveal tract. The antigen is also valuable as prophylaxis against postoperative inflammation of the eye.

Iletin® (Insulin, Lilly), Special Requirements Products—control of diabetes. The company manufactures, in addition to its regular Insulin products, sixteen other products for the occasional patient who has special Insulin requirements. Nine of these items are made exclusively from beef pancreases, while seven are made exclusively from pork pancreases. One of the beef products has the additional feature of being low in zinc content.

#### AVAILABILITY OF LILLY PRODUCTS

It has been said that "the most expensive" drug is the one that is not available to the patient when needed. Eli Lilly and Company places its broad line of products within the reach of patients everywhere in the United States. The ready availability of Lilly products gives assurances to the sick that their medical needs will be met.

Through a widespread distribution system, the company strives to have its products stocked in all of the more than 50,000 retail pharmacies and 9,000 hospitals scattered throughout the country. Several hundred wholesale drug distributors are utilized to provide complete regional depots for speedy delivery to the point of need. In fact, Lilly products are available in every county in the United States in which drugs are known to be dispensed.

In addition, Lilly salesmen are responsible for assuring that stocks of Lilly products in wholesale houses, neighborhood pharmacies, and hospitals are adequate. This involves a system for replacement of any Lilly products that are damaged or outdated.

The consuming public benefits from a full-service pharmaceutical manufacturer through such things as around-the-clock operation in the company's shipping department to handle emergency situations when they arise. In times of disaster, Eli Lilly and Company responds quickly, cooperating with the American Red Cross, the International Red Cross, the U.S. State Department, and other agencies in rushing critically needed medical supplies to victims of fire, flood, earthquake, and tornado.

In summary, Eli Lilly and Company tries to do everything possible to ensure that need medicines are at the right place at the right time.

#### LILLY PRICES

Lilly medicines have been growing more complex and more expensive to develop and produce. In the inflationary period of the last several years, we have seen average hourly wage rates, costs of raw materials, and other production costs climb markedly. In spite of these factors, Lilly scientists, engineers, and technologists have found ways to increase production yields and to bring about economies in processing and marketing. This is how the Lilly company has been able to offer only slightly increased prices to wholesale distributors during the last four years of a highly inflationary economy.

For many years, Eli Lilly and Company has compiled the Lilly Price Index, which is based on a composite of the prices of all the pharmaceutical products in its price list. This index is revised periodically for the addition of new products, and every two years the computations are changed to reflect current

customer demand patterns. Thus, the Lilly Price Index reflects changes in price of both new and old products.

In spite of the fact that the Lilly Price Index has risen 5.4 points since 1967, the prices of Lilly drugs to wholesale distributors are lower today than they were in 1961. To put this in the perspective of the national economy, the government's Consumer Price Index—All Items has risen an estimated 21.3 points since 1967.

Lower prices for drugs are confirmed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which maintains an index of prescription charges unaffected by prescription size or the changing content of the average prescription.

There has been quite a bit of discussion in recent years, especially in the public press, regarding the rising average prescription charge. The term "average prescription charge" is often misunderstood. Although the average prescription charge rose 16 cents in 1970 to a new high of \$4.06, this does not mean that drug prices are rising.

The term "average prescription charge" represents a composite charge by retail pharmacists for all drugs physicians are prescribing. In addition to covering the costs of distribution and dispensing, the average prescription charge also includes different drugs and differing amounts of drugs from year to year. This charge is affected by constant improvements in the content and the value of the average prescription, the greater therapeutic potency of the new drugs, and the larger prescription sizes being ordered today. According to a 1970 study (attached) by John M. Firestone, the number of doses in the average prescription increased by more than 27 percent between 1960 and 1969. The index of average prescription prices at the retail level, when adjusted for size of prescription, shows a decline of 5.8 percent between 1960 and 1969.

The problem of the rising prescription charge is a serious one for certain consumers, and it is a matter of great concern to Eli Lilly and Company. The company will continue to do all in its power to operate as efficiently as possible and to hold down the prices of Lilly drugs to wholesale distributors so that patients can be supplied with the best medicines at the lowest prices consistent with a reasonable return for the company.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Eli Lilly and Company has had pollution-control systems for many years. In 1944 the company installed its own private water-pollution-control system at its Greenfield

(Ind.) Laboratories. Since that time, Lilly pollution-control systems have improved and expanded greatly.

The company's manufacturing facility, a plant near Clinton, Indiana, offers a new concept in pollution control. (Complete details will be found in the enclosed news release.) It was designated with waste treatment as a primary concern. The Clinton Laboratories are a plant designed for maximum—not just acceptable—control of wastes. Construction of the pollution-control features cost more than \$8.3 million, with total operating costs for waste treatment expected to exceed \$1.7 million annually.

Eli Lilly and Company's total capital investment in pollution-control equipment is estimated at approximately \$19.4 million. Total operation and maintenance costs are about \$5.4 million a year. It is projected that by the end of 1975 the company will have a total capital investment in this type of equipment of approximately \$25 million. Cost of our environmental-control research is currently running at about \$140,000 per year.

A grassroots approach has been used to implement the Lilly corporate policy on environmental protection. Each operating area of the company—research, development, control, manufacturing, services—is responsible for implementing the corporate policy concerning waste control.

The various operating areas have at their disposal different plant engineering groups who may be called upon for technical assistance. In addition, the company has an employee whose full-time assignment is that of being a consultant in environmental engineering. This man is responsible directly to the director of corporate engineering services. As part of his assignment, he coordinates the Corporate Environmental Protection Committee. This committee has been in existence since 1966.

The Lilly company believes that through close cooperation with governmental agencies, industrial or trade associations, chambers of commerce, and other concerned organizations everyone will arrive at a more realistic (ecologic as well as economic) set of proposals for an improved quality of living with specific regard to all viewpoints of the environmental crisis. All of these groups need to recognize the interrelatedness of pollution problems and take an overview when setting up guidelines. The effective approach to pollution control can only be achieved by cooperation among all levels of government and industry.

RESULTS OF CONGRESSIONAL INTERN QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements which I chair was privileged this summer to join with the bipartisan Intern Committee of the Congress and the United Nations Association of the United States in sponsoring an extraordinary program for the 1,200 college students serving as interns for Senators and Congressmen. The program consisted of a 1-day conference for interns on August 1 entitled "Life and Death Issues Confronting the United Nations" and the circulation of a questionnaire on foreign policy to all interns. The results were most heartening. The students showed a sophisticated understanding of global realities with a healthy skepticism toward any one approach as a panacea for the world's ills. But while most of them did not see the United Nations as mankind's "last best hope for peace," they were convinced that the United Nations is indispensable for global progress and peace.

Furthermore, most students do not share our generation's blind allegiance to national sovereignty. They see themselves as citizens of a common community of mankind and view exclusive devotion to national boundaries as an outdated concept.

I would like to share with Members of the House now the results of the congressional interns program on the United Nations.

First, the results of the questionnaire. Over 400 replies were received—a 33 percent response. The students represented 200 colleges and universities in 48 States. Second, a sampling of personal statements delivered by the interns themselves during the 1-day conference on the United Nations. This gives a cross-section of opinion among the interns:

PART I.—CONGRESSIONAL INTERN QUESTIONNAIRE

[Percentage breakdown of responses]

	PART I.—CONGRESSIONAL INTERN QUESTIONNAIRE			Agree		Partially true
	Yes	Some-what	No	Disagree		
10. Do any of the following beliefs apply to you?						
(a) Doubt major societal change is possible.....	10	34	52			
(b) Fear society is becoming repressive.....	30	36	33			
(c) Doubt veracity of public leaders.....	35	49	10			
(d) Willing to work on community problems.....	84	14	2			
(e) Believe average person is powerless.....	19	43	37			
(f) Ready to coalesce with others to reshape foreign policy.....	57	28	13			
(g) First personal concern is career.....	26	36	32			
11. Daniel Yankelovich, the pollster, recently asked college students what values do they believe are worth fighting for. What do you think?						
	Worth fighting	No	Depends			
(a) Keeping a commitment.....	23	10	66			
(b) Containing communism.....	16	41	41			
(c) Maintaining position of power.....	20	27	49			
(d) Protecting allies.....	26	10	62			
(e) Fighting for our honor.....	10	43	44			
(f) Counteracting aggression.....	38	8	32			
(g) Protecting our national interest.....	38	9	49			
12. The United Nations' political ineffectiveness can best be traced to:						
(a) Unwillingness of all nations to assign a portion of their sovereignty to a supraglobal entity.....				63	7	27
(b) The UN structure is a product of a post-World War II world that has little relation to reality.....				16	43	36
(c) The major powers, in particular the U.S., have always applied a double standard in looking to the UN for political leadership.....				57	10	27
(d) Public frustration toward the UN is due to inflated expectations.....				28	24	44
13. The public clamor about the seating of the People's Republic of China in the UN, and the ousting of Taiwan, really is:						
(a) Justified.....						18
(b) Temporary.....						32
(c) A cover for deeprooted dislike of the UN.....						3
(d) An expression of resentment of the loss of U.S. influence in the UN.....						33
14. Any attempt to attain the "structure of peace" that the President speaks of can best be achieved by [rank by priority, 1 to 4]:						
(a) Elevating the UN priority as an instrument of U.S. policy.....						4
(b) More cooperation among the superpowers.....						2
(c) Rechanneling defense spending for domestic priorities.....						3
(d) More vigorous pursuit of disarmament objectives.....						1

	Agree	Disagree	Partially true
15. Legislative action approving the importation of chromite from Rhodesia in defiance of UN sanctions, most nearly reflects, in your opinion:			
(a) U.S. disregard for international commitments.....			12
(b) Influence of U.S. economic interests.....			65
(c) Racism.....			3
(d) Reassertion of constitutional role of Congress in setting policy.....			9
	Yes	No	Not sure
16. Do you think the United Nations:			
(a) Is relevant?.....	67	13	16
(b) Mankind's last, best hope for peace?.....	13	62	22
(c) Suffers more than the U.S. Government from bureaucratic inefficiency?.....	33	22	43
(d) Peacekeeping role must be strengthened?.....	84	10	5
(e) Would be more effective if it concentrated on non-political problems such as pollution and population?.....	40	30	26
(f) Has done an effective economic and social job?.....	16	51	30
17. What do you think is necessary to revitalize the UN:			
(a) Redistribution of voting power to reflect a nation-state's real power.....	32	33	28

	Yes	No	Not sure
(b) Willingness to submit political issues for peaceful settlement.....	79	6	7
(c) Restructuring of Security Council.....	53	12	28
(d) U.S. reasserts its leadership in the UN.....	14	57	21
(e) Charter revision.....	41	9	42
18. The effort to reduce the U.S. assessment to the U.N. from 31.5 to 25 percent, reflects, in your view:			
(a) An attempt to equate U.S. contributions with U.S. power.....			13
(b) An erosion of U.S. commitment to the U.N.....			24
(c) Part of a long-term U.S. policy to make the United Nations less dependent on American dollars.....			21
(d) Is a nonissue.....			14
(e) A misunderstanding of the U.S. national interest in the U.N.....			9
19. Should most of U.S. foreign aid be channeled through:			
(a) Nonmilitary bilateral channels.....			31
(b) The World Bank and its affiliates.....			10
(c) The U.N. system.....			21
(d) Other institutional arrangements.....			10
(e) The concept is an anachronism.....			11
20. The Pearson Commission on International Development set a 1 percent of GNP as a target for development assistance. Is this:			
Realistic.....			21
A symbolic goal.....			28
A false standard.....			20

PART II

CONGRESSIONAL INTERN DIALOG

Adele Allen is President of the Student Government at Wellesley College. This summer she was an intern for Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm. Adele said:

I see the United Nations as having the potential to be a crucial force in seeking to provide capital, technological resources, and information services for the less-developed economies of the world that are seeking to improve their share and their allocations of the resources.

How does this tie in with the UN? I believe that the basis of many of the conflicts we have in the world today boil down to the simple question and issue of economics. Conflicts over the exchange of resources. Conflicts that arise in these exchanges of resources. Therefore, it is important that the UN aim to apply an even greater percentage of its efforts in this direction. This will be seeking to improve the lot of all people who are trying to feed themselves, find shelter, have education, health facilities. And this is what I feel young people are seeking to do more than anything else. All of our talk, all of our ideological differences will never be resolved. But if we aim to improve the welfare of the people themselves, this will be an accomplishment that we can say has been done, if we only try to do it.

I am particularly critical of the U.S. foreign aid policies at the present time. The amount of aid is diminishing greatly, diminishing more every day. Reports have stated that it is very important for 1% of the GNP of all of the countries of the world to be dedicated to foreign aid and foreign policies. Yet we continually back down from this percentage, back down from this figure and decrease the amounts and sources of aid every day. This I do not think can continue.

Many Congressmen have become dissatisfied with the results of our foreign aid program. Maybe this is because we were aiming for political and military goals instead of going on to the question of how are we going to get rid of the diseases in this world? How are we going to alleviate the misery of human being?

One other factor is that many U.S. businesses who have been investing in foreign countries have done this for the purposes of profit first, humanitarian reasons second. This is the reality of our country, yes. But it is not the reality of the rest of the world.

We won't get the friendship, we won't get the political influence or any aims accomplished if all we want to do is get something from someone. That isn't the way. You don't give a gift in order to get it back right away.

It is an economic factor and reality that exchange is essential. We must end the artificial restrictions and barriers to trade that we continually pass in the Congress. These restrictions hinder our country more than any other country. And it is also hindering the aims, humanitarian and idealistic, that we continually espouse.

I do not believe that the 1% GNP figure for foreign aid is unrealistic. I want our Congressional members to strive to continually make a commitment to state "We are going to supply capital in our budget for economic development of the world, because this is as important to our country's needs as it is to the needs of all citizens."

As I stated once before, the profit-making must stay here and the aims for alleviating the misery in world must go abroad.

Layton Olson is the Executive Director of the National Student Lobby, which worked closely with many interns this year. He said:

The United Nations is an elite organization built up of a series of professionals from around the world. I think that perhaps a way that these things might be changed somewhat is in the nature of a very large and extensive Peace-Corps kind of an operation in which people don't have to get a political appointment from one country or another, but could work on a number of these projects through the UN.

I talked to a number of people who came back from the Peace Corps and that's how I found out about foreign policy. You can't just get it out of a book. You have to get a feeling for it. And I think that that would be one way that people would have a little more interest in the UN.

Brian Lops was an intern this summer for Senator James Buckley. He said:

As I listen to our speakers mouthing the customary platitudes about the peacekeeping functions of the United Nations, I can't help but be reminded of Abraham Lincoln's old saying that you can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time.

You may wonder why I'm being so cynical, but I think we've heard a lot of fooling going on here today. We've been fooled into thinking that there's something immoral about the U.S. bombing the military supplies used to fuel the North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam, while everybody is silent over the murder of 5,700 men, women and children by the Vietcong.

And we've been fooled into spending our time discussing Rhodesia and its racial customs and racial policies. Well nobody bothers to bring up the Soviet invasions of Czecho-

slovakia and Hungary, or the tens of thousands of Russian intellectuals and dissenters.

We've been fooled into thinking that the expulsion of Nationalist China from the UN was perfectly justified, while there seems to be a lot of convenient amnesia about the fact that the regime in Peking has exterminated over 30 million human beings since it came to power in 1949.

Don Glickstein is a student at the University of Massachusetts. He was an intern for Representative Harrington. He said:

Except for one brief time period immediately after World War II, and for the dreams of Woodrow Wilson, the foreign policy of my country has been a belligerent one, replete with intrigues and lies; a selfish policy predicated on racism, egotism and greed.

From the first colonists who impudently invaded sovereign Indian nations because Indians were Indians and they couldn't possibly be human being, to the Mexican War, to the Spanish-American War, to Nicaragua and the Big Stick Policy, to the Dominican Republic and Cuba, my country's government has traditionally disregarded any sense of international morality.

I emphasize that this wretched foreign policy of my nation has not been a partisan one, but has been aided by all political parties. However, for a more realistic approach to foreign policy analysis, I won't talk about the past any further, but instead I'll concentrate on the present administration.

The Administration has refused to recognize that narrow, feudal interests of the Middle Ages have no place in a world of nuclear power, a world of the rich and the poor, a world of great contrast, a world in which everyone and everything is inter-related.

What we need is a new mind set that recognizes the power of the hungry, the homeless, the poor, in a 20th century world of instant communications. The ignorant savage is no longer ignorant, and he is not so noble either as to not want a piece of the action that my country has monopolized for so long. The world, not just the U.S., but the world, must begin unilateral disarmament. The world, and that includes the U.S. and South Korea, Portugal and Spain, must withdraw its troops from every country it never belonged in in the first place. And the U.S. should act unilaterally.

The world, and that includes Russia and the U.S., must resist the temptation to interfere with the internal affairs of other nations, even when what's happening does not benefit them. And the U.S. should act unilaterally on this.

The world must recognize that it is no longer a collection of sovereign nations but one world, comprised of different peoples and cultures. It's a small world, where the actions of one person integrally affect another.

The U.S. should not wait until we blow up, to begin to act unilaterally. As the most technologically advanced nation in the world, it must begin, it must be the leader. Until it begins to act unilaterally, recognizing how the world has changed, until it becomes a champion for the realities of the world, and not for just the special interests of it, I fear that the "generation of peace" will merely be a pawn for a dark-aged, Orwellian doom.

John Dowlin was an intern for Members of Congress for Peace Through Law. John said:

The countries of the world operate under the misconception that the building of their power and prestige and the solving of their own internal problems can best be accomplished by themselves. A world with isolated sovereignties is obsolete.

The idea that a country should not share its knowledge, its capabilities or its wealth with others is a greedy and irresponsible philosophy. The advocates of such a philosophy are the major political powers who selfishly want their superiority and advantages over less powerful or backward countries. And unless this philosophy is changed, we'll destroy the earth.

We believe that the world is running out of resources. But science knows better. There is enough food, land and resources, but we must first break down sovereign barriers. No one country has the comprehensive knowledge, wealth or resources of the world. Every country has something to offer. The countries can and have to work together in scientific, technological and medical problems.

The UN is the tool to organize such ventures. It is my hope the U.S. will provide the impetus to go in this direction.

Beatrice Berry was an intern this summer for Representative Ralph Metcalf. She is a student at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. She said:

A recent article I read pointed out that too often we've embarked upon the notion of survival of the fittest from the Darwin era, and we've misconceived just what that meant.

We've taken for granted that the survival of the fittest means the strongest will survive. The strongest physical-wise and power-wise. But it does not mean that. Survival of the fittest often means being willing to flex one's self in order to adjust to the particular problems that are confronting people.

The dinosaur was surely the strongest and the biggest creature that the earth has known, but he has not survived. He couldn't adjust; he couldn't operate in a new world where speed and brainpower were the determinant factors.

The same holds true with this country, which is why we must redouble our efforts to support the United Nations.

I think in terms of the ostrich, which is the largest bird in the world, but it can't fly. The United States will be similar to that, if we don't change our directions and awaken to the new realities of the world.

Tim Black, a student at Stanford University, was also an intern for Mrs. Chisholm this summer. He said:

How much should the U.S. pay towards the U.N. budget? In view of the fact that 85% of the U.N. budget goes for economic and social development, I think this is very important. Right now our allotment is about 31.5%, which I don't think is too much, but there's a lot of talk about reducing that still further to 25%, which I think would be a crime.

Six percent of the world's population lives in the U.S., yet we use about 42% of the world's resources. And when I'm talking about resources, we're talking about the kind of natural resources that we can only get in other countries.

From the quinine that we use in our medicine to chocolate bars—these are all resources that are plucked from the soil by foreign hands, picked from trees by foreign hands and exported to this country. That is a very good example of how we are exploiting the rest of the world's resources.

When we're taking into account all our tremendous resources, it's our duty to help other people in the world, especially since our wealth truly is a reflection of what we have managed to wrest from the rest of the world.

In this regard, the United Nations is not our forum to express our ideas and impose them on the rest of the world. There's more talk about 1% of GNP being a realistic goal toward what you could contribute to the rest of the world. And that's not unrealistic because our GNP is roughly around 1 trillion dollars. One percent of that is 10 billion. We spend billions of dollars just to get farmers not to grow food. We spend billions of dollars to bomb Vietnamese villages. And we spend billions of dollars in destructive activities against mankind. I think it's not too much to ask billions to help build the future of a world that we all have to live in.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION

### HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, we are a consumptive population. The Federal Government estimates that the average American will use 26 million gallons of water, 21 thousand gallons of gas, and tons of plastics, woods, and metals in his lifetime. Americans have used more natural resources since 1900 than the entire world used before that time. Industry uses 21 million tons of paper, discards 165 million tons of solid waste, and creates 172 million tons of soot and chemical fumes.

No single set of issues has stirred such widespread interest and concern in the Congress and in the public as a whole as those which can be loosely grouped under the title "the environment." From wild animal protection to pollution control—from resources development to preservation of interesting old buildings—the environment has caught the attention of the American people.

This Congress certainly has not earned great encomiums from the environmentalists. It has made considerable progress in the research and planning stage on a number of environmental issues, but concrete and long-range legislation has been relatively limited.

#### WATER QUALITY

The major environmental legislation considered over the past 2 years has been the Water Quality Act. After an unusually bitter political battle, a compromise between the House and Senate bills was finally reached. It is a relatively strong bill which sets a goal of clean water by 1985. The final conference report performed the amazing feat of taking the diaphanous Senate proposal which had great goals, but only limited procedures for their accomplishment, and melded it with the seriously inadequate House bill to produce legislation which includes well defined goals and fairly well defined pro-

cedures by which to accomplish those goals.

The final agreement reached in the conference report produced a strong, relatively realistic bill. For instance, the permit program, first authorized under the 1899 Refuse Act, is transferred from the Army Corps of Engineers, which has demonstrated extremely limited environmental concern, to the Environmental Protection Agency. The agreement allows EPA to promulgate guidelines, review state issued permits, and to overturn them if necessary. Once a State develops an acceptable program it may take over this function.

One provision which has created considerable concern has been the National Pollutant Discharge Elimination System. The program established supplants the 1899 Refuse Act and allows States to set up a permit program after receiving approval from the EPA. However, the administrator may rescind approval of State programs under certain conditions and may disapprove the issue of a particular permit by a State if he determines that the permit is outside the guidelines and requirements of the act. There was considerable concern expressed by several environmentalists that the wording in this provision would, in fact, stop the suits presently pending before the Federal courts against violators of the permit programs. Several of us in Congress have gotten assurances from the EPA and the Attorney General that pending suits such as the Reserve Mining suit will be continued. The conference bill provides that citizen suits can be taken by anyone who could show an interest in the particular environmental program involved. The geographical requirement on such suits which would have limited their acceptability was dropped.

The conference bill is not a perfect bill, but it is an important step forward in our national commitment to protect the environment.

Many persons in the country have expressed the belief that in areas where they consider a body of water to be beyond repair that they be allowed to continue to dump untreated material into that body. The logic of this kind of thinking fails to take into account that any body of water is one small part of our entire ecosystem. Degradation of one part of the environment has adverse effects on the whole system. With proper citizen concern and Government efforts many of these so-called totally polluted lakes can be reclaimed.

In the future I am hopeful that the Congress will give more extensive consideration on imaginative alternatives to the present regulatory-type pollution legislation. One such proposal, made recently by the major Brookings Institution study on the budget, would encourage pollution control through a polluters tax. They argue that if polluters were taxed for their discharges it would obviously be in their economic best interest to install the best pollution control equipment in order to minimize their taxes. Brookings argues that this type of legislation would be largely self-policing and would have the effect of channeling money into those projects which would be most effective in cleaning up pollution.

## ENERGY

A major controversy has begun to develop in the environmental field over the question of energy production. Our Nation's need for energy—electricity in particular—is increasing steadily. Unfortunately, almost every form of energy production creates a good deal of pollution. Traditional forms of power production, such as coal burning, create enormous air pollution problems. Newer forms, such as nuclear fission, cause thermal pollution of our waterways as well as creating dangerous radioactive wastes.

As a member of the Energy Task Force of the Science and Astronautics Committee, I have been actively involved in intensive hearings on this problem over the past few months. I have long felt that the Atomic Energy Commission was wrong to push nuclear fission as the primary means of energy production. While nuclear energy production facilities are undoubtedly needed, I feel that we should put a good deal of money into research on alternative methods. The primary alternative now under consideration is fusion power—which differs from fission in approximately the same way a hydrogen bomb differs from an atomic bomb. Fusion promises to be a cleaner means of energy production, but the technologies are not entirely developed yet for its practical use. Several high-technology companies, however, feel that they are close to attaining a level of knowledge which would make fusion electrical production a reality. I strongly feel that additional funds should be put into the research effort.

## LAND USE

Another major area of congressional environmental concern has been land use management. It is clear that we must plan for the future use of our land—the relationship of new cities to parks, the relationship of densely populated areas to sparsely populated areas, the relationship of agricultural areas to industrial areas.

Thirty-four percent of all the land in the United States is owned by the Federal Government yet the Congress has never established an overall program for the use of that land. If we are to encourage communities and States across the Nation to use intelligent planning and zoning, the Federal Government must clearly establish a comprehensive plan.

Two pieces of legislation on land use were brought into serious consideration during this session. The first was a coastal zone management bill which had the support of major environmentalists in the country and which moved to protect our coastal areas. A second effort was mounted in H.R. 7211. This proposal first surfaced in July of this year and would have been a real step backward in balanced land use planning. One provision in the new legislation which was particularly detrimental authorized the selling of excess federal lands, regardless of their potential benefits. The proposal was stopped from coming to the floor. Hopefully, during the next session of Congress serious land use planning legislation will be considered.

As chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Population Growth and Ecology, I became actively involved in a series of hearings on land use. Our task force reviewed the land use planning legislation, alternative technologies such as remote sensing for making wise land use decisions, and reviewed several excellent studies on land use planning, for instance, the Boselman Report. Our hearings produced a great deal of useful information for the membership when we move into consideration of legislative proposals next year. Unfortunately, the bickering between powerful committee leadership in both houses of Congress has left this legislation in the lurch.

## SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT

In many cases the problem of solid waste management is a two-headed monster; not only do we have the problem of finding a disposal method which will not pollute other environmental areas, but traditional methods such as on land disposal and burning create some obvious problems. One type of solution which bears further investigation is recycling of materials. Several procedures have been developed in the last few years which made the recycling of glass, paper, and metal products inexpensive and, in fact, profit producing operations. Recycling provides the added benefit of reducing our consumption of scarce national resources. Support of recycling procedures should be encouraged. I therefore introduced two bills which would encourage the use of recycled materials by the federal government. I have urged the General Services Administration—GSA—which is the procurement office of the Federal Government, to revise their regulations to encourage use of recycled products. I would hope that this kind of affirmative action will help us move toward better solid waste management.

## AIR POLLUTION

Major air pollution legislation was approved by the last Congress and this Congress has, therefore, been relatively inactive in the air pollution field. The only major air pollution proposal was made by the President 2 years ago—a proposed tax on sulfur fuels. This tax would be levied for each pound of sulfur discharged into the air by sulfur fuel users. This proposal makes use of the polluters tax concept which I previously mentioned. I believe it is deserving of full and thoughtful consideration and I have been very disappointed by the Congress failure to undertake such consideration.

## COORDINATING FEDERAL EFFORTS TOWARD ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

One of the major problems which has escaped consideration in many instances has been the need to coordinate our environmental efforts within the Federal Government. On the executive side environmental programs are fragmented between the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Agriculture, Interior, and the Environmental Protection Agency, as well as several other smaller functions within the other departments.

In Congress, environmental legislation

may come out of no less than six committees in the House and a similar number in the Senate. It seems essential, then, that the executive efforts at environmental control should be coordinated through an agency such as the Environmental Protection Agency which has the experts and the commitment to handle the job. It also seems essential that Congress create a committee on the environment to focus consideration on environmental issues.

## CITIZEN ACTION

Citizen action on the environment has been vital in our fight to stop pollution. It was through letters received from the Second District that I became aware of two of the major environmental issues on which I have worked over the past year. The first of these was a complaint about the dumping of 67,000 tons of taconite tailings into Lake Michigan each day by Reserve Mining Company. Millions of Michiganders and other Great Lakes States citizens share my deep distress at this pollution of the only one of the Great Lakes to remain clean. I have worked closely with the Environmental Protection Agency, the Justice Department and the news media in exposing this scandal. The Justice Department has, at last, brought suit to stop the polluting.

The second instance was the plan of the Corps of Engineers to dump polluted dredged material at Pointe Mouillee. This lovely recreation area only a short distance from the center of Michigan's population, should not be endangered in my opinion. The Corps originally attempted to make use of the site without appropriate public hearings and without the environmental statements which are required by law. As soon as I learned of the proposal, I entered an immediate protest with the Corps and demanded that they obey both the letter and the spirit of the law. We have not yet won the fight, but we have delayed the project and have insured that the environmental factors will receive the fullest attention.

A third instance where the efforts of concerned citizens over environmental improvement is the Environmental Education Act. Efforts to improve the environment have not been successful as hoped in the case of funding for the Environmental Education Act, which I originally proposed. I envisaged it as a vehicle to increase public awareness and concern through environmental programs. Obviously, such a program can never be successful unless it receives adequate funding. Although our efforts to increase funding marginally have been successful, the number of requests for this popular program have far exceeded available funds. Results for this act are far from comprehensive. I would hope that in the next session of Congress we can move to increase funding for this program to adequate levels.

A fourth instance of citizen action is typified in the Youth Conservation Corps—YCC. When I originally proposed the Youth Conservation Corps 2 years ago, I investigated it as a program which would provide significant contributions

to our Nation's environmental areas such as park lands and wilderness areas as well as to those young people who participate in it. The results of our experience with YCC have shown that if anything it was tremendously underrated. The number of applications in the first 2 years of operation far exceeded available spots.

It has been estimated by the Department of the Interior that the return on the investment in terms of salaries for the young people employed by the YCC had been 75 percent when counting the benefits accrued from the project's initiation. This year through a bi-partisan effort we were able to pass an amendment to the YCC act which establishes the program on a permanent basis with a significant increase in funding as well as a new pilot program operating on state lands and partially financed through Federal funds.

The four projects discussed above are but a sampling of the many citizen action projects which I have been involved in during the past 2 years. The residents of the Second Congressional District are indeed fortunate to have a concentration of dedicated environmentalists in their area. Citizen action helps initiate and continue efforts by the Environmental Center in Ann Arbor. I was glad, 2 years ago, to help get this worthwhile project tax exempt status.

Citizen involvement was also responsible for much of the legislative initiatives proposed in Congress this year. The original proposal for the creation of bicycle paths to aid persons in traveling safely and environmentally on bicycles came from a group of concerned citizens. I am hopeful that this proposal can be enacted in the near future.

Several years ago a constituent of mine mailed me a clipping from the comic strip "Pogo" which successfully captured the problems facing us in cleaning up our environment. Pogo mention that "we have met the enemy and he is us." An increased level of environmental concern and action demonstrated by citizens from all over the country has demonstrated that we are winning the war against ourselves in cleaning up the environment.

THE 27TH ANNUAL MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR FALLEN MEMBERS OF THE "FIGHTING 100TH," RECALL GALLANTRY AND PATRIOTISM OF UNIT

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, almost 31 years have passed since our great Nation became embroiled in the most terrible war in the history of mankind. During the early days of World War II, the loyalty of all Americans of Japanese ancestry—AJA—became suspect. Thousands were summarily incarcerated, generating among AJA's feelings of outrage and frustration that the land of

their birth should treat them as enemy aliens, rather than as the loyal Americans that they actually were.

In time the Army allowed many of the young men an opportunity to prove their loyalty by forming a unit comprised solely of AJA's. This all-volunteer unit, which was designated as the 100th Infantry Battalion, went on to see heavy fighting action in Italy, France and Germany.

As a veteran of the 100th, I am honored and gratified to submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two articles concerning the 27th annual memorial service for the men of the 100th killed in action in Europe during World War II. On this occasion, Gen. William B. Rosson, commanding general, U.S. Army, Pacific, a man who fought alongside the 100th, praised the unit for its "gallantry, unyielding patriotism, and brilliant combat record," thus proving that they were "Americans first, last, and always."

The articles follow:

[From the Honolulu Star Bulletin,  
Sept. 25, 1972]

PACIFIC ARMY COMMANDER RECALLS 100TH'S BRAVERY

(By Beverly Creamer)

A man who fought next to the 100th Battalion first at Anzio, Italy, and then at Bruyeres, France, during World War II, yesterday praised the highly decorated Hawaii regiment for its "gallantry, unyielding discipline, inspiring patriotism and brilliant combat record."

Gen. W. B. Rosson, Pacific Army Commander, speaking at the 27th annual memorial services for men of the 100th killed in action in Europe during the war, said that the battalion was "an organization born of misunderstanding, nurtured by devotion to an ideal and remembered for service above and beyond the call of duty."

About 400 members of the 100th and their families attended the memorial services under a broiling morning sun in the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific at Punchbowl.

Just as the 264th U.S. Army Pacific Band struck up the chords of "America, the Beautiful," a few drops of rain sprinkled the ceremony from a cloud building over the mountains. A gust rustled brittle leaves on the pavement where the Club 100 members waited for the services to begin.

Rosson, who delivered the memorial address, was a 25-year-old lieutenant colonel in 1941 when he first heard of the 100th.

"As my division made its way inland from the beaches near Salerno, Italy, 29 years ago this month, word came to us of a remarkable unit that had received its baptism of fire near Salerno," he said.

"Although I was unaware at the time of its size and numerical designation, I recall rumors that the outfit was composed entirely of Americans of Japanese ancestry who displayed an almost fanatical determination to excel.

"As the weeks unfolded I was to hear much more of the 100th Infantry Battalion—of its heroism at the Rapido River and Cassino. Later, I was teamed with the battalion at Anzio, and was afforded opportunity to verify at first hand what I had heard."

Rosson said that the Hawaii battalion had a double challenge in World War II—to prove loyalty to a country that questioned its loyalty, and to demonstrate "that you were Americans first, last and always . . . Americans endowed with uncommon dedication."

Additionally, he said, the 100th was confronted with a "need to defend your honor."

This it did, and more, he said. In defending its own honor it brought honor to the coun-

try and even today, Rosson said, the men of the 100th "stand ready to march to the sound of the guns if our security is imperiled."

Kenneth K. Saruwatari served as Master of Ceremonies for the service and Hakaru Taoka, President of Club 100, gave a short address saying that the annual ceremonies are held on the Sunday preceding Sept. 29—the day the 100th Battalion entered combat.

Richard Ishimoto delivered a short address in Japanese; the Rev. Hiro Higuchi, former chaplain of the 442nd Regimental combat team, gave the invocation and the Rev. Yoshiaki Fujitani gave the benediction.

Men from the 100th Battalion, 442nd Infantry (USAR) formed the color guard as tourists looked on from the sidelines.

ROSSON PRAISES 100TH BATTALION AT MEMORIAL RITE

Gen. William B. Rosson, Pacific Army commander, had high praise for members of Club 100 at the club's 27th annual memorial service yesterday at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific.

Rosson said he had first heard of the unit for which the club is named—the 100th Infantry Battalion—29 years ago when he was an infantry major fighting on the beaches near Salerno, Italy, during World War II.

He recalled hearing rumors of a unit "composed entirely of Americans of Japanese ancestry who displayed an almost fanatical determination to excel."

Later—at Anzio and again near Bruyeres, France—Rosson's unit fought alongside the famed Niseis, and "I was afforded an opportunity to verify at first hand what I had heard," Rosson said.

"That baptism of fire at Salerno found Sgt. Joseph Takata of Waiialua at the cutting edge of our thrust against the German forces . . . a role the battalion as a whole was to play repeatedly from then until the war's end.

"His death by machine-gun fire that September day in 1943 memorialized him as the first member of the 100th to give his life for the values and convictions dearest to him. To Sergeant Takata and all of his fallen comrades we render this day our reverent gratitude and respect."

Rosson told his audience:

"You were called upon to manifest unstinting loyalty to a country that questioned your loyalty.

" . . . The incomparable record of the 100th instilled within all Americans of Japanese ancestry a new sense of pride and identity, a desire to participate fully in the social, economic and political activities of the community and a well-defined zeal for accomplishment."

The four-star Pacific Army commander paid tribute to living members of the battalion who now occupy positions of "trust and leadership in all walks of life at local State and national levels."

TRIBUTE TO KAROL JASKOLSKI

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that I announce to my colleagues the passing, this week, of a truly great American, Mr. Karol Jaskolski of Massachusetts. Mr. Jaskolski was born in Poland and emigrated to this country in 1949. He was the personification of the Polish people who came to America after World War II and who brought with them the courage, history, and culture that have enriched our life and society. His remark-

able career is a record of courage and constant achievement.

In Poland, Mr. Jaskolski held a master's degree in law. When World War II began, he was one of the legal advisors in the economic department in Poland's Chamber of Agriculture. He was also a company commander of the Polish Army. After the liberation of Poland by the British, he was the Polish liaison officer to the British Army of the Rhine. While in Germany, he was president of the Polish Falcons, a Polish athletic organization, and editor of the organization's magazine.

A year after coming to this country, Mr. Jaskolski became editor of the Polish Courier. He had arrived with no worldly goods, but through his hard work and talent became one of the outstanding journalists of New England. In 1963, he became publisher of the *Gazeta Poloni*—the Polish weekly—and until 1971 was a director and sponsor of the Polish Variety Hour on radio station WBOS. He became a strong voice for Polish people throughout New England, and his work in Polish veterans and cultural organizations touched the lives of many Americans.

His passing is the passing of a great man, and the people of New England have truly lost an outstanding leader.

#### COMPREHENSIVE FISHING LEGISLATION

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, today as the modern supertrawlers of Russia, Poland, Germany, and other nations, all bristling with the very newest equipment their governments can provide, fish the waters off our coasts, our own fishing boats, more than 60 percent of which were built before anyone had heard of sputnik, most without even sonar, almost all owned by small businessmen, attempt to keep their bows above water in the discouraging competition for a share of the fish harvest, ever scarcer, ever harder to find.

The plight of our fishermen is desperate. In the city of Gloucester alone, the number of crewmen has declined from 1,843 in 1950 to 642 by 1968. Were fishing a game, like Olympic hockey, then the professionalization of the opposition through government support would be merely irritating. But fishing is a livelihood for thousands of American men and their families. They deserve professional standing.

The industry is starving for the capital needed to modernize itself into a position of competitiveness. Most boats are owned by individuals. Processing plants are owned by small entrepreneurs. Loans for modernization of fishing vessels are dependent on insurance which companies will not issue at reasonable price to the aging fleet. Meanwhile flawlessly equipped foreign competitors continue to occupy the same harvest areas as U.S. fishermen. In 1960, 93 percent of the

fish caught off the Continental Shelf were caught by New England fishermen. By 1965 that figure had plummeted to 35 percent.

This week I introduced a package of six bills to restore the U.S. fishing industry to its former level of economic strength and competitiveness. The first bill authorizes money for loans to vessel owners in order that they can bring their boats into accord with voluntary safety standards and increase their productivity. The second and third bills provide grants to fishermen and fishing cooperatives for the implementation of technological improvements within the industry and for the modification of vessels to encourage the harvesting of unexploited or underexploited species of fish. The fourth and fifth bills are for loans for the creation and operation of fishermen's cooperatives. The final bill grants those cooperatives the same tax-exempt status as farming cooperatives.

Most fishermen are small businessmen who cannot afford the large initial capital outlay necessary to modernize their boats. They must receive Federal assistance if they are to be able to prevent the other nations of the world from decimating our industry.

#### GREETING TO THE 11TH TRIENNIAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT FROM REP- RESENTATIVE FRANK M. CLARK, 25TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA

### HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, through many centuries of oppression and persecution, the Ukrainian people have persevered with courage and tenacity in their determined resolve to be free. It is a privilege and pleasure for me to extend every good wish to the 11th Triennial Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent together with the assurance of my continuing support for the aspirations of the Ukrainian community. We live in a time in which the varied peoples who make up the common life of America are increasingly aware of their unique identity within the national scene. Americans of Ukrainian descent are especially conscious of this movement and a renewed emphasis upon their own distinctive cultural, historic, and religious heritage. No group has contributed more to the strengthening of America in those qualities so much needed in these troubled days—love of family and of home, loyalty to country, and devotion to God, the source of liberty.

May the spirit of your triennial gathering deepen the bonds which unite Ukrainian Americans—and all our citizens—in a common concern for the preservation of American freedom, and the restoration of independence to the Ukrainian people in their ancient homeland. In so doing, Ukrainian Americans will contribute immeasurably to the building of a world in which peace is firmly based upon justice, liberty, and dignity for all.

#### INTERNAL TERRORISM THREAT- ENS THE U.S.A.

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the American people are being conditioned to believe that the Nixon administration is concerned over the spread of terrorism throughout the world and its possible political effect on the coming elections.

I share the President's concern, Mr. Speaker, but I think he should devote more time to the terrorism that threatens to destroy this country from within, rather than dissipate his energies on other people's troubles.

After all, if steps are not taken to stop terrorism in this country there may come a time when there will be no elections—there will be no United States to represent the Western world's firm belief in constitutional government and individual liberty.

I insert related news articles in the RECORD at this point:

[From Evening Star and Daily News, Sept. 22, 1972]

#### TERRORISTS SPREAD WORRIES UNITED STATES

(By George Sherman)

The Nixon administration is deeply troubled and baffled by outspoken North Vietnamese support for the surge of Arab terrorism outside the Mideast.

Hanoi's statements have added to concern here that the Palestinians' next targets may well be American public figures, many of whom are especially exposed during the fall election season.

The intelligence community has sent a special assessment of the situation to the White House.

Security of President Nixon's chief foreign policy adviser, Henry A. Kissinger, who is Jewish and also chief architect of negotiating tactics with North Vietnam, is particularly worrisome, although the real details of his comings and goings are not as publicly known as those of cabinet officials.

U.S. officials say they have no concrete evidence that North Vietnam is training or arming Palestinian terrorists—who, so far, have struck only at Israelis. Late yesterday State Department spokesman Charles W. Bray III withdrew a charge that Hanoi is providing armed assistance to the terrorists. He had made the charge earlier in the day.

State Department sources explained that Bray had misspoken originally. According to these sources, the assistant secretary of state for Middle Eastern affairs, Joseph J. Sisco—also head of a committee to work out ways with other governments to combat the terrorists—had told Bray just prior to the noon press briefing that North Korea (not North Vietnam) was supplying weapons to the Arab terrorists.

When the spokesman was asked at that briefing about Hanoi's public endorsement of the Palestinian killings in Munich, he mistakenly stated that North Vietnam (instead of North Korea) was also providing "direct assistance" to the terrorists.

But Hanoi has been providing verbal, if not armed, support. On Sept. 12—a full week after the Munich killings—the Hanoi party daily, *Nahn Dan*, attributed responsibility for Munich to the United States and Israel.

"The recent Munich bloody incident, said an English-language broadcast over Hanoi, Radio that day, "once again laid bare the schemes of the U.S. and Israeli aggressors and the dark design of the Nixon adminis-

tration and their funkies to wreck peace under the hypocritical label of 'humanity and peace' . . ."

Hanoi claimed that the Munich murders were taken as a pretext for Israeli raids into Lebanon and Syria to suppress "the Palestinian resistance movement." These endorsements alone are evidence of "appalling intervention" by the North Vietnamese the State Department said, commenting that Hanoi has practiced its own brand of terrorism in the south for years.

Behind the scenes there is suspicion not yet backed by proof, a more active Vietnamese communist involvement in the new Arab terrorist campaign. The Pentagon is investigating reports from Scotland Yard sources that tiny "teabag" explosives in the letter which killed the Israeli agricultural attache this week in London were American-made anti-personnel devices of the type used to seed the Ho Chi Minh trail.

Sources speculated a U.S. arsenal might have been seized in South Vietnam.

Similar bombs, mailed from the Netherlands, have been received over the past two days by Israeli diplomats in many world cities, including New York. To date, there is no evidence of Arab terror against Americans in the United States, however.

Hanoi-watchers here are at a loss to understand the reasons for the blatant verbal support Hanoi gave to the Munich killings, a time when Hanoi is courting public opinion in Western Europe and the United States.

#### TERRORISTS GLORIFIED

Some knowledgeable sources see a dramatic example of a 1/4 narrow "revolutionary" mentality. Since Yassir Arafat, leader of the Fatah Palestinian Liberation Movement visited Hanoi in April 1970, Hanoi has glorified the terrorists as "comrades-in-arms" in the battle against the imperialists.

Hanoi's words after Munich contrast with what either Moscow or Peking did.

Soviet president Nikolai Podgorny, speaking 10 days after the Munich killings said that "naturally, we cannot look with favor on the actions of certain elements who harm the Palestinian movement."

Several days earlier, the Chinese ambassador to the United Nations Huang Hua, said, according to the official New China News Agency, that "the occurrence of the Olympic incident is unfortunate."

In the view of experts here, Hanoi's rejection of the moderation in Moscow and Peking reflects distaste for the way its two giant allies have begun dealing with the United States.

The possibility of more practical consequences of this Hanoi line is under scrutiny. One theory is that Hanoi is trying to stimulate the Arab revolutionary organizations to speed terror to the heart of "world imperialism"—the United States. So far, evidence is lacking.

The administration over the past two weeks has taken steps to counter possible Arab terrorism. A special committee under William B. Macomber, No. 3 man in the State Department, has been established to coordinate anti-terrorist intelligence among agencies throughout the United States.

Issuance of visas to Arab visitors and Arab students has been tightened—particularly for Palestinian students. Surveillance of Arab student clubs in urban centers such as Washington and New York has been added.

According to State Department figures, 9,000 Arab students reside in the U.S. They are some of the 25,000 visitors from Arab countries recorded last year.

American officials acknowledge that total security for public persons is impossible. A prospective terrorist could easily hide among law-abiding Arab visitors, using fake iden-

tification papers so easily obtained in the Mideast.

The security strategy now is to rely on advance intelligence at home and abroad, and to concentrate on protection of potential targets in such public places as the United Nations and election rallies around the country.

[From the Morning Advocate, Sept. 27, 1972]

**RNA CONVICTION SAID "REVENGE" BY NAACP JACKSON, MISS.**—An NAACP spokesman Tuesday termed the murder conviction of a Republic of New Africa member "revenge" by Hinds County officials and called on black jurors to "stop sending their own kind to prison."

Emmett Burns, field director of the NAACP, said the organization was "very much disturbed over the murder conviction and life sentence of Larry Jackson" in the fatal shooting of a Jackson policeman last August.

He said "Thomas Norman, identified as vice president of the RNA, has already been convicted of the alleged murder . . . and given a life sentence" and that Jackson should have been tried on a lesser charge.

"Just because Mississippi has a law that makes accessories equally guilty does not make that law right," he said. "I am especially critical of black jurors who need to wake up when serving on juries where black defendants are concerned."

"There is no need to have black jurors if they are going to automatically vote with the white folks. They must learn they can vote no for conviction. It is better to hang the jury than hang the man."

[From the Atlantic Constitution, Sept. 30, 1972]

#### GRAND JURY INDICTS BOMBING SUSPECTS

**CLEVELAND.**—Two young men were indicted by a federal grand jury here in connection with three bombings last May that were an apparent protest to U.S. mining of Hal-phong's harbors.

Richard Cocke, 21, of Napoleon, Ohio, and Charles Hoag, 21, Tontogany, Ohio, were charged with destroying property owned or leased by the federal government and possession of unregistered destructive devices. Pipe bombs damaged the chemistry laboratory at Bowling Green State University, the Bowling Green Municipal Building and a National Guard truck parked outside an armory in Bowling Green.

[From the Atlanta Journal, Sept. 30, 1972]

**DEATH OF ATLANTA POLICEMAN LAID TO BLACK RADICAL GROUP**

(By Orville Gaines)

Atlanta Patrolman James Richard Greene was executed last Nov. 3 by two members of the Black Liberation Army to prove their worth as members of that militant organization, police have been told.

Homicide Detective Lt. Louis Graham described the Black Liberation Army as an offshoot of the Black Panther party.

Based on information received by Atlanta police and the FBI, murder indictments will be sought before the Fulton County Grand Jury, possibly next Tuesday, against two persons identified by Lt. Graham as Twyman Myers, about 22, and Freddie Hilton, about 20.

The lieutenant said Myers is now under indictment in New York City for the attempted murder of 10 police officers.

Both persons expected to be named in the indictment here are still at large.

Lt. Graham and Detective D. V. Lee flew to Miami last Wednesday and obtained 8½ pages of information about the Black Liberation Army and the slaying of Patrolman Greene.

The 27-year-old officer was found dead with three gunshot wounds last Nov. 3 in a police paddy wagon parked at a service station at Boulevard and Memorial Drive SE. His equipment, including his badge and service revolver, had been taken.

Lt. Graham said he and Detective Lee obtained the statement from 19-year-old Samuel Cooper, who was arrested in Miami and listed as one of five persons wanted in the Oct. 7, 1971, holdup of the Fulton National Bank branch at 335 Peters St. SW.

Cooper was named in a complaint concerning the holdup issued by a U.S. magistrate and was one of 10 persons who escaped from the DeKalb County Jail the weekend of Dec. 11-12.

In his statement to Lt. Graham and Detective Lee, Cooper related that both Myers and Milton had fallen into disfavor with leaders of the Black Liberation Army and were about to be kicked out of the organization as security risks.

"We were told that these men shot and killed the officer to prove their value to that militant organization," Lt. Graham said.

After the killing, the two men drove back to a Fayetteville Road SE address, where they ran into the residence jumping and shouting, "We did it, we did it," Cooper told Lt. Graham and Detective Lee.

Lt. Graham said Cooper quoted the two men as giving this account of the shooting:

The two said they were riding around and noticed the officer sitting in a police truck parked at a service station. They said they walked up to the truck on the pretense of asking directions, and while the policeman was trying to help them, they both pulled guns and began firing at him.

The two gunmen then snatched the officer's badge from his shirt and also stole his service revolver and holster.

In his statement, Cooper also related that he and other members of the BLA arrived in Atlanta around Aug. 1, 1971, from New York City, where the police there were putting the "heat" on them.

Lt. Graham said Cooper told him that members of the BLA came here in groups of 10 and four for the purpose of buying some land somewhere "out in the country" to set up a headquarters for their organization.

In addition, he said they had mapped out plans to slip Eldridge Cleaver out of Algiers back into this country.

After arriving in Atlanta around Aug. 1, Lt. Graham and Detective Lee were told, members of the BLA stayed a few days in an Auburn Avenue motel and then rented a residence on Fayetteville Road.

"Cooper said they conducted classes in shooting, survival, first aid, training and map making, map reading by compasses and classes and instructions on different kinds of guns—both foreign and American," Lt. Graham stated.

The lieutenant said that Cooper's statement about the killing and the activities, including armed robberies in the Atlanta area, has been corroborated by information received by the FBI from another member of the BLA, presently under arrest in New York City.

According to Lt. Graham, Hilton was arrested and later released in connection with an investigation growing out of the shooting of a police officer in North Carolina last year.

The homicide lieutenant said that Greene's holster and service revolver were found in a lake in southwest Atlanta in May of 1972. The serial number on the gun had been filed off.

Cooper also told Lt. Graham that the last time he saw Patrolman Greene's revolver was when another member of the BLA was play-

ing with it and saying, "The pigs in Atlanta sure have nice guns, don't they?"

"We have information coming in from both New York City and Philadelphia corroborating Coopers statement," the Lieutenant said.

"The people were not directly connected to the Black Panther party based here in Atlanta," Lt. Graham stated.

The lieutenant also praised members of the police department and the FBI, who spent "literally hundreds of hours" in investigating the slaying of Patrolman Greene. "When we started investigating a group of persons arrested in DeKalb County last Nov. 7, I knew that we were in the right ballfield, but I couldn't find the bases. We now have two people on two bases, and we're going to indict both of them for the murder of this officer," Lt. Graham said.

Lt. Graham at first was reluctant to release information about the trip to Miami, but after conferring with police Chief John Inman, went ahead and gave the story to a newsman.

## THE BICYCLE BOOM

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, 1972 I introduced before the Congress a House joint resolution designating the week of May 1-7, 1972 as National Bikeology Week. This resolution authorized a Presidential proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe this event through various biking activities. As I pointed out then, this measure would grant formal recognition to the phenomenal upsurge in the bicycle's popularity. This new interest has been reflected in the sharp jump in bicycle purchases, the increase in cycling activities being sponsored by recreation groups across the country, and in the quite noticeable return to bicycling as a daily means of transportation.

This year more bikes than cars are being sold in this country, an estimated 10 million. On Long Island, efforts are under way to construct 50 miles of uninterrupted bicycle riding lanes throughout Suffolk and Nassau Counties.

Perhaps because I come from the city, I can appreciate the advantages of the bicycle all the more keenly. This motor vehicle is nonpolluting, provides an excellent means of exercise, and can move about more quickly than automobiles which are often trapped in rush-hour traffic along so many of our streets.

Two excellent articles which recently appeared in the Washington Post and the New York Times serve to emphasize these points. Donald Mullen, writing for the Post on September 3, describes several effects of the bicycle boom. One fact which he reveals is that "about half of the new bikes are sold to older teenagers or adults" who use them regularly for local transportation. The 10- and 12-speed touring bikes, which can cover up to 120 miles a day, cannot be produced quickly enough to keep up with the heavy demand for them.

Governmental and educational institutions are beginning to respond to the boom. State and city legislatures are mandating appropriations for bicycle pathways and parking areas on a regular, comprehensive basis. Several colleges and universities now have courses that require 500 miles of riding a semester with visits to the communities along the routes in order to study ecological and health problems. But regardless of whether one rides for educational purposes or for pure enjoyment, there is general agreement with the statement of one cyclist in the article that "the world looks a lot different at 15 miles per hour than it does at 50 or 60."

In the Times story of August 27, Michael Kaufman tells of two brothers who took a 900-mile bicycle trip through the southern tier of New York State and across Pennsylvania. For 16-year-old Walter Brooks and his brother Daniel, 14, of Middle Hope, N.Y., this was a change from their original plans. They had hoped to make a 1,500-mile journey west across the tier, up north to Buffalo, and then northeast into Montreal, Canada, along the St. Lawrence Seaway.

However, according to their present schedule, they average 100 miles daily while riding no more than 8 hours. They have kept their expenses down to less than \$2 a day for each of them. Certainly this shows how inexpensive are the costs of traveling by bicycle and how great are its rewards when one can ride by the beautiful Finger Lakes on the western border of New York.

I am, therefore, submitting both of these articles for insertion in the RECORD in order to acknowledge the increase in popularity and use of the bicycle.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 3, 1972]

#### THE BICYCLE BOOM: FROM EXECUTIVES TO JUNIOR HELL'S ANGELS

(By Donald E. Mullen)

In the heavy traffic of New York's Fifth Avenue a well dressed executive, striped tie fluttering over his shoulder and briefcase strapped on behind, weaves his 10-speed bike around cars and buses on his way to his downtown office.

In Long Beach, Calif., a little old lady in tennis shoes tools her three wheeler out of a shopping center, groceries piled in the back basket.

In Georgia, a bicycle club sets off to tour miles of special bike trails built with state and federal funds.

And in every community across the United States Junior Hell's Angels, astride their high-handle bar bikes, rip around their neighborhoods roaring vocal "hunnnn! hunnnn!" engine noises to break up quiet Sunday mornings.

What this all adds up to is a continuing bicycle boom in the country that is beginning to be heard by city, state and federal bureaucrats. The phenomenal rise in bicycle sales has generated a bicycle lobby that is demanding better breaks for cyclists—their own traffic lanes and trails, better security from theft, parking facilities, safety regulations, and a general admission that the auto is not automatically king of the road.

From an estimated 15 million bicycles in use in the United States 10 years ago, the two-wheelers have grown to an estimated 75 million in use today. Sales of domestic and imported bikes hit 8.9 million in 1971 and

according to the Bicycle Manufacturers Association, are expected to reach 10.5 million this year—roughly the same volume as new cars.

One of the most surprising statistics in bicycle sales is the fact that about half the new bikes are sold to older teen-agers or adults.

Or, as a Dallas bike shop owner put it: "Young couples who used to buy a sporty car now buy a VW and two bikes."

The ironic thing about the rise of the "bike freaks" with their touring clubs, lobbyist associations, environmental and health groups, is its history come full circle.

The original U.S. bicycle craze lasted from about 1880 to 1910. Huge cyclist clubs were the first to lobby successfully for decent roads. Soaring bicycle sales brought mechanical improvements which helped spark new tools and machines for the development of the newborn auto.

And when Henry Ford began mass producing his little Model-T, the bicycle went into a 60-year decline. Now it has come back and cyclists again want their share of the road.

Today's bicycle is a far cry from the clincher-tire model grandpa rode. There are models for practically every age group—from tiny bikes braced up with training wheels for toddling two year olds, to the three-wheelers popular among the senior set in retirement communities.

But, according to a UPI survey across the country, the most popular—and scarce—models are the 10 and 12-speed touring bikes, with their light frames, skinny wheels and low handlebars.

These greyhounds of the cycling world can eat up to 120 miles of a road a day, their multiple gears allowing high speeds on downhill runs and low-gear peddling on the up hills.

Demand for them has grown so heavy that many dealers complain they're losing money because manufacturers aren't turning them out fast enough.

Said one Boise, Idaho, dealer of the multi-speed bikes: "They're like mail order brides—they're spoken for before they arrive."

Added a dealer from San Diego: "When I get a shipment of bikes in, they're gone in two days. I even had one guy who saw them unloading a crate of bikes at the dock and followed the truck to my shop just to be sure of getting one."

From weekend leisurely cyclists, from those who ride to work daily, and from dedicated bike tourists comes the cry for bike lanes and trails.

The response across the country is still mostly on paper, but it's evident that city and state governments are listening and, in many cases, have begun providing or planning commuting and touring routes.

In Oregon, the "bicycle bill" passed last year by the state legislature directed the state to spend one cent per dollar of its highway money to build bicycle trails.

California is considering a plan that would incorporate pedestrian and bicycle pathways in the state's vast highway system.

Chicago has just added 50 more miles to its network of bike ways, and Washington, D.C., is considering regulations that would require downtown building owners to provide safe parking facilities for cycling commuters.

Bicycle groups also have convinced state and city authorities to close off streets and highways on certain days for special tours.

Colleges and universities also are picking up on the bicycle boom, with special courses such as at Baltimore's Essex Community College, which requires students to ride over selected routes throughout Maryland, camping along the way and studying areas of ecological concern, as well as community health

problems. Students in the bicycling class at California State University in Sacramento ride 500 miles during an 18-week course.

Much of the back-to-the-bicycle movement is generated by environmentalists who claim those gas-eating monsters jamming the highways are doing everything from poisoning the atmosphere to rapidly diminishing the earth's natural resources.

Don Burman, of Austin, Tex., both an ardent bicyclist and member of the conservationist Sierra Club, sums it up in 10 words: "They don't have motor fumes. They don't use fossil fuels."

But for a large majority of persons, the re-discovery of the bicycle means a weekend ride down secondary and back roads, pedaling in their neighborhoods for pleasure or shopping, taking their chances with traffic and seeing some country.

"The world looks a lot different at 15 miles per hour than it does at 50 or 60 miles per hour," said a Houston, Tex., enthusiast.

Others are discovering an older facet of America. Buffalo Evening News reporter Richard J. Burke loaded camping gear aboard his five-speed British bike and toured the small communities and hamlets of Western New York State.

The bike boom also has generated a rise in thefts. Although there are no national figures available, bicycle thievery amounts to millions of dollars.

In California alone, police estimate the 1971 value of bikes stolen at \$22.3 million.

With the resale value of a good multispeed bicycle figured at \$70 and up, theft rings are growing, police say. One popular method is to use vans, dropping off youths at shopping centers and busy spots to "rip off" unattended bikes and then meet the van at a prearranged spot.

In many cities youths steal bolt cutters from fire trucks. Such tools can cut through steel cable and chain bike locks.

Bicycle thefts are so prevalent in New York City that some youths have resorted to assembling "trash bikes"—old, beat up machines with water pipe handlebars and rusty frames.

"Who'd want to steal one of these?" said the owner of one.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 27, 1972]  
TWO YOUNG BICYCLISTS SPENDING SUMMER ON  
A 900-MILE ADVENTURE ON WHEELS

(By Michael T. Kaufman)

Walter and Daniel Brooks set off on bicycles last Monday from their home in Middle Hope, N.Y., a suburb of Newburg, for a summer adventure they have been planning since spring.

They left with \$34 each, a Sterno stove, sleeping bags and the best wishes of their parents. They each rode new \$180 Italian racing bicycles that they had purchased for the trip with money earned by picking cherries at a neighbor's orchard at \$1 a bushel.

Walter, who is 16 years old, and Daniel, 14, had been studying maps since last April, intending to travel all along the Southern Tier of the state, swinging up to Buffalo, then into Canada and up the St. Lawrence to Montreal. From there they thought they would head down the Adirondacks and back to Middle Hope.

The entire trip, they estimated, would take two weeks and cover 1,500 miles. It was to be the first long bicycle trip.

Their friends in Middle Hope thought they were crazy. They wished them luck, but they were betting that the Brooks boys would be home within a few days.

By Wednesday, the brothers began to think they were crazy.

They were heading up toward the Finger Lakes on an 80-mile detour. It was mostly uphill, and the wind was going against them. A cotter pin in Daniel's bike loosened. For the first time, after 250 miles, they had to walk their bikes.

They set up camp in a field off a two-lane highway, cooked spaghetti on their stove and stretched out in their sleeping bags. Then Walter heard something snorting. The boys looked up and four or five feet away, behind a flimsy wire fence, they saw a bull pawing the ground and glaring at them.

"I guess it was just about then," said Walter, "that we decided to reconsider our situation."

"We realized that the bikes stages of about 100 miles or so would probably not be able to make it all the way to Canada and back," said Daniel, adding: "To be honest, if those hills continued, we weren't sure that we could make it either."

So the boys altered their original route and improvised another, stretching only 900 miles. By Friday they were in Friendship, a tiny dairying hamlet in southwestern New York, which, with side trips, is about 400 miles from their starting point.

The brothers said they were heading next into Pennsylvania, where they would camp at the Allegheny National Forest. Then in daily so, they will cut back east virtually across the width of Pennsylvania, through Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, where they want to inspect the flood damage and help out, if they can, with rebuilding.

Then they will head back home so that Daniel, who, though younger, is an inch taller and nine pounds heavier than his 5-foot 6-inch, 139-pound brother, can start practice with the Marlboro Regional High School football team.

The boys have developed a rhythmic pattern of riding that they say is quite comfortable. They ride for no more than eight hours a day, never going more than four hours before taking a swim or a snack break. Still, they have gone as far as 120 miles in a day and not once have they traveled less than 50 miles.

They have been as frugal with their money as they have been expansive with their energies. As they near the midway point of their excursion, Danny has \$21 left while Walter has \$25.

"It really doesn't cost very much to have a good time," explained Walter. "We usually stop for breakfast, eating eggs and coffee or hot chocolate, and that costs about \$1 each." For lunch the boys get a loaf of bread and some jam or cold cuts and supper is a can of spaghetti or hash.

"We've already seen some amazing things," reported Daniel, "a golden eagle flying lazily over a stream near Deposit and dozens of deer."

He said he thought the most beautiful sight was the view of the Finger Lakes stretching out in front of them as they passed over the crest of a hill near Tyrone. The most disgusting, both boys agreed, was the trail of dead raccoons, rabbits, squirrel and even foxes lying on the side of the road, killed in traffic.

"From a bicycle you can really see the land, the way the glaciers shoved the rocks and the lowering of the mountains," said Walter, who hopes to become a doctor.

"I would rather do it on a bicycle than even on a motorcycle," he said. "It's more challenging and maybe because of that it is much more rewarding."

#### IN PRAISE OF CHARLES STEWART MOTT

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most distinguished American philanthropists is being honored tomorrow by

the Michigan Hospital Association. I would like to take this opportunity to give national recognition of Charles Stewart Mott, Sr., of Flint, Mich., for his outstanding contribution to human services.

As founder of the Mott Foundation, one of the five largest in the United States, Charles Stewart Mott has carried out his philosophy that human values have highest priority. Since 1926, the Mott Foundation has actively supported many service organizations in Flint, including the United Fund, Lions, Rotary, and Kiwanis. The innovative community schools program in Flint, enabling children and adults to take advantage of recreational and educational opportunities beyond regular school hours, received its greatest spiritual and financial support from Mr. Mott and his foundation.

In addition, Mott has sponsored the establishment of Genesee County Community College and a branch of the University of Michigan in Flint. In the area of health, Mott's efforts have been exemplary. His main projects include the Children's Health Center in Flint, the C. S. Mott Children's Hospital in Ann Arbor, presentation of scholarship grants for development of health personnel in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, and a Wayne State University Reproductive Biology Center in Detroit.

I invite the Congress and the people of the United States to join the Michigan Hospital Association and myself in paying tribute to one of America's finest citizens, Charles Stewart Mott.

#### A SOUND, RESPONSIBLE FLOOD CONTROL PROGRAM

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend all the Members of the Public Works Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors, and most particularly its extremely able chairman, RAY ROBERTS, for the outstanding work that went into the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Act of 1972, which passed the House yesterday by voice vote.

Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the full committee I can personally attest to the exceptional attention to detail, the many months of hard work by the subcommittee, which has made this one of the most thorough and responsible flood control bills I have seen in my 26 years in Congress.

The hearings were among the best-run I have witnessed. They were fair, open, and each witness was treated with the utmost courtesy and respect.

The Members did their homework, faithfully attended the hearings and executive sessions, and the resulting legislation lays out good, sound projects which are a credit to the committee and the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the subcommittee and its chairman, RAY ROBERTS, for giving to the House and the Nation a

bill which, in the midst of so much controversy over so many other issues, was accepted by the House by a voice vote.

CERTIFICATES OF MERIT TO TWO TOPEKA YOUTHS

**HON. WILLIAM R. ROY**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, this evening I am very honored to present the Red Cross Certificate of Merit to two young gentlemen of my district. This certificate of merit is the most honorable award presented to a person who saves a life by applying first aid, small craft or water safety skills taught by the Red Cross. The awards will be received by: David Potter, son of Mr. and Mrs. Elliot H. Potter, Topeka, Kans., and James Murray, son of Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Murray, Topeka, Kans. As the Representative of the Second Kansas District, I am particularly proud of these young Explorers. They are not only a credit to their families and community but also to the Explorer Post of the Kansas Capital Area. Both Jim and Dave exemplified community consciousness and concise application of their knowledge and training. I would hope that these actions are a sample of and an example to the entire Explorer membership.

In November of 1969, the Explorer Post was approved by the executive committee of the Kansas Capital Area Chapter of the American Red Cross.

The Post was originally organized to explore various aspects of safety. But as time passed, the Post became more involved in disaster work which necessitated all members to be trained in first aid. All members fulfill this minimum requirement and many members obtain instructors authorization. Those who are authorized teach first-aid classes for their individual chapter while the unauthorized members act as instructor aides in a class. In addition to this training, 10 of the members of the post have paramedical training from the Kansas University Medical Center.

There also exists a representative group which is available in time of disaster to man the first-aid stations. The first-aid stations manned by the Explorer Post were very active this summer. During this period the post served a minimum of two such stations a week. The largest operation was the series of stations at Lake Perry. It was at Lake Perry that Dave and Jim were involved in saving lives over the Memorial Day weekend.

Clearly, with this record, the Explorer Post of the Kansas Capital Area can be considered one of the best in the Nation.

Again, I congratulate these fine young gentlemen for their actions and awards.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the citations to James Murray and David Potter. The citations follow:

CITATION TO JAMES MURRAY, FOR SELFLESS AND HUMANE ACTION IN SAVING THE LIFE OF AN AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENT VICTIM

On May 29, 1972 seventeen-year-old James, who had been trained in Red Cross first aid, went to the scene of an automobile accident. The driver was on top of the trunk of his wrecked car and was not breathing. Without hesitation, James immediately gave mouth-to-mouth resuscitation until the victim began breathing for himself. He stopped breathing twice after this and each time James gave artificial respiration and restored his breathing. The victim was taken to a hospital and later released, fully recovered. There is no doubt that James Murray's correct first aid procedures saved the victim's life.

For this act of mercy Mr. Murray has been named to receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit. This is the highest award given by the American Red Cross to a person who saves a life by using skills learned in a Red Cross first aid, small craft, or water safety course. The Certificate bears the signatures of President Nixon, Honorary Chairman, and E. Roland Harriman, Chairman of the American Red Cross.

This action exemplifies the highest ideal of the concern of one human being for another who is in distress.

CITATION TO DAVID POTTER, FOR SELFLESS AND HUMANE ACTION IN HELPING TO SAVE THE LIFE OF A WATER ACCIDENT VICTIM

On May 28, 1972 David, a 17-year-old who has been trained in Red Cross first aid, was a volunteer at a First Aid Station on Lake Perry on the Memorial Day weekend. Four swimmers brought in a man who had gone down in deep water, and was unconscious and not breathing. David waded to the victim, immediately began mouth-to-mouth resuscitation in the water, and continued artificial respiration when the beach was reached. He successfully maintained an open airway and went in an ambulance with the victim to a hospital. The man ultimately was released as fully recovered. There is no doubt that David's first aid knowledge and skill saved the man's life.

For this act of mercy Mr. Potter has been named to receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit. This is the highest award given by the American Red Cross to a person who saves a life by using skills learned in a Red Cross first aid, small craft, or water safety course. The Certificate bears the signatures of President Nixon, Honorary Chairman, and E. Roland Harriman, Chairman of the American Red Cross.

This action exemplifies the highest ideal of the concern of one human being for another who is in distress.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—  
HOW LONG?

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

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

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,757 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

JONATHAN, MINN., DEVELOPER STRESSES NEW TOWN BENEFITS

**HON. ANCHER NELSEN**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Henry McKnight, of Minneapolis, Minn., gave a presentation before the Republican National Platform Committee recently on the subject of new community development.

Mr. McKnight, of course, speaks with considerable authority as prime mover of two new towns which are attracting national and international attention as model developments.

His stature in the field has been instrumental in bringing together developers from throughout the Nation in formation of the League of New Community Developers. He presently serves as vice chairman of the group.

I am delighted to introduce his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of others in the Nation who are interested in this important field, which is so important to the establishment of a sound national growth policy.

The remarks follow:

REMARKS OF HENRY T. MCKNIGHT

My name is Henry McKnight, and I'm from Minneapolis, Minn. I am vice chairman of the League of New Community Developers. Accompanying me are Robert Honts, chairman of our Governmental Affairs Committee, and Mark Freeman, executive director of the League.

Our organization was formed this year to stress the importance of new towns as an integral element of a national growth policy, and to work for the continuation and expansion of this vital experiment in solving America's urban problems.

As one who has served in public life myself as a Minnesota state senator, attended a number of Republican national conventions as delegate and visitor, and, like you, has spent many long hours drafting party policy, I want to commend you for the service you are performing and thank you for this opportunity to appear.

My purpose is to urge inclusion in the 1972 Republican National Platform of a strong and incisive statement on national growth policy, and to encourage the strengthening and expansion of new community development as a part of that policy.

INTRODUCTION

The creation of new towns and cities, both private and publicly assisted, is clearly emerging as a major social and economic thrust of the 1970's. This is comparable to the growth of consumer-oriented industries in the '50's and the growth of the aerospace industry in the '60's. As a result of recent legislation (particularly the guarantee assistance program of Title VII of the 1970 Housing and Urban Development Act) the development of new communities in accelerating. And it is being met by increasing public interest and support.

ACHIEVING NATIONAL GOALS

This trend to new communities is consistent with and contributes to achievement of a number of national goals.

1. It is an important answer to the need for new housing for our growing population.
2. It aids in the development of rural

areas and redevelopment of deteriorating core cities, and thus is a factor in correcting population imbalances.

3. It makes possible the achievement of racially balanced communities through private effort and cooperation without the need for any sort of public coercion.

4. By providing substantial numbers of low and moderate income housing it will achieve communities able to serve a wide range of economic groups.

5. It develops innovative living systems and, in fact, new environment-oriented life styles.

6. It offers opportunities for new technological advances, including utilization of skills and resources of the aerospace industry directed toward the broadening field of "people moving."

7. It presents an alternative to unhealthy urban sprawl and patchwork development, and in so doing produces favorable impact on the environment and on the tax base of surrounding jurisdictions.

8. It provides a major counter-inflationary force by redirecting existing private capital into long-term efficient development, as contrasted with the traditional "New Deal" approach of pumping new funds into the economic bloodstream.

9. The program is carried out at virtually no cost to the taxpayers.

10. Indeed, it promises to produce significant revenue for the Treasury, since the developer pays a substantial fee for the use of Federal credit under a guarantee program through which developers arrange their own long-term private financing.

11. It offers a remarkable new method of accomplishing large scale development through the private marketplace and through the use of contractual undertakings, opening up—for the first time—an entire new financing opportunity for local developers in a private market which heretofore was closed to them.

12. In return, specified contractual commitments assure the highest level of comprehensive planning, good environmental controls and the fulfillment of social and economic objectives.

In short, the New Communities Program, and the accelerating wave of new town development, stand as very Republican efforts, based upon sound principles of free enterprise and private-public partnership, and it has automatic appeal to the conservation-minded, the environmentalists, the developers and builders, to manufacturers and service industries, to the financial community.

But most importantly, it has appeal for people, because it spells a new way of living, incorporating all the benefits society and technology can provide. The dream of a "good life" can become reality in a new town.

New communities are only one element in a total urban strategy. However, they do offer an alternative in the struggle to save the central city and contain metropolitan sprawl. New towns can do this because they are planned on a large enough scale to provide housing, employment, and a system of integrated facilities and services—all within a self-contained environment.

Metropolitan sprawl is both ugly and wasteful. It has overwhelmed our ability to provide services on an effective and economical basis. It has made economic and social integration virtually impossible to achieve. It has destroyed our landscape and threatens our ecological balance. Scattered and unplanned development has made our suburbs into a mammoth non-system of non-community living where nothing relates to anything. It is obvious to us there is a better way to guide urban growth and development in this country.

Planned new towns are as old as America itself. The first settlements in Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania were totally

planned, and with each wave of westward expansion, the process of creating planning living environments has been duplicated. Now we are on a new frontier of metropolitan growth, and it is time to develop institutions to do what our forefathers knew was necessary—plan for growth.

No one understands this better than President Nixon. He moved quickly to organize his Administration so that the formulation and implementation of domestic policy could take place at the highest levels of government. The creation of the Domestic Council, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Federal Regional Councils clearly indicate that the President has no intention of leaving the guidance of domestic affairs to chance. Leadership at this level is critical, for unless we plan for the future of America, we will continue to record the same dreary and disheartening statistics that have rolled in decade after decade. For in fact:

The center city continues to lose its more substantial population and economic base to its suburbs.

Population movement is still attracted to the largest metropolitan areas.

Growth rates lag in smaller cities and towns.

The Black exodus from the South continues. Twelve percent of those residing in metropolitan areas are Black and central cities are now 28 percent Black.

White flight to the suburbs has accelerated. Rural America's population continues its decline.

By 1990, 75 million more people will be added to our population. Most will reside in our already overwhelmed metropolitan areas.

#### ACIR REPORT

In its 13th annual report, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations states only too well the situation as it exists in our urban areas:

"The basic causes of cleavage in our social and governmental system can be found in metropolitan areas that are fragmented in all but a few instances; in growing fiscal, social and racial disparities among the local jurisdictions in these areas; in widening population, economic and opportunity gaps between urban and rural America; in growing but uneven State involvement in local and sub-state regional affairs despite an increasing need for more direct State leadership and fiscal commitment to a range of local and areawide jurisdictional and servicing goals; in a multiplication of Federal assistance programs with a parallel proliferation of management difficulties; in the continuing ambivalence of the Federal Government on the question of what its real role is in our nation's metropolitan areas; and in the prospect of a future population growth that is mostly slated for existing metropolitan areas. These are the real challenges to statesmanship at all levels and these are the critical conditions upon . . . (which) . . . the fate of American federalism depends."

The report's blunt language is very much to the point: The problems we face are bad and growing worse. There will reach a point in many of our cities when in spite of most heroic efforts, these trends will be irreversible.

#### HOUSING ACTS OF 1968, 1970

In the Housing Acts of 1968 and 1970, Congress made a substantial breakthrough in an effort to develop a meaningful urban growth policy, to launch a major new towns program, and to provide communities with effective tools to control and rationalize their growth.

The "new towns" portion of these Acts grew out of a study by the National Commission on Urban Growth Policy. That body was composed of congressmen, senators, governors, and mayors concerned with creating a better urban environment. Entitled "The New City," the report's foreword was written

by Vice President Agnew. It called for the formulation of a national urban growth policy and the creation, by the end of the century, of one hundred towns averaging at least one hundred thousand in population, and ten new cities of at least one million population. Although this is an ambitious program, the report pointed out that the twenty million people who would be served by the new towns represented only twenty percent of the nation's expected growth over the next three decades.

Congressional response to the Commission's recommendations was swift and decisive. The 1970 Act guarantees the financing of new communities which meet rigorous federal standards of social and economic feasibility and gives special aid for installing those public services which are critical to a new community's success. Key Republican amendments set the tone for the bill as passed by the Congress.

An important part of the 1970 Act provides for guarantees and loans to private developers. This feature effectively triggers the use of private money in the development and redevelopment of an urban area. We feel this provision can weld a strong partnership between government and private industry. Federal standards established under the Act protect the public interest; private funding encouraged and protected under the Act effectively taps private money sources.

Twelve new communities across the country have been assisted under the 1968 and 1970 Housing Acts. We think that the number must be much greater if new communities are to succeed in making a truly significant contribution to a better national urban environment.

Several of our metropolitan areas have "paired cities"—new towns-in-town and nearby satellite cities, presenting a viable alternative to urban sprawl and downtown deterioration. Cedar-Riverside in Minneapolis, Fort Lincoln in Washington, D.C., and New Orleans East, are three excellent projects that will have substantial positive benefits in center-city revitalization. San Antonio Ranch, Park Forest South near Chicago, and my own project, Jonathan, near Minneapolis, are effective alternatives to haphazard suburban growth.

The 1970 Act also encourages innovation in all aspects of new community development, including:

Achievement of racially integrated communities, attracting, at the outset, those of all races who want to be part of a vigorous mix of people.

Development of industrial parks as part of the overall community plan, providing job opportunities as well as homes and recreational facilities.

Development of advanced housing construction techniques, bringing a choice of housing opportunities within the economic reach of all.

Development of sophisticated communications systems to be used in conjunction with education, health, fire and police systems.

Meshing of large-scale investments utilizing private and public funds through a partnership approach.

Development of fully planned transportation systems, avoiding the traffic strangulation which besets so many cities.

Rational integration of regional facilities such as hospitals and universities, to provide higher quality at less total cost.

Development of advanced sanitary and solid waste disposal systems.

Development of health, educational, religious and cultural programs and facilities which combine to enhance quality of life.

Most importantly, a community is planned on a total basis, and that plan is implemented with full awareness of the need to relate all urban functions with one another.

The development of new communities ties

together the basic elements that can be a major tool in dealing with urban development—public policy formulation coupled with private sector financing and management expertise. That management expertise is urgently needed, and the new community program provides for it.

As we rapidly approach the 21st Century, we must face up to the question of national growth. Either we are going to guide the process of urbanization or we can expect to be increasingly frustrated by the crises surrounding us. Can we control urban growth? Can we create a truly integrated society? Can we use our land more intelligently, while preserving the environment? The answer to all of these questions is *yes*—if we want badly enough to turn our rhetoric into reality.

The League of New Community Developers urges the Republican Party meeting in Convention to adopt a strong comprehensive statement in support of an urban growth policy which recognizes the concerns, and the opportunities, I have advanced here today.

We ask that you support new communities development as a major program in the implementation of such a growth policy.

Specifically, I urge you to call for:

1. Developing a definitive 25-year national growth policy to take America into the 21st Century.

2. Reinforcing the 1970 Housing Act, through establishment of priorities and provision of funds, particularly providing increased staffing of the Office of New Community Development at HUD for the administration of the guarantee assistance program.

3. Reaffirmation and support of the objective of the National Committee on Urban Growth Policy to create 100 new communities under the existing Act.

4. Providing incentives to state and local governments to assist in development of new communities.

With the backing of this convention, and support of the President a strong force of private developers, industrialists, financiers and builders stands ready to build the new America to meet the needs of coming generations.

Thank you for this opportunity to testify, and for your consideration.

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1972

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join in this tribute to our distinguished colleague, the Honorable THOMAS M. PELLY, on the eve of his retirement from the House of Representatives after 20 years of outstanding service.

TOM PELLY has served with integrity, wisdom, and untiring dedication during his long tenure of office, and our Nation, the State of Washington, and the people of his district have benefited greatly by his noteworthy legislative achievements, particularly in the scope of conservation, the maritime, and fisheries.

TOM and Mary PELLY are very good friends of Betty and JOHN RHODES. We came into the Congress at the same time. We have thoroughly enjoyed knowing them, and we intend to preserve and en-

large this friendship through the years even though the Pellys will no longer be in Washington. Our best wishes are with them for every happiness and fulfillment in the coming years.

#### GOVERNMENT OVERREGULATION IS BAD FOR BUSINESS

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Government bureaucracy is growing at a tremendous pace. Twenty years ago, one person in every eight was a government worker. Today one out of every six persons works for government in some capacity. For businessmen, this has meant lost time, lower profits, higher taxes, reduced competitiveness abroad, and a growing sense of frustration.

When we hear the nation's problems discussed today there are numerous references to big business. Too little attention is given to the problems caused by big bureaucracy. Big business produces automobiles, homes, clothing, food products. Big bureaucracy produces regulation, directives, redtape, reports, and forms. And more forms. And more paperwork.

A team at the National Archives has already counted over 700,000 different Federal forms currently in use. They estimate a total of well over a million before they finish counting.

In May of this year, the Senate Subcommittee on Government Regulations determined that "it cost all branches of government \$18 billion a year to print, shuffle, and store all the forms it requires to be filled out. Another \$18 billion a year is paid out by small businessmen to fill out those forms." A publishing firm, Prentice Hall Inc., estimated back in 1964, that the cost to business of filling out forms was \$50 billion a year if you add in the time and duplication involved in Federal and State tax reporting.

Mr. Speaker, according to the General Services Administration, it takes four and a half million cubic feet of space just to file the Federal records generated in 1 year. That is the equivalent of 10 billion pieces of standard 8 x 10½-inch office typing paper.

The Senate subcommittee during its hearings on Federal paperwork received a letter from a New Hampshire grocery store operator who declared he has to fill out 19 separate forms on each new employee he hires. An administrator of a small hospital in Massachusetts wrote that her small staff had to deal regularly with 23 different Federal and State agencies.

The Associated General Contractors of America testified before Congress that 40 percent of its annual \$11.5 billion overhead in the construction industry is the result of paperwork. That amounts to approximately 4.5 billion dollars a year and yet Americans wonder why construction costs have gone so high.

Mr. Speaker, we in Congress should not merely lock for ways to cut down on the amount of paperwork itself. Instead, we should concentrate on removing the restrictive Federal regulatory policies which this paperwork concerns. Every businessman in my district can tell you a personal experience about his confrontation with an overzealous bureaucrat. Here is a letter I received from a Texas businessman that points up just how ridiculous some of these directives can be. It is dated March 24, 1972 from a national meat company to a container company in Fort Worth.

GENTLEMEN: Approximately February 1, 1971, U.S. Department of Agriculture Regulations, Section 312.2—regarding official U.S. Inspection legends—were changed.

The change involved the three periods in the legend (one after U, one after S, and one after EST). The rule previously designated that square periods be used. The early 1971 change indicated that round periods should be used.

It has come to our attention that we still receive some shipping containers imprinted with U.S. Inspection legends containing square periods.

Please follow to see that on any replacement inspection legend printing dies you have them with round periods rather than square.

Thank you.

Apparently a bureaucrat can write a regulation about anything, regardless of how insignificant it may appear to others. This fact seems to be borne out by the size of the Federal Register which prints the regulations promulgated by the numerous regulatory agencies which directly affect business and industry. A recent article in Industry Week magazine points out that in 1971, the Federal Register ran to 25,497 pages. It was further noted that the Encyclopedia Britannica contains only 28,715 pages.

We are reaching the point that every time a businessman tries to make a move to hire a new employee, develop a new product, market a new product, expand his plant, move into a new city, merge with another company, negotiate a labor contract, ship his goods, or raise new capital he is confronted by a regulation that says he cannot do it unless a Federal agency approves. I would like to review for my colleagues some of the problems businessmen face daily in trying to deal with these Federal agencies.

#### INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

The railroads face stiff competition from water and truck carriers to stay competitive. Southern Railroad invested \$13 million in 500 special hopper cars to carry grain to the South. These new cars would mean a 60 percent reduction in rates for Southern's customers. However, it took 4 years of litigation before the ICC and eventually the Supreme Court finally put the new lower rates in effect. The ICC was set up 85 years ago on the theory that government regulations were superior to free enterprise in determining the rates railroads could charge.

#### FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Natural gas provides almost half of all the energy for U.S. industry and heats and cools more homes than any other

fuel. In 1954, the Supreme Court gave the FPC the right to regulate the price of natural gas to be sold interstate. The highest price at which gas can be sold by a producer in my home State of Texas to an interstate pipeline going north is 26 cents per McF—thousand cubic feet. However, the FPC cannot regulate intrastate gas sales, so a producer in Beaumont can sell to a power company in Dallas for over 40 cent per McF. Obviously, producers of new gas in Texas and Louisiana are going to sell where they get the best price.

Instead of establishing a policy of realistic gas pricings, to make up for the shortages in interstate markets, the FPC is approving imports of liquified natural gas from Arab Algeria at 91 cents per McF. Domestic producers receive an artificially low price and domestic consumers are having to pay over twice as much for imported gas.

#### EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

General Electric Co. is now fighting a case in court contesting an EEOC ruling in April that pregnancy is a disability. G.E. employs 80,000 women and on the average 5,000 a year become pregnant. To provide 60 percent of normal straight-time pay for 26 weeks for each pregnancy would increase payroll costs of the company by \$13 million a year. The EEOC ruling was made without any hearings, studies, or consultation with industry.

#### OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

Of all the regulatory agencies in the Federal Government the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has been the source of more complaints by businessmen than any other, especially small businessmen who do not have the resources to employ a full-time staff safety engineer. In the March issue of Dun's magazine, George Guenther, Assistant Secretary of Labor of OSHA is quoted as saying:

The new law has been quite a boon to some people. Our regulations have created a whole new industry of lawyers, consultants, and publications.

That is easy to understand since in its first year of existence, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has already handed down 15,000 regulations.

Mr. Speaker, let me cite an example of how detailed and rigid the new safety regulations are. There are 11 pages of fine print in the Federal Register concerning wooden ladders. The regulations include everything from algebraic equations to fiber stress characteristics of more than 50 different types of wood. The lumber dimensions for a ladder made from rock elm are not the same for a ladder made of white fir. Wood in a ladder shall not have more than 15 percent moisture content, and while black streaks in ladders made of Western hemlock shall not be considered irregular, they can be considered irregular under certain circumstances. To make sure the subject of ladders is thoroughly covered, there is also a discussion of things like size of permissible knots and pitch pockets in the wood.

For a businessman to keep up with the

OSHA regulations he must subscribe to that 25,000-page Federal Register I have already mentioned. But this may not be sufficient for the OSHA regulations also incorporate by reference many of the consensus standards of various manufacturing associations. The burden of collecting all this data is on the businessman, not the Government. Under current Department of Labor practice, if a businessman asks an OSHA inspector to look over his plant to give him advice on how to bring his plant up to the required standards and the inspector finds a condition that is unsafe according to the regulations, a fine will be levied on the spot. No provision is made for allowing several days to correct the condition.

According to a National Association of Manufacturers survey of 1,100 companies, the larger firms are spending several million dollars each to comply with OSHA standards. Companies with up to 500 employees are reporting compliance costs averaging about \$33,000. The National Association of Home Builders has spent over \$70,000 to develop an educational program for its members trying to help them determine which of the 90 pages of "Construction Standards" apply to light residential construction. The bureaucrats who wrote these regulations lump builders of skyscrapers and builders of two-story houses in the same category.

When Congress is out of session, I would like to invite my colleagues to spend time in business firms. See their operating problems. Especially, I would like for you to spend time reviewing their Government forms and requirements.

When Congress understands the harassment and expense of this paper jungle, we will then move forcefully to slash it by half.

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1972

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join in this deserved salute to our able colleague, TOM PELLY. His decision to retire from the House will leave a great void. He has established an outstanding record in representing the people of the First Congressional District of Washington.

I recall that when I first came to the Congress in 1961, TOM PELLY spoke to an orientation session for freshman congressman on the subject of communicating with constituents. During the intervening 12 years we have seen firsthand the excellent job which he has done in serving the people of his district and our Nation.

TOM PELLY has been a leader in speaking up for a strong national defense. He has established an outstanding record in the maritime, fisheries, and conservation fields.

We will miss him in this House, but we extend to him best wishes for con-

tinued happiness, contentment, and good health in the years ahead.

#### PHONY BUDGET ISSUE

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following column which appeared in today's Washington Post speaks for itself:

#### PHONY BUDGET ISSUE

(By Hobart Rowen)

White House aide John Ehrlichman and other administration officials are now trying to blame any future tax increase on irresponsible congressional spending.

This is a phony issue, as Mr. Ehrlichman and all of the technicians in the Office of Management and Budget know.

The fact, which is recognized by non-politicians within the government, and practically everybody outside, is that an increase in federal taxes sometime in the next two years is virtually a certainty because of commitments already made by the Nixon administration.

The administration could consult, for example, its former Treasury specialist on economic affairs, Murray Weidenbaum. Prof. Weidenbaum, a Republican, has been making a series of forthright speeches on budget realities. In his latest, sketching out the "hard fiscal facts of life," Weidenbaum said: "We have literally mortgaged available federal revenue for many years into the future."

The same situation would confront Sen. McGovern, should he be elected. But the Republicans are promoting the notion that a wave of a magic budget-cutting wand will solve the problem. The idea doesn't survive non-partisan scrutiny.

Take one example cited by a conservative research group, the American Enterprise Institute: based on bills already passed, and on legislation proposed by the Nixon administration, the actual spending total, in Fiscal 1975, two years from now, will be \$301 billion up \$51 billion from the \$250 billion expenditure ceiling Mr. Nixon is trying to squeeze out of Congress.

That doesn't take into account Mr. Nixon's promise (State of the Union Message) for a federal education program, or any other new initiatives—just what's already been cranked into the spending machine.

It covers an increase of \$10 billion for defense; \$19 billion for income security; \$6 billion for health; \$5 billion to expand existing education programs; and \$5.3 billion for revenue sharing.

Says the AEI report: "The picture that emerges is a rather grim one for the Nixon administration."

To meet its self-imposed test of maintaining a "full employment balance," says the research group, would require "tax increases of some \$21 billion in (fiscal) 1975, \$13 billion in 1976, and \$6 billion in 1977."

This analysis matches almost exactly the projections made earlier by the Brookings Institution. But the administration tends to brush Brookings aside as a haven for Democrats out of office.

Facts don't have a political bias. The administration's problem is that it won't face up to the tax issue during the election. Instead, it talks of a water-tight ceiling on expenditures.

Former Budget Director Charles Schultze of Brookings—a McGovern adviser, a Democrat, and an economist of unimpeachable integrity—pointed out the other day the

impractical nature of Mr. Nixon's proposed \$250 billion ceiling.

If Congress were to limit spending to \$250 billion for fiscal 1973, Schulze points out, it would have to cut \$7 billion to \$10 billion from Mr. Nixon's January proposals. But by the time a ceiling goes into effect, five months of the fiscal year would have elapsed, requiring cuts of \$12 to \$15 billion at an annual rate.

Where would they come from? Certainly not from defense, already trimmed \$3.6 billion from Secretary Laird's requests. And it is not possible, for legal or political reasons, to touch Social Security, veterans benefits, interest on the debt, public assistance, unemployment compensation, or revenue-sharing.

That leaves Ehrlichman & Co. about \$75 billion in such programs as grants-in-aid to the states for education, manpower training, health, pollution control, urban mass transit and similar objectives. These would have to be slashed about 20 percent to bring the total budget with a \$250 billion ceiling. It just is not a realistic concept. The Administration ought to quit playing politics, and buckle down to the important job of deciding what tax program will put its fiscal house in order.

#### PROPOSED SPENDING CEILING OPENS DOOR TO UNCONSTITUTIONAL ITEM VETO

**HON. JOE L. EVINS**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the House is scheduled to consider a bill which proposes to place a ceiling on expenditures for the current fiscal year.

While this proposal sounds good and appears to have some merit, the fact is that this is simply another stratagem to induce Congress to surrender more of its constitutional authority and responsibility to the executive branch.

To pass this bill is to give the executive the power of the item veto—which is unconstitutional—not to mention the outright surrender of the power of the purse string over appropriations—a basic constitutional prerogative of the Congress.

If we do not stop this constant attrition of congressional power—this giveaway of legislative responsibilities to the executive branch—we are going to wind up with a "White House monarchy."

Certainly the approval of a firm and inflexible ceiling would be an abdication of congressional responsibility.

Congress has already surrendered far too much power to the bureaucracy in the Office of Management and Budget in the guise of reorganization. Frankly, the performance of OMB with respect to priorities involving programs for people does not encourage confidence.

Based on OMB proposals to sharply cut programs of education, dismember the Department of Agriculture, terminate the Appalachian development program, and curtail school lunches for children, this is not a comforting prospect.

The Washington Post in a recent editorial entitled "The Spending Limit

Shellgame" says imposition of the ceiling would be "a historic retreat from legislative responsibility."

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter, I place this editorial in the RECORD herewith.

The editorial follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 27, 1972]

#### THE SPENDING LIMIT SHELLGAME

Congress is now taking the first slippery step in a historic retreat from legislative responsibility. The House Ways and Means Committee has reported a bill giving President Nixon the authority to cut spending this year to \$250 billion, with unlimited license in the way he goes about it. The standing of the Ways and Means Committee is sufficient that its support, unfortunately, makes passage of the bill entirely likely. Under its Democratic leadership, Congress is now colluding with Mr. Nixon to conceal from the American people, until after the election, the full meaning of this bill. The Democratic leadership is apparently fearful of being attacked as spendthrift. But voters are entitled to know—before they vote—the scale and character of the damage that this measure promises.

Federal spending for the current fiscal year can be held to about \$256 billion with conventional vetoes. The effect of the spending limit is to give Mr. Nixon prior congressional approval to cut about \$6 billion out of the money already provided by law. It is worth working out a bit of arithmetic to see exactly what that means.

The bill covers the year ending next June and, after the election, Mr. Nixon would have about seven months in which to save \$6 billion. To do it, he would have to cut programs that spend money at the rate of \$11 billion a year. The next step is to see where that \$11 billion might lie.

The Nixon administration does not intend to take the military budget much below \$75 billion. The income support programs, with the supporting Medicare and Medicaid, are very nearly untouchable. The administration has promised not to reduce Social Security, and for practical reasons the welfare payments are hard to reach. These categories come to well over \$100 billion a year. Interest on the federal debt is also untouchable, and come to some \$14 billion a year. Farm price supports and subsidies account for another \$5 billion, and Mr. Nixon is not likely to cut these, and still less likely to touch his own \$5 billion general revenue sharing program. These items alone add up to some \$200 billion.

The \$11 billion will thus have to come out of the \$55 billion that remains once the largest and most obvious untouchables and impossibles are set aside. But even the \$55 billion remainder is full of invulnerable items, from the FBI appropriation to Congressmen's salaries. The big construction programs, like highways and reclamation, can be diminished slowly. From this it is perfectly plain that the weight of the cut will fall on the social and educational end of the budget.

The effect of this \$6 billion cut, taken over seven months, would be a reduction of about one-third in federal spending in the fields ranging from pollution abatement and environmental protection to child care, school aid, help to higher education, manpower training, housing and urban improvement generally. The impact would be cumulative, growing increasingly severe next spring.

These cuts would fall disproportionately on the programs funded by grants to state and local governments. Ironically, a reduction on the scale of this \$6 billion could well leave state and local governments right back where they were before Mr. Nixon introduced his much-advertised revenue sharing bills.

Mr. Nixon gives first priority, in domestic affairs, to low tax rates. He has presided over two large tax cuts in the past three years, and he has promised to preserve them even though the economic recovery is now building up strong inflationary pressures. He gives second priority to a low rate of inflation, and everything else is ranged behind that. The Democratic leadership of Congress has allowed itself to be persuaded to accept the Nixon order of priorities, and to join him in obfuscating, for the crucial next six weeks, the consequences of these massive budget reductions. But before voters make up their minds on this central question, they would be well advised to take stock of the federal government's social and educational responsibilities in their own communities. They can then decide for themselves whether those responsibilities now ought to be cut by one-third. Only after these calculations have been made can the American voter reach a valid judgment on the merits of the budgetary shellgame that a Republican President and a Democratic Congress, each for its own political purposes, are conspiring to set under the guise of simple frugality.

#### LAKE BARCROFT—A PRIVATE DISASTER

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, once again discrimination in reverse appears to haunt those who have fled the inner city in an attempt to set up a community where they can pass on their heritage to their children in some degree of peace and harmony.

The latest victims of Government double standards are the residents of the Lake Barcroft community in nearby Virginia who suffered serious damage to their artificial lake from the torrential rains of tropic storm Agnes.

Their every effort to obtain financial assistance has been denied, presumably because they are "rich and private." According to reports, one Fairfax County executive proposed to "loan, advance, and contribute a total of \$764,000 to scoop mud left by tropical storm Agnes." The county board of supervisors was forced to cancel a public hearing on this matter because "the people don't want their money going to the rich."

In a related development, the Small Business Administration has been requested to reject a \$500,000 loan request to repair flood damage at the lake.

It would appear that the residents of this community are being discriminated against because they chose to exercise their basic freedom as Americans to pick their associates and control their own destiny.

Unfortunately, many well-meaning Americans have forgotten that these so-called rich are the people who pay to make this system work. They are now to be denied even a share of the taxes they have paid when they find themselves in need.

It would seem that a man is not to be considered a disaster victim if, for matters of conscience, safety, or some other reason, he chooses to maintain his pri-

vacy and limit his associates. To the liberal-minded, a disaster victim is not simply a disaster victim.

The concept of equality is now limited by a price tag.

I include related news article at this point:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 1, 1972]  
NO FAIRFAX FUNDS FOR BARCROFT—CITIZEN ANGER HALTS LAKE AID

(By Ron Shaffer)

Strong citizen reaction to the proposed use of public funds to dredge Lake Barcroft, a private lake in a wealthy Fairfax County subdivision, has prompted the County Board of Supervisors to cancel a public hearing and table the proposal indefinitely.

Several supervisors reported that they have been besieged with calls from irate taxpayers against the proposal, advanced by County Executive George J. Kelley Jr. last Monday. The plan would have the county loan, advance and contribute a total of \$764,000 to scoop mud left by tropical storm Agnes from the lake.

"Reaction against this has been stronger than anything I've seen," said Supervisor John F. Herrity of Springfield. He said he had received more than 100 calls on the subject. "People don't want their money going to the rich," he added.

"Public response has been one of complete outrage," said Supervisor Alan H. Magazine, in whose district the Barcroft development is located. He also reported calls and letters numbering about 100 and said some of the callers represent groups numbering thousands more.

Some groups, he said, were apparently preparing to storm the Board of Supervisors meeting Monday to protest the proposal. The county issued a terse message earlier this week saying the scheduled hearing Monday had been "postponed indefinitely."

In a related development, the chairman of a House subcommittee has written to the Small Business Administration requesting rejection of a \$500,000 loan to repair flood damage at the lake.

The Select Committee on Small Business wrote to SBA Administrator Thomas S. Kleppe that "the use of federal public funds, whether by grant or loan, to provide recreational and land value opportunities at a reservoir or lake for citizens or organizations that exclude the general public from that facility should be avoided."

The Barcroft Lake Management Association, composed of subdivision residents, applied for the loan last week.

Lake Barcroft, a 135-acre man-made reservoir located near Bailey's Crossroads, rests amidst one of Virginia's wealthiest residential areas, with houses valued at from \$40,000 to \$100,000-plus. It is available to Barcroft residents, for an annual fee of \$60 per family, for sailing, canoeing, swimming and fishing. The lake was turned into a mudhole when floodwaters washed away earth around one end of the lake's dam, allowing water to drain.

Kelley, in making the proposal, pointed out that 92 per cent of the watershed that drains into Lake Barcroft is located outside a special Barcroft taxing district, which regularly assesses its residents for silt removal.

Since most of the silt comes from outside the taxing area, Kelley said Monday, it was fair that the county make funds available for the immediate dredging of the lake.

Kelley said the engineers had described the results of the tropical storm as "a 150-year flood." He added that vigorous attempts to obtain federal aid for the dredging project had failed.

Magazine had called the proposal "fair and equitable" when it was brought up Monday, but after being buffeted by public re-

action, he said yesterday that the situation was difficult, and "had to be explored thoroughly."

He attributed the "overwhelming" public response to "the fact that people of Fairfax County just don't want to give such and such money to the rich," and to media reports that he said falsely implied that some of the money would be a gift from the taxpayers.

Under the proposal, Magazine said, half the bill for dredging would be loaned by the county, and would be returned by the Barcroft Lake Management Association in five years at 4 per cent interest, the standard rate for such loans.

The other \$382,000, he said would be merely an advance to the association of funds that would normally be collected and paid to the county by the special Barcroft taxing district over the course of several years.

The taxing district levies an extra 40 cents per \$100 assessed valuation on real estate, and the funds are used for silt removal and storm drainage. The county has traditionally matched those funds on a 1 for 1 basis, Kelley pointed out Monday.

Magazine noted that county contributions to Barcroft for silt removal was a policy of the Board, "and if you want to change that policy, that's another ball game."

Magazine also noted yesterday that without the lake, Barcroft residents could request a revised property assessment that could cost the county \$100,000 to \$200,000 a year in lost revenue.

Stuart Finley, chairman of the Lake Barcroft engineering committee and a resident of the development, yesterday said that the "sediment in the lake is not Lake Barcroft's but the county's, and that's why the county has a responsibility to remove the sediment."

He noted that Fairfax County in 1950 permitted private development of the area because the county decided it could not afford to lose the potential tax revenue.

"We had a disaster here that affected 1,000 families, Finley said. "These are not people in black hats, people who beat kids or shoot cops," he said.

Finley said that repairing the dam would cost Barcroft residents \$1,500,000, "and we are footing the entire bill." Eighty per cent will be spent "to protect our downstream neighbors in Fairfax County from uncontrolled floodwaters," he said.

Supervisor Audrey Moore asked Monday why the county should favor private lakes over public lakes loaded with sediment and sewage.

Herrity yesterday noted that silt in most lakes is washed from watersheds not in the immediate area. "I wouldn't give Barcroft a nickel," he said.

Kelley said the proposal would be studied further, "and if we can find another approach we'll try it again."

#### POOR EXCUSES

### HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, the following 10 sins against citizenship listed by the late Cardinal Cushing of Boston were recently brought to my attention and I would like to share them with my colleagues:

1. Indifference: "I am not interested in politics."

2. Laziness: "I am too busy to bother."

3. Greed: "I am making good money; I shouldn't worry about who runs the government."

4. Prejudice: "I am voting for him because he is one of our kind."

5. False pride: "It is all dirty politics. Why should I get mixed up in it?"

6. Cynicism: "One vote won't make any difference one way or the other."

7. Hopelessness: "It is the pressure groups who run things anyway."

8. Ineligibility: "I forgot to register."

9. Why-bother attitude: "All politicians are alike."

10. Cowardice: "I might make enemies if I stood up for my convictions."

#### NOW WE WILL SEE U.N.'S FUTILITY

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, Nasrollah S. Fatemi, distinguished professor of international affairs at Fairleigh Dickinson University, calls our attention to the trend of the United Nations away from the purposes for which it was founded.

In calling the U.N. to task for failing to provide peace, justice, and human dignity in the world, Professor Fatemi suggests that the Secretary General scrap the agenda and concentrate first on solving the Indochina and Arab-Israeli conflicts.

Dr. Fatemi's views deserve serious consideration by concerned people everywhere, and I would like to bring his article, which appeared in the Sunday Record of Bergen County, to the attention of my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

NOW WE WILL SEE U.N.'S FUTILITY

(By Nasrollah S. Fatemi)

On September 9, as a result of the terrorist attack in Munich and the Israeli raid on Syria and Lebanon, Secretary-General Waldheim asked the General Assembly to consider "measures to prevent terrorism." Last Sunday, at a meeting of the Security Council, the Russians and the Chinese callously and wantonly vetoed a resolution which condemned both the Palestinian terrorism and the Israeli raids on Syria and Lebanon. Then the United States vetoed a resolution which condemned Israel without mentioning the Munich terrorism. The secretary-general's request, which would be the 99th item on the agenda of the General Assembly, and the statements of the representatives of China, the Soviet Union, and the United States are insults to the intelligence of the millions of people all over the world who in 1945 placed their hope and confidence in the United Nations Charter.

Looking back at those happy days of 1945, how enchanting now appears the vision of a United Nations in which nation states would abandon their greed, aggressiveness, hatred, and hostility, and put their faith and future in the hands of an institution which would restrain the big powers and restore law, justice, and order.

It was hoped that after the most devastating and destructive war in history the world would be free from war, oppression, poverty, hatred. This was the daydream of hundreds of millions of little men whom misfortune, bloodshed, cruelty, and the barbarity of war had brought to the point of

desperation, degradation, and hopelessness. The men who gathered at San Francisco to adopt the charter were statesmen of intellect, sincerity, and earnestness who loved humanity. The columnists, the thinkers in the press, the pamphleteers all wrote essays promising a millennium of peace, prosperity, and happiness.

Now, after twenty-seven years, when we look back we find how the spirit of San Francisco has been replaced by terrorism, violence, aggression, hatred, prejudice, destruction, and denial of human rights and justice. Beginning with Stalin's cold war in 1945, the world has gone through thirty-five wars, civil wars, and revolutions resulting in more than 35 million refugees and close to 19 million casualties, of which a million were Americans.

Every big power—and many small ones—have participated in acts of aggression and violations of the charter and the international laws. This new era of international anarchy is marked not only by the violence of nations and the terrorism of individual fanatics, but also by the indifference and callousness of members of the United Nations, and of people all over the world. It reminds us of the terrible days of the 1930s.

The representatives of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China whose governments have been involved in aggression, brutality, and cruelty—both at home and abroad—deny to their own innocent people fundamental human rights. Their rockets and bullets kill people in Indochina while they shamelessly lecture the world on justice, human rights, and international law. Ambassador Bush quite properly describes the Munich terrorism as "horrible, vicious, brutal, and detrimental to order in the civilized world," yet he represents an Administration which every day is raining two thousand tons of bombs on Indochina just to keep a rotten, corrupt dictatorship in power in Saigon.

His statement, "Those who preach violence and employ it as a matter of policy always suffer its consequences," is absolutely correct. He should address it to the leaders of the big powers who have made a mockery of the charter and international law. Their arms in the hands of the terrorists and their bombs are responsible for all this death and destruction.

If the Secretary-General really means business he should forget the 98 items now on the agenda and replace it by one: "Measures to settle the Indochina and Arab-Israeli conflicts: to solve the problems of millions of Soviet Jews and of blacks in South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portuguese Africa, to settle all refugees, and to end the violation of human rights from Santiago to Saigon."

It is the height of folly for the United Nations to delay, for a single day, a settlement in Indochina or negotiations for a just peace in the Middle East. Every hour of delay produces more terror, more tragedy, more death and destruction.

#### FOREIGN AID

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, over the years we have witnessed a growing debate on foreign aid. While we may not always agree on the wisdom of this program, it is incumbent upon us to examine all sides of the issue and weigh each argument intelligently.

Recently, Dr. Nasrollah S. Fatemi, director of the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Fairleigh Dickinson University, wrote an article for the Jersey Journal calling attention to the dismal track record of foreign aid. Dr. Fatemi discusses the matter in a very cogent fashion and presents alternatives, which I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues.

I would like to juxtapose Dr. Fatemi's article with an editorial and article from the October 3 Wall Street Journal. The remarks in the Wall Street Journal by Mr. Bauer, professor of economics at the London School of Economics, tend to bolster the views of Dr. Fatemi.

Mr. Speaker, the articles follow:

#### FOREIGN "BAND" AID

(By Dr. Nasrollah S. Fatemi)

(In keeping with its policy of presenting all sides of public questions, The Jersey Journal from time to time prints visiting editorials written by qualified persons on specific subjects. Today's editorial is by Nasrollah S. Fatemi, director of the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Fairleigh Dickinson University.)

Congress is again going through the annual ritual of debating foreign aid. Many people all over the United States are asking: "Can this country afford to spend \$4 billion every year on international welfare which has brought us nothing but woe, wars, and economic trouble?"

If the purpose of aid was to contain communism, since its inception, the number of people under communist regimes has grown sevenfold.

If our goal was stability, the last 25 years have witnessed thirty-five wars, civil wars, and revolutions with forty million refugees and ten million casualties of which one million were Americans.

If our aim was to help the poor, our aid has made the rich, richer and the poor, poorer. Most aid money is deposited in the Swiss bank accounts of the international Al Capones who in gratitude for our generosity send us heroin and opium.

During the last 25 years while our gold reserve dropped from \$25 to \$10 billion and the deficit in our balance of payments soared to \$60 billion, the Germans and the Japanese have accumulated \$40 billion in gold and dollars. For the first time since 1893, thanks to our friends, we have a trade deficit of \$3 billion.

The cost of the Vietnam war, foreign aid and military expenditures in Germany and Japan has, in four years, reached \$100 billion.

The result of this senseless extravaganza has been a \$90 billion deficit in a budget which President Nixon promised, four years ago, to balance.

Unfortunately, in partnership with the NATO nations we have not fared much better. For the current fiscal year our share of NATO expenditures is \$14 billion—equal to the total defense expenditures of England, West Germany, Italy and Japan.

While for 25 years the private sector of economy has flourished and produced a gross national product of more than \$1,000 billion, the Washington bureaucrats, believing that economic and financial resources of the United States are inexhaustible, have gone on a spending spree which has not only weakened this country but has created a serious international crisis.

To save this country from the present economic and monetary crisis, we need a new plan based on the following points:

1. The present foreign aid must be terminated at once.
2. A new system of aid based on loan and

trade should be devised and administered by the International Bank.

3. The cost of our troops in Germany and Japan should be borne by the host countries. In case this is not feasible any money spent by the United States in these countries should be used for the purchase of American goods.

4. The trade restrictions of Japan and the Western European countries against American goods must be eliminated or they should be prepared for reciprocal treatment.

Finally, in the words of President Kennedy: "Unless necessary social reforms are freely made, our aid, our alliances, our revolution, our dream, and our freedom will fail."

(Dr. Fatemi is the author of "Dollar Crisis," published in 1963.)

#### RICH NATIONS, POOR NATIONS

Few people today quarrel with the notion that rich industrial nations should find ways to aid poor nations in fulfilling some of their aspirations; the world has become too small, and social consciousness too well developed, for the haves to ignore the have-nots.

But many students of the relationships between the haves and have-nots have come to realize that the "how" of providing effective help is not so easy as it once seemed. A question arises about how much interference from the outside is really useful and how much social or even material progress money can buy.

On this page today, we print a paper by P. T. Bauer, Professor of Economics, which argues that, as often as not, present means do not achieve their desired and widely advertised goals. More often, he contends, they even achieve opposite results. It is an argument well worth examining—one, incidentally, that some politicians in underdeveloped countries would not disagree with, at least not in its entirety.

It would be hard to argue with Professor Bauer's thesis, for example, that outside aid often strengthens the role of government in the economic life of recipient nations. Negotiations for aid usually are conducted on a high official level, thus decisions about what development projects to pursue are made jointly by government ministers and civil servants. Since many such officials in developing lands already have the somewhat self-serving notion that economic management by the state is the best way to economic development, this approach doesn't require much encouragement.

There may indeed be situations in the Third World where government-sponsored development is inevitable and desirable. The irony of the present situation is, however, that nearly all truly advanced nations arrived at their present state of advancement not through centralized economic management but through the decentralized dynamics of individual and corporate enterprise.

A further irony is that a latent human potential for such enterprise exists in most underdeveloped countries. Most such countries have strong traditions of private entrepreneurship conducted by small scale traders and suppliers of services.

It may seem to many of the young government officials in the emergent Third World that the traditions of entrepreneurship are old-fashioned and need to be superseded by the political-economic management of a new university-educated elite. The view is understandable, given the backwardness that the new leaders are seeking to combat. Despite all this, few of these officials are oblivious to the possibilities of market economics. It might not hurt for would-be helpers from the industrial nations to give such possibilities greater encouragement.

Professor Bauer argues that development depends upon peoples' capacities, motivations

and social and political institutions. Indeed it does, and if the desirable elements are lacking, outside help is not likely to be very effective in improving material comfort, life expectancy and cultural development.

But Third World governments can seek to establish a hospitable climate for the development of individual capacities and motivations. Professor Bauer suggests that industrial nations allocate aid so that it would favor governments that stick to such a role and refrain from a close control of the economy.

Opponents of his theory might argue that it is a thinly disguised proposal for restoring a colonial style hegemony by multi-national companies over the economies of underdeveloped nations. But that would miss the point. His approach would be relatively neutral with regard to foreign versus domestic enterprise. The question of how much foreign investment was desirable still would be up to the government.

Robert S. McNamara, president of the World Bank, told the joint annual meeting of his agency and the International Monetary Fund that the industrial and developing nations are "falling behind in their efforts to relieve hunger, illiteracy and the threat of unmanageable population pressures" in developing parts of the world. He said the bank and its affiliates hope to expand their financial commitments to developing nations by an average of 11% a year over the next five years.

But money is not the entire problem, as Professor Bauer suggests. Those increments will be far more effective if they can uncover ways to unlock the human potential in underdeveloped lands.

#### THE CASE AGAINST FOREIGN AID

(By Peter T. Bauer)

It can be confidently predicted that whatever the outcome of the elections in November, foreign aid will once again be a controversial item on the agenda of Congress.

And it can also be predicted confidently that once again it will be alleged that official development assistance—that is, government-to-government grants or soft loans—is indispensable for the progress of poor countries.

Aid is given regardless of the conduct of the recipients, or of its results. It is virtually the only form of government expenditure which goes unquestioned, unlike defense, farm price supports or school lunch programs. This is remarkable.

Aid is plainly not necessary for development, as is shown by the progress of many poor countries without aid. Moreover, it is often damaging, because although it is admittedly an inflow of resources, it sets up repercussions which can outweigh the benefits.

Aid advocates often allege that official aid is indispensable for development. This offensively patronizes aid recipients by saying that they desperately want development but cannot achieve it without handouts—doles from us. In fact, very many poor countries have progressed without them. Malaya was transformed by the rise of the rubber industry, which received no external subsidies, from a sparsely populated country of hamlets in the 1890s to a thriving country by the 1930s where a much larger population lived longer at much higher standards.

#### AFRICA AND HONG KONG

To move from Asia to Africa, the Gold Coast (Ghana since 1957) was transformed between the 1880s and the 1950s without foreign aid. In 1880 there were no cocoa trees there; by 1950 there were huge exports of cocoa, all from African-owned farms. Again, in 1840 Hong Kong was a barren rock. By now four million people live in that major manufacturing center, whose competition is most embarrassing to Western industries. Hong Kong also developed without external gifts.

And so did the now developed countries, all of which had begun as poor.

Official aid is thus not necessary for development. Nor is it sufficient. The Navajo Indian nation has remained wretchedly poor in spite of decades of huge American official aid. If a society cannot develop without external gifts, it will not develop with them. What holds back many less developed countries is the people who live there.

Development depends on people's capacities, motivations and social and political institutions. Where these basic determinants are favorable, material progress will usually occur. Materially ambitious, resourceful, industrious, far-sighted and thrifty people will create or obtain capital, and also use it productively.

There is an inescapable dilemma in the argument that aid is necessary for development. If the required conditions other than capital are present, capital will be generated locally or supplied commercially from abroad, to government or to business, so that aid is unnecessary for development. If the other conditions are not present, aid will be ineffective and thus useless.

It is often said that the culture and the social and political institutions of the recipients should not be disturbed. But what if these are incompatible with substantial material progress, as are many beliefs, customs and institutions, such as the deeply held belief in the sanctity of animal life in South Asia? Material progress requires modernization of the mind, which is inhibited by many institutions in less developed countries and also by official policies pursued there.

Progress does not depend on handouts, but on capacities, mores and institutions. This still leaves open the question whether aid is more likely to promote or to retard progress, which cannot be shown so conclusively. I believe that in practice it is more likely to retard it. Here are some of the many reasons why.

Aid reinforces the disastrous tendency to make everything a matter of politics in less developed countries. The handouts increase the resources and power of governments compared to the rest of society, a result reinforced by the preferential treatment of governments which try to establish state-controlled economies and of countries with balance of payments problems. Politization of life diverts energy and ambition from economic activity. Moreover it provokes and exacerbates political tension, because it becomes supremely important, often a matter of life and death, who has the government, as is clear from the recent history of Indonesia, Pakistan, East Africa and Nigeria.

Aid often supports most damaging policies. Many recipient governments restrict the activities of minorities, of Chinese in Indonesia, Asians in East and Central Africa, Indians in Burma, Europeans everywhere. The removal of thousands of Asians from East Africa (the most familiar of many examples) has reduced incomes and widened income differences between these countries and the West. These measures are often followed by the expulsion or even destruction of thousands or tens of thousands of people.

#### ENCOURAGING THE PARADOXICAL

Aid in many ways encourages the paradoxical policy of recipients to restrict the inflow and deployment of private capital. The Indian government, an aid recipient for many years, sets up expensive state oil refineries when the oil companies in India have unused capacity which they are not allowed to employ.

Foreign aid promotes the adoption of unsuitable external models. The establishment of uneconomic heavy industries and national airlines is familiar. More important is the proliferation of Western-type universities, whose graduates cannot find employment, and Western-style trade unions

which are only vehicles for the self-advancement of politicians.

Aid obscures the fact that progress cannot be had for nothing, that the peoples of advanced countries have themselves had to develop the required conditions. It reinforces a widespread attitude that opportunities and resources for the advance of one's self and one's family must be provided by someone else, which promotes or reinforces torpor, fatalism or even beggary and blackmail, but not self-improvement. Preoccupation with aid also diverts the government's attention from the basic causes of poverty and from the possibilities of acting on them.

These are just five ways in which an inflow of resources can damage development. And the economic productivity of aid resources is generally likely to be low and insufficient to outweigh the adverse repercussions. Aid cannot be so closely adjusted to local conditions as can resources supplied commercially. Moreover, governments are understandably apt to use resources donated from abroad on wasteful show projects.

All this is not to say that aid cannot promote development. Whether it in fact does so or not depends on the specific circumstances of each case. But the examples above make it clear that it is unwarranted to assume that because aid represents an inflow of resources, it must promote development. In fact, aid is at least as likely to retard development as to promote it.

If it is only money that were missing, it could be secured commercially from abroad. Aid means at most that some capital is cheaper. But the capital is likely to be less productive than if it were supplied commercially from abroad to government or to business, and as we have seen, aid is also apt to set up far reaching adverse repercussions. There can, therefore, be no general presumption that in practice aid is more likely to promote development than to retard it. In fact, these various considerations suggest that as it has operated and is likely to operate, any general presumption would be the other way round. Of course, even if aid does promote development, this still leaves open the question why people in the donor countries should be taxed for this purpose.

It is often urged that the more aid is given the better, without examining its results that, somehow effectiveness is measured by cost, which no one in his senses would apply to his own life.

Aid certainly removes resources from the donors. But it does not follow that it promotes development. To make the rich poor, does not make the poor rich.

Once the case for aid is taken for granted, then either progress or its absence can be advanced for more aid: progress as evidence of its success, and lack of progress as evidence that more is needed. Whatever happens is an argument for more aid. When a case is taken for granted, evidence becomes irrelevant.

Why is the argument that aid is necessary so widely accepted if it is unfounded? This isn't strictly relevant: why people hold certain beliefs has nothing to do with their validity. However, for what it is worth let me give you my explanation.

Many advocates of aid are well intentioned, but not well informed. But by and large the aid crusade is a gigantic confidence trick. A well meaning public has been conned by a motley coalition which has succeeded in part by playing on feelings of guilt, which however unfounded are nevertheless widespread. I think this coalition includes international agencies and government departments anxious to increase their activities and power; professional humanitarians with similar ambitions; disillusioned, bored, power-and-money-hungry academics; the churches which face spiritual collapse and seek a role as welfare agencies; temperamental do-gooders, frustrated by events at home; poli-

ticians in search of publicity; exporters in search of easy markets, and governments embarrassed by commodity surpluses. And there are also many people who welcome any argument or policy which in some way or other weakens the position of Western society, which for various political and emotional reasons they have to come to dislike.

Where do we go from here? What should we do about foreign aid? I think it would be best to finish this system of handouts which is bad for both the patrons and for the patronized, and which, by the way, is relatively recent and was started only some 20 years ago.

However, this is unlikely to come about, because of the emotional, political, intellectual, financial and administrative interests behind it. Moreover, the immense sums already spent on aid themselves operate against its termination: the greater are the sacrifices, the harder it is to question the principles in the name of which they have been exacted.

Given the fact that aid will continue, I would wish to see the method and criteria of allocation changed drastically. Aid could be allocated in such a manner that it would favor governments which within their human, administrative and financial resources try to perform the essential and difficult tasks of government and at the same time refrain from close control of the economy. These tasks include the successful conduct of external affairs; the maintenance of law and order; the effective management of the monetary and fiscal system; the promotion of a suitable institutional framework for the activities of individuals; the provision of basic health and education services and of basic communications; and also agricultural extension work. These are important and essential functions which must devolve on the government. This is so for two reasons. First, because part of the institutional structure within which the private sector functions does not emerge from the operation of market forces and so much be established by law. Second, because some of these activities yield services which, although there may be a demand for them, cannot be bought or sold in the market.

This list of tasks largely exhausts the potentialities of state action in the promotion of general living standards. These tasks are extensive and complex. Their adequate performance would fully stretch the resources of all governments in poor countries. Yet governments frequently neglect even the most elementary of these functions while attempting close control of the economies of their countries, or even, occasionally, contemplating coercive transformation of societies. They seem anxious to plan and unable to govern.

Much more thought could also be given to prevent the inflow of aid from biasing the development of recipient countries in directions based on inappropriate external prototypes. Preference could be given to governments interested more in improving the roads and extending external contacts than in opening Western-type universities or in creating heavy engineering works.

#### GOVERNING VERSUS PLANNING

The substantial revision of the criteria of allocation of aid which I suggest does not in the least imply underestimation of the tasks of government, but rather the reverse. The adoption of such criteria would favor governments which try to govern rather than to plan. By the same token, aid would be withheld from governments which pursue policies which plainly retard the material progress of their countries. And many of these policies, as for instance the maltreatment of economically successful minorities, often exacerbate the problems and difficulties both of other aid recipients and also of the donors.

The adoption of such criteria would promote relatively liberal economic systems in the recipient countries, minimize coercion

and favor material progress, especially an improvement of living standards. It would also reduce political tension in the recipient countries.

This proposal assumes, of course, that the purpose of aid is to improve material conditions in recipient countries. But the proposal will be altogether unacceptable if the actual purpose of aid differs from the ostensible objective of improving general living standards in the recipient countries. It will be unacceptable if the primary purpose is the pursuit of unacknowledged political policies, such as the promotion of closely controlled economies and societies, or the increase in the resources and power of the international organizations.

#### CITY OF CLAIRTON MARKS MILESTONE

#### HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the city of Clairton, Pa., in my 20th Congressional District, recently observed the 50th anniversary of its charter and I would like to bring the occasion to the attention of my colleagues.

Clairton is representative, I believe, of many small industrial communities in our Nation which today find themselves caught in the winds of change and struggling to preserve a heritage that dates back beyond the founding of the United States.

The roots of Clairton go back as far as September 27, 1769, the date of the first survey of record. In the course of time the face of Clairton has changed from wilderness to farmland to industrial might. The governmental makeup also has undergone revisions. At one time the area was divided into three boroughs, each having the authority to enact laws and establish their own tax structure. Between 1903 and 1915, however, the boroughs merged into one government and Clairton was incorporated as a third-class city of Pennsylvania on the first Monday of January 1922.

Over the years, Clairton has had its ups and downs. It was up when its industrial potential was recognized in the 1880's; down when the depression hit in the 1930's; up again the years just before and after World War II. Now, like so many industrial cities, it is experiencing another downward curve.

However, the officials and the people of Clairton are not the type to sit by and watch a proud community fade away. This civic spirit was clearly evident in the words of four living mayors of Clairton, who addressed an audience of approximately 400 persons at a 50th anniversary banquet on September 20.

One after another, these men—Robert W. Ostermayer, 1934-37; Robert F. Stokes, 1962-65; Robert D. Baird, 1966-69; and Mayor John J. Matz—called upon their fellow citizens to exert every effort to get Clairton up again.

Mr. Ostermayer sounded the theme when he told his people:

Everyone has their ups and downs, but the only one who stays down is the one who doesn't fight to get back up.

I share the confidence of Clairton's present administration that their city will get back up. Clairton cannot afford to fail, for it symbolizes the kind of people who made America great. If Clairton dies, so does a piece of America, and we must not let that happen. The problems of Clairton are man made and, therefore, can be solved if understood.

Mr. Speaker, I offer my congratulations to the city of Clairton on its 50th anniversary, and I wish the best of success to the men and women who now lead it: Mayor Matz; Councilmen Michael N. Ivanovich, Michael W. Mihalov, Jacques S. Moragne, and Daniel Pastore; Controller Mrs. Eileen G. Bekavac; Treasurer George L. Laver; City Clerk Samuel V. Capane; and City Solicitor David C. Clipper.

#### EXPERIMENTAL NEIGHBORHOOD FOOD STORE A SUCCESS

#### HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, the Oakhill Neighborhood Experiment—ONE—store, located in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, was established to help limited-income families buy basic food and household items at prices they can afford. Recently, I had the opportunity to visit this project and meet with the people who created the ONE store; namely, Mrs. Carolyn Adams, project coordinator.

The store does not depend on public funds for its operation. The Episcopal diocese of Iowa provides an annual grant, matching the amount of funds raised from other private sources, such as church and social groups. Contributions from social-action budgets of several churches and from individuals' monthly pledges are sources of additional assistance.

The ONE store is run on a volunteer, nonprofit basis. All labor, needed for daily operation or maintenance of the store, is contributed. Both groceries and household goods are available, and the store is authorized to accept food stamps. Household items and clothing are either sold at reduced price or provided the customer no charge.

This valuable community effort is filling a most important need for many low-income families in Cedar Rapids. The many citizens and organizations in Iowa, who support this project so generously, deserve our commendation and sincere appreciation.

Mr. Speaker, as Congressman from Iowa's Second District, I am very proud of this extremely successful community effort—an effort that fills not only the material needs of many in Cedar Rapids, but also the social and ethical needs of those who care enough to give of their time, their efforts, and their support. I commend all those participating in this pioneer experiment and wish them continued and increasing success.

REPORT ON 1972 DISTRICT  
QUESTIONNAIRE

## HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to report the results of my 1972

congressional district poll to my colleagues in the House of Representatives. More than 15,000 residents of the counties comprising the newly redrawn Ninth District of Michigan responded to the questionnaire.

Each year I become more convinced of the importance of the annual district poll. In addition to countless letters, telegrams, telephone calls, and personal conversations, the questionnaire provides

me with a clear picture of constituents' opinion on contemporary public issues. By posing questions on matters of current debate, I not only get to know my constituents better but also have an opportunity to indicate to them some of the areas of my own concern. I deeply appreciate the response that my constituents make to this request for their views.

The following table summarizes the poll results in percentage form:

[In percent]

	His		Hers		18 to 20-year-old			His		Hers		18 to 20-year-old	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Do you believe the Vietnam war is being handled in the best way to protect our long-term interests and obligations?	66	30	63	31	39	59							
2. Should wage and price controls be continued as a weapon against inflation?	83	13	81	13	60	32							
3. Are greater Federal efforts needed to reduce unemployment?	50	41	56	33	56	33							
4. Should legislation be passed by Congress to prevent strikes in transportation where national interests are at stake?	81	17	77	16	55	36							
5. Is the Federal Government giving enough attention to pollution problems?	45	49	42	51	21	73							
6. Would you favor the installation of nuclear powerplants where additional electricity is needed and reasonable assurances can be given that environmental concerns are met?	88	10	86	10	61	31							
7. Do you believe that greater Federal effort is needed to bring crime and violence under control?	79	18	78	18	62	29							
8. Should Federal assistance be given to private property owners for the construction of devices to prevent erosion along our Great Lakes and ocean shorelines?	26	68	31	60	30	64							
9. Do you favor a mandatory retirement age for Members of Congress?	75	22	72	24	66	27							
10. Do you favor forced busing to achieve racial balance in our schools?	5	94	7	89	12	81							
11. Do you agree that adults who receive welfare benefits should be required to work if they are able to do so?	97	2	96	2	82	12							
12. Should greater efforts be exerted to bring the Federal budget into balance?	96	3	91	1	79	13							
If yes—													
By reduced expenditures?	96	2	98	1	98	2							
Or increased taxes?	10	88	5	94	5	95							

Note: Percent totals under 100 due to incomplete replies.

The first question, which sought an assessment of the conduct of the Vietnam war, produced an interesting contrast to the response of 2 years ago when I asked an identical question. Whereas in 1970, opinion was almost evenly divided on the conduct of the war, this year nearly two-thirds of the respondents expressed support for current policies. This response would seem to reflect the Nixon administration's Vietnamization policy and its withdrawal of American ground forces.

The survey showed that persons 18 to 20 years of age were less convinced of the merit of America's Vietnam policy. Fifty-nine percent of these young adults did not believe that the war is being handled in the best way to protect our long interests and obligations. I feel that the national leaders must take note of the skepticism of younger citizens and attempt to respond to them in a meaningful and constructive manner.

The second question dealt with wage and price controls. Last year, prior to the President's decision of August 15 to impose wage and price controls, I asked if my constituents believed that such controls were necessary. At that time 76 percent of the respondents favored that action. Support for the President's economic program appears to be high at this time, as more than eighty percent of persons answering the questionnaire believe that wage and price restraints should be continued to combat inflation. That young voters also approve of the controls is further indication of Americans' commitment to clamp down hard on the wage-price spiral and to stabilize the national economy.

Slightly more than half of the 1972

respondents believe that greater Federal efforts to reduce unemployment are desirable. The figure is somewhat lower than that of a year ago, when 64 percent of the constituency advocated such action. I hope that the modification of views reflects an improvement in the overall economic condition of the country. While public works expenditures and emergency employment legislation have had a positive impact upon unemployment, clearly the long-range outlook for economic progress relates to improved productivity and vigorous anti-inflation efforts.

Support remains strong for national legislation to prevent strikes in vital industries such as transportation. In my view this issue represents one of the major failings of the 92d Congress. I co-sponsored a constructive proposal on this subject, and along with spokesmen for business and government have urged its adoption. We simply cannot afford to let one group, however meritable its objectives and urgent its needs appear to be, cripple the national economy. We are an interdependent society, and the actions of one element of the economy have broad ramifications. Congress must enact legislation to prevent our transportation system from being interrupted by prolonged labor disputes.

Broad support for installation of nuclear power plants where additional electricity is needed and where environmental assurances are provided is welcomed by everyone who recognizes the magnitude of the energy crisis confronting the United States. In light of the declining supply of fossil fuels as well as the expanding technology of nuclear power development, I am very interested in the

possibility of locating a nuclear plant within the Muskegon County Wastewater Management System. This system, now under construction, promises to revolutionize the sewage treatment industry. It will be an even more valuable example to the Nation if its acreage and storage lagoons are utilized as a buffer area and coolant for a nuclear power plant. This combination would make the Muskegon area the national leader in the development of environmental systems, and would also stimulate expansions in the area's economy. The result would be greater availability of jobs and an easing of the local tax burden.

The survey presents a clear indication that the public wants a greater Federal effort to curb crime and violence. The demand for law and order is not a passing fancy, but a deeply felt need for increased protection. The strong support provided by young people for a crack-down on crime is a significant indication of the magnitude of the problem and the intensity of the public's concern.

While about 30 percent of the poll participants expressed support for Federal assistance to private property owners for construction of devices to prevent erosion of shorelines, this problem is becoming increasingly serious. The National Shoreline Survey, conducted by the Corps of Engineers in cooperation with State natural resources agencies, revealed severe erosion not only on the Great Lakes shores but on much of the ocean coasts. Public property as well as privately owned lands are being destroyed by this erosion. The Senate recently passed a bill which I have sponsored in the House of Representatives, establishing a research and demonstration pro-

gram to devise low-cost, environmentally sound means of protecting the shores. If passed by the House, the bill will authorize the establishment of at least one demonstration site on the Great Lakes. Other legislation before Congress would permit Federal cost-sharing with private owners for installation of erosion control devices. I have testified in support of assistance in relation to the extent of public access permitted.

Ninth District residents heavily favor a mandatory retirement age for Members of Congress. I share their belief that the task of representing almost one-half million people requires great energy and sound health. Unfortunately, the history of Congress suggests that some Members have remained in office beyond the limit of their capacities. The result has eroded public confidence in the legislative process and limited Congress' potential for service in the national interest.

Forced busing for the achievement of racial balance in schools has almost no support in the Ninth District. The questionnaire response confirms opinion expressed to me in countless letters and telegrams. I believe that forced busing of students into areas distant from their homes and familiar surroundings leads to their insecurity. Apprehension is counter-productive to the educational process. What we must do, it seems to me, is renew our Nation's historic commitment to provide maximum educational opportunity to every child, regardless of where he lives. Recognizing that we face serious financial problems in some areas, I look forward to the report that President Nixon has requested from the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. I hope that this highly professional body will point the way toward a more effective and equitable basis of finance for our public schools.

Western Michigan citizens overwhelmingly favor a work requirement for physically able welfare recipients. This concept is a part of H.R. 1, the comprehensive welfare reform legislation advocated by the President and passed by the House with my support. As adjournment of Congress approaches, regrettably it appears unlikely that the Senate will pass a welfare reform bill this year.

Lastly, the questionnaire affirms my constituents' strong commitment to reduced Federal expenditures and a balanced national budget. This opinion makes the President's demand for a congressionally enacted ceiling on spending particularly important. The call for a renewed sense of fiscal responsibility is loud and clear.

Perhaps a special comment is in order with respect to the participation of young people in this year's poll. Eighteen to 20 year-olds will experience the democratic process in Federal elections for the first time in November. I urge their full participation in the balloting for President, Congress, and State and local offices, and I particularly appreciate their responses to this questionnaire. A generalization which can be made from the poll results is that they agreed with other adults on all the questions except that dealing with the Vietnam war. The principal distinc-

tion between their attitudes on these major issues and those of other respondents was one of degree, with the younger people typically more closely divided in their opinions.

My many contacts with young people, as well as these replies, suggest that the new generation is open to ideas and willing to consider all aspects of an issue. The new voters are concerned, conscientious, and well informed. I welcome them to our political process. Again, I thank everyone for participating in the poll, which will assist me in the complex task of representation.

#### ACLU WOULD SUPPRESS PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO KNOW

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, seemingly, the American Civil Liberties Union—a controversial organization which has been the force behind many of the suits that have polarized our Nation over the past several years—feels that it is above the law.

According to recent reports, the ACLU has filed suit in Federal court to bar enforcement of a provision of the 1971 campaign reform law that the organization says would require it to reveal the identities of contributors of more than \$100 and could require the revelation of the group's membership.

Either the ACLU feels what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander, or the ACLU is afraid of the public outcry that might come when they learn the names of those who seem bent on financing this country's destruction.

The American people have the right to know the names of these ACLU members. Who are they who think that they are above the law? What have they to hide by seeking to invoke judicial censorship to prevent the American people from learning the truth?

Equality before the law has two sides; that is, all men are equal when they appear under the law and the law must apply to all men equally.

A related news article and a list of the ACLU officers and National Advisory Board from an ACLU publication follow:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 3, 1972]

ACLU SUES OVER REJECTION OF AD AGAINST

NIXON

(By Lawrence Meyer)

The American Civil Liberties Union asked the U.S. District Court here yesterday to declare unconstitutional provisions of the 1971 federal elections campaign act that have prevented publication of an ACLU newspaper advertisement critical of President Nixon.

The suit charges that the law acts as a prior restraint on the ACLU's right of freedom of press and speech "by imposing onerous requirements for newspaper advertising and by giving a veto power over advertisement."

The newspaper in which the ACLU sought to place the ad—the New York Times—is

seeking to enter the suit as an amicus curiae, or friend of the court, in support of the ACLU position.

The ACLU also asked the court to bar enforcement of a provision of the 1971 law that the organization says would require it to reveal the identities of contributors of more than \$100 and could require the revelation of the group's membership.

#### ON BUSING ISSUE

The ad, which the New York Civil Liberties Union sought to place Sept. 20, attacked Mr. Nixon's support of legislation designed to curb school busing.

The ACLU wants the ad published to influence the Senate vote on the bill.

James C. Goodale, senior vice president for law and finance of The New York Times, rejected the ad. He explained in a Sept. 22 letter that the New York Civil Liberties Union had failed to provide documents required by the 1971 law, although in the view of the Times "the right of the press to publish such advertisements may not constitutionally be limited by the Comptroller General's regulations" as required by the law.

The 1971 law was intended, among other things, to limit the media expenditures by candidates for federal office and to require disclosure of the source of contributions of more than \$100.

In order to print the ad, Goodale said, certificates would have to be filed from any of the 102 congressmen listed in the ad who are running for re-election, stating that the expenditure for the ad will not result in the candidate's exceeding his or her legal limit for campaign advertising.

#### NOT MATTER OF SUPPORT

The ACLU says that the ad was not designed to support any representative's candidacy but to take a position on pending legislation.

Any media expenditure that influences the election of a candidate directly or indirectly can be charged against his statutory limitation and therefore, under the 1971 law, can be refused by the candidate.

The ACLU and The Times contend that this provision gives the candidate a veto on advertising by independent groups. The law "completely stifles independent opinion," Goodale said yesterday in a telephone interview.

#### BASIS FOR DECISION

Goodale said his decision not to print the ACLU ad was based on the position taken by the government concerning advertising by the National Committee for Impeachment. That group published an ad in The Times last May and the Justice Department has sought to stop it from publishing more ads until it registers with the federal elections office. The case is pending before the Second Circuit Court of Appeals.

The ACLU also claims that if it is forced to disclose contributors, some present members will resign and prospective members will be deterred from joining. The disclosure provision, the suit contends, unconstitutionally violates the right of association and privacy.

District Court Judge Barrington D. Parker scheduled a hearing today on the ACLU's request for a temporary injunction, permitting the ad to be published, and on the request for a three-judge panel to rule on the law's constitutionality.

#### NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

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Edward U. Condon, Giovanni Costigan, Vern Countryman, George S. Counts, Irving Dillard, James P. Dixon, Melvyn Douglas, Robert F. Drinan, Ronnie Dugger, Luther H. Evans, Alvin I. Fine, Walter T. Fisher.

Arthur Flemming, Jefferson Fordham, Lois G. Forer, Erich Fromm, Ralph F. Fuchs, Lewis Galantieri, Thomas P. Gill, Aileen C. Hernandez, John Hersey, Frank S. Horne, Quincy Howe.

Robert M. Hutchins, Jane Ickes, Gerald W. Johnson, Mordecai W. Johnson, Vernon Jordan, Jr., James Kerney, Jr., Benjamin H. Klizer, Milton R. Kowitz, William M. Kunstler.

Burt Lancaster, Agnes Brown Leach, Max Lerner, John Lofton, Wesley H. Maurer, Emil Mazyer, Mrs. Alexander Meiklejohn, Sylvan Meyer, Donald R. Murphy.

Frank C. Newman, Grace Olivarez, John B. Orr, Jr., James G. Patton, Channing Phillips, A. Phillip Randolph, Robert Ryan.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Slegenthaler, Edward J. Sparling, Oscar H. Steiner, George R. Stewart, Jose Trias-Monge, William L. White, Marion A. Wright, Stephen J. Wright.

#### ACLU OFFICERS

Chairman, Board of Directors, Edward J. Ennis.

Treasurer, Winthrop Wadleigh.  
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Executive Director, Aryeh Neier.  
Adviser, International Work, Roger N. Baldwin.

American Civil Liberties Union, 22 East 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 (212) 725-1222.

#### THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF CHOWAN COLLEGE

### HON. WALTER B. JONES

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, in this day of "bigness," where the larger universities continue to grow and expand, it is all too easy to forget the important role played by the smaller institutions of higher learning.

On October 11, 1972, Chowan College located in Murfreesboro, N.C. will celebrate its 125th anniversary. The college first opened its doors on October 11, 1848, as a result of the interest and influence of the Baptists of northeastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia. It was originally known as the Chowan Baptist Female Institute. In 1910 its name was changed to Chowan College.

It is significant to know that even with the Civil War, this college remained opened while many others were closed. Due to conditions beyond the control of the administration, the college was closed from 1943 to 1949. Since reopening, the growth has been phenomenal in enrollment, physical facilities and expanded academic offerings.

I want to join with thousands of others and pay tribute to the present administration as well as those of the past who have offered educational training to

many who might otherwise been denied this opportunity. In terms of dollars and cents, it would be futile to attempt to evaluate its worth to a wide section of both North Carolina and Virginia. For many years it has been fully accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. I predict that its influence and its service will expand as time goes on and will continue to be an inspiration to the thousands of young people who pass through its portals.

To all, congratulations on this, the 125th anniversary.

#### EVERY DAY IN EVERY WAY

### HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, in the early years of this century, a Frenchman, Dr. Emile Coue, came up with a theory that mind could triumph over matter. Part of his philosophy for believing individuals was summed up in a phrase he encouraged them to repeat whenever they were seeking to wish away unpleasant realities of life. It went like this:

Every day in every way I'm getting better and better.

Alas, such was the mentality of an earlier day that millions of sane Americans went about parroting this nostrum in a forlorn hope that what they wished for would come true in spite of the realities of daily existence.

While Dr. Coue and his phrase now occupy the exalted status of one of history's footnotes, there are still practitioners of his unique philosophy, and they occupy some of the more elevated pedestals in our national governmental hierarchy.

Consider the traffic in heroin, presently gutting an entire generation of young Americans. We know certain facts are true. For example, heroin addiction in our Nation has doubled since 1968. Communities which had hardly heard the word are now awash in this poison. Practically every high school in our Nation now has some heroin in it, with few exceptions, and they would not stay exceptions much longer. In every city of our land, it is ludicrously simple to find and purchase heroin. Our crime problem is largely attributable to the growth of heroin addiction.

Much of America is frightened, enraged, and bewildered by what is rapidly becoming our worst social cancer since Prohibition.

It is also true that from the poppy fields where it grows to the street corners of American cities where it is sold, no opium-heroin combination moves, is sold, refined, smuggled, wholesaled, and retailed without full knowledge of foreign and domestic authorities. As it is said, with such pithiness:

If a ten-year-old child can find the heroin man, how come the police can't?

There is the best question I have seen posed in many a year, and officialdom refuses to answer it because it cannot. The New York City Board of Education knows all about the heroin inundating the largest school system in the land, yet remains mum. That conspiracy of silence has now been extended to National Government, which has added yet another element to this equation: the pretense that the problem either does not exist or false claims that it is under control. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The other day, at an International Narcotics Control Conference, our President actually praised France, Paraguay, Laos, and Thailand for following policies which are resulting in:

Important breakthroughs, huge heroin seizures and key arrests.

It is all very well for a State Department conference, but down on the streets and in the schools of New York City that kind of fairy tale is greeted with bitter humor and cynical laughter. Heroin continues to pour into the United States from each of these countries, in every case because of the collusion of high officials.

In Paraguay, dictator Alfredo Stroessner has added to his laurels. Not content with shielding Nazi war criminals, he apportions out the lucrative U.S. heroin traffic to his pet generals. He surrenders a French heroin overlord to us just as the French police make a large heroin bust. Both events fall into the same category: throw the barking dog a bone before he becomes more of a nuisance.

In France, heroin processing labs continue to operate with the full knowledge of French authorities in and around the port city of Marseilles. And as far as the Lao and Thai regimes are concerned, they are American surrogates waxing fat on shipping opium from the Golden Triangle to the United States, while the CIA quietly looks the other way.

Recently, a young doctoral candidate at Yale University wrote and published a damning indictment of our own authorities' involvement in this degraded traffic. He titled it, "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia." Its central theme is that American authorities know and even aid and abet this traffic in Southeast Asia. The CIA actively sought to prevent publication of the volume, and tried to censor portions of it when Harper and Row insisted on publication.

I do not pretend to know whether or not all allegations in the volume are true. Suffice it to say that CIA efforts to censor and to actually prevent its publication raise many doubts. If even a tenth of the accusations are true, then we have a part of our answer to the problem. I include at this point a review of the volume from the September 17 edition of the Washington Post:

THE POLITICS OF HEROIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA  
(By Laurence Stern)

"Ordinarily this agency does not respond to public criticism," the CIA's general counsel wrote the general counsel of Harper &

Row publishing company last July 5. "However in this case we are under the strongest directive to support the U.S. government's effort against the international narcotics traffic and are bending every effort to do so. We believe we cannot stand by and see baseless criticism designed to undermine confidence in that effort without trying to set the record straight. . . ."

The subject of this extraordinary letter was *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* by Alfred W. McCoy, a doctoral candidate at Yale University. Harper and Row provided the CIA with advance proofs of the book and after receiving a statement of rebuttal covering several of McCoy's allegations of Agency involvement in opium traffic, the book was published.

If the intervention had any effect, it has probably been to boost the sales of McCoy's book; certainly it turned its publication into something of a *cause célèbre*. Perhaps the Agency would have better served its own interests by following the time-honored intelligence precept of maintaining silence in times of adversity. Public accountability has never been its strongest game.

By its nature as one of the world's most profitable illicit businesses, the opium and heroin trail is heavily canopied with underworld and official secrecy. In the Golden Triangle region of northeastern Burma, northern Thailand and northern Laos, the principal opium growing and processing area in Southeast Asia, the traffic is fed by highland tribes, minor warlords and paramilitary soldiers, and it is controlled by high-ranking officials of the three countries. This distribution system fed heroin into the veins of American soldiers in Vietnam and into the international heroin stream that surfaces terminally in the ghettos and suburbs of the United States.

McCoy has done a sturdy and comprehensive reporting job. He has interviewed American and Southeast Asian sources who either played a direct role in the opium traffic or are highly competent to talk about it. It is his argument that when the United States embarked on the geopolitical objective of trying to contain Chinese and North Vietnamese power at their borders in Southeast Asia, it slipped inexorably into the narcotics traffic.

The international market had been created long before by the European colonial powers, chiefly Britain and France. Great Britain in the late 18th century took the first big step toward internationalization of the Asian drug traffic by establishing a government monopoly over India's opium harvest, helping finance the regime of the Raj by taxing the product, and beginning the massive export of Indian opium into China. When Chinese imperial authorities tried to stop it, Britain, with its gunships, blasted open the Chinese ports to European trade and Indian opium during the Opium War of 1839 to 1842.

Under the forced infusions of opium from British-ruled India the Chinese imports rose from a level of 340 tons in the first decade of the 19th century to 6,500 tons by 1880. It was in this period that the Chinese began a large-scale program of domestic opium production, much of it in the outlying provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan. By the beginning of the 20th century, China had an addict population of 15 million. The wave of Chinese migrations into Southeast Asia spread the scourge of addiction southward.

The French played a similar role in expanding and monopolizing opium production under colonial authority. Centuries before the French arrived the Meo tribal people cultivated and smoked opium, but more as a ceremonial intoxicant than to achieve the stupefaction of "living death" with which the

Chinese coolies escaped their wretched life cycle of toil, poverty and disease. The French established their own monopoly and converted the Meo poppy harvests into an important cash crop which was taxed and sold to the growing addict population of Indochina. By the beginning of World War Two, according to McCoy's research, there were some 2,500 opium dens in Indochina serving about 100,000 addicts.

The Viet Minh war of independence eventually became a major challenge to French political rule and a drain on the colonial economy. In countering their guerrilla movement the French turned to the Meo tribal peoples in the Laotian highlands and to their poppy harvests. Meo opium became an important factor both in financing the war and in cementing the loyalties of the tribal guerrillas fighting on the French side. McCoy relates the case of the French Expeditionary Corps' "Operation X," a top-secret project for the collection and transport of Meo opium into the Saigon markets where it was turned over to the Binh Xuyen, an underworld secret society which the French occupation authorities permitted to take over civil authority in Saigon. By the time American influence replaced the French military presence, the poppy was the main cash crop in the Golden Triangle, the opium economy was fully developed, and there were well-rutted patterns for dealing with the tribal mountain guerrillas who had been enlisted by the French in the war against the Pathet Lao and Vietnamese Communist insurgents.

Here the argument begins. McCoy asserts that Central Intelligence operations became heavily involved in the opium-heroin traffic. He says that some of the Agency's chief Asian operatives and clients controlled it and that the CIA's contract airline, Air America, moved it toward the ultimate markets.

All this has long been a matter of conventional wisdom and surmise in the bars and embassies of Vientiane, where wags spoke of Air America as "Air Opium," but McCoy seeks to document the case with interviews (alas, some of the crucial ones anonymous) and hard evidence.

One of the most sensational allegations in the book is that Meo General Vang Pao, the most important field commander on the Royal Lao government side, arranged for the delivery of 60 kilos of high grade Laotian heroin (worth \$13.5 million in New York) to Prince Sopsalsana, the Laotian ambassador-designate to France in April 1971. Sopsalsana returned to Laos after French customs officials found the haul in his suitcase and Paris refused to accredit him.

McCoy also asserts that Vang Pao operated a heroin laboratory at Long Tieng, the CIA base just south of the Plain of Jars. In a footnote, McCoy attributes these claims to "a Western diplomatic official" in Vientiane, a "Third World diplomatic official," a "Laotian political observer" and he further asserts that his account has "been corroborated by reports received by the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs." The BNDD seems unaware of this, at least at top level.

In its rebuttal the Agency denied any knowledge of Vang Pao's involvement in the opium and heroin trade, which is an understandable flaw in its own intelligence. Vang Pao and his troops have been the backbone of American-supported ground effort in northern Laos to keep the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese forces in check.

The Agency also countered, in its letter of rebuttal to Harper & Row, that Southeast Asians often say what they think their American interviewers and counterparts want to hear. This has indeed been a grave intelligence pitfall for U.S. officials as well as journalists and scholars. But an energetic

investigator like McCoy can also pick up information in the field that neither the American intelligence and diplomatic establishments nor local governing elites in Indochina wish to hear broadcast publicly. That is what makes *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* such worthwhile reading.

The most serious flaw of the book is McCoy's eagerness to blame the CIA for the rise of the Mafia and Corsican underworld and the post-World-War-Two upsurge in heroin traffic—a form of simplistic historical determinism that does little justice to McCoy or to his book. Similarly, his suggestion for dealing with the heroin plague savors of the sort of righteous interventionism that got us into trouble in Indochina to begin with. McCoy's solution is to cure heroin addiction by ending opium production and the growing of poppies.

Illicit drugs will always be available as long as the demand is there, no matter how many opium fields we bomb or defoliate. The problem, and the solution, are in the American communities where the roots of addiction originate.

What will the President tell us at the next conference? That subordinate clauses are Santa's children? Better that he should make such claims than repeat or reiterate the blatant nonsense emanating from his address to that conference. The heroin problem is worse than ever. It is not being solved. A group of solemn-looking officials meeting in Foggy Bottom, that aptly named place, are not doing anything about the flood of poison entering the United States. Signing meaningless agreements and murmuring diplomatic pleasantries is sanctimonious flapdoodle in light of the honors taking place on the streets of every American city and in the corridors of many American high schools.

I repeat a previously made offer. I will take anyone in this Chamber to areas and institutions in New York City where in broad daylight they will see things that will haunt them for years to come. These horrors give the lie to such international kisses as the fraud taking place at the State Department.

#### HEXACHLOROPHENE, FDA, AND THE CONSUMER'S RIGHT TO KNOW

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, on September 22 of this year, the Food and Drug Administration banned from the market products containing hexachlorophene—HCP. The FDA ban required the recall of baby powders and all other products containing more than 0.75 percent HCP. Products with 0.75 percent or less could no longer be manufactured or shipped after September 22, 1972—but existing supplies could be sold. Hexachlorophene is found most often as an active ingredient in soaps, powders, deodorants, feminine hygiene sprays, skin lotions and cleansers, and many other

products. It has the potential to be an extremely dangerous drug when used routinely and has been linked to dozens of infant deaths in France.

Mr. Speaker, even with the ban, millions of unknowing consumers will continue to use hexachlorophene products bought prior to the ban and will continue to purchase for up to a year, HCP products manufactured and shipped before the September 22 deadline—all because many toilet goods products do not contain a full ingredient listing.

It is for this reason that I recently urged the Food and Drug Administration to release to the public the best available list of products containing the recently banned ingredient, hexachlorophene. To their credit, FDA complied and

furnished me yesterday with a list of over 400 of such products. The only way consumers can protect themselves against further use of unlabeled HCP products is to avail themselves of the FDA-prepared list.

Mr. Speaker, this listing should receive the widest possible circulation. I do want to stress that while the list of 409 products represents only a portion of the total number of products containing HCP, it is the most comprehensive compilation to date and should prove valuable to consumers who wish to avoid the further use of HCP products. But equally important is that the incompleteness of the list, its unavailability until now and only upon the urging of a Member of Congress, prove the need for a drastic

revision of the drug laws which do not require ingredient labeling for cosmetics and which do not give the FDA legal authority to require cosmetic manufacturers to disclose their formulas even to them.

The FDA "List of Products Containing Hexachlorophene," which appears below, contains the name of the product, the manufacturer, and his place of business; and, in most instances, the concentration of HCP present in the product. Consumers should be particularly wary of HCP products listed which are intended for infant use, which are made to remain on the skin and which contain in excess of 0.75 percent HCP.

Mr. Speaker, the FDA-supplied list follows:

## LIST OF PRODUCTS CONTAINING HEXACHLOROPHENE

State and manufacturer (city)	Product	Conc. (percent) HCP	State and manufacturer (city)	Product	Conc. (percent) HCP
Connecticut:			Revlon (New York)	High & Dry	0.1
Dome (West Haven)	Acne Dome Compact	1		Revlon Natural Wonder	
	Acne Dome Lotion	1		Top Brass Medicated Clean & Clear Cream	.1
	Acne Dome Cream	1	Helena Rubenstein (New York)	Nudit	
	Acne Dome Cleanser	1		Bio-Clear Lotion (gm.)	.0367
	Bradic Stick			Bio-Cleanser	
	Doak Medicated Cleanser			Super Deodorant	.14
	Come Dab Cover Stick	1	Schieffelin (New York)	Bio-Clear Cream (gm.)	.0255
	Dome-A-Reem Medicated Shampoo	1		Presulin Cleanser	1
	Acne Court Dome	1		Presulin Shampoo	1
	Soy-Dome Medicated Skin Cleanser	3	Trent (New York)	Volitane	
McKesson Labs. (Bridgeport)	McKesson Burn Lotion and Spray		Vick Div. of Richardson and Merrill (New York)	Clearasil Medicated Creams, Stick & Soap	
	McKesson Athletes Foot Spray			Demure Feminine Hygiene Deodorant	
	Ora-Fix Medicated Yodora		Bristol Myers (New York)	Fact Dentrific Ban	.25
Norcliff (Bridgeport)				Mum Cream	
Massachusetts:				Mum Roll-On	.5
Davies-Ross Hoyt (Needham)	Pro-blem	.1		Mum Aerosol	.25
Otis Clapp & Sons, Inc. (Cambridge)	Sepo w/Diaphene Mouthwash	.02		Mum Spray	.15
Naman Pharmacal Co. (Lawrence)	Dermasettic Skin Cleanser	3	Colgate Palmolive	HyperHaze	3
Thayer (Cambridge)	Mazon Shampoo	.5		Tackle	2
Rhode Island:				Hour After Hour	
Claffin (Providence)	Surgi Hex	2.5		Hour After Hour Double Dry	
Original Bradford Soap Works (West Warrick)	Weis Deodorant Soap	1		Coleo Antibacterial Deodorant Soap	1
	Red and White Deodorant Soap	1	Doak (Long Island)	Teraseptic "Doak"	1
	Luxury Deodorant Soap	1	Qualify Cosmetics (Brooklyn)	Thilene	1
	Sweet Life Deodorant Soap	1	International Latex (New York)	Playtex Baby Oil Liquid	.5
	Hy-Top Deodorant Soap	1		Palytex Baby Powder	.5
	Pro-Tect Deodorant Soap	1		Palytex Baby Cream	.5
	Stop & Shop Deodorant Soap	1	Roussel Corp. (New York)	Acne Cort Lotion (gm.)	.375
	Ice-O-Derm Soap	1	Charles Pfizer Co., Inc. (New York)	Steraskin Solution	3
	Bonne Bell 10-06 Soap	1	Stanley Drug Products (NY)	2001 Jel	.25
	Pub Soap	1	Dalin (Floral Park)	Daldyne Jel	
	Up-Beat Soap	1		Podiaspray	
	Wanda Windward Passage Soap	1		Dalcote	
New York:				Dalsept	1
Sterling Drug, Inc. (New York)	Phisodan Shampoo	3		Aerosept	
	Wash & Care Lotion	.54		Burngent	
	Phisoc Cream	.3	Bryant (Mount Vernon)	Acne Gene	
	Diaparene Tod'l	.5	Commerce Drug (Farmingdale)	Kumfort Ice Foot	
	Diaparene Cradol	.25		Kumfort Foot Powder	
American Pharmaceutical (Bronx)	Hyrocain			Nail Cut	
Avon (New York)	Avon Powder Deodorizer			Bio-Stic	
	Avon Antiseptic Powder			Tanac	
	Avon Antiseptic Cream			Triguent Ointment, Cream, Spray, and First-Aid Spray	
Chesebrough-Ponds (New York)	Ponds Medicated Hand Lotion			Baby Ease Skin and Diaper Cream	
	Fresh Start			Cal Ice	
	Angel Face Medicated Cream			Boil-Ease Salve and Ointment	
	Angel Face Liquid Makeup			Velvacaine	
	Angel Face Medicated Compact			Kay-San	
	Angel Face Medicated Liquid			Ora-Jel-D	
Odo-Ro-No	Odo-Ro-No Aerosol			Dulzit	
	Odo-Ro-No Roll-On			Pedatone Athletes Foot Powder	
	Odo-Ro-No Cream			Klaron Lotion	.5
Clariol (New York)	Numero 1 Spray			Tenda Hc	.35
Columbia Med. (New York)	Acnycin			Post Acne Lotion	.5
	SOS First-Aid Spray			Rezamid Cream and Lotion	.5
	Hexaph	3		Tenda	
	Ora-Aid Jel	3		Formac Cleanser	1
Winthrop (New York)	Phisohex	3		Rezamid Shampoo	
	Phisoc	3		Metholatum Suppositories	1.1
	Phisodan	3	Mentholatum (Buffalo)	Aolotalbia Ointment	
	Phisocrub	3	Purelon (Mount Vernon)	Sklene	
Leeming (New York)	Desitin		Santa Pharmaceuticals (Buffalo)	Acne-Aid Cream	.625
	Unburn		Stiefel (Oakhill)	Acne-Aid Soap	
	Desitin Baby Powder			Brasivol Cleanser	1
Lever Bros. (New York)	Pepsodent Antiseptic Mouthwash	.02		Saftid Soap	1
	Neo-Derm		Vitarine (Spring Gardens)	Protivite Ointment	
	Cosmicain				
Manhattan (Yonkers)	Macy's Antiseptic Exposure Cream	.1			
R.H. Macy & Co., Inc. (New York)	Edmo Cream				
	Bonal Cream				
E. J. Moore (New York)	Boilaid for Boils				

State and manufacturer (city)	Product	Conc. (percent) HCP	State and manufacturer (city)	Product	Conc. (percent) HCP
West Wood (Buffalo)	Fostex	1	Imoco-Gateway Corp. (Baltimore)	Creamycin Bacteriostatic-H Lotion & Soap	0.35
	Fostril	1	Mifflin McCambridge (Riverdale)	Portibiday Solution	2
	Pernox	1	District of Columbia: Washington Ethical Lab., Inc.	Portibiday Solution	2
	Proseca	1	Virginia:		
	Keri Lotion	.5	Poythress (Richmond)	Bensulfoid Lotion	
	Teasac	1	Herald (Bedford)	H. A. F.	
	Sebucare	.5	Pennsylvania:		
	Subulex	1	Smith, Kline & French (Philadelphia)	Acnomel	.25
	Sublone	1	Lannett (Philadelphia)	Acnederm	1
	Pernox Scrub Cleaner	1		Lanahex	3
Pharmacraft (Rochester)	Desenex Powder			Soapalan	1
	Desenex Soap	2		Acnederm Medical Skin Cake	1
	Desenex Spray			Tridenhex	3
	Fresh	.23	Spirit (Paoli)	Balmex Medicated Lotion	
	Ting Soap		Macsil (Philadelphia)	Lavotex	1
	Ting Ointment		Torch Labs. (Yeadon)	Dart Drug Brand Skin Cleanser	
	Cruex Aerosol		Pennex Products Co., Inc. (Verona)	Health Cross Brand Skin Cleanser	
Kip (Richmond Hill)	Kip Sunburn-Windburn Cream			Pameco/Skin Cleanser Brand	
Norwich (Norwich)	Amolin Cream			Therapogen	
	Amolin Powder		Theodore Meyer, Inc. (Philadelphia)	Tridenhex	3
New Jersey:			Nutrition Corp. (Reading)	Sebasorb Lotion	1
Lehn & Fink (Mountvale)	Medi-Quik Cream		Tri-Summers Labs., Inc. (Fort Washington)	TRI-AC Skin Cleanser	3
	Medi-Quik Spray		Hance Bros. & Whit Co. (Philadelphia)	Cydonol Massage Lotion	
	Medi-Quik Lotion		Gordon Labs. (Drexil Hill)	Surgical Soap Solution	5
Cooper Labs. (Wayne)	Acneveen	1		Aeromatic Cooling Lotion	
	Emulave	2		Gordocaine Tinture	
	Sebaveen	1	Quaker City Pharmacal Co. (Philadelphia)	Ivy-Eeze First-Aid Spray	
	Aveeno Baby Powder	.25	National Chemical Lab., Inc. (Philadelphia)	Antiseptic Liquid Soap	
	Aveeno Bar	2	Crystal Soap & Chemical Co. (Lansdale)	Hexa-Germ	3
	Aveeno Ointment		Roth Drug (Philadelphia)	Hexa-O-Lam	
	Acneveen Treatment Bar	2		Seda Lotion	
Mennen (Morristown)	Medicated Fact Conditioner	2		Soleray Products (Jenkingtown)	Blemstick
	Mennen Push-Button Deodorant		Tennessee:		
	Baby Magic Bath		Plough (Memphis)	Solarcaine	
	Dry			Gets-it Foot Powder	
	Push-Button			Mexsana Medicated Powder	
	Speed Stik			St. Joseph Baby Powder	
Reed & Carnick (Kenilworth)	Dephsyl			St. Joseph Baby Lotion	
	Sebical Cream	1	Pharmac (Memphis)	Artra Beauty Bar	
Block Drug (Jersey City)	Tegrin Shampoo	1		Sulfur-8 Conditioner	.5
	Wemets Denture Cream			Sulfur-8 Shampoo	.5
Schering Corp. (Kenilworth)	White's A & D Cream		Mitchum (Paris)	Esoterica	
Holland-Rantos (Piscataway)	Diaper Rash Baby Cream			Fortified Esoterica	
	Hollindex			Facial Esoterica	
Johnson and Johnson (New Brunswick)	Johnson's Baby Lotion	.5		Original Esoterica	
	Johnson's Medicated Powder			Deep Deep Pore Cream	
	Symol w/Hexachlorophene Liquid Soap			Esotericarex	
	Johnson's First-Aid Cream	.2	Lucky Heart (Memphis)	Diplomat Deodorant	
Carter Cranbury	Arrid Spray			On Guard	
Shulton (Clifton)	Man Power			Wee One	
	Man Power Super Dry		Florida:		
	Old Spice Aerosol		Delta (Jacksonville)	Deltacaine	
	Old Spice Stick		Barry Martin (Miami)	Acnex	
	Liquid Soap		Sunshine Soap Co., Inc. (Hialeah)	Hexachlorophene Soap	1
Laten Laboratories (Inglewood)	G-11 Compound (Bulk Powder)				2
Givaudan Corp. (Clifton)	B Clear Cream				3
Robert Daniels (Moonachie)	Bioguent Ointment		Alabama: Shorton	Sulfo-Lo Medicated Cake	
	Drawex Salve		Illinois:		
	Emro Rectal Ointment		Gillett (Chicago)	Gillette Shaving Cream	
	Healex Salve			Right Guard Antiperspirant	
	Icy Kool Cream			Right Guard Deodorant	
	Kiddy Kare Pediatric Cream			Soft & Dri	
	Ormalac Powder			Gillette Lather with K-34	
	Pedidust Foot Powder		Armour & Co. (Chicago)	Dial Soap	
	Pedispray			Formula 99 Antiseptic Liquid Hand Soap	1
	Tycal			Princess Dial Beauty Soap	.5
	Vanocyn Lotion			Dial Super A T-7 Deod., Bath & Beauty Soap (gm.)	.7442
	Vanocyn Cream			Formula 99 Hexachlorophene Heavy Duty Soap	.16
	Vanocyn Foam			Formula 99 Hexachlorophene With Borax Soap	.11
	Whitney's Medicated Powder			Dial Surgical Scrub Formula 609 Concentrate Solution	.930
	Fung-O-Spray			Dial-Aerosol and Dial Roll On	
Rondex Pharmaceuticals (Guttenberg)			Alberto Culver Co. (Melrose Park)	Derma Fresh	
Maryland:				Calm	.24
National Pharmaceutical (Baltimore)	Scrip-Spray		Helene Curtis (Chicago)	Enden Shampoo	1
	Drawing Salve Ointment Barre	.25		Stopette	.25
	Diaper Rash Ointment	.25	Hobart (Chicago)	Cremecal	
	Burn-Aid Burn Ointment	.25	Scholl (Chicago)	Dr. Scholl's Shoe Deodorizer	
	Toothache Jel			Dr. Scholl's Solvex	
	First-Aid Spray			Dr. Scholl's Pink Cloud Foot Powder	
	Zemalo Skin Cleaner	3	Stillman (Aurora)	Stillman's Medicated	
	Hexa-phyze	3	Scrip Inc. (Peoria)	Scrip-Spray	
Carroll Chemical Co. (Baltimore)	Drawing Salve		Xtrium Labs. (Chicago)	Turgex Liquid and Aerosol Foam	
	Palpon Lotion Hand Soap	.36	Abbott (Chicago)	Lotocreme Emulsion	
	Veltone Antiseptic Liquid Soap	.36	Ohio:		
	Cover Girl Super Sheer Super Gloss for Lips	.25	Chase Products Co. (Cleveland)	Deodorant Anti-perspirant	.1
	Cover Girl Medicated Liquid Makeup	.436	Columbus Pharmacal Co. (Columbus)	Vi-Cuta with Hydrocortison Lotion	.5
	Cover Girl Pressed Powder	.705	Ross Labs. (Columbus)	Kenwood Massage	
	Cover Girl Brush on Blushing Powder	.702	Procter & Gamble (Cincinnati)	Secret	
	Cover Girl Tube Makeup	.50		Secret Roll On Deodorant Liquid	.2
	Cover Girl Medicated Lipstick	.25		Secret Cream Deodorant	.2
	Cover Girl Gloss and Gleam Kit for Lips and Cheeks	.25		Tegumin Cream	3
	Cover Girl "Plus 3" Acne Medicine	.5	Warren-Teed (Columbus)	Gar Caps	
	Noxzema Complexion Lotion	.5	Wendt-Bristol (Columbus)		
	Noxzema Medicated Shave LIME	.26	Indiana:		
	Therma Thera-Blem Medication for Acne Pimples	.5	Huntington Labs., Inc. (Huntington)	Germa-Medica Antiseptic Soap	1
	Cover Girl Super Sheer Liquid Makeup	.5	Central Pharmacal (Seymour)	Cenac	.25
	Cover Girl Super Sheer Translucent Powder	.5			
	Cover Girl Super Sheer Translucent Blusher	.5			

LIST OF PRODUCTS CONTAINING HEXACHLOROPHENE—Continued

State and manufacturer (city)	Product	Conc. (percent) HCP	State and manufacturer (city)	Product	Conc. (percent) HCP
Michigan:			Medi-Rx Pharmaceuticals, Inc. (Houston)	Medi-Gent Hexachlorophene Soap	3
Parke-Davis & Co (Detroit)	Aeroderm Medi-Lotion		Dara Products (Dallas)	Kerac Lotion	
	Medicated Comfort Powder	1		Nomal	
Depree (Holland)	Pso-Rite	1		Clesk	
Missouri:				Clantis	
Mallinckrodt (St. Louis)	Retafen Ointment		Wisconsin:		
Modern Labs., Inc. (St. Louis)	TKO-Enterinal Top		La Crosse (La Crosse)	Hexolin	
	SOL Spray	1	Wisconsin (New Berlin)	Consin Baby Lotion	
Arkansas: Mione Mfr. Co. (Fort Smith)	Mione Powdered Hand Soap	2	California:		
	Lano-Guard	2	Rabin-Winters (El Segundo)	Campho-Bliss	
Texas:			Rexall (Los Angeles)	Denturex	
Texas Pharmacal (San Antonio)	Allercreme Deodorant			Rexall First-Aid Spray	
Merit (Houston)	Derma 10 Acne Lotion	.5	Person and Covey (Glendale)	Xerac	1
	Derma 10 Skin Cleanser	.5	G. S. Herbert Labs. (Santa Ana)	Vanseb Shampoo	
	Mericoal		Purex Corp. (Wilmington)	Hand Soap	
Pharmadent (Lake Jackson)	Hexadent		U.S. Borax & Chemical Corp. (Los Angeles)	MD-7 Lotion Soap	1
Carroll Company (Garland)	Triple Concentrated Antiseptic Hand Soap	.7	Wickman (Los Angeles)	Cotofilm	
	Texas SPEC No. 310-36-2 Surgical Hand Soap	1.4	Max Factor (Hollywood)	Max Factor Roll on Deodorant	
	USP Antiseptic Hand Soap	.23		Max Factor Skin Clear	
				Max Factor Pure Magic	

PRODUCTS FOR WHICH LOCATION OF MANUFACTURER IS UNKNOWN

Manufacturer	Product	Concentrate	Manufacturer	Product	Concentrate
Hill Manufacturing Co	Hand-Safe Liquid Soap		Aeroceuticals	Aerozcin	
World Gift Co	World o' Beauty Lotion		Do	Aerocaine	
Davis & Geck	Pre-Op Surgical Scrub Sponge		Allen	Vanigene	
Barrett Chemical Co	G-63 Aerosol Burn Spray		Alpha Pharm	Alphacleaner	
Hunter Industrial Chemical Inc.	Surgent Hexachlorophene Soap	3 percent	Do	Alpha Cleanser	
Hydrosol, Inc.	Del Pre-Tape	0.052 percent	Do	Alphacne Cleanser	
Do	Maywood Hand Cleaner	0.23 percent	American Labs	Hemoid	
Do	Dal Hand-D	Do	Do	DX 114 Foot Powder	
Do	Del Foot and Body Powder Spray	0.02 percent	Do	Cuocaine	
Polymed Labs	Benefit	0.15 percent	Approved	Actine	
Scott & Browne Vitamin Corp.	Browne Antiseptic Baby Oil Liquid	0.1 percent	Arbrock	Ganophen	
Del-Clare Products Co	Bel Clare Deodorant Liquid	144 GR.	Baker Labs	Bakers Cold Sore Liquid	
Braun Ernest	Pisorex A Ointment	3 Apart.	Greco Pharmacal	Phil-Acne Cream	
Do	Pisorex B Ointment	3 Bpart.	Do	Phil-Acne Cleanser	
Roussel Corp	Acnecort Lotion	0.375 GM.	Mathan Labs	Cyscol Vitamin Lotion	
Larousse, Inc.	Count Down Hair Dressing	0.5 percent	Mod Shave	Mod Shaving Lotion	
Loyal Labs., Inc.	T.K.O. Aerosol Foam	0.01 percent	Moore	Wartgon	
Biocraft Labs., Inc.	Care Cream Ointment	2 MG/GM.	Pharmadent	Drawing Salve	
John T. Stanley Co., Inc.	Babaskin Soap		Do	Acne Cream	
Cetylite Industries, Inc.	Coagucaine Aerosol Spray	1 percent	Do	Diaper Rash Cream	
Mowbray Co., Division, Adhesi-Kote Co.	Adhesi-Kote Dressing		Do	Poison Ivy Cream	
Do	Adhesi-Kote Aerosol/Dressing		Pharmafac	Teen-10 Acne Lotion	
Do	Skin Adherent No. 2 B/Hexachlorophene Dressing		Pharmex	Acnyl	
Frederick J. Weck Co.	Dermatisan Medicated Ointment	1 percent	Rx Labs	Madassage	
Arbrook	Ganophen Soap	2 percent	Visio	Acne Solution	
Fuller	Therapads	0.5 percent	Vit Council	Double Antibiotic Acne Cream	
Aarbern	Teen Clear Lotion		Wright	X O Kreme	
			Do	Neo-Dex	
			Herbert Charles Johnston	Toothpaste	3 percent

COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, October 11 marks the 193d anniversary of the death of Count Casimir Pulaski, the outstanding Polish patriot who gave his life for our country during our war for independence.

Pulaski was born in 1748 in Poland to an aristocratic and distinguished family. He proved his dedication to the cause of freedom early in life by struggling valiantly against the Russian oppressors of his country. Pulaski at first saw his efforts succeed, but was eventually defeated. His father and a brother were killed, and the young count lost his position and wealth.

The overwhelming odds, however, only seemed to increase Pulaski's courage and faith in the ultimate victory of freedom. He managed to escape to France where he met Benjamin Franklin and learned

of the desperate need for military expertise and imaginative battlefield leadership in America, which at that time was engaged in its own war for independence. Pulaski's innate sense of justice and idealism compelled him to offer his services to General Washington and accept America's struggle for freedom as his own.

Pulaski's military genius and sense of leadership on the battlefield were quickly recognized by Washington, who was desperately trying to mount effective opposition to British military professionals from citizen recruits. Pulaski's competence quickly earned him the rank of brigadier general and he was placed in command of a division. The first American cavalry units during the Revolutionary War were trained by Pulaski.

General Pulaski commanded the cavalry during the winter of 1777 at Trenton and later at Fleming. Working with Gen. Anthony Wayne, he scouted for supplies to feed starving troops at Valley Forge. In 1779, he assumed command for both the French and American cavalry at Savannah. Bravely charging the enemy lines at the head of his forces,

Pulaski was mortally wounded, and two days later on October 9, 1779, he died at the age of 31.

This anniversary is important because not only does it commemorate the sacrifice of Pulaski for the ideal of freedom for all—it also symbolizes the dedication to that ideal of millions of Poles who came to America after him. Polish-Americans have fought in all of America's struggles as well as adding immeasurably to this Nation's greatness through their attainments and talent in every field of endeavor—in the professions, in business, in religious, and political activities of the community.

Because I represent a great number of Polish-Americans, I have been impressed through the years by their contributions to the economic, cultural, and spiritual growth of our country. The successful American experiment in democracy has been infinitely enriched by the American Polonia and our progress toward the ideal of freedom is an example for the world. It is, therefore, with genuine pride that I join my colleagues in commemorating the anniversary of the heroic death of Gen. Casimir Pulaski.

## COLORADO RIVER BASIN SALINITY CONTROL ACT

## HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Colorado River continues to be the lifeline for a major segment of our Nation. More than 15 million people living in seven States are dependent upon its waters to serve their homes and offices and factories. Everyone in the United States benefits from the produce and the livestock grown on the farms and ranches irrigated by it. And despite new developments in our water resources, the Colorado will continue to be the workhorse for these seven States far into the future.

With the increasing use of the Colorado, however, a general rise in the salinity levels of the water has occurred. This increase is expected to continue unless a program is undertaken to correct the problem. This high mineral content arises from a number of factors, both natural and man made, and it is now imperative that we begin the fight to reduce or eliminate these sources.

High salinity costs money. As with other forms of pollution, we pay the penalty not only in terms of a less desirable water but also in hard dollars taken from the pockets of homeowners, businessmen, and farmers. The Colorado River Board of California in a report published in 1970 estimated that if salinity control measures are not taken, annual damages in California alone could exceed \$40 million by the year 2000.

This rising concern also is having an impact upon our relations with Mexico, which under a treaty dating from 1945, uses 1.5 million acre-feet of Colorado River water each year. During his recent trip to the United States, President Luis Echeverria asked the United States to seek solutions for these high mineral concentrations. President Nixon has now appointed Mr. Herbert Brownell as his special representative to survey the issues raised by President Echeverria and make recommendations for a permanent solution. We agree that it is timely that this be done.

It is not a problem that lends itself to snap conclusions or quickie answers. The Department of the Interior, the Environmental Protection Agency and the States of the Colorado River Basin have worked in cooperation to identify the sources of this pollution and have now come up with the framework for a solution. This is presented in a report by the Bureau of Reclamation, Colorado River water quality improvement program, released this spring and generally concurred in by the basin States.

In that report, the Bureau identified three principal sources of salt which could be eliminated or reduced and set forth a program to maintain salinity concentrations at or below the levels presently found in the lower reaches of the Colorado. Without these controls, the report estimates that the salinity levels

at Imperial Dam will increase from current levels of 860 parts per million of total dissolved solids to over 1,250 parts per million at the year 2000. Public health authorities recommend that drinking water not exceed 500 parts.

The three salinity sources identified by the report are: First, point sources such as salt springs; second, diffuse sources which involve salt loading from over a wide area such as a drainage basin; and third, irrigation sources.

Control of the sources coupled with a number of allied programs, particularly those which would augment the river and serve to dilute the salt such as weather modification, represent the heart of the program.

Therefore, my respected colleague from Colorado (Mr. ASPINALL) and I are introducing today with a number of colleagues a bill to authorize this program. I do not expect this Congress to have the opportunity to devote much time to it, but because of its significance it is important that we begin to concern ourselves with it.

Its provisions permit the authorization of those parts of the program which will achieve water quality improvement at the least cost and will accelerate study of further measures and projects. Costs of those projects authorized by the bill are estimated at \$140 million. While the long range program has not been fully defined, its costs have been estimated at \$500 million.

The text of the bill follows:

## COLORADO RIVER BASIN SALINITY CONTROL ACT OF 1972

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

## TITLE I—OBJECTIVE

SEC. 101. That this Act may be cited as the "Colorado River Basin Salinity Control Act of 1972."

SEC. 102. (a) It is the objective of this Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as "Secretary") to execute the program required to implement the salinity control policy adopted for the Colorado River system by the conferees of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Colorado River Basin States in their conclusions and recommendations at the seventh session of the joint Federal-State Conference in the Matter of Pollution of the Interstate Waters of the Colorado River and Its Tributaries held on April 27, 1972 under the authority of section 10 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (33 U.S.C. 1160), and approved by the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency on June 9, 1972.

(b) In recognition of the emergency nature of the increasing concentration of dissolved solids in the waters of the main stem of the Colorado River downstream from Lee Ferry, the general welfare of the citizens of the nation, interstate harmony, and international comity, it is the policy of the Congress that the Secretary is hereby directed to give high priority to accelerating and otherwise expediting the investigation, planning, and construction of salinity control works and procedures of the salinity control program as generally described in the Secretary's report entitled "Colorado River Water Quality Improvement Program, February 1972."

## TITLE II—INITIAL STAGE

SEC. 201. In conformity with the conclusions and recommendations of the Confer-

ence referred to in Sec. 102 (a), the Secretary is authorized to construct, operate and maintain the following units as the initial stage of the Colorado River Basin Salinity Control program: LaVerkin Springs, Paradox Valley, and Grand Valley.

## TITLE III—CONTINUING PROGRAM

SEC. 301. In order to achieve the objectives of this Act, the Secretary is authorized and directed to:

(a) give priority to completion of planning reports on the following units described in the Secretary's report, "Colorado River Water Quality Improvement Program, February 1972."

(1) Irrigation source control: Lower Gunnison, Uintah Basin, Colorado River Indian Reservation, Palo Verde Irrigation District.

(2) Point source control: Littlefield Springs, Blue Springs, Crystal Geyser, Glenwood-Dotsero Springs.

(3) Diffuse source control: Price River, San Rafael River, Dirty Devil River, McElmo Creek, Big Sandy River.

Said reports shall be completed expeditiously and submitted promptly to the Colorado River Basin States and to such other parties and agencies as the Secretary deems appropriate for their review and comments.

(b) Upon determining that a project in 301(a) is feasible, advise the President, other concerned federal departments and agencies, the Congress and the Colorado River Basin States of this determination. Ninety days following the transmitting of his advisory, the Secretary shall be authorized to construct, operate and maintain the project.

(c) Undertake research on additional methods of accomplishing the objective of this Act, utilizing to the fullest extent practicable the capabilities and resources of other Federal departments and agencies.

SEC. 302. In the investigation, planning, construction, and implementation of any salinity control unit involving control of salinity from irrigation sources, the Secretary is directed to cooperate with the Secretary of Agriculture in carrying out on-the-farm improvements and farm management practices and programs which will further the objective of this Act.

## TITLE IV—GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 401. In conformity with Title I of this Act and the authority of the Environmental Protection Agency under Federal laws the Secretary and the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency are directed to cooperate and coordinate their activities to effectively carry out the objective of this Act.

SEC. 402. On January 1 of year each, commencing with January 1, 1974, the Secretary shall submit to the President and the Congress a report on the Colorado River salinity control program authorized by this Act. Said report shall cover the progress of investigations, planning, and construction of salinity control units for the previous fiscal year and to the date of the report, the effectiveness of such units, anticipated work needed to be accomplished in the future to meet the objective of this Act with emphasis on the needs during the five years immediately following the date of each report, and any special problems that may be impeding progress in attaining an effective salinity control program.

SEC. 403. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to affect the rights of any water user, whether public or private.

SEC. 404. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to alter, amend, repeal, modify, or be in conflict with the provisions of the Colorado River Compact (45 Stat. 1057), the Upper Colorado River Basin Compact (63 Stat. 31), the Water Treaty of 1944 with the United Mexican States (Treaty Series 994; 59 Stat. 1219), the decree entered by the Supreme Court of the United States in Arizona against California and others (376 U.S.

340), or, except as otherwise provided herein, the Boulder Canyon Project Act (45 Stat. 1057), the Boulder Canyon Project Adjustment Act (54 Stat. 774; 43 U.S.C. 618a), the Colorado River Storage Project Act (70 Stat. 105; 43 U.S.C. 620), or the Colorado River Basin Project Act (82 Stat. 885).

SEC. 405. As used in this Act:

(a) all terms that are defined in the Colorado River Compact shall have the meanings therein defined;

(b) "Colorado River Basin States" means the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming;

(c) "User" or "water user" in relation to the waters of the Colorado River System means the United States or any person or legal entity entitled under Federal laws, State laws, or court decrees to use water when available thereunder.

SEC. 406. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be required to carry out the objective of this Act.

BOSTON CHAPTER OF THE LITHUANIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF THE USA, INC. ADOPTS RESOLUTION

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on September 24, 1972 the Boston Chapter of the Lithuanian-American Community of the USA, Inc., met and adopted the following resolution which I would like to share with my colleagues in the House:

RESOLUTION

Unanimously adopted at a mass meeting of American citizens of Lithuanian descent living in Greater Boston, sponsored by the Lithuanian-American Community of the USA, Inc., Boston Chapter, held on Sunday, September 24, 1972, in the South Boston Lithuanian Citizens Association Auditorium, 368 West Broadway, South Boston, Massachusetts, commemorating the Lithuanian National Holiday, as well as the 721st anniversary of the formation of the Lithuanian state when Mindaugas the Great unified all Lithuanian principalities into one kingdom in 1251, the 54th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Lithuania on February 16, 1918, and the 31st anniversary of the Lithuanian uprising against Soviet aggression:

Whereas, the Communist regime did not come to power in Lithuania by legal or democratic process, but took over Lithuania by force of arms in June of 1940; and

Whereas, the Lithuanian people are strongly opposed to foreign domination and are determined to restore their freedom and sovereignty which they rightly and deservedly enjoyed for more than seven centuries in the past; and

Whereas, the Soviet invaders are unable to suppress the aspirations of the Lithuanian people for freedom and the exercise of their human rights, as demonstrated by the heroic attempt of defection by Simas Kudirka, the attempted escape of Vytautas Simokaitis and his wife, the arrest of Liudvikas Simutis, two bishops, and three Lithuanian priests, Fathers J. Zdebskis, P. Bubnys and A. Seskevicius for teaching religion, and more recently the tragic self-immolation by Romas Kalanta to arouse international opinion against continued Soviet oppression; and

Whereas, an extraordinary petition protesting religious oppression signed by 17,000

persons in Lithuania reached the United Nations a week before Easter; Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That we demand that the Soviet Government release all political prisoners, and withdraw its armed forces, administrative apparatus, and the imported Russian colonists from Lithuania, thus permitting the Lithuanian people to freely exercise their sovereign rights;

That we respectfully request President Nixon to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums on behalf of the restoration of sovereign rights to the Baltic peoples, which policy was recommended by the President of the United States by the House Concurrent Resolution 416 of the 89th Congress;

That this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, and copies thereof to the Secretary of State, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, to the Senators and Congressmen from our Commonwealth, and to the press.

ANTHONY MATIOSKA,

Chairman.

CONGRESSMAN OTIS G. PIKE REPORTS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS

HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, as has been my custom every year for the past 12 years, I am taking this opportunity to report to the residents of the First Congressional District of the State of New York, whom I have the honor to represent, on the problems of the Nation in general—of our area in particular—and what, if anything, the U.S. Congress has done about these problems during this session.

Our district shares with the rest of the Nation the great national problems caused by the economy, inflation, and the war. Our office continues to receive daily pleas from husbands unable to find jobs, wives unable to pay for groceries, and retirees unable to make ends meet. While the volume of problems reaching our office pertaining to the military is down from the height of the Vietnam war, it remains steady and keeps one secretary busy full time just handling the problems of servicemen and veterans. In addition to the problems which we share with the rest of the Nation, eastern Long Island has some unique problems all its own. Chief among these is the problem we might describe as "growing pains."

While the population growth rate of Nassau County and western Suffolk County has slowed down, that of eastern Suffolk County has actually speeded up. This is due largely to the simple fact that most of the available land for new housing and new industry in Nassau County and western Suffolk County is already filled up. In the new first congressional district as constituted by the State legislature this year, the population as of the 1960 census was 232,254. As of the 1970 census it was 467,742 or an increase of 101.4 percent in only 10 years. As a comparison, the second congressional district—Babylon and Islip—increased

56.5 percent, the third—Huntington and Oyster Bay—25.6 percent, and the fourth and fifth, both in Nassau County, by only 12.6 and 6.5 percent respectively. Their population explosion is over; ours is upon us.

The census figures reveal some interesting statistics about who we are and where we come from and how we live. Of our 467,742 people, 284,488 are over 18, meaning we have an awful lot of young people. Of the 39 congressional districts in the State, ours is the third youngest. Over three-fourths—355,845—of our people—lived in what the census defined as urban areas, communities of 2,500 population, the balance in rural areas. We were 96 percent white, but had 16,440 Negroes, 691 American Indians, 848 Chinese and 295 Japanese. Our average family had 3.84 people, and was very mobile. Forty-seven percent of our population had moved in the 5 years between 1965 and 1970. Of our movers 40 percent came from a different county, 36 percent moved within the county, and the rest moved from a different State.

Our ancestry is as varied as can be—22.3 percent of our people were raised in homes that spoke other languages than English, while 131,845 of our people were either foreign-born or were children of foreign-born parents. Of those by far the largest group were Italian, 25 percent; followed by German, 14 percent; United Kingdom, 8.8 percent; Poland, 8.6 percent; and Ireland, 7.8 percent. Most of the nations of the world were represented in some degree.

Our people have had more education than the State as a whole, are more likely to be veterans, and have a higher income. What then, are the problems of this young, mobile, varied, educated, patriotic and hard-working group? For any person who really wants to work, and who cannot find a job with which to support his family, there can be no greater problem. Added to the national problem of unemployment is the particular problem of our defense industries. Our largest defense contractor—Grumman—has a very large slice of our Nation's total military procurement program, but one of the contracts it does have, the F-14, is causing it great problems. While a great deal has been said about the failure of Grumman to obtain the space shuttle contract in a competition with three other major aerospace companies, the resolution of the company's problems with the F-14 is of far greater importance both to the company and the economy of Long Island. I have been in constant communication with company officials on this matter and have tried to help them both in the Armed Services Committee and on the floor of the House. Another of our companies, the Republic division of Fairchild Hiller, is in a final competition with Northrup for an Air Force contract to build a close air support aircraft which I have been needing the Air Force to build for years.

The Congress addressed itself to the job problem in the broader sense by authorizing new programs for mass transit, unemployment benefits, vocational training, and public works. A program of

emergency public works for water and sewer systems was defeated in the House.

As to the problem of inflation, the Congress addressed the problem in many different ways. Last year we gave the President the authority to impose wage and price controls and eventually he did impose some rather leaky ones. For the benefit of our elderly and our disabled, who are most likely to be on fixed incomes and hurt by inflation, an increase of 20 percent in social security benefits was passed. Congress passed a similar increase in benefits for persons retired under the Railroad Retirement Act. This the President vetoed, and the Congress voted to override the veto. This Congressman is convinced that one of the most substantial causes of inflation is wasteful spending by the Government itself, and I spent a great deal of time during the last year trying to track down waste in specific areas and eliminate it. In my own Armed Services Committee I have long opposed the Cheyenne helicopter program, which the Army finally canceled this year after wasting \$401 million on it. Chairman HÉBERT appointed me chairman of four separate "troubleshooting" subcommittees of the Armed Services Committee, all of which found substantial mismanagement and waste of the taxpayer's dollars. Other programs regarding which I have become convinced that we are not getting a reasonable result from our expenditures have been the agricultural price support programs, the foreign aid program, and the poverty program, all of which I voted against this year.

On the issue of the war, I have continued to vote in such a manner as to not tie the hands of the President in his very difficult role as Commander in Chief. I have voted that way under Democratic

presidents, under the Republican President, and will support whoever is elected in November in the same manner in his conduct of the job of Commander in Chief. We can only have one President at a time.

Other problems of great concern to our young and rapidly growing area involve the preservation of our environment and schools. There were a great many environmental votes during the past Congress, and I am happy to be listed as voting right on environmental issues 100 percent by Field and Stream—September 1972—and in the top 5 percent of the Congress—87 percent—by the League of Conservation Voters. Wherever the population is increasing rapidly and the population is young, school taxes are a terrible problem, for we have to continually build new schools as well as operate and maintain our old ones. In an effort to help with this problem I have continued to support greater Federal funding for education, for no nation can have many higher priorities than the education of its children.

New Federal programs I cannot and will not support come wearing lovely labels, but underneath the lovely labels they leave a lot to be desired. We call it "revenue sharing," but not only has the Federal Government no revenue to share, it has piled up a full one-fourth of its entire national debt in the past 3 and the current fiscal year. Furthermore, the taxpayers of our area will pay approximately \$3 for every \$1 which gets returned to the local government. Under the lovely label of "welfare reform" was hidden the guaranteed annual income. Although the House passed this bill last year—I voted "no"—as this is written it appears to be dead in the Senate.

During the entire 2 years of the 92d Congress the Congressman introduced, either alone or as a cosponsor, 134 bills. You have all heard about the one cosponsored with several other Congressmen of both political parties to create a national monument out of some land on eastern Long Island. I would like to write more about it, but cannot without getting political. There have been, however, 133 others. Nine of them are for the benefit of volunteer firemen and fire departments, five of them were for the benefit of policemen. Many of them pertained to the environment and to our endangered species, wetlands and fisheries resources, including one to extend our 12-mile sea limit to 200 miles for conservation purposes.

Several of the bills I have sponsored or cosponsored have become law, and I hope they will benefit thousands of people. In particular a bill which was the product of a subcommittee I chaired created a system whereby military personnel can better provide for their widows and children. This bill benefits over 900,000 people in America, including several thousand in our own area.

On a more personal note, the Congressman stayed healthy, happy, and worked hard. His wife stays in Riverhead and sees him only weekends and when the House is not in session. Two of his children are grown, educated, and self-sufficient; the youngest is in college. His health, an understanding and loyal wife, and some real effort have enabled him to keep the best attendance record in the State of New York again this year, present and voting on 282 out of 288 votes. That is a statistic, but I would like to have your views on the major ones, which are listed below:

Date	Issue	Pike vote
1972		
Jan. 19	Adopt conference report on bill limiting campaign media expenditures by candidates for Congress and Presidency and providing for more stringent requirements on reporting and disclosure of political contributions and expenditures (yea 334; nay 20).	Yea.
27	Authorize President to set maximum age limits for appointment to Federal jobs where age was important factor (yea 81; nay 249).	Yea.
Feb. 1	Authorize 2 annual installments of \$450,000,000 each as the U.S. contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank Fund for Special Operations (yea 285; nay 102).	Nay.
	Authorize U.S. contribution of \$100,000,000 to Asian Development Bank's consolidated special funds (yea 256; nay 132).	Nay.
	Reduce to \$160,000,000 from \$320,000,000 each of 3 annual U.S. contributions to the International Development Association (yea 165; nay 191).	Yea.
3	Create a Special Action Office on Drug Abuse Prevention in the Executive Office of the President (yea 380; nay 0).	Yea.
	Provide a daily low-cost meal to persons 60 years of age and over (yea 350; nay 23).	Yea.
7	Strengthen penalties for violations of the Bald Eagle Protection Act of 1940 (yea 352; nay 7).	Yea.
	Extend Federal Water Pollution Control Act through June 30, 1972 and authorize additional funds (yea 339; nay 7).	Yea.
8	Establish Select Committee on Privacy, Human Values and Democratic Institutions (yea 168; nay 216).	Yea.
	Establish an Office of Technology Assessment to aid Congress in evaluating impact of technological and scientific developments on proposals for legislation (yea 256; nay 118).	Yea.
9	Authorize additional temporary increase in the Federal debt ceiling from \$430,000,000,000 to \$450,000,000,000 effective through June 30, 1972 (yea 247; nay 147).	Yea.
	End west coast dock strike and resolve contract dispute by compulsory arbitration (yea 214; nay 139).	Yea.
17	Extend Economic Opportunity Act for 2 years authorizing \$5,300,000,000 for fiscal 1972-73, creating an independent legal services corporation and authorizing new rural housing development (yea 234; nay 127).	Nay.
24	Appropriate \$3,189,437,000 for fiscal 1972 for foreign economic and military assistance (yea 213; nay 167).	Nay.
29	Adopt Noise Control Act of 1972 to control noise detrimental to human environment (yea 356; nay 32).	Yea.
Mar. 1	Appropriate \$525,000 for House Internal Security Committee (yea 303; nay 102).	Yea.
2	Authorize \$315,200,000 fiscal 1973-75 for research and development on ground transportation programs under High Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965 (yea 360; nay 14).	Yea.
6	Require questions of race and occupation be answered on jurors' qualification forms to enforce nondiscrimination in jury selection (yea 316; nay 27).	Yea.
	Increase veterans' educational assistance programs (yea 358; nay 0).	Yea.
8	Instruct House conferees to insist on House-approved antibusing amendments (yea 272; nay 140).	Nay.
	Adopt conference report providing enforcement powers for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (yea 303; nay 110).	Yea.
	Authorize \$5,000,000 instead of \$3,000,000 to conduct the international transportation exposition (yea 278; nay 109).	Yea.
9	Impose 5-year moratorium on most killing of marine mammals and importation of their products (yea 362; nay 10).	Yea.
14	Adopt urgent supplemental appropriations, fiscal 1972, of \$957,476,059 for Federal unemployment benefits, student loan insurance fund, ICC loan guarantees and payment of claims against the United States (yea 364; nay 16).	Yea.
15	Authorize \$170,000,000 additional funds for the National Railroad Passenger Corp. (AMTRAK) through fiscal 1973 (yea 313; nay 63).	Yea.
20	Expand and extend for 3 years Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in rehabilitation of mentally, physically, and socially disabled persons (yea 327; nay 0).	Yea.
21	Authorize Secretary of the Treasury to reduce the par value of the dollar to 1/38 of an ounce of gold, thus increasing price of gold to \$38 from \$35 (yea 343; nay 43).	Yea.
22	Amend Public Health Service Act to establish a national program for the diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of sickle cell anemia (yea 392; nay 0).	Yea.
23	Appropriate \$427,604,764 in fiscal 1973 for operation of the legislative branch and its agencies (yea 363; nay 9).	Yea.
28	Require industries to use the "best available" water pollution control technology by 1981 (yea 140; nay 249).	Yea.
	Require impact statements under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 for all activities covered by the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (yea 126; nay 267).	Yea.
29	Allow individual States to prohibit the discharge of all effluent by boats in their navigable waters (yea 210; nay 173).	Nay.
	Provide \$24,600,000,000 3 year program to clean up Nation's waters (yea 380; nay 14).	Yea.

Date	Issue	Pike vote
1972		
Apr. 11	Authorize \$555,800,000 for Maritime Administration programs in fiscal 1973 (yea 365; nay 13).....	Yea.
	Authorize \$141,800,000 for procurement of Coast Guard vessels and aircraft (yea 373; nay 1).....	Yea.
12	Authorize \$22,000,000 for fiscal 1973 and 1974 for U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (yea 349; nay 20).....	Yea.
17	Declare it sense of Congress that President should urge the Soviet Union to end discrimination against religious minorities and permit Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel (yea 360; nay 2).....	Yea.
	Amend National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 to authorize interim licensing of some nuclear power plants even if environmental impact statements required by the act had not been filed by the Atomic Energy Commission (yea 285; nay 78).....	Nay.
19	Provide new method for financing construction of 63 public buildings and authorize \$1,500,000 for maintenance of John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts (yea 331; nay 40).....	Yea.
20	Authorize \$3,428,950,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in fiscal 1973 (yea 277; nay 60).....	Yea.
25	Authorize \$680,000,000 for the National Science Foundation in fiscal 1973 (yea 329; nay 16).....	Yea.
26	Table (kill) resolution directing President and Secretary of Defense to furnish to the House in 10 days information on U.S. military activities in and over North and South Vietnam (yea 270; nay 113).....	Nay.
	Provide certain supplemental appropriations for the year ending June 30, 1972, including \$2,400,000,000 in pay increases, with \$2,200,000,000 of that figure for the armed services (yea 344; nay 16).....	Yea.
27	Extend Federal employees health benefits to increase the Federal Government's share of the costs of health insurance premiums for Federal workers to U.S. Postal Service employees (yea 197; nay 148).....	Yea.
	Increase Federal Government's share of the costs of health insurance premiums for Federal employees to 55 percent from 40 percent in 1972, with an additional 5 percent increase each year through 1976, when payment would reach 75 percent of the total cost (yea 238; nay 110).....	Yea.
May 1	Authorize U.S. Attorney General to provide care for narcotics addicts placed on probation or parole or mandatorily released from prison (yea 324; nay 0).....	Yea.
	Extend life of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights through June 30, 1978 and expand its jurisdiction to include discrimination because of sex (yea 265; nay 66).....	Yea.
2	Provide for accelerated programs of tree planting on national forest lands in need of reforestation (yea 371; nay 5).....	Yea.
4	Appropriate up to \$1,600,000,000 as necessary to maintain the gold value of U.S. financial commitments to international financial institutions in terms of the dollar, which was devalued Dec. 20, 1971 (yea 291; nay 62).....	Yea.
10	Adopt conference report on Black Lung Disease Disability Benefits bill to extend disability benefits to dependents of coal miners disabled or killed by pneumoconiosis (yea 275; nay 122).....	Yea.
11	Instruct House conferees to insist on House-approved antibusing amendments barring use of Federal funds for school busing, barring Federal pressure for use of State or local funds for busing and postponing effective date of court-ordered busing plans (yea 275; nay 124).....	Yea.
	Authorize overtime pay for work by transit employees in excess of 44 hours a week and in excess of 40 hours a week after Jan. 1, 1974 (yea 184; nay 208).....	Yea.
	Delete language of minimum wage legislation permitting employment of youths at wages below the applicable adult minimum (yea 170; nay 227).....	Nay.
	Raise hourly wage floor for most nonagricultural workers covered under present law to \$1.80 in 1972 and \$2 the following year, and permit youths to work at wages below the applicable adult minimum (yea 330; nay 78).....	Yea.
17	Adopt conference report on bill containing \$4,347,698,270 in supplemental appropriations (yea 338; nay 34).....	Yea.
	Appropriate \$170,000,000 for Amtrak (yea 300; nay 70).....	Yea.
	Authorize \$848,603,000 for fiscal 1973 for State Department, U.S. Information Agency, Peace Corps and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (yea 305; nay 65).....	Yea.
22	Require Federal standards for front and rear bumpers to minimize damage to automobiles in low-speed collisions and establish consumer information program to study and make available comparative costs of vehicle repairs (yea 254; nay 38).....	Yea.
23	Appropriate \$19,718,490,000 for fiscal 1973 for Department of Housing and Urban Development (\$3,711,088,000), Veterans' Administration (\$11,877,278,000), NASA (\$3,349,210,000) and independent agencies (yea 367; nay 10).....	Yea.
24	Appropriate \$2,791,614,095 for Department of Transportation in fiscal 1973 and \$131,181,000 in advance funding for fiscal 1974 (yea 367; nay 1).....	Yea.
30	Expand powers of Subversive Activities Control Board and change name to Federal Internal Security Board (yea 226; nay 105).....	Yea.
June 1	Prohibit Corporation for Public Broadcasting from making grants or contracts with any other corporation paying its employees more than \$42,500 a year (yea 163; nay 182).....	Yea.
	Prohibit Corporation for Public Broadcasting from conducting voter polls or public opinion surveys of Federal, State or local elections (yea 203; nay 135).....	Yea.
	Authorize \$165,000,000 for Corporation for Public Broadcasting (yea 256; nay 69).....	Yea.
5	Establish national cemetery department within Veterans' Administration and authorize plot allowance of \$150 for interment of veterans not buried in Federal cemeteries (yea 312; nay 4).....	Yea.
	Make it Federal crime to shoot at birds, fish or other animals from aircraft (yea 311; nay 5).....	Yea.
7	Appropriate \$875,662,000 for District of Columbia for fiscal 1973 (yea 302; nay 67).....	Yea.
	Authorize \$2,603,475,000 for Atomic Energy Commission in fiscal 1973 (yea 367; nay 2).....	Yea.
8	Adopt conference report authorizing \$19,000,000,000 for higher education programs through fiscal 1975 and \$2,000,000,000 for school desegregation aid through fiscal 1974, establishing direct Federal aid to needy students and postponing implementation of court desegregation orders requiring busing of school children (yea 218; nay 180).....	Yea.
	Authorize treatment and rehabilitation of drug dependent persons in the Armed Forces, and retention of persons in the armed services for an extra 30 days for treatment of drug abuse (yea 322; nay 1).....	Yea.
13	Appropriate \$2,529,558,200 for Interior Department and related agencies for fiscal 1973 (yea 367; nay 3).....	Yea.
15	Delete \$20,000,000 from Occupational Safety and Health Administration appropriation (yea 160; nay 206).....	Nay.
	Exempt firms employing 25 or fewer persons from complying with the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (yea 213; nay 154).....	Yea.
	Provide additional \$363,833,000 for various education programs in Labor-HEW appropriations bill (yea 212; nay 163).....	Yea.
	Provide additional \$15 million for bilingual education programs in Labor-HEW appropriations bill (yea 114; nay 205).....	Nay.
	Appropriate for the Department of Labor (\$3,002,288,000), the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (\$25,494,226,500) and related agencies (\$106,665,000) for fiscal 1973 (yea 277; nay 60).....	Yea.
	Increase maximum amount of grant payable for specially adapted housing for a disabled veteran to \$20,000 from \$12,500 (yea 341; nay 0).....	Yea.
22	Provide revenue-sharing payments totaling \$29,600,000,000 over 5 years to States and local governments, and authorize Federal collection of State personal income taxes (yea 275; nay 122).....	Nay.
	Appropriate \$5,057,145,000 for the Treasury Department, Postal Service, Executive Office of the President and other independent agencies (yea 322; nay 11).....	Yea.
26	Provide \$1,200,000,000 in Federal guarantees for bonds to construct a subway system in Washington, D.C. (yea 282; nay 75).....	Yea.
27	Appropriate \$5,437,727,000 for fiscal 1973 for public works, flood control and electric power projects, the Atomic Energy Commission and related agencies (yea 347; nay 17).....	Yea.
	Reduce by \$350,000,000 fiscal 1973 authorization for the Safeguard antiballistic missile (ABM) system (yea 116; nay 258).....	Yea.
	Delete \$445,000,000 from defense procurement authorization for B-1 bomber (yea 94; nay 279).....	Yea.
	Continue prohibition against building a Safeguard ABM site around Washington, D.C. (yea 129; nay 261).....	Yea.
	Cut off funds as of Sept. 1, 1972, for U.S. military activity in and over Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos subject only to release of U.S. prisoners of war and accounting of persons missing in action (yea 152; nay 244).....	Nay.
	Authorize \$21,318,788,250 for defense procurement for fiscal 1973 (yea 334; nay 59).....	Nay.
	Extend existing temporary \$450,000,000 limit on national debt for 4 months to Oct. 31, 1972 (yea 211; nay 168).....	Nay.
28	Permit development of final plans for extension of west front of Capitol with money remaining from previously appropriated funds (yea 181; nay 197).....	Nay.
	Adopt conference report authorizing \$1,001,130,000 for State Department, U.S. Information Agency, Peace Corps, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and international narcotics control assistance (yea 314; nay 77).....	Yea.
	Provide an additional 13 weeks of unemployment compensation benefits authorized under Emergency Unemployment Act of 1971 for individuals residing in States with unemployment rate exceeding 6.5 percent (yea 274; nay 109).....	Nay.
29	Reduce to \$20,000 from \$55,000 amount farmer could receive in crop subsidies, excluding sugar and wool (yea 189; nay 193).....	Yea.
	Prohibit issuance of food stamps to any person in a household in which any member was participating in a strike (yea 180; nay 199).....	Nay.
	Appropriate \$12,897,010,900 for Department of Agriculture, Environmental Protection Agency, rural development, and consumer protection programs for fiscal 1973 (yea 346; nay 33).....	Nay.
	Reduce interest rate on Small Business Administration disaster loans (yea 325; nay 9).....	Yea.
30	Adopt conference report on bill appropriating \$5,057,827,000 for Treasury Department, Postal Service, and Executive Office of the President (yea 341; nay 3).....	Yea.
	Add emergency supplemental appropriation of \$200,000,000 for disaster relief to areas devastated by Hurricane Agnes (yea 355; nay 1).....	Yea.
	Raise social security benefits by 20 percent effective Sept. 1, 1972 and increase both social security tax and the taxable wage base effective Jan. 1, 1973 (yea 302; nay 35).....	Absent.
July 17	Extend 1968 Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act and provide assistance to elementary and secondary schools, community agencies and other public and nonprivate agencies for juvenile delinquency prevention (yea 337; nay 12).....	Yea.
	Extend Older Americans Act of 1965 and authorize estimated \$1,500,000,000 through fiscal 1975 to improve programs providing services to elderly (yea 351; nay 3).....	Yea.
	Authorize Federal assistance to States to help control predators, curtail use of toxic chemicals and establish research program in predator control (yea 277; nay 74).....	Yea.
18	Authorize \$1,290,000,000 through fiscal 1975 to expand authority and research capability of the National Heart and Lung Institute to combat heart, blood vessel, lung and blood diseases (yea 380; nay 10).....	Yea.
	Extend and revise programs to control and prevent communicable diseases and authorize \$90,000,000 for each of fiscal 1973-75 for such programs (yea 386; nay 2).....	Yea.
	Provide establishment of National Institute of Aging, to research the aging process (yea 380; nay 10).....	Yea.
19	Authorize \$5,000,000,000 in emergency Federal grants for public works to States and localities for construction, primarily for water and sewer systems (yea 189; nay 206).....	Yea.
20	Authorize \$2,575,781,000 for fiscal 1973 for construction and renovation of armed services personnel housing and other major military facilities in United States and abroad (yea 372; nay 17).....	Yea.
24	Permit domestic food growers, manufacturers, packers and distributors to sue the Federal Government for payment of losses as a result of ban on cyclamates (yea 177; nay 170).....	Nay.
25	Continue for 4 years existing number of majors, lieutenant-colonels, and colonels in Air Force (yea 268; nay 128).....	Nay.
26	Amend Federal Property and Administrative Services Act to base procurement of architectural and engineering services on firm's qualifications and experience rather than cost (yea 114; nay 276).....	Yea.
27	Adopt conference report on Rural Development bill establishing comprehensive program to improve job opportunities, income and quality of life in rural areas (yea 340; nay 36).....	Yea.
31	Authorize Secretary of Commerce to transfer surplus Liberty ships to States for use as artificial reefs in marine life conservation programs (yea 325; nay 2).....	Yea.
Aug. 1	Request conference on House-Senate versions of the Minimum Wage Increase bill (yea 130; nay 198).....	Yea.
	Authorize \$8,175,000 in fiscal 1973-75 for research, diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of Cooley's anemia (yea 377; nay 11).....	Yea.
2	Adopt conference report appropriating \$2,548,935,300 for Interior Department and related agencies for fiscal 1973 (yea 378; nay 9).....	Yea.
	Amend Coastal Zone Management bill to provide that nothing in the act be construed as prohibiting any citizen free and unlimited access to all public beaches (yea 190; nay 191).....	Yea.
	Develop national policy for management, beneficial use, protection, and development of land and water resources of the Nation's coastal zones (yea 376; nay 6).....	Yea.

Date	Issue	Pike vote
Aug. 3	Require Secretary of Commerce to obtain approval of Secretary of Agriculture before placing restrictions on agricultural commodities exports (yea 177; nay 158)	Nay.
7	Authorize \$38,520,000 in fiscal 1973 for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (yea 376; nay 7)	Yea.
	Continue after July 1, 1972, full Federal funding of 1st \$25,000 in relocation payments for persons displaced from their homes, businesses, or farms by federally assisted program (yea 373; nay 10)	Yea.
	Extend to employees of nonprofit hospitals coverage under the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (yea 285; nay 95)	Yea.
	Revise method of computing wage rates for employees working under Government service contracts (yea 274; nay 103)	Yea.
9	Adopt conference report on Agriculture, appropriations of \$13,434,032,700 for fiscal 1973 for agricultural programs (yea 317; nay 80)	Nay.
	Adopt conference report on Labor-HEW appropriations of \$30,538,919,500 for fiscal 1973 (yea 240; nay 167)	Yea.
	Appropriate \$45,000,000 for Corporation for Public Broadcasting for fiscal 1973 (yea 373; nay 27)	Yea.
	Amend Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide temporary 20 percent increase in retirement benefits through July 1, 1973 (yea 399; nay 4)	Yea.
10	Postpone effective date of provision in Foreign Military Aid bill terminating U.S. involvement in the Indochina war to Dec. 31, 1972, from Oct. 1, 1972 (yea 109; nay 304)	Yea.
	Delete provision in Foreign Military Aid bill terminating U.S. involvement in Indochina war by Oct. 1, 1972, subject to release of U.S. Prisoners of War, accounting for men missing in action, and a cease-fire to the extent required to protect U.S. withdrawal (yea 229; nay 177)	Yea.
	Authorize \$2,131,000,000 in fiscal 1973 for foreign military assistance and Bangladesh relief (yea 221; nay 172)	Nay.
14	Require President to report to Congress whenever he acted without prior congressional authorization to commit U.S. troops to combat, send combat-equipped forces to another nation or significantly enlarge forces already stationed overseas (yea 345; nay 13)	Yea.
	Establish Sawtooth National Recreation Area in Idaho (yea 363; nay 0)	Yea.
	Adopt conference report to amend Small Business Administration Act to reduce interest rate and loosen restrictions on SBA disaster relief loans (yea 360; nay 1)	Yea.
15	Appropriate \$1,587,300,000 for fiscal 1973 for disaster relief, including \$1,300,000,000 for SBA disaster relief loans (yea 392; nay 0)	Yea.
	Continue appropriations for certain Federal agencies through Sept. 30, 1972, because Congress had not completed action on 5 of the 13 annual appropriations bills (yea 380; nay 8)	Yea.
	Authorize \$45,000,000 for Corporation for Public Broadcasting for fiscal 1973 and increase to \$25,000,000 from \$15,000,000 authorizations for grants for acquisition of noncommercial educational broadcasting station equipment and facilities (yea 377; nay 8)	Yea.
16	Extend to June 30, 1974 Public Works-Economic Development Act of 1965 to provide Federal assistance to economically depressed areas, authorize new Federal grants for public facilities, expand public works impact program and provide assistance to workers who had lost jobs because of Federal environmental improvement regulations (yea 285; nay 92)	Yea.
	Reconsider and pass Labor-HEW appropriations bill vetoed by President in amount of \$30,538,919,500 (yea 203; nay 171)	Yea.
	(A 3/4 majority (250) required to override veto)	
17	Authorize \$1,500,000,000 for basic education instruction under School Busing bill and prohibit diversion of \$500,000,000 from Emergency School Aid Act signed into law on June 23 (yea 129; nay 252)	Nay.
	Bar busing of students to any school except one nearest student's home (yea 172; nay 211)	Nay.
	Permit reopening of cases involving court desegregation orders to bring them into conformity with provisions of School Busing bill (yea 245; nay 141)	Nay.
18	Approve School Busing bill placing strict limitations on use of busing as a tool to end segregation in public schools and earmarking \$500,000,000 authorized under Emergency School Aid Act of 1972 to provide Federal grants to school districts which implemented plans for basic education for educationally deprived children at schools having a high proportion of poor children (yea 283; nay 102)	Yea.
	Authorize President to approve the interim agreement (SALT) limiting offensive nuclear weapons between the United States and Soviet Union (yea 392; nay 7)	Yea.
Sept. 5	Adopt conference report on National Forest Reforestation bill providing for accelerated programs of tree planting and reseeded on national forest lands in need of reforestation (yea 303; nay 1)	Yea.
	Adopt conference report authorizing \$4.75 billion over 2 years for antipoverty programs, extending OEO through fiscal 1974 and including existing Legal Services Corporation within OEO (yea 223; nay 97)	Nay.
6	Adopt resolution expressing sympathy of the House to people of Israel and families of members of the Israeli Olympic team killed at Munich (yea 346; nay 0)	Yea.
12	Recommit (kill) bill amending Immigration and Nationality Act by making it unlawful to knowingly hire aliens who had not been lawfully admitted for permanent residence or authorized by attorney general to work while living in the United States (yea 53; nay 297)	Nay.
13	Adopt conference report on Defense Procurement authorization of \$20,943,847,000 for military procurement for fiscal 1973 (yea 335; nay 44)	Nay.
	Adopt conference report on School Lunch Program authorizing additional funds for non-school food programs, increasing to 8 from 6 cents basic Federal payment to schools per lunch served, and establishing new eligibility standards for free and reduced price school lunches (yea 380; nay 0)	Yea.
14	Add \$100,000,000 in transfer fund authority for use by armed forces to continue programs designed to put civilians in jobs, such as KP, instead of using military manpower (yea 265; nay 116)	Nay.
	Amend Defense Department Appropriations bill by cutting off all funds to support U.S. involvement in Indochina (cutoff to take place four months after enactment of bill pending release of U.S. prisoners of war and an accounting for those missing in action (yea 160; nay 208)	Nay.
	Proposed 5 percent reduction in over-all funds in Defense Department appropriations bill actually expected to be spent during fiscal 1973 (yea 98; nay 256)	Nay.
	Appropriate \$74,577,348,000 in fiscal 1973 for Defense Department (yea 322; nay 41)	Yea.
19	Prohibit funds in Labor-HEW appropriations bill from being used to inspect firms employing 15 persons or fewer for compliance with the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (yea 191; nay 182)	Yea.
	Add \$15 million, to \$60 million to Labor-HEW appropriations for bilingual education programs (yea 162; nay 207)	Nay.
	Appropriate \$29,603,448,500 for Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare (yea 324; nay 51)	Yea.
20	Establish an independent consumer product safety commission to protect consumers against unreasonable product hazards (yea 319; nay 50)	Yea.
21	Prohibit use of funds provided by Foreign Aid appropriations bill for Overseas Private Investment Corp. to guarantee private investments abroad (yea 141; nay 167)	Yea.
	Appropriate \$4,195,155,000 in fiscal 1973 for foreign economic and military aid (yea 169; nay 141)	Nay.
25	Appropriate \$2,278,675,000 for military construction (yea 293; nay 12)	Yea.
	Concur with Senate amendment that any permanent treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union limiting offensive nuclear weapons assure each country of rough numerical equality in intercontinental strategic forces, added by Senate to the resolution authorizing approval of the U.S.-Soviet 5-year agreement limiting offensive nuclear arms (yea 308; nay 4)	Yea.
Oct. 2	Restrict travel by citizens and nationals of U.S. to go in or through any country or area whose military forces are engaged in armed conflict with the military forces of the U.S. (yea 230; nay 140)	Yea.
	Exclude corporations and labor organizations from scope of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (yea 249; nay 124)	Yea.
	Authorize President to suspend air service of any foreign nation which he determines is encouraging aircraft hijacking (yea 354; nay 2)	Yea.
3	Provide for construction of Eisenhower Memorial Bicentennial Civic Center (yea 210; nay 169)	Yea.
	Reject motion to disagree to amendments of Senate to Fair Labor Standards Act and ask conference (yea 188; nay 196)	Yea.
4	Override President's veto of Railroad Retirement Act amendment to provide a temporary 20 percent in annuities (yea 353; nay 29)	Yea.
	Adopt conference report on Water Pollution Control Act (yea 366; nay 11)	Yea.

**MICHAEL J. CEFALO BECOMES A MEMBER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA BAR**

**HON. JAMES A. BYRNE**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Michael J. Cefalo, a native of West Pittston, Pa., recently was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Two of my colleagues, the Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD and the Honorable ROBERT N. C. NIX sponsored Mike and DANIEL J. FLOOD moved his admission.

Mike is a graduate of the Pennsylvania Military College and Widener College of Chester, Pa., the University of Baltimore, and the Catholic University of America Law School here in Washington, D.C.

Mike is one of the most personable young men in Washington who possesses

a sophisticated style of respectful dedication to all with whom he associates. His reputation for courage and integrity will carry him throughout life. His mold is indeed a rarity. I take this opportunity to bring Mike's accomplishments to my colleagues' attention for I am sure all the Members who come in contact with Mike on the House floor will want to wish him well. The Pennsylvania bar has gained a fine member.

**IMPROVING THE LOT OF THE ELDERLY**

**HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the Senate, in their consideration of H.R. 1, has decided to raise the earnings limitation

for those people receiving social security payment. I believe that this raise would do a great deal toward easing the financial burden that many of our senior citizens are faced with today. This point is cogently illustrated in an editorial that was in the Home News on Friday, September 29, 1972. The editorial follows:

**IMPROVING THE LOT OF THE ELDERLY**

To be old in this country is too often to be poor. America's treatment of its elderly citizens has done us little credit, even though in recent years the problems of aging and the aged have been widely discussed—and deplored.

We cannot legislate dignity and respect for older people, but there are many areas in which progressive and humanitarian legislation could help the elderly who both need and deserve aid and attention. The Senate's vote this week to increase the amount pensioners may earn each year without forfeiting Social Security benefits is an example of the kind of legislation we must have on behalf of the elderly. Such a measure is long overdue.

The Senate plan, which unfortunately may be scaled down by the House, would allow a worker between 65 and 72 years old to earn up to \$3,000 a year without relinquishing any Social Security cash benefits. The present ceiling is \$1,680, above which the worker forfeits one dollar in benefits for each two dollars of earned income up to \$2,880. There is no earnings limitation for persons 72 and older.

For middle-income older Americans, most of whom must continue to work after reaching retirement age, the increase in the earnings limitation could make the difference between a comfortable old age and one in which every penny must be pinched and some real needs left unmet.

Sen. Barry Goldwater, whose proposal to eliminate entirely the earnings limitation was unsuccessful, argued that an earnings test for Social Security "is wrong morally because Social Security should not be a contract to quit work." Furthermore, he pointed out, income from investments is not counted in the earnings limitation, which leads to the "utterly illogical situation where a really wealthy person might draw tens of thousands of dollars a year from his investments and still draw his full Social Security check."

There is no logic in any program which penalizes people of any age who want to work or who must work. But the illogic of penalizing retired people who work has an especially destructive effect. The Senate's proposal to raise the earnings ceiling for older people is a step in the right direction. The House version must be no less generous if we really mean what we say about improving the lot of the elderly.

#### PATRIOTISM OVER POLITICS

### HON. BEN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a speech which was recently presented to the Sons of the American Revolution by Mr. Ernest Linwood Wright, entitled "Patriotism Over Politics."

I believe that many of my colleagues will find this speech of great interest in light of the fact that it discusses the very foundations of our Government. For this reason, I am hereby inserting it in the RECORD:

#### PATRIOTISM OVER POLITICS

As descendants of patriots who laid their lives on the line to establish a new nation, we should recall some of the principles and yearnings which prompted and inspired them: First, they wanted a government responsible and responsive to the *people*; not so far away, but close enough to be within *reach*; a government which would serve the people but never *dictate* to them. Therefore they fought a bitter war, won their independence (with the help of God and the French), and in time set up a government of their own, limited in its power over the governed, strong enough to protect them but not so mighty as to lord it over a people who had committed themselves to support it with their substance, to obey its laws, and to defend it with their lives.

These patriots would have approved Kipling's: "The strength of the wolf is the pack"; but (note the emphasis) "The strength of the pack is the wolf"; because,

while they knew that the security and well-being of each state and each citizen would lie in the Nation as a whole, they also knew that the strength of the *Nation* would lie in the states united together—each a republic in its own right—and in the individual responsible citizens who composed both the States and the Nation. That was the dream and the hard-headed proposition on which this Government was founded. It took a later and most tragic war to settle the two fundamental issues of our federal system: first, the strength and survival of the nation as a whole must be made secure; therefore no state or group of states could break away from the union of states as provided for in the Constitution; and second, the rights of the individual states—as spelled out in the Constitution with its Bill of Rights—to handle and determine matters within their own jurisdiction—must also be preserved; and therefore the Federal Government must not trespass upon these rights; even the right to determine and dispose of in their own way the unfortunate matter of slavery which the Southern States in the eighteen-sixties had *inherited*, not created. Many of them were seeking through their legislatures a way not only to free the *slaves* but to free themselves from the burden of slavery. Only one-third of the people were slave owners in the first place! Neither of these principles—the powers delegated to the Federal Government and the powers reserved to the states and the people—can be lost if we are to continue to live as a free and independent people *protected* by a strong central power but not ruled by it. Our nation under God one and indivisible must yet defend the integrity and dignity of the individual States of this Union.

Another proposition, expressed in the Declaration of Independence: the individual was born with certain natural and God-given rights which government had not bestowed and, therefore, could not take away. For we know that whatever the Government gives to us, it can also take from us. This same proposition was expressed in the Bill of Rights which might well have been called a Bill of Prohibitions against the central government to make doubly sure and safe precious personal freedoms. These founding fathers had had their fill of a high-handed government overseas which paid them no mind and gave them no voice, and they wanted to make certain it wouldn't happen here. However, their unhappy experience under the Articles of Confederation had made it quite clear that they needed a central government with enough power to keep the several states in line and not let them go off in all directions at will. And thus we have a remarkable system of checks and balances—a Constitutional Republic—if only we have gumption enough to keep it!

The makers of our Constitution would never have claimed that in it they had set up a perfect instrument of government; but of certain things we can be sure: our forefathers met head-on the issues and problems of their times, made such significant contributions in *their* day that had it not been for *them*, we would have no Declaration of Independence, no Constitution, no Bill of Rights, no Republic, and no such meeting tonight! It falls to us then—in a particular way—not to let our American people forget certain things:

Our Constitution must remain what it *is*—until and unless it be changed by *amendment* as provided. It should *never* be changed by interpretation to suit the particular philosophies and fancies of any current Court. If the Constitution is what the Supreme Court *says* it is, then we are under the rule of the Judges as in Biblical times when some of the Judges were not so wise—and "when every man did what was right in

his own eyes". ("Never mind what others may think; don't bother about the Ten Commandments; do your *own* thing'. Isn't that about as up-to-date as the morning paper?")

If we would remain a "government of laws and not of men", we must emphasize that it is not the responsibility of the Justices to interpret the Constitution in such a fashion as *they* think would be best for the people at the time. Once the Court is in session, the Justices are responsible *not* to the President who appointed them, not to the Senate which confirmed them, and not at all to the *people*, but responsible only to the Constitution itself—to safe-guard it as it is until *amended* by a long, tedious, and infinitely wise process, with no short-cut to social justice by interpretation—under the fallacious assumption that "the end justifies the means". Using the wrong way for the right reasons is a tricky philosophy and a bad example to hand down to our youngsters. We will only create more problems than we solve and bring about more harm than good. Ours is a Constitutional Republic based on *principle* and *not* on expediency. Remember how Jesus was tempted by Satan on the mountain to bring in His kingdom by the short-cut? "Just take the *quick* way. It will be best for everybody. You don't have to do it the way it was written and commanded"; and how Jesus said, "Get thee behind me, Satan; I will do it my Father's way"; and how He took the long slow road to the cross and to *eventual* justice!

As for us, the descendants of worthy forebears, the least we can do is *not only* to recall and memorialize what they *did*; not only to help preserve *unchanging* principles in a world of swiftly changing fashions—in manners, dress, and morals—but to make our *own* contributions to *our* times, if we would be true to the heritage which is ours by *chance*, not through any *credit* of our own. The French have a phrase for it, "Noblesse oblige", which for us could be translated, "An honorable heritage imposes obligations"—as sons and daughters of the American Revolution.

A contribution of some real significance might be to re-discover and proclaim a long-lost provision in the Constitution itself. As we know, the original and primary jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is over cases "affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those cases in which a State shall be party"; but in cases on *appeal* from a lower federal court, it is quite a different matter. Article 3, Section 2, Clause 2 says: "The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction with such exceptions and under such regulations as the *Congress* shall make." This provision couldn't mean anything but that the Supreme Court has no authority to hear a case on appeal unless Congress has specifically granted the Court the right to do so. *This* is one check on the highest tribunal which people have been looking for—and it was there in the Constitution all the time! But has the Congress exercised this prerogative; and has the Court itself observed it? Not unless it has been a well-kept secret; and in our times governmental secrets have been hard to keep! But we the people—who ordained and established this Constitution—can still do something about it. We can require our elected representatives in Congress to exercise their just power and responsibility to determine what cases shall be referred to or *not* referred to the Supreme Court on appeal, and therefore *prevent*—and also *relieve*—an over-burdened Court from determining itself what cases it will hear and review. If this provision had been observed by the Congress and the Court, we might well have been spared certain more recent rulings of the Court which have helped to tear our country apart—like the two on the public schools, for example: the *one*, *forcing* the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading out of the

public schools; and the *second*, forcing the races together in the schools—whether the people of the different races and religions liked it or not. And all of us may need to be reminded that the public schools belong to the people as institutions in which their children may be educated; they do not belong to the Federal Government to be used as instruments of social reform. The Tenth Amendment gives to the States and the people the right and authority to run and operate their schools—not to the Federal Government—a sadly neglected and ignored amendment but not yet repealed!

Our government officials should understand that people generally behave much better when left alone in certain personal relationships; that our government was never intended to manage the lives of the people in their daily walks—in their natural and acquired preferences of religion and of association. Wasn't that what Jefferson meant when he said, "The least governed are the best governed"?

In our swiftly moving and changing world, we do not have to fear or fight change itself; we should welcome it, but only if it comes about in the right way and is headed in the right direction; only if it is a sign of progress rather than a symptom of decay; only if we keep conscious of the fact that certain natural laws, God-made laws, never change but remain the same in all generations. Else, how could man with all his knowledge and ingenuity ever have reached the moon? Pope has said, "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing"; but in this day, with more knowledge than man can handle, it could destroy us—unless we remember that what we need most is wisdom.

Significant comments from two astronauts: The first from Russia: "I went to the moon and came back and didn't see God anywhere". The second, one of ours: "Going there, being there, and coming back, I saw God in everything and everywhere."

Have you ever wondered why God told Adam and Eve to enjoy everything in the Garden but one thing—"Eat not of the Tree of Knowledge"? Satan knew the reason when he tempted them by saying in effect: "God has told you not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge; but that doesn't make sense. Don't listen to Him. If you eat of that tree, you will be able to tell right from wrong, good from evil; make your own decisions, and therefore have no need of God to tell you what you must do and must not do". It was just too plausible a proposition to resist, and our first parents made the fatal error which has plagued man ever since to fall for the idea that if he can get enough knowledge, he can do anything and be the master of his fate and the captain of his soul. (When William Ernest Henley said that in his "Invictus", Oliver Wendell Holmes was heard to remark, "The hell you say.")

King Solomon had learned enough from his father David to know that he could not go it alone; and he knelt in prayer: "I am as a little child. I ask not for wealth, or power, or for the destruction of my enemies; only give me an understanding heart and wisdom to lead my people". (If only he hadn't forgotten it later.)

And Abraham Lincoln, burdened in mind and heart over the plight of his country, said, "I have only one place to go and that is on my knees". And he never forgot.

And let us not forget that a nation which is willing to ignore its past doesn't deserve a future. And we will have a future as long as our Republic remains a "Nation under God"—as long as enough of us are left, of many different races and creeds, not seeking to be made alike, but in rich and harmonious variety, to stand and say and sing together:

"My country, 'tis of thee—  
Of thee, I sing."

## VIETNAM, INSUBORDINATION, AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to your attention an article by Prof. George Anastaplo of the University of Chicago that appeared in the Chicago Tribune on June 25, 1972. Professor Anastaplo points out that self-government depends not only upon self-confidence but on self-criticism as well. It is this criticism that we must bestow upon ourselves with regard to our conduct of the Indochina war. The text of Professor Anastaplo's article follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 25, 1972]

(By George Anastaplo)

#### I

What do Dr. Daniel Ellsberg and Gen. John Lavelle have in common besides their evident willingness to engage in acts of insubordination, the former by disregarding security regulations with respect to certain classified documents [known as the "Pentagon Papers"], the latter by disregarding orders with respect to the deployment of bombers in Viet Nam?

Is it not prudent to assume that both men are patriotic Americans?

How should these two kinds of patriotic insubordination—leakage of classified documents and disregard of bombing directives—be treated by us? The White House evidently takes one far more seriously than the other.

That is, vigorous attempts were made in June, 1971, to keep the press from publishing the Pentagon Papers; attempts are now being made to imprison the men alleged to have distributed those papers to the press.

On the other hand, the general who [upon exposure] admitted his deliberate and repeated disregard of bombing directives has been permitted to escape court martial [but not, it is salutary to believe, the enduring censure of his fellow officers], and to retire with a generous pension.

#### II

Are not the "priorities" of the White House misplaced? We are accustomed to, and even depend upon, the unauthorized disclosure of classified documents in order to help the press make the government behave itself.

But we cannot permit generals [and certainly not in a nuclear age] to conduct war as they choose.

Thus, we cannot know what we [as a sovereign people] are doing if vital information is systematically kept from us; nor can we control what is done in our name if our public servants [whether military officers or their civilian superiors] may act as they believe best and thereafter attempt to conceal from public inspection and public discussion what they have done.

There are obviously circumstances in which information should be kept secret; there are also obviously circumstances in which a soldier should refuse to obey an order given to him.

But should not the presumption be both in favor of full disclosure of information and in favor of compliance with orders [especially when the orders are of a restraining character]? However that may be, we simply can not allow military men to determine how [or if] a war is to be fought; nor can we allow the Executive Branch of the government to dictate what if anything will be revealed about its policies and its conduct.

Both military insubordination and government secrecy usually subvert efforts by Americans to govern themselves.

#### III

American self-government depends not only on adequate information in the electorate and sufficient control by the electorate of what public servants do. It depends, as well, on the moral sobriety of our people. Indeed, no people which is impassioned or corrupted can truly govern itself, for it is so crippled morally that it cannot be said either to know or to choose what it is doing. (In such circumstances, chance rather than rational public discourse determines events.)

The most important revelation of the Pentagon Papers, therefore, may have been their confirmation of the moral obtuseness, if not even simple callousness, of the men who have tried to act on our behalf in Indochina.

There is little to be found in the Pentagon Papers indicating any day-to-day awareness among our public servants of the serious moral problems posed by our willingness [and, at times, even eagerness] to sacrifice to our supposed long-term security interests the lives and property of the Vietnamese.

We were willing to inflict considerable indirect damage upon a distant [and much weaker] people in order to spare ourselves some possible damage in the remote future. Let us hope that the American people went along with what was done there in its name primarily because the threat to "us" was exaggerated and the damage to "them" was played down.

It remains to be seen how critically we have damaged the American soul in the process.

#### IV

The physical damage we are visiting upon Viet Nam, North and South, has again been intensified in recent months. The North Vietnamese government can be said to have brought much of this damage on its people by launching its current brutal offensive. But such an observation, comforting as it might be to some, still leaves open the fundamental question of whether we should be in Indochina at all.

The most troublesome aspect of what we are now doing in Indochina is that the American public has again allowed itself to be lulled into acquiescence, partly because of spiritual fatigue and disillusionment, partly because of its traditional reluctance to question the judgment of its President in his conduct of foreign affairs [at least not before election day], and partly because of the virtual elimination of American casualties by the withdrawal from Viet Nam of almost all our combat ground troops.

It is a pity that the North Vietnamese do not realize that it is in both their interest and ours that they release immediately and unconditionally, into the custody of a neutral country, all their American prisoners of war.

It would then be difficult for the basically good-natured American public to continue to believe that we are entitled to inflict upon Viet Nam the devastating aerial punishment we have unleashed.

Even so, do we not already know enough, without waiting either for more revelations or for the parole of American prisoners, to be able to recognize our present conduct in Viet Nam as bordering on the barbaric, however "successful" it may eventually be in promoting what is likely to be no more than a temporary cease-fire in Indochina.

#### V

We cannot survive as a vital body politic without the integrity which comes from a public respect for old fashioned civility. It is that integrity which makes self-government possible among us and which keeps

public servants in their place even when we cannot watch them. We must take care, in any event, lest partisan success in one "confrontation" encourage everyone to become reckless elsewhere [the theatrical Cuban missile crisis of 1962 comes to mind]. We have the duty, that is, to study and supervise what is happening and what is likely to happen in the conduct of our affairs abroad.

Is it not the duty of the press and of Congress to examine what is being done in our name and to do what they can to shield from government persecution those who make conscientious efforts to expose to public inspection what the Executive Branch tries to keep concealed from the American people [especially when what is concealed from us, and even from Congress, is known to the enemy]?

Is it not also the duty of Congress and of the press to insist that there be no compromise with the constitutional principle of civilian, and ultimate public [and hence rational?], control of our awesome military power?

## VI

Self-government depends on both self-confidence and self-criticism. We should not forget that a war has been prosecuted by us for a decade without the constitutionally-required declaration of war.

Such radical insubordination by the President, in which Congress has improperly acquiesced, makes both the disclosure of classified documents and the disregard of bombing directives seem rather modest by comparison.

Indeed, the wonder is that we have not, in our prosecution of this misconceived war, subverted even more than we have the political morals and the constitutional morale of the country. What we have subverted profoundly is the necessary confidence in the institutions of this country on the part of both our more articulate youth and our more conscientious military officers.

That confidence must now be reestablished, beginning with our willingness and ability to face up the facts of the past decade—including the attractive but dangerous illusions of President Kennedy's Crusade.

## VII

Need it be added that to question the morality of what we have allowed to be done in our name in Indochina does not excuse what the North Vietnamese and their allies have been doing and may intend to do there and elsewhere?

In fact, it is still another argument against what we have been doing in Indochina that we have become, in the prosecution of this war, too much like the enemy we have conquered up; devious, ruthless, and implicitly contemptuous of constitutional principles.

## PENNY FACTS

## HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, over the years there has grown a large group of coin collectors throughout the United States.

Indeed, this group of numismatists, both professional and amateur, number in the millions.

As everyone knows, the United States has produced some of the most beautiful coins in the world, and our avid group of numismatists are among the most learned in the world concerning this matter.

Coin collecting is not only a rewarding hobby, but also a good investment.

Mr. Willard Merrill, a constituent of mine from North Bergen, N.J., wrote a pamphlet called "Penny Facts, Historical and Statistical Facts About the Lincoln Head Cent."

I know that many of my colleagues and friends are avid numismatists and, therefore, I would like to call to their attention this outstanding work of Mr. Merrill's.

Mr. Speaker, the pamphlet follows:

## PENNY FACTS: HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL FACTS ABOUT THE LINCOLN HEAD CENT

Just for the fun of it . . . . put your hand in your pocket or your purse, and take out all the various coins you have in there. Spread them out on a table or your desk and take a long and careful look at them.

See those copper pennies, among all the other coins? Some are shiny and bright while others may be all grimy and dull looking.

Those pennies you are gazing at seem to be insignificant in value compared to the nickels, dimes and quarters . . . but my friend, those one cent coins you are looking at are more correctly and properly known as Lincoln Head Cents, that have a long and rather interesting history behind them, as we are about to learn.

Sit back and relax, for here are the facts . . .

It all started years ago back in 1909, when President Theodore Roosevelt wishing to commemorate the 100th Anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth, commissioned Victor D. Brenner to design the Lincoln Head Cent.

At the same time production of the Indian Head Cent, which had been in use since 1859, was stopped.

The new Lincoln Head Cent was accepted with such a vast patriotic popularity that it was not long before the Indian Head Cent was driven out of circulation.

Today, many of those Indian Head Cents are literally worth more than their weight in gold, but that is another tale . . . . let us if we may, consider the Lincoln Head Cent.

In 1909, its first year of production, four different types of Lincoln Head Cents were made at the two mints in quantities as follows:

1909, Philadelphia.....	72,702,618
1909-V.D.B., Philadelphia.....	27,995,000
1909-S, San Francisco.....	1,825,000
1909-S-V.D.B., San Francisco.....	484,000

The letters VDB stand for the initials of the designer, and were stamped in very small letters at the bottom of the coin on the reverse side.

Although the initials were quite inconspicuous, the public disapproved of the VDB cents on the premise that the new coins were intended to commemorate the birth of Abraham Lincoln and not to honor the designer, therefore the production of the VDB cents was halted.

Being that those VDB cents from the San Francisco Mint were made in such a small quantity, the 1909-S VDB cent immediately became a prized collector's item.

An uncirculated 1909-S VDB Lincoln Head Cent is worth today about \$200.00, and even a circulated one that is worn, with the date, mint mark and initials barely visible could be easily sold for \$75.00.

To prove this point, I recently traded \$109.00 in silver quarters and dimes for a beautiful uncirculated 1909-S VDB Lincoln Head Cent with a collector who was pressed for cash. On my way home I showed it to a dealer who offered me \$150.00 for it.

Are you interested yet?

Why not take a look at those dirty old pennies in your Aunt Minnie's cookie jar?

You may be pleasantly surprised at what you may find by careful search, but do not be dismayed if you do not find a 1909-S VDB

cent, as there are several other Lincoln Head Cents that are even more valuable, as we shall soon learn.

In the year 1910, both the Philadelphia and the San Francisco Mints worked frantically to keep up with the demand for the new one cent pieces, caused in part by the popularity of the Lincoln Head Cent and also due to the fact that millions of the Indian Head Cents were withdrawn from circulation by collectors.

The combined production of the two mints that year was 152,846,218 new cents, but as hard as they worked they could not keep up with the demands of the country's economy.

In 1911, the Denver Mint pitched in and made 12,672,000 Lincoln Head Cents. This, added to the production at Philadelphia and San Francisco, totalled 117,875,787 for the year.

Hold on . . . not so fast, a newcomer has entered the field.

The 1911 cent made at the Denver Mint was the first one to bear the "D" mint mark. This fact makes the 1911-D Lincoln Head Cent in uncirculated condition, worth today about \$30.00. This is somewhat surprising however, because the 1911-S cent from San Francisco which was made in a total quantity of about a third of the 1911-D from Denver, makes the 1911-S cent worth today uncirculated about \$45.00 each.

So far, although we are thinking about pennies, perhaps it is becoming easy to see that it is not a game of penny-ante we are playing.

Imagine if you can, how much you would be worth in valuable pennies if you could find several rolls packed away by your Grandfather in some old box or trunk in the attic or cellar. Better hurry and look for some before wasting your time watching your favorite TV program . . . you may just come upon a Bonanza.

By now, the demand for the new Lincoln Head Cents seemed to have been satisfied, so in the years 1912 and 1913, the three mints settled down to rather a routine production. This does not mean that the 1912 and 1913 cents are not valuable, for if you were to find an uncirculated one, the value would range from \$11.50 for one from the Philadelphia Mint to \$40.00 for one from San Francisco.

Better hold on to your seat for here comes a startling fact . . .

By 1914, it appeared that the mints at Philadelphia and San Francisco would be able to satisfy the demand for one cent coins, so the mint at Denver stopped after it had made only 1,193,000 coins.

If by chance, while looking over those old pennies in your Aunt Minnie's cookie jar, you happened to find an uncirculated 1914-D cent it would be worth over \$500.00, and even if you found one that was worn, as long as the date was visible, any dealer would gladly buy it for \$20.00.

Now, does it not seem strange that the 1914-D cent, which was made in a quantity of about three times that of the 1909-S VDB cent, should be worth so much more than its older brother?

The old economic law of Supply and Demand does not seem to be working as far as coin values are concerned. The reason for this is far too complicated to explain in this little treatise, and it is doubtful if any expert—Numismatist—could explain it either. Let us therefore suffice it to say that it is, so to speak, "one of those things."

Perhaps by now, you will admit, those little insignificant copper pennies you took out of your pocket or purse may appear to look a wee bit more interesting.

But please, do not get hysterical and start tearing your house apart looking for valuable Lincoln Head Cents, for your chance of finding one is far less than you would have of winning at the horse track or being a winner in the Lottery.

Many people over the years have hoarded cents for one reason or another, without full knowledge of what they were doing, or even telling their families about it. These persons, in their miserly ways, never really enjoyed the thrill known to a true coin collector, upon finding a rare coin in good condition and preserving it for posterity.

Every so often, a forgotten trunk full of coins is found in some old musty cellar or attic. There was a case in the Mid-west not so long ago, where a woman came upon such a trunk one day in the cellar of an old house she had purchased. It being in her way, and too heavy to move, she called in a junk dealer who agreed to pay her for it at the current price for old copper.

The junk dealer in turn had to pay a garage man to have his wrecker haul the heavy old trunk from the cellar to his junk yard, where it laid out in the weather for some time. The story has it, that one day the junk dealer found time to look more carefully at the contents of the old trunk and what he found in it, soon made him a small fortune.

This is not a fantastic tale . . . there are many more other tales more fantastic than this that can be told from experience by any old-time coin collector . . . but this is not intended to be a collection of fantastic tales, but one of facts.

Of all the various dates and mintages of the Lincoln Head Cent, one of the most prized and valuable is the 1922 "Plain."

By some queer quirk of chance, those 1922 cents made at the Denver Mint are worth uncirculated at least \$600.00. You ask WHY??? It is simply because of a defective die which caused some of the coins to come off the presses without the distinguishing "D" beneath the date.

At \$600.00 each, a roll of 50 uncirculated 1922 "Plain" Lincoln Head Cents would be worth \$30,000.00. The dream of finding such wealth is beyond reality, for it is doubtful if a full roll even exists today.

The next coin of interest is the 1923-S of which San Francisco put out 8,700,000, the uncirculated value of each now is \$150.00.

After that, the 1924-D of which 2,520,000 was made at Denver, the uncirculated value of each being \$170.00, is the most interesting.

Production at the three mints remained rather consistent with the booming economy for the next several years, and nothing very interesting happened to our friend the Lincoln Head Cent until 1931.

It was then that the Great Depression had set in and business and everything else just about came to a standstill. Things were bad all over the country and being that the need for new cents had slackened, Philadelphia made only 19,396,000. Denver only 4,480,000 and San Francisco a paltry 866,000.

So what have we here now? The 1931-D and the 1931-S cents which were born in adversity are prized collector's items.

Both the 1931-D and the 1931-S command the uncirculated value of \$40.00 each, but in lower grades the 1931-D drops in value but the 1931-S even in poor condition is able to command a value of at least \$10.00. This is another of "one of those things" in the field of Numismatics . . . why the 1931-D made in quantities of more than five times that of the 1931-S should command equal uncirculated value.

By this time perhaps, you may begin to realize that our friend the Lincoln Head Cent is enjoying popularity and value in reverse proportion to our economy. This is true to a certain extent as it may appear on the surface, but there are other factors involved, as we shall soon learn.

The year 1934 really saw the country break out of the Depression by some drastic steps taken by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and more one cent coins were again needed to bolster our recovering economic efforts.

Although the 1934-D cent was made in a total of 28,446,000 and its uncirculated value

is \$7.75, it is the last of the very valuable Lincoln Head Cents of regular issue.

Besides the various dates and mintages mentioned up to now, there are several other valuable cents that command high prices in the trade due to their comparative low mintage.

Any Lincoln Head Cent, in any condition, dated in the early years could turn out to be a prize.

Presses of the three mints punched out one cent coins for the next several years as fast as they could be absorbed in the economy, and everything pertaining to the Lincoln Head Cent went along in rather a haphazard manner until we became embroiled in World War 2, and copper then was in short supply.

The year 1943 forced the first major change in our old friend. A new type Lincoln Head Cent came pouring out of the three mints by more than a billion pieces . . . but what was it made of? Why steel of course, and it looked and felt like an over-sized dime.

As soon as these "Steelees" as they were called, started to be circulated, a storm of protest started brewing. The public rejected them most emphatically, not only because of the fact that they confused change-making, but for more than 100 years, every type of one cent coin had been made from copper or bronze.

They were aliens and intruders in a society which had become accustomed to the look and feel of copper. The "Steelees" were sharp to the touch and lacked the very familiar "tone" that copper coins acquire with age.

They were, in short, down-right unacceptable. As soon as the public received them in change, they were either thrown away quite disgustedly, or were set aside in all forms of household containers.

There is of course, no way of accounting for what happened to all the "steelees" that were made in 1943. Even those that were more or less carefully saved, could not stand the ravages of time and just rusted away.

Although the 1943 steel cents are today rather a curiosity, and perhaps unknown to the younger generations, they do not command too high a price numismatically compared to cents of earlier years.

There are several companies today that "reprocess" by electroplating the 1943 steelees for collectors and coin dealers, and they can be purchased at about \$8.00 per roll of 50 coins.

This brings us to the year 1944 when the three mints worked over-time to fill the void in our economy by producing an unprecedented total of more than two billion nice shiny 1944 Lincoln Head Cents from "shell case" copper salvaged by our Armed Forces in combat.

The public was again happy for their familiar copper pennies had returned.

However, amid the chaos caused by the 1943 steel cents, there emerged the rarest of rare Lincoln Head Cents. Word circulated throughout the coin trade that a small number of copper 1943 cents had been made. Research proved the rumor to be true. Somehow or other there existed about less than a dozen or so 1943 coppers. To prove the authenticity of each 1943 copper cent there are several verified statements to prove its reality. Each one of these (I am not sure how many there are) is worth at least \$7,000.

Nothing again of real interest happened to our friend for the next several years. Everybody was too busy with the reconstruction of our war-torn economy. The three mints settled down again to rather a routine schedule and satisfied the demand by producing about a billion new cents per year.

In the year 1954, the Philadelphia Mint made the fewest cents it had made since the depression year of 1931. Only 71,873,350 were made, thus making a 1954 cent an interesting one to find.

Now if you really wanted something to do

to while away your time, you might get about 250 rolls of cents from our bank, which altogether would weigh about 100 pounds, and start looking through them for 1954 cents. If, after many hours of time and careful search you might find one or two, and if they were in very good condition you might sell them for 50 cents each.

Pandemonium broke loose in the Penny Market in 1955. At the Philadelphia Mint, due to a die failure or some other cause, an unknown number of cents came off the presses and were circulated, having a double impression of the date.

Here again is a prized collector's item known as the 1955 "Double Die Cent" which if in uncirculated condition will bring a price of at least \$400.00. Even one that may be quite worn could be sold to any dealer for \$100.00.

The year 1955 also saw the last cents minted at San Francisco in a total amount of only 44,610,000, thus making the 1955-S cent another interesting one to try to find. An uncirculated 1955-S cent may be worth today about \$1.50.

On the 150th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln in 1959, a new type Lincoln Head Cent was born.

On the reverse side of the 1959 cent was depicted the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. The change was made from a design of Frank Gasparro, whose initials F.G. appear to the right at the bottom of the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. While you are looking for them with a strong magnifying glass, notice the seated statue of Abraham Lincoln in the center of the Memorial, exactly as it appears in Washington.

These newly designed cents have come to be known as the "Memorial Design" to distinguish them from the former design now known as "wheatears."

The "Wheatears" produced prior to 1959 are rapidly going out of circulation, because many people have gotten the mistaken idea that due to the fact the design is obsolete, they are quite valuable and are hoarding them by the millions.

Sooner or later the hoarders will find, if they were to sort out their hoarded cents, that perhaps 90% will be of the years 1944-1945-1946-1952-D 1953-D—and 1957-D cents.

Cents of those years have little chance of being rewarding to the hoarders, simply because of the fact that cents of those years and mintages were made in very large quantities, which accounts for their comparative large number still in circulation and which thusly reduces their worth.

To quote from Mrs. Mary T. Brooks, the 28th Director of the Mint, "Unload those cents, the mint is wasting too much time making one-cent pieces because people insist on hoarding them in cookie jars and milk bottles."

This brings us to the year 1960 when both the Philadelphia and the Denver Mints produced a comparatively small quantity of cents with a slightly smaller date. These have become to be known in the trade as "Small Date" coins to distinguish them from the regular or "Large Date" coins.

Owing to the fact that fewer "Small Date" cents were made at both mints than the "Large Date" cents, it is natural that the "Small Date" 1960 and 1960-D cents should tend to command a higher price in the trade than the corresponding "Large Date" cents.

Also, being that Philadelphia made fewer "Small Date" cents than Denver, this fact makes the 1960 s/d more valuable than the 1960-D s/d. An uncirculated 1960 s/d could be worth about \$6.00, whereas the 1960-D s/d could be worth only 30 cents.

How about another just for the fun of it? Check your eyesight by looking at all the 1960 and 1960-D cents you may have, or come across in your change, and try to tell the difference between those of a "Small Date"

and those of a "Large Date" . . . but please, do not go blind doing so.

For the next few years nothing of much interest happened to our friend. Both the Philadelphia and the Denver Mints managed to produce sufficient quantities of cents to satisfy the economic needs of the country, and everything seemed serene.

There was however, a storm brewing, which although the Lincoln Head Cent was not directly involved in, interest in it was lost from the hoarder's and the collector's points of view.

Due to several reasons, silver was now in short supply. The Coinage Act of 1964 forced the end of the production of all U.S. Silver Coins and set up specifications for, and started production in 1965, of the new "Clad Type" coins.

Now the mad Silver Rush was on . . . and many hoarders were prosecuted for melting down silver coins, which was a Federal Offense until early in 1969, when the Law was changed permitting the melting of silver coins.

Now, a small lump of silver from melted coins was worth more than the face value of the coins melted, depending on the daily price at which silver was traded on the several Commodity Exchanges . . . let us not be detracted by the madness generated by the silver hoarders, but concentrate on our subject the Lincoln Head Cent, for if a full and proper analysis could be made, there is perhaps more profit potential in Lincoln Head Cents than in all the silver coins that were ever made.

In the years 1965-1966-1967 the only one cent coins minted came from Philadelphia. Both the Denver and the San Francisco Mints had all they could do hanging out other coins for this country and for special orders from other countries without mint facilities.

In 1968, bedlam broke loose again . . . the San Francisco Mint, for the first time in thirteen years since 1955, started production of 1968-S Lincoln Head Cents.

The hoarders and collectors went wild . . . a nationwide chain of 5 & 10¢ stores were advertising and selling a 50 cent roll of uncirculated 1968-S cents for \$2.99 plus State Sales Tax.

As fast as the 1968-S cents came out of the Mint in bags of 5,000 cents they were gobbled up by hoarders, dealers and speculators.

I will admit that I went somewhat wild myself too, but I paid only \$1.75 each for 10 rolls, which I had to drive more than 20 miles to purchase from a dealer who advertised them as a "leader" item. One of these rolls I later sold to a collector friend who liked to brag that he had never bought a coin in over 30 years of collecting. I have since purchased more rolls of 1968-S cents, but never paid more than \$1.50 per roll.

Now again, just for the fun of it . . . pick out among your change, both a 1968 and a 1969 cent. Lay both of them side by side face up and take a careful look at them.

You may not notice it at first, but soon you will see that the 1969 cent is more attractive looking than the 1968 cent. This is due to the fact that on the 1969 cent, the bust of Abraham Lincoln is in lesser base relief and the motto "In God We Trust" has been dropped down a bit from the rim, which too is a bit more pronounced.

So, now on its 60th Anniversary, the 1969 Lincoln Head Cent, from all three mints is really a beautiful coin in appearance, and can boast that behind its bright copper tints, it has enjoyed the longest history of any U.S. coin.

Since the first one that was made in 1909, the Lincoln Head Cent has been produced in quantities far greater than the sum total of all other U.S. coins, and although it is the least appreciated, it is by far the most important coin in our economy.

So regard those "insignificant" Lincoln

Head Cents, you took from your pocket or your purse, with more respect and treat them with the dignity that befits one of such venerable age and genuine need; State Sales Taxes could not be collected without them; cigarette sales; gasoline taxes; some parking meters and countless vending machines would be inoperable without them.

These things are perhaps self-evident: The Lincoln Head Cent will never be replaced by any system of credit cards; chemical science will never be able to make a plastic suitable to replace copper coinage; as far as inflation may rise, the need for one cent coins will increase rather than decrease.

So my friend, as you look back at History, think of the Future, and contemplate for awhile what may happen . . . but no matter what it may be, you may rest assured that little "insignificant" penny . . . our good friend the Lincoln Head Cent, will have a most important part to play.

As Abraham Lincoln said in his Gettysburg Address, "Far be it from my poor powers to add or detract." Perhaps this message could be interpreted as the intended destiny of the Lincoln Head Cent, to be conceived many years in the future.

For the benefit of those readers who may be inspired by this treatise in starting a collection of Lincoln Head Cents, I wish to add the following facts that may tend to guide their efforts:

From 1909 through 1971 there have been made by the three mints, a total of 169 Lincoln Head Cents of the various dates and mintmarks.

Nunismatically speaking, there are three general types: Common Dates, Semi-keys and Key dates.

"Common Dates" as the name implies, are the most common or most easy to find as they were produced in very large quantities.

"Semi-keys are those which were made in smaller quantities and so do not command too high a price in the trade, such as the 1955-S.

"Keys are those of very small mintage because of which there are fewer to be had, and so are traded at very high prices, such as 1909-S VDB, 1914-D, 1931-S and others that bear a high price tag.

Besides the three general types, there are innumerable "errors" that have come to light over the years, but this is such a very specialized phase of coin collecting, that no attempt is made herein to explain it. The 1955 "Double Die Cent is a prime example.

For anyone to attempt to start a collection of Lincoln Head Cents from 1909 to date, the prospects of completing it is almost impossible. However, it could be done over a long period of time after the outlay of perhaps several thousand dollars necessary to purchase "keys", "semi-keys" and "common dates" that are rapidly going out of circulation.

Rather than to take on an impossible task, one might try the next best means by purchasing Whitman Folder No. 9030 "Lincoln Head Cent" starting 1941, which will prove to be a challenge as there are 78 different coins in this series through 1971-S. Many dates and mintages in these series are not easy to find in circulation today, but most can be purchased rather reasonably from any coin dealer.

The least expensive means of putting together a collection of Lincoln Head Cents would be to purchase Whitman folder No. 9000 "Lincoln Memorial Cent" starting 1959, which if kept up to date with good quality coins, could prove to be an interesting as well as a worthwhile and inexpensive task. Most of the Memorial Design cents can easily be found in circulation.

Then again, if one wishes to design his own collection, 2"x2" coin mounts may be purchased to mount and preserve the coins. These in turn could be inserted in 20 pocket

vinyl loose-leaf pages which may be enclosed in any stock size loose-leaf binder.

Just for the fun of it . . . why not try one means or another to put together some sort of a collection. There are many books on the subject that may be purchased from coin dealers whom you will find helpful to you in many ways.

Anyone who may have a complete collection of Lincoln Head Cents in Whitman folder No. 9004, 1909-1940 and Whitman folder No. 9030, 1941—to date filed with good quality coins should cherish it, because the two folders mentioned above, as a complete collection represent a real prize and it is worth a considerable amount of money.

As a final just for the fun of it . . . to those who may have boxes, bottles and even trunks full of Lincoln Head or Indian Head Cents, start sorting them by dates and mintmarks, for as silly as it may seem, you may be worth a fortune and not know it.

NADER

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I declined to answer the 600 inane questions sent to my office by Nader and I will not devote one second of my constituents' time to making the Bantam Book Publishing Co. or Mr. Nader wealthy and famous.

My constituents will judge me on the basis of my labor record and my 99 percent cope record, my 98 percent voting and attendance record and on my devoted service to them.

Mr. Nader, who knows no self-control in his writing, could not bestir himself enough in months to inquire into the activities of my subcommittees of which I have been chairman.

This past Congress my Subcommittee on Postal Facilities has held 28 days of hearings. Seventeen of those days were devoted to investigating the billion dollar bulk mail program which subject was covered by the press last week while Mr. Nader was preparing his publicity. We have uncovered extensive waste in that total program and we have indications that the entire billion dollar system may not function effectively when it is completed.

In past Congresses, my Subcommittee on Postal Operations was active in promoting legislation in as varied fields as credit cards regulation, obscenity, mail fraud, and postal labor relations legislation. In the 91st Congress we held 23 days of hearings and in the 90th Congress we held 30 days of hearings. In the 89th Congress I was chairman of the Census and Statistics Subcommittee where extensive hearings were held on the burden redtape places on the backs of the average American.

I was chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy and during 1969 we held 13 days of hearings on foreign investment controls and the overseas private investment corporation.

The overseas private investment corporation became law as part of the foreign aid bill of 1971. It is the only piece of legislation reported out of the Foreign

Affairs Committee outside of foreign aid in recent years.

Beyond that, the thing that gives me the most satisfaction in the Nader report, as stated by him in his press conference yesterday, is his condemnation of Members of Congress for devoting 30 percent of their time to working on the problems of individual constituents. I accept that criticism, I devote 60 percent of my time to casework.

I devote 60 percent of my time to casework and yet I have been able to average 28 days of committee hearings each Congress. This is a record that compares favorably with any other subcommittee chairman in the Congress today.

Nader wanted servility from me when they called with their demands. They got the facts as set forth in my newsletter.

I do not think my constituents want me to pay homage to Ralph Nader or those on vacation from exclusive schools who have substituted a summer of slandering for a summer in Europe.

HELPING OTHERS TO HELP THEMSELVES

HON. BILL CHAPPELL, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. CHAPPELL. Mr. Speaker, many parents who are on welfare could be put to work if they knew someone who cared would be looking after their children. The vast majority of these parents would be happy to pay an amount within their ability to pay for the care of the child. Knowing that he or she is helping to pay for the child's care can instill a wonderful pride in that parent.

At the same time, involvement by the citizens in a community can help give a child a special feeling of belonging. It is hard for a person who has known the outreached hand of friendliness, interest, and love to later turn on that community in the form of a criminal act.

How much more meaningful for little boys and girls to know that parents, neighbors, and the community are willing to share their time, love, discipline, food, direction, and dreams with them. Each feels special that his parents, neighbors, and friends work together to better his life.

Since coming to the Congress, I have studied dozens of various so-called child day care or child development bills, but none seemed to satisfy the real needs of the child.

At last, I have seen a program, right in our own Fourth District that offers all the requirements for true child care. The following letter from Mrs. Rollin S. Armour explains the program:

SUGAR 'N SPICE DAY CARE CENTER,  
DELAND, FLA.

The Sugar 'n Spice Day Care Center is a locally sponsored and supported organization for the care of children from low income families. The purpose of this care is to allow both parents to work.

The idea for the Center was jointly con-

ceived by the Junior Welfare League (which provided the Nucleus funds for starting the Center) and the Neighborhood Center (which provided volunteers and organization to do the work). As the project was publicized throughout the community, both money and manual labor as well as supplies were freely contributed for the cause of helping little children. The building was donated by a local businessman; land use was permitted by the city.

Operational funds are approximately one-fourth from the local community, one-fourth from parent fees and one-half from Title IV-A funds. The funds from the community are used for matching funds (one:four) from Title IV-A. The Center has been widely supported by individuals, businesses, churches and the United Fund.

The full-time paid staff consists of a Director, three teachers and a cook. Part-time staff includes a counselor to parents, staff coordinator, and a janitor. Volunteer staff includes men and women students from a neighboring university, mothers of children attending the center, mothers in the community interested in helping small children, retired persons with special talents who want to give time in the classroom or as drivers to places of special interest. Summertime help includes a group of Youth Corps workers who assist teachers by working with children on a one-to-one basis.

All three teachers have at least two years of college training in childhood education. The three teachers and the director have from one to five years experience working in day care centers. All educational activities come under the direct supervision of the staff coordinator who has a M.A. degree in education. In-service training for the staff is conducted on a weekly basis in the fields of child development, curriculum, nutrition, the disadvantaged child educational methods, etc. Evaluation sessions are also provided. All staff members are encouraged to and have attended workshops conducted by the Division of Family Services and the Association for the Education of Children Under Six.

Volunteers are provided with a booklet giving pertinent information regarding the Center. They are also given a general orientation session on the disadvantaged child, how volunteers can help most and are taken on a tour of center facilities.

In addition to providing pleasant, adequate and safe day care in a loving and secure atmosphere, the Center provides the following services:

(1) *Nutrition*—a balanced breakfast, lunch and afternoon snack are provided.

(2) *Self-development*—Children are taught how to behave in relation to adults and peers from a positive point of view (very little spanking is used as a means of discipline). Opportunity is given for the child to develop his personality to its fullest potential.

(3) *Education*—Children are provided with a variety of educational experiences. A period of two and one-half hours daily is given to educational and supervised free play learning experiences. Emphasis is placed on language development, physical development, social development, community awareness, music and art as well as general creativity.

(4) *Health Services*—Children are observed for signs of illness or aberrations from the norm and are referred to proper community agencies or doctors for help. Children needing immunizations are taken to local clinics to receive them. Dental and medical check-ups are in the process of being arranged for center children.

(5) *Counseling and guidance services*—These services are available to parents as needs arise. Parents are informed of situations which affect their children. Home visits are also made to apprise parents of children's progress.

A parent organization gives full support to the Center, provides funds for special

needs and keeps the community aware of the Center and its contribution to the total community. In the Fall, at the parent monthly meetings, the parent counselor will conduct child development, nutritional and health sessions for parents.

Children who attend the Center are chosen on the basis of need. Federal poverty standards are used as the basis for entrance. All parents pay a fee of one dollar per day per child. A limit of three children from one family is imposed.

The governing board of the Center consists of community service group representatives, blacks, white, parents, low income persons, professional people, educators, ministers, housewives and social workers.

The operation of Sugar 'n Spice is a community supported effort which started one year ago and already is making a tremendous contribution to the DeLand community.

I am drafting some legislation along these lines and plan to introduce a bill soon after the 93d Congress convenes. My bill will call for community and parent participation, as well as good, loving care for the child. It will help get parents off the welfare rolls, contributing to, instead of taking from, society.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud the efforts of the Sugar 'n Spice Day Care Center in DeLand, Fla., and I hope we have many more communities offering this type of child care centers in the near future.

NEWS BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the RECORD the October 2, 1972, edition of the news bulletin of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission—ARBC. I take this action to help my colleagues be informed of developments across the country leading to the 200th anniversary of the Nation in 1976. The bulletin was compiled and written by the staff of the ARBC Communications Committee. The bulletin follows:

BICENTENNIAL BULLETIN,  
Washington, D.C., October 2, 1972.

The Full Commission will meet in Washington, D.C. on December 7 and 8. It has been recommended that the Commission meet in February, 1973 and every two months thereafter.

On September 28th Chairman David J. Mahoney delivered a short address on the rebirth and rededication of citizen involvement in our 200th Anniversary aboard the sailing vessel *Wavertree* at the South Street Seaport in New York. At the conclusion of his remarks the Chairman announced the official recognition of the Seaport Project voted by the full Commission at its September meeting.

ARBC Communications Committee will meet in New York City on October 18.

Prominent Americans from fields such as education, transportation, recreation, communications and health met in Washington, D.C. on September 25 for the first Horizons '76 Advisory Group meeting. The interdisciplinary group will recommend guidelines and goals, evaluate proposals and aid in the creation of innovative projects. ARBC Com-

missioner Nancy Porter, Chairperson of the Horizons '76 Committee, led the session. Advisory Group members were given an orientation on the purposes and themes of the Bicentennial with a special focus on Horizons '76. The afternoon discussion centered on setting the dimensions of the Horizons area and selecting priorities. The Advisory group will meet again in January.

Kim Beachum, a senior at York High, and Liz Hamilton, a recent graduate, were named youth activities advisers to the York County (Va.) Bicentennial Interest Group during a recent meeting. To kick off youth involvement in Bicentennial activities, a fashion show will be held in Yorktown with a "then and now" theme. Jeannie Kennedy and Bruce Bingle, students at Tabb High, will assist with the show.

At a recent ceremony marking the official creation of the Maine ARBC, Governor Kenneth M. Curtis stated, "It is my hope that by the time we do celebrate our nation's 200th birthday, we truly will have something to celebrate... the realization that the men who wrote our Declaration of Independence set goals for us that we have finally and fully attained."

The B'nai B'rith Philatelic Service is offering a first-day cover commemorating the start of the Bicentennial observance of the American Revolution. The cover, postmarked July 4, 1971 with a "first day of issue" cancellation of the 8-cent ARBC commemorative stamp, also features sepi-renderings of Rabbi Gershom Mendes Seixas, Revolutionary War patriot, and the Liberty Bell with its quotation from Leviticus, "Proclaim Liberty through the Land and to all the inhabitants thereof."

The National Commission of the Library & Information Sciences held its first regional meeting in Chicago on September 27. Two hundred attendees from 11 mid-western states were presented a paper on the proposed Bicentennial Information Network (ZINET). The paper, written by the ARBC staff Information & Research Coordinator, describes the present concepts for handling the vast amounts of information directly related to the Bicentennial Era and its numerous projects, the Master Calendar of Events and the Master Historical Calendar.

ARBC has received copies of "Onondaga County's Plan for the National Bicentennial—1976" which was prepared by the Cultural Resources Council of Syracuse (N.Y.). The comprehensive report contains some excellent plans of civic, educational, arts, and history organizations; villages, towns and City of Syracuse; business, industry, media and individuals.

Dr. Frank R. Mark, '76 Federal Health Coordinator, recently held a meeting with representatives from major Federal agencies that have health-related responsibilities. The group discussed the current status of Bicentennial health plans and Bicentennial recommendations from the U.S. Bicentennial Health Conference held at Berwick Academy, Maine in July.

The Rhode Island Bicentennial Commission recently endorsed the Gaspee Days celebration for 1973 and a series of Bicentennial debates by high school students to be conducted nationwide and sponsored by the Bicentennial Council of the 13 Original States.

"A Firebell in the Night," the sixth episode in Alistair Cooke's 13 installment TV series "America" was previewed at Ford's Theater in Washington on September 25. The preview was jointly sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and Time-Life films and was preceded by a reception at the carefully preserved Stephen Decatur House on Jackson Place near the White House. Guest of honor Cooke whose series was co-sponsored by Time-Life and the BBC promised that the programs would

"shake up the high school textbooks." The series, subtitled "A Personal History of the United States," will be shown on NBC alternate Tuesdays beginning November 14.

Proclamation 4152 issued by the President on September 13, 1972 designated Wednesday, October 11, 1972, as General Pulaski's Memorial Day. General Casimir Pulaski died a hero in the Battle of Savannah on October 11, 1779. He was one of the earliest of the many individuals of Polish ancestry who were involved in this country's struggle for freedom. In his proclamation President Nixon said, "In commemorating General Pulaski's dedication to liberty, we also honor the significant contributions made to this Nation by generations of Americans of Polish ancestry. It is fitting, in remembering General Pulaski's example, that we rededicate ourselves to the fundamental principles of freedom and justice for all on which this Nation was founded and for which Casimir Pulaski fought and gave his life."

The Southwest Regional Alliance held its fall meeting in Colorado Springs (Colo.) September 21 through 23. Attending were representatives of the State Bicentennial Commissions of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas. Floyd Sack of Colorado was elected Chairman and Mrs. Vicki Nash of Nevada, Vice-Chairman for the coming year. The representatives discussed Indian participation in the Bicentennial, numismatic issue, labor and military involvement, the media, Bicentennial films and state programs. The next meeting will be held in Nevada in March, 1973.

#### "THE FUTURE IS NOW" FOR AMERICA'S YOUNG VOTERS

### HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, in this 1972 election year, the Congress has seen fit to extend the voting franchise to over 11 million new voters between the ages of 18 and 21. I strongly supported this legislation, believing that today's generation of young Americans are much more knowledgeable on the important issues which face America and the world than were previous generations.

With the general election 1 month away, there is much speculation as to just how many of these new young voters will actually take advantage of this privilege which many of them worked so diligently to obtain.

This question was answered to my satisfaction just last week as I talked with hundreds of young people in my own congressional district who attended the Calhoun County Fair in Anniston, Ala.

These young Americans have a great awareness about the affairs of this Nation. They talked to me about their concern for the environment, their desires for a peaceful world and about many other issues. The enthusiasm which was evident through their conversation left me with a comfortable feeling that this generation will continue to keep America in good hands.

An especially fine group of high school young people were actively participating in the electoral process as they cam-

aigned at the county fair between the rows of displays for my candidacy and for other candidates of their choosing. The young people helping me included Debbie Phillips and Donna Morrow of Alexandria High School; Wanda Daniels and Cheryl Tolliver of Cobb High in Anniston; Freda Findley and "Peanut" Rogers of Weaver High School; Kathy Bentley, Pam Williams, and Beth Freeman of Oxford High; Loretta Moore, Donya Snider, and Barbara Ary of Saks High School; Paula Yeatman, Pam Green, Christie Green, and Dean Deupree of Wellborn High School; Lucy Mange and Barbara Springer of Anniston Academy; Wanda Austin, Annie Nunn, Theresa Young, and Kathy Entekin of White Plains High School.

These young Americans are destined to assume an active role in Alabama's and the Nation's leadership in the years ahead. George Allen, the very able coach of the Washington Redskins, perhaps put it best when he stated, "The future is now." I am extremely pleased about the interest of today's youth in political affairs and I am convinced that their generation is going to do an even better job than ours in preserving and strengthening a great America.

#### BLOW THE WHISTLE AGAINST CRIME

### HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I have previously brought to the attention of my colleagues what I believe to be a cheap, effective plan to deter urban street crime.

On every block in New York City, residents can organize a block association and give whistles to everybody with these instructions:

First. Anytime you see something suspicious going on—blow your whistle.

Second. Anybody who hears a whistle, dial the police on 911 and blow your whistle.

Of course, these procedures are equally applicable and effective in other cities of the country.

The shrill din of many whistles going off to alert neighbors to potential crime is often enough to scare off muggers or intruders. Such reaction may also help deter further crimes in the area once it is known that residents are alert and prepared to act on a prearranged system of signaling each other.

My New York office has been making whistles available at cost to block associations and tenant groups throughout the city. The campaign has received enthusiastic support from the New York City police auxiliary groups. And up to this point my office has distributed over 2,500 whistles to people in all the boroughs of New York.

"Blow the Whistle on Crime" can promote a greater sense of community solidarity and a closer relationship with the

local police. It benefits local merchants as well.

By blowing the whistle, we can show that fear and frustration need not be our only reaction to crime, and we can hopefully return the streets to the people after dark.

I would urge our colleagues representing urban districts to consider organizing similar "Blow the Whistle on Crime" programs in their cities.

**POLICE GET HELPING HAND FROM CLERGY**

**HON. BILL FRENZEL**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, through the history of this country, we have seen examples of private individuals and organizations making large sacrifices of their own time and energy for the benefit of the public at large. For a number of months, we in Minneapolis have seen such a group in action. This is the Chaplain Corps, a group of volunteer clergymen assembled from 19 different denominations working in close cooperation with our local police forces.

The spirit which they symbolize is one which I hope can be spread across city and State lines.

I commend the following article to the Members' attention.

**POLICE GET HELPING HAND FROM CLERGY**  
(By Michael W. Fedo)

MINNEAPOLIS.—The Rev. John Owen recently set across a table in a downtown Minneapolis apartment and listened as a woman in her early 40's threatened to take her life with the straight-edge razor she brandished.

Mr. Owen talked with the woman for seven hours, finally convincing her to seek help. She is alive today, and is attempting to cope with her life-long alcohol problem.

Minneapolis police say the counseling rendered by Mr. Owen is responsible for saving the woman's life.

This is just one episode of many that have occurred here since March 1, when a unique police auxiliary went into action. The Chaplain Corps—a group of volunteer clergymen representing 19 denominations—is working with police in handling certain situations—such as domestic quarrels, suicide attempts, or notifying next of kin that a relative has passed on.

**PRIVATELY FUNDED**

The corps, which costs taxpayers nothing, is privately funded by the Greater Minneapolis Association of Evangelicals. There are 45 volunteers involved.

Each volunteer, in his turn, serves a 24-hour duty period when he may be called by the police department. During his shift, the chaplain uses a car equipped with a police radio. He does not chase police calls, but responds only when called by police.

Since numerous police calls involve non-crime problems, the need for trained counselors is apparent in most metropolitan areas.

"Police don't have time to spend several hours in a domestic situation," says Capt. Bruce Lindberg, head of the Minneapolis Police-Community Relations Unit. "Also, we're not trained as counselors. It's hard for an officer to know how to handle a grieving

survivor, for example. These men (chaplains) have the time and talent for this sort of thing, and their services has been most worthwhile."

**BASIS FOR CONCEPT**

Dr. Francis Grubb, former Minneapolis minister and current President of the St. Paul Bible College, brought the concept of the Chaplain Corps to the city from a similar operation in Wichita, Kan., and other communities are considering a form of it as well.

Volunteers must be 25 years of age and ordained. They spend five hours in service training with police and spend two shifts riding in squad cars with officers. A screening committee comprised of other volunteers and policemen then passes final judgment on the applicant before he is assigned to the corps.

"An important aspect of this operation is the volunteer's willingness to make personal sacrifices to see to it that individuals are given help and comfort in an hour of crisis or need," says the Rev. Quinten Alfors, director of the Greater Minneapolis Association of Evangelicals.

"Important too, is the fact that we forget people after the crisis passes. We offer follow-up counseling and if an individual desires it, we try to arrange a church affiliation for him."

**SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS**

Though all volunteers are Protestants, the corps has made arrangements with Roman Catholic churches in the area to provide assistance should someone desire a priest.

Though most situations involving the chaplains are not violent, that potential often exists.

One chaplain spent all night trying to persuade a man holding a gun that he should not shoot himself. Last July 4, a chaplain was unable to talk a woman out of suicide. He got help for her, however, and she recovered.

In another instance, two teen-age sons in one family were on drugs. During an argument, one of the boys slugged the father. When police arrived, the father refused to press charges, but all parties agreed to talk to a chaplain. So far their situation hasn't shown marked improvement, but since they are still seeing a counselor, the chaplains believe there is hope.

**POLICEMEN ASSISTED**

Another benefit provided by the corps is its service to policemen themselves. "The police officer sees so many negative aspects in society that he becomes depressed," says the Rev. Mr. Owen. "People call them for help, and the officer has this image of never needing help himself. But there is a lot of tension and frustration in police work, and sometimes he just needs to unwind with someone he trusts."

**AN ADMIRING TRIBUTE TO HAWAII**

**HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, a constituent and friend, Violet Brooks of Babylon, N.Y., recently visited our 50th State. As she flew home, she wrote a short poem in tribute and fondness for our lovely islands State. Her poem follows:

**HAWAII**

How proud we can be of our Fiftieth State  
Where welcome and love and friendship  
await

Where "Diamond Head" like "Liberty" stands  
Welcoming all from foreign lands.

Truly a diamond, though so far away  
She shines in the crown of the USA  
With her song and her dance and gracious  
smile

She welcomes her cousins in her own gentle  
style.

May she find the warmth that she gives to  
others

When she visits the Mainland to meet her  
brothers.

When she steps on our shores so far away  
May we learn the greeting Hawaiians say,  
"Aloha!"

**INCREASED RETIREMENT PAY FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL**

**HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, I have been deeply concerned about the need to increase retirement pay for military personnel. I was pleased to present testimony today before Congressman STRATTON's Special Subcommittee on Retired-Pay Revision of the Committee on the Armed Services.

Because of the importance of this matter and the urgency of prompt action by this Congress, I would like to submit to the RECORD a copy of that testimony. The testimony follows:

**TESTIMONY**

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee: I am here today to speak in behalf of our current and future personnel. The heart of any profession lies in its system of reward. This is no less true in the military services. In our move to build an all-volunteer armed force it is only fair to ask ourselves whether we have done enough to reward military personnel who serve a lifetime in the defense of their nation. Can we say that our nation provides sufficient reward to retired personnel? Can we say that future generations will look to military service as a career in light of our current retirement system? The answer to either question is clear. No. We do not provide sufficient reward to our brave fighting men who retire from a job well-done.

In 1963 the Congress abolished further use of the recomputation of retired military pay, substituting instead a new one based solely on cost-of-living increases. A cost-of-living increase primarily serves those in the upper ranks who have correspondingly higher pay scales. It does not provide proper career incentive for younger officers and enlisted personnel. The problem is clear. Career incentives are essential to the sustenance of an all-volunteer armed force, yet we have not provided these through the military retirement system.

While this subcommittee has already moved to consider a more uniform pay scale for the military, it must now reconsider military retirement benefits. Administration bill H.R. 14524, in my opinion, does not do enough to compensate all previous, current, and future, retired personnel as does my own proposal. Let me first review the Administration proposal, my revised plan, and the full recomputation proposal as contained in several bills referred to this subcommittee for review.

H.R. 14524 would provide a "one-time"

recomputation to the 1971 pay scales for certain classes of physically disabled retirees and for those with less than 25 years of service who are over age 60 and those with 25 or more years of service at age 55. Accordingly, the FY 1973 defense budget request contains funds in the amount of \$288 million to cover the cost of the recomputation of retired pay. Let me just say that while I am in total accord with the spirit of the bill—to increase the benefits available to retired personnel—nothing is done to alleviate the problems of retired military personnel 20 years past. Inflation is as much if not more of a burden to them. While we must move to make the recomputation system acceptable to all retired personnel, we can hold down the potential costs of the recomputation plan.

I am, therefore, proposing the following alternative recomputation plan for present and future retired members of the armed forces. I essentially agree on a "one-time" recomputation of military retirement benefits, but the base year will be 1972 rather than 1971. The more satisfying pay raises enacted by the Congress over this last year should be the basis of recomputation of retired pay.

Recomputation of pay will no longer be extended to a "select class" of retired personnel but to all persons who have retired for physical disability under the laws in effect prior to 1949 or a physical disability of at least thirty percent under later laws, and almost all persons who have retired for years of service who are at least 60 years of age. Once a retired member of the armed forces obtains age 60, his retired pay would be recomputed under the 1972 pay scales.

I foresee two distinct advantages in my recomputation plan. First, the cost is less than the \$288 million contained in the Administration FY 1973 defense budget request. Second, it is only a fraction of the cost of a full recomputation system as proposed in a number of bills before this subcommittee. The full recomputation proposals would rely on a method that would entitle a retired officer to have his retired pay determined as a percentage of the rates in existence at the time, to be recomputed with each pay raise, under the revised pay scale. I don't think I need say that this proposal is not only initially very expensive—upward of one billion dollars for FY 1973—but potentially upsetting to the economy of this country. This action would only add to the inflationary spiral which we have attempted to hold down over this last year-and-a-half. My proposal is not only a greater savings to the American taxpayer, who must bear the brunt of the rise in Federal expenditures, but it serves to equalize the retirement system for members of the armed forces in terms of the fiscal realities of the 1970's.

Quite frankly the issue of retirement pay is understandably a sensitive one. But it is more sensitive to those who must live with the current retirement system.

Under the recomputation system military personnel have accepted relatively low active duty pay in the expectation that constantly increasing retirement pay would be an acceptable recompense. I would even go so far as to say recomputation may have been a determining factor with some men and women deciding upon a military career. The heavy turnover of younger officers and enlistees in recent years, however, suggests that many of them may be leaving the services through disappointment with the limited potential for a really adequate pension after retirement.

I do believe that my proposal will relieve this problem, and, it is much better than a return to the full recomputation system. This House Committee rightfully warned against rising manpower costs. I do not need to remind you of your own projection that a return to full recomputation, coupled with the

annual pay increases of 3.5 percent until the year 2000, would run the phenomenal cost of retirement pay to \$134 billion. This is why I agree with this Subcommittee and its objective to seek an equitable solution to our manpower requirements in an all-volunteer setting but without pricing the system out of the market. We have a responsibility as members of the Congress to safeguard the future growth of this country. We must feel a special sense of duty in fostering and directing the growth of the professional military forces on an all-volunteer basis. To this end I urge support of my proposal for equal recomputation of retired pay for members of the armed forces.

#### CONGRESS AIDS INFLATION

### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, the Constitution of the United States says that the Congress shall have power "to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general welfare of the United States." Unfortunately, we continue as a body to abdicate this responsibility, passing the buck or complaining that we are pushed by special interest groups. We have nobody to blame but ourselves.

Our colleagues, Congressmen GEORGE MAHON, H. R. GROSS, FRANK BOW, and others, have warned time and time again that Congress in fact is more responsible for inflationary pressures than any other single group in the country. An editorial in the Alhambra Post-Advocate, dated Monday, July 10, 1972, expresses some important thoughts of which my colleagues should be mindful.

My own bill, H.R. 12195, if fully implemented, would provide some controls for Congress to place upon itself. My hope is that some time, some place, the majority of this Congress will act responsibly, as this editorial from the Alhambra Post-Advocate suggests.

The editorial follows:

#### CONGRESS AIDS INFLATION

The cost of groceries has become a symbol of inflation in the United States of America, perhaps because food is a basic item in every family budget. Inflation hits home, in an emotional and practical sense, when food prices go up.

Nevertheless, groceries are still by and large a bargain for the American people when considered as a percentage of the weekly expenses in the average wage-earner's home. Thanks to increased productivity of our farmers, the percentage of income required to pay for our food is lower today than it was a decade ago—and much lower than the proportion spent by housewives in most of the world's other industrialized states.

Administration officials may have had this in mind when they warned that the decision to lift import quotas on meat and to extend controls to wholesale and retail prices of fresh produce and seafood can be expected to have only a mild effect on the cost of living. This hardly amounts to a new offensive against inflation, but simply brings up a couple of extra artillery pieces.

The real battle is being fought on the floor of the U.S. Congress. It is there, in the irresponsible attitude toward the federal budget, that we find the roots of spiraling

prices, not just for meat and vegetables but for everything else as well.

In the fiscal year just ended the federal government spent \$26 billion more than it took in from taxes. The deficit in the year now beginning may be as high as \$27 billion, and may reach a staggering \$40 billion in the following year.

Some economists try to defend such excessive spending on grounds that a "full employment budget" is not inflationary. Under this concept, the government pretends that taxes will come in as if services and industry were operating at full capacity, even though it is plain they are not. Now, even the pretense of this theory is all but abandoned and Congress is opening the way for budget deficits that are frankly inflationary.

Congress shows no inclination to slow down its spending spree—even in the face of a Brookings Institute report saying most of the money being spent to cure social ills is being wasted, even when the Department of Health, Education and Welfare admits that its growth has been so rapid and disorganized that it cannot tell for what purpose much of its money is being spent.

More than anything else, it is this federal spending orgy that is feeding inflation and could lengthen the time that price and wage restraints will be necessary. As consumers we can all appreciate the government effort to save us a few cents on the price of meats and vegetables, but we can hardly take heart from what Congress is doing with the budget. As far as inflation is concerned, that's where the action really is.

#### CRIME AND LEAA

### HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been said and printed in recent months regarding the equality of law enforcement and the problem of crime in America. Indeed, this is a subject deserving of attention since the freedom from fear of violence and crime is fundamental to the enjoyment of the other freedoms that our form of government seeks to preserve and foster.

In Dayton, Ohio, which is located in my district, strides are being made in the fight to reduce crime and the fear of crime. One of the major weapons in that battle is the pilot cities project funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Under the pilot cities program, a research team is working with the leaders of criminal justice agencies in Dayton to identify major crime problems, to develop more effective programs based on the most advanced technology, and they are implementing changes to achieve far-reaching improvements in crime prevention and crime control.

The Dayton Journal Herald paid tribute to this program in a recent editorial entitled "Crime and LEAA—Police Admit Debt to Federal Programs."

I insert the Journal Herald editorial in the RECORD:

#### CRIME AND LEAA—POLICE ADMIT DEBT TO FEDERAL PROGRAMS

The slackening noted by the FBI and the International Assn. of Chiefs of Police (IACP) in the skyrocketing crime rates of recent years seems to us less significant perhaps than the reasons cited by the law

enforcement officials for the changes: better-trained and more professional police officers, an aroused citizenry and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

We doubt that public fear, especially of crimes of violence, has begun to ease, but the statistics cited at the IACP meeting in Dayton by Thomas E. Bishop, assistant director of the FBI, and by Quinn Tamm, executive director of the IACP, are a hopeful sign that crime can be controlled and that public confidence in the police can be restored.

It is particularly gratifying that the IACP is so generous in the credit it gives to the LEAA, which was established by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, and so silent on the score of repressive legislation. With some notable exceptions—Dayton Police Chief Robert M. Igleburger is one happy example—police professionals have not been hospitable to the introductions of some of the modern procedures developed and promoted by the LEAA. To the contrary, the war cry was: "Unshackle the police."

The battle against crime is obviously a highly complex one, involving many factors beyond the responsibility of the police, who are too often asked to do the whole job. But the police job itself is becoming more complex, demanding more highly trained, sensitive professionals, utilizing the latest techniques of management, data processing, investigation, research and psychology. This is what the LEAA is all about. This is what Dayton's Pilot Cities project is all about. These "federal programs" much maligned by some police officers and some politicians are no substitutes for honest, courageous, resourceful policemen. They are not intended to be. But they can make a good policeman a much better one, and this is what the public is demanding.

CAPT. RICHARD S. RITCHIE, FIRST  
U.S. AIR FORCE ACE IN 20 YEARS

**HON. RICHARDSON PREYER**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, my congressional district is the home of Capt. Richard S. Ritchie who recently became the first U.S. Air Force ace in 20 years. Captain Ritchie is a professional soldier—a graduate of the U.S. Air Force Academy where, as in high school, he was a successful athlete and a fine student. He is a fine soldier and his neighbors in Reidsville and Rockingham County, N.C., are particularly proud of him. I think most Americans, whatever our differences on the war may be, would be proud of his devotion to duty and his commitment to country. It was a distinguished soldier of another day—Robert E. Lee—who said that "duty" was the sublimest word in the English language. Captain Ritchie represents that kind of determination to serve his country which has stood us well throughout our history. As we engage in our debates about foreign policy and disagree as those who believe in democracy must disagree, we should not forget the Captain Ritchies of our history who have stood guard while the debates raged on. In closing I include an article

from Captain Ritchie's hometown newspaper—the Reidsville Review—describing the recent tribute to him:

THOUSANDS WELCOME HERO HOME

(By Jennifer Clough)

A crowd estimated around 10,000 gathered Friday afternoon along Scales St. and Morehead Street to honor the Reidsville hero, Capt. Steve Ritchie, the first Air Force Ace of the Vietnam War.

Children sat in pickup trucks lining the street. People stood around the monument to get a good view as the parade came down Morehead St. Wachovia Bank members distributed brightly colored balloons to the school children who were let out early from school. Photographers from newspapers throughout the state were seen stationed on corners with their cameras hanging about their necks.

As the police car moved up Morehead signaling the beginning of the parade, the crowd pushed forward along the street to cheer their hero. After the police car came the Reidsville Senior High Marching band, then cars with Mayor James Daniel, and former mayors Weldon Price and W. B. Apple, Jr.

When the A&T University Drill Team proceeded down the street their colorful drill techniques caused the crowd to clap and cheer. After the National Guard Marching Unit came Capt. Steve Ritchie in a convertible with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ned Ritchie of Belmont Drive. He waved modestly to the bystanders. At one area stood his grandmother, Mrs. Clarence Ritchie from Albemarle, and his uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Grover Ritchie with their son Ned Ritchie from Charlotte.

"I'm crying because I'm so happy," Ritchie's grandmother said, with tears in her eyes.

One young man with shoulder length hair stepped from the crowd as Ritchie's car moved slowly down the street and gave him a note. They talked briefly before the car went on.

As the parade proceeded down Scales St., a loud roar droned out the sounds of the cheers. Everyone looked up into the sky, as four F-4 Phantom Jets swooped down across the street in fingertip formation saluting the 30-year old Ritchie. A few minutes later, the planes reappeared out of the hazy sky, this time in missing man formation. A slight chill went through the crowd as they looked at the three planes—one missing in honor of the prisoners of war and pilots missing in action in the Vietnam war.

The parade moved on. Two veterans from the war in the parade were Steve Booker, who received seven distinguished flying crosses for heroism while participating in aerial flight, the Army Commendation Medal with the V, one Oak Leaf cluster, the purple heart, the air medal with the V, 22 Oak Clusters, the Bronze Star and other standard medals; and Danny Shreve who received the purple heart, the Bronze Star with V and the medals given to all soldiers who served in the war. They were there to honor Ritchie. Another Vietnam veteran Howard McMichael was invited to participate but had to be out-of-town Friday. His service medals include the silver star.

Miss Teenage Reidsville, Lea Anne Moore sat on a convertible waving to the crowd. The Hargrave Military Band marched to the roll of the drum, with their colorful guard dressed in Scottish kilts bringing up the rear.

It was a good parade. The senators, the congressman, the city dignitaries were there to honor the state's hero. But after the little red fire truck brought up the rear, and the crowd began to disperse you knew that no one could have honored Ritchie any better than the Reidsville people who had turned out to welcome their hero home.

JOB CAN AND DOES WORK IN  
KALAMAZOO

**HON. GARRY BROWN**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, a feature story which recently appeared in the Kalamazoo Gazette written by Mr. James Stommen, the newspaper's business editor, was so well written and was so descriptive of what can be done to alleviate the difficulties being experienced by those who find themselves unemployed or unemployable that I wish to bring the article to the attention of my colleagues.

The JOBS program in Kalamazoo is a success story and as Gil Bradley, mayor of Kalamazoo and consortium manager of the JOBS 1972 program, says: "JOBS can and does work in Kalamazoo."

I wish to take this opportunity to commend all those associated with the JOBS program in Kalamazoo and hope that this well-written description of its successes in Kalamazoo may provide some ideas and help to communities represented by my colleagues which have many of the same problems but have not as yet benefited from the Kalamazoo experience.

The article follows:

JOB PROGRAM MEANS OPPORTUNITY

(By James Stommen)

Its acronym is JOBS—for Job Opportunities in the Business Sector.

The NAB (National Alliance of Businessmen) is heavily involved in it.

But those who've become employed through it know it as OPPORTUNITY.

Opportunity, as Armando Martinez puts it, is to get out of the Texas cotton fields where 110 degrees isn't an unusual work-day temperature.

Opportunity for Norma Anderson, who's been separated for nine years, to get off the ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) rolls and into a productive, enjoyable job.

Opportunity for Robert Mills, the father of seven, is to work at a job with a very real present . . . and future.

Opportunity to come back from major surgery, as Mary Crawford has, and find rewarding, worthwhile work.

Those four are typical of the more than 575 persons in a five-county area who've gotten jobs through JOBS since its introduction here in the fall of 1970.

For them, the national mutterings that the program isn't doing what it's supposed to and is wasting money while not doing so have no meaning.

Not when JOBS means that Armando Martinez, age 19, can support his disabled parents and six sisters at home.

Not when Norma Anderson can work with "wonderful people," finding each day a pleasant challenge.

Not when Robert Mills, who could have been faced with a lifetime of working for \$1.25 an hour as a stock clerk, has a solid job with one of the Kalamazoo area's most prestigious employers.

Not when Mary Crawford can tell of having made a lot of nice, lasting friendships through the program.

Putting it in simple terms, here's how the JOBS program works:

Potential participants are referred to program counselors. They may be persons on welfare, or ADC, or who've never gotten the

break they needed to get out of that category known as "hard-core unemployed."

Once they've gone through extensive counseling and are accepted into the program, the JOBS trainees are funneled into one of the unfilled job pledges JOBS volunteers have scoured the community for.

It isn't just a matter of being thrust into a dead-end entry-level job without guidance and with little hope of advancing.

During the first 12 weeks, the trainees are on a half-and-half schedule of schooling and work, collecting a full day's wages.

The schooling has several goals. For many trainees, it's an opportunity to catch up on formal education which may have ended in the elementary years. For others, it's a chance to polish up long-forgotten educational skills.

Some of those who've never completed their high school education get a chance to take the General Educational Development test designating the equivalency of high school graduation.

Included in the training is considerable time spent on what is popularly known as "world of work" familiarization.

That's particularly important for those trainees who've never had a full-time job before, giving them knowledge about what's expected from them by the employer.

Other aspects of the JOBS program include specific job skills work so that the trainees can enter the plant or business with at least the rudiments of job knowledge; medical and dental care; transportation to and from work; and daycare costs.

They're all part of giving the disadvantaged a level platform from which to step into the working world.

The response to the program locally has been good, and results are above those generally found in the JOBS program nationally.

For instance, 74 per cent of the persons taken on as trainees under JOBS contract 26-1-6024-000, one of three such contracts currently under way here, are still on the job a year to a year and a half after initial hiring.

In plain figures, that's 34 of the 46 original trainees who continue on the job.

But even the figure of 12 "dropouts" is misleading. Three of those 12 quit in favor of other jobs, one dropped out due to pregnancy, one quit for personal reasons and one dropped out during orientation. So, really only six of the original 46 abandoned the program itself.

In the face of a national retention rate in the neighborhood of 50 per cent for the JOBS program, the local effort shows real promise.

As far as the participants go, it's literally a life-saver.

Armando Martinez, who works as a teller at American National Bank & Trust Co.'s Sprinkle-Miller branch, sees the JOBS program as more than just giving him a decent wage in something other than the migrant farm work he's always done.

"It's a real opportunity for a Chicano," Martinez said, noting that thus far there haven't been many Chicanos hired under the program, but expressing the hope that there'll be more in the future.

Speaking as a member of the Chicano community here, he said that efforts particularly are being made to get migrant workers into the JOBS program.

"It's tough for most Chicanos to find worthwhile work," Martinez said, "but the problem is even more so for migrants."

And he knows whereof he speaks, saying that 16 of his 19 years could be reckoned as being in the migrant category.

Armando and his family (his parents and seven sisters, the eldest of whom is married now) came here from Corpus Christi, Tex., 2½ years ago.

He got into the JOBS program nearly a year ago, joining American National Oct. 5,

1971. Once the half-day training, half-day work period was completed, Martinez started making the rounds of American National branches and job duties.

In addition to his branch teller work, a full-time job, he also attends Kalamazoo Valley Community College on a full-time basis, enrolled in business administration.

He's looking to move up in the business world. He's happy with his job now, and has ambitions for a bright future.

Nonetheless, he says, "it sure beats working in the fields."

Norma Anderson, who lives at 1502 Krom, was born here, but has stops in Gobles, Detroit and Battle Creek in her background.

After living in Battle Creek for 13 years, she's been back in Kalamazoo for the past two years.

She got into the JOBS program after going to Douglass Community Center seeking work. She previously was on ADC (she has a son, 16, and a 17-year-old daughter who's about to be married in California), but has been on the JOBS program since May of 1971.

Since being with First National Bank on the program, she's had a number of positions, including the traditional teller training. Norma can point to brief periods as a file girl, fee technician and vault custodian, but she finds her present work as a purchase technician (working with stocks and bonds and other securities) the most challenging and rewarding.

Not the least appealing part of her work, she says, is the "wonderful people I work with."

To her, the word opportunity describes what the JOBS program means "I've never had so many opportunities before," she says.

Robert Mills, who started on the program Oct. 5 1971, was on the WIN (Work Incentive) program prior to being recommended for JOBS.

When he was hired at the Upjohn Co., "it was like a dream come true," he says.

Whereas his previous employment—at a clothing store and at a manufacturing plant—showed no promise of advancement, he's already made some moves at Upjohn. Starting as a maintenance man, he's now in the soft capsule area.

The opportunity for advancement is a crucial part of his employment, particularly when he's supporting a family of seven children, ages 14 to 7. The Mills family lives at 521 Lulu.

JOBS, says Mills, "is a fantastic program . . . if it wasn't for JOBS, I wouldn't be here (at Upjohn)."

Mary Crawford, of 1509 Rockledge, joined the JOBS program a year ago this past July. She initially worked at First National Bank downtown, but has been at First National's operation at Great Lakes Computer Center since last December.

She's now working in the microfilming department of the Computer center, and it's something she enjoys greatly. "Being a teller downtown wasn't my bag," she says. "I wanted to get into something I could use my bookkeeping background in."

The microfilming post makes good use of that background, and although she had no previous experience in microfilming itself, she finds it an interesting job.

Mary sees JOBS as a program for people with handicaps of one kind or another.

For her, the problem was coming back from surgery three years ago. "I'm really still recovering from that," she says, "but having a rewarding job is a big part of the rehabilitation program."

Like Mills, she was involved with the WIN program prior to getting into JOBS. She thinks the JOBS program is great—particularly for young persons who've never had the schooling or work opportunity the program offers.

Part of the program she really admires is

that which teaches people how to get along on the job and how to get along together. "I made a lot of nice friends and lasting friends," she says.

The JOBS program here has what its current chief operating officer, Dr. E. Earl Wright, calls "a solid foundation."

In the nearly two years of its existence locally, JOBS has rounded up 575 or so job openings. Only about 100 of those involve what Gilbert Bradley, who in addition to being mayor of Kalamazoo coordinates a JOBS consortium for the Kalamazoo County Chamber of Commerce, calls "the full shot."

That is, only about 100 of the 575 jobs have involved persons who've undergone the full range of counseling, schooling, training and other services.

The others involve positions at some companies which hold their own training, or others which don't take advantage of federal reimbursement of training funds or any of the other aspects of the total program.

The Kalamazoo Metro of the JOBS program includes Benton Harbor, and many of the job openings have been found there, including many on the non-contract basis.

Another contract involving 50 jobs is coming up this fall, and Wright hopes to move in the direction of more positions in the retail-service area, most rapidly growing employment sector in the Kalamazoo area.

"We differ locally from the national view, which tends to ignore the service sector," Wright says. "Here, our employment is increasingly moving toward non-goods-producing positions."

"People might start out with lower pay in retail or service jobs," Wright says, "but there are ample opportunities for advancement."

And opportunity is the key to what JOBS is all about.

## CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS DAY

### HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, only two national holidays designate individual men. One commemorates the birth of the Father of our Country; the other is set aside for Christopher Columbus, the Italian navigator who discovered the New World 480 years ago.

Because of my own ancestry, I am naturally proud that Columbus was Italian. But it rankles when I see the kind of brickbats hurled against Italians, many of whom laid the cornerstones of this great Nation. It is my belief that we must speak out against latter day slurs against the countrymen of Christopher Columbus, many of whom have settled in the New World he discovered.

My grandparents, all of whom were born in Italy, would have been proud to have been able to see me attain the high office of Federal Representative. My mother, herself born in the Province of Avellino, always raised her children to respect the family, the church, and the United States. Mindful of my heritage, one of my first actions upon coming to Congress as a freshman Member in 1963 was to sponsor a measure designating Columbus Day a Federal legal holiday. Although such legislation had been introduced since 1906 in Congress, nonetheless it was my good fortune to see it

enacted during my tenure in Congress. I have also sponsored legislation to establish standards for films and broadcasts to avoid demeaning and degrading ethnic groups. This past August, the New York Times contained a strong editorial against the violent portrayal of Italians in the movie "The Godfather." I was pleased to place this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for public consumption, and praised the newspaper for its sensible position.

Frankly, however, there is a great need for more outspoken praise for Italians, to combat the false and stereotyped images to which we are frequently exposed.

Let us remember that the very cradle of our Western civilization was firmly established in Rome. When it comes to the registering of the great names which have shaped Western civilization, the Italian Peninsula is second to none. Fluid sounding names such as Galileo, Da Vinci, Michelangelo, Dante, Boccaccio, Marco Polo, Verdi, and Marconi are associated to our minds with priceless treasures and immeasurable gifts. The world would have far less luster were it not for the existence of these men, all of whom were Italians.

Indeed, if, as it is said, the mother country of the United States is Great Britain, then it must follow that the mother country of Great Britain is Rome and the Italians, since the Britons did not have a written language when Caesar landed there. Moreover, the only written language of the Britons for eight centuries after Caesar was Latin. It follows, therefore, that the United States is the grandchild of Rome and Italian culture.

Christopher Columbus, who braved an unknown sea with three tiny ships, began our destiny with his discovery of the New World. America, of course, is itself named for another Italian, Amerigo Vespucci.

It was Italians who built American railroads, bridges and our first skyscrapers. Giovanni Cabota first explored the mainland of the United States, while Alessandro Malaspina was the first man to explore Alaska, Vancouver, and the coast of California. The great Italian scientist and humanitarian, Enrico Fermi, will go down in history for his contributions to America, and the name of Caruso will always be synonymous with opera singers.

Italian missionaries as early as the mid-17th century set up some of the first educational institutions in the New World in land that later became the United States. Father Eusebio Chino not only built churches and explored the west coast of North America, but he also taught the Indians trades and European farming methods in addition to establishing stock raising. Father Marcos de Niza was a member of the Coronado expedition which penetrated as far west as Nebraska in 1539, well over half a century before the first permanent English settlement in the New World.

One of the very first men to speak out in the American colonies against the tyranny of England was Filippo Mazzei, an intimate of Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, Patrick Henry, and other revolutionary patriots. Under the pen name

"Furioso," he wrote Italian articles against British colonization, which Jefferson translated. In one of Mazzei's articles is found a philosophy later echoed in the most prestigious halls:

All men are by nature created free and independent . . . it is necessary that all men be equal to each other in natural rights.

Jefferson has acknowledged translating those words and later incorporating them into the Declaration of Independence.

Not only did many Italian Americans give up their lives during the Revolutionary War, but a wealthy Italian fur trader, Francesco Vigo, is credited with having financed the Clark expedition when it seemed in imminent collapse.

After American independence, one of the first threats to the new Nation came from Tripoli sea raiders. These pirates challenged the free seas and American commerce by exacting money for safe passage. They were destroyed by Stephen Decatur with the help of Salvatore Catalano.

So the proud history of Italian contribution goes on and on, while the slander also seems to continue apace. At this juncture in time, when we are trying to bring people together, it would appear that we should avoid pointing out the few outcasts and transgressors in any group. Rather, let us point to the many who are well represented by visionary discoverers such as Christopher Columbus and who have demonstrated their worth to America. If we must talk in group stereotypes, Italians are an American mainstay and should be treated as such. They are not only proud of their heritage, but have visibly shown their love for this country and their belief in its high tenets. Is it not about time they received some well-deserved esteem in return?

#### RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE ON THE SALT AGREEMENT

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I recently reported to my people on the SALT interim agreement which was adopted by the House September 25, 1972, by a vote of 306 to 4.

I insert my report in the RECORD at this point:

#### REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

Recently, I cast our 6th District vote against limiting the nuclear power of the United States to a level less than that of the Soviet Union—the so called "SALT Talks" interim agreement—which concerns our nuclear defensive and offensive weapons.

Mr. Nixon signed his approval as "President of the United States." Leonid Brezhnev, supposedly for the Russian people, signed as "General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." Many have long thought the Communist Party ran Russia, but International Law might question the legality of a party official rather than an elected head of state executing a document between nations. Had Mr. Nixon signed the agreement as head of

the Republican Party of the United States, would the Russians have accepted this agreement as binding?

The whole matter is weird to the point of unbelieveability—including the congressional approval of this agreement to freeze our Nation as a second-rate power.

Because of the seriousness of this agreement and its threat to our national security, I thought you would be interested in my discussing the "SALT agreement." You can then decide for yourself what a one-sided advantage our leaders gave the Russians—with-out a shot being fired.

Time does not permit a detailed study of the agreement, but I would like to briefly outline some of its provisions.

Our present plan for survival is based upon defense, relying upon a retaliatory capability as a deterrent against aggression. This means that we will not be the aggressor to start world war III; instead of firing the first shot, we hope to be prepared so as to discourage any aggressor.

Our defense is weapons to destroy enemy missiles—before they can reach our cities and industrial might—centered around our antiballistic missiles, the ABM's.

The Russians already have one ABM group in operation. The United States has none. At present we have two ABM sites under construction. Listening to and following the advice of our military leaders, Congress has authorized three additional ABM sites to be constructed by 1977. Still following our military advice, Congress has programmed twelve such defense sites to be constructed in the future.

Under the SALT freeze agreement—all of this must stop—because under SALT we have limited ourselves to only two sites. We let the Russians tell us where we can build these two sites. One is to defend our national capital at Washington, D.C., and the other one must be at least 800 miles distant from Washington. We have 2 ABM sites presently under construction—none in the Washington area. This means one will have to be dismantled at taxpayer's expense approaching one billion dollars.

The effect of the interim 5 year agreement is that we have agreed to limit our antiballistic site to two designated areas and the Soviets to two locations. Or, in other words, we've politically agreed to handcuff our military leaders charged with the mission of defending our country. We have also agreed to restrict the size and number of radar sites which are needed to safeguard our ABM's from a sneak enemy attack.

Should an enemy fire his missiles at our country, then the plan was that we would launch our long range offensive "nuclear" weapons—our land based Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (known as ICBM's), and our sea-based missiles, namely our Ballistic Missile Submarines and their launchers.

We have agreed to Russian superiority in these fields also. The SALT agreement approved 1,054 missile for the United States and 1,618 for the Soviet Union. This means our government has given the Russians the advantage of 564 missile armed with nuclear warheads. The inequality of missiles—over 50% more for the Soviets—must be considered a clear and direct threat to our National security by every informed American.

This is our limitation agreement: 1,054 missiles for us and for the Russians 1,618. But there is further ambiguity. This agreement does not specifically state the number of land-based missiles allowed. Rather, the terminology freezes each country's land missiles at the current level. It prohibits further construction, but allows those in place and under construction to be unaffected. The figure of 1,618 land-based missiles in the Russian arsenal is based on U.S. intelligence estimates—not a hard nose count—because the Russians don't want to give us the number

and refuse to permit an "on the ground" count. This is about like counting beans in a sealed-in jar and betting your life on your count.

In the haste to bulldoze Congressional approval of the agreement before the election, Secretary of State Rogers stated: "We have made it abundantly clear to the Soviets . . . that we consider this number of fixed land-based defense missiles for the Soviets to be 1,618." The Secretary went on to say that "Specifying the number of defense missiles in the agreement is not important, since national means of verification will reveal if any defense missiles construction were to take place." This is reassuring rhetoric, but if a new field of defense missiles is discovered, it will be difficult to determine when it was started.

Remember these are the missiles that we can fire—only after the enemy has struck our country by missiles. The effect of the treaty is that we are frozen at our present level. This means we waive the right to increase and improve our own self-defense. The Russians clearly have a superiority of 564 additional nuclear missiles, and we agree that we will do nothing to overcome this weakness. This is a nuclear Yalta sold to the American people as achieving peace and trade.

And as if this isn't enough to maintain the Communist's leadership, let's see what superiority we gave the Russians in submarines capable of firing nuclear warheads from on or beneath the surface toward our cities and other targets.

Currently we have 41 such ballistic missile type of submarines. It is estimated that the Russians have from 41 to 43—who knows how many they have—but yet through tricky wording of the agreement, we agree during this 5 year freeze to increase our submarine force by 3 to a total of 44, while we allow the Russians to increase theirs to 62. This is a net gain of 3 nuclear submarines for us as compared to a net gain of 18 for the communists.

While we have given the Russians approval to increase the size of its missile submarine fleet and we agree not to enlarge ours, we have also given the Russians the right to increase the number of missile launchers on board their submarines. We again have deliberately surrendered our superiority of missile launchers to the Russians.

Let me call your attention to the number of launchers to be built upon the submarines. Right now we are ahead—a plus of 76 for us. We have a total of 656 as compared to the Russians estimated 580.

And under this Salt freeze—and it is correctly called a freeze because we are frozen—we remain at our present level of 656 while allowing the Russians to "zoom" past us to 740. We go from a lead of 76 SLMB launchers to being 74 behind. Then in the conversion factor of these agreements, we have agreed to the Russians increasing their launchers to a total of 950, while we tokenly increase ours to 710. This widens the Russians lead to 240.

So, the net effect of this part of the Salt "deep freeze" is to allow us an increase from our current number of 656 to 710—a gain of 64 for us at the same time, allowing the Russians to increase theirs from a current (assuming that this is all they have), 580 to 950. An astounding gain of 370 missile launchers for the Russians—nearly a 200 percent increase.

Seeking peace through arms limitation talks may be the noblest of man's undertakings. But an interim agreement is but a score card showing the progress our peace talks are making, and the grades show we are losing the game. This is a Gulf of Tonkin in reverse. No one has even asked what hap-

pens when Red China or another hostile nation starts building nuclear weapons.

The agreement is not enforceable. There are no safeguards, no inspections. We are asked to rely on the good faith of the Russians' promises. The records show that of the 52 major treaties and agreements entered into, the Soviet Union has broken 50 and has broken 24 of the 25 summit agreements. This is a bankrupt record of deceit and unavailability upon which to trust the lives and liberties of American people.

What about ambiguity of interpretation? Already the Soviets say the treaty means something else. The ink on the President's press conference was not dry when we read in the local paper:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 30, 1972]

SOVIET UNION RATIFIES TREATY LIMITING ABM's

(By Robert G. Kaiser)

Moscow, September 29.—Soviet Defense Minister A. A. Grechko took the occasion to emphasize that the SALT agreements "do not put any limits on the carrying out of research and experimental work that is directed toward solving the problems of the defense of the country from nuclear rocket attack."

Literally, this appears to be correct. The treaty does not rule out research and development or qualitative improvements in the limited ABM installations which it authorizes. But if Grechko meant to imply that the Soviet Union might still find ways to protect this country from nuclear missile attack, that would contradict the American understanding of the treaty.

U.S. officials have emphasized that as they understand it, the treaty amounts to a recognition that neither super power can defend itself against a nuclear missile attack. The mutual acceptance of total vulnerability U.S. officials have said, is one of the keystones of the treaty.

Some Congressmen who either voted for the agreement or did not vote at all have said that they did not trust the Salt agreement but did not want to vote "No" because it might be taken as a lack of unity in backing our President in international affairs.

In my humble opinion, the failure to disagree with the President when he is wrong is not only a breach of constitutional duty, it is a disservice to our President and our people. I am not interested in a consensus to make wrong right—even for 5 years.

Then there is talk that Senator Jackson's amendment to the Agreement solved the problem by calling for equality of limitations. It does in a way. In feeble almost apologetic terms, it asks for equality of treatment—in five years.

Senator Jackson's amendment is not even applicable until after the expiration of the five-year interim arms limitation moratorium or until 1977. The Jackson amendment reads, ". . . urges and requests the President [whoever he may be in 1977] to seek a future treaty that inter-alia would not limit the U.S. to levels of intercontinental strategic forces inferior to the limits provided for the Soviet Union."

The Soviets are hard traders. They have proven time and time again that they do not deal unless to their advantage. And once they have the advantage they show no mercy.

I could not cast your vote for any agreement that is unfair and fails to give us a military posture equal to that given to our principal adversary—The Soviet Union.

Remember the "Salt Talks" and the 5 year interim agreement. You will be hearing more and more about this. This is Russian roulette with your lives and liberties.

COMPASSIONATE SERVICEMEN  
HELP VIETNAMESE ORPHANS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, much has been said about our involvement in Vietnam. At this point in time, each of us knows where he or she stands and each of us knows what he or she must do to fulfill his or her personal and public commitments in respect to the prosecution of the war.

But now we must turn our attention to the effects of the war. I believe the article "My Hundred Children" by John Timmerman will interest you. It describes how our servicemen are aiding Vietnamese orphans. We must systematize this aid:

MY HUNDRED CHILDREN

(By John Timmerman)

The road snakes dustily through the stand of rubber trees, their tall slender trunks stretching away in deep shadowy rows as far as the eye can see. A stream of red dust spirals upward from behind the jeep into leafy branches. It is March. There has not been a drop of rain here in nearly four months, and the air hangs hot and dry, like an enormous oven, baking everything within it.

The miles of trees end with a sudden straight wall of trunks, and the countryside becomes rolling brushland. Bamboo huts with glittering tin roofs dot the roadside. These are the homes of rubber workers. Old men squat in the shade before their homes, smoking pipes and waiting the cool of evening.

Jim Taylor, who is riding with me in the jeep, spots the faded red Coca Cola sign and signals to turn off. Almost hidden in the brush is another narrow road, so overgrown that tree limbs slap at the jeep as we bounce over the ruts and bumps. In a small cluster of trees ahead there is a low white building. It seems to hang in the brush as though it were held up by the leaves and limbs. Slowing the jeep I hear the sound of children. So this is the orphanage. I had first heard about it from a helicopter pilot who had seen it one day on a reconnaissance flight; first just a splash of white in the waste field. And then he saw children playing about the old white building.

There are many such orphanages in Vietnam. Separated by death or terror from parents and family, the children come from war-torn villages. They come from the cities as a tragic by-product of the prostitution trade that has flourished in all war zones as long as man has waged wars. The unnoticed, the unknown, the unwanted, they are abandoned to some old white building to forage a new life from the wasteland of their beginnings. While I sat in the jeep thinking of what I had heard and anticipated what I might find, I heard shouts. Suddenly three boys came dashing through the high grass to our jeep. One of the boys jumped up on the seat and smiled a welcome to me. His dark hair fell over his forehead. His face had a wide, wide smile. It must have been a long time since he had seen a visitor. He had on a pair of tattered green shorts, and his bare feet were dusty from the hot road.

"Hi!" he said, smiling. "I'm Lu."

"Hi, Lu," I said.

He pulled on my hand as he led me to the

low white building and called out to his friends as we came near.

So began our struggle to help the one hundred children of Thu Duc Orphanage. It became a long struggle, one that tried our hearts as well as our minds and muscles. Before we could even think of giving, however, we were receiving. As we walked with the three boys, led by Lu, to the White building we were met by an elderly Vietnamese priest named Father Tahn. He welcomed us and brought us into the shade of his room. Suddenly, as if from nowhere, a young girl of about fifteen brought us two warm bottles of Coca-Cola. Few drinks have tasted as good as those which washed the dust from our throats that hot day. Father Tahn explained that he was there every other week trying to do what he could. The look in his eyes made it unnecessary to add that the work was more than one man could ever hope to accomplish. The years of effort showed in his lined face as he gazed at the floor watching a reddish-brown cockroach, at least three inches long, crawling toward the door. With a compassion nurtured for any helpless but struggling creature, he let the roach back its way out of the room.

When we had sipped the last of our warm Cokes Father Tahn gave us our first inside look at the orphanage. The children, of course, first captured our attention. Their faces betrayed their diverse lineage; a mixture of all races they were united in the common class of unwanted. There were many infants, the youngest of which was only two weeks old. None of them were clothed. The children of three-to six-year-old had small handmade shirts for covering, and the older children had only a pair of shorts or the baggy slacks and blouse that were the trademarks of a lower-class Vietnamese woman. The greatest problem, Father Tahn said, was the cold in the rainy season when temperatures often plummeted to the low 60's at night, and no blankets were to be had. It was hard to believe that nearly one hundred children lived, ate, and slept in the five medium-sized rooms that the building had been divided into. When we entered a room the children waited quietly and respectfully by the walls, but as we passed by one little hand after another would swiftly reach out to touch our clothing or squeeze a hand. I picked up a three-year-old girl who clung tightly to my neck and refused to be put down. She went with me from one room to another, tightly clutching me with her thin arms. It was only after we stepped back outside into the sunshine that I noticed that her eyes were grown over with white cataracts. She was totally blind.

The rooms were almost uniformly the same. Cement block walls rose from the dirt floor that had straw sleeping mats laid out in a crowded but precise row. The floors sloped to a center groove that let outside. Father Tahn explained that many of the children were sick and could not contain their defecation. And of course the infants had no diapers. The central gutter made the floor easier to clean. Everywhere flies hung heavily in the air and the stench of defecation clung to the rooms.

Outside there was a small garden hacked out of the brush. A pen contained a half dozen pigs. Chickens scurried about the yard. Over a pit of glowing coals a fifty gallon drum bubbled and smoked with a brackish liquid. Soup, Father Tahn explained, for the week ahead. Father Tahn introduced us to two sisters, Vy and Lahn, fifteen- and sixteen-years-old, who had complete charge of the orphanage when he could not be there. With the same precise determination with which they had wandered for two weeks through the jungle wastelands, to find the orphanage when their village was overrun,

they labored to prepare meals, to arrange work details, and to know the name and history of each individual child. In the weeks ahead we came to admire their strength and resolute courage that so knit together the fragile community into at least the semblance of a large, sprawling family.

The sun was beginning to lower, huge and red, through the leaves of trees, and it was time to head back. The smiling faces about us, the children hesitating to touch us but sneaking out a small hand that asked to be clasped, belied the fact that this was still an insecure area. In the past few hours I had completely forgotten the rifle slung over my shoulder. It was time to be going, but we would be back. Many, many times.

The immediate problem we faced was where to begin. There were so many problems to tackle. First of all, we had to recruit physical help and find time to help. The first problem was solved easily. The men of our company willfully flocked to our aid, volunteering whatever free time they had. But free time was extremely rare. There was no such thing as a work week in Vietnam. One day followed the next with new and demanding tasks. The company first sergeant, John Yefko, a huge, understanding, second-tour veteran of Russian descent, solved the problem of time. He arranged schedules so that enough men could get free on Saturday and Sunday afternoons to make a work force. But we didn't wait until Saturday to begin. Every spare minute, every contact of that first week was dedicated to one purpose, which became our occupational specialty—scrounging. A major in command of an engineering company discovered that he could spare a hundred bags of cement. In exchange for a continuing perfect inspection of the vehicles we used, the Motor Pool offered the use of whatever tools we needed, with the promise of some heavier tools to come. The Chaplain's office became an unending source of aid. Two Brigade Chaplains, LTC Richard Nybro and LTC John Brennan, had a wealth of contacts and favors owed. Miraculously, they produced a gas-powered cement mixer for the next Saturday. Friends of theirs suddenly began discovering hordes of unused blankets. Somehow, they totaled a hundred blankets. I am still amazed that they had just the right number of friends who had just the right number of blankets.

We left early the next Saturday morning with our trucks loaded with construction materials. It was another dazzling hot day, but it passed quickly with the hard work. As if by magic the warm Cokes again appeared in hands that were eager to give. The amazing lesson we kept on learning from these children was this: they had so very little of their own that they had no desire for possessions. They could only give what they had, and this they gave willingly. They were concerned with pleasing us. The spirit was catching. The men who volunteered their time knew that they would have a multitude of tasks waiting for them when they got back to the company that night, yet they labored eagerly for the reward of a smile which turned out to be a priceless gift. The bags of cement were mixed and laid out over the dirt floors in record time. Most of the open windows, mere holes in the wall, were screened off to keep out flies. We left that night knowing there was so much yet to do, but that we had made a start.

With some chagrin we discovered that it was pointless to lay the blankets on a cement floor. There would have to be cots, perhaps even cribs for the infants. Late that night I visited Chaplain Nybro. Again he promised his help. The next day, Sunday, he presented our efforts to the congregation of his chapel service. The chapel was a small building consisting of a roof with screened-in walls.

Nearly everything was handmade. A garden had been scratched out of the rough red clay about the chapel, and flowers—zinnias and marigolds—bloomed radiantly this Sunday morning. The people who came to Chaplain Nybro's service were rich in the spirit of giving of themselves, and they did so again. In one special collection we had enough for a trip to Saigon to purchase cots and cribs.

We still felt that we were only beginning. With each succeeding weekend the orphanage took on more finish, more polish. But working in the presence of the children we discovered that there was still a great need. Young Lu would follow me around, clay in only a dusty, tattered pair of shorts. It was time to care for the children directly. But where could we get clothes in a war zone? Inflated prices made clothing from a store an impossibility. I had written many excited letters about our work to my wife, Pat. But now it seemed that we had reached a temporary standstill in our efforts. About six of us spent a Saturday morning at the orphanage. We walked through the building on fresh cement floors, looked through screened windows. Father Tahn beamed his thanks every minute. The children milled about us as shyly but friendly as ever. Yet we felt curiously despondent. Had we carried our work to a standstill? It was June, and the skies were heavy with clouds promising the first rains of the monsoon season. With spirits as heavy as the clouds we left early in the afternoon.

But when we arrived back at the barracks we were astonished to find ten large boxes shipped in from the States. With the packages was a letter from the Seymour Christian Reformed Church of Grand Rapids, Michigan, the church Pat attended while I was gone. The letter was from a women's society organized as the Orphanage Assistance League. For a month, without my knowing it, they had been meeting at the church, gathering clothing, sewing baby clothes, taking in donations. Each box was packed with surprises. One box was filled with small rubber footballs and softballs, and another contained several dozen baseball shirts with bright red letters proclaiming "The Champs." With a Christmas glow about us we repacked the boxes, and I retired to my room to write a letter of joyful thanks.

The gifts presented problems, however. The clothing was no problem. The little girls pranced about like May Day maidens in their bright new dresses. The boys beamed in shorts and their baseball shirts. But imagine a child who has never before been clothed, who has slept on a dirt floor all his life and is suddenly given a rubber softball to play with. He doesn't know what to do. He pinches it, squeezes it, bites it. To give him the idea you toss the ball gently to him and within seconds rubber softballs are flying all over the yard accompanied with squeals and shouts of delight. If only the ladies of Seymour Church could have heard that excited laughter. One box in particular gave us difficulty, however. With perceptive insight the ladies had packed a box full of soap, toothpaste, and toothbrushes. We called the two girls, Vy and Lahn, over to us and carefully explained how each was used. Then they called the children around them and explained to them. They couldn't understand. Lu had to be my last resort. With many smiles I took the bar of soap and with some water lathered it on his thin arms. With a screech of terror he drew away. He thought his skin was changing color! I quickly showed him that it washed off. Then he did it himself. Children everywhere must have an aversion to soap.

But this opened up another serious realization to us. The children were desperately in need not only of basic cleanliness rules,

but also medical attention. As they came forward one by one to experiment with the soap and toothpaste, we seemed to really notice for the first time emaciated or deformed limbs, boils, sores, and a host of other ills that demanded attention. We all knew some minor first aid, but had nothing to cope with this. Clearly, something had to be done.

It couldn't be done by calling a family doctor. Perhaps no single group is as overworked in Vietnam as the medical corps. We knew if we could get a doctor to come out it would be only very rarely or on a one-time basis. The doctors were all on call at the hospitals twenty-four hours a day, and sometimes they worked nearly that many hours in a single day. Fortunately, one doctor did find a few hours to spare on a Saturday afternoon. He treated the most serious problems, lancing boils, prescribing treatments. But the doctor could hardly spare those few hours. There were a host of ills from common colds on up, and he was only able to scratch the surface. The children needed regular attention. Miraculously, and I can only call it such, we had a windfall. A medic had been wounded while serving in an infantry platoon, and upon his release from the hospital he was assigned to our company to complete his tour of duty. He was a devout Mormon who had volunteered to serve in the Army and in an infantry company. He had dedicated his life to serving others and sustained his service with biblical strength. In the late evenings, while the rest of us were cleaning or writing letters, we were at first surprised to find Specialist/Four Dusty Miller reading passages of scripture into a tape recorder. He confided to me that his eyesight had suddenly started deteriorating and that he expected to be totally blind within five years. By that time he would have the entire Bible tape-recorded. But his dedication to service had not deteriorated a bit. He was supposed to be on light duties, but Saturday morning he was waiting with a loaded medical kit to join us.

Dusty Miller's skill was commensurate with his devotion. He gave the necessary follow-up care to treatments that the doctor had started. He immunized and disinfected with unflagging energy. There were scores of minor medical problems. For example, it is a custom among some Vietnamese to place hard plastic rings as gifts on the fingers of newborn infants. We discovered that the youngest infant, now nearly four months old, had never had the rings removed. The flesh had nearly grown over the rings. No amount of soaping or pulling would bring the rings off the crying baby. While two of us held the baby still, Dusty calmly slipped a scalpel between the folds of skin and slit the rings without so much as nicking the baby's tender flesh.

The months passed. Our hard work was nearly over, and we had the leisure time to give the children the love and playful attention they craved. Many of us had children at home and were eager to return the love pent up inside us. The once overgrown brush was now cut level and rang with the shouts of an afternoon ball game. The young girl whose eyes were tragically overgrown with cataracts held tightly to my hand as we walked the grounds listening to the songs of birds. An appointment had been made for her to have eye surgery at the American hospital in Saigon.

As the months passed, many of us finished our year-long tour of duty and left for home. New and eager faces replaced the older, knowing eyes that had seen a dream evolve and come true. It was a dream of peace, a mere island of peace in a war-torn land, but a start down the long and difficult pathway of renewal which must be traveled. Jim Taylor left in October, and my own time for leaving was only days away. Then came the day when I said my goodbyes to the children

of Thu Duc Orphanage. I left for home, but I carried with me the memory of my one hundred children which I left behind.

#### JAMES S. KEMPER'S PROPHETIC SPEECH OF 1941

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the other day I had occasion to hear a recording of a speech made by the very distinguished American businessman James S. Kemper in 1941. I consider his words most prophetic and even more timely today.

Mr. Kemper delivered the speech as the retiring president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

It is significant, Mr. Speaker, that the founder of the Kemper Insurance Group cited America's labor force 31 years ago at 40 million.

Today, it has more than doubled.

I am placing in the RECORD today Mr. Kemper's remarks for they give us an outstanding panorama of America three decades ago.

I am pleased to note that as former U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Kemper is still very active and just as concerned about our Nation as he was 31 years ago.

His own insurance group, now headed by his son James Kemper, has grown enormously in these three decades and today constitutes an integral part of growth in the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, so that researchers and scholars can draw a significant comparison in the growth of our Nation, I am placing Mr. Kemper's entire speech in the RECORD.

The speech follows:

#### AMERICAN BUSINESS LOOKS AHEAD

(Speech given by Ambassador James S. Kemper, April 28, 1941)

We are met at a serious time in the history of our country. This, however, is not unique in our experience as a nation. Many times before we have faced and solved problems of equal or greater import.

Our principal difficulty, as I view it, is that in our thinking of what is best, for America we are confused by a multitude of conflicting cross-currents of attitude and viewpoint. Fundamentally, American objectives are what they always have been. We believe in equality of opportunity. We believe in justice administered impartially, and we wish to preserve American standards of living and the philosophies of life and government that have made America great.

But when we get down to the issue of how best to realize these things, we immediately find a wide diversity of opinion. That diversity relates less to our objectives than to the methods by which the objectives best may be attained.

I shall not attempt to explore the divergent views as to the road we should take. I should however mention certain aspects of the situation with respect to which it seems to me American business should concern itself.

Looking back over the years at the national scene, I think we can feel that, altogether Americans have done a pretty good job. There are, however, in the picture of today, some cancerous growths upon which the searchlight of public opinion well might be focused.

I should like to discuss with you for a moment a new disease which is undermining our morale. What disease is that, you ask? For want of a better term, I'll call it the non-occupational disease. I am not referring now to the well known shovel-leaners. I am referring to those who have fostered the idea, and usually practiced it too, that the individual should not concern himself with his future, his place in the sun, if you please—but should leave all that to the State. Why bother to accumulate a nest egg to make possible the purchase of a home? Why be concerned about the next payment date on the life insurance policy? Why worry about the funds with which to educate the growing youngsters? The planners will make it all quite simple. Inoculate yourself with the non-occupational disease, and let the State do the worrying.

Simple, isn't it? No more hard work, long hours, careful planning, frugal living, sacrifice. Gone will be the struggle to get ahead. Gone will be incentive to create. Gone will be the satisfaction in a day's work well done. Instead what? The State, all powerful, not the creature and servant of the people assuring them of equality of opportunity, justice, and the rights inherent to a nation of free men. But the State supreme; the State planning the lives of its citizens. Work, play, study . . . dictating the paths of old and young alike; providing a so-called social security, dispensed as bounty by the State. In short, the very sort of life and philosophy some would have us send our sons abroad to suppress.

Throughout the world we have witnessed the spectacle of the citizens of democratic nations losing their rights. But this process has not been confined to continental Europe. It has been going on in this hemisphere, and right here in our own United States of America.

It must have been as startling to you as it was to me to read the report of a survey made to the American Youth Commission which indicated that more than 90% of the youth of America considered that the responsibility for providing them with jobs lay with the government. I don't know what your reaction was, but mine was not one of challenge of the youth. On the contrary, my reaction was definitely that an attitude of this kind, if true, only could be explained by false leadership in our homes, or in our communities, or in our government.

For some years, we have witnessed the gradual extension of the powers of the State, which automatically is a negation of the rights and privileges of the individual. Long before the rearmament program was undertaken, we witnessed laws by decree and not by the normal procedures of representative democracy. The label of attempted justification usually has been 'emergency', but it might more properly be called 'political expediency'. I almost used a stronger term, because I can envision no greater crime, no more far-reaching sabotage against this republic of free men, than that eventual supremacy of the State under which it, and not the people, would be supreme.

At the conclusion of the Constitutional Convention which brought order out of chaos and a republic out of a loosely knit federation of independent states, an anxious friend asked Benjamin Franklin, "Well, Mr. Franklin, what kind of a government have you given us?" Franklin's response was simple and to the point. I commend it to you today as a watchword for the difficult days that lie ahead. Franklin said, "We have a Republic, if we can keep it." Gentlemen, it is your job and my job, and this goes for the ladies too, to do what we can to keep it.

The subject of my talk with you today is American Business Looks Ahead. No mariner at sea and no business man attempts to chart his course without considering the possibility of rough weather that may be en-

countered. I trust that in what I say you will not get the impression that I think the picture is all bad, and that the outlook for the future is hopeless. I mention the adverse factors exactly as the mariner studies his barometer that he may guide his ship safely to its destination. And I have a very firm conviction that the ability of the American ship to weather what is ahead will depend upon the intelligent interest, the devotion, the hard work and the sacrifice that leaders of business and industry are willing to give for the general good.

At the moment, of course, our thoughts and our attention are centered upon the war abroad and the part that we are playing, or may play in it. In the last year, our national situation has undergone one of those sweeping changes that sometimes comes in the life of a nation.

Hitherto we have been essentially a nation proud of its traditions, clinging with almost complete devotion to the admonitions of Washington to steer clear of foreign entanglements, and with no jealousy or resentment with respect to engravements of other countries.

Aloofness from the quarrels of the rest of the world has been a lodestar of our foreign policy. Now that policy has been cast aside. The Congress of the United States, as representative of the people, has by the enactment of the so-called Lease-Lend Bill, given legislative approval not only to aid to England, but to any other country the President may select. There is every indication that the American people favor this legislation. Whether this support will prove to be inconsistent with their greater opposition to American fighting participation in the war, remains to be seen. But regardless of whether or not the implications of this legislation fully are realized and accepted, the program now is a part of our national policy.

It is inseparable too from our own defense program, and so becomes not alone a question of production to meet our defense needs, but to meet the needs of all those to whom the President decides we are to extend aid.

The country has called upon American business and industry to produce . . . to produce faster . . . with more ingenuity, and in greater quantities than ever before. Businessmen have responded wholeheartedly and unselfishly. They have performed miracles in the way of preparation, expansion of plant capacity, and in actual production.

At the present time we have gainfully employed in America approximately 40 million workers, accomplishing 80 billion hours of productive effort.

It is estimated that the defense program will require 20 billion work hours—that is, 25% of our productive effort. We can't have our cake and eat it too. Either every employed person in the country must do on the average 25% more work, or we must get along without some of the things we now have.

At this point I should like to add a word about priorities. I have no doubt that the very capable man under whose direction questions of priorities will be decided, is deeply concerned about and continuously will give full consideration to those industries which, as a result of priority rulings, might be forced to close plants that for decades have done a good job for customer, management, and labor.

In this, we should take a page from the book of Britain. Under the very guns and bombs of Germany, pressed as we certainly are not and never shall be, the British nevertheless are careful not to cripple industry engaged in the production of non-military goods. Particularly they are careful to keep going those industries that are producing for their foreign trade.

Let us produce all out for our defense program—let us accept priorities and impose substitutes where necessary—but let us not

make the mistake of completely disrupting our economy by an hysterical derangement of our normal production.

On one phase of the complicated scene, there always has been complete unanimity of American opinion. I refer to the need of making our own country impregnable to attack by the early completion of our rearmament program. While the strike situation, apparently, is on the mend, it still is the most serious obstacle to our military defense. As a result, there has developed a strong minority opinion calling for the outlawry of strikes and lockouts. As I see it, such a step would be the worst possible way to deal with the problem. Such methods failed England in the first World War, and both the Canadian and Australian experience condemns compulsory arbitration methods on the simple ground that they won't work.

The National Defense Mediation Board has made a good beginning and it certainly should be given a fair trial before it is discarded for some untried legislative scheme.

In such a time as this, there are not just two parties to a strike or lockout—there are three. The general welfare of America itself is the third and most important interest in every controversy involving production for national defense. And let every labor union and every employer take note that the general welfare of America must take precedence over every other consideration. As President Coolidge well said, there is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime.

While I appreciate that national defense is the first order of the day, that suggestions of economy are too likely to be thrust aside at such a time, I wish to say that it is just as perilous to ignore prudence in financing our defense program, as it would be not to acquire modern arms and munitions of war.

The businessmen in Washington, familiarly known as the dollar-a-year men, who are giving so much of their time and energy to making America impregnable, made good in their own businesses by watching their cost sheets. They were men whose box office records showed that they had satisfied customers, improved working conditions, and at the same time had kept their companies solvent. Their presence here in Washington should stimulate—and I hope it will stimulate—our government administrators not to overlook the cost sheets of our country.

The Federal Government alone is entering upon a program of expenditures in the next two years of about \$40 billion. This tremendous sum is difficult to comprehend, but we can get a fair basis of comparison when we realize that it is 30% more than the entire assets which all the insurance companies of American have accumulated in 100 years and more, to protect some 100 million of our people against the day of adversity. And it also is nearly a third more than all the accumulated savings deposits of the nation in mutual savings banks, other State banks, trust companies, private banks, national banks, and building and loan associations.

It must be obvious that the god of modern war wears a crown of gold, and we must school ourselves to the unpleasant fact that we can't be well armed and not pay the price. I am sure that no good American will protest the necessary cost of providing adequate national defense. But every American is entitled to know that the money raised by the tremendous mortgage which the Federal debt is placing upon his savings, will be wisely and conscientiously disbursed.

In November, last, the President stated that non-military expenditures would be cut to the bone. Yet the total of these items in the new budget was less than 1% below the budget of the previous year. The Secretary of the Treasury on February 12 of this year, urged Congress to examine non-defense ex-

penditures with a magnifying glass in an effort to achieve economies. But so far either Congress or the magnifying glass have failed to work.

The best place to start in putting our financial house in better order is on these non-military expenditures, and I urge all of you in the coming year to cooperate with the Chamber in an effort to get something more helpful than unredeemed promises.

An old friend recently said to me, "But how can you speak of dollars when the world is afire?" My answer to him and to you is, national defense, adequate national defense, does not justify propagation in the expenditure of public funds. National defense should not be used as a patriotic cloak to hide waste and inefficiency in non-defense expenditures. If the lessons of the past twenty years are of any value, they teach that dictatorships as much as anything else are receiverships.

And finally, I should answer the twin children of Mars are death and debt. Death, in all its tragedy, might under some conditions be preferable to the living horror of life in a country in which the people were mere pawns of a state which came into power as the result of impairment of the Federal credit.

I think it is a fair conclusion that by our handling of internal affairs during this rearmament period, we probably shall be determining the structure of government and life under which we shall live for many years to come. That is why we should, in addition to our tremendous arming effort, give daily thought and real study to our domestic problems.

The very uncertainty of the future makes it obligatory upon us to leave no stone unturned, to do whatever it is possible to do to cushion the impact on the business of this nation which will follow the withdrawal of the artificial stimulants to trade, which now give the patient such a persuasive but deceptive appearance of prosperity.

Our own rearmament program and the support of the British war effort are two of the most important props to our present business activity, but no one can predict how long this condition will continue. Because of this, I believe we businessmen should begin at once, with detailed and comprehensive programs, to discover and develop new sources of business. As I see it, we should proceed on three fronts. Each business should set up its own machinery to study new markets, new products, and other avenues for employment.

Chambers of Commerce and other business organizations should set up committees to work out long range programs so that every community best can utilize its resources and its economic assets.

Thirdly, all of the technical and research groups in private industry, in the universities, and in research associations, in cooperation with Government, should make the subject of employment in the reconstruction period a major current program. In this way, the best brains of the nation can do some effective work before the critical period actually is upon us. By tackling the job now, and getting something constructive ready for action, we probably can escape a lot of crackpot schemes that will come out of hiding when the wholesale need for jobs again becomes acute.

Many vital questions will be an important part of your deliberations in this annual meeting. I have touched on only a few, and have left to others the important question, for example, of taxes. There is no easy solution for the difficult and perplexing problems they present.

But the task before you is an inspiring and challenging opportunity to perform a great public service. It is my comforting conviction that the business leaders making up this

impressive body will prove equal to that challenge.

I am an American . . . you are Americans. Each of us is proud of his heritage. Down deep in our natures we have a love for this country that words cannot express. I can only say to you that as I approach the end of my stewardship of this great organization, I do so with a sincere conviction that each one of us will dedicate himself unselfishly and wholeheartedly to the preservation of the greatest nation of all time.

I promise you that, as a private in the ranks, I shall not fail to do my humble part.

#### AFTER THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, no area of the world offers the United States more problems or more opportunities than Latin America. Our inter-American relations will continue to be jolted by profound social and political changes in the continent.

These changes will affect the great American commercial investment there. Coming as they do in a period where ideological warfare is receding, these changes will also occur in a climate where previous American predominance will have to yield to a true partnership. We will no longer be able to control events in Latin America, as we have so often in the past, by alternate appeals to the importance of American capital and to the dangers of international communism.

Latin America will have to face, on its own terms, the enormous energies released by social and political democracy. We must try to help this development and we can do this best by understanding ourselves, much better than we have in the past, what is truly happening there.

Jerome Levinson is the author of an excellent book—with Juan de Onís—called "The Alliance That Lost Its Way: A Critical Report on the Alliance for Progress." Mr. Levinson, now on the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has summarized and extended the theses of his book in an article, excerpts of which follow, which should be read by all interested in our future relations with Latin America.

The excerpts of the book follow:

[From *Changing Latin America: New Interpretations of Its Politics and Society*, ed. Douglas A. Chambers, Proceedings at the Academy of Political Science, August 30, 1972]

#### AFTER THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS: IMPLICATIONS FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

(By Jerome I. Levinson)

The Charter of Punta del Este inaugurating the Alliance for Progress was signed August 17, 1961, by all of the member states of the Organization of American States (OAS), with the exception of Cuba. The Alliance was a comprehensive political, economic, and social program designed to improve the life and welfare of the people of the Latin American republics with the aid and material assistance of the United States. In the past ten years, important economic advances have

been achieved in Latin America. Regional economic growth in the past five years has exceeded the Alliance's target of 2.5 percent per capita. The Latin American countries have financed 90 percent of their development with their own resources, exceeding the Alliance's objective of 80 percent. Latin American foreign-exchange reserves have been rebuilt to respectable levels. . . . Despite the fact that there have undoubtedly been great disappointments with respect to the numerical targets of the Alliance, any fair accounting must conclude that the achievements have been significant, and, more important, that without the Alliance, economic progress may well have been significantly slower.

But the Alliance for Progress was more than a set of economic statistics, however important they are as indicators of physical advances. The Alliance was based as well upon strategic, political, economic, and social assumptions, all of which have been largely discredited by events. Now, ten years after the Alliance was inaugurated, the spirit which infused it has been largely dissipated. In a recent speech the secretary general of the Organization of American States accused the current United States administration of having no policy in Latin America, and an increasingly rancid dialogue permeates United States and Latin American relationships. Because the conditions which led to the assumptions that underlay the Alliance have so radically changed, it is timely to reconsider the original assumptions as a preliminary to reformulating United States policy in Latin America.

#### THE POLICY ASSUMPTIONS

In strategic terms, the Alliance for Progress was perfectly consistent with traditional United States thinking about the vital importance of Latin America to United States security by virtue of its proximity.

Thus the policy framework which was to underlie the Alliance for Progress first emerged in the 1930s as a response to the threat of German expansionism: an intimate linkup between the United States and Latin American military establishments; United States financing of Latin American development projects; and the mobilization of the inter-American treaty system to confront a potential security threat to the United States and other countries of the hemisphere. This policy framework was superimposed on the United States' investment presence in Latin America. . . .

If United States policy in the decade of the 1930s reflected its preoccupation with internal economic and social problems and the approaching holocaust of World War II, in the postwar period it reflected the worldwide confrontation with "International Communism." That policy was founded upon the premise that the United States was confronted with a significant threat to its physical security by the desire of the Soviet Union for world domination. Latin America was only one part of a global confrontation with an expanding Soviet Communist monolith. . . .

#### EMERGING MIDDLE CLASS

The economic expansion in Latin America during and immediately after World War II was accompanied by the emergence of the middle class as an increasingly dominant force in Latin American politics. Dissatisfied with corruption, the repression of civil liberties, and the absence of political institutions, the middle class aspired to constitutional processes and representative political institutions. It was middle-class political opposition that spurred the overthrow of Batista in Cuba, Pérez Jiménez in Venezuela, and Rojas Pinilla in Colombia. It was also the middle class which provided the impetus for a nationalist economic-development policy in Brazil and Argentina, with an increasingly prominent role for state enterprise.

But that same middle class, while generally favorable to reform of educational institutions, especially when it was to its benefit, and more vaguely for reform of the traditional agrarian structure, was ambiguous about domestic measures to improve the lot of the marginal masses, particularly when such improvement could jeopardize their own economic status, which was often precarious, and their newfound political leverage.

Vice President Nixon's trip to Latin America in 1958 catalyzed the hostility of the middle-class youth toward the United States for its indiscriminate support of former dictators and the economic dominance of its corporations. The triumph in 1959 of Fidel Castro in Cuba and the subsequent flight of the middle and upper strata of Cuban society raised the spectre of an "inverting social pyramid" in Latin America with the possible emergence of governments hostile to United States strategic interests and receptive to Soviet influence.

The Alliance for Progress did not change this cold-war framework of United States policy. It was premised on the traditional assumption that Latin America by virtue of its proximity was vital to United States security interests. David Bell, former administrator of the Agency for International Development, noted that "President Kennedy gave a special importance to Latin America. He considered that the problems were right on our door step."<sup>1</sup> At Punta del Este in 1961, the Kennedy administration committed itself to a major program of capital assistance, \$2 billion a year for ten years, primarily in the form of long-term loans by public rather than private entities; it played down the role of United States private enterprise, and accepted economic planning and the importance of state enterprise in promoting Latin American economic development. Impelled by a sense of competition with Castro's Cuba for the allegiance of Latin America's masses, the United States negotiators were more insistent on the social-reform objectives of the Charter of Punta del Este than most of the Latin American governments were. . . .

Viewed in this perspective, the Alliance for Progress can be seen as an attempt on the part of the Kennedy administration to re-define immediate United States policy objectives to coincide with the aspirations of the Latin American middle class for political democracy and economic development, with particular emphasis on the need for social reform to confront the challenge posed by Castro's Cuba. This redefinition, however, was still within the traditional United States strategic framework. The Alliance accordingly was both traditional and innovative. Above all, it was a true expression of the America of the early 1960s, permeated with the spirit of "can do," unrestrained by a sense of tragic history, irrationalities, and the sometimes intractable forces that place constraints on the efforts of men with the best intentions.

#### THE CHANGED CONDITION IN LATIN AMERICA

There is no consensus in Latin America now, as there was ten years ago, on the desirability of representative political institutions as the most appropriate framework within which economic and social development is to take place. The middle-class political structure has been unable to reconcile the conflicting forces within Latin American society. Caught between the spectre of social revolution and the intransigence of more traditional vested interests, and beset by divisions within its own ranks, the political structure cracked, as in Brazil, Peru, and

<sup>1</sup> Jerome I. Levinson and Juan de Onís, *The Alliance Lost Its Way: A Critical Report on the Alliance for Progress* (Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1970), p. 50.

Argentina. It was outflanked from within on the left, as in Chile. Where it survives, as in Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, and Uruguay, it is under great strain. In the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Central America (with the exception of Costa Rica), political democracy was too narrowly based to be effective. As the formal political system was shattered or as it lost credibility, the role of the political opposition has been increasingly assumed by elements of the Catholic church or urban terrorists. In some cases both have appointed themselves the champions of the disenfranchised masses.

Similarly, there is no consensus on the preferred economic model as there was on the essentially capitalist but mixed economy at the beginning of the 1960s.

The middle class is no longer viewed as a bulwark of peace and democracy, as it was by American policy makers in the early 1960s. In Brazil, the middle class is one of the primary beneficiaries of the Brazilian economic program; it shows no impatience to return to a more open political system in which appeals to the masses by populist politicians could threaten recent economic gains. On the other hand, in Chile large elements of the middle class, along with the landowning and business elements of Chilean society, feel themselves threatened by the Allende program of redistribution of income and socialization of the economy. They view the political system as a major vehicle for slowing the advance of that program. A strategy for the United States based on support of the middle class was thus necessarily as ambiguous as the middle class itself.

The initial assumptions of political, economic, and social development in Latin America with which the Kennedy administration sought to align the United States at the opening of the decade, and which constituted the development strategy of the Alliance for Progress were, at the end of the decade, if not obliterated, open to serious question.

#### IN THE UNITED STATES

If the underlying conditions in Latin America have drastically changed, undermining the basic policy assumptions of the Alliance with respect to Latin American development, the change has been no less fundamental with respect to the United States. There is no clearly defined monolithic enemy, "International Communism." Instead, the Sino-Soviet split and the independent policies of Rumania and Yugoslavia evidence a pluralistic Communist world with varying degrees of antipathy and accommodation with the United States. The technology of warfare—intercontinental ballistic missiles, strategic bombing force, and the Poseidon and Polaris submarine fleet—assures, at least under present circumstances, a strategic balance of terror. There is a growing awareness in the United States that proximity is no longer necessarily a compelling factor in defining threats to American security. In the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis, the likelihood of further Soviet testing of this thesis is viewed as increasingly remote. The initial propelling force of the Alliance for Progress—the conviction that Latin America, by virtue of its proximity to the United States, is an area of vital strategic interest—has thus been largely dissipated. . . .

At the beginning of the decade, the United States was the major source of capital for world development. Douglas Dillon's commitment in 1961 at Punta del Este of \$20 billion for Latin American development over a period of ten years appeared to be more a recognition of past neglect than an onerous future burden, particularly placed in the context of a challenge from Castro's Cuba. Not only is the challenge no longer credible, but the balance-of-payments position of the United States has drastically eroded. . . .

These changes in the strategic outlook and international financial condition of the

United States are paralleled by perhaps even more significant developments within the United States. What was lacking at the beginning of the decade as an effective constraint upon United States policy—a sense of limitation—is now a pronounced characteristic of the American scene, perhaps to an exaggerated degree. The revisionist school of history has cast doubt upon the essential virtue of American intentions in the world at large. There has been no "end of ideology." Now that the problem of satisfying basic wants has been solved and postindustrial society is preoccupied with the creative utilization of leisure time, political discourse in the United States treats once again of fundamental questions: distribution of income, tax reform, land ownership and use, and corporate power and its influence in government policy.

The cumulative effect of these factors—the lack of credibility of the traditional strategic security rationale, the changed position of the United States in international finance, and the resurgence of concern with fundamental domestic issues—has reduced interest among United States policy makers in problems of development in Latin America and the rest of the Third World. . . .

#### THE COLD WAR FRAMEWORK

Despite professions of political neutrality, the Nixon administration could not disengage itself from the policy framework of the cold war. The policy toward the Allende government in Chile has been one of thinly disguised hostility, varying from relatively insignificant diplomatic slights to denial of Export-Import Bank credits for purchase of aircraft. This hostility has been based less on a concern for the fate of the Chilean people than for the possible perception on the part of the Soviet Union of evidence of United States weakness in allowing a "Communist" government to emerge in the Western Hemisphere, evidence that might tempt the Soviet Union to test the will of the United States in other places of more strategic importance.

The administration's policy statement of January 19, 1972, on expropriation of the property of United States corporations evidenced a determination to adopt a policy of confrontation over the interests of United States corporations threatened with expropriation. It provided that unless in the judgment of the administration reasonable measures were taken to compensate United States companies for expropriated properties, not only bilateral economic assistance would be terminated to the countries in question but, additionally, the United States would use its voting power in multilateral institutions to stop loans to such countries. That policy statement, although worldwide in scope, was primarily addressed to Latin America. It was more far-reaching than the Hickenlooper Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act which did provide for cutting off bilateral economic assistance when United States companies whose property had been expropriated did not receive prompt and adequate compensation, but had not explicitly been extended to encompass multilateral institutions. The statement of January 19, 1972, accordingly represented a strategy of confrontation rather than accommodation. . . .

Hence, the administration's attempt to adopt a "low profile" policy towards Latin America was thwarted by its political predilections, uncritical espousal of United States corporate interests, and fundamental divisions over the goals of United States assistance strategy.

#### THE 1970'S AND THE POLICY VACUUM

The ambiguity of the administration's policy and the paralyzation of its program are symptomatic of a more far-reaching problem, the lack of consensus within the United States on the role that the country should play in the world after the Vietnam

war. The breakdown of the cold war, anti-Communist, containment rationale of United States foreign policy which dominated the period after World War II has left an intellectual vacuum. There is no agreement on the definition of legitimate United States security needs, particularly in light of dramatic changes in the technology of warfare. Neither is there agreement on the proper balance between security, both economic and political, and moral and humanistic values. Similarly, there is no accord on the proportion of resources in relationship to domestic needs that the United States is prepared to devote to assist the economic and social progress of the developing world. The debate over the relative merits of bilateral and multilateral aid is basically a debate over the goals of the United States economic-assistance policy, what weight should be given to influencing other governments through these means, to stopping Communism, to selling United States goods abroad, and to giving economic assistance because it is "right." The choice of instrument inevitably depends to a large degree on the relative ranking of these goals.

The policy vacuum that appears to exist with respect to Latin America, on which Galo Plaza remarked at the Ministerial Meeting of the Organization of American States in the spring of 1972, is thus symptomatic of deeper questioning within the American policy over the basic objectives of United States foreign policy. The trauma left by the Vietnam war is deep and goes to fundamental issues—whether United States intervention is virtuous or ignoble, symptomatic of a basic flaw in United States society or a tragic miscalculation of limited rather than general scope, the logical consequence of a mistaken world outlook or a misapplication of a basically sound global policy framework. . . .

#### LATIN AMERICAN TRENDS

As the United States turns inward to deal with its domestic problems and questions the limits of its foreign involvement, the Latin American countries seek to diversify their political, financial, and commercial ties. They have established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and, increasingly, with China. Trade ties with countries other than the United States are also increasing. From 1958-60 to 1969, the annual value of Latin American exports to the United States virtually stagnated, rising only from \$3.5 billion to \$4.1 billion. In the same period, Latin American exports to the European Economic Community countries rose from \$1.4 billion to \$2.7 billion, while exports to Japan more than tripled from \$233 million to \$790 million. Canada has become a member of the Inter-American Development Bank. Negotiations are underway with Japan and the European nations, including Great Britain, for membership.

Similarly, as the United States has adopted a more passive diplomatic and political role, intraregional diplomacy and political activity have become more intense. The Brazilian foreign minister visited the Central American countries, extending lines of credit for purchasing Brazilian manufactures. Brazil lent \$13.5 million to Bolivia and at the same time sent Brazilian technicians to provide assistance. The Argentine president visited the Pacific coast countries, and Argentina is contemplating membership in the Andean Group of nations. Mexico extended its trade and historic political interest into Central America. Colombia and Venezuela became members of the Caribbean Development Bank.

Inevitably, these developments have had an impact upon the inter-American system. Instead of concern with extrahemispheric threats, the OAS is becoming increasingly a forum for resolving differences between the United States and Latin America, primarily over economic issues. Confrontation has become more pronounced; the Latin American countries caucus as a more self-conscious

bloc. Special groups are formed outside of the system to formulate Latin American positions to be presented to the United States. All of these trends are likely to continue through the 1970s.

A similar process in individual countries is taking place. Traditional alliances—for example, among military, landowning, business, and church elites—dissolved and were reconstituted in combinations that would have been considered unthinkable at the beginning of the decade. In Bolivia the Falange and the MNR, long bitter rival parties, combined to form a government with the military. . . .

#### POLICY ISSUES FOR THE 1970'S

The essential issue for United States policy in Latin America in this decade is how the United States can live with a region in the throes of change, which at times will attain revolutionary dimensions and which will inevitably affect adversely some United States interests, both private and public. In its broadest terms the issue is whether the United States will seek to contain or accommodate these changed circumstances. The Alliance for Progress was an ambitious attempt by the United States to assure by political, economic, and military means an outcome favorable to United States interests, although at its inception it was more concerned with United States security than with corporate interests. In its statement of January 19, 1972, on expropriation policy, the Nixon administration opted for a policy of confrontation over the status of United States property interests. Neither the Alliance approach nor that of the Nixon administration is likely to prove adequate to the circumstances of the 1970s.

While the United States rethinks and redefines its global role and while Latin American alignments are rapidly shifting, both international and domestic policy must be tentative and flexible. Nevertheless, certain guidelines seem clear. United States policy should avoid converting a series of bilateral shocks, which can be expected to occur in this decade, into crises of such magnitude that they topple the totality of relationships between the United States and individual Latin American countries, as well as undermine the inter-American system. While the political and strategic rationale for the United States's role in the world is at issue, the policy vacuum in Latin America has been filled by concern with the strongest remaining United States interest in the area, that of United States corporations which have investments there. It is illusory to believe that with an investment interest of United States companies amounting to nearly \$14 billion, the United States government can maintain a "low profile" in Latin America. That investment interest, however, is not monolithic; companies may have different and conflicting interests. . . . The problem for United States policy, then, is to recognize the diversity of corporate interests, and above all, to discriminate between the United States's national interest and that of individual corporations, determining where the two coincide and where they diverge. Given the absence of consensus on the merits of bilateral and multilateral aid, which masks a more fundamental disagreement over the purposes of foreign economic assistance, a minimum objective of any policy of assistance should be to insulate the multilateral institutions from immediate binational issues, so that they may remain effective bridges between the United States and Latin America. Finally, the internal political development of individual Latin American countries is beyond the competence of the United States to control. With the end of the strategic security rationale, however, the United States need not fear the displeasure of regimes that follow practices abhorrent to fundamental concepts of human dignity; but it may, and should, condemn them for what they are.

#### TAX REFORM

### HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, in 1967, in a speech here in the House of Representatives, I said: "Is it not high time that we set about living up to the pledge we made to the American public in enacting the 1964 tax reduction amendments that tax reform would soon follow? May I suggest that the municipal and industrial revenue bond tax loopholes, the oil and mineral depletion allowance scandal, tax exempt foundation abuses, and other tax gimmicks and special privilege loopholes once and for all be removed from our tax laws."

Subsequently, the 91st Congress enacted the Tax Reform Act of 1969, which I strongly supported. This was one of the most comprehensive tax reform laws in our history. Among its major provisions were the following:

Established a minimum tax on previously tax-free income;

Put a ceiling on the amount of capital gain income subject to special tax treatment;

Tightened the restrictions on tax-free foundations and levied a 4-percent audit tax on them;

Repealed the investment tax credit; Reduced the oil depletion allowance from 27.5 to 22 percent;

Increased the minimum standard deduction to remove about 5.5 million low-income taxpayers from the tax rolls; and

Increased the personal exemption and maximum standard deduction.

Although the Tax Reform Act of 1969 was a step in the right direction, it simply did not go far enough, because the glaring loopholes that enable special interests and the wealthy to avoid paying their fair share of the tax burden have been largely ignored, and consequently, public confidence in the basic fairness of our tax system has steadily eroded.

Legal tax rates mean nothing because the tax preferences which mainly help the rich have distorted these rates. For instance, the heaviest weight of our country's tax burden falls on wage earners whose annual salaries range between \$8,000 and \$15,000. Although these working people make up only 26 percent of our population and earn only 20 percent of our Nation's personal income, they pay a tremendous 36 percent in individual taxes.

According to the Census Department, when all taxes—including sales taxes, property taxes, and other State taxes—are computed, a family earning \$6,000 annually pays the same percentage of income tax as a family with an income of \$50,000—about 30 percent.

And the diminishing role for corporate taxation in the Federal revenue picture makes the individual taxpayer's plight even more discouraging and untenable. According to the Wall Street Journal, the effective tax rate on corporate profits has dropped almost 10 percent during the past 2 years, while the effective

rate on individuals is still about as high as it was 10 years ago.

It was disclosed recently that the number of individuals who had adjusted gross incomes in excess of \$200,000 without paying tax was reduced from 300 in 1969 to 106 in 1970. However, in my opinion, this is still far too many. A system that taxes the rich and the poor at the same rate, as social security and State and local property taxes most certainly do, should not only be condemned, it should be totally and completely changed.

If we are to have truly effective tax reform, then such reform must not only plug tax loopholes—it must also insure that the foundations, the very wealthy individuals, the oil industry, and major corporations begin to bear their share of the tax burden. It would seem fair to ask why corporations can deduct the cost of their private jet planes and executive luncheons in the finest restaurants when the factory worker cannot deduct his bus fare to work or the cost of his sandwiches for lunch. Many of the Nation's richest corporations pay no Federal income tax whatsoever.

The Congress must take positive steps to make an equitable distribution of the tax burden among all of our people. Each deduction must be carefully scrutinized individually to eliminate those that are truly discriminatory and to retain those that are serving a useful purpose.

For instance, the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance of the House Banking and Currency Committee, on which I serve, recently undertook a study of 24 tax-exempt foundations in order to determine the degree of their compliance with the provisions of the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

For the first time, this study reveals the tremendous amount of our Nation's wealth that has been removed from our tax base by the use of private foundations and points out the fact that private control of tax-exempt foundations has not generated the philanthropic response intended by the drafters of the Internal Revenue Code. On the contrary, many of these private foundations have been used as a vehicle for perpetrating control over a substantial portion of our Nation's wealth by a select few chosen for financial status or prestige rather than by democratic means.

Now that the facts are in, my subcommittee can move forward and take further stringent action as indicated by the results of the report. The chairman, Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN, has assured me of his intention to hold hearings on this issue during the 93d Congress.

In addition, Chairman WILBUR MILLS of the Ways and Means Committee, which has jurisdiction over all tax legislation, has already announced plans "to hold extensive hearings on tax reform early in the first session of the 93d Congress." The chairman indicated that these hearings will be broad and will be concerned with a substantive revision of wide areas of the tax laws.

I have given and shall continue to give my wholehearted support to these efforts in the Congress to enact meaningful tax reform legislation. In a democracy such as ours it is imperative that the tax

burden be equitably distributed among all of the people. Today we are faced with a national debt of over \$450 billion. During the last 4 years we spent an astounding \$100 billion more than we collected in taxes. It is about time that we put our financial house in order by cutting out waste and duplication in Federal spending and by instituting meaningful tax reforms.

It has been said that the American people are the most honest taxpayers in the world. This is certainly in keeping with the American tradition of "fair play." I believe that all of our citizens are willing to accept their fair share of the tax burden as long as the money is wisely spent, and the benefits as well as the burdens are equally shared.

Up until now, however, all Americans have not been paying their fair share and, frankly, I sympathize with those of our people on salaries and fixed incomes who now grumble about taxes. The fat cats, the corporations, and the multi-million-dollar foundations must be made to carry their part of the burden. Only then will taxpaying become the proud responsibility of American citizenship that it should be.

THE NATIONAL PEACE POLL: 500 VOTES FOR PEACE FROM ILLINOIS

**HON. ABNER J. MIKVA**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the Gallup and Harris polls over the last few years have shown that a majority of the American people want an immediate end to the Vietnam war. Despite these poll results, American troops are still in Southeast Asia, U.S. bombs rain devastation down on the Vietnamese people daily, and falling any Presidential initiative to stop the conflagration the House of Representatives has yet to vote to end the war.

In an effort to provide irrefutable proof to the Congress that most Americans—not just a sampling of 1,500—want the war immediately halted, the National Peace Poll was launched several months ago by Peace Alert USA. Peace Alert USA, a bipartisan group of Members of Congress and private citizens, decided that every voter in this country should be given the opportunity to vote on one simple question: "Should Congress bring the war to an end by cutting off the funds?"

Ballots have appeared in newspapers around the country. Labor unions, church groups, trade and other organizations have printed the National Peace Poll ballot in their publications. Success so far can be measured by the number of ballots that have been steadily coming into the post office box in Washington, D.C. To date the results are running more than 20 to 1 in favor of congressional action to terminate the war.

At the end of my remarks I will insert in the RECORD a copy of the ballot and a list of the congressional sponsors and

private citizen members of the national board of Peace Alert USA. Since the poll is a continuing effort to determine the will of the people, I invite those of my colleagues who are not yet congressional sponsors to become so.

Thousands of ballots have been received from my State of Illinois. Due to limitations of space, it is not possible to list everyone from Illinois who has voted in the National Peace Poll. Recently, I listed 500 of those conscientious citizens who let the Congress know that they want us to vote to cut off all funds for the war. Today I am pleased to insert a list of 500 more advocates of peace. The list follows:

NATIONAL PEACE POLL

Should Congress bring the war to an end by cutting off the funds?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone no. \_\_\_\_\_

Send this ballot to: National Peace Poll, Box 1621, Washington, D.C. 20013

Within the next few weeks, Congress must make a decision on whether to vote funds for the War in Vietnam. By setting a date to terminate the funds, it can legislate the withdrawal of our forces and insure the return of our prisoners. Or it can vote to continue the war. Your opinion will influence how they will vote.

PEACE ALERT USA

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Rep. Paul McCloskey, Jr. (R-Cal.).  
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Kenneth Gray (Ill).  
William J. Green (Pa).  
Michael Harrington (Mass).  
Augustus Hawkins (Calif).  
Ken Hechler (W. Va).  
Henry Helstoski (NJ).  
William Hungate (Mo).  
Joseph Karth (Minn).  
Ed Koch (NY).  
Robert Kastenmeier (Wisc).  
Robert Leggett (Calif).  
Ralph Metcalfe (Ill).  
Abner Mikva (Ill).  
Parren Mitchell (Md).  
John E. Moss (Calif).  
Robert Nix (Pa).  
Bertram Podell (NY).  
Charles Rangel (NY).  
Thomas Rees (Calif).

Ogden Reid (NY).  
Henry Reuss (Wisc).  
Peter Rodino (NJ).  
Benjamin Rosenthal (NY).  
Edward Roybal (Calif).  
William F. Ryan (NY).  
James Scheuer (NY).  
John Seiberling (Ohio).  
Frank Thompson (NJ).  
Morris Udall (Ariz).  
Charles Vanik (Ohio).  
Jerome Waldie (Calif).  
Lester Wolf (NY).  
Sidney Yates (Ill).  
Louis Stokes (Ohio).  
Al Ullman (Ore).

Senate

Frank Church (Idaho).  
Mike Gravel (Alaska).  
Fred Harris (Okla).  
Philip Hart (Mich).  
Vance Hartke (Ind).  
Daniel Inouye (Hawaii).  
Walter Mondale (Minn).  
Frank Moss (Utah).  
William Proxmire (Wisc).  
Adlai Stevenson III (Ill).  
John Tunney (Calif).  
Harrison Williams (NJ).

Other members

William Meyers, Chairman, Fund for New Priorities in America, National Coordinator.  
Kingman Brewster—Connecticut.  
Max Cleland—State Senator, Georgia.  
William Doering—Chairman, Council for a Livable World.  
Marriner S. Eccles—Chairman of Executive Committee, Utah International, Salt Lake City.  
Governor Jack Gilligan—Ohio.  
Elinor S. Gimbel—New York.  
Al Grossiron—Oil and Chemical Workers, Denver.  
Pat Gorman—Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.  
Father Theodore M. Hesburgh—President, University of Notre Dame.  
Jesse Jackson—Operation Push, Chicago.  
Rear Admiral Gen La Rocque, U.S. Navy (Ret.)—Director, Center for Defense Information.  
Allard Lowenstein—New York.  
Governor Pat Lucey—Wisconsin.  
Louis Lundborg—Former Chairman of the Board, Bank of America.  
Layton Olson—Exec. Director, National Student Lobby, D.C.  
Donna Reed Owen—Co-chairman, Another Mother for Peace.  
Maurice Paprin—Exec. Vice President, National Realty Committee.  
Major Jubel R. Parten—Texas.  
Bernard L. Schwarz—Business Executive, New York.  
Bishop James Thomas—Methodist Bishop of Iowa.  
Harold Willens—National Chairman, Business Education Fund.  
Harris Wofford—President, Bryn Mawr.  
Leonard Woodcock—President, United Auto Workers, Detroit.  
Jerry Wurf—President, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, D.C.  
Randolph P. Compton—Investment Banker, and Chairman, Fund for Peace, New York.

SOME 500 MORE ILLINOISIAN WHO VOTED YES

Marian Butterbaugh, Dixon.  
Marlene Goldberg, Skokie.  
Mary Ellen Carinato, Chicago.  
Mr. H. H. McMeen, Park Forest.  
Mrs. John Barghusen, Clarendon Hills.  
Harry Molling, Wheaton.  
Reggie McCuy, Glen Ellyn.  
J. I. McReynolds, Chicago.  
Carmen Lambert, Kankakee.  
Ralph Deid, Elgin.  
Janis Butterbaugh, Dixon.  
Douglas Edmondson, Aurora.

Norman Bowers, Wilmette.  
 Robert Carter, Chicago.  
 Eleanor Meyer, LaGrange.  
 Mrs. Edward Stack, Arlington Heights.  
 Judith Bernstein, Chicago.  
 Pauline Deld, Elgin.  
 Brad Huffman, Loves Park.  
 Mordecai Weiner, Park Forest.  
 Jane Braunger, Evanston.  
 Judy Weiss, Chicago.  
 Daniel Dobbert, DeKalb.  
 Laura Fitch, Park Forest.  
 Seymour Cousens, Morton Grove.  
 Irene Hall, Chicago.  
 Jane Moore, DesPlains.  
 Alex Martin, Oak Park.  
 Pat Johnson, Harvey.  
 Bernie Kulills, Barr.  
 Mary Menet, Norridge.  
 Dawn Haltermann, Chicago.  
 Gerald Catts, Peoria.  
 Dianne Stormer, DeKalb.  
 Joel Shapiro, Chicago.  
 John Ward, Peru.  
 Mrs. Johansen, Freeport.  
 Mr. Boytovick, Chicago.  
 Robert Micheel, Chitticotte.  
 Rev. Nelson, Chicago.  
 Dan Burns, Woodstock.  
 Mrs. Clark, Elgin.  
 Keith Copeland, Rockford.  
 Mrs. Gerald Wilson, DeKalb.  
 Mr. C. Donick, Skokie.  
 Nancy Triebold, Crete.  
 Rick Balkley, Highland Park.  
 Martin Rippon, Chicago.  
 Charles Kraft, Evanston.  
 Earl Chapman, Winnetka.  
 Monte Tingley, Oak Park.  
 Steve Bick, Galesburg.  
 Hazel Kennedy, Elgin.  
 D. J. Timmons, Elmhurst.  
 Mrs. Kalkbrenner, Manhattan.  
 Mrs. Cyrus Giddings, Oak Park.  
 Evelyn Grummon, Springfield.  
 Curt Jorwson, Western Springs.  
 Marilyn Telchner, Honewood.  
 John Orr, Joliet.  
 C. Daxon, Moline.  
 Sheldon Post, Skokie.  
 Lawrence Sloan, Altamont.  
 R. J. Copley, Elgin.  
 Robert Staver, Bridgeport.  
 Christopher Miller, Evanston.  
 Floy Ebring, Galesburg.  
 Clyde Leget, Lawrenceville.  
 Robert Jacob, Highland Park.  
 Marlon Velloff, Sr., Alton.  
 George J. Stevenson, Wilmette.  
 Lee Baldwin, Pana.  
 Ann Frimet, Chicago.  
 Edward Vogt, Kankakee.  
 Michelle Wanagatis, Bradley.  
 Sr. Alice Campion, Chicago.  
 Earl McGuire, Bridgeport.  
 Jackie Lovell, Cabery.  
 Elisa Gomez, Chicago.  
 Nancy Schmidt, Skokie.  
 Mrs. Flor Ekin, Galesburg.  
 Hilre Wetzler, Alton.  
 Mr. Albert Halci, Springfield.  
 Mr. Canuteson, Lake Villa.  
 J. Viglione, Chicago.  
 Manuel Abundis, Wheaton.  
 Ida Fisher, Quincy.  
 Felice Cordero, Oak Park.  
 Janice L. Dacangy, Broadview.  
 Mary Collins, Freeport.  
 James O'Donnell, Chicago.  
 Lynn Walters, Naperville.  
 Tom Burne, Champaign.  
 Robert Dubriel, Chicago.  
 Ms. Judith Arndt, Rock Island.  
 Mrs. Canuteson, Lake Villa.  
 Shelyn Blackwell, Moline.  
 Seden Snow, DeKalb.  
 Daniel Murphy, Chicago.  
 Mrs. Flaks, La Grange.  
 Mr. J. A. Bount, Arlington.  
 Dale French, Lebanon.

Rev. Vares From, Northbrook.  
 Marie Maul, E. St. Louis.  
 Terry Freudenberg, Wheeling.  
 Jeanne Ritter, Woodstock.  
 Phyllis Thompson, Elgin.  
 Deeber Berk, La Grange.  
 Edward Gerrity, River Forest.  
 Michael Mozdren, Des Plaines.  
 Ms. Evelyn Trisch, Rockford.  
 Edward Maul, E. St. Louis.  
 Margaret Hodge, Lebanon.  
 Horace Howard Evan, Evanston.  
 Mrs. Brady, Elgin.  
 Mary Noonan, Panforth.  
 Robert Seaton, Lisle.  
 David Clark, Hinsdale.  
 Timothy Jaster, Lincolnwood.  
 Mr. Art. Curtis, Cicero.  
 Nicholas Sinadinas, Riverside.  
 Sr. Catherine Krippner, Berwyn.  
 Henry Noffke, So. Holland.  
 Ron Max, Niles.  
 Saul Sherwaer, Winnetka.  
 F. A. Dauphin, Fairview Heights.  
 Annette Musil, Lyons.  
 Mike Sinsl, Des Plaines.  
 Harold Ault, Flatt.  
 Doris Conant, Glenview.  
 Imagine Tondly, Mt. Morris.  
 Jena Butterbaugh, Dixon.  
 Mrs. Ruth Gabriel, Oak Lawn.  
 Virginia Young, Glenwood.  
 Jerry Geren, Deerfield.  
 Merle Glass, Wilmette.  
 Mr. Al Serota, Skokie.  
 William Schweiss, Jr., Bensenville.  
 John Moser, Riverside.  
 Catherine Krevjnik, Westchester.  
 Lois Warshawsky, Morton Grove.  
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 Dorothea French, Lebanon.  
 Richard Garrison, Calumet City.  
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 William Wiedl, Franklin Park.  
 Jean Davidson, Lombard.  
 John F. Schredek, Homewood.  
 Jesse Gurmon, Hickory Hills.  
 Edith Feler, Oak Park.  
 Nicholes J. Back, Hebron.  
 Keith E. Sawyer, Elgin.  
 Mark Stone, Libertyville.  
 Stephanie Jakus, River Forest.  
 Mr. T. Holleb, Des Plaines.  
 Mrs. Nicholas Back, Hebron.  
 Rich Bysina, Addison.  
 Beryle Rich, Skokie.  
 Oscar H. Schmidt, Hunhalea.  
 L. Johnson, E. Mohne.  
 Carole Orr, Joliet.  
 Wilford Terry, Belleville.  
 Kenneth W. Slaup, Westmont.  
 Axel Meyer, DeKalb.  
 P. A. McKeown, Park Ridge.  
 Jenny R. Rasmussen, Elmwood Park.  
 Rudolph Keller, Morton Grove.  
 Craig A. Reed, Jasper.  
 Anne Murphy, Evanston.  
 Zorita Mikva, Skokie.  
 Adrian Powell, Elkhart.  
 Cecil C. King, Thomson.  
 Jean A. Dupre, Wilmette.  
 Vicki Gustin, Carpentersville.  
 Bob Inboden, Rock Falls.  
 Fran Schumer, Skokie.  
 Charles E. Collins, Northbrooke.  
 E. D. Malloy, Skokie.  
 Aavrine Welgel, Evanston.  
 Alpha Lawver, Highland Park.  
 Stanley G. Budyn, Westmont.  
 Petro Pages, Bellwood.  
 Robert P. Baicuunes, Westmont.  
 Margaret H. Dorak, Lockport.  
 Helen P. Ostopchuk, Berwyn.  
 J. R. Chrestman, Lincolnwood.  
 Henry Bordis, Berwyn.

Lillian K. Moss, Urbana.  
 Dr. John A. Schumaker, Rockford.  
 Georgia Lloyd, Glencoe.  
 John Reddik, Morton Grove.  
 Lois Schmartz, Skokie.  
 Emily Stryczik, Cicero.  
 Rev. Elenore H. Allen, Oak Park.  
 Janice Friedoner, Highland Park.  
 Loretta Kroll, Elgin.  
 Edith F. Segal, Northbrook.  
 M. S. D. Keen, Evanston.  
 Margery M. Shurmen, Glencoe.  
 Zeida Selk, Highland Park.  
 Johnathin Yentis, Wilmette.  
 William Newberger, Chicago.  
 Dan Desmond, Chicago.  
 Elaine Tishler, Evanston.  
 Henry Bayer, Evanston.  
 Martin Flaherty, Elmwood Park.  
 Lynn Flaherty, Elmwood Park.  
 Dan Lucci, Niles.  
 Mrs. Dan Lucci, Niles.  
 Lyle Fitzsimmons, Chicago.  
 Cathleen Purvis, West Chicago.  
 Fred Wood, Chicago.  
 Sharon de Graadt, Pulaski.  
 Mrs. M. Holden, Oak Park.  
 Mr. Holden, Oak Park.  
 Jay Robinson, Carpentersville.  
 Liz Robinson, Carpentersville.  
 Mrs. Edmund Soper, Evanston.  
 Patrick Tucker, Chicago.  
 Jonathan Goklen, Chicago.  
 Lena Livewearer, Crete.  
 R. A. Cleveland, Wilmette.  
 Thomas Leve Weaver, Crete.  
 Mrs. R. Ettinger, Highland Park.  
 R. Ettinger, Highland Park.  
 Midred Ravaro, Wilmette.  
 M. E. Marwood, Peora.  
 Jacqueline Grew, Glenview.  
 Walter Audutter, Highland Park.  
 Mrs. J. H. Rudman, Wilmette.  
 Anita Adams, Chicago.  
 Sandra Arbetter, Highland Park.  
 Mrs. Jack Marks, Highland Park.  
 Hilliard Volin, Highland Park.  
 Mrs. Hilliard Volin, Highland Park.  
 Jim Kayotawape, Chicago.  
 Lynn Tobias, Glencoe.  
 Coup Loebell, Glen Ellyn.  
 Kristen Loebell, Glen Ellyn.  
 Lynn Perring, Chicago.  
 Fran Lafonski, Chicago.  
 Cytha Jackson, Chicago.  
 Donald Simon, Des Plaines.  
 Dayle Sohn, Schaumburg.  
 Arthur Vanderstempel, McHenry.  
 Phillip Ballmaier, Chicago.  
 Toni Jones, Markhan.  
 Patricia Conrow, Chicago.  
 Minnie Larhell, Glen Ellyn.  
 Megan Dore, Flossmoor.  
 Judith O'Shea, Hanover.  
 Peter Bellenoir, Berkely.  
 Dr. James Meyer, La Grange.  
 Mrs. James Meyer, La Grange.  
 Gloria Ciaccio, Lombard.  
 Frank Kotyk, Oak Park.  
 Fred Steinback, Villa Park.  
 Maxine Goldenberg, Des Plaines.  
 R. Anderen, Chicago.  
 Nan Parson, Park Ridge.  
 Chris Parson, Park Ridge.  
 John Winker, Peoria.  
 Mary Winker, Peoria.  
 Dr. E. Goldman, Glenview.  
 Paul Broder, Skokie.  
 Mrs. Nancy Zeffire, Addison.  
 Alan Almer, Lisle.  
 Stephen Dieterick, Chicago.  
 James Mayworm, Villa Park.  
 James Wenger, Chicago.  
 David Stein, Chicago.  
 Becki Lenegar, Hoffman Estates.  
 Mr. H. B. Pflugsten, Hampshire.  
 Bob Sharke, Dearborn.  
 Carol Kimbald, Chicago.  
 Gall Murphy, Palatine.  
 Rick Erikson, Chicago.  
 Doieres Leshiak, Elgin.

Mrs. A. Zeffery, Bensenville.  
 E. Sorgatz, Elmwood Park.  
 Allie Mategraw, Wilmette.  
 Gerald Rasmussen, Chicago.  
 John Leonard, Forest.  
 Stevie Bottom, Skokie.  
 Rose Marie Olszewski, Chicago.  
 Mrs. H. C. Jacobs, Riverdale.  
 Narra Smith, Wheaton.  
 Mrs. O. Sider, Skokie.  
 S. Richter, Chicago.  
 Mary Wilson, Chicago.  
 Charles Steinbach, Villa Park.  
 Millie Fellin, Chicago.  
 Peter Faur, Maywood.  
 Edward Applebaum, Lincolnwood.  
 Larry Labow, Skokie.  
 Kenneth Morsae, Elgin.  
 Larry Mordert, Wilmette.  
 Judy Best, Aurora.  
 P. C. Tryman, Lawrenceville.  
 Charlotte Kvenniry, Lombard.  
 Ervin Hucton, Oak Brook.  
 Leon Miller, Elgin.  
 Carolyn Cassideate, Batavia.  
 John Katareh, Melrose Park.  
 Lois McDowell, Glen Ellyn.  
 Joan Huston, Oak Brook.  
 David Franzt, Naperville.  
 Oscar Gable, Monticello.  
 Joanne Davis, Hampshire.  
 Kim McDowell, Glen Ellyn.  
 Roy Stafford, Elgin.  
 Don Hover, Oak Brook.  
 Dan White, Calvinville.  
 May Furlan, Palatine.  
 William Smith, Sauk Vee.  
 Mrs. Wm. Smith, Sauk Vee.  
 E. L. Barnett, Oak Lawn.  
 Gordon Messerschmidt, Clarendon Hills.  
 Alan Kempe, Chicago.  
 Susan Burgl, Evanston.  
 Orville Brer, Trenton.  
 Thomas W. Little, Blue Island.  
 Anna Scaweger, Evanston.  
 Art Goneersheim, Chicago.  
 Terry Moore, Belleville.  
 Eugene A. Stern, Highland Park.  
 William Brunner, Wilmette.  
 Lillian Streicher, Skokie.  
 Dr. L. A. Nalefski, McHenry.  
 Hilda Hodel, Lombard.  
 Rhoda E. Rosenthal, Highland Park.  
 Debra Sue Rosen, Lincolnwood.  
 Jeanette Stafford, Hinsdale.  
 Bernice C. Couteat, Glenview.  
 Charles Day, Skokie.  
 Gerald M. Flory, Elgin.  
 Roland B. Rond, Prospect Hts.  
 Herbert Best, Schaumburg.  
 Mary Decker, Wilmette.  
 Anne Hanje, Evanston.  
 Kay Provis, Skokie.  
 Mildred Willer, Prospect Hts.  
 Erik Andrews, Ashkum.  
 Doris Scott, Villa Park.  
 Carl Zeigler, Jr., Elgin.  
 Beulah Welb, Wilmette.  
 Mrs. Kathleen Heddleson, Itasca.  
 Michael Madden, Oak Lawn.  
 James O. Eikenberry, Rockford.  
 Thomas Huber, Morton Grove.  
 Thelman Callin, Cicero.  
 Herschel Rowe, Franklin Park.  
 Rose Thro, Downers Grove.  
 Stephen A. Dahl, Park Ridge.  
 Robert Tures, Evanston.  
 Dr. William Haller, Darled.  
 Beth Fairman, Buffalo Grove.  
 Pat Canan, DeKalb.  
 Mr. Jack Miller, Chicago.  
 Dave Hough, Warrenville.  
 Mrs. Buchanan, Clarendon Hills.  
 Veron Estes, Evanston.  
 T. Anthony Nance, Addison.  
 Robert Byrd, Libertyville.  
 Paul H. Prickett, Hinsdale.  
 Lor Blasi, Addison.  
 Mr. E. Franzeen, Quincy.  
 Mrs. E. Franzeen, Quincy.

Isabelle Kane, Edwardsville.  
 Jane Maczeck, River Grove.  
 William Anderson, Cicero.  
 Robert Wender, DeKalb.  
 Mr. Ronald Zook, Danvers.  
 Mr. F. N. Fraf, Glenview.  
 William Kahns, Philo.  
 Margaret Tingley, Chicago.  
 Esther Handwerk, Skokie.  
 Rev. Paul Stiffler, Villa Park.  
 Howard Myers, Wilmette.  
 Jane W. Godberg, Highland Park.  
 Cecil Kraft, Kankakee.  
 Jean R. Cleland, Wilmette.  
 Milton Eastman, Western Springs.  
 Ellen Holmes Eastman, Western Springs.  
 Estelle Langston, Northbrook.  
 Martha Taylor, Troy.  
 Mrs. J. H. Cahn, Urbana.  
 Mrs. Oliver Huwer, Millstadt.  
 Mr. Roger Senft, Sandwich.  
 Beatrice Huggins, Oak Park.  
 Mrs. Corliss Anderson, Barrington.  
 Ms. Diane Robertson, Lombard.  
 Mary Jean Danca, Kankakee.  
 Fred Fejes, Urbana.  
 Dick Simpson, Chicago.  
 Frank Duchon, Oak Park.  
 Michele Moses, Skokie.  
 Margery Fridstein, Glencoe.  
 R. Handel, Winnetka.  
 Harry Rosenstein, Highland Park.  
 Leonore E. Moss, Chicago.  
 Fred Bondy, Wilmette.  
 Mrs. Max Drester, Glencoe.  
 Lawrence Kaufman, Deerfield.  
 Cyrus Gidding, Oak Park.  
 Mary Swartz, Highland Park.  
 David Brooks, South Holland.  
 Carolyn B. Heas, Glencoe.  
 Gordon Smith, Wilmette.  
 Kathryn L. Richards, Des Plaines.  
 Frieda Block, Skokie.  
 Melvin E. Nicolinti, Bethalto.  
 Orphe J. Kodd, Wilmette.  
 Richard Richards, Des Plaines.  
 Den Kuhn, Dulton.  
 C. Blevin, Deerfield.  
 Joe H. Killton, Champaign.  
 Mr. C. F. Poneor, Flossmoor.  
 Scott Cerberg, Homewood.  
 Mrs. C. Dolnick, Skokie.  
 Thomas J. Vavrell, Waukegan.  
 Betty M. Welks, Evanston.  
 James W. Norman, Northbrook.  
 Calvin E. Welskopf, Highland Park.  
 Everly Shlavaky, Glencoe.  
 Sybil Gilbert, Western Springs.  
 Alice Taton Hensemim, Elgin.  
 Joamme P. Davis, Hampshire.  
 Ruth W. Rosenfield, Highland Park.  
 Judd Rosen, Morton Grove.  
 Millicent Berlient, Deerfield.  
 Mrs. John Childe, Glencoe.  
 Roe Barnett, Winnetka.  
 Anita Gorr, Des Plaines.  
 Dolons E. Wells, Glenview.  
 Jerome V. Boruck, Skokie.  
 Shirely Starr, Evanston.  
 Dorothy M. Coeh, Glencoe.  
 Shirley E. Cohen, Highland Park.  
 Julia M. Jewett, Wilmette.  
 Edward R. Leach, Glen Ellyn.  
 Aby Pareser, Westmont.  
 Dorothy Kovich, Wood River.  
 John B. Baker, E. Alton.  
 Howard Cohen, Wilmette.  
 Steve Wyroster, East St. Louis.  
 Sam Luton, Granite City.  
 Revel P. Lynot, Ottawa.  
 Estelle von Zellen, DeKalb.  
 Louis, Maynard, Marion.  
 Mr. Jack Rodgon, Lincolnwood.  
 Ms. Sally Breecker, Matteson.  
 Verelda Roth, Lombard.  
 Chester Schroder, Homewood.  
 Robert Carlson, Glen Ellyn.  
 Gary Mock, Caseyville.  
 Joseph Stabile, Lillian.  
 John Hubert, Gillespie.

Deborah Johnson, Geneva.  
 Marguerite Keil, Momence.  
 Michael Bellito, Arlington Heights.  
 Mr. Clarence Arpin, Clarendon Hill.  
 David J. Shultz, Collinsville.  
 E. E. Seubert, Lebanon.  
 David West, St. Charles.  
 John C. Gibson, Oak Lawn.  
 Paul E. Ryak, New Lenox.  
 B. Conrad, Niles.  
 Dale Noble, Lake Bluff.  
 Thomas Walling, Wheeling.  
 Paul Banchack, Algonquin.  
 P. M. Derring, Park Ridge.  
 Mr. James Sullivan, Waukegan.  
 Mrs. James Sullivan, Waukegan.  
 Mrs. W. S. Harling, Palatine.  
 Sr. Marina Colon, River Forest.  
 Mr. Frank Grzelak, Crystal City.  
 Thomas O'Brockt, Maywood.  
 David W. Shaw, Alton.  
 Lois Heldmann, Mendota.  
 Carl Westfall, Granite City.  
 James L. Dunn, Urbana.  
 Frances Gist, Decatur.  
 Ms. Ruth Roberg, Glencoe.  
 Robert Sale, Wilmette.  
 Linda Kastigan, Le Salle.  
 Shirley G. Cantley, Withrop Harbor.  
 Sr. Julie Rice, Aurora.  
 Lucille Wesner, Naperville.  
 R. L. Osborne, Barrington.  
 Sandy Rago, Lansing.  
 H. B. Clemens, Glen Ellyn.  
 Ms. Deborah Piercy, Chuntley.  
 Sr. Coleman, Rock Island.  
 Mr. Damon, Chicago Heights.

LETTER OF INTEREST

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, I recently received the following letter which I believe will be of interest to my colleagues. The letter follows:

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

DEAR EDITOR: The government of the United States may be on the threshold of a dramatically changed relationship with the Soviet Union. There are signs of significant reduction in the tension level between the two countries and more concretely trade agreements of unheard of proportions are concluded between the USSR and the USA.

It is important at this juncture, before we are swept up—and we have a tendency to do so—in a totally irrational and unrealistic Russophile upsurge of public sentiment, to examine some of the essential differences between the two forms of government, differences that cannot and must not be overlooked.

As a scientist, I am best situated to reflect on a regime by its conduct towards the dispassionate pursuit of knowledge and by its conduct towards the representatives of that endeavor, the scholars.

Reflecting on this perspective, I cannot share the public enthusiasm shown by some about the Soviet Union. I cannot share the polyanish view of some who wish to see fundamental changes in the Soviet Union of the seventies.

Quite the contrary; in the realm of science and scholarship the awful ways of Stalinist terror are discernible again.

The Soviet Union is increasingly endangering the free flow of scientific communication by putting insurmountable obstacles in the way of those scientists who wish to exercise their freedom of movement.

Scientists have been dismissed from their posts, their families have been harassed, and

they have been declared to be virtual hostages by the demand that ransom fees based on educational attainment be paid if emigration is permitted. Furthermore, the threat of abrogation of degrees has been announced, and in some documented instances, authors of scientific papers have had their names removed from works which they have authored. Obstacles to attendance at international scientific meetings held in the Soviet Union have been noted for these Soviet scholars, to say nothing of denial of exit permits for scholars of international reputation to attend meetings or to lecture outside the Soviet Union.

We should register our protest at this repression of free scientific inquiry and call on men and women of good will everywhere to join in deploring these actions by the Soviet government. Scientific institutions, government agencies, and individual citizens should announce their opposition to these grave infractions of human rights.

The leaders of the Soviet Union should be made to understand that they cannot expect their people to be fed by America while consistently violating the moral principles on which this Republic is founded.

ALEXANDER Z. GUTORA.

### ENDING THE DRAFT

#### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Tinley Park Star Tribune is one of the newest publications serving suburban Cook County and has, in the short period of its existence, made a very positive impact in the communities it serves. One of its features is an outstanding editorial page. In its Thursday, September 14, issue, it carried an editorial commentary on the draft which I feel is especially pertinent, and I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

#### ENDING THE DRAFT

Among the wise counsels of the American founding fathers was a warning against maintaining a professional standing army, such as was the custom in most foreign countries at that time. Instead, they counseled, the army should be composed of volunteers from the citizenry—a "citizen's army," as George Washington, the young nation's first President, phrased it.

Since 1940, however, owing to demands created by world unrest, the United States has had a military draft to help meet its special obligations to itself and to its allies. Now, President Richard Nixon has announced that the draft could end next July 1 if Congress approves a pay increase bill for volunteers and for those electing to continue their military careers.

The administration plans on a peace-time volunteer military force of 2.3 million on active duty and one million in the reserve. Part of the pay increase legislation before Congress would bring the National Guard and reserve forces up to minimum levels. The reserve, for instance, is 49,000 below its authorized level of 973,000.

In moving toward an all-volunteer army, President Nixon is making good on a pledge he made during the 1968 election campaign.

Universal military conscription has always been alien to the American concept of individual liberty, and indeed would not be tolerated by the people except in times of national emergency. The present "emergency,"

however, has been in effect for 32 years, far too long a period.

Freedom of choice has always been a hallmark of the American dream. This freedom obviously should include the individual's own determination of whether to serve in the peace-time military establishment, if this is possible. An end to the military draft would be a reaffirmation of this ideal.

### ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMY

#### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the prospect of an all-volunteer Army grows ever more likely as American troops continue to be withdrawn from Vietnam and draft call-ups and enlistments decline. I vigorously support the idea of a voluntary military organization, and I look forward to its development in the near future. However, such a change cannot occur without proper consideration as to how such a transition should proceed and what implications its creation holds for the future.

An article written by a constituent of mine Maj. Marvin Leibstone of the U.S. Army Reserve does just that. As president of the Capitol Hill chapter of the Reserve Officers Association, he is familiar with the need for incentives to attract people not only to a volunteer service but also into an improved Army Reserve.

In his own words:

Our policymakers and military intellectuals are today at the same crossroads as the Founding Fathers after the Revolutionary War. They ask, "Do we honor peace by maintaining a small but professional standing Army and Ready Reserve, or do we honor peace by abolishing even the thought of an Army that has some protracted power? Do we honor peace by hoping that in the first onrush of a war we will be able to rally round the flag in a matter of days and move across seas and plains to a moral victory?" The choice has to be made now, while there is time to plan, prepare, to define and to dignify.

I believe that his remarks merit our thoughtful consideration and am therefore including them into today's RECORD.

The remarks follow:

#### VOLAR—AND AN IMPROVED ARMY RESERVE

(By Maj. Marv Leibstone)

This Vietnam period of our's has caused politically and socially conscious Americans to become suspect of the current military role in our national security structure, and of the infrastructure upon which American military life has survived for so many decades. Today, the future of the American military as a steel-willed and razor-sharp element with the power to decimate the foes of democracy hangs in the balance among plans to throw away the uncomfortable and aggravating modes of discipline such as uniformity of dress, close haircuts, inspections on hot Saturday afternoons and close-order drill, and across a different spectrum within a freer concept for creating discipline that includes deliberate erasure of the aforementioned, so that long hair and sloppy dress are now often tolerated, and troops can express

their needs without fear of senior commanders. Gone are the forced marches with packs that had to have their straps rolled a certain way. Discipline, it is hoped, will be learned through stimulants instead of suppressants.

Will it work? No-one, at the moment, is sure. Did the older system work? Yes, it did. As distasteful as it was, it worked. Ask any marine.

Out of the discontent with our mismanaged forces in Vietnam has come VOLAR, the plan for an all-volunteer Army force of one million that will have as much compassion and sensitivity in its soul as earlier forces had steel. Expected to slip away like so much loosened flotsam will be corruption in the officer and enlisted ranks, cost-overruns, and perhaps even the admitted mission to close with and kill the enemy. There may be real value in this; after all, the military machine is supposed to produce the organized and effective use of power, and we have learned bitterly that restricting the great machine only to killing is to narrow the uses of power. In the near future, the role of the Army may be even more multiple than it is today.

One central fact needs to be emphasized again and again: in our time, the concept of the draft is practically dead; it has lost favor with the American people and has to be replaced. VOLAR can do the replacing—if there can be a successful VOLAR. However, VOLAR is part of a much bigger concept; it is but a component of a necessary national security system; it is the twin of an equally-important element upon which the success of VOLAR depends, and also upon which a permanent end to the draft may depend, and that twin force is the existence of a carefully-trained, enthusiastic, strong-willed and well-equipped U.S. Army Reserve. Without a large and ready Reserve, VOLAR becomes a paper tiger; its reinforcement capability during the early stages of war becomes a joke. In turn, the ability of NATO and other treaty organizations to provide credible deterrence slips away.

A recent Washington Post article clearly implied that segments of the U.S. Army Reserve need to clean house, to get rid of the disenchanted and those who won't work and who are embarrassing and belittling the Government with their lack of leadership; it needs to recruit willing and intelligent civilians who can provide commitment to the citizen-soldier concept; it needs to draw in officers who can build ready Reserve units that strike for professionally organized management objectives and not false or meaningless personal efficiency ratings.

Above all else, however, the Congress of the United States needs to deliver new and broader incentives that will bring young Americans into the Reserve structure and keep them there.

Reservists give of themselves one weekend per month for the equivalent of four days of active duty pay. Officers and senior enlisted men find this adequate; but the lower enlisted men, from privates to brand new sergeants, earn less than or perhaps only as much as a transient dishwasher. To make participation in the Reserves worthwhile to these junior enlisted men, who must make up the bulk of the Reserve force, the pay structure should be improved at their many tiers and sub-levels.

Few Reserve enlisted men re-enlist. Why should they? Most of them are hardly compensated. Re-enlistment is definitely the most critical problem facing the Reserve program today. Without a sufficient number of Reserve enlisted men, there can be no credible Reserve force, no meaningful punch to the importance of reinforcement of NATO forces. While this problem is not as great in the Regular Army, its spreading nature in the Reserves deteriorates the fabric of the Regular Army simultaneously.

For the Regular Army active duty soldier, there is a reenlistment bonus. This bonus is the single feature of the Regular Army's active duty recruiting program that has made the program a success. By providing monetary compensation for re-enlistment, the Reserve forces could in a very short time overcome their current personnel bankruptcy. There are several measures before the Congress today that ask for new incentives for Reservists, and one of them, HR 14545, is now before the House Armed Services Committee. This bill could, if enacted, easily become the very base for a complete and credible military force that would, because of its high potential for strong conventional retaliation, delay and even prevent the need for nuclear action.

There are other necessary incentives. For instance, a 20-year career Reserve program could become extremely attractive if retirees of the program could begin to receive their retirement benefits either at age 50 or upon completion of 20 years service. Under today's program, a career Reservist has to wait until he is 62 to be able to receive his first retirement check.

The much-needed revitalization of the Reserve program depends on correct timing just as other renewal programs do. Calibration and restructuring of the Reserves is going to have to be paired with the incentive and value programs laid out for the Regular Army's VOLAR. The Reserves and VOLAR are interdependent; they must grow together, or neither will be any good to us.

Our policy-makers and military intellectuals are today at the same crossroads as the founding fathers after the revolutionary war. They ask, "Do we honor peace by maintaining a small but professional *standing Army and Ready Reserve*, or do we honor peace by abolishing even the thought of an Army that has some protracted power? Do we honor peace by hoping that in the first onrush of a war we will be able to rally round the flag in a matter of days and move across seas and plains to a moral victory?" The choice has to be made now, now while there is time to plan, prepare, to redefine and to dignify. Our choice must be one hundred percent correct. History is no more merciful toward stupidity than it is toward evil.

#### COMPREHENSIVE CHRONIC ILLNESS ACT OF 1972

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, last November when I testified before the House Ways and Means Committee on national health insurance, I promised to introduce a bill that would comprehensively cover the victims of chronic illness. I am introducing that bill today.

The bill is designed to meet the simple, stark fact about American medical care today: that it costs too much for the truly ill to afford it. Today, to be chronically ill is to be chronically in debt. Escalating hospital and doctor bills have driven millions of sick people to the verge of bankruptcy. Millions more have been denied care because they cannot pay its costs.

Chronic illness is not a problem of the unfortunate few, but of the unfortunate millions. With the advances in medical science, more Americans are reaching

the age at which they become vulnerable to arthritis, emphysema, cancer, heart disease, and other chronic illnesses. Nearly 11 million Americans suffer from arthritis alone. Rheumatism afflicts another 6 million. Heart diseases have stricken more than 15 million Americans with another 13 million suspected sufferers. More than 500,000 people suffer from multiple sclerosis. Parkinson's disease, which is primary among the crippling neurological diseases, afflicts more than 1 million individuals, and 50,000 more Americans will be stricken by this disease this year.

The majority of the chronically ill are poor. A survey by the Social Security Administration in 1965 indicated that the median family income of disabled adults was \$5,270—compared to an average family income of \$6,817. And families with a severely disabled adult had an average income of \$3,156—an amount bordering on the poverty level. Yet, many of these people had to meet medical costs estimated at between \$900 and \$1,000 a month.

More than one-third of the poor who do work suffer from some form of chronic illness. The poor suffer three times more heart disease than the general population; seven times as many eye defects; five times more mental retardation; and five times more nervous disorders.

No one is immune from the risk of catastrophic illness, and no one should be left without the means to pay for treatment. The bill I offer would help break the cruel link between health and wealth.

In the last few years we have all become aware of the problem of overuse of high-cost hospital facilities for chronic care which could best be accomplished elsewhere. We need a middle ground between the home and the hospital.

We need facilities where a person can obtain custodial care but still remain in close contact with his family. It has been estimated that 10 percent or more of the chronic long-term patients in Massachusetts hospitals and institutions could be released if they had foster homes or half-way nursing home facilities available to them. My bill would provide the insurance coverage required for long-term stays in such facilities.

The elderly are not the only group in our society needing assistance for long-term conditions. The physically handicapped, the mentally retarded, and the autistic child, the young or middle-aged person suffering from multiple sclerosis, muscular dystrophy, heart disease, Hodgkins disease, and other diseases all are equally in need of adequate insurance coverage.

I am introducing this legislation because after a careful study of all national health plans thus far introduced it is readily apparent that none gives sufficient coverage to the victim of a chronic illness. Newspapers and magazines consistently tell us of the terrible dilemma of the elderly person poverty stricken and confined to a nursing home, the parents of a mentally retarded child who struggle with the possibility of in-

stitutionalization, the lack of adequate training facilities, and the fear of that child's future when they are old.

These are the people who are most neglected by our society. These are the people we would rather not think about. These are the people whose care is terribly costly. These are the people whom national health insurance ignores.

I know that the legislation I am introducing today is very costly. No clear and definite cost estimate has ever been made. But we know that it will cost several billion dollars. Many will accuse me of irresponsible legislating—of failing to understand that our financial resources are finite. My answer is that I do not offer this bill as the only answer to the problem. I offer it so that we may have a forum from which to speak about those individuals who will not be covered by national health insurance. We can't simply close our eyes to the fact that millions of people won't get health coverage; that millions of people will be forced into debt and will not receive the adequate care or training which they deserve. If national health insurance cannot cover everyone, then let us admit this and let us at least choose those whom we want to cover. But let us not fool our constituents into believing that national health insurance will indeed be "comprehensive."

The problem as I see it is that as a nation we have failed to set our priorities. And one reason we have failed to set those priorities is that we have not clearly articulated them. Obviously, the elderly, the retarded, and others with long-term chronic conditions are a priority. The question is how much help the Federal Government is willing to give them.

I offer this bill so that we may finally get down to an honest and forthright discussion of our own capacities as a nation to give assistance to the various citizens who need it.

I realize, Mr. Speaker, that we are in the last days of this final session of the 92d Congress and that the legislation I am introducing today will not be passed this year. I am introducing the legislation now in the hopes that all interested parties will comment on the bill and it is my firm intention to utilize the recommendations received in a new bill which I will introduce early in 1973.

Hopefully, the Ways and Means Committee will continue hearings on national health insurance next year and the discussion which I believe is so imperative will take place at that time.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE BILL

The bill that I am introducing today will cover the chronically ill who have been neglected by most Federal programs. Services covered by the proposal will include:

First, nursing home care—medically necessary care and services provided to an individual who is chronically ill in a qualified nursing home;

Second, other custodial care—necessary care and services—other than nursing home care—provided to an individual who is chronically ill or is mentally re-

tarded in a facility that meets the requirements established under the act;

Third, home care—care and services which are furnished to an individual in his home for the purpose of maintaining his health. Such service will include the provision of medication, medical equipment, nursing care, homemaker services, and rehabilitation including occupational counseling;

Fourth, paramedical care—medically related care and services which are furnished by an agency approved by the Secretary of HEW;

Fifth, emergency medical care—the effective delivery of health care services under emergency conditions which are a result of the patient's condition;

Sixth, education and training—services provided to physically and mentally handicapped children and adults, tailored to their individual needs and provided by nonprofit agencies;

Seventh, day nursing home care—care and services provided to an individual in an approved facility which does not provide its patients with 24-hour accommodations subject to the same limitations as provided for nursing home care;

Eighth, night nursing home care—care and services provided to an individual in an approved facility which furnishes nursing home care and other custodial care during the night-time hours, but does not provide the patients with 24-hour accommodations, subject to the same limitations as provided for nursing home care; and

Ninth, weekend nursing home care—care and services provided to an individual in an approved facility which is primarily engaged in furnishing nursing home care and other custodial care and services from Friday evening to Sunday evening, subject to the same limitations as provided for nursing home care.

The part-time nursing home programs are based on successful experience in Great Britain. The purpose of this kind

of care is to provide needed treatment while keeping the patient in close contact with his family.

The restrictions on nursing homes are similar to, but more stringent than, those proposed in the Kennedy-Griffiths bill. These regulations include:

First, the establishment of a 10-member utilization review board which will consist of four members of the general public, two physicians, one registered nurse, one paraprofessional, and two patients, not more than two of whom shall be on the staff of the facility. This board will meet every 30 days to determine the need of future care in each case;

Second, annual policy review on the advice of the utilization review board;

Third, designation of a physician responsible for the execution of such policies;

Fourth, operation by an accredited hospital or under the supervision of a nursing home administrator licensed by the State in which the facility is located;

Fifth, the requirement that the health care of every patient be under the supervision of a physician, and that a physician be available to furnish the necessary medical care in case of an emergency;

Sixth, maintenance of adequate clinical records on all patients;

Seventh, provision of 24-hour registered nurse service sufficient to meet the needs of the patients. At least one registered nurse would be on duty at all times;

Eighth, appropriate methods for the prescription and dispensing of drugs; and

Ninth, designation of an officer charged with the duty of protecting the legal rights of patients.

Any other custodial care facility must be a nursing home, a public or private institution or training school which is primarily engaged in providing care or training or both to the chronically ill. The facility must meet other appropriate

requirements as determined by the Secretary of HEW.

All institutions participating in the act must keep written policies and procedures which are subject to the review of the Secretary of HEW. They must also meet the standards and regulations of the State in which they are located.

Payment to the providers will be determined by the Secretary of HEW. The act will be funded through general revenues. There will be no duplication of benefits between this act and other governmental programs.

Over a 5-year period, the Secretary of HEW shall complete a study on the costs of providing the care under this act, and he shall transmit his report to the Congress and to the President.

The act will be effective on the first day of the first calendar month which begins 6 months after the date of the enactment.

Mr. Speaker, this program will adequately meet the needs of the chronically ill in America. They have been neglected too long.

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1972

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

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,757 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, October 9, 1972

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Jack P. Lowndes, pastor, Memorial Baptist Church, Arlington, Va., offered the following prayer:

*The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth His handiwork.—Psalm 19: 1.*

O God, we thank Thee for this universe, our great home; for its vastness and its riches. We are thankful for all the life that teems upon it of which we are a part.

As we remember one who with courage, vision, and wisdom set forth to find new land in this universe, we pray that we might have courage, vision, and wisdom to face the challenge of our day. In Thy name we pray. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

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

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arlington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills and concurrent resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 10655. An act to designate certain lands in the Lassen Volcanic National Park, Calif., as wilderness;

H.R. 13780. An act to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property in Canandaigua, N.Y., to Sonnenberg Gardens, a nonprofit, educational corporation;

H.R. 14731. An act to amend the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956 in order to provide for the effective enforcement of the provisions therein prohibiting the shooting at birds, fish, and other animals from aircraft;

H. Con. Res. 679. Concurrent resolution to provide for the printing of additional copies

of the report of the Commission on the Organization of the Government of the District of Columbia;

H. Con. Res. 681. Concurrent resolution to provide for the printing of 1,000 additional hearings entitled "Corrections," parts I through VI; and

H. Con. Res. 716. Concurrent resolution directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to make corrections in the enrollment of H.R. 56.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 1. An act to amend the Social Security Act to increase benefits and improve eligibility and computation methods under the OASDI program, to make improvements in the medicare, medicaid, and maternal and child health programs with emphasis in improvements in their operating effectiveness, to replace the existing Federal-State public assistance programs with a Federal program of adult assistance and a Federal program of benefits to low-income families with children with incentives and require-