

## NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 17, 1971:

## FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Pinkney Calvin Walker, of Missouri, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 22, 1972, vice Carl E. Bagge, resigned.

## CANAL ZONE GOVERNMENT

Maj. Gen. David Stuart Parker, xxx-xx-xxxx, Army of the United States, to be Gov-

ernor of the Canal Zone for a term of 4 years, vice Maj. Gen. Walter P. Leber.

## IN THE ARMY

The following-named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grade as follows:

## To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. Walter Philip Leber, xxx-xx-xxxx, U.S. Army.

The following-named officer to be placed on the retired list in grade indicated under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3962:

## To be lieutenant general

Lt. Gen. Alfred Dodd Starbird, xxx-xx-xxxx, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

## IN THE NAVY

Comdr. Edgar D. Mitchell, U.S. Navy, for permanent promotion to the grade of captain in the Navy in accordance with article II, section 2, clause 2 of the Constitution.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## WELFARE AND REVENUE SHARING PROGRAMS

## HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to a recent column by Jack Bell, a syndicated columnist of the Gannett News Service.

Mr. Bell contrasts the present welfare system and its inadequacies with the proposed family assistance plan, which he correctly describes as not being welfare reform at all.

In addition, he comments upon the recent proposal that the Federal Government take over from the States the entire cost of welfare.

I think that the Senate should pay particular attention to Mr. Bell's disclosure that if the Federal Government does assume the full burden of welfare costs, three States—Massachusetts, California, and New York—would receive 51 percent of the Federal welfare expenditures. Thus, more than half of the tax expenditure for welfare would come from citizens of 47 States to maintain the bloated relief rolls of only three States.

As I have said many times, what we need is true welfare reform. Thus far, all we have received are ideas for welfare expansion.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bell's column be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

## THREE STATES WOULD GET 51 PERCENT OF FEDERAL WELFARE AID

(By Jack Bell)

WASHINGTON.—The Democratic Congress appears heading now toward substituting for President Nixon's \$6 billion revenue sharing program a federal takeover of skyrocketing state welfare costs.

In a bold political maneuver that could backfire explosively, Chairman Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., is rattling the keys to the House Ways and Means Committee vault in search of a secure burial place for revenue sharing. At his elbow is Rep. John Byrnes, R-Wis.

A great deal already is being made of the Mills-Byrnes alternative that would have Washington pick up the full tab for all relief costs. This would lift a heavy burden off the states and might, in the end, be as profitable to them as revenue-sharing.

The alternative is attractive also in the respect that it presumably would cost no more

in the overall than the \$4.4 billion Washington is doling out annually for welfare programs, plus what the states themselves put into this field. But the proposal runs against the grain of the Nixon Administration's goal of decentralization of government functions.

The nation's governors have been passing resolutions for years urging the federal government to hand over to their hard-pressed states some of the revenues it takes out of them. Lately they have grown dispirited about this and have started plugging financial action that would give them relief from relief.

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York has been in the thick of this effort. As a proclaimed champion of revenue sharing, he has recently soft-pedaled his appeals for a welfare takeover. He obviously would like to have both. He would not have too much difficulty settling for either.

A hidden bomb lies behind the door. If the federal government actually agreed to pay the full relief bill, New York, California and Massachusetts would get 51 per cent of the money flowing out of the treasury.

It can be argued that the three states have the greatest number of relief clients. But it also can be said that they have outstripped other states in making the welfare way of life more attractive.

Perhaps the governors of Florida, Mississippi and Montana, for example, would be content to have their colleagues get a larger share of the pie than they as long as they got rid of their own relief burdens. But you can already hear the screams of House and Senate members whose states would be faced with taking the short end of the stick.

Whatever happens to welfare "reform"—and everybody is for it—President Nixon's heralded family assistance plan is in trouble from which he may never be able to extricate it. Now there is talk that instead of guaranteeing a \$1,600 annual income for four persons, the figure may go up to \$2,500 or even \$3,000.

Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., of the Senate Finance Committee and Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr., D-Va., who has compiled a notable record of looking after the taxpayers' interests, have laid down a scathing indictment of the family assistance plan.

Long contends, and Byrd agrees, that as it now stands the President's proposal would boost the number of persons on relief rolls from the present 10 million to 24 million. The increased cost to the government is calculated at \$4.5 billion a year.

Long and Byrd have said flatly that what is being presented as a work incentive plan will work in exactly the opposite direction. They document the case that under the plan relief families would be better off, cashwise, if fathers deserted them and kept for themselves what they could make on a job.

Nobody in his right mind is going to "reform" relief in that direction. The level of common sense may not be too high in Congress at times, but few lawmakers can be that dumb.

## COSTS OF WASTE

## HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, one of the major challenges facing our Nation is the development of effective methods and incentives for recycling waste materials. Unfortunately, an attitude that is often negative characterizes the approach many persons take on recycling. In part, this is due to economic factors geared toward new production, rather than recycling.

This problem was discussed most effectively in an editorial published in the Christian Science Monitor of February 6, 1971. As I believe the editorial is of national significance, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

## COSTS OF WASTE

Widespread negativism, rather than technological unreadiness, was the biggest challenge faced by those attending the recent Recycling Day meeting in New York.

The negativism about America's willingness to meet its mammoth waste-disposal problem was put this way by one environmental writer: "There is at present no real economic rationale for recycling. With some infrequent exceptions, it is simply cheaper in today's economy to produce new cars, bottles, paper, cloth and metal products than to mess around with used stuff."

The rationale that the cheapest way is the best way to run an economy can no longer be left unchallenged. Even to say this has already a hauntingly too-familiar ring. But evidently the argument for recycling and more efficient handling of wastes, even at the cost of production and life-style changes, must be made again.

The volume of wastes in America is put at over a million tons a day. The yearly price tag for disposal amounts to over \$4 billion. Disposal of wastes is at the heart of the environment's decay. It is wastes from industrial plants and municipalities that befoul rivers. The burning and hilling up of solid wastes contributes to air pollution and landscape unsightliness. Landfill sites are dwindling. Dumping in lake and coastal waters is now recognized as an ecological threat. Cans and bottles, without deposit bounties, stud streambeds and backcountry paths. Urban lots and alleys accumulate trash. Abandoned cars clog city arteries. Aggregating refuse, in a sense, is a symbol of modern industrial man's failure to match his ingenuity with rudimentary tidiness.

The waste problem is more than an environmental or even a disposal issue; it is

also a matter of *waste* in the most fundamental sense. As productive woodlands are overcut, the recycling of paper would help conserve pulp. Within a century other basic resource materials like oil, tin, zinc, aluminum are expected to run out unless a reuse system is adopted.

No doubt, substitutes of many kinds will be discovered to replace dwindling resources. But it seems only prudent for society to begin mastering the skills and disciplines of recycling—to husband as far as possible present resources, and to help restore its earth setting to its rightful freshness.

#### LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

**HON. ELLA T. GRASSO**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, the onus of tyranny and oppression which engulfs millions of people today throughout the world is an affront to all of us who embrace the ideals of freedom and the protection of human rights.

Tragically, there are many who embrace these same ideals and protections and yet are unable to experience their benefits. Today, we commemorate a nation which no longer can call itself free. On February 16, 1918, the independence of modern-day Lithuania was proclaimed. This nation, which now also celebrates the 720th anniversary of its origin, was for a brief 21 years the master of its own destiny. Throughout her history, Lithuania's "accident of geography" made her the battlefield and war prize during the course of European development. Yet, following subjugation by Russia and the occupying German armies during World War I, she gained her independence through fierce and heroic resistance to would-be conquerors.

Lithuania again found herself in the middle of a power struggle between the Nazis and the Soviet Union. The Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939 left Lithuania confronted with the threat of invasion despite repeated Soviet pronouncements of nonintervention. A mutual assistance pact was signed with the Soviets after Kremlin troops had massed along the border. Brutal fighting waged on Lithuanian soil during World War II and Soviet reoccupation of this small nation was firmly established in 1944. Since that time Lithuania has not known independence.

During a too brief period of freedom, Lithuanians demonstrated a strong capacity and ability for self-government. Much social progress took place, including the first land reform program of modern Europe, an educational program which reduced illiteracy among its people to 15 percent from a previous 67 percent, and improved transportation. Legitimate, responsible government flourished under Lithuanian leadership, with compassion for people its chief trademark. Now, such self-rule has been denied.

A nation may be conquered, but not the spirit of its people. Despite occupations, physical hardships, persecution, and even genocidal incidents, Lithuanians have remained a strong and united people who

long for a time when they can live free and at peace in their own land. Much to our credit, the U.S. Government has refused to recognize the seizure and forced "incorporation" of Lithuania by the Communists into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. However, there is much more we can do to insist that the Soviet Union extend freedom and independence to the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and other captive nations whose lands have been unjustly occupied and whose people unjustly suppressed. The Congress has made a positive step in this direction by adopting in 1966 House Concurrent Resolution 416 which calls for freedom for Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The text of this very important legislation follows:

H. CON. RES. 416

Whereas the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation; and

Whereas all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, cultural, and religious development; and

Whereas the Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been forcibly deprived of these rights by the Government of the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union, through a program of deportations and resettlement of peoples, continues in its effort to change the ethnic character of the populations of the Baltic States; and

Whereas it has been the firm and consistent policy of the Government of the United States to support the aspirations of Baltic peoples for self-determination and national independence; and

Whereas there exist many historical, cultural, and family ties between the peoples of the Baltic States and the American people: Be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the House of Representatives of the United States urge the President of the United States—

(a) to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums and by such means as he deems appropriate, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and

(b) to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

What is now crucial and essential is that the President forceably implement this legislation by calling the liberation of the Baltic States to the attention of the United Nations. The over 1 million Americans of Lithuanian origin of descent and all Americans who cherish freedom and scorn its inhibitors look to our Government for leadership to make real again the dream of Lithuanian independence.

#### U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN INDOCHINA

**HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, for the RECORD I submit the following—a

survey of what President Nixon has publicly said about our Indochinese involvement and what the facts have been:

On November 3, 1969 President Nixon said on national television:

I believe that one of the reasons for the deep division about Vietnam is that many Americans have lost confidence in what their government has told them about our policy.

The American people cannot and should not be asked to support a policy which involves the overriding issues of war and peace unless they know the truth about that policy.

But last week we had a unique news blackout as our troops and men became involved in the Laotian invasion. While the foreign press covered this event, the American press was intimidated by threatened loss of accreditation if stories were released to Americans telling what the rest of the world already knew. What a demonstrably cynical concept characterizes the administration's view of traditional American rights to know.

On March 6, 1970, President Nixon said:

Our purposes remain straightforward in Laos. There are no American ground troops in Laos. We have no plans for introducing ground combat forces in Laos.

Officially the administration denies a military presence in Laos.

Certainly no constitutional authority has been debated and granted by the Congress to wage war in Laos. But the facts are that the United States is flying an average of 12,500 sorties a month in Laos. Are the 40,000 airmen in Thailand who fly these missions, are they excluded from the military count merely because they go to a different country when their combat flight is completed? Or is it more honest to say they are Americans and they are indeed fighting in Laos?

And what about the 400 military personnel and uncounted CIA personnel operating in Laos under various guises? And if our men and planes deposit South Vietnamese troops on the ground in Laos, what kind of semantic leader is being erected to deny "ground combat" presence?

The Los Angeles Times reported on March 15, 1970, that the numbers of non-Americans employed in Laos by the United States "numbers in the thousands." Many are employed in combat roles and can be "described as mercenaries."

As in the Vietnam escalation—

Says the L.A. Times—

the American involvement has been a steady removal of restraints. At first there were only clandestine Americans working in remote areas with pro-government tribal guerrillas. Then military men in mufti were assigned to Laos as military attaches—until there were almost as many attaches attached to the U.S. Embassy here as in all the other embassies of the world.

In Laos more than 300,000 refugees have been produced as a result of war-related activities. That's one-fifth of the population.

Between 1966 and 1969, Laos suffered the highest per capita casualty rate in the world, and it experienced the heaviest per square mile bombing in history. This is our work.

On June 30, 1970 President Nixon said



in his national broadcast following the Cambodian invasion:

We will provide military assistance to the Cambodian Government in the form of small arms and relatively unsophisticated equipment in types and quantities suitable for their army.

But the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff report entitled "Cambodia, 1970, December," states:

The U.S. has been virtually the sole supplier of new arms, ammunition, and aircraft to the Cambodian military.

In December 1970, under great administration pressure, the Congress authorized \$255 million for Cambodia, \$100 million of which had been spent before it was authorized; \$85 million of the \$255 million was for military assistance and \$70 million was economic, so called, but was described by the administration as "essential to sustain the Cambodian defense effort."

On June 30, 1970, President Nixon said that the South Vietnamese would launch Cambodian operations to prevent reestablishment of base areas along the South Vietnamese frontier. But he added:

There will be no U.S. air or logistical support.

But last week in reply to questions regarding U.S. involvement in Cambodia a military release states the following:

Command and control helicopters with airborne coordinators will be used if U.S. helicopter gunship support is made available. The type of air support provided to this operation will be similar to that provided in the past which includes supplementary air combat and logistical support—some helicopter troop lift and combat air missions have been provided to supplement the VNAF capability. Other U.S. air logistical and air combat operations will be provided from time to time.

On June 30, 1970, the President also said:

We selected instead a third option—that of gradually shifting the total combat burden to the South Vietnamese.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee report states:

The majority of bombing and support strikes against the enemy in Cambodia are conducted by the U.S. and South Vietnamese Air Forces. The U.S. Air Force has had to assume an additional part of the missions within South Vietnam in order to permit Vietnamese Air Force operations in Cambodia.

Again, on June 30, 1970, Nixon stated:

In Cambodia, the futility of expanded aggression has been demonstrated. The other side cannot impose its will through military means. We have no intention of imposing ours.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee report states:

Between one-third and one-half of the country (Cambodia) is no longer under the control of the Cambodian Government, which means that enemy forces . . . can do there what they wish.

Mr. Speaker, invasions can be called incursions.

Night can be called day.

The craftiest of rhetoricians cannot, however, explain away the role this country is playing in again expanding the unconscionable slaughter in Indochina.

SPEECH BY DR. ROBERT GAYRE, OF GAYRE AND NIGG

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the attainment of world peace is not a simple matter. If we are to achieve a lasting resolution of world problems, we must realistically consider our position in the world, and the threat which is posed by other nations or groups of nations which have the capability to attack us. Unfortunately, we seldom see the problems of peace discussed today in terms of global strategy. There is much talk about strategic weapons and the real and immediate threat which they pose. At the same time, we tend to overlook global strategic threats of less magnitude, which in a confrontation, might prove decisive.

In this regard, we ought to study the attempts of the Soviet Union and Red China to obtain footholds leading to control of strategic geographic sites. In my mind, there is no question but that the Soviet Union, and to a lesser extent, Red China, still seek to execute the strategy of encirclement.

The Soviet drive to open the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean to the Soviet Navy, the marked emphasis put upon the problem of reopening of the Suez Canal, and the attempt to extend Soviet influence in Africa, all are evidences of the Soviet grand design.

This view was recently put forward here in Washington by the distinguished Scottish scholar and lecturer, Dr. Robert Gayre of Gayre and Nigg. Dr. Gayre, whom I could also call Colonel Gayre, or even Lord Gayre, for that matter, has had a brilliant military career in addition to his scholarly endeavors. Not long ago he addressed the McDowell Group here in Washington, giving a lucid exposition of the principles of global strategy which the Soviets have employed. Dr. Gayre has sent me a copy of that speech. It is seldom that one finds such a comprehensive strategic analysis, and I recommend it highly to my colleagues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the speech, "World Strategy and the Coming World Crisis," by Dr. Robert Gayre, of Gayre and Nigg, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a short biography of Dr. Gayre from "Contemporary Authors" also be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From Contemporary Authors, 1966]

GAYRE OF GAYRE AND NIGG, ([GEORGE] ROBERT) 1907-

#### PERSONAL

Born August 6, 1907, in Ireland; son of Robert Gayre of Gayre and Nigg and Clara Hull; married Nina Mary Terry; children: Reinold Gayre of Gayre and Nigg. The Younger. Education: University of Edinburgh, M.A., 1934; additional study at Institute of West Asiatic Archaeology, University of Liverpool, and Exeter College, Oxford University, 1934-36. Religion: Scottish Episcopal. Home: 1, Darnaway St., Edinburgh 3, Scotland.

#### CAREER

Baron of Lochoreshyre and chief of Clan Gayre. Chairman of Macdonald Printers of Edinburgh, Scotland, Armorial Ltd. of Edinburgh, University Secretarial Services and Research Publishers Ltd. of London, England, and Kevindale Estates Property Ltd. of Johannesburg, South Africa. University of Saugor, Madhya Pradesh, India, professor of anthropology and head of department of anthropology-geography, 1954-56. Council of Scottish Clan Societies, vice-chairman. Military and Hospitalier Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, grand bailiff-general for the British realms, commissioner-general for the English tongue and South Africa, and president of Leprosy Research Commission; Order of Charity, vice-president. International Congress of Genealogy and Heraldry, Edinburgh, secretary-general, 1962; College of Heralds of Rome, consultore pro lingua anglica. Military service: British Army, Regular Army Reserve; served on active duty, 1936-45, becoming educational adviser, Allied Military Government, and chief of education and religious affairs, German Planning Division of SHAEF, 1944; retired from Reserve in 1962 with rank of lieutenant colonel.

#### MEMBER

National Society of Naples, Peloritana Academy, Pontaniana Academy, Academy of Palermo, National Academy of Science (India; fellow), Italian Institute of Genealogy and Heraldry (fellow), International Association of Anthropology, Ethnology and Eugenics, International Institute of Sociology, Institute des Studios Politicos (Mari); corresponding member), Colegio Brasileiro de Genealogia (corresponding member), Forty Five Association (chairman), Scottish Plebscite Society (chairman, 1964), Scottish Arts Club (Edinburgh), Army and Navy Club (London), Royal Forth Yacht Club (Edinburgh), and Royal Highland Yacht Club (Oban, Scotland). Honorary member of other societies and academies.

#### AWARDS, HONORS

Knights of Constantine St. George of Naples, 1960; Knight Commander of the Order of Lippe, 1961; Knight Grand Cross with Collar of the Military and Hospitalier Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, 1962; Knight Grand Officer of the Order of the Crown of Italy, 1963; Grand Cross of Merit with Star of Sovereign Military Order of Malta, 1963. Vincente Vignau Prize of International Institute of Genealogy and Heraldry, Madrid, Spain, for *The Heraldry of the Knights of St. John*; three medals for other work in genealogy and heraldry. Honorary degrees from University of Palermo, 1943, University of Naples, 1944, University of Messina, 1944.

#### WRITINGS

*Teuton and Slav on the Polish Frontier* Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944; *Italy in Transition*, Faber 1946; *Wassail in Mazers of Mead*, Phillimore & Co., 1948; *Gayre's Books*, four volumes, privately printed 1948-59; *The Heraldry of the Knights of St. John*, Garga 1956; *Heraldic Standards and Other Ensigns*, Oliver & Boyd, 1959; *The Nature of Arms*, Faber, 1961; *Heraldic Cadency*, Oliver & Boyd, 1961; *Who Is Who in Clan Gayre*, Armorial Ltd., 1962; *A Case for Monarchy*, Armorial Ltd., 1963.

Editor: *The Armorial Who is Who*, Volume I, 1962, Volume II, in press. Editor-in-chief, *La Croix de Sinople*; editor of *Armorial, Mankind Quarterly*, and the *Mankind Monographs*. Contributor to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Coat of Arms*, *Revista Araldica*, other periodicals.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

*Foundations of Ethnology*, English edition in three volumes; *A Roll of Scottish Arms*, publication of the first of about six volumes expected in 1964; a new edition of *The Heraldry of the Knights of St. John*.

## SIDELIGHTS

Recent travels in connection with ethnogenetic work and for Order of St. Lazarus include visits to Bantu and Bushmen tribes of Southern Africa, to Egypt, and other sections of Africa, Middle East, Iceland, Canada, United States, and half a dozen countries of Europe, Master and owner of sailing cutter, "Loyalty."

## WORLD STRATEGY AND THE COMING WORLD CRISIS

(By Dr. Robert Gayre of Gayre and Nigg)

World strategy is governed by the fact that there is a great land area consisting of Eurasia with attachments running into the Indian Ocean represented by India, Indonesia, and Africa. The heartlands of this land mass are controlled by two monolithic powers which, whatever their differences between each other, are antagonistic to the free nations of the world, and in particular to the major surrounding powers.

These latter consist of the Western European nations, Canada, the United States, Southern Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. All, except the last, are Caucasoid nations based upon a common Christian and European tradition and culture.

This situation, in its broad outline, is not entirely new to us. For centuries now the maritime powers have had the need to contain the powers of the great land masses. The strategy of the British Empire was based upon this. With its bases in Egypt, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India, Burma, Singapore to Hong Kong and supported by sea power in excess of that deployed by any other state, with small professional armies located at strategic positions, it established a barrier to the outward thrusts of Russia, the most formidable of these Eurasian continental powers. Thus the expansion of Russia and China has been contained for several centuries.

Furthermore, the unique position of the British Raj in India made the Crown the biggest Islamic force in the world, and so helped to neutralise any efforts to turn the Arab countries against Britain. There was, as a consequence, a stabilized strategic position which lasted for several generations despite attempts from time to time to destroy this hold which Britain possessed over the peoples of the Indian Ocean, the Western Pacific and the Mediterranean.

All this has been destroyed by the collapse of the European Colonial Empires, and particularly of the British, after the second world war.

It may well be that historians of the future, in looking back, will be very severe in their condemnation of this destruction of world stability—a destruction which was undertaken in the name of democracy, although the only ends it has served have been those of powers determined to suppress individual liberty and freedom.

The outcome of this dramatic recession of the imperial peoples has been to create a power vacuum which consists of a belt of weakness running along the whole of the borderlands of the Eurasian powers.

This has made itself felt in a number of theatres. We have Korea, which was a result of Japanese recession from the mainland of Asia. Into this vacuum the United States had to step to prevent the expansion of Communist China, which would otherwise have occupied the whole country.

The collapse of French power in Indo-China created another crucial position of weakness which has had to be under-pinned at once by the United States, in a long and costly drawn-out war of defence which is not yet ended.

Burma in its very weakness is a ready invitation for Chinese expansion. There is little doubt, that if the United States withdraws from Indo-China, not only will Cambodia and Thailand be further involved, but there is a grave danger of Burma becoming sucked into the conflict as well.

The British withdrawal from India led to a neutralization of what virtually had been her protection of Tibet. From this China was not slow to profit. The emergence of India and Pakistan into two hostile powers, dividing the sub-continent, created an area of extreme weakness out of a former bastion of great strength. Having consolidated her position in Tibet, as a result of the feebleness of the sub-continent of India, China was able to attack India in a probe of their common frontier. If China learnt anything, it was that India was no longer the great military power she was under the British Raj. It seems that it is only a matter of time before China invades in a full scale attack. The objectives of which will be the ports of the Indian Ocean.

In Arabia, the British withdrawal was followed by the throwing open to Russian occupation of all her military installations to the key position of the Indian Ocean. At the present time, the South Yemen is avowedly socialist, receiving assistance from China and Russia, and carrying on openly war against Oman which is still pro-Western.

The British withdrawal from Egypt, followed by the disastrous failure of the British and French initiative to prevent the permanent alienation of the Suez Canal, for which the United States bears no little responsibility, has meant that Russia has been able to consolidate herself in Egypt, athwart the canal, as well as being able to make herself the controller of the Southern end of the Red Sea as far as Aden, with a deep penetration into Somalia. Thus she had extended her sphere of influence to include the Horn of Africa.

From the reserve base in Egypt, Russia has been able to influence Syria, Libya and Algeria. Formerly, as the greatest Moslem power, Britain could always hope to exert some influence upon Islamic countries. With Russia now the greatest Islamic nation, it is all too easy for her, starting with the advantages she already possesses, to dominate much of the thought and action of the Arab countries.

Thus we have in a short space of twenty-five years seen a complete change of circumstances. Formerly Britain assisted and supported the Arabs against Israel. But now that these Islamic countries are willing to accept, in some degree or another, the position of clients, or at least sympathetic neutrals; in regard to Russia, we are faced with a new situation, as are also the Israelis. From being enemies of the British, and from having a sympathy with communism they now find themselves seeking to maintain good relations with Britain. At the same time they are being opposed violently by the influence of Russia in all fields. They also see Jewish minorities being persecuted in the Soviet Union on the slightest pretexts.

Insofar as the Eurasian countries are communist, and insofar as they seek to destroy certain encircling nations (the United States, Britain and its interests, and Western Europe) the Western powers are forced into a situation in which their interests lie with the survival of Israel and the containment of the Arab States, which are not only under the influence of Russia, but are in some cases even practically militarily in her control.

Following the developments of which we speak, Soviet Russia has effectively spread its power along the North Coast of Africa. Libya, a tremendously important base, has been lost to the maritime Western powers upon the fall of King Idris. The Libyan forces were under British influence, while the United States had the big Wheelus U.S. air base. These powerful military positions also safeguarded the western interests in oil which are located there. Now Libya has formed a federation with Egypt, the Sudan, and Syria. The consequence is that Soviet Russia has consolidated its position, in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea, as never before in history. Only the closure of the Suez

Canal, due to Israel's advance to that waterway and the bombardment along its banks, denies Russia direct entry to the Indian Ocean, and the fulfillment of a Russian aim of centuries of imperialistic dreams.

Turkey and Greece are by these developments outflanked, and as a consequence, the maintenance of Cyprus as a British base becomes of paramount importance. It is the only nodal point around which, by the use of air and sea power in the Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey and Greece could be sustained, Lebanon encouraged to remain a neutral, Israel reinforced, and Syria and Iraq threatened if they should openly enter a war waged by Russia against the Western interests in this theatre.

Further west, Tunis, still under French influence, is increasingly isolated with the fall of King Idris' friendly government and its replacement by one hostile to western interests.

On the west of Tunis lies Algeria, which is perhaps the most openly pro-Russian and anti-western of all the Arab countries. It is, in the Mediterranean, what Cuba is in the Caribbean.

It will seem, therefore, that from Libya Malta is directly threatened, and from Algeria the south of Europe, and particularly France.

Malta remains an island fortress of the west in the narrows between Tunisia and Sicily, and given adequate support, effectively closes the gate between the two basins of the eastern and western Mediterranean. Malta is an independent kingdom under Queen Elizabeth of Britain, as Queen of Malta, with a Governor General appointed by the Queen. At the moment it has a nationalist government of Conservative leanings, but there is a large Malta Labour Party in opposition, the accession of which to power could materially change the present favourable strategic situation.

With its fine harbours, large naval dockyards, military and Royal Air Force stations, it is a strong point, which if properly supplied and manned could contain the breaking out of Russia into the Western Mediterranean (and beyond) in the event of the collapse of Turkey, Greece and Cyprus. It is essential for the maintenance of support for these outer defences of the West and for the sustenance of Israel.

Therefore the run-down of the military and naval installations in Malta, as well as the alienation from Britain, of the goodwill of the Maltese people, under the last Labour Government, headed by Mr. Harold Wilson, can be categorized as nothing other than supreme folly only matched by his conduct of relations with Rhodesia and Portugal. The present Conservative Government under Mr. Heath is no doubt preparing to set about repairing some of the damage done to all these relationships and not least to these important defences. But Britain's position in Malta at the moment is decidedly weak until such reparation has been undertaken seriously and on a large scale.

The importance of Malta may be gauged by the fact that Russia has been pressing for facilities there, so far refused, and has at any one time several naval vessels lying off the coast. When a British aircraft carrier recently entered Malta it was accompanied by three Russian vessels, which waited for her, and when she came out on passage to Gibraltar, they fell in with her as though forming an escort. This close surveillance is why, only a few weeks ago, a British aircraft carrier in the Mediterranean avoided with difficulty cutting a Russian destroyer in two which came dangerously near to her.

West of Algeria lies Morocco, which, at the moment, under its King, has, with difficulty, avoided being drawn into the Russian orbit, and which allows facilities to the United States. Morocco is essential to Western interests, as with Gibraltar, it can seal off the Atlantic approaches of the Mediterranean, and prevent Russian naval power breaking out into the central Atlantic, if the bastion provided by Malta should fall. In this situa-



tion the position of Gibraltar is not of a little importance. Here the position has become bedeviled by the Spanish claims to this peninsula Rock, which appear to have been developed as a consequence of a reprisal for the self-righteous refusal of the former British Labour Government to supply naval vessels to Spain. A campaign has been launched in the United Nations which has the support of the Communist and the Afro-Asian blocks. In view of the xenophobia of many of these latter States, and their overt sympathy with Russia, this should be of significance to us. For the transfer of Gibraltar, from the control of a principal military and naval power of the West to a weak one, can only serve the interest of Russia.

Gibraltar was obtained by Britain under the Treaty of Utrecht in exchange for the much more valuable island of Minorca. Its only value is naval when in the hands of a naval power. Therefore, there is no basic justice in the Spanish claim, unless they undertook to give back Minorca for Gibraltar. Secondly, the people of Gibraltar have through their legislature, and also by a referendum, expressed decisively their views which are that they have no intention of becoming Spaniards. The population of Italian-British origins, with some original Minorcan, and subsequently Spanish infiltration; but they do not feel Spanish despite their use of the Spanish as well as the English languages. In view of our commitment since the first world war to the principle of self-determination, it is quite astonishing that the Afro-Asian countries (which have evoked that principle successfully in obtaining their own independence) should deny it in this case. It fortifies my view that this is due to the fact that there is Russian diplomatic pressure upon these xenophobically-oriented states to get Gibraltar out of the hands of a major military power, and into the hands of one which can exercise only weaker control, which Russia could deal with more effectively at a later date. This view is fortified by the knowledge that Spain, considered a fascist power, has given Communist Russia naval rights in an island 150 miles out into the Atlantic from Gibraltar. What interest has Russia there if it is not to try to close the gate of Gibraltar? Or, if Gibraltar were neutralized, to give them a refueling base to harass American, European, and British shipping.

As far as the Mediterranean is concerned, it is clear that so far as Russia's expansion into the Central Atlantic is concerned, if this is to be contained, the Western powers cannot afford to surrender any of its present positions, which are dangerously reduced already. Of these, those which should be held to the bitter end are Cyprus, Malta, and Gibraltar.

All these are small areas and could be seriously impaired if not destroyed in a nuclear war, but while the west, and particularly the United States, in retaliation, can deliver blow for blow against the key positions of Soviet Russia's military power, it is unlikely that a nuclear holocaust will occur. In which case these strong points dictate the strategic situation as it affects the Mediterranean and the Central Atlantic approaches.

Turning to Europe, we have Russian expansion to the North Atlantic blocked by the NATO powers. Germany, France and Italy, with British and American support, provide a military front for a land-war defensive system, designed to defend Western Europe from invasion from the East. While such an alliance remains effective Russia cannot advance to the West coast of Europe and obtain the use of the ports of the West coast of France, which were of such importance to Hitler in the second world war. This defensive system is very much weaker than formerly and needs to be strengthened. If this is done effectively it is very doubtful, in my opinion, that Russia would be willing

to invade Western Europe overland. For once Russia is convinced that such a military adventure promises no certain success, she will make a virtue of necessity, and decide to seal off her Western frontiers, so that no war can be fought over them. For Soviet Russia, this will have advantages as much as it will have for the NATO powers. This will enable her to build a curtain of security along one important front, just as it will be of advantage to the West for the same reason. When all is said and done, western strategy must be designed to contain Russian imperialistic expansion, and if a powerful NATO can do that on the Western front, it will have achieved its objective.

It is in the light of this that President de Gaulle's policy should be seen. While it was vexatious to the American policy in many aspects, as it had elements in it of containing the United States also, the *detente* which General de Gaulle sought to establish would have served western as well as Russian interests if it had produced much the same result as would a very powerful NATO which effectively prevented the possibility of a European war.

In the North Sea and Northern Atlantic, British naval and Royal Air Force strength is essential to provide the resources to prevent Russia's break-out through the Baltic and from the White Sea and her Arctic posts, or over Finland, Sweden, and Norway, if these countries should be overrun. The United Kingdom will also have to be sufficiently powerful to close the English Channel if NATO should fail to prevent a Russian invasion of the Continent, and a dash for the Channel ports.

Except for the deployment of fleets of surface and under-sea ships from the Russian Arctic ports, it would seem, if we rebuild the strength of NATO, that we have an effective barrier against Soviet Russian expansion to the North Atlantic. A strengthened British naval and air power should be able to prevent expansion from Russian northern bases.

In the diplomatic field, it is essential to produce a situation which may make it possible for those nations, such as the Poles, Bulgars, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, Rumanians, and Yugoslavs, to come closer to the west than they are now. I would suggest it is to those nations that economic aid should be given rather than to the so-called under-developed nations. A prosperous Eastern Europe would be more effective in opposing Soviet Russian imperialistic intentions from within the Iron Curtain, than weak and dependent states can ever be. A time could arise, if we took an effective initiative here, when they might well form a neutral screen between Western Europe and Russia. This would not be against Russia's ultimate interests, in certain contingencies, and might well be allowed to occur without too much resistance from her. Such a development would be in the interests of the West, as we could deploy our limited resources more effectively, where the real danger threatens—which I hope to show is designed to encircle both the United States and Europe.

Turning to the Suez Canal, we have to realize that its continued closure is of the utmost value to Western interests. Therefore, the activities of certain influential interests to have the war between the Arabs and Israel settled at any cost, including the opening of the Suez Canal is incomprehensible. When Egypt was a British sphere of influence and the canal was Franco-British owned, its being open was a major objective of Western Strategy. But with Russia firmly embedded in Egypt, and with a sympathetic Libya and the Sudan, the closure of the canal is of paramount importance to our selves—for it thwarts the major objective of Russian strategy, which has been that of that country for generations. Soviet Russia's ends are served first by the powerful defensive frontier which she has provided for herself in the great continental land-masses on the

one hand, about which we can do little, and on the other by her paramount need to break out into the oceans of the world, about which we can do a great deal. Russia is still effectively balked by the United Kingdom in the north, NATO in the centre, and by Cyprus, Malta and Gibraltar in the south of Europe. Her only effective direction of expansion, where she is faced with weak forces to oppose her, is towards the Indian Ocean, and what stops her here is the closure of the Suez Canal.

Owing to her difficult situation the temptation for Israel to exchange the re-opening of the Canal in return for an advantageous peace treaty, which Russia would support (any other would be ineffective) is very great. If Israel could obtain the effective control of Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, the strengthening of several dangerous salients which run into Israel along her former border with Jordan, and free passage through the Gulf of Aquaba, with some control of the southern port of the Sinai peninsula which dominates the straits, she might well give up all her other conquests and leave the Canal Zone.

It is my view that Soviet Russia might well encourage such a settlement, and may, at this time, be carrying out a diplomatic campaign with her Arab client states to induce them to accept it. For once this were achieved the Indian Ocean would be at her command. She already has the West (Sudanese) shore of the Red Sea, the eastern shore from the South Yemen southwards to the entrance to the Red Sea and Aden, and the fine former British naval and oil bases at Aden. The Red Sea is already dominated by Russia as it was formerly by the United Kingdom. With access to Port Sudan and Aden from the Black Sea ports the dreams of Russian imperial expansion would have reached the point at which their fulfilment were near accomplishment.

This then is the background to the strategic *geopolitik* of world power today. We have two massive central Eurasian powers. The one a military naval and air power in Europe and Asia, with itself strongly entrenched in North Africa and the near East, and the other, a military power solely in Asia, thrusting forward into Indo-China towards Burma and India. We have now to consider their immediate preparations for further expansion to accomplish their objectives.

China's power is contained by the United States in Korea and Southeast Asia, and India has yet to be conquered. Leaping ahead of such a conquest she has already, for all intents and purposes, established her bridge head in Zanzibar. The possession of Bombay, Madras, or Calcutta alone is necessary to complete her line of communications.

Should China find the moment opportune to invade India in force, and I believe she will if conditions are suitable, I have no doubt she will overwhelm India, which will already be fighting on two fronts against West and East Pakistan respectively. We must not lose sight of the close relations which have been developing between Pakistan and China. Meanwhile, India, in a xenophobic reaction against the British Raj has been flirting with Soviet Russia. Russia, however, would not be able to help her short of coming into direct conflict with China which I am sure she is anxious to avoid.

Therefore, I have no doubt the Indian army will be rolled up as far as the Narbudda valley, which is an east and west line which could be held across the Deccan if India could receive timely assistance from Britain, the United States, and other Western powers. But if that assistance were lagged, as one may well fear it would be, as democratic countries cannot move fast to meet radically new situations, then this line would be forced. In that case the ports of India would be in the hands of Chinese Communists within weeks of the invasion.

It is surely this plan which is integral to the actions of Communist China which are being revealed at this moment in Africa. There is no sense in China's going into Africa with developments which are clearly part of an aggressive military expansionism if we do not recognize that she cannot permit a "missing link" to exist in India between the Himalayas and Zanzibar.

From Zanzibar China is already engaged in building in collaboration with Tanzania and Zambia a strategic railway from Dar es Salaam to the Zambesi, the border of Rhodesia. Literally thousands of Chinese have been imported to construct this railway.

China cannot enter Africa overland as Russia must be eliminated first. Therefore, this great land-power has to interject a sea link (of the Indian Ocean between India and Zanzibar) in its drive outwards by a land-based line of advance. The drive to the Zambesi down the centre of the African Continent is typical of the action of a great continental land power.

In the light of the Chinese penetration to the Zambesi projected by the rail line from Dar es Salaam, the Caprivi strip becomes of paramount importance in the Western defense system of Southern Africa. This is a corridor of land which runs from South West Africa along the North of Botswana (old Bechuanaland) to the Zambesi, where at a point in the middle of that river it meets the frontiers of Zambia, Botswana, and Rhodesia.

This completely seals off Botswana, which runs deep into South Africa, from Zambia to the north of the Zambesi. If Botswana had a connection with Zambia it could be a huge salient into Southern Africa which could turn the whole defenses of Rhodesia and Portuguese Mozambique along the Zambesi and adjoining frontiers, as well as the territory from which a direct attack on the Cape of Good Hope could take place, sealing off in the process the Transvaal as well as Rhodesia.

It is quite inconceivable in the light of these facts that the United States State Department has been making every effort to force South Africa to allow a road bridge, or, failing that, a road ferry service, across the Zambesi at this very point to link Botswana with Zambia, to enable free movement from north to south and so by-pass the need to pass through Rhodesia. If any measure were calculated deliberately to assist a Chinese conquest of Southern Africa this would be it. No wonder, therefore, South Africa will not merely resist diplomatically this United States' pressure, but I believe she would resist by force any attempt to breach her frontier and that of Rhodesia at this point.

At this stage, Soviet Russia, albeit a great Continental land power, has been assiduously making herself a great naval power. Having once accepted that commitment, with the probability of a neutralized Western front, and having broken out through Suez, she assumes the role of a sea-power. It is as such that we must study her strategy. Having broken into the Indian Ocean, even if hauled in the Arctic, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean, she now has all the naval advantages of those who, in the past, have encircled the land-powers. For now it is possible for her to reply by attempting to encircle the naval powers of Europe, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

This Soviet Russia is proceeding to do. She has her bases in Aden, Socotra and Somalia. She has already anchorages off the Seychelles. South of this she has entered into agreements for facilities in the Mauritius (behind the back of the U.K. Government).

Her interest on military grounds, quite apart from ideological, is to occupy the important Simonstown base in South Africa. With a pack of nuclear submarines located there she can dominate the South Atlantic, and, at the same time, controlling the Suez Canal, she can deny to Australasia and India from Europe and the East Coast of the United States of America, and prevent the movement

of the Pacific and Atlantic fleets from one coast to the other if the Panama Canal cannot be used. In the event of global war Panama is threatened. Cuba is athwart of its approaches. A thermonuclear bomb can destroy access to it, and subversion among the people of Panama could, in any case, deny it to the United States. Therefore, for the United States the Cape Horn route is of paramount importance, and to this Simonstown could be, in wrong hands, a direct threat.

Gibraltar and Simonstown together in the hands of Soviet Russia, could produce a situation in which a ship could not move in the Atlantic without Russian permission. For that reason Malta, Gibraltar and Simonstown are of paramount importance and true gates which must be locked against our potential enemies, and never be allowed into the hands of hostile powers.

To defend Simonstown the South African Government asked the Labour Government of Mr. Harold Wilson for arms, which were denied. Without the unpublished assistance of France, South Africa's, and our defenses, today would be in a sorry condition.

This situation the new Conservative Government of Mr. Heath is trying to rectify in the teeth of the opposition of the Afro-Asian nations, the United Nations, and even of the State Department. Being mesmerised by the serried ranks of Black faces friendly to Communists in the United Nations, the State Department, in its haste to appease them, has struck an attitude helpful to the enemies of the West by proclaiming its antagonism to South Africa and its opposition to the supply of arms to that country. In so far as that is so, it is striking a blow at the defence of America. At this time Canada is trying to apply the utmost pressure it can to prevent the British Government from providing naval armaments to South Africa. The record of Canada, its recognition of Communist China, withdrawal from NATO, and the political background of association with Communist or near Communist influences of Mr. Trudeau, are consistently favourable to the enemies of the West at this time.

Just as China has leaped ahead of the obstacle at present provided by India so the Soviet Union is attempting to do the same thing. There is a race to the South to occupy Southern Africa and Simonstown, which is the last great strategic gate in the hands of the Western powers. Characteristically the great landlocked power of China is coming south to the Zambesi overland. Russia, which has had a navy ever since Admiral Greig (a Scotsman) founded it for her, is pushing south from the Near East (as she hopes to do when the Suez Canal is opened) by sea. Temporarily not able to occupy South Africa, she pushes onwards into the Southern Atlantic. Thus she has set her sights on South Georgia. There she had nearly completed an agreement with the South American owner of the old Scottish Whaling base (of Salvesen's, Leith) when the British intervened, however successfully remains to be seen. Meanwhile, beyond lie the Falkland Isles. We can be sure that the United Nations, supported by the Afro-Asian and Communist blocks, will support an Argentine claim to these islands.

The aim is clearly Aden, Mauritius, Simonstown, South Georgia, the Falkland Islands, and the South Atlantic is completely locked and Europe is encircled.

Meanwhile, to Soviet Russia has fallen the windfall of Chile, which is now under a markedly left wing Government. The final encircling movement is coming close to success. For a sympathetic Chile can let Russia into the South Pacific.

It is against the background of this strategy that we must view the position of the Kurile Islands. Russia needs the help of Japanese technology to develop Eastern Siberia. Yet, despite that fact, she remains adamant about returning these Japanese Islands to Japan. The obvious reason is that

they form part of a global encircling movement which sweeps in a grand manner from Aden, through the Indian Ocean, to the South Atlantic, and up through the Pacific to the Eastern Siberian coast.

This is a text book encirclement but carried out on a world scale, and swept up within it is the whole of Europe, South and North America. Even China is outpaced and placed at hazard by it. No wonder that thousands of Chinese technicians have been landed at Dar es Salaam to push forward the railway through Tanganyika and Zambia to the Zambesi, heading straight for the Cape and Simonstown, before the Soviet Union can consolidate its position there first.

At this point we have to remember that the encirclement is completed in the Arctic—for the Soviet Union, United States and Canada are neighbors there.

Once the encirclement has been completed (perhaps by rights in the Galapagos Islands athwart the Western entrance of the Panama Canal) the United States, the United Kingdom, and Europe, are in a box, a big one it is true, but none the less a box for all that.

Once this situation has been achieved the enormous military power of Russia supported by what will be by then its overwhelming seapower, can dictate terms to the Western nations. The use of thermonuclear weapons, which can be as deadly to the aggressor as the defender, when the latter has some of them, will not be necessary.

An invasion of Alaska and Canada would not be a difficult operation. With few Arctic-seasoned troops it is quite unthinkable that the United States and Canada could fight effectively on the soil of North America.

While the European front must be held at all costs, and NATO must be stiffened, as I see it the grand strategy of the Soviet Union is one of encircling the West and an invasion of the American Continent. If at that time China and Soviet Russia are collaborating (hoping to settle their own differences later) then Communist China will invade India, and, in Africa she will to the north, where, with the help of the Soviet Union, it would hope to neutralize Malta and Gibraltar, and strike at the soft under-belly of Europe, while the Russian fleet broke out into the Central Atlantic. Between them they would effectively prevent Europe from bringing any aid to North America.

This then is the danger I see from the strategy of *geopolitik* dimensions which is now making itself plain. The strengthening of NATO, and our position in the Mediterranean, the support of South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia, and the building of the projected British-American base on Diago Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean, are all crucial to our very survival. Against this adverse votes of the Afro-Asians in the United Nations pale to insignificance; in terms of military or economic power they are of no importance, and their principle function is to act as pawns in moves to destroy the Western civilized powers.

#### POW EFFORTS OF WOMEN'S CLUB OF ST. RICHARD'S CHURCH

#### HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, throughout the Nation we are witnessing the efforts of concerned citizens and organizations in seeking the humane treatment of American prisoners of war and in securing their release by the Government of North Vietnam.

The Women's Club of St. Richard's



Church, Barnesville, Pa., has just completed a letter-writing campaign during which citizens from the Barnesville-Mahanoy City-Shenandoah areas joined together to protest the plight of American POW's.

The letter that was written to the North Vietnamese Embassy at Paris reflects the mood of the Nation and the concern that prevails for the future of our men who are being held captive by North Vietnam. The remarks of the Women's Club of St. Richard's Church merit the attention of the Congress, and I request that they be placed in the RECORD at this time.

NORTH VIETNAMESE EMBASSY,  
Paris, France.

GENTLEMEN: I am writing on behalf of the families of the American men held prisoner by your country. Your government's policy of non-information concerning these men is one lacking in simple understanding and compassion.

By your government's actions, you not only hold the men themselves captive, but also the hearts and minds of their wives and children.

I choose to believe that, whatever your country desires to achieve, the course taken need not include the mistreatment of men who honorably served their convictions, nor for their families a life of anguish in a state of limbo. No country or its people can gain respect or greatness in the eyes of the world if they do not know the quality of mercy.

Sincerely,

#### REVENUE SHARING

### HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, in a speech given to the Empire State Chamber of Commerce, on February 9, 1971, New York State Governor Nelson Rockefeller, again argued in favor of President Nixon's revenue-sharing proposals. The Governor's speech makes a lot of sense and I commend excerpts of that speech which follow to the attention of my colleagues in the House.

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY GOV. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

The President's \$5-billion revenue sharing bill will be introduced in Congress tomorrow.

The bill will carry 138 co-sponsors: 130 of them Republican and the other eight Democrats.

Previously, there had been no Democratic representatives from this State co-sponsoring the bill.

Tonight, I am encouraged to report that one of those co-sponsors will be a New York City Democrat, Representative Shirley Chisholm.

I am also encouraged by the number of New York Democrats in Congress who say privately that they support the concept of Federal revenue sharing, and who say they are now preparing a bi-partisan \$10-billion revenue sharing bill.

That is the level of revenue sharing that I have been urging as absolutely essential.

As for Mrs. Chisholm, as representative of the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of New York City, she well knows the plight of urban families trapped in deteriorating neighborhoods and threatened by a total collapse of municipal services.

She is the first to break away from the agrarian—state leadership of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives.

I don't blame Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, for opposing revenue sharing.

Arkansas is forty-first in the Nation in combined state and local tax effort—but it is ninth in the Nation in the percentage of its Federal taxes that it gets back from Washington.

New York State, on the other hand, is second in tax effort, but 38th in the share of its Federal tax money it gets back from Washington, under the present system of categorical grants.

New York State is sending \$23.7-billion to Washington this year, but getting back only \$2.7-billion—something more than 11 cents on the dollar.

Arkansas, however, is getting back 27.8 cents on the dollar.

If New York got back the same proportion from Washington as Arkansas, we would be receiving about \$7-billion instead of \$2.7-billion.

That would be a \$4.3-billion increase in Federal grants for New York State and its local communities.

Actually, we are shooting for a \$1-billion increase—while the President's bill would increase our Federal grants by approximately \$500-million.

I can likewise understand Carl Albert of Oklahoma, the new Speaker of the House of Representatives, in his opposition to revenue sharing.

Oklahoma gets back 25.7 cents on the dollar; it ranks 33rd in state-local tax effort, but 11th in the returns from Washington.

What I can't understand is how a member of Congress from New York State can oppose revenue sharing or fail to do anything to support it, in light of the desperate crisis confronting our urban areas.

That is why it is so encouraging that Representative Chisholm has broken the ice and has put her name on the President's bill.

And that is why it is heartening that some of our State Democratic congressmen at least indicate their support of the concept.

All the Republicans in the House from New York State are supporting revenue sharing.

But, too many Democrats have thus far failed to support it. And some have openly declared their hostility.

This is a blatant case of playing politics with human misery.

I trust that Mrs. Chisholm's example will reverse the tide.

#### INDOCHINA WAR

### HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 10, 1971

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the past few weeks have seen an unprecedented and irresponsible effort on the part of the Nixon administration to close off the sources of information, to embargo the flow of interchange, to keep in the dark the elected Representatives of the American people as to the activities of the military in Indochina.

All Americans recognize that some secrecy is necessary to protect American fighting men's lives. No one seriously questions this goal—we are all agreed on that. But some of us believe that we can best protect American lives by withdrawing—by ending the war, not enlarging it.

I would like to submit a statement made on Tuesday, February 9, 1971, on the subject of the Indochina war:

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

I deeply regret the Administration's decision to extend the war into Laos. It is apparent that instead of getting out of Indochina, we are getting in deeper and deeper. We have got to put a stop to this escalation or the war will continue to widen, and we'll never get out.

Congressmen are always getting guided tours of Vietnam. I'd like to reverse the procedure and take some of our military planners on a guided tour of Philadelphia's inner city. I'd like to show them some of our 40,000 abandoned houses, some of our overcrowded classrooms, some of the human misery of our people.

Our state is bankrupt, our school board is bankrupt, and our city is on the verge of bankruptcy. I think it is not too much to ask the Administration to pay a little more attention to these hard facts and a little less attention to blowing up the jungle in Southeast Asia.

#### YOUR LOVE IS PEACE, DEAR CHILD

### HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today a most moving poem by Mr. David Gimbel, a resident of the 13th Congressional District in Brooklyn, N.Y. In May, this poem will appear in the Journal for the Association for the Help of Retarded Children.

I hope the message it brings will inspire our citizens and lawmakers to act to further the well-being of our Nation's retarded children:

YOUR LOVE IS PEACE, DEAR CHILD

(By David Gimbel)

Oh child of innocence, so precious and dear,  
Little heart always lonely and so filled with fear.

In millions of homes in the world and this land,  
These children reach out for a smile and a friend.

"Now put her away," the family all cry,  
But, like a flower without care, she would wither and die.

These very same people keep a dog for protection,  
And upon it they will shower their love and affection.

These people of yesteryear all dwell in the past,  
And believe their good fortune forever will last.

Compassion and devotion to them is unreal,  
So how can they know just how I feel?

In the evening when I get home her eyes  
sparkle and shine.

I hug her and kiss her and the world is all mine.

Every word that she utters is a symphony to my ears,  
And somehow I forget any heartbreak and tears.

I reach into her little world of that you can be sure,

And I find that it is beautiful because it's good and pure,

For it is built on love that glitters like a jewel,

In their paradise of beauty it is the basic rule.

Today this tragic world of ours is beset by war and strife,

And if we will continue we can destroy all human life.  
Then let us take a leaf from their book of love and cease,  
So that peoples can all join hands and forever live in peace.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, February 16 marked the 53d anniversary of the independence of Lithuania, home of a brave people who have been deprived of complete independence and self-government by the Soviet Union.

My colleagues, this year Lithuanian Independence Day has special meaning to Americans of Lithuanian descent. For it was only a few days ago that the press reported that Simas A. Kudirka, believed to have been severely punished, is alive and well in Moscow.

Kudirka, as you will recall, was the Lithuanian sailor who jumped aboard the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Vigilante*, where, tragically, he was beaten by Russian superiors and was allowed to be taken back aboard his Soviet vessel.

Only last week, the House subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations accused the Coast Guard and State Department of ineptitude in their handling of the incident. So, all Americans of Lithuanian descent feel relief at the news about Kudirka and continue to hope that he will remain safe.

It was on this day in 1918 that Lithuanian patriots declared their state an independent nation. But after two decades of freedom, Lithuania again fell under Russian domination when it was occupied by the Red army in the Second World War.

During those 22 years of independence, Lithuanian leaders brought about land

reform, expanded the nation's industry, built a transportation system, provided for a national education program, and enacted social legislation.

But on August 3, 1940, Soviet troops occupied Lithuania bringing to an end this progress and freedom and dampening hopes for continued progress through self-determination.

During the war German forces drove the Russians out of Lithuania, replacing one kind of enslavement and totalitarianism with another. But then in 1944, the Soviet Union reconquered the country.

Now, Lithuanians living in their homeland are subject to the same abuses as their neighboring Latvians and Estonians as the U.S.S.R. attempts to destroy the culture, language, and heritage of their nation.

It is fitting, on this day, that the freedom-loving people of America join with the people of Lithuania in the hope that their independence will some day be restored.

Only the people in Lithuania really know the suffering which they have endured under the Communist regime in Moscow. Let us hope that soon we will see the restoration of their great nation so that Lithuanians may once more enjoy the freedom and independence of democracy.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFIT INCREASE NEEDED NOW

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, today I insert in the RECORD, part VII of the article entitled: "Private and Public Retirement Pensions: Findings From the 1968 Survey of the Aged," by Walter W. Kolodrubetz:

COMBINED RETIREMENT BENEFITS

The powerful effect of the dual pensions on total retirement benefits is illustrated in table 8 by showing combined retirement

benefits for aged pensioners. When supplementary pensions are combined with OASDHI benefits, a pronounced spread in retirement benefit income is apparent, unlike the pattern for those who get only OASDHI in retirement benefit income. Significantly, in comparing total pensions for dual beneficiaries, the wide differences previously observed in levels of private pensions and public pensions other than OASDHI were erased with the addition of OASDHI benefits. The gap in total retirement benefits between those with and without supplemental private pensions was much greater than would ordinarily be assumed, however, because private pensioners also were more likely to receive high OASDHI benefits. As discussed later in the article, the final effects on total income differentials were substantial since these groups with two or more pensions were also more likely to have income from assets.

The distributions of combined retirement benefits for OASDHI beneficiary couples with private pensions and for those with other public pensions were remarkably similar, and the median amount was almost the same—about \$3,000 (table 8). Seventy percent of the couples with two pensions had combined retirement benefits of \$2,500 or more; few had less than \$2,000.

In contrast, median retirement benefits for couples receiving only OASDHI benefits were half as much as they were for dual pensioners. Because of the nature of and constraints in the OASDHI benefit computation, and the selective factors that operated against OASDHI retirees not receiving another pension, the OASDHI benefits for these couples were fairly evenly distributed in the \$500-\$2,500 range. Married couples who received only a public pension other than OASDHI (with a median benefit of \$2,720) also had total retirement benefits much higher than those of married couples with OASDHI alone and not significantly different than those of dual pensioners.

For nonmarried persons, as for married couples, the combined retirement benefits of units with two pensions were about the same whether OASDHI was combined with a private or another public pension. Retirement benefits for the nonmarried with only OASDHI in retirement benefit income were about half the amount for dual pensioners. Nonmarried persons receiving only a public pension other than OASDHI had retirement benefits that were higher than those of persons with OASDHI benefits only but were not close to the total retirement benefits of dual pensioners.

TABLE 8.—SIZE OF TOTAL PENSION INCOME BY TYPE OF RETIREMENT BENEFITS FOR OASDHI BENEFICIARIES<sup>1</sup> AND NONBENEFICIARIES: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AGED UNITS BY SIZE OF PENSION INCOME, BY RECEIPT OF RETIREMENT BENEFITS, 1967

[Number in thousands]

Total pension income	OASDHI benefits and—			Public pension other than OASDHI	Total pension income	OASDHI benefits and—			Public pension other than OASDHI
	Private group pension <sup>2</sup>	Other public pension	No other pension			Private group pension <sup>2</sup>	Other public pension	No other pension	
<b>MARRIED COUPLES</b>									
Total.....	1,009	392	3,438	166					
Reporting on total pension income.....	953	357	3,398	161					
Percent of units.....	100	100	100	100					
\$1 to \$149.....									
\$150 to \$299.....			( <sup>0</sup> )						
\$300 to \$499.....			3		\$300 to \$499.....	( <sup>0</sup> )	1	6	3
\$500 to \$999.....	( <sup>0</sup> )		20	5	\$500 to \$999.....	2	3	55	27
\$1,000 to \$1,499.....	1	4	29	8	\$1,000 to \$1,499.....	12	22	36	29
\$1,500 to \$1,999.....	10	10	25	8	\$1,500 to \$1,999.....	29	21	3	12
\$2,000 to \$2,499.....	17	16	21	24	\$2,000 to \$2,499.....	27	19	( <sup>0</sup> )	18
\$2,500 to \$2,999.....	22	19	2	17	\$2,500 to \$2,999.....	17	13		3
\$3,000 to \$3,499.....	17	14	( <sup>0</sup> )	19	\$3,000 to \$3,499.....	4	5		1
\$3,500 to \$3,999.....	13	12		4	\$3,500 to \$3,999.....	4	7		1
\$4,000 to \$4,999.....	11	14		9	\$4,000 to \$4,999.....	3	5		2
\$5,000 to \$7,499.....	7	10		6	\$5,000 to \$7,499.....	1	( <sup>0</sup> )		2
\$7,500 to \$9,999.....	1	1		1	\$7,500 to \$9,999.....	( <sup>0</sup> )	( <sup>0</sup> )		
\$10,000 or more.....	1	1		1	\$10,000 or more.....	( <sup>0</sup> )	( <sup>0</sup> )		
Median total pension income.....	\$2,999	\$3,060	\$1,483	\$2,721	Median total pension income.....	\$2,116	\$2,092	\$870	\$1,272
<b>NONMARRIED PERSONS</b>									
Total.....	605	476	6,353	343	Total.....	287	128	1,476	109
Reporting on total pension income.....	538	448	6,315	331	Reporting on total pension income.....	265	121	1,463	99
Percent of units.....	100	100	100	100	Percent of units.....	100	100	100	( <sup>0</sup> )
\$1 to \$149.....			( <sup>0</sup> )	1	\$1 to \$149.....			( <sup>0</sup> )	
\$150 to \$299.....			( <sup>0</sup> )	1	\$150 to \$299.....				
					\$300 to \$499.....			3	
					\$500 to \$999.....	2		45	
					\$1,000 to \$1,499.....	4	17	45	
					\$1,500 to \$1,999.....	30	16	7	



TABLE 8.—SIZE OF TOTAL PENSION INCOME BY TYPE OF RETIREMENT BENEFITS FOR OASDHI BENEFICIARIES AND NONBENEFICIARIES: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AGED UNITS BY SIZE OF PENSION INCOME, BY RECEIPT OF RETIREMENT BENEFITS, 1967—Continued

(Number in thousands)

Total pension income	OASDHI benefits and—			Public pension other than OASDHI	Total pension income	OASDHI benefits and—			Public pension other than OASDHI
	Private group pension <sup>1</sup>	Other public pension	No other pension			Private group pension <sup>1</sup>	Other public pension	No other pension	
\$2,000 to \$2,499	23	22	(*)		\$150 to \$299			(*)	1
\$2,500 to \$2,999	20	15			\$300 to \$499			7	3
\$3,000 to \$3,499	9	2			\$500 to \$999	3	4	58	36
\$3,500 to \$3,999	5	16			\$1,000 to \$1,499	19	24	34	35
\$4,000 to \$4,999	5	6			\$1,500 to \$1,999	27	23	1	8
\$5,000 to \$7,499	1	2			\$2,000 to \$2,999	30	18		9
\$7,500 to \$9,999	1	2			\$3,000 to \$3,999	15	12		4
\$10,000 or more	1	2			\$3,500 to \$3,999	2	6		1
Median total pension income	\$2,302	\$2,280	\$1,008		\$4,000 to \$4,999	4	4		2
					\$5,000 to \$7,499	1	2		
					\$7,500 to \$9,999				
					\$10,000 or more		1		
					Median total pension income	\$1,988	\$1,975	\$840	\$1,992
<b>WOMEN</b>									
Total	317	348	4,876	234					
Reporting on total pension income	273	327	4,852	232					
Percent of units	100	100	100	100					
\$1 to \$149			(*)	1					

<sup>1</sup> Excludes beneficiaries who received their first benefit in February 1967 or later, the transitionally insured and special "age-72" beneficiaries; also excludes a small number of units reporting private pensions but no OASDHI benefits, as well as some who did not report on private pension receipt.

<sup>2</sup> Includes a small number of units reporting both a private and another public pension.

<sup>3</sup> 0.5 percent or less.

<sup>4</sup> Not shown where base is less than 100,000.

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Rabbi Haim Kemelman, of the East Brunswick, N.J., Jewish Center, is the author of a column in the Home News, of New Brunswick, N.J., called Lines on Living.

Rabbi Kemelman is not only a widely respected Rabbi; he is also a very talented writer—a man who writes with great feeling and eloquence. Following President Nixon's state of the Union address, Rabbi Kemelman, in stirring words and thoughts, included A Letter to the President in his column of Friday, February 5, 1971.

Also the author of a recent book called, "How to Live in the Present Tense," Rabbi Kemelman praised the address of the President and I would like to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because I am proud of the brilliance of my beloved constituent—a man of deep compassion and love for people:

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

LINE ON LIVING

(By Rabbi Haim Kemelman)

Dear Mr. President, congratulations! Congratulations from a citizen who heard you make a wonderful, I might say revolutionary, dreamy speech in your State of the Union message.

Yes, it was a great and soaring speech, and I liked it, because it spoke of a dream, of an "open door," and of "the need to press open the door of full and equal opportunity, and of human dignity," toward the fulfillment of the American dream.

Yes, it was a revolutionary speech because dreams are revolutionary; splendid and out-soaring in every way. And this, to me, is America: a dreamy country, and therefore, not Russia, not China. Because there, the revolution is quoted, the revolution is idolized, the revolution is fossilized and buried in a dead mausoleum of the past. Here, revolution is lived, but also outlived. Because

the American revolution is the American dream. And a dream is only good for one night. For the dream of yesterday can be tonight's nightmare. Dreams change with the size of our visions, one dream begetting another.

I therefore liked, Mr. President, when you spoke of "a New American Revolution—a peaceful revolution in which power was turned back to the people. . . ." That's a pretty good start. Because there can be no greater power for the people than the capacity to dream. And when you spoke of "these troubled years" of "a long nightmare of war and division, of crime and inflation . . . dark of the American spirit," and the need "for the lift of a driving dream," you turned back to the people great power. We can dream again, we can see visions, we can grow in health as in wealth.

Mr. President, I don't know much about digits and budgets and bureaus and revenues. But I know a dream when I see one. And I know it's here, not because I'm certain of its realization, but because we now come closer to confront dream's greatest test, as defined by George Bernard Shaw: "You see things and you say 'why?' But I dream things that never were; and I say 'why not?'"

Thank you, Mr. President, for saying to us "Why not?"

Good and honest people will argue as to whether this dream of yours is the most perfect dream for all the people, whether it can be realized at all. And that's very important. But more important is the spirit in which the dream was conceived. And now that the dream is born let's give it a chance to live.

"Bring us together," said that pretty girl to you, not very long ago, Mr. President. Today the opportunity is here, perhaps as at no better time. We have bled externally in far away jungles. We have bled internally in nearby cities. We have drifted from one another, from our children, from our dreams. Let the dream unite us, again; to "bring us together," again; to reconcile us with our beautiful land, again; to "close the gap between promise and performance," again—to "let our spirits soar again."

And again we shall go from dream to bolder dream, from vision to outsoaring vision, in this land of "sea to shining sea." For the lift of the spirit and the lift of the dream can unite us—never again to stop dreaming.

And, in your eye's vision you see a new revolution of priorities where man seeks not so much the heaven of a moon but the

heaven of man, not the dust of ages but the dust of the living cell and soul. "Why not?"

Why not a multibillion "Apollo man project" for a decade of research to land man on his humanity; to pore over the dust of his mortality, as he peeks into the grain of moon dust; to know more about human disease, malignancy and malevolent death. Why not? What's the price of moon dust—\$30 billion! And what's the price of man dust—a March of Dimes!

Dream: "Why not?" See visions: "Why not?" When? Now! Like the child who was awakened from his deep sleep, echoing the trauma of crying babies and weeping idealists, we too say in Lincoln Steffens' words: "I have lost my place in my dream." For a time, in "a long, dark night of the American spirit," we have lost our place in our dream. Now, Mr. President, you say you have found that place for us in our dream. We are ready for the lift-off—"we are ready for the lift of a driving dream."

Prayerfully and respectfully yours,

Rabbi HAIM KEMELMAN.

THE KIDS WHO CARE

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, today a term like "student activism" can mean many things. Unfortunately, to some of us on the older side of the so-called generation gap, the label "student activist" conjures up the image of a rebellious dissident who puts all of his energy into negative and perhaps even destructive acts.

Today I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues an article that appeared in the February edition of the Farm Journal regarding a group of student activists that are somewhat unique.

Student activists from all over the United States recently attended the 1970 National 4-H Congress in Chicago and, as the article states, broke tradition

rather than laws or windows. We often hear about the behavior of idealistic young people who find faults with our society but seldom does our Nation's press pay attention to youngsters who are searching for workable solutions to our problems and, more importantly, are putting them to use and making them work.

One of our Nation's most precious assets is the idealism that motivates our young people. Much of our problem regarding young people has been the lack of any practical program by which we can utilize the idealism, enthusiasm, and honesty of young people and channel these into everyday practices and programs that can improve our society.

The national 4-H program does just this. The article by Beverly Stonebraker that follows illustrates what a tremendous job 4-H young people are doing. They learn by doing and, in so doing, develop into citizens that will actually make America a better place to live.

#### THE KIDS WHO CARE

(By Beverly Stonebraker)

More than 1600 students, many of them farm youngsters, swarmed into Chicago in December and occupied the Conrad Hilton Hotel. They wore psychedelic lapel buttons; sang rally songs; roamed in bands up State Street talked late at night in hotel corridors about their campaign strategies for the '70's.

But cops smiled approval, and even mothers were proud. For these were a different brand of activists; delegates from all over the U.S. to the 1970 National 4-H Congress.

The only thing they broke was tradition. Members resoundingly urged a broader, more "with it" 4-H to meet contemporary needs. I talked with boy and girl 4-Hers from several states. They're eager, articulate, and obviously playing a much stronger role than members did a few years ago in deciding the 4-H program.

Last year's Congress wore the theme "4-H is more than cows and cookin'" and this year's theme was "We care." This doesn't mean 4-H has abandoned Guernseys on its way to the ghetto. It simply means that members will apply their real strength, "to learn by doing," on contemporary needs in towns and inner cities as well as farms. A third of the 2.5 million members of 4-H clubs and groups are farm kids. Another third live in rural areas or towns under 10,000; the remainder are suburban or inner city dwellers.

If the 4-Hers in Chicago represent sentiment in your local club and elsewhere, here are some of the new thrusts 4-H will make in the '70s.

You'll see more training in citizenship and human relations. This goes well beyond teaching a 10-year-old to keep quiet in a business meeting. "Americans are dividing into opposing camps. This can be destructive," one delegate said. A perceptive Pennsylvania boy added: "It's not the issue that alienates people, it's just that some are unwilling to listen to another point of view." These boys and girls want to learn how to understand each other.

They named drug abuse as their number one social problem. "Our campus is infested with drug users," said a quiet Minnesota girl. A Kansas delegate confided, "I don't smoke pot, but you're not 'in' unless you do." But a dairy science freshman from the strifetorn University of Wisconsin voiced the majority opinion: "Your own crowd defines what it takes to be 'with it.' Drugs aren't popular with students in our ag school."

Two Connecticut 4-Hers told me how they had enriched one week of their summer by sharing their rural out-of-doors with teens

from the inner city. "At first, our visitors were tough," they said. "But before they left we had built up trust and friendship."

Apparently, members soon learn to make the democratic system work in local clubs. As their horizons expand they want it to work nationally. Their response to national 4-H leadership conferences is the main reason the 4-H Foundation is raising \$8 million for a new National 4-H Center in Washington, D.C.

The new center, now under construction, will handle 600 people at a time. It permits an expanded series of training conferences.

Urban areas are already feeling the fresh breeze of 4-H citizenship efforts. Just before Christmas, New York Mayor John Lindsay honored the organization with a city-wide 4-H Day for its efforts in the nation's biggest city.

"Health to better living" will be extended to more low-income people. Last summer a series of nutrition camps blossomed in more than 20 states. Club members and leaders are trying to reach and teach lower-income people how to eat nutritiously on a low budget.

I met a Utah girl who teaches breadmaking to Navajo Indian girls. A bonus: She learned about Indian cookery.

In public housing projects of Kansas City and St. Louis, 4-H leaders and members are teaching more than 4000 prospective homemakers how to make the most of inexpensive foods such as commodity program staples.

Improving our environment runs a close second behind drug abuse on these youngsters' list of concerns. Future 4-H activities will build on the organization's longtime expertise with conservation.

Perhaps the 4-Hers' philosophy was best expressed on a button I saw on one Chicago delegate's blazer: "Celebrate Life." They do, and they will.

#### COMMEMORATIVE STAMP HONORING THE LIFE AND DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

#### HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill requiring the issuance of a commemorative stamp honoring Dr. Martin Luther King.

I first introduced such a bill in 1968, shortly after the death of Dr. King. In 1969, I introduced a second bill, after contacting the Post Office Department. At that time, I received a letter of acknowledgement in response to my letter. No other action was taken.

Dr. King has been honored by many of our States and cities, postal unions have, in their proposals for the first collective bargaining negotiations, asked that a holiday be granted by the postal service in Dr. King's honor.

Dr. King was, as we all know, the holder of a Nobel prize. He was honored on an international scale not only by the great of other nations but, by the common people of other countries. Persons who seek civil rights in Ireland have marched to the singing of "We shall overcome."

Martin Luther King believed that the foundation of democracy was built on the continuing progress in human dignity

and that dignity, he believed, consisted in a growing share of freedom for all men.

The dream of Martin Luther King was a dream that in America and in all the world our deeds would match our beliefs.

His life's work resulted in the passage of three civil rights bills by the Congress.

His life brought racial and political equality closer to reality for all Americans.

His life began the solution of what foreigners have called "The American Dilemma." All this in so short a time, all this in one lifetime of 39 years.

Dr. King was a builder, not a destroyer. The prophecies of doom uttered on the passage of each civil rights act have been proven empty. The pessimists were wrong. America is more of a democracy, it is a bigger country and a better Nation.

Martin Luther King brought understanding with him, the understanding that was carried into every home in America, white or black, that the Negro could not wait any longer to be equal, that 100 years of disappointment after the Civil War were enough. Equality is a right that belongs to all men, but it must be recognized. The shock of recognition was necessary for all of us, the recognition that our goals were great and our performance was so weak.

There are those who thought of Martin Luther King as a lawbreaker. They are wrong. He was the most lawful of men. He ignored unjust ordinances, but he willingly paid the penalty for their violation. He showed that where men are willing to pay the penalty, unjust laws cannot stand. An unjust law is an unworkable law because the majority of Americans are not willing to begin a campaign of massive repression to deny rights to others which they accept for themselves.

The American people are a just people. They are very often too busy with the material problems of getting and spending to give their full attention to the big questions. Martin Luther King made people listen and think, to look deeply into their own souls and the soul of their country. We have all been better for that.

When Martin Luther King thought of death he said that he would like "somebody to say, Martin Luther King tried to love somebody." He loved more than somebody, he loved this country. I believe that it is fair to say that millions of Americans white and black love him back today.

The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy, in Al Smith's phrase. Dr. King's life applied this principle.

The President of the United States, in his inaugural address, said that he wanted to bring the American people together. My bill today is a gesture that will make that goal a little more of a reality. It will, if it results in action, stand for the principle of unity in the eyes of all Americans, not only the 20 million Americans of Dr. King's race.

I have not listed as I have in the past the commemorative stamps issued recently honoring animals, entertainers, and obscure figures in America's past. I have not done so because I believe that



this matter can be settled amicably if the administration of the postal service and the committees which supposedly made decisions in this area act reasonably.

I believe that any step in the direction of reuniting Americans is worth taking. My bill is such a step. I will renew my efforts to make its terms a reality.

#### WHAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE NEW RAIL PASSENGER LAW

HON. RICHARD G. SHOUP

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, on February 10, 1971, Mr. Donald E. Deuster of the U.S. Department of Transportation, Office of Congressional Relations, attended a convention of the Montana Chamber of Commerce in Helena, Mont. This was a conference dealing with the problems of transportation, a topic of great concern to the State. Mr. Deuster's remarks concerning the new rail passenger law were so well received that I believe it only fitting that they be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### WHAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE NEW RAIL PASSENGER LAW

(Remarks of Donald E. Deuster, U.S. Department of Transportation, Office of Congressional Relations, at the Montana Chamber of Commerce, Helena, Mont., Feb. 10, 1971)

Members of the Montana State Chamber of Commerce, and your distinguished guests, Members of the Montana Legislature, congratulations on convening this timely statewide conference on transportation. Thank you for inviting me here to Helena to discuss the new "Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970."

Last year, as you know, our Congress made a great historic and truly bipartisan decision to save the vanishing American passenger train. And, after an extended legislative struggle, President Nixon put his signature to Public Law 91-518 on October 30, 1970.

Since that day our telephones at the Department of Transportation have been ringing at an accelerating crescendo—generally with basic questions about this complicated, flexible and novel piece of legislation.

It was my personal privilege as a Congressional Relations Officer for the Nixon Administration to spend almost two years closely following the progress of this landmark law. Hopefully, this experience may enable me to answer most of your questions.

But first, allow me to answer some of the most fundamental and common inquiries.

#### BRIEFLY, WHAT DOES THE LAW DO?

Very simply, the law creates a new semi-public Corporation which will begin operating a basic national system of passenger trains on May 1, 1971. On that date, responsibility for operating passenger trains in America will be transferred from the private railroad companies to the new National Railroad Passenger Corporation.

#### WHY WAS THIS LAW NECESSARY?

Since World War II, the American system of passenger trains was diminishing in size, deteriorating in quality of service, and fast disappearing. Although some 20,000 trains were running in 1929, by 1969, less than 500 trains were left.

Basically, Congress had a four-way choice: One, let the trains go the way of the stagecoach and die off; Two, subsidize the existing service; Three, nationalize the railroads; Or, four, find some limited mechanism for improving the service, and developing an efficient national system of passenger trains which the American traveler would patronize.

#### WHY DID CONGRESS DECIDE TO SAVE THE TRAINS?

Let me answer this straight from the horse's mouth by quoting the exact language of Title I of the law in which Congress makes seven specific findings. Emphasis is added by italicizing.

1. "The Congress finds that *modern, efficient, intercity railroad passenger service is a necessary part of a balanced transportation system.*"

2. "That the public convenience and necessity require the continuance *and improvement of such service to provide fast and comfortable transportation between crowded urban areas and in other areas of the country.*"

3. "That rail passenger service can help to end the congestion on our highways and the overcrowding of airways and airports."

4. "That the traveler in America should, to the maximum extent feasible, have *freedom to choose the mode of travel most convenient to his needs.*"

5. "That to achieve these goals requires the designation of a *basic national rail passenger system and the establishment of a rail passenger corporation for the purpose of providing modern, efficient, intercity rail passenger service.*"

6. "That *Federal financial assistance as well as investment capital from the private sector of the economy is needed for this purpose; and*"

7. "That interim emergency Federal financial assistance to certain railroads may be necessary to permit the *orderly transfer of railroad service to a railroad passenger corporation.*"

#### WHAT KIND OF A CORPORATION IS CREATED?

The Corporation is quasi-public which means half-public and half-private. The law states "The Corporation shall be a for profit corporation, the purpose of which shall be to provide intercity rail passenger service, employing innovative operating and marketing concepts so as to fully develop the potential of modern rail service."

The public complexion of the Corporation is provided in two ways: First, the President of the United States appoints and the Senate confirms a majority of eight of the fifteen members of the Board of Directors of the Corporation; Secondly, public funds are contributed to the Corporation.

#### WHERE DOES THE CORPORATION GET ITS MONEY?

The law contemplates three sources of funds: One, the Federal Government; Two, the private railroad companies; and Three, private investors.

Initially, there is a Federal grant of \$40 million to assist the Corporation in organizing, establishing an improved reservations system, advertising, servicing, repairing and maintaining passenger equipment, conducting research, development and demonstration programs for new rail service, improved rolling stock, and fixed facilities, including track connections.

Secondly, the Secretary of Transportation is authorized to guarantee private loans to the Corporation up to \$100 million to finance the upgrading of roadbeds, purchase of new rolling stock, and other corporate purposes.

Thirdly, Federal loans or loan guarantees in the amount of \$200 million are authorized to enable needy railroads to join the corporation.

To join the Corporation and be relieved of their passenger service obligations on May 1, 1971, the private railroads must make pay-

ments to the Corporation according to a formula in the law based on their passenger train deficits in the year 1969.

Lastly, preferred stock is to be sold to the public as a third source of capital funds.

#### WHO WILL BE ACTUALLY RUNNING THE TRAINS?

Under the law, "The Corporation may contract with railroads or with regional transportation agencies for the use of tracks and other facilities and the provision of services on such terms and conditions as the parties may agree."

Should there be a disagreement on terms, the Interstate Commerce Commission may order a railroad to provide services or the use of tracks and facilities on "on such terms and such compensation as the Commission may fix as just and reasonable."

Basically, the Corporation will manage this new national network of passenger trains but operate the trains through contracts with the railroad companies.

#### WHERE WILL THE TRAINS RUN?

After the starting date of May 1, 1971, the Corporation will operate trains between points in the basic system over routes of the Corporation's choosing.

Secretary John A. Volpe designated the basic system last month by naming twenty-one city-pairs between which there must be train service. Of special interest to Montana is the naming of Chicago and Seattle as end points. As suggested on the maps which you have, the Corporation may choose one or more routes or combinations of routes in Montana.

The northern route could go from Williston, North Dakota, across the high line through Glacier Park to Spokane. The southern route could go from Bismarck to Billings and then either through Butte or Helena. Also, conceivably, a route could go through Billings and then swing up through Great Falls in the summertime to serve Glacier Park.

When Secretary Volpe specified the end points and identified the possible routes for the Corporation, he considered a number of basic factors. Among them were:

1. Ridership—existing and projected;
2. Population—one or both of the terminal cities were to be major population centers of one million or more;
3. Alternate Mode Competition—ability of rail travel to compete with other modes in terms of cost, speed, or comfort;
4. Existing Rail Facilities—whether track and facilities are in condition for rail service without major and immediate capital improvements;
5. Profitability—whether the Corporation can operate the system as a whole on an economically sound basis with projected revenue and cost estimates indicating no substantial losses.

Furthermore, the law requires taking into account the need for expeditious intercity rail passenger service within and between all regions of the continental United States. Presumably, the Corporation will consider these same factors as they choose the precise routes and service characteristics. These decisions will be made between now and May 1, 1971.

#### HOW MAY YOU COMMUNICATE TO THE CORPORATION?

The Corporation is being set up by a Board of Incorporators of eight persons who were named by President Nixon and confirmed by the Senate. Eventually, after May 1, 1971, there will be a permanent board of fifteen—eight of whom are Presidential appointees, three to be elected by the railroad stockholders, and four to be elected by the public preferred stockholders.

Communications may be addressed to the Corporation in this way: Mr. David W. Kendall, Chairman, Board of Incorporators, National Railroad Passenger Corporation, 800 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20024.

#### HOW LONG MUST THE CORPORATION RUN THE TRAINS?

Passenger train service in the basic designated system must be operated for two years and two months until July 1, 1973. After that date, the Corporation may ask the Interstate Commerce Commission to allow the discontinuance of service which is either "not required by public convenience and necessity, or will impair the ability of the Corporation to adequately provide other services."

Hopefully, however, progress by then will rule out any such actions and instead justify further extension and expansion of the basic system.

#### MAY THE SYSTEM BE EXPANDED?

Yes, there are two ways in which new service may be added by the Corporation. First, at any time the Corporation may provide service in excess of that in the basic system, including special or extra trains "if consistent with prudent management."

Secondly, any State, regional, or local agency may request extra service. If the State, regional, or local agency agrees to "reimburse the Corporation for a reasonable portion of any losses associated with such service," the Corporation must institute the service. Under the law, a "reasonable portion" means at least two-thirds of the deficit.

#### WILL THE SERVICE BE BETTER?

Yes, this is the purpose and hope of the law. The Corporation has the flexibility and freedom to choose routes, stops, fare levels and other characteristics of service so as to comprise an efficient, inter-connected national system of trains.

The best of existing equipment will be used until new rolling stock can be purchased and more modern equipment actually put in operation.

With the new Corporation, there is a single management dedicated to the improvement and promotion of rail passenger travel. Routes, schedules, train connections, through car service together with sleeping, parlor, dining and lounge facilities can be organized in a businesslike and sensible way without red tape.

Hopefully, new techniques of marketing, ticketing, and operations will convince the American traveling public to come back to the rails. Hopefully, the system will be self-sustaining, profitable and competitive.

The new law provides a flexible framework by which, with the support of the American people, a great national system of passenger trains can be developed.

And, as Secretary Volpe stated in his press conference last month when he designated the basic system, "This is a beginning!"

#### SECOND-CLASS POSTAL RATES

### HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues a letter I recently received from the editor of a fine weekly newspaper in my State. The thrust of the letter from Mr. Hans Hansen of the Hot Springs Star is, in his words, that "the value to the Nation of strong, independent newspapers far outweighs the subsidy of those papers by the postal system."

Mr. Speaker, I believe that all of us here should consider Mr. Hanssen's argument very very carefully and should oppose any rate increase that would

jeopardize the small weekly newspaper. As I understand it, the recent suggested rate increases for second-class mail will be 187 percent over a 10-year period for in-county distribution and 145 percent over 5 years for out-of-county mailing. I intend to ask publishers in my district for an analysis of the effect of these increases on their operations. I hope that each of my colleagues will do the same and will urge the Postal Commission to consider the importance of the weekly newspaper to our rural areas.

Certainly a self-supporting post office is an important goal, and I recognize that when Congress established that goal it also limited our ability to control postal rates. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the contribution made by papers like Mr. Hanssen's is of more than sufficient importance to justify our close attention to any move that might jeopardize their existence.

I include his letter as follows:

HOT SPRINGS STAR,  
PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS,

Hot Springs, S. Dak., February 12, 1971.

Representative JAMES ABOUREZK,  
U.S. House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ABOUREZK: The newspapers of this country, especially the weeklies, are without doubt the greatest dispensers of government information in the nation.

In just one issue this year the Star had columns or informational articles on veterans problems, soil conservation, county agent, extension and 4-H, social security, national forest fee schedule, the hours of opening at two national monuments, several school stories, an article on farming, one on beef cattle, a post office opening schedule plus three or four science or other informational stories. And you know how much free space the papers gave during the recent census.

For this reason I do not feel a postage rate which would force the papers to pay the full cost of handling is fair. Many newspapers in smaller communities will be unable to continue in the face of rising mailing costs. They will stay in business until the present owner retires and then they will be no more.

The value to the nation of strong, independent newspapers far outweighs the subsidy of those papers by the postal system. Not only do they dispense information, they help hold communities together by fighting for civic improvements, generating a feeling of pride among the residents and acting as a watchdog on local officials. It is the newspaper that is first to protect the public's right to know by insisting that all government units report their actions. These services cannot be measured in dollars and cents.

Your support of a fair rate for mailing papers will be appreciated greatly.

Sincerely yours,

E. E. HANSEN.

#### CHILE—THE CONSOLIDATION PHASE—I

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, Lenin on October 20, 1920, said:

The scientific concept of dictatorship means neither more or less than unlimited power, resting directly on force, not limited

by anything, not restricted by any laws, nor any absolute rules. Nothing else but that.

Salvador Allende, the new President of Chile, is a self-professed Marxist-Leninist whose Popular Unity coalition came to power primarily through the efforts of the Communist Party of Chile, the third largest in the non-Communist world. Being a Marxist-Leninist, Allende understands that seizures of the state apparatus, through elections or otherwise, is only the first step in the program designed to create a "scientific" Leninist dictatorship.

The party must now transform itself from a power seeking mechanism into a policing mechanism. To take complete and total power into the hands of fewer and fewer people, it is necessary to proceed with the historical Communist pattern of liquidate and rule. This consists basically of a staggered liquidation of all elements in the society who possibly might oppose the "proletarian dictatorship."

The advantage of coming to power through the electoral process is that the party has the organs of state power; police, army, and other ministries, simply handed over to it. Once constitutionally enthroned, it is not necessary to maneuver around, say, a Chilean J. Edgar Hoover. He is simply replaced by the party's choice. Communist electoral victory is best thought of as massive legal penetration of the state apparatus, which is then used to subjugate, rather than defend, the people.

It is little comfort that the party comes to power using due process of the law. Czechoslovakia was shoved into the Soviet camp in a semilegal fashion, by making revolutionary use of the parliament in that nation. Once in the Soviet camp, one is not allowed the choice of opting out.

The Allende government, under the guidance of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, is proceeding rapidly to eliminate the "enemies of the state." In many cases laws passed by previous "liberal" governments are being used to accomplish this end.

A free press is the enemy of the total state. Understanding this, Allende is pressing hard to eliminate or bring under his control all independent publishing organizations which are not solidly pro-Communist. One example of how this is being done is the case of Zig-Zag editorial house in Santiago, the largest publishing company in Latin America. This operation is a classic example of the Communist tactic of combining "pressure from below"—from party-controlled mass organizations outside government—and "pressure from above"—from Communists in the governmental apparatus.

A strike against Zig-Zag was organized by Communist union leaders. The Communist Minister of Labor, Jose Oyarce Jara, appointed a Red lawyer to arbitrate the dispute. Under existing Chilean law, the government can take possession of any private company which finds itself involved in a protracted labor dispute. Zig-Zag was, therefore, forced to accept



the Communist lawyer's decision which called for a 65-percent increase in wages. This the company cannot pay because a price freeze is in effect.

Unless Zig-Zag can pay the wage increases without going bankrupt, the government will take over the company, because there is another law in effect which calls for the government to assume administrative control of any private company which goes bankrupt. In order to forestall the possibility of a private company securing a loan to bail itself out of the Communist crunch, the government controllers took over the banks and have cut off all the Communist crunch, the government controllers took over the banks and have cut off all business credit. This is the squeeze play supreme. It is worth noting that Zig-Zag is the major publisher of school texts used in Chile.

A different approach is being used against Chile's largest circulation newspaper, *El Mercurio*. Tax evasion charges were trumped up against *El Mercurio*. As the investigation proceeds, the paper is being slowly forced into bankruptcy. Significantly, the Minister of Finance, Americo Zorilla Rojas, is also a Communist.

Allende's oft-uttered statements to the effect that, "the government will never take action aimed at blocking free expression of ideas," are beginning to ring a little hollow. In fact, they are beginning to sound almost exactly like Fidel Castro's pledges of 1959 to the same effect.

The Communists use freedom of the press to destroy opposition when coming to power, and then destroy freedom of the press to prevent the formation of opposition. Marxist-Leninists follow an old maxim:

When I am the weaker, I ask you for my freedom, because that is your principle; but when I am the stronger, I take away your freedom, because that is my principle.

#### INFORMANT IN BERRIGAN CASE LED THREE LIVES

**HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON**  
OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I believe a number of colleagues will be interested in an article carried in the Sunday, February 7, 1971, edition of the *Los Angeles Times* by veteran journalists Jack Nelson and Ronald J. Ostrow.

The article follows:

PRISONER, STUDENT, MESSENGER: INFORMANT  
IN BERRIGAN CASE LED THREE LIVES

(By Jack Nelson and Ronald J. Ostrow)

LEWISBURG, Pa.—Boyd Frederick Douglas Jr. had an unusually cozy arrangement for a three-time loser in federal prison:

Every day he left the prison here and studied at Bucknell University where he had an office and roamed freely in Lewisburg where he kept an apartment.

He romanced attractive coeds. He frequently drank liquor and, according to acquaintances, sometimes smoked marijuana. He

often skipped classes at the university, where it was generally known he was commuting from the federal prison.

Douglas, 30, also was a big man in the campus peace movement. Now he has surfaced as a key figure in the government's bombing-kidnap conspiracy case against the Rev. Philip Berrigan and five others. (The defendants will be arraigned in federal court in Harrisburg, Pa., Monday.)

Douglas was able to commute between prison and campus under an authorized study-release program. But the measure of freedom he enjoyed was highly unusual.

At the university and in the town, Douglas associated with activists whom the FBI and police regarded as radicals. His roommate at his \$120-a-month apartment, Tom Love, 23, was a draft-card burner. In prison Douglas closely associated with Father Berrigan, who was serving time for destroying draft records.

Douglas, who used pseudonyms of "Frank," "Gary" and "Peter," also spent a lot of time talking on pay telephones. Most of his campus acquaintances thought all his telephone conversations were with members of the peace movement. Now they know he also was talking to the FBI.

Douglas carried letters between Father Berrigan and another defendant, Sister Elizabeth McAllister, a New York nun, who was in and out of the town of Lewisburg while Father Berrigan was imprisoned there. Some of these messages furthered an alleged conspiracy to blow up underground utility lines in Washington and to kidnap Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's national security affairs adviser, according to the indictment.

The Times has learned that Douglas smuggled some McAllister-Berrigan messages into prison after persuading two coeds he dated to transcribe the contents of the nun's letters into a loose-leaf notebook Douglas used in his university studies. Douglas had permission to take the notebook to and from prison.

Sister Elizabeth and Father Berrigan, in addition to being indicted in the alleged conspiracy, were charged with three counts of violating a statute governing prison communications. Maximum punishment on each count is 10 years.

Douglas was not named in the indictment, either on the conspiracy charge or on the communications counts. And the government has yet to publicly acknowledge that Douglas is involved in the case.

However, a source close to the investigation said the government's major problem in the case has been to corroborate information supplied by Douglas. In an unusual procedure, the government has been attempting to do this through grand jury hearings held since the return of the indictment. The jury reconvenes in Harrisburg Tuesday and resumes questioning of witnesses Wednesday.

#### EARLY RELEASE

The Justice Department, meanwhile, declines to disclose Douglas' whereabouts or to say whether he is in protective custody. He was released from the Lewisburg prison Dec. 16, after the Federal Bureau of Prisons gave him some good-time credits—27 days of which bureau officials refuse to fully explain.

In addition to the 27 days, Douglas was credited with 253 days of "statutory good time"—eight days for each month of his sentence provided by law for prisoners who do not break rules—and another 66 days of meritorious good time for work inside the prison and participation in the Bucknell program.

Douglas' performance was rated so highly that on May 25, 1970, John C. Piper, assistant to the dean at Bucknell, wrote then warden J. J. Parker urging that the prisoner be released to be a fulltime student. But the idea was rejected.

On Jan. 7, 1971, three weeks after his release, Douglas testified before the grand jury

at Harrisburg. On Jan. 12, the jury returned the indictment, which also named six co-conspirators who were not charged, including Father Berrigan's brother Daniel, a Jesuit priest.

Douglas' early release came less than a month after FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover first brought the case to public attention with Senate testimony that the Berrigans headed a group of Catholic antiwar militants he said were conspiring to carry out the bombing-kidnaping.

#### HOOVER TESTIMONY

Some of Douglas' acquaintances at Bucknell say they did not suspect him of being an informant until after publicity about Hoover's testimony, which they said greatly perturbed Douglas.

Others, such as Miss Patricia Rom, 27, a Bucknell librarian, and Richard Drinnon, a history professor, had become apprehensive months earlier because of Douglas' unusual freedom of movement and his association with radicals who were subject to police surveillance.

However, none of Douglas' acquaintances knows when he became an informant or whether he was one when he began his studies at Bucknell in January, 1970. Several of his associates say they believe he was sincere in the beginning, but later was persuaded by the FBI to become an informant. One theory is that he was pressured into cooperating after being caught smuggling a Berrigan-McAllister letter.

One of Douglas' campus associates, Robert Raymond, 21, a senior, said that after he read a report of Hoover's testimony he told Douglas that such a conspiracy "is ridiculous, who would believe that?"

"Boyd then told me," said Raymond, "Well, in confidence, right?" And I said yeah and he said, 'It's true, it's not all superficial, only six people know about this—I wonder how he (Hoover) found out...'"

Raymond, who sub-let his downstairs apartment in a two-story frame house here to Douglas and Tom Love, said that at one point Douglas "broke up my relationship" with Jane Hoover, 21, a senior who lived in an apartment upstairs. Later, Douglas dated Miss Hoover's roommate, Mary Elizabeth Sandel, 22, also a senior.

Miss Hoover and Miss Sandel did not compare notes about Douglas until after the case surfaced. Then they concluded that he had duped them as well as the peace movement.

They said Douglas "was always pushing" them to be active in the peace movement and introduced them to some of the defendants in the case. They declined to reveal what they told the grand jury, but their attorney, Thomas Menaker of Harrisburg, said they had no information that would bear directly on such a conspiracy.

Menaker said Miss Hoover had transcribed many McAllister-Berrigan letters for Douglas and that Miss Sandel had transcribed only one. "Nothing Miss Hoover transcribed mentioned kidnaping," Menaker said. He quoted Miss Sandel as saying the letter she transcribed did "suggest that kidnaping might be considered as a peace protest and that someone like, say Kissinger, might be considered as a target."

Menaker also represents two other grand jury witnesses, Mrs. Zoia Horn, 52, and Miss Rom, both Bucknell librarians. He said neither of them had any information about such a conspiracy. Menaker also serves as local counsel for three of the defendants.

The attorney said that the witnesses he represented told him that Douglas was the only person they ever heard discuss explosives. They quoted Douglas as saying he had been trained in explosives in the Army and "it might come in handy."

Douglas, dark and husky and about 5-foot-9, was described by Sister Elizabeth as ruggedly handsome. He kept a handsome

wardrobe in his apartment, and usually wore long-sleeve shirts and striped, flared trousers.

He had expensive tastes and apparently plenty of money, according to friends. He bought high-priced liquors and smoked imported English and Greek cigarets.

Douglas was the only prisoner studying at Bucknell in 1970. Four others had participated in similar programs in earlier years, according to prison officials.

Acquaintances in Lewisburg remember Douglas as a man who asked many more questions than he answered and who seemed to resent it when questioners persisted. He told some who wondered why he was in prison that he had been convicted of conspiring to bomb trucks carrying napalm in California, and allegation that appears nowhere in his record.

He frequently flashed the peace sign and signed his letters, "peace and love." On Miss Hoover's 21st birthday last July 21, he gave her a silver peace symbol and a silver peace plaque. For Christmas he gave a pair of peace-symbol earrings to Miss Sandel, whom he continued dating for about three weeks after leaving prison.

According to Miss Hoover, last July Douglas tried to persuade her to marry him, by claiming he had cancer and only 6 to 12 months to live. She and Robert Raymond quoted Douglas as saying he wanted Miss Hoover to marry him and go to Nevada or Puerto Rico and "give him 6 to 12 months of happiness."

Miss Hoover, a tall, dark blonde with long straight hair, said Douglas told her she was the only girl he had loved since his teenage sweetheart, who he said also was blonde. "He told me she had red hair," said Miss Sandel, an attractive, freckled redhead whom he dated after Miss Hoover.

Douglas' criminal record stamps him as a man who lets relatively lesser crimes escalate into much more serious violations. Thus, an attempt to obtain \$19.75 of goods at an Army post exchange led to a six-year sentence for impersonating an officer. And the passing of bad checks mushroomed into assaulting an FBI agent with a 9-mm Beretta pistol.

Not all of Douglas' brushes with the law can be reported, however, because the Justice Department clamped an unusual lid on his federal records. The staff of the House subcommittee on freedom of information questioned the department's action and the lid was lifted, but only partially. After studying Douglas' voluminous file, George J. Reed, U.S. Parole Board chairman, noted that he had "six prior arrests" before the board first heard his case in 1966.

In calculating Douglas' good-time prison credits, Lewisburg officials awarded him 27 days for "exceptionally meritorious or outstanding service of a special nature." Such awards usually reflect "acts of outstanding heroism" or voluntary performance of "an unusually hazardous assignment."

This kind of early release cannot be awarded for giving information under Bureau of Prisons policy.

#### NO EXPLANATION

Richard J. Heaney, deputy director of the bureau, declined to explain why Douglas was given the so-called meritorious good time, except to note that it has been approved by warden Noah H. Aldredge in November. "That's not a matter of public record," Heaney said.

Douglas was convicted in 1963 of impersonating an Army captain at the Ft. Sam Houston PX. He was sentenced to six years imprisonment and sent to El Reno (Okla.) Federal Reformatory. He spent only a month there before being transferred to Lewisburg in April of 1963.

In 1964, he volunteered for a National Institutes of Health experiment to study genetic and other properties of human proteins. The study called for several injections

of an emulsion into the muscles of the human guinea pigs.

Douglas' reaction was severe, and he required extensive treatment including 23 surgical procedures over a three-year period. He was left with long deep scars on the legs and arms. He sued the government for \$2 million, contending he was not warned of the hazards of the experiment.

#### BAD CHECK CHARGE

After Douglas was paroled in 1966, he was sought on bad check charges and the Justice Department tried to have his damage suit dismissed on grounds he was a fugitive. But Douglas was caught and the government settled the suit in 1968 by paying him \$10,688 and his lawyers \$4,312.

A Federal court in Milwaukee sentenced him in 1967 to six five-year terms, all to run concurrently, for four counts of passing \$17,465 of forged checks in Maryland, and separate convictions for passing a \$1,750 bad check in Milwaukee and assaulting the FBI agent who apprehended him in Milwaukee.

His career parole on the six-year sentence was revoked, partly because of the subsequent convictions but also because of other actions that parole and prisons officials refuse to detail.

Friends who have visited Father Philip Berrigan in prison (he and his brother were transferred to a prison at Danbury, Conn., last fall) since the indictment say he trusted Douglas implicitly. They quoted the priest as saying that "several old cows" who used Douglas for outside contacts vouched for him.

Douglas' acquaintances here say he not only was Father Berrigan's outside contact, but was a driving force in the local peace movement, arranging meetings here that the indictment charges were conspiratorial acts.

#### ARRANGED VISIT

For example, they say, he arranged Sister Elizabeth's visit to Lewisburg on Sept. 26, a visit the indictment lists as one of 22 overt acts in furtherance of the conspiracy. "The whole thing was Boyd's idea," a coed said. "He got Liz to come here to be on Bucknell's 'Colloquy' program."

Douglas' father, located in Borger, Tex. where he is a pipeline construction worker, said he has not been in contact with his son since he joined the Army in 1958.

Douglas said his son's mother died when the boy was 11 years old and that he had raised the youth in towns around the country working on construction projects.

#### HOMES OF THE PEOPLE

### HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in 1889, in an article entitled, "The Homes of the People," Henry Grady, the American journalist and orator, contrasted the awe and majesty represented by the Capitol Building with the simplicity of life in a humble country home.

Grady's idea of typical American life is set forth in a pastoral scene in which a happy family of three generations live together in their own house, surrounded by big trees and fields ready for harvest. All is clean, secure, and comfortable, and everyone is happy with his place in the scheme of things. It is a vision which seems idyllic when compared with American life today, when so many Americans

live in dirty and ill-governed cities in much smaller families than Grady knew, and are beset by worries about inflation and unemployment, or by experiences in racial inequality or poverty. Yet Grady's observation that among the simple people of this country lie "the strength and responsibility of this Government, its hope and the promise of this republic" still holds. We who work in the shadow of the Capitol and represent these people must not forget this. Although we cannot return to the idealized life of the past, at least we can try to make the present better.

I offer this article for placement in the RECORD as a comment on a way of life now past and a way of life now apparent:

#### THE HOMES OF THE PEOPLE

(By Henry W. Grady)

I went to Washington the other day, and I stood on the Capitol Hill; my heart beat quick as I looked at the towering marble of my country's Capitol and the mist gathered in my eyes as I thought of its tremendous significance, and the armies and the treasury, and the judges and the President, and the Congress and the courts, and all that was gathered there. And I felt that the sun in all its course could not look down on a better sight than that majestic home of a republic that had taught the world its best lessons of liberty. And I felt that if honor and wisdom and justice abided therein, the world would at last owe that great house in which the ark of the covenant of my country is lodged, its final uplifting and its regeneration.

Two days afterward, I went to visit a friend in the country, a modest man, with a quiet country home. It was just a simple, unpretentious house, set about with big trees, encircled in meadow and field rich with the promise of harvest. The fragrance of the pink and hollyhock in the front yard was mingled with the aroma of the orchard and of the gardens, and resonant with the cluck of poultry and the hum of bees.

Inside was quiet, cleanliness, thrift, and comfort. There was the old clock that had welcomed, in steady measure, every newcomer to the family, that had ticked the solemn requiem of the dead, and had kept company with the watcher at the bedside. There were the big, restful beds and the old, open fireplace, and the old family Bible, thumbed with the fingers of hands long since still, and wet with the tears of eyes long since closed, holding the simple annals of the family and the heart and the conscience of the home.

Outside, there stood my friend, the master, a simple, upright man, with no mortgage on his roof, no lien on his growing crops, master of his land and master of himself. There was his old father, an aged, trembling man, but happy in the heart and home of his son. And as they started to their home, the hands of the old man went down on the young man's shoulder, laying there the unspeakable blessing of the honored and grateful father and ennobling it with the knighthood of the fifth commandment.

And as they reached the door the old mother came with the sunset falling fair on her face, and lighting up her deep, patient eyes, while her lips, trembling with the rich music of her heart, bade her husband and son welcome to their home. Beyond was the housewife, busy with her household cares, clean of heart and conscience, the buckler and helpmeet of her husband. Down the lane came the children, trooping home after the cows, seeking as truant birds do the quiet of their home nest.

And I saw the night come down on that house, falling gently as the wings of the unseen dove. And the old man—while a startled bird called from the forest, and the



trees were shrill with the cricket's cry, and the stars were swarming in the sky—got the family around him, and, taking the old Bible from the table, called them to their knees, the little baby hiding in the folds of its mother's dress, while he closed the record of that simple day by calling down God's benediction on that family and on that home. And while I gazed, the vision of that marble Capitol faded. Forgotten were its treasures and its majesty, and I said, "Oh, surely here in the homes of the people are lodged at last the strength and the responsibility of this government, the hope and the promise of this republic."

#### IN DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF ANGELA DAVIS

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, the Angela Davis case in California has attracted worldwide attention. Too often the publicity has disclosed the facts in a way to prejudice the public against the defendant and to ignore the basic constitutional issues involved.

Understandably, Miss Davis, given the nature of our society as it is, had two strikes on her before the game began. She was black, and a Communist. Being either was tough; being both is serious.

In addition, Miss Davis is a woman and a person who has sought to espouse causes not exactly popular in certain quarters. Thus, being what she is by birth, a black woman, was tough; becoming what she is by choice, a person with strong political and outspoken views, added immeasurably to her personal problems.

In many ways, however, all of us are involved in the Angela Davis case and cannot escape its implications of threats to individual freedom and the suppression of those rights and opportunities guaranteed by our Constitution.

The issues are clearly stated in a recent article by Dean Paul E. Miller, of Howard University Law School, for a group of 12 black law professors from 11 colleges. Not only is this an unprecedented defense, it is an extraordinary example of courage by an able band of professionals in behalf of their fellow Americans, both black and white.

The article from the February 14, 1971, issue of the Washington Sunday Star follows:

IN DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF ANGELA DAVIS  
(By Paul E. Miller)

A great number of persons and some organizations, including the news media, have asked why 12 black law professors from 11 different law schools have joined together to provide advice and counsel to Angela Davis through her attorney. Some of those who inquired have expressed amazement and open displeasure at the idea of prominent black legal scholars banding together to aid an avowed Communist. Others have discerned in this joint effort a sinister plot to foster the forces of revolution and subversion against the established order. Still others have unhappily suggested that a kind of taint or guilt by association is sure to follow as retribution for this unwise decision to act in such a political trial. All have unwittingly revealed that they either know little

or care little about the legal imperatives of the Bill of Rights to our Constitution.

Implicit in the statements of these critics is an unfavorable judgment of Miss Davis' political views and a suggestion that only those who share her beliefs in a certain ideology would come to her defense. It is startling in this era to find people who still seriously believe that a lawyer defending a person's right to a fair trial is automatically defending that person's ideology or opinions. It is plain that when the political powers—that is, decide that someone or some group of people is engaged in activities inconsistent with what those powers admit as proper conduct, the offenders must be punished or forced to abandon that impermissible conduct.

If it takes suspension or repression of constitutional rights and guarantees to achieve this punishment, then it is done with the rationalization that it is necessary to protect the interest of the "whole society" or the "silent majority" or whatever against the interests of individual offenders.

To set the record straight, we have not joined together to champion ideology. This has not been a consideration at all. I neither know nor care what political views other members of our panel hold. To me, and, I hope, to each of the individual panel members, what Miss Davis espouses, what political "bag" she is in, and what and who her associates are, are irrelevant. What is relevant and important is our deep belief in the soundness and sanctity of the principle that any American citizen, irrespective of color, political belief, race, class or economic station, is entitled to all the privileges, rights and immunities incident to that citizenship. We are determined to live by that principle and in the practice of law to honor it.

Very recently we have observed the Department of Justice, the White House and the Congress sponsor various pieces of legislation which seriously threatened individual freedom. We have watched helplessly while the Department of Justice and the White House sponsored and the Congress passed the Organized Crime Control Act (with provisions which will apply to practically all but organized crime), the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act, and the District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedure Act, all of which carry provisions that are sinister threats to rights guaranteed individuals by our Constitution.

We have heard arguments supporting the need for a bill to create or establish preventive detention. We have heard asserted needs for legislation empowering state and federal agents to tap wires for a number of purposes. We have heard the asserted need to invade the individual's privacy through "no knock laws." We have witnessed the horrible over-reaction of police and legislators to civil disturbances, to peace demonstrations, and to such other legitimate protest efforts as Resurrection City.

In each instance justification for this individual suppression is made on the basis of protecting the interest of the "majority," as though the majority were not composed of individuals often as different from each other as is possible in custom and belief. Individual rights and the individual dignity constitutionally protected are thus sacrificed in the name of protecting some asserted competing interest of the "masses" or "majority" unknown to our Bill of Rights.

Dignity is every man's right and the United States Constitution was fashioned to insure the dignity of the man, and his ideas, as well as to insure his concomitant right to disagree with the majority or a minority. Yet we see a trend developing, aided by highly placed officials in the state, to sacrifice the individual's rights on the false altar of majority or societal rights, as defined by the powers that be.

The Constitution never knew such a bal-

ancing of rights. The state was conceived of as an instrument, among other things, to protect the individual in his rights against the state. The political, social and environmental ills that plague our nation today are monumental. But in our efforts to deal effectively with the onslaught of these problems, we cannot sell cheap the individual's dignity that lies at the heart of our constitutional theory; we should not create a false dichotomy of individual vs. societal interests so as to beguile us into believing that it is constitutionally sound to balance these interests one against the other. If we do so, we will find ourselves in a police state, where only the "people's" or "society's" interests will be protected and "society's" interest will be defined by the powers that be, and will be protected by the police as agents of the powers that be. Then our democracy as it was conceived will be over. Minority groups will be especially subjected to this kind of police power, as will be all non-conforming individuals.

We cannot allow capricious and arbitrary acts by governmental officials to deprive any individual of his dignity—and as long as one human being, be it Angela Davis or anyone else, is deprived of the social justice that is guaranteed under our Constitution, no citizen is safe. The time is gone forever when middle class blacks who have a certain expertise will sit back and allow their leadership to be destroyed by those who believe that a contrary opinion is a dangerous force.

Jack Johnson, the first black heavyweight champion of the world and W. E. B. DuBois one of the greatest scholars the world has ever known and Paul Robeson, one of the greatest singers of all times, who because of his political beliefs was driven from the stage—these black leaders were all effectively silenced—and thus the black community was deprived of dignity and heroes. No longer will we stand by and allow our community to be deprived of the best of our brains or our political dissenters.

A feeble start was made in the case of Muhammad Ali where blacks, from all academic disciplines, realized for the first time that if the powers that be in this country can, with impunity, clamp down on a black person of high achievement, they could more easily repress us all. We are saying no, never again, will a black man be persecuted simply because he disagrees with a majority political belief or engages in activities which are not in conformity with majority values.

The sum total of our lives, individually and collectively, is determined by the kind of laws that we have and the manner in which they are administered. The law can bring equality to one's life. It can assure life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but the kind of laws being passed today do not aid equality or assure life, liberty or pursuit of happiness.

The blacks of today as well as the youth, Chicanos and brown Americans are, indeed, making certain demands of government. They are in fact demanding power to deal with the various political and legislative forces that repress them. They are demanding respect not at the expense of another individual's dignity but respect as human beings. They are demanding enlightenment so as to achieve freedom of thought, liberty of association and liberty to believe in one political ideology over another. They are demanding the right to participate fully in the wealth of this nation, to share this nation's destiny. They are demanding the right to acquire certain meaningful skills so that they do not or will not have to remain on the welfare rolls.

Finally, in my opinion, they are demanding the freedom to participate in the formulation and application of standards of responsibility. These groups have been dictated to for centuries, and their identities have been defined for them. And for centuries

American lawyers have sat by and refused to champion them in these demands for improvement. A lawyer has a responsibility to see that citizens are treated fairly, equally and with justice. We hope by forming this panel we can demonstrate to others this aspect of the lawyers' role to assure us that no citizen will go unprotected or will go without the guarantees that all citizens and humans in our government should have.

Finally, there is the important role of the government to assure that laws are equally and justly applied. Rules and regulations are meant to guide human conduct within our society to the end of achievement of freedom, liberty and justice for all. These are not meaningless terms as I see them in the context of Miss Angela Davis' case. These are guarantees which we as lawyers and law professors must assure to Miss Davis, and other Americans similarly situated.

I think lawyers and law professors would be indeed derelict if they lifted no finger, expended no energy to assure citizens that they will receive at least the guarantees of our Constitution. We have formed this panel and with these aims we intend to actively participate in Angela Davis' defense. I will guarantee that, in the end, win or lose, we will feel proud of our role in assuring Miss Davis she has had the full benefit of the protective vehicles set up by the law for assuring to all Americans the guarantees of due process.

#### WASHINGTON STATE PARKS RECEIVE FIRST ANNUAL GOLD MEDAL AWARD

### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the National Gold Medal Award has been presented to the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission by the Sports Foundation, Inc. of Chicago. This is particularly significant because Washington was selected to receive this annual award the first time it was presented.

To those of us who are so vitally concerned about preserving areas of our environment for parks and recreation, the award takes on another dimension. A full description of the award and the work that led to Washington being chosen its first recipient, a news release follows:

#### STATE PARKS CHIEF ACCEPTS NATIONAL AWARD

Agency teamwork and inter-agency cooperation won the National Gold Medal Award for Washington State Parks, according to State Parks Director Charles H. Odegaard, who accepted the award from the Sports Foundation, Inc., in Chicago today.

"Washington was selected from among other state park agencies throughout the United States to be the first state so honored in the Foundation's Annual Awards Program," Odegaard said.

"With a 20.4 percent increase in park usage and a broad diversification of emerging recreation demands placing an unprecedented burden on the State Parks Commission and staff in 1970," he said, "it took teamwork, loyalty and dedication to earn this honor for our agency."

Inter-agency cooperative programs to meet public needs, were also the programs to which the Foundation's judges attached the most weight in naming Washington the 1970 winner, he said.

Examples were submitted to the Foundation in the form of a 20-minute slide presentation which is currently on display at the Sports Show at the Seattle Center, he said.

"The Parks-Highways cooperative program initiated last August," Odegaard said, "was designed to provide many additional benefits and services to the public at no increase in cost. These included development of the state's scenic and recreational highway system, provision of overnight camping and recreation facilities adjacent to certain highway safety rest areas, and services to winter sports enthusiasts using the Cascade mountain pass areas. All are covered by cooperative agreements sharing costs and responsibilities equitably between Parks and Highways to save taxpayers' dollars while increasing efficiency and service."

He pointed to a joint program with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction as another example of the type of cooperation which earned the national honor for Washington. Under the agreement signed by the two agencies last fall, Parks is providing and administering group camp facilities for year-around outdoor education, while Public Instruction is developing the curriculum and scheduling public school groups into the camps. If the facilities are not scheduled for school use, they will be available for use by youth groups.

"This will result in a 100 percent increase in group camp usage," Odegaard said, "to meet the need for effective Environmental Education."

He also cited assistance to communities and school districts in developing local programs modeled after the State Parks Youth Development and Conservation Corps, thus providing work-training opportunities for over 6,000 of the state's youth since 1961 and accomplishing necessary work in outdoor recreation areas at substantial savings.

Other examples include cooperation with federal agencies such as the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Jobs Corps in development of such state parks as Horsethief Lake on the Columbia River and Potholes Reservoir near Moses Lake; local contributions of saltwater frontage for state parks such as the 100 acres of Westhaven State Park donated by the Port of Grays Harbor; and the Green River Gorge State Park Conservation area near Seattle, a natural area preserved in the midst of urban development through cooperation with other state, federal and local agencies.

"All such cooperative programs represent dedicated efforts by all levels of government to find new ways of meeting public needs," Odegaard said, "and a type of resourcefulness that is vital in a period of economic adjustment such as we currently face in Washington."

He added, "The Gold Medal Award is designed to focus national attention on outstanding park and recreation management. In presenting the award to Washington State Parks, I think the Foundation is also saluting the many dedicated public employees and their efforts to best serve the public at the least possible cost."

#### CHARLES McCORD MOSS

### HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, yesterday morning I was very saddened to learn of the passing of Mr. Charles M. Moss, vice president and editorial director of the Nashville Banner.

Mr. Moss succumbed to a prolonged ill-

ness at the age of 68. Forty-four of these years had been spent with the Nashville Banner.

Mr. Moss was, as are most men who rise to prominence in their field, a man of great intellect and ability. He was, in addition, a warm and human person, a loyal and faithful son of the true South, a gentleman, and a man whom I was privileged to call my friend.

During his years of service with and to the Nashville Banner he accumulated the usual honors and professional awards that are bestowed upon those individuals who excel. And well he deserved them for Charlie Moss was an outstanding journalist, a credit to his profession and a professional who sustained the finest traditions of journalism.

But Charles Moss was more than a man dedicated to his profession. He was an activist. He was involved, active, and involved in many many aspects of community life, projects, and programs designed to aid the community as a whole and man as an individual.

It was my privilege to become closely associated with Mr. Moss in one of his many fields of interest, conservation. About 5 years ago he and I hiked the northern terminus of the old Natchez Trace in what became a successful effort to persuade the Federal Government that that was the route Natchez Trace Parkway should follow instead of an historically inaccurate and economically more expensive route favored by the National Park Service. With the help of Mr. Moss and the Nashville Banner we won that battle.

At the time of his death Mr. Moss had asked me again to help with the Natchez Trace. This time to secure Federal funds for completion of the parkway. I told him I certainly would join with him in this effort. Mr. Speaker, I feel strongly that somehow, somewhere along the last miles of the Natchez Trace Parkway as it terminates in Middle Tennessee, Charles Moss' name should mark some appropriate spot or vista for he truly played a contributing role in the development and completion of the parkway. I intend to pursue this subject as an appropriate and deserved tribute and memorial to Charles Moss.

Mr. Speaker, one of the warmest tributes paid to the gentleman was written by one of his associates on the Banner and I insert this tribute, "My Friend, Charlie Moss" and the Banner editorial, "Charles McCord Moss" in the RECORD at this point:

#### MY FRIEND, CHARLIE MOSS

The telephone call was inevitable. Sooner or later it was bound to come and when it did, it caught me right in the throat and twisted my stomach into hard, throbbing knots.

"He's gone, Jack," said a subdued voice at the other end of the line. "I thought you'd want to know."

Gone!

For five minutes I stared at the floor. At the walls. At the ceiling. Then I pulled on a pair of old shoes and walked out the door, heading no where in particular, just out.

Walking alone is good for a man. It helps clean the cobwebs out of his mind. It helps breathing to come deep and fresh and steady. It jogs the memory.

Walking. Walking.

Remembering.



Remembering the time 25 years ago—in July 1946, to be exact—when I was surk, deep in the depths of despair. Hopeless. Worthless. A lousy bum—there are no other words for it—with a wife and four children and none of us with more than a prayer.

It was then, twenty-five years ago, that Charlie Moss laid his hand on my shoulder. Gave me words of encouragement. Gave me a glimmer of hope. Gave me a fresh chance, a fresh start in life. And when I failed him, he gave me another. And then another.

Of course, there were others who helped. My wife helped. And half a dozen new-made friends helped me to my feet—they were men like me, who couldn't walk alone, but who had found a way to walk straight and steadily together—and I became one of them. But without the help, without the sustenance, without the compassion and understanding of Charlie Moss, it just wouldn't have worked. Not for me. It couldn't have worked. Charlie was the key that unlocked it all.

And after that, there were foxhunts. Not the kind where hounds are "blessed" and red-coated hunters gallop across fields and jump high walls and fences on spirited thoroughbreds, but the kind where cob-pipe-smoking hounddog-men build a fire on some remote hilltop, late of an evenin', loose their hounds, and "listen to the music." Where old timers, like Charlie Moss, can tell you which dog is running where, and whether the fox they are chasing is gray or red, and tell you which way he is going to run. Between times of listening, they'll tell you stores of races and hounds, and wise old foxes, and nights in the woods that will raise the hair on the back of your neck. And at that first light, early sun, you return home, invigorated, with a fresh slant on life and a new will to live.

Over these 25 years that Charlie has been my friend, there have been many such nights, many trips to one place and another, by car, by foot, and by boat.

Then, there have been countless treks down old Natchez Trace, Charlie's favorite "stompin' ground": primm springs, bending chestnut, Jackson's well, Duck River. . . . And there was the "Harper" and those ancient mounds, and Indian graves, and a scattering of Indian paintings on the bluffs along the Harpeth, and other such paintings in various caves, in the bluffs above the Cumberland.

Charlie knew something about all of them. They fascinated him and delighted him.

Too, Charlie knew the woodlands, its trees and its nature. He loved wild things—flowers, birds, all animals. And he was not a killer. He was an observer, and he knew the ways of a fawn or a fish hawk, or a beaver, "better'n its maw did."

All the while, prowling the back country, the old trails, the rivers, he sometimes talked a bit—always in measured sentences—of human nature, of philosophy, with a sprinkling of salty wisdom—And ways to do things. And to think. And to write. And to tell a story as it should be told and how to appreciate "The wonders God hath wrought."

Now "he's gone," said the quiet voice on the telephone.

But not really gone. Not for all of us.

For wherever I may go, whatever I may do, so long as I may live, a mighty lot of Charlie Moss will always be there with me. And I thank God.

CHARLES McCORD MOSS

It is as if a mighty, landmark tree had fallen—and those who cherish priceless friendship and towering figures of character and strength and achievement—are one in overwhelming sense of loss. Charles McCord Moss is dead. This newspaper that knew him as energetic, loyal, and an able associate for 44 years, a score of those years as Executive Editor, is inexpressively shocked and saddened.

Nashville and Middle Tennessee, the native heath in whose possession he rejoiced, share the bereavement so keenly felt by those of this newspaper family privileged by long association to know Charles M. Moss—great newspaperman, giant of citizenship and service; cherished friend.

Chosen on unquestioned ability for the executive duties assigned, he helped guide the destiny of the "Nashville Banner" to the heights of service that have been its aim; his special qualities not alone the vision and skill for professional excellence, but in the area of human relations—a rare gift for knowing and understanding people, and in a genuine concern for them helpfully applied.

These qualities he possessed without ostentation. He shunned the limelight. He despised sham. He came to grips with facts, and coped with them bluntly. You knew where he stood—as friend and teammate—on the side invariably of right and of principle as he saw it. And you knew the firmness of the hand he extended, in the clasp that comforted in a sorrow he shared, or to help lift over a rough spot in the experiences of life.

Charlie Moss had a heart that was boundless in its capacity to care—for individuals or mass humanity in need; the penetrating mind of a scholar; the soul of a poet. It was a combination that enriched with meaning and purpose and assistance any genuine uplift movement to which his tireless interest was drawn, and with beauty the products of a gifted pen.

As a newspaper man and editor, he was deeply sensitive to the obligation of a free press—not as a generality of that terminology, but of the newspaper for whose quality and accuracy he was in such a measure responsible. He discerned duty, and met it squarely in any question that arose.

His was a rare acquaintance, too, with his city, region and state; and with them the lifelong love affair of one who knows an area by identification with it, esteems its past, participates in its present and executes for fulfillment of wonderful dreams for its future.

As such he was enlisted actively in civic undertakings, the strong ally of cultural and humanitarian endeavors—through the Nashville Boys Club, for example, at the Children's Museum, in public schoolwork, via the advisory council on curriculum development; via the Southern Education Reporting Service, etc. An active layman of the Episcopal Church, he lived his faith, a liberal donor of time and money and dedicated interest in its service.

He was a father and husband beloved of his family, and to whom home on its own sanctuary in the deepest meaning of the term, and at the same time, the center of a genuine hospitality.

The tragic aspects of a long illness, draining strength, did not embitter the blithe spirit of the man, nor convert to pessimism a personality and outlook steeped by its very nature in sunshine.

Understanding of human weakness, he was intolerant only of indolence, of dishonesty, and hypocrisy—which he equated together.

He loved the solitudes . . . could walk them with the stride of a joyous strength and pride in their possessions; there he could commune with Nature and in truth with God. But with all the devotion he felt, of appreciation for places and things of the wilderness—the forest and field and stream primeval—he did not dwell in a fellowless firmament. He was no recluse, hiding from life—or with disregard for fellow man.

He loved companionship of kindred tastes, of friends sharing the climb of the hill, the laugh at a funny story, the depth of a thought expressed in verse—a brush with knowledge not conveyed in books—or with eyes to see and ears to hear the flash of color and the brush of wings of song. He

never lost the capacity for wonder. It was renewed on every excursion into the world of it . . . his own wonderful world . . . that he frequently wrote about.

Firm were his convictions—with respect for the ancient landmarks, the dignities and decencies a link preserved by ancestral ties; and the legacy of a region's and nation's noble past. His outlook was as fresh and bright as today's newspaper; his acceptance of the future in a spirit always as new as tomorrow.

His attitude never was of concern for himself—but for others; for those around him. To these he was a patient listener; with words weighed carefully before counseling . . . always the reliable confidant.

Along with these abilities in unexcelled degree—the gifts of mind and heart and hand combining in a career thus notably successful in service to and through journalism—his was a loyalty that never flinched nor equivocated. It was there, sufficient in any test, because honor and principle were hallmarks of character to Charles McCord Moss; and to him character was above price.

Computers have been perfected to reckon otherwise incalculable things, but no device—including divinely planted human gratitude—can calculate the value and accomplishments of a totally useful life. The assets, the harvest of benefits accruing from it, do not end with its passing. They live on in the things he touched to serve.

The world is a better place—in ways innumerable—for his having lived in it.

## FREEDOM FOR LITHUANIA

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, more than a million Americans of Lithuanian origin or descent are this month commemorating two important anniversaries. February 1971 marks the 720th anniversary of the forming of the Lithuanian State when Mindaugas, the Great unified all Lithuanian principalities into one kingdom in 1251. It also marks, on February 16, the 53d anniversary of the establishment of the modern Republic of Lithuania in 1918.

The Lithuanians are a proud people who have lived peacefully on the shores of the Baltic from time immemorial. But the small nation has for centuries suffered from the accident of geography—from the west the country was invaded by the Teutonic Knights, from the East by the Russians. It took remarkable spiritual and ethnic strength to survive pressures from both sides. Lithuanians, it should be borne in mind, are not ethnically related to either the Germans or the Russians. The Lithuanian language is the oldest in Europe today.

After the Nazis and Soviets crushed Poland in September, 1939, the Kremlin moved troops into Lithuania and annexed the republic in June, 1940. So-called elections were held under the guns of the Red Army, and the Kremlin thereupon proclaimed that Lithuanians had voted for inclusion in the Soviet empire. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Thus began one of the most brutal occupations of modern history. Hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians were dragged off to trains and jammed into cars with-

out food or water. Many died from suffocation. The pitiful survivors were exiled to Siberia. Lithuanians had never experienced such an annihilation in their long history as during the last 30 years. Since June 15, 1940, Lithuania has lost more than one-fourth of its population through the genocidal operations of their Soviet masters. No end appears in sight.

Since the outset of Soviet occupation, however, the Lithuanians have waged an intensive fight for freedom. This year marks the 30th anniversary of Lithuania's brief but inspiring revolt against the Soviet Union. During June 1941 the people succeeded in ridding their country of the Communist regime. A free provisional government survived for more than 6 weeks, only to be overrun by the Nazis who suppressed all activities of the free government. At the end of World War II, the Nazis were supplanted again by the Soviets. Between 1940 and 1952, more than 30,000 Lithuanian freedom fighters lost their lives in an organized resistance movement against the invaders. Cessation of armed guerrilla warfare in 1952 did not spell the end of Lithuania's resistance against Soviet domination. Resistance by passive means gained a new impetus, and Soviet persecutions continue.

Our Government has refused to recognize the seizure and forced incorporation of Lithuania by the Communists into the U.S.S.R. We maintain diplomatic relations with the former free Government of Lithuania. Since June 1940, when the Russians took over the little country, every President of the United States has stated and restated our nonrecognition policy of the occupation of Lithuania by the Kremlin dictators.

At the beginning of this congressional session I reintroduced my resolution calling upon the President to instruct our delegate to the United Nations to insist that the Soviet Union abide by the U.N. Charter regarding colonialism and self-determination and that the Soviets release all political prisoners. In this Congress my legislation is House Concurrent Resolution 49.

I hope that other colleagues will introduce identical resolutions and that this measure will be adopted and acted upon. Lithuania, and all of the captive nations of the world, have for too long been denied the right to choose their destiny.

#### LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

### HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, February 16 marks the 53d anniversary of Lithuanian Independence Day. It is indeed tragic that these brave people have been denied the freedom and national sovereignty of their native homeland and have been forced to exist under Soviet domination.

Twenty-one years of peace and domestic productivity were extinguished in

1939 by the Soviet army's illegal occupation of the country and the forced presence of Soviet garrisons. The fate of the small Baltic state was further doomed by its forced incorporation into the Soviet Union on August 3, 1940. Lithuanian suffered the consequences of aggression by both Hitler and the Soviet Union. The initial period of Soviet occupation resulted in an estimated loss of 45,000 people as well as a large number of arrests and deportations. Nazi occupation of the country brought the tragic extinction of almost all Lithuanian Jews. Although the end of World War II brought peace and an atmosphere of freedom and independence to most of the European nations, Lithuania's sufferings had not ended.

The brief period of independence which Lithuania enjoyed is but a memory to most Lithuanians, yet it continues to be an inspiration. The memory of freedom and independence continues to live in the minds and hearts of those Lithuanians still living in their captive homeland as well as to those living abroad. Nationalistic spirit and pride and the yearning for freedom has proven to be and will continue to be human characteristics which even 32 years of Soviet domination has been unable to suppress.

It is indeed fitting for all Americans to pay tribute to the Lithuanian people on this historic day. I join all Americans and especially the Americans of Lithuanian descent in reminding the world that Lithuania and its people continue to fight for freedom, justice, and the reestablishment of an independent Lithuanian state.

#### FLORIDA CANAL AUTHORITY CHALLENGES HALT OF CROSS-FLORIDA BARGE CANAL IN COURT

### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Public Works, after public hearings of all points of view, said in its report on the public works appropriation bill for fiscal year 1971 that the Cross-Florida Barge Canal "will be a long-term gain in the environmental quality."

The committee favored continuation of the one-third complete project, authorized by Congress for national defense and economically justified, recommended "that the construction work continue and that every effort continue to be made to minimize any adverse effects on the environment, ecology, and fish and wildlife in the area. Any additional studies would appear to be a duplication of previous work and would delay realization of the essential project benefits."

On January 19, 1971, the President ordered the halt of the construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. He based his unprecedented decision—stopping an authorized and appropriated project for which \$60 million had been appropriated—on a recommendation by the Council on Environmental Quality, with-

out public hearings or the opportunity for proponents of the canal to be heard.

The Canal Authority of the State of Florida, the official State body of the State for this project, has submitted a resolution to the President asking for reconsideration on his decision to stop the canal, and they have also filed suit in the Federal Court in Jacksonville, Fla., asking that the President's order be declared to be of no effect, illegal or constitutionally void. I include in the Record copies of the resolution and complaint and a news article on the suit, as follows:

THE CANAL AUTHORITY  
OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA,  
Jacksonville, Fla., February 12, 1971.  
RICHARD M. NIXON,  
President of the United States,  
The White House Office,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We of the Canal Authority of Florida believe that the future of the Cross Florida Barge Canal project merits your reconsideration and further study and that the demonstrated lack of information of your chief adviser and other pertinent facts substantiate this belief.

We are, therefore, respectfully submitting a resolution of the Canal Authority of Florida herewith in which the reasons for our request for a further study are offered and your personal consideration is most earnestly petitioned.

Your personal attention to this important national waterway project will be widely appreciated.

Sincerely,

L. C. RINGHAVER,  
Chairman.

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Canal Authority of Florida and the U.S. Government have by their actions consummated a contractual arrangement for the purpose of construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal and that pursuant to these agreements the United States has expended more than fifty (50) million dollars and the Canal Authority has invested over twelve (12) million dollars of Florida tax monies, and that with reliance upon these agreements county governments and private corporations have invested in the construction of bargeports, and

Whereas, the Canal Authority has used all practicable means and measures, including financial and technical assistance to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, to promote efforts which would eliminate any damage to the environment which might be caused by the construction of the Canal, and that a committee of the U.S. Congress studied such measures and reached the following conclusion:

"In reference to the fish and wildlife, it is realized that with the construction of any new reservoirs, habitats change and some plants and animals are reduced but other plants and animals appear and prosper in the new environment. The new reservoirs will provide many thousands of acres of new habitat for a wide variety of sport and commercial species. The committee believes that studies that have been made support conclusions that while some short term losses will result, the overall effect will be a long term gain in the environmental quality."

Whereas, the criticisms generated against the project by opposition interests have been repeatedly disproven in public hearings to the satisfaction of committees of the U.S. Congress and the Legislature of the State of Florida, and that the U.S. Corps of Engineers has under study a plan whereby the canal could circumvent the Oklawaha River if such realignment is deemed necessary, and



Whereas, the subject waterway has been shown to have great future economic value to the nation and the State of Florida upon its completion though its utilization as a connecting link for inland waterway systems operating in 26 states, through flood control benefits essential to the State of Florida, through the shipment of bulk commodities such as grain to central Florida, and through recreational uses, and

Whereas, the advisers to the Executive Office did not seek to gather pertinent facts about the project from the duly elected representatives of the State of Florida to the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Corps of Engineers, the various departments of the State of Florida, the author of the U.S. Geological Survey Report on the project, the Canal Authority of Florida, nor any other parties responsible under the commitments; and therefore, that a representative of the Canal on Environmental Quality was shown, upon his visit to Florida in late January, to be apparently uninformed of facts very basic to a study of the project; to wit,

He was not aware that the canal is an essential adjunct to the successful functioning of the Four Rivers Flood Control Basin and that this flood control project will require modifications to the Oklawaha River similar to that of the Canal channel; he was not aware that his recommendation caused construction to be halted on a by-pass culvert necessary to maintain fresh water flow to the Withlacoochee River and thereby prevent the environmental damage of salt water intruding into the river; he was not aware of the status of land acquisitions for rights-of-way; he was not aware that the Canal Authority and not the federal government holds titles to most of the properties in question; he was not aware that many landowners who have received full fee compensation for their lands still retain interests which permit extensive use of the property should it not be required for the operation, maintenance, or construction of the Canal; he was not aware that private developers were subdividing the Oklawaha River area into small lots in which developments raw sewage was being dumped into the Oklawaha River.

Let it hereby be resolved, that we, the duly appointed Directors of the Canal Authority of Florida, do earnestly petition the President to reopen consideration of the timely completion of this most important national waterway project.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.,  
February 15, 1971.

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT,  
Congressman, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BENNETT: Enclosed is a copy of a Complaint which was filed by the Canal Authority of the State of Florida on February 12, 1971. By instituting this suit, the Canal Authority is seeking to challenge the constitutionality of the President's action in ordering a permanent halt of the Cross Florida Barge Canal Project without authorization from Congress.

Any comments or suggestions you might have in regard to this matter will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

RALPH E. ELLIOTT, JR.,  
Attorney for the Canal Authority of the State of Florida.

U.S. DISTRICT COURT, MIDDLE DISTRICT OF  
FLORIDA, JACKSONVILLE DIVISION

(The Canal Authority of the State of Florida, a body corporate under the laws of the State of Florida, Plaintiff, vs. Stanley R. Resor, individually and as Secretary of Army, et al., Defendants. Filed on February 12, 1971. No. 71-92-CIV-J)

COMPLAINT: JURISDICTION AND DESCRIPTION OF PARTIES

1. This is a civil suit seeking equitable relief which arises under:

A. The U.S. Constitution:

(a) Article I, Section 1, (delegation of legislative power to Congress).

(b) Article I, Section 8, Clause 1 (Congressional power to provide for common defense and general welfare).

(c) Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 (Congressional power to regulate commerce).

(d) Article IV, Section 3, Clause 2 (Congressional power over public lands).

(e) Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments.

B. Act of Congress authorizing the Construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project, Public Law 77-675 (H.R. 6999), approved July 23, 1942.

C. The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, Public Law 91-190, 83 Stat. 852, 42 U.S.C.A. Section 4321, et seq. (1970).

D. 33 U.S.C. Section 622 (Duty of Secretary of Army to apply monies appropriated for improvements of rivers and harbors in carrying out public works project).

E. 5 U.S.C. Section 552 (Public Information Act).

F. 5 U.S.C. Section 702 (Judicial Review of Administrative Action).

2. Plaintiff, the Canal Authority of the State of Florida, hereinafter referred to as the Canal Authority is a body corporate and State agency organized under the laws of the State of Florida pursuant to Florida Statutes, Section 374.011, et seq. Its principal place of business is located at 803 Rosselle Street, Jacksonville, Florida, within the Middle District of Florida. The Canal Authority, as lineal successor to the Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida, was organized for the purposes of, inter alia, providing without cost to the United States Army Corps of Engineers all of the lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for the construction, operation and maintenance of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project. Florida Statutes, Sub-section 374.051, 374.171. Pursuant to its statutory obligation as local sponsor for the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project, Plaintiff has used all practicable means and measures, including financial and technical assistance to the United States Army Corps of Engineers, to promote efforts which would prevent or eliminate any damage to the environment which might be caused by the construction of the Canal project.

3. Defendant, Stanley R. Resor is Secretary of the Army of the United States. Defendant, Lieutenant General Frederick J. Clarke is the Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers. Defendant, Colonel A. S. Fullerton, is the District Engineer of the Jacksonville District Corps of Engineers whose office is located at 400 West Bay Street, Jacksonville, Florida, within the Middle District of Florida. Defendants, Secretary of the Army, Chief of Engineers and District Engineer will be referred to collectively as the Corps of Engineers. The Corps of Engineers is a branch of the United States Army, 10 U.S.C., § 3063. It is charged by statute with the accomplishment of certain civil functions of the Department of the Army, such as the construction of canals, dikes, reservoirs, river and harbor improvements, and flood control projects, 10 U.S.C., § 3535. Defendants, Corps of Engineers and Stanley R. Resor, Secretary of the Army, are specifically charged by statute with the responsibility for constructing the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project in accordance with House Document 109/79/1. Public Law 77-675 (July 23, 1942). Defendants, Russell E. Train, Robert Cahn and Dr. Gordon MacDonald comprise the Council on Environmental Quality whose chief statutory function is to assist and advise the President in recommending environmental legislation programs to Congress. See 42 U.S.C.A., § 4341, et seq., (1970). The individual Defendants have been responsible for actions which have taken place and which are beyond their statutory power to perform, are constitutionally void, and for actions constituting failures to perform duties owed to Plaintiff complained of

herein. Equitable relief is sought against these Defendants individually and in their official capacities to enjoin them from further illegal actions and to compel them to fulfill their legal duties to Plaintiff.

4. The Court has jurisdiction over this action under:

A. 28 U.S.C. Section 1331 (Federal Question Statute).

B. 28 U.S.C. Section 1337 (Commerce Regulation).

C. 5 U.S.C. Section 702 (Judicial Review of Administrative Action).

D. 5 U.S.C. Section 552 (Public Information Act).

E. 28 U.S.C. Section 1361 (Mandamus).

F. 28 U.S.C. Sections 2201 & 2202 (Declaratory and Judgment Acts).

5. The matter in controversy, exclusive of costs, exceeds the sum of \$10,000.00.

#### GENERAL ALLEGATIONS

6. In 1942, Congress authorized the construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal in accordance with the plans set forth in House Document 109/79/1. Public Law 77-675 (July 23, 1942). The project plans provide for a high-level lock barge canal 107 miles long from the St. Johns River near Palatka, thence through the valley of the Oklawaha River across the divide to the Gulf of Mexico near the Withlacoochee River. No construction was done on the project until about 1964. Each year since 1962 the United States Congress has made appropriations for design and construction of the project. In its 1971 Fiscal year appropriation, Congress specifically directed that construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project should not be delayed for any additional environmental impact studies in light of the fact that thorough studies had already been made which supported the conclusion that the overall effect of the project would be a long term gain in environmental quality. H.R. Report No. 91-1219 at pages 3, 58, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, June 18, 1970; Senate Report No. 91-1118, Calendar No. 1129, pages 4, 5, 29; 91st Congress 2nd Session (August 12, 1970). This Congressional direction that canal project construction not be delayed was made with full cognizance of the requirements set forth in the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. Senate Report No. 91-1118, Calendar No. 1129, pages 3-4, 91st Congress, 2nd Session (August 12, 1970). Defendant, Corps of Engineers has to date expended approximately \$50 million of the \$60 million appropriated by Congress in the construction and design of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. Before construction and design of the Cross-Florida Barge project was commenced by Defendant, Corps of Engineers, Congress required that local interests furnish assurances satisfactory to the Secretary of the Army that they would "provide without cost to the United States all lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for the construction of the canal, hold and save the United States free from damages due to the construction works; and take over, maintain and operate all new public highways built in connection with the project." House Document 109, 79th Congress, 1st Session (Letter dated June 12, 1942, from Chief of Engineers to House Committee on River and Harbors). Plaintiff, Canal Authority, as lineal successor to the Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida, furnished the assurances as local sponsor required by Congress and said assurances were accepted by the District Engineer, Jacksonville, District Corps of Engineers on or about November 13, 1963.

Construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project was begun in 1964 by the Defendant, Corps of Engineers, under the direction of the Defendant, Secretary of the Army. Since 1964, Plaintiff, Canal Authority, has substantially complied with its obligation as local sponsor for the project by expending approximately \$12 million in acquisition of rights-of-way land situated in Putnam, Marion, Levy and Citrus coun-

ties within the Middle District of Florida. Ninety per cent of the required rights-of-way have been furnished to Defendant, Corps of Engineers, either by conveyance from Plaintiff or under right-of-entry agreements and Defendant, Corps of Engineers, has utilized said lands in completing approximately one-third of the construction of the project. Title to the majority of the rights-of-way lands is now vested in the Plaintiff, Canal Authority.

The Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project authorized by Congress (Public Law 77-675) was designated to promote the national defense and to facilitate the transportation of materials and supplies under both wartime and normal conditions of commerce. The project plans approved by Congress (House Document No. 109, 79th Congress, 1st Session, and the Definite Project Report—Cross-Florida Barge Canal, dated December, 1943) provided for flood control, water supply hydrology and other construction and design plans adopted to prevent or eliminate damage to a healthful environment and to contribute to the preservation and enhancement of the environment contained within the Canal project.

On or about January 20, 1971, the Defendants, Secretary of Army, Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers and Jacksonville District Engineer, ordered a complete halt in all construction on the canal project with the intention of abandoning completion of the project. At the time the construction halt was ordered by Defendants the following construction phases were in progress:

- (1) New State Road 40 bridge at the east end of the project in Marion County, Florida;
- (2) Railroad relocation bridge at Dunnellon, Florida, across Blue Run;
- (3) Canal bank improvement consisting of shaping, grading and sodding near Inglis Lock at the west end in Levy County, Florida;
- (4) Bypass culvert at west end of project in Levy County, Florida;
- (5) New dam at Inglis on the Withlacoochee River.

The result of Defendants' permanent halt of project construction will be to permit dangerous flooding conditions to continue unabated on Canal rights-of-way lands now owned by Plaintiff, in both the Oklawaha and Withlacoochee River Valleys, to permit infiltration, siltation, and pollution of the Withlacoochee River, and a failure to preserve the natural flow of the Withlacoochee River which in turn will permit salt water infiltration into the natural fresh waters of the Withlacoochee. The abandonment of the Canal project will also result in the automatic reversion of approximately 8,000 acres of rights-of-way now owned in perpetual easement by Plaintiff, lying within the Rodman Pool in Putnam County and in the Canal right-of-way to private ownership and subject Plaintiff to innumerable lawsuits concerning the ownership of other rights-of-way land which were legally acquired by Plaintiff only for the construction, operation and maintenance of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project. Florida Statutes, § 374.051, 374.071.

Under the assurances furnished to Defendants, Secretary of Army and Corps of Engineers, Plaintiff will be liable for any damage caused by construction of the project which is either finished or unfinished. Defendants orders to halt construction and abandon the canal project are unlawful and in violation of the rights of Plaintiff and Plaintiff will suffer irreparable damage therefrom for which it has no adequate remedy at law.

#### FIRST CLAIM FOR RELIEF

7. The Defendant, Corps of Engineers, acting under the direction of the Defendant, Secretary of Army, is under a duty to complete construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project in accordance with plans ap-

proved by Congress and subsequent appropriations thereto and by virtue of Defendant's agreement with Plaintiff and Congress to construct the canal project in exchange for Plaintiff's promise and actual performance of providing necessary rights-of-way for construction, and Plaintiff's further promise to hold and save the United States free from damages due to the construction works. Public Law 77-675 (July 23, 1942, H.R. 6999); letter from Jacksonville District Corps of Engineers to Giles L. Evans, Jr., Manager of the Canal Authority, dated November 13, 1963; Certificate of Resolution, dated October 6, 1959, all attached hereto as Exhibit A.

8. The press release dated January 19, 1971, issued by the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America, (Copy attached hereto as Exhibit B) which the defendants have taken to be an order directing the Defendants herein to halt all construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project is unconstitutional on its face and as applied to Plaintiff. Neither the President nor anyone acting under his direction has any authority to override the will of Congress expressed in the project authorization and subsequent appropriation bills. Any action of the Defendants which is based on said press release or other order of the President is in direct violation of the United States Constitution, Article I, Section 1; Article I, Section 8, Clause 1; Article I, Section 8, Clause 3; Article IV, Section 3, Clause 2, and the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. Defendants' decision to halt all construction of and to abandon the Canal project is an illegal attempt to exercise law-making power, which the Constitution vests in Congress alone.

9. Realleging the allegations contained in paragraph 8, Plaintiff further alleges that the order issued by the Defendant, Lieutenant General Frederick J. Clarke, Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers, dated January 20, 1971, (copy attached hereto as Exhibit C) and directing the Jacksonville District Corps of Engineers to halt all construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project is unconstitutional on its face and as applied to Plaintiff. None of the Defendants herein have any discretionary power to decide whether the Canal project will be built, or not built, and said Defendants have acted beyond their statutory powers, and in violation of the U.S. Constitution as alleged in paragraph 8. Cessation of construction and abandonment of the project will cause Plaintiff irreparable damage for which it has no adequate remedy at law.

#### SECOND CLAIM FOR RELIEF

10. Congress has recognized, pursuant to the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, that each person should enjoy a healthful environment and that each person has a responsibility to contribute to the preservation and enhancement of the environment. 42 U.S.C.A., § 4331(c) [1970]. Pursuant to the same act, Congress has directed that . . . "all agencies of the Federal Government shall . . . (c) include in every recommendation or report on . . . major Federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment, a detailed statement by the responsible official on—(i) the environmental impact of the proposed action, (ii) any adverse environmental effects which cannot be avoided should the proposal be implemented, (iii) alternatives to the proposed action, (iv) the relationship between local short-term uses of man's environment and the maintenance and enhancement of long-term productivity, and (v) any irreversible and irretrievable commitments of resources which would be involved in the proposed action should it be implemented. Prior to making any detailed statement, the responsible Federal official shall consult with and obtain the comments of

any Federal agency which has jurisdiction by law or special expertise with respect to any environmental impact involved. Copies of such statement and the comments and views of the appropriate Federal, State and local agencies, which are authorized to develop and enforce environmental standards, shall be made available to the President, the Council on Environmental Quality and to the public as provided by Section 552 of Title 5, and shall accompany the proposal through the existing agency review processes; . . ."

The order halting construction of the Canal project is a major federal action significantly affecting the quality of human environment (as alleged in paragraph 6) and was based on a recommendation made by the defendant Council on Environmental Quality to the President prior to January 20, 1971. Upon information and belief it is alleged that said recommendation was beyond the authority of the Council to make in that it did not include a detailed statement on (1) the environmental impact of the proposed action to halt construction and abandon the Canal project; (2) any adverse environmental effects which would not be avoided if the project was halted; (3) alternatives to the proposed action, and (4) any irreversible and irretrievable commitments of resources which would be involved if the proposed action should be implemented.

Prior to making its recommendation to the President, Defendant, Council on Environmental Quality, did not consult with and obtain the comments of any Federal Agency which has jurisdiction by law or special expertise with respect to any environmental impact involved in halting construction of the Canal project, to-wit: the Corps of Engineers, and the author of the U.S. Geological Survey Report on the project. Defendant, Council on Environmental Quality, has further refused to make the required detailed statement of environmental impact caused by a construction halt available to Plaintiff or to the public as required by the N.E.P.A., 42 U.S.C.A., § 4332 (c) and 5 U.S.C. § 552. By virtue of the foregoing, the recommendation to halt construction and abandon the project, Defendant, Council on Environmental Quality, has violated the rights of Plaintiff under the N.E.P.A., the Public Information Act (5 U.S.C. 552), and the U.S. Constitutional requirements of due process under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, and has caused and is causing Plaintiff irreparable damage for which it has no adequate remedy at law.

#### THIRD CLAIM FOR RELIEF

Defendant, Secretary of the Army, is charged by statute with the duty to apply money appropriated for improvements of rivers and harbors in carrying on the various public works as may be most economical and advantageous to the Government. 33 U.S.C., § 622. By halting all construction on the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project with the only purpose to delay its completion and with the intention of abandoning the project, Defendants, Secretary of the Army and Corps of Engineers, have breached their statutory duty and the duty owed to Plaintiff as local sponsor for the project. Such actions of Defendants will subject Plaintiff to suffer irreparable damage for which it has no adequate remedy at law.

Wherefore, Plaintiff prays for an Order:

1. Declaring that the press release, taken by the Defendants to be an order, issued on January 19, 1971, by the President is illegal or constitutionally void.
2. Declaring any order of the President to halt construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project to be of no effect, illegal or constitutionally void.
3. Declaring that the Order to halt all construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project issued on January 20, 1971, by



the Defendant, Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers, is illegal and constitutionally void.

4. Enjoining Defendants, their agents and employees from relying on or in any manner carrying out the press release order dated January 19, 1971, and the order dated January 20, 1971, referred to above.

5. Directing Defendants, Secretary of the Army, Chief of Engineers, and the District Engineers of the Jacksonville Corps of Engineers to resume all construction work on the Canal project which was in progress on January 19, 1971.

6. Directing Defendant, Council on Environmental Quality, to consult with and obtain the comments of all Federal Agencies which have jurisdiction by law or special expertise with respect to any environmental impact involved in its recommendation to halt construction, and abandon the Canal project.

7. Directing Defendant, Council on Environmental Quality, to make available to Plaintiff any statement on the environmental impact of its recommendation to halt and abandon the Canal project whether such detailed statement or statements were prepared before or after said recommendation was made.

8. Granting such other interlocutory relief to Plaintiff as may be necessary to prevent irreparable injury, pending final judgment herein.

9. Granting to Plaintiff the costs incurred in this action.

10. Granting such other and further relief as this Court may deem just and proper.

DECKER, ELLIOTT & KALER,  
P. A.

RALPH E. ELLIOTT, JR.,  
ALLAN P. CLARK,  
815 American Heritage Life Building, Jacksonville, Fla.  
*Attorneys for Plaintiff.*

PUBLIC LAW 675—77TH CONGRESS, CHAPTER  
520—2D SESSION (H.R. 6999)

(An act to promote the national defense and to promptly facilitate and protect the transport of materials and supplies needful to the Military Establishment by authorizing the construction and operation of a pipe line and a navigable barge channel across Florida, and by deepening and enlarging the Intracoastal Waterway from its present eastern terminus to the vicinity of the Mexican border)

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.* That, in order to promote the national defense and to promptly facilitate and protect the transport of materials and supplies needful to the Military Establishment, there is hereby authorized to be constructed under the direction of the Secretary of War and the supervision of the Chief of Engineers a high-level lock barge canal from the Saint Johns River across Florida to the Gulf of Mexico in accordance with the plans set forth in the letter of the Chief of Engineers dated June 15, 1942; and that there is also authorized the enlargement of the present Intracoastal Waterway from the vicinity of Apalachee Bay to Corpus Christi, Texas, and its extension to the vicinity of the Mexican border so as to provide throughout the entire length of the canal a channel twelve feet deep and one hundred and twenty-five feet wide: *Provided*, That between Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana, the project shall be modified in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in his report dated April 27, 1942, except that the annual payments to be made by the Government to the Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans are not limited by this Act to the amount recommended by the Chief of Engineers but are left open to negotiations between the Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans and the Chief of

Engineers: *Provided further*, That the Chief of Engineers is authorized to expedite the utilization of the facilities herein above authorized by the employment of temporary structures and available materials, and within reasonable limits to vary, in his discretion, the above-prescribed dimensions wherever advisable; *And Provided Further*, That subject to the provisions of Public Law 197, Seventy-seventh Congress, there is authorized to be constructed one or more pipe lines, together with all necessary terminal facilities, for the transport of petroleum and its products, from the vicinity of Port Saint Joe and other points on the Gulf Coast of Florida to the Saint Johns River, and a crude-oil pipe line from the Tinsley Oil Field in the vicinity of Yazoo, Mississippi, to Charleston, South Carolina, and/or Savannah, Georgia.

SEC. 2. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$93,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act. Approved, July 23, 1942.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS,  
Jacksonville, Fla., November 13, 1963.  
Re Local Assurances: Cross-Florida Barge Canal.

Mr. GILES L. EVANS, JR.,  
Manager, The Canal Authority of the State of Florida, Jacksonville, Fla.

DEAR MR. EVANS: Receipt is acknowledged of a certified copy of a Resolution dated 6 October 1959, adopted by the Board of Directors of The Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida, whereby The Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida assumes full responsibility for compliance with the requirements of local interests for construction of a barge canal from St. Johns River across Florida to Gulf of Mexico, authorized by Public Law 675-520, approved 23 July 1942, more particularly set forth in House Document No. 109, 79th Congress, 1st Session.

We also acknowledge receipt of a copy of House Bill No. 1637, Chapter 61-244, Laws of Florida, 1961, approved 12 June 1961, changing the name "The Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida" to read "The Canal Authority of the State of Florida."

These assurances are hereby accepted; however, it should be understood that the giving of acceptable assurances does not, in itself, satisfy the requirements of local cooperation, as such requirements can be met by actual performance only.

Your cooperation with the Government in connection with this project is appreciated.  
Sincerely yours,

H. R. PARFITT,  
Colonel, Corps of Engineers, District  
Engineer.

AUGUST 9, 1963.  
Mr. NORRIS A. SPOONER,  
Chief, Real Estate Division, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army Engineer District, Jacksonville, Jacksonville, Fla.

DEAR MR. SPOONER: This letter is a follow-up on our discussions last Friday, 2 August 1963, about the legal foundation of the assurances which the Canal Authority previously has given the Corps of Engineers.

We have asked our Attorney to outline, with appropriate citations, the statutory provisions which stand behind the Canal Authority assurances. His later-opinion is attached. I trust that you will find it completely satisfactory and adequate. We should appreciate any early affirmation of such adequacy.

May I take this opportunity to point out that the Corps of Engineers already has presented testimony pertaining to local cooperation to the Congress, as indicated by the attached copies of pages from both F.Y. 1962 and F.Y. 1963 Hearings before the House Appropriations Sub-Committee on Public Work.  
Sincerely yours,

GILES L. EVANS, JR.,  
Manager.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.,  
August 2, 1963.

The CANAL AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OF  
FLORIDA,  
Jacksonville, Fla.

GENTLEMEN: As you know, the Jacksonville District Office, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, has asked that we cite to it the specific legal authority for the assurances of local participation in the proposed construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, which you have previously furnished.

These assurances consist of three separate elements, being:

1. The Canal Authority pledges itself to provide, without cost to the United States, all of the lands, easements and rights-of-way necessary for the construction of the canal.

2. The Canal Authority agrees to hold and save the United States free from damages due to the construction work.

3. The Canal Authority will take over, maintain and operate all new public highways built in connection with the project.

For the sake of clarity, we will treat each one separately.

The law creating the Canal Authority and under which it now operates is now known as Chapter 374, Florida Statutes, and all references will be to sections of this chapter.

#### PROVIDING OF RIGHTS-OF-WAY

Section 374.041 grants to the Authority the power " \* \* \* to lease, buy, acquire, hold and dispose of real and personal property of every kind and nature; \* \* \*". Section 374.071 authorizes the Authority to " \* \* \* acquire by condemnation, rights-of-way \* \* \* reasonably necessary for the proper construction and efficient operation \* \* \* of said canal \* \* \*". Section 374.091 authorizes the several counties of the state through which or adjacent to the boundaries of which the canal passes to " \* \* \* donate to the corporation (Authority), all necessary rights-of-way \* \* \* necessary or useful in the acquisition, construction, maintenance and operation of said canal, \* \* \*". Section 374.171 provides that should the United States undertake the construction of the canal, the Authority is authorized " \* \* \* to assign, transfer and convey to the United States, or to the appropriate agency thereof, such \* \* \* property, \* \* \* including lands, easements and rights of way \* \* \* as may be necessary \* \* \* to accomplish such purposes."

#### HOLD HARMLESS FROM DAMAGES DUE TO CONSTRUCTION

Section 374.041 grants to the Authority the general power " \* \* \* to make contracts \* \* \*". Section 374.161 specifically empowers the Authority " \* \* \* to enter into any and all contracts necessary or convenient to the exercise of any or all of \* \* \* (its) powers \* \* \*" and " \* \* \* to contract with the United States or any \* \* \* agency \* \* \* thereof for the construction, operation or control of said canal or any portion thereof."

#### TAKE OVER, MAINTAIN AND OPERATE PUBLIC HIGHWAYS

The above quoted Sections 374.041 and 374.161 authorize the Authority to contract for this purpose with the United States or any agency thereof. Further, Section 374.051, granting special powers to the Authority, authorizes it "to acquire \* \* \* and to operate, repair and maintain, \* \* \* services of every kind and description that may be necessary, useful or convenient in the \* \* \* operation of said canal; \* \* \* and to do any and all things necessary and incur and pay any and all expenditures necessary, convenient or proper in the acquisition, \* \* \* operation and control of said canal and its related \* \* \* improvement and appurtenances."

Said Section 374.051 lists as the first power granted to the Authority, " \* \* \* the right \* \* \* power and authority to acquire, own, construct, operate and maintain a canal

across the peninsula of Florida, \* \* \* and Section 374.081 provides:

"It is intended that the provisions of this act shall be liberally construed for accomplishing the work authorized and provided for or intended to be provided for by this act, and where strict construction would result in the defeat of the accomplishment of any part of the work authorized by this act, and a liberal construction would permit or assist in the accomplishment thereof, the liberal construction shall be chosen."

We trust that this letter will serve to give the information desired.

Most sincerely,

JUDSON FREEMAN.

#### CERTIFICATE

I, R. Malcolm Fortson, Managing Director and Secretary of The Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida, hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of a resolution unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of said Ship Canal Authority at a meeting held on the 22nd day of September, 1959:

Whereas, House Document 109 of the 79th Congress, First Session, requires assurances for local participation satisfactory to the Secretary of War, and

Whereas, the minutes of The Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida show that the assurances furnished the District Engineer on June 25, 1936, did not contain all of the present assurances required by House Document 109, and

Whereas, the Board of Directors of The Ship Canal Authority of the States of Florida desires to comply fully with requirements contained in House Document 109, a special meeting of the Executive Committee was called on the 22nd day of September, 1959, to adopt a resolution furnishing such assurances,

Now, therefore, be it resolved: That the Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida pledges itself to provide without cost to the United States all of the lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for the construction of the canal; hold and save the United States free from damages due to the construction works; and take over, maintain, and operate all new public highways built in connection with the project, and

Be it further resolved: That a copy of this resolution be furnished the District Engineer of the Jacksonville District, Corps of Engineers, United States Army.

Dated at Jacksonville, Florida, this 6th Day of October, 1959.

R. MALCOLM FORTSON.

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am today ordering a halt to further construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal to prevent potentially serious environmental damages.

The purpose of the Canal was to reduce transportation costs for barge shipping. It was conceived and designed at a time when the focus of Federal concern in such matters was still almost completely on maximizing economic return. In calculating that return, the destruction of natural, ecological values was not counted as a cost, nor was a credit allowed for actions preserving the environment.

A natural treasure is involved in the case of the Barge Canal—the Oklawaha River—a uniquely beautiful, semi-tropical stream, one of a very few of its kind in the United States, which would be destroyed by construction of the Canal.

The Council on Environmental Quality has recommended to me that the project be halted, and I have accepted its advice. The Council has pointed out to me that the project could endanger the unique wildlife of the area and destroy this region of unusual and unique natural beauty.

The total cost of the project if it were completed would be about \$180 million. About \$50 million has already been committed to construction. I am asking the Secretary of the Army to work with the Council on Environmental Quality in developing recommendations for the future of the area.

The step I have taken today will prevent a past mistake from causing permanent damage. But more important, we must assure that in the future we take not only full but also timely account of the environmental impact of such projects—so that instead of merely halting the damage, we prevent it.

#### CROSS-FLORIDA BARGE CANAL

Confirming telephone conversation between MG Kolsch, OCE, and MG Free, SAD, the President has directed that construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal be halted. Undertake immediate action to suspend all work, including, but not limited to, land acquisition, contracts and hired labor construction work that may be underway. In taking this action give due consideration to public safety. Further advice will be given when more detailed plans are developed pertaining to future of the project.

[From the Florida Times-Union,  
Feb. 13, 1971]

#### CANAL AUTHORITY SUES UNITED STATES TO RESUME PROJECT

(By Otis Perkins)

The Florida Canal Authority in a federal suit filed here Friday asks that President Nixon's order halting the Cross-Florida Barge Canal be declared illegal and that the project be resumed.

It charges that Nixon usurped the power of Congress in his "press release" order of Jan. 19, adding that the president's action in halting the canal is unconstitutional.

The suit doesn't name Nixon among the defendants, but it does list Nixon's three-member Council on Environmental Quality, which advised the President to stop the canal project as an ecological hazard.

Named as primary defendant is the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and specifically, Army Secretary Stanley R. Resor.

The corps is named as the government agency responsible for carrying out the intent of Congress, including the expenditure of funds appropriated for the canal.

It is alleged the Corps of Engineers was without authority to implement Nixon's order on Jan. 20, which, it says, they received by way of a press release.

The suit says:

"The press release dated Jan. 19, 1971, issued by the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America, which the defendants have taken to be an order directing the defendants herein to halt all construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project, is unconstitutional on its face and as applied to the plaintiff.

"Neither the President nor anyone acting under his direction has any authority to override the will of Congress expressed in the project authorization and subsequent appropriation bills.

"Any action of the defendants which is based on said press release or other order of the President is in direct violation of the United States Constitution . . . Defendants' decision to halt all construction of and to abandon the canal project is an illegal attempt to exercise the lawmaking power, which the Constitution vests in Congress alone."

The suit charges that the Army Engineers were under a duty to complete construction of the canal under plans approved by and funds furnished by Congress.

It says the Council on Environmental Quality failed to carry out its legally required duties to complete studies, including conferences with responsible federal agen-

cies in the project, before recommending the project be halted.

It also says, the engineers, by halting the project with the purpose of delaying with intention of abandoning the project, "breached their statutory duty and the duty owed to plaintiff (the Canal Authority) as local sponsor for the project.

"Such actions of the defendants will subject plaintiff to suffer irreparable damage for which it has no adequate remedy at law.

The suit asks U.S. District Court here to declare Nixon's "press release" or any order be declared illegal and constitutionally void; that the order by the Army Engineers the following day, actually stopping the work, also be held void; that the defendants be enjoined from carrying out such orders; that the Army Secretary, chief Army engineer and local district engineer be directed to resume the work; that the Council on Environmental Quality be required to consult with proper federal agencies on the impact of the canal on environment and that it be required to report any statements—either before or after the work halt—as to its recommendations for closing down the project.

The suit was filed here by canal attorneys Ralph E. Elliott and Allan P. Clark, at the same time members of the Florida Cabinet, who are opposed to the canal, were considering ways in Tallahassee to block the suit.

Elliott had told Dr. Lee Talbot, senior staff scientist for the Environmental Council, he may file suit. Talbot was in Florida to study alternative uses for the canal, which is about one-third completed.

The suit also alleges that:

Congress in its 1971 fiscal year appropriation specifically directed that canal construction shouldn't be delayed for any further environmental studies, since completed studies showed the canal would result in long-term gain in environmental quality; that this was directed with full knowledge of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, requiring consultation with concerned federal agencies before recommending changes.

The Corps of Engineers has spent about \$50 million of the \$60 million appropriated for the canal. It says Congress required, before work began, that local interest provide land for construction of the canal, requiring that the U.S. government be held free from damages and that local authorities take over and operate new highways built along with the project.

The canal, authorized in 1942, was to promote the national defense; provide flood control and prevent damage to the environment.

Halting of the project will permit dangerous flooding conditions to continue unabated on the canal right of way, owned by the canal authority, in the Oklawaha and Withlacoochee rivers, permitting also salt water intrusion into the latter.

Halting the work will result in reversion to former owners of about 8,000 acres of right of way in the Rodman Pool in Putnam County and result in "innumerable lawsuits" over the property, to which the Canal Authority is limited for canal use only. The authority said it had acquired 90 percent of land needed and still has title to most of it.

The 107-mile canal is planned to extend from the St. Johns River, through the Oklawaha River Valley to the Gulf of Mexico near the Withlacoochee.

The Canal Authority has spent some \$12 million on land acquisition, much of it coming from a special tax collected in six counties through which the canal was to pass.

When it was halted these projects were in progress: A new bridge on State Road 40 in Marion County; relocation of a railroad bridge at Dunnellon; bank improvements near the Inglis Lock in western Levy



County—plus a bypass culvert in that area; and a new dam at Inglis on the Withlacoochee River.

Opponents of the work halt have charged Nixon was ill-advised by his council, which they accused of failing to publicly report its reasons for recommending the work be halted.

#### LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

### HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, February 16, 1971, marks the anniversary of Lithuanian independence. After over a century of domination by the Russian empire, Lithuania again emerged as a sovereign nation. The steadfast adherence to their language and traditions served the Lithuanian people well.

The 1917 revolution gave Lithuania the chance to throw off the Russian yoke. The tragedy of the reoccupation, first by the Soviet Union, second by Nazi Germany and again by the Soviet Union, devastated the area. The toll in human lives and suffering is incalculable. The courage of the Lithuanians is a shining beacon to all free nations.

The United States has not recognized the forced incorporation into the Soviet Union of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and rightly so. We remain committed to the ideal expressed in the Atlantic Charter:

To see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

The United States will continue to support the just aspirations for freedom and independence of the Lithuanian people.

Lithuanian immigrants have brought with them industry and resourcefulness. They have been a credit to the United States, their adopted homeland. The continuing determination to look toward a free and independent homeland inspires free men everywhere.

The following is an excellent editorial on Lithuania's independence which appeared in the February 11 edition of the Racine Journal-Times:

#### LITHUANIA'S FREEDOM FIGHT

Lithuanian-Americans will celebrate an important date on Tuesday, Feb. 16, the 53rd anniversary of the restoration of independence to Lithuania.

The date won't be commemorated publicly in Lithuania, itself, which has been under Russian rule since 1940. It will be observed in Racine and just about every other city where there is an American-Lithuanian Council.

Recently 100 Lithuanians met at Racine's St. Casimir Church and passed a resolution demanding that "the Soviet Union . . . withdraw all its armed forces, administrative apparatus and the imported Russian colonists from Lithuania, thus permitting the Lithuanian people to freely exercise their sovereign rights."

Only around one million persons of Lithuanian descent live in the United States, but collectively they have an influence out of proportion to their numbers. They have stirred the hearts of millions with their undying pledge to unshackle their homeland from Russian domination.

The *Congressional Record* is filled with tributes to Lithuania on Feb. 16 of each year. In 1970, no fewer than 15 representatives and five senators paid their respects.

Racine Mayor Kenneth Huck and Wisconsin Gov. Patrick Lucey both have proclaimed Feb. 16 as Lithuanian Day.

Lithuania enjoyed only 22 years of independence, from 1918 to 1940, until the Russians took over by force. Active resistance to Russian domination in the tiny country continued until as late as 1952.

Passive resistance continues. The spirit of independence is exemplified by the fact that the Lithuanian Republic maintains a legation in Washington, consulates general in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago and a consulate in Boston.

The plight of Lithuania shows how quickly the breath of freedom can be quenched through armed aggression.

The restoration of a free Lithuania cannot be accomplished easily, but that ultimate goal should be on the agenda of freedom fighters everywhere.

#### IT MAKES YOU WANT TO CRY

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, ever since I have been in Congress, I have held that one way to cure the ills of our cities is to reverse the migration from the countryside, to get people from the over-crowded cities to move back to the uncrowded and unpolluted rural countryside.

This idea is fast gaining support throughout our country, even with the President and Members of his Cabinet who are promising renewed interest and more Federal help for the countryside.

Mr. Speaker, with your permission, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the *Wheaton Gazette* on this subject which I am sure my colleagues and all of those who read the RECORD will find interesting and enlightening:

#### IT MAKES YOU WANT TO CRY . . .

The nation is polluted. The air is filthy, streams and lakes are collection points for refuse. There are too many people. Housing is inadequate, people are crammed together in slums and suffer the effects of substandard living. Crime rises because of it.

How do we solve it all? We call for a multitude of pollution controls. We make people conscious of the problems man is creating for himself. But most of all, we demand "Population Zero". We want less people.

It does, indeed, almost make you want to cry when you hear and read so much about this sort of thing . . . and then look at the census figures as reported in today's *Gazette*.

Overpopulation is, without question, a major problem in some areas. But certainly that is not the case in western Minnesota.

This part of the state has lost much during the past decade. Certainly our greatest loss has been our greatest resource—human beings.

When you sit in an area such as this and see the continuing erosion of an economic system and when you see the people who want to remain here have to move off the land and add to the problems of already overcrowded cities, you begin to wonder if the knot-heads who try to direct our economy have the slightest idea of what's really going on.

There are areas where smoke stacks jet out air pollutants and where cars fog the air with

exhaust. But this area is not one of them. There are areas where roads are jammed with idiotic traffic snarls, but here our highways are wide open.

There are areas where people are crammed together in shacks and old apartment buildings to form the cancerous slums of the city, but here we have a beautiful new low-rent housing project which remains half vacant because of a shortage of human beings to fill it.

And there are areas where population decreases may well be a godsend, but if there is anything we need in this area it is more people—not less.

Our governmental bodies—both federal and state—have been directing all of their efforts for better living toward the metropolitan areas. They want to solve problems like sub-standard housing, traffic congestion, polluted air. They believe that by pouring billions upon billions of dollars into such projects as mass transit systems, urban renewal, housing developments and the like they will make Utopia for all Americans.

And now they will take the final step and make their grandest contribution. They will endeavor to do away with population problems by enacting liberalized abortion laws.

Can't they see at all? Don't they really understand that there are thousands upon thousands of communities such as our own which are begging for the very thing they seek to destroy. We want people . . . we need people.

Rather than spending these vast sums of money to clear up a problem which will never truly be solved, they could look in another direction. They could seek to shift population to rural areas. They could provide people, at virtually no cost, with exactly what they want—good clean air, a little elbow room to live in, a slower pace and better living. They could do it all, simply by taking steps not to beef up the cities to handle a continuing influx of population, but rather by working with rural communities to bolster the economy and provide the opportunities to live in the country.

They say it can't be done? We say their city rejuvenation plans are impossible. We believe that working with the rural areas stands far and away a better, cheaper, more feasible chance of solving our social ills than any multi-billion dollar proposal for re-making cities.

#### FUTURE FARMERS OF AMERICA NATIONAL WEEK

### HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege and a pleasure for me to call attention to the fact that beginning Saturday, February 20 through the 27th, the Future Farmers of America will observe their 43d anniversary.

In the past, the celebration of George Washington's birthday has always fallen during this national FFA week, but the recent rearrangement of certain of our official Federal holidays has changed this. However, I do not believe that this will diminish in any way the patron saint status long ago bestowed upon the Father of our country by the FFA for his outstanding success as a farmer at Mount Vernon.

Forty-three years ago a group of vocational agriculture students in Kansas City, Mo. had a genuine belief in the future of farming and because of this

faith they established an organization for farm boys which, by its very motto, speaks for itself—Learning to do; Doing to learn; Earning to live, Living to serve.

Originally our vocational agriculture students were boys but there have been many changes in this program during the last decade not the least of which is the fact that now young ladies may and do become members of the FFA. Classes in the horticulture area particularly consist of both boys and girls, and I might add that since its start in Kentucky in 1965 this is one of the rapidly growing phases of agriculture in my home State as well as throughout the Nation. Today the FFA is concerned with training young men and women ages 14 to 21 in every aspect of agriculture.

The Future Farmers of America was organized nationally in 1928 and, as we know, was granted a charter by Congress in 1950. At the present time there are 9,000 chapters located in 49 States as well as Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Active membership has reached more than 450,000 and the latest tabulation for Kentucky shows a membership of approximately 14,000 in 162 chapters. In citing the successful operation of the FFA in Kentucky it is always with genuine pride that I recall the significant accomplishments of the chapters in the Second Congressional District.

Mr. Speaker, these are interesting and important statistics because these young men and women exert a very strong and a very positive leadership at the local, State and National levels. As students in high school vocational agriculture programs, they are actively engaged in learning modern agriculture production and business techniques, and in my opinion one of the finest benefits passed on to these particular young people is the opportunity they have to prepare themselves for careers in businesses and industries which supply farmers as well as process and market his products, thus becoming a final link in our tremendous agriculture system.

The theme for this year's FFA Week is "Involved In America's Future" and certainly as never before, the members of this splendid organization, all across this great land of ours, are emphasizing constructive involvement in programs designed to improve agriculture and to make their communities better places in which to live and work now, as well as for those millions of Americans who will be moving into rural and urban areas in the years to come.

Mr. Speaker, in this day of involvement of one kind or another, it is indeed gratifying that these high school and post secondary students in agribusiness and natural resources education are so deeply involved in America's future because they know full well the great stake that is their's and, because of this knowledge, I am confident we can safely assume that they will continue to justify the faith and the pride that we have in them.

I am always glad to publicly acclaim the tremendous achievements of the Future Farmers of America and as they approach the celebration of another national week I consider it a distinct honor

to offer them my sincere congratulations and best wishes for their continued success.

#### WORTH ALL THE DOUBT

### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Richard Witkin, in the Feb. 10, 1971, edition of the New York Times, discusses and places in perspective the problems encountered in the highly successful Apollo 14 lunar landing. Mr. Witkin does much to evaluate the outstanding skills demonstrated by the astronauts and the support personnel associated with the lunar mission. Mr. Witkin's article is a story of "planned success" achieved by highly skilled and dedicated people operating what is perhaps the most complex scientific and technical system that the world has yet conceived. The article follows:

#### WORTH ALL THE DOUBT

(By Richard Witkin)

"It was worth all of those little moments of doubt when the problems arose." That was the way Comdr. Edgar D. Mitchell looked back on the nine-day Apollo 14 odyssey yesterday after he and his two companions were safely abroad the carrier New Orleans. It seemed an apt summing up for a flight that had accomplished a great deal and at the same time, had experienced repeated technical troubles that will be remembered perhaps as long as its triumphs.

Are such technical shortcomings inevitable? Is it likely that the success of the three remaining Apollo lunar flights will be similarly threatened by temperamental devices aboard the extremely complex spacecraft?

The answers given by the men who run the space program are generally of the "yes, but" variety.

George M. Low, the acting administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, said in an interview:

"I feel that what we've seen on Apollo 14 is about the number of problems one must expect on any given flight with such a complicated piece of hardware. Yet the spacecraft design is such that it is forgiving of failures. And we hope we'll always be able to work around them and press on with the mission."

#### EXPRESSION OF OPTIMISM

Mr. Low, who directed the Apollo program before moving up in the space agency hierarchy, acknowledged that, if the timing had been different, one or more of Apollo 14's problems could have washed out a landing on the moon. But he seemed optimistic that most difficulties could be surmounted, saying:

"I continue to be amazed at the work-arounds people manage to find, like the work-around for the abort switch."

The reference was to the frenetic problem-solving that was required after the discovery that the lunar module's abort switch was sending a spurious signal to the craft's main computer.

Normally the switch would be activated only if the astronaut in command wanted to abort, or break off, the lunar landing attempt. The difficulty was circumvented by rewriting of the computer program and having the new program inserted into the computer by the crew just moments before starting the descent to the moon.

#### NO PERIL TO CREW

The misbehaving switch did not endanger the crew, but it could have prevented a lunar landing if its first false signal had been sent after the descent had begun. It was but one in a series of technical aberrations that dogged the flight from beginning till re-docking in lunar orbit.

As a starter, soon after the Jan. 31 launching, there were the six attempts required to dock or mate the command ship to the lunar module for the outward flight to the moon. Then came a slightly low voltage reading on a battery in the lunar module's ascent stage.

After the abort-switch problem came the potentially critical delay in proper functioning of the landing radar. And finally, about 10 minutes before re-docking in lunar orbit, the lunar module's back-up guidance system, fortunately no longer essential, switched mysteriously from normal operation to "standby."

To outsiders following the flight, the list of problems seemed the longest for any of the Apollo flights, except perhaps for Apollo 13, which suffered an oxygen-bottle explosion that ruled out a lunar landing.

Actually, the number of problems (they are technically called "anomalies") on Apollo 14 were not abnormal. They were just more dramatic than on most flights.

On Apollo 7 through 11, the first five manned Apollo flights, the number of anomalies on the command ship were 22, 8, 14, 23, and 9. Apollo 9, the first flight of a lunar module, had 12 anomalies. There were 15 on Apollo 10 and 13 on Apollo 11, the first to reach the lunar surface. Apollo 10, for instance, had trouble with fuel-cell temperatures. On Apollo 11, there was fear that the landing would have to be broken off because of an overworked computer—not a conventional hardware problem but a shortcoming in the way procedures had been worked out. It was a procedural shortcoming, too, that let Apollo 12 be launched into the kind of weather in which it could trigger the lightning discharges that for a while played hob with its power supply.

#### PERFECTION NOT ASKED

"It does not seem to me," said Howard W. Tindall Jr., deputy director of flight operations in Houston, "that we're having any more troubles than usual."

Mr. Tindall agreed with Dr. Low that perfection could not be asked of so complex a spacecraft but that chances were excellent of by-passing most troubles. He noted that, in expectation of such problems as a short-circuiting abort switch, a special campaign had been begun last fall to develop shortcut methods for rewriting programs.

Before Apollo 14, a new program had been written for Apollo 15 that would have bypassed the abort-switch problem with one or two punches on a cockpit keyboard, instead of the 60 used on Apollo 14.

Mr. Tindall said he thought the switch solution worked out for Apollo 14 owed much to the intensive work the engineers had been doing on the computer-program campaign.

"What worries me," he added, "is the long quiet periods we're soon going to have between missions. We'll tend to get sort of rusty."

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

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



Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

### TIME FOR ACTION

**HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, one of America's greatest assets is its forest resources. So many and so great are the pressures which demand action by Government that we often take for granted assets such as our forests. This can and does result in neglect. Kenneth Pomeroy, Chief Forester of the American Forestry Association, has written a very timely article on this subject. It is entitled "Time for Action" and appeared in the February issue of the magazine "American Forests." I am pleased to have it reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I include the article as follows:

#### TIME FOR ACTION

(By Kenneth B. Pomeroy)

What are we going to do about private forests?

We have talked about them since Ben Franklin noted a lack of fuel wood within wagon haul of Philadelphia.

We have counted them—4,500,000.

We have measured them—309,000,000 acres.

We have inspected them. Some need planting. Others are cluttered with useless relics of former tree crops. Only 29 percent are in satisfactory condition.

We have weighed their role in the national economy. They must produce wood more efficiently if future needs are to be met.

All of these observations and more have been documented expertly by the Southern Forest Resource Council in its excellent report *The South's Third Forest*. Additional findings have been reviewed by *Trees For People*, a national task force of conservation, industry and public advisors.

The time for talk and study has passed. No magic formula has been found. Nor is one likely to be devised. Techniques that work abroad fit different economic and social conditions. We must rely upon our own proven methods.

The initial stage is to place greater emphasis on activities that forest owners cannot handle adequately by themselves.

Why? Because private forests serve all the people—forests yield pure water; they shelter wildlife; they cleanse the air; they add beauty to the countryside; and they furnish wood for countless uses.

But these vital public services must be provided under threats of loss by fire, damage by wind and attack by diseases or insects. We can help our own cause by reducing the risks so that land owners can practice better forestry. There are several ways to do this.

#### PROTECT FORESTS FROM FIRE

Protection of present and future crops is basic to sound management. Yet 31 million acres, six percent of all commercial forests, do not receive any protection at all. A much larger area, over 200 million acres, is not protected adequately.

Why does this situation exist? It exists because citizens, you and I, have not insisted that adequate funds be appropriated.

Federal appropriations for cooperative forest fire protection under the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924 have not been made at the level authorized by Congress. The Congress authorized an annual appropriation of \$20,000,000, but after much prodding by state foresters, forest industries and conservationists, only provided \$16,469,000 for the current year.

This key forestry appropriation should be increased to the full authorization of \$20,000,000. It can be and will be only if you insist upon it.

#### 2. CONTROLLING DISEASES AND INSECTS

Diseases and insects cause losses estimated in the billions of dollars annually. They attack shade trees in cities as readily as timber trees in forests. Dutch elm disease has changed the appearance of many communities. Gypsy moths defoliate hardwood forests in the Northeast. Bark beetles ravage pine forests in the South. Dwarf mistletoe damages trees in the West. Sawflies and tip moths deform young trees everywhere.

Some of these pests have been held in check in the past with DDT and other chemicals now known to be harmful to animals, birds, fish and people. Urgently needed are new, less hazardous methods of control. Some promising leads have been found by research workers. Their efforts should be accelerated and intensified greatly.

Appropriations at the federal level should be increased from the present allotment of \$4,783,000 for insect research and \$2,810,000 for disease research to at least \$10,000,000 for both activities.

#### 3. PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Technical assistance, some free and some at modest cost, has been available to limited numbers of forest owners for some time. More people should benefit from this service. But 4,500,000 owners are far too many to be aided by 800 cooperative Federal-State service foresters and 300 consulting foresters. At best one public forester can only aid about 100 owners in a year. Consulting foresters are more limited in their contacts because they usually work on larger properties. Add to these limitations the fact that tenure of ownership averages about 15-20 years and it becomes apparent why many forest owners are not receiving the benefits of professional guidance.

The federal share of the Cooperative Forest Management program is now bumping against its authorized ceiling of \$5,000,000 annually. In 1971 the Congress will be asked to raise the authorization in order to meet rising costs of operation. At the same time the Congress and the states should be urged to double manpower on the ground so that technical assistance programs can be implemented more fully.

The ranks of consulting foresters should be expanded tenfold. These men, spurred on by private incentive, can perform services a public forester cannot provide. For example, a consultant can work on a property as long as it takes to get the job done, whereas a public forester may be limited to three or four days in which to show the landowner how it ought to be done.

Consulting foresters, being private businessmen, face the same hurdles as young attorneys in establishing their business. It takes money to tide them over during the year or two required to create a flow of funds. For example, work done today may not be paid for until months later. Meanwhile, there are payments to make on equipment and payrolls to meet.

The Tennessee Valley Authority and the National Association of Consulting Foresters have attempted to break this bottleneck with an agreement that enables TVA to underwrite certain establishment costs during a

two-year period. Two promising young foresters have been selected for the program. They will be aided with referrals from TVA and other public agencies.

This pioneering effort holds great promise. It should be initiated in other forested regions.

#### COST-SHARING

Conversion of useless brushy areas to productive forests, planting trees to assure a future supply of wood, protection of watersheds, improvement of wildlife habitat and enhancement of the environment are public interest activities that usually require considerable labor to initiate but do not yield cash returns on the investments for a long time. Many forest owners may not be in a position to undertake such projects because of age or financial limitations. Yet future economic and social needs of the nation require that private forests fulfill their role.

There are two ways to solve the problem; i.e., regulation as in some other countries, or public assistance in the form of cost-sharing. Regulation was ruled out in this country two decades ago. What about cost-sharing?

Public assistance in the form of cost-sharing under the Agricultural Conservation Program has been available since the mid-1930's. Yet total accomplishments have been but a "drop in the bucket" compared to the job that needs to be done.

Seventy-five million acres of private land need to be planted. The actual acreage planted annually is slightly more than one million acres. The accomplishment is not enough to keep up with new areas being denuded by fire and other causes.

One hundred forty million acres of partially productive private forests need stand improvement such as thinning and removal of useless cull trees that occupy valuable growing space. Here again annual accomplishments are pitiful in comparison to the magnitude of the job.

A separate assistance program, geared to the needs of forestry, should be devised. It should contain the following key features:

- Be in the public interest;
- Emphasize long-term activities that forest owners are not likely to undertake by themselves;
- Require owners to commit themselves to a forest plan of long enough duration to make assistance effective;
- Make assistance available over a period of years;
- Consider cost-effectiveness in establishing priorities for assistance.

A forestry assistance program is being drafted now by the Administration for presentation to the Congress early in 1971. When its details become available, it should be studied carefully.

#### OTHER INCENTIVES

Utilization, marketing, taxation, leasing and insurance also are important factors in an owner's forest management program. These considerations vary considerably from one locality to another and for that reason are not being discussed in detail here. But all are important to the successful management of the small, privately-owned forest and must be dealt with before these lands can yield their full potential.

#### SUMMARY

Fire protection, insect and disease control, technical assistance and cost-sharing are basic elements of efforts at the federal level to improve management of 4,500,000 private, nonindustrial forests. Aggressive action should be taken immediately on each element so that owners can achieve the objectives of which their properties are capable.

Will you help, please?

## INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

## HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in the interest of promoting tax reform, economic renewal and expansion, I am today introducing legislation to establish an investment tax credit for small businessmen, ranchers, and farmers.

As will be remembered, in 1969 the general investment tax credit was eliminated supposedly for the sake of curbing what was thought by some to be inflationary business activity. At the time, I voiced my belief that Congress used a meat ax rather than a scalpel on the investment tax credit; in my view, it should have been trimmed rather than eliminated.

In any event, economic conditions have made a dramatic turnabout since that period. And what must be applied to the economy now is a slow steady accelerator, rather than the gentle braking that has marked economic activity over the last 18 months or so.

New impetus is needed because current conditions demand it. Over the last 12 months, inflation ran at about 5.6 percent. Couple this with the grim fact that approximately 6 percent of the labor force is unemployed and the extent of our economic doldrums becomes obvious. Along with this, however, I would point out that the conditions of today were determined by the excesses of Federal financial policy during the sixties. This Nation is reaping the legacy of those spend-thrift years, years when Federal spending exceeded Federal revenues by \$57 billion; \$40 billion of which were laid out during 1966, 1967, and 1968.

Various monetary and fiscal tools are being employed in an attempt to revitalize the economy. The recent reductions in the prime rate of interest should generate increased corporate activity. This in turn will cause new economic growth and facilitate future price stability.

I confess, however, I am much less enthusiastic over the administration's new fiscal approach to Federal financing; namely, the so-called full employment budget. In my mind, trying to stop inflation by increasing deficit spending is like trying to put out a fire by pouring money on it. Accordingly, I think a far more workable and more effective approach would be to reduce excessive Government spending, balance the Federal budget, and place new emphasis on stimulating productive activity in the private sector.

On this last point, I was very pleased when the administration announced plans to accelerate the depreciation allowance for business and industry. This allowance was successfully utilized in the sixties to stimulate capital formation, business growth, and consumer demand. I think, though, that the beneficial effects of the depreciation allowance would be enhanced if it were coupled with an investment tax credit, at least for small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, going back to 1969, when the original investment tax was elimi-

nated, the consequences were not evenly felt throughout the business community. The burdens fell heaviest on the small businessman and the small farmer. In the absence of the 7½-percent tax credit, it became harder for these concerns and individuals to make financial ends meet. In many cases it made the difference between economic sufficiency or failure.

Even today, the adverse effects of the repeal of the investment tax credit are still being felt in small business and farming communities. In my home State of Texas, for example, many farm implement dealers have reported a substantial decline in sales. With sales off, plans for expansion have been deferred. Consequences of these decisions have, in turn, had significant effects on rural trade, construction, and banking. In addition, farmers, who in the absence of the needed investment tax credit have also had to defer purchases of needed equipment, have been forced to utilize obsolete, outworn, and sometimes even dangerous equipment. The human costs of these conditions are great indeed. In the last 2 years, more farmers and agricultural workers have been killed or injured in on-the-job accidents than in any other industry. The truth of the matter is, many of these tragedies could have been averted if newer and safer farm equipment had been in use.

Mr. Speaker, restoring the investment tax credit would help insure the continued vitality of small commercial enterprises. We are living in the era of the large corporation and witnessing the growth of conglomerate enterprise. Both these institutions threaten to engulf the small independent entrepreneur, be he farmer, rancher, or businessman. Should that day come, it will mark the destruction of a vital cornerstone of the free enterprise system.

The bill I am introducing today establishes an investment tax credit for investments up to \$15,000. With this modest ceiling, the terms of my proposal will primarily benefit small businesses and small farmers and ranchers. I am confident, given this extra incentive to increase capital formation and economic activity, that resultant gains in economic growth and resultant increases in public revenues will more than offset any losses in Federal taxes resulting from the implementation of this tax credit.

I urge my colleagues to give this proposal their fullest consideration. If enacted, my bill will effect meaningful tax reform, help stimulate the economy, and insure the continued vitality of small independent farms, ranches, and businesses.

CONGRESSMAN QUILLEN'S 1971  
QUESTIONNAIRE

## HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, my 1971 legislative questionnaire has gone in the mail and I would like to make it available for readers of the RECORD. The questionnaire is as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., February, 1971.

DEAR FRIENDS: In his recent state of the Union message to the Congress, President Nixon outlined six goals which he said were designed "to reform the entire structure of American government so we can make it again fully responsive to the needs and the wishes of the American people."

I will appreciate your taking a moment or two of your time to answer the six questions on the back of this card, as I would like to know your views and the opinion of the other citizens in the First District on the President's proposals.

Please return the completed Questionnaire to me in Washington so I can tabulate the returns and provide you with the results in a special Report from Washington.

Sincerely,

JAMES H. QUILLEN,  
First District, Tennessee.

1. Do you favor a revenue-sharing plan with state and local governments involving \$16 billion in Federal funds, allowing \$5 billion to be spent with no strings attached?

2. Do you approve of welfare reform, including a guaranteed annual income for every family with children?

3. Do you favor improved health care, including guaranteed medical care for the poor and an extra \$100 million to help find a cure for cancer?

4. Do you favor a reduction of the present twelve Cabinet departments to eight, leaving the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, and Justice as they are and consolidating the others into Departments of Human Resources, Community Development, Natural Resources, and Economic Development?

5. Do you favor an expansionary (deficit) Federal budget this year to help stimulate the economy and decrease the rate of unemployment?

6. Do you favor new proposals to clean up the air and water, to combat noise, to preserve and restore our surroundings, and to expand the nation's parks?

A SPANISH SPEAKING  
COMMUNITY

## HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the problems of any minority group are well known to us all; however, when a group does not speak the language of the country in which they reside, they have an especially difficult time in their day-to-day existence. Maryland's Eighth District, which I represent here in Congress has a growing Spanish-speaking community, and their problems are not unique. Peter Vaky, a student at Walter Johnson High School in Bethesda, has written a comprehensive report on the Spanish-speaking community in Montgomery County, and I submit it for the interest of my fellow colleagues:

A SUMMARY REPORT ON THE SPANISH-  
SPEAKING COMMUNITY IN MONTGOMERY  
COUNTY

(By Peter Vaky, HRC Student Intern—Walter Johnson H.S.—September 1970)

## INTRODUCTION

"They are disadvantaged by language, by schools, and by employment and in business. Their leadership potential is great, however. They want to catch up and they do



catch up". Frank E. Evans, U.S. House of Representatives, Colorado.

Congressman Evans speaks of the Spanish-American who has come to this country for various reasons. Their entrance into the American life stream results from political persecution or repression, economic dissatisfaction, or social repudiation that they have experienced in their old country.

American history has often been described "as a history of successive minority groups." The United States, the great melting pot, where cultures and races were thrown together to form and inherit one common heritage, one common culture. Now as the United States has stopped its territorial expansion and stopped its growth by terrestrial standards, the melting pot is starting to overflow.

Within the past decade an increasing awareness of races and cultures has brought the problems of cultural and race relations into public perspective. Members of past waves of immigrants as well as newly arrived minorities seek their proud heritage to preserve their ancestry and strive to achieve identity in America, the land they believe will give them freedom. This freedom, they interpret as being allowed to relate to their culture, retaining their individuality which to them is an essential part of this nation. To be one's own self, yet to be part of one's own country, is what the minority groups seek.

With this coming of a new age of "social enlightenment", more and more the focus of the nation's attention has switched from the majority to the minority. Minority groups have become more visible on the American scene.

The most predominant and the most successful of these groups has been the Negro—the Black-American. He has stepped out and demanded his own culture, his basic heritage. Today the words "afro", "brother", "soul" have entered the American vocabulary demonstrating the awareness of a culture, of a heritage.

The second largest minority group in the United States has not yet swum into the American life stream. The Spanish-American now seeks his identity, his heritage in the land of opportunity and human freedom. He has not demanded because he is not accustomed to demanding nor is he accustomed to communicating to his governing body. He cannot communicate, his language is different.

This report will try to show you these differences. To point out the problems that the Spanish-American faces in his everyday living in a strange and different country and offer the possible solutions to these problems. It will focus on the state of his economy, his housing facilities, his educational opportunities, and his occupational limitations. The social aspects of these people will be brought out as well as the psychological factors. This is not just a statistical assortment of facts and figures but an observational account of how a separate people live, work and die.

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PETER VAKY, HRC Intern.

#### THE TRANSITION

The beginning of a new way of life in a new country, which holds different ideas, speaks a different language, and lives in a different culture is nothing easy. The successful turning over, the essential change is not done overnight, nor in a year, or two years. To many Spanish-speaking families the first generation living in the United States will not be able to change and it is the second generation that fulfills the transition.

To begin with, it is not easy for many Spanish-Americans to get over here. Because of the intense migration from Latin America to the United States, entrance into this country has become more difficult. As a result many will sneak into the country or enter on tourist visas and then must stay here. It is presumed that in the Washington metropolitan area there are 1,000 such cases of visas violations. These violations stem from lack of understanding the immigration laws to simple survival. By this, I mean working on a student's visa or a tourist visa as a means to survive.

Once the Spanish-speaking arrive here they find a great deal of difficulty, outside of the problems of the normal newcomer. They must learn a new language before they can begin to function. They then, instead of facing the problem of not speaking English and learning the language, move to the "Spanish" area where most activities include their native tongue. As a result they do not learn sufficient English. What they speak is commonly called the "language of survival" which is neither English or Spanish but a combination of rough basic phrases, in a broken, hardly audible language.

#### POPULATION

Because of the language barrier and the lack of interest the government pays to these people the exact figures on population are not recorded. The only available numbers are estimations, educated guesses of social workers or leaders of the Spanish Communities.

These estimations place the total number of Spanish-speaking people in Montgomery County at 4,000 families. These families with an average of 4 to 5 people to a family place the total number at roughly 16,000 people. It is felt that this variation is the closest one can get to the actual number.

The Spanish-speaking people live in concentrations at various low-income apartment complexes located chiefly in the Silver Spring-Takoma Park area with one principal concentration in Bethesda.

The Silver Spring-Takoma Park concentrations are almost exclusively in the area of Piney Branch Road between Flower Avenue and University Boulevard, and on East-West Highway near 16th Street.

The breakdown\* according to apartment complexes is as follows:

	Number of units
Bradley Boulevard.....	134
Summit Hill.....	94
Long Branch.....	89
Flower Branch.....	60
Rosemary Hills.....	41
Quebec Terrace.....	11
Flower Avenue.....	9
Godacre.....	5
Total.....	443

Many times, the number of Spanish-speaking people in Montgomery County will be enlarged to a much greater number than ac-

\* This survey was conducted by a team of a Catholic priest and three nuns.

tuality. This overestimation is a result of two observations: (1) Spanish people use the street very often, thus, they are outside constantly. To them it is a mode of circulating, of social gathering thus causing an observer to over estimate, and (2) many of them live in concentrations in apartment buildings making their number look larger.

#### ECONOMY

The wages in the United States are much higher than the Spanish-speaking person received in his old country but consequently the cost of living is higher also. They must struggle through their financial difficulties on a daily basis. They do not earn enough to plan ahead.

The average Spanish-speaking person in Montgomery County makes \$2.50 per hour. This wage covering a regular 40 hour week would bring in about \$100 per week with taking out taxes. However it is not possible for these people to live in Montgomery County on less than \$5,000 dollars a year when they have to pay for housing, a car to get them to work, food and clothing for on the average three children and a wife, and other necessities. As a result the average Spanish-speaking person works 60 hours a week to bring home a weekly salary between \$125 to \$150.

The jobs they have are menial labor jobs such as carpenters, construction workers, dishwashers, etc. These people take jobs like this for two basic reasons: (1) They often do not speak sufficient English to carry on a business or a job when the language is needed and (2) they will mostly work in areas or places where their friends from the old country are employed or were employed previously because they feel more secure working with a countryman or a fellow Spanish-speaking person.

They are pressed economically because often they will have relatives in the old country whom they support or they will have newly arrived relatives in this country who have no job and need assistance.

Approximately 60% of the low-income Spanish-speaking people cannot cover all their necessities with their yearly earnings. 30% of the lower income (under \$5,000 per year) cannot cover even their very fundamental necessities. Yet among these people only 5% are on welfare. The low number on welfare reflects the self-determination these people have, to "make it" in the United States.

Twenty five percent of the people earn less than \$2,000 per year, 30% earn between \$2,500 and \$5,000 annually. The rest earn more than \$5,000 annually with 5% earning more than \$18,500 per year.

More than one-half of the Spanish-speaking people do not have insurance due to the fact their money will not stretch that far and they often, because of the language barrier, are not aware of or cannot read the forms.

It is difficult for these people to get jobs. Approximately 70% took more than two months to find work, 30% spent over three months searching for a job.

Women have even a much harder time finding work than men. 80% of the women who looked for jobs as cooks, maids or any sort of domestic work, could not find work. For some, this is extremely difficult due to the fact that there are more Cuban women than men in this area. The reason for this is because it is against the law for Cuban males between the ages of 15 and 27 to leave the island. As a result they must earn a living and pay the bills, with the menial salary they make as a maid or a cleaning woman.

Manpower Development Training, a Montgomery County Association whose program is to train the unskilled laborer in a skill

vocation, has a special program for the Spanish-speaking.

Approximately 10% of all the trainees in the development program are Spanish-speaking. Of these, 75% are Cubans. The number of trainees has grown as the years go by. In 1968 Manpower Development trained 88 Spanish-speaking, in 1969, 90 were trained. The figure rose in 1970 to 165.

Courses made available to these people are carpentry, nurses aides or orderlys, license nursing, cosmetology, auto-mechanic, clerk-typist and electronic technicians.

The Spanish-speaking people who are selected for this vocational training program are carefully screened by the Maryland State Employment Security Office, who investigates the personal and economic features of a person and the need for training. They conduct a survey to find sufficient employment opportunities in the area. They recruit through interviews, through economic status, or through personal reference.

The trainees are paid while they train. The Employment Security Office also provides them with transportation money if it is needed. The trainees train five days a week to accustom them to a regular work week.

The courses do not focus in so much on the finer points in any given skill but rather on teaching the basic fundamentals and good work habits involved in a job.

They are taught English, so in an actual breakdown of the teaching program half the course is learning the English language and the other half is the teaching of a skill.

The purpose is to compensate or return the skill or teach new skills to get new or better jobs for the unemployed or underemployed.

The training programs rise and fall according to demand for a particular skill. In the month of August there were two courses taken by Spanish-speaking people, the auto-mechanics course with 45 enrolled and the clerk-typist course with 120 enrollees.

The Silver Spring public health service grants medical assistance to Spanish-speaking people. This assistance comes in the way of clinics for the mothers or children. These clinics are usually held once or twice a month depending on the clinic and its need. Child-health supervision clinics are set up, as well as planned parenthood clinics, nutrition, etc. Here they are taught how to care for their children, how to plan the size of their families, how to balance their meals, how to dress warmly, etc.

Immunization is a problem here. Many people do not have inoculation records or have not been inoculated. Hence this must be done but chiefly the children are the ones to be inoculated.

To qualify for the medical assistance the table goes as follows:

Number of people per family	Yearly income	Monthly income
1.....	\$1,860	\$155
2.....	2,520	210
3.....	2,880	240
4.....	3,300	275
5.....	3,600	305
6.....	4,020	335
7.....	4,380	364
8.....	+360	395
9.....	+360	425
10.....	+360	455

These tables are very flexible considering personal and professional judgment of the attending nurse. If they do not qualify for health services they still receive medical aid in the form of advice or assistance in referrals.

Taxes are a problem to these people. Some are not aware of or are not familiar with the tax system in the United States. As a result tax reports, income tax returns, etc. are hard to file for these people. Many do not even submit a tax report. Others make too

small a sum to even bother with filing a tax report. Employers sometimes just pay their Spanish-employees in cash not bothering to withhold money for taxes or social security. At times Spanish people will be working illegally. They often will have tourist or student visas with which work is not permitted but they must work to survive.

LEGAL PROBLEMS

The Spanish-speaking people due to lack of communication and a lack of understanding the English language come into a few legal problems. The crime rate of these people is very low. Approximately one percent are involved with crime. Of this one percent .7% of the crimes are misdemeanors.

The majority of legal problems encountered by these people are problems with visas. It has been estimated that over 1,000 people are in the Montgomery County area in violation of their visa regulations. Some in an effort to live in the United States will enter with a tourist visa and just stay here.

Lawyers are hardly ever brought into contact with these people for two reasons. (1) Legal advice as such is too expensive and (2) there are very few lawyers who can communicate verbally with these people.

Other than the visa problems that are the most prevalent legal trouble among these people, tax problems are also a concern. Improper tax returns are filed often but this is due more to the lack of proper usage of English rather than unfamiliarity with the tax system.

HOUSING

The Spanish-speaking communities often live in concentrations scattered throughout Montgomery County. As previously noted in this report, there are mass concentrations of lower-income Spanish people in Piney Branch—University Boulevard area in Silver Spring-Takoma Park, the Bradley Boulevard area in Bethesda and the Summit Hill, Rosemary Hill area in Silver Spring.

The apartment units range in price from \$85 a month for a one bedroom to \$120 for a two bedroom apartment.

These apartments are very small, containing on the average four rooms and a bathroom. Under normal circumstances a four room apartment would not be considered that small but the size of the rooms and the average number of unit inhabitants, which is about five or six per unit makes the size of the apartment smaller. Some units even have as many as eight to nine people living in them. This is often due to the small number of available low-income housing opportunities available in Montgomery County. Some families will have relatives or another family living with them until one can become situated in other living quarters. Often this situation leaves this overcrowding of families in such a crowded manner for periods of two to four months.

Spanish people find it very difficult searching for a place to live. The main difficulty encountered is the money problem. These families can rarely buy an apartment whose cost exceeds two hundred dollars a month. It is estimated that 40% of the total Spanish community spends under \$150 a month on housing. Often housing cannot be rented until a job has been found whereby a man can support his family and afford them shelter. Since the average time for finding a job is two months and another two months is spent looking for a home, it is often four months before the family is situated comfortably in an apartment.

Apartment complexes vary in size, quality and Spanish population. Some complexes will not lease to more than ten percent Spanish-speaking people because they do not want their projects to become known as dwellings for the low-income Spanish population only. Despite this there is very little discrimination encountered when searching for homes.

Of the three biggest areas of Spanish con-

centration, Summit Hill and Rosemary Hills are the biggest in space or room and the best quality. Long Branch and University Boulevard area would rank second as a mediocre place of living, while Bradley Boulevard is the poorest of the three.

My personal observation of these areas leads me to make the previous and the following conclusions. The Bradley Boulevard apartments seemed almost inadequate. The hallways were very dirty and the stairways will not stand or hold any reasonable amount of weight within another 30 year period. The apartments, even though the ventilation seems adequate, although the air in the apartments is dusty, do not seem to allow much sunlight into the rooms. All the units seem dark and dingy. The rooms are small, the walls were probably made with the least possible effort and cheapest cost. All these apartments, although not crumbling or in a condemned state, appear to be in very poor condition.

The apartments as a whole are all small containing one bathroom of small size, unit running water, hot and cold. A combination living room-dining room which is the biggest room in the house, and on the average 36 feet in length and 18 feet in width. The kitchens are also small but are fully equipped with stoves, refrigerators and shelves. The bedrooms do not seem large enough. This impression is however because of the large amount of people in one bedroom. Nevertheless, a two person bedroom is small enough, yet when three to four people sleep in it the size shrinks.

The units are furnished adequately, some even quite comfortably. The furniture is usually in good condition although it is chiefly second-hand. There is not much furniture, the rooms give an appearance of lacking a chair or two. There is a surprising number of color T.V.'s and every apartment has one T.V.

There is an absence of rugs. The walls are usually colorfully decorated, primarily with religious paintings.

All the families have cars which are relatively new. Most range from 1968 to 1969 models.

EDUCATION

The most difficult and serious problem facing the Spanish-speaking community today is the education of its children. For some the educational process is easy, for others it is very difficult. This education throughout Montgomery County is carried out on a varied scale. In some areas special programs are conducted to gear the educational approach to these youngsters through the help of special teachers or counselors. In other areas after the children are taught enough English to communicate orally to an adequate degree of proficiency, they then are thrown into the classroom to sink or swim. For many this is a slow and tedious learning process whereby potentially productive years are thrown away.

For most children who do not speak English it takes at least one full year to learn sufficient English to communicate and understand the goings on of the daily classroom activities. Their grammatical background however is very weak. They are not taught the finer points of grammatical English. As a result these children fare poorly in courses such as English, Social Studies, or any other subject where reading is a major source of information and part of the work. In mathematics the children fare quite normally due to the lack of a language barrier.

Presently in the Montgomery County school system there are 814 Spanish-speaking students who are either non-functional in English or functional but need help. The largest number is in the Silver Spring area which is labeled by the school system as Area 12. The table for the County goes as follows:



*Secondary schools with over 10 Spanish-speaking students*

Secondary schools:	Number
Montgomery Blair	84
Takoma Park	39
Bethesda-Chevy Chase	35
Montgomery Hills	20
Walter Johnson	19
Eastern	14
Churchill	14
Leland	11
Western	11
North Bethesda	10
Pyle	10

Total number in Montgomery County secondary schools..... 330

*ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS WITH OVER 10 SPANISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS*

Elementary Schools	Number
Rolling Terrace	72
Rosemary Hills	43
New Hampshire Estates	34
Montgomery Knolls	33
Radnor	25
Glen Haven	22
Woodside	18
Somerset	17
Bethesda	15
Bannockburn	13
East Silver Spring	10

Total elementary schools in Montgomery County..... 484

These 814 students comprise 1.5% of the entire Montgomery County Public School population.

It has been found consequently that it is easier to teach an elementary student a new and different language than it is to teach a secondary pupil. This is due to the lack of fundamental knowledge the former has while the latter has already accumulated such knowledge. As a result the elementary students go on to do quite well in school, much better than the secondary student.

The elementary schools in the Takoma Park-Silver Spring area have been successful in helping the Spanish-speaking children learn a new language and teaching them correct English fundamentals. This success is due to the usage of a special education teacher who helps the children. Teaching the English language is done through normal teaching methods, employing audio-visual aids, drill cards, testing, participatory groups, etc.

The success in the elementary schools however has not been mirrored to the same degree of success in the secondary schools. This is due to two major factors (1) The secondary student has already learned his basic educational fundamentals; (2) the secondary schools are much larger so individual attention is not as easily obtained. Also in the secondary schools, groups tend to stick together more, alienating them from any exposure to conversational English.

The only secondary high school that has met the Spanish-speaking problem with any success is Montgomery Blair. Blair has because of its large number of Spanish-speaking students. This number is more than double the number of any other secondary school's students.

They are trying to follow a system of bilingual education which simply is teaching people in their own language, continuing their education in their own language, while teaching them English.

They have set up special classes to meet the needs of the foreign students, the problems one will face when trying to learn English. There are obviously going to be areas in which he is not ready to go into regular classes. This is done not only to help the student achieve a grade he rightfully earned and deserves but also to create an

atmosphere for learning where he will not be "turned off" or "tuned out".

At Blair, English classes are being given where a foreign student is receiving credit for English but they are not working on the same kind of things as in other regular English classes. As Social Studies and English are the hardest courses for these students, a special level of U.S. History is being given at Blair.

Unfortunately only one out of some 26 high schools in Montgomery County is offering such opportunities to the students.

Learning English is also a problem among the adults. For this there is a program of teaching adults English through means of a volunteer teacher who tutors them once a week during the adults spare time.

Most of the "tutored" people have already obtained an education. The stress and bulk of the teaching is done on enunciation and pronunciation of the English language.

The group that conducts these programs of English teaching is the Montgomery County Literacy Council which in essence tries to "teach the Spanish-speaking community conversational English."

The Spanish-speaking, through this program, are taught enough English to allow them to communicate with the American society. To distinguish and use the English language in every day living. They are taught enough so that they may go and "survive" in the outside world.

The program, which is subsidized by the County, works under a tutor system whereby a time and place is to be convenient for both teacher and student. The teacher is a volunteer who receives no compensation. The only drawback is that there is a shortage of teachers, especially male teachers.

The course of study is recommended to be given with a minimum of 1½ hours per week. Flash cards, pictures, etc. are used to drill the learner.

**PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS**

The problem of the language is great indeed but to these people the isolation they feel is a far greater problem. The combination of being loners, outsiders looking in, causes psychological problems for these people. Every day they come home feeling frustration, feeling the pinch of the tight, closing economy situation. They are a proud people but their pride is constantly being beaten down to submission, into being American. This is because they are "much more rigid in their thinking and mental flexibility than their children."

Their children, in the pressing matter of acceptance into the social spectrum, become, in a sense, more "American" than the Americans. They, being younger also acquire the English language more rapidly. Because of this they will have to translate for their parents causing them to believe that their parents are not intelligent. This added to the fact that their parents act differently and strangely as compared to American mothers and fathers cause the children to feel shame for the parents and their heritage.

Father Ovid Pechorroman, a former Director of the Spanish Catholic Center, outlined the following pressures that a Spanish-speaking person must feel when he is adjusting to the American way of life and culture.

1. A very tight economy
2. Precarious conditions of housing, and at times of health
3. Withdrawal into their own family, group of Spanish friends or even into their own personality
4. The inability to communicate with others

These pressures exerted on anyone would often be excessive in the way of carrying on a normal home life. Yet these people manage chiefly because of the closely-knit family.

The children are the ones who face much of the psychological pressures when they

grow up in the United States, a land where they are considered different. In this respect, the parents also feel the difference.

There is another tendency that at times has focused on an ethnic group. In Greek the word is—*xenophobia*. It is a malady known to psychiatry as a "morbid dread of meeting strangers." This xenophobia not only affects individuals but communities as well. Therefore the Spanish community tends to stick together hardly ever circulating within the "outside" world. There is not a widespread epidemic of this fear but it pops up in mild cases. For this reason and the fact that the Spanish-speaking person is treated as a stranger by many Americans creates a void, a gap between the two communities in relation to communication or understanding each other.

The greatest complex is the one felt by the younger generation who feel shame for their heritage and wish to change, covering a rich culture under the guise of being American. To these the psychological problem is the greatest. Many of them are too young to understand pride, nationalism, heritage and culture. All they can comprehend is the fact they are different. They discard a very rich heritage, losing an invaluable experience. It would be extremely advantageous for the country if these children could become bicultural, feeling loyalty to the old culture as well as the new. Yet to their young mind it presents a choice. So as a result they Americanize themselves and try to do so in their families as well.

To this problem there is only one solution, teach these children their heritage, instill the national pride of their old country in them.

It is estimated that 80% of the newly arrived Spanish-speaking know very little or no English. The eagerness and hope they once held for a better life is soon shattered. They have a difficult time finding work or decent living conditions. They soon struggle to live and often find themselves with their backs to the wall.

In an effort to reassure their feelings of security and acceptance they will try to identify or go along with the Americans. Yet their lack of understanding of the American beliefs, their way of life soon even destroys this.

Many of the Spanish-speaking are repulsed by the long haired Americans, the "hippies". They feel these people will destroy the freedom of America and so they will make such a remark to an American who is used to the hair length and the activity. This expression of disapproval meets only with a rebuff because it seems so ordinary causing them to feel all the more isolated.

The majority of the Montgomery County Spanish-speaking community is Cuban who have fled their homeland which for the last decade has been politically and socially oppressed. Their arrival in the United States and the introduction to such a contrasting freedom "allowance" often throws the balance of the Cuban off making establishment of living in America and getting accustomed to the way of life very difficult.

Then the pride of the Spanish-speaking people is hit again when the public lumps all the Spanish people together as one ethnic group. Some resent this for there are feuds, "bad blood" going on between neighboring countries, in Latin America. Yet since being from El Salvador and Nicaragua to us is the same as being from Maryland and Virginia the problem is often overlooked by Americans.

The young again are hit psychologically because often they come to the United States under the assumption that they are white. At times they will be considered Negro because in Latin America there is African descent. To some of them this is an insult because there is a fear of black peo-

ple among some Spanish-speaking people. And because they both seek recognition of their race or culture they come into conflict. They fear the black element because they associate it with the violence and crime of the inner city, D.C. For these and other reasons they have moved out to Montgomery County. Also it is a matter of pride of being associated with one minority group when they are really of another.

Spanish-speaking people do not think of Indian as a racial term. Again there is a very great amount of Indian blood in Latin America. But to them "Indian" is not a racial term but a social term. To be Indian in Latin America is to be a "country bumpkin", a "hick". In Latin America an Indian works on a farm and is extremely poor and ignorant. They resent being termed as Indian yet they do not understand our meaning of the term.

Latin Americans profess a very great fear of communism. This fear is especially prevalent among the Cuban population. These are people who have seen their beloved country torn down and taken over by the communists under the regime of Fidel Castro. They express a tremendous fear of that happening again, causing them to be hypersensitive to radical political actions. The bombing of houses, stores, rioting, etc. has caused the Cuban-American to become wary of the instigators of such actions. Cubans say that the same thing, bombings and rioting went on in Cuba just before Castro took over and it was the students on the University level that got involved.

Young children often have a difficult time growing up in a new environment where they are different. Some Cuban children grew up and into the adolescent stage without the guidance and comfort of a father. This does have negative psychological effects on them that could remain for the rest of their lives.

#### SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

To understand the problems and the troubles that the Spanish-speaking person goes through one must first comprehend what brings on these problems. To do this one must have some basic knowledge and awareness of what makes these people happy or afraid, alienated or rejected. One must have the basic concept and understanding of the sociological facts and conceptions of these people. To help them you must understand them.

The Spanish people are a lively, talkative, exuberant society who believe in living life to its fullest capacity. Because of this they tend to "exaggerate" in the Spanish language.

There is a very fine distinction between the English language and the Spanish language in the relation of direct translation. When someone talks in Spanish, and he is a native of that tongue he will tend to exaggerate. Something that in English would be termed as "Okay" or "All right" is in Spanish, "Que Bueno" (how good), or "Tremendo", "Fantastico", etc.

In asking and answering questions of a Spanish-speaking person, there is always the same similarity. In their haste to be amiable and helpful they tend to guess your answer. When one asks a question of you and your reply takes a while to come, the Spanish-speaking person will try and guess what you have to say, far out of the ordinary. Often they will anticipate your question and answer you or try to answer before your question has been asked.

Spanish is a very "loose" language, with phrases having indefinite or various meanings unless it is pinned down exactly. To tell an American to "come at four o'clock" this means four o'clock or five minutes before the hour. When talking in Spanish "Venga a las cuatro" means to a Spanish-speaking person come anytime after four, 4:15, 4:30, etc. To pin this down one must

say "Venga a las cuatro en punto" (come at four on the dot). When a Spanish-speaking person talks either conversationally in a casual manner or in a business transaction there is a lot of hand motion. It is felt by a Spanish-speaking person that the language cannot be spoken without using the hands. It is as much a part of the language as the words in a sentence. They feel that the language and the meaning is conveyed better and it is more personal.

The church in the United States does not play the same role as it did back in Latin America. It is not the same institution that they knew in the old country. There is neither one church nor one parish priest who has become important to them. There isn't a church that serves the particular need, that close personal need. There are many churches in the Metropolitan area that serve the Spanish-speaking and many have a Spanish-speaking priest, but they do not play the role in their personal lives that the local church did in South and Central America.

Just as church is not the same to these people, religion is also changing in their lives. There is a fine line drawn between being religious in a religious sense and religious in a cultural sense. Many families will say they are Roman Catholics, their houses are decorated with pictures of the Virgin Mary, of Jesus, many will wear crosses or medals of various saints, yet they do not go to church. This is religion playing a part of their cultural lives.

The Spanish-speaking communities who once were 95% Catholic have changed their religion so that the percentage level has dropped to about 83%. Many become members of the Seventh-Day Adventist, or become Baptist. The transitions are completed for various reasons. The Adventists and the Baptist are the first who come to these people, or the people come to them, with aid (food or clothing, even shelter). As a result these people stay at the church that helped them out.

Of the 83% that remains Catholic the number that actually practice their religion is down to about 45%.

The family structure is much different when you compare the American traditional family system to the Spanish. The average Spanish family is bigger with four children on the average as compared to the American standard which is two.

The children have a very important place in the family. They are given a great deal of attention by their parents. A child brings honor to the man of the family. There is a general feeling that the man's masculinity is enhanced by the more children he has. The children used to be valued in the old country by number because they could work on the farm but now a family tends to look at its children as its riches, as part of its wealth. In spite of the economic and social struggle that the parents go through they do not take it out on their children.

The family structure itself is also a more closely-knit institution than its American counterpart. There is a more intense personal relationship between parents and children. But even this personal closeness has been changed since immigration into the United States. In Central and South America the family, both immediate and distant relatives, lived together in the same neighborhood. As a child grew up there was more than a mother or father to go to in times of personal crisis. Then, one could talk to an aunt or uncle, grandfather, grandmother or cousin.

The partner relationship in a Spanish marriage is different than the American man-wife equal partnership in the respect that the husband, the father has 100% authority. Whatever he says goes, and he makes all the decisions. The wife cannot give consent to anything unless the husband gives his consent. For instance, a daughter asking for

permission to go out in an American family could ask either the mother or father. However, in the Spanish family the mother has no say on such matters.

Dating is on a varied scale among Spanish communities. In Central and Latin American dating was chaperoned strictly. At times one of the parents or grandparents would go with the couple. Now the families in the United States find the situation a bit different. There still is some chaperoning in the dating but parents seeing the relaxed loose hold the Americans have on their children tend to relax a bit on their own but still not quite to the extent of the Americans.

The teenagers, those over the age of fifteen, remain bi-cultural in their habits. Their parties are not strictly "American" with American music but a mixed blend of Spanish and American music providing a bi-cultural atmosphere.

The drug problem among Spanish-speaking youngsters is not prevalent for two basic reasons: (1) their parents keep too tight control on them to allow them to get away with using drugs and (2) drugs cost money and these people do not have that kind of money.

The Spanish-housewives are regarded as very good cooks. They probably have a better sense of nutrition than many American women. They really prepare three meals a day for they don't believe in preparing things out of cans or boxes. They also have high standards of cleanliness. These are mothers who worry greatly for example about their children going to school in the rain.

The women are more overweight than the men due to the simple fact of the rich Spanish diet of beans, rice, corn, meat, etc. plus the lack of exercise in this country.

#### CONCLUSION

The relations of minority groups and their feelings, their frustrations and their desires is a very delicate subject. Its solution must be sought with patience and understanding. It has always been my belief that to help someone you must first understand them. It is difficult enough to understand one person let alone thousands.

The Spanish-speaking people are a proud people full of pride, of feelings, of ambitions, of dreams and of hope. They have come into this Country searching for a better way of life. They struggle trying to find themselves, trying to fit in, in a land they must first learn to adjust to.

Solutions are not always successful. They are merely one person's point of view on how to solve something. To this I have come to my own conclusions with my own solutions.

The Spanish-speaking people are handicapped by language. The first generation often lives out its lifetime without fully learning English. Because of this they cannot earn enough money to really support their families the way they wished they could. For them, the adult Spanish-speaking community, there is a need for learning the English language. A bigger more efficient adult English-learning program is needed.

The financial difficulties these people face would stagger the average middle-class American. These people do not want greater welfare programs, they simply want a good steady job from which they can work to achieve their goals.

Montgomery County needs a more effective, efficient and less expensive public transportation system whereby the Spanish-speaking as well as others may travel quickly and economically to and from work.

Legal advice is needed to help the Spanish community. Often they will face grave legal consequences because of this lack of advice.

They need a greater more effective bilingual system of teaching the children in school so as to bring them into the American life stream, without damaging or losing the heritage that was once theirs.

There is a greater need for a bigger and



better low-income housing facility which is near shopping, entertainment, and schools. This above all would help the Spanish community greatly and it would bring them all closer together.

The Montgomery County government has performed poorly in its own investigation of these people. There are no figures on how many of them there are in Montgomery County, there are no figures as to where they work, or where they live. The only agency that is up-to-date with precise information is the school system which is not connected with the county government.

A better job training program which is more extensive and offers a greater variety of job skill training programs is needed. For this more trainers must be used thus not only helping train someone for a skill but also opening up jobs for others.

The greatest need of these people is a need for unity, a sense of importance, a pride in themselves, their language, their culture. Too many times they feel ashamed of what they are and in order to become a part of this country they feel they must throw their past away and become inferior for the rest of their lives.

Many of these people face discrimination in daily life. There is not widespread discrimination in Montgomery County but there still is some. Unfortunately, it is part of the human nature, for man in all his perfection is still imperfect. It would be impossible for people to totally eliminate discrimination but the ideal still remains. In that goal all the barriers the Spanish face would be removed.

There are all the idealistic dreams of a young mind, untrained in fallacies of mankind, yet still hoping for a solution to such problems. There must be a better way of living and if one person can convince another, just another, he has accomplished something. For that other will convince another and another and another. Then life will be better. It will happen sometime, someday, somewhere.

#### LITHUANIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday marked the 53d anniversary of Lithuanian independence. On February 16, 1918, the modern Republic of Lithuania was established, ending years of foreign domination. I would like at this time, Mr. Speaker, to insert in the RECORD an essay prepared by the Americans for Congressional Action To Free the Baltic States. It should be read by all Americans who have forgotten the lessons of history and who have become complacent in their enjoyment of personal freedom. I am sure that after reading this historical essay, my colleagues will share my admiration and compassion for the strong-willed Lithuanian people and their compatriots in the United States who celebrate this 53d anniversary of their lost independence with a mixture of pride, sadness, and hope.

#### LITHUANIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

#### THIRTY YEARS OF SOVIET OPPRESSION

For too long too many people throughout the world have been unaware of what happened to the people of Lithuania. The Kremlin is fond of saying that Russian imperial-

ism died with the czar. But the fate of Lithuania shows this to be a cruel fiction. The Communist regime did not come to power in Lithuania by legal or democratic process. The Soviets invaded and occupied Lithuania in June of 1940, and the Lithuanian people have been suffering in Russian-Communist slavery for more than 30 years.

Americans of Lithuanian origin or descent, numbering over 1,000,000 in the United States, and their friends in all parts of the country will commemorate two very important anniversaries during the second part of February, 1971: (1) They will observe the 720th anniversary of the formation of the Lithuanian state when Mindaugas the Great unified all Lithuanian principalities into one kingdom in 1251; and (2) They will mark the 53d anniversary of the establishment of the modern Republic of Lithuania on February 16, 1918. But this celebration of Lithuania's Independence Day will not be similar to American celebration of the Fourth of July. It will contain no note of joy, no jubilant tone of achievement and victory. On the contrary, the observance will be somber, sorrowful, underlined with the grim accent of defeat and tragedy. For Lithuania has lost its independence, and today survives only as a captive nation behind the Iron Curtain.

The Lithuanians are proud people who have lived peacefully on the shores of the Baltic from time immemorial. Lithuania has suffered for centuries from the "accident of geography." From the West the country was invaded by the Teutonic Knights, from the East by the Russians. It took remarkable spiritual and ethnic strength to survive the pressures from both sides. The Lithuanians, it should be kept in mind, are ethnically related neither to the Germans nor the Russians. Their language is the oldest in Europe today.

After the Nazis and Soviets smashed Poland in September of 1939, the Kremlin moved troops into Lithuania and annexed this republic in June of 1940. In one of history's greatest frauds, "elections" were held under the Red army guns. The Kremlin then claimed that Lithuania voted for inclusion in the Soviet empire.

Then began one of the most brutal occupations of all time. Hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians were dragged off to trains and jammed into cars without food or water. Many died from suffocation. The pitiful survivors were dumped out in Arctic Siberia. The people of Lithuania have never experienced such an extermination and annihilation in their long history through centuries as during the last three decades. Since June 15, Lithuania has lost more than one-fourth of the country's population. The genocidal operations and practices being carried out by the Soviets continue with no end in sight.

Since the very beginning of Soviet-Russian occupation, however, the Lithuanians have waged an intense fight for freedom. This year marks the 30th anniversary of Lithuania's successful revolt against the Soviet Union. During the second part of June of 1941 the people of Lithuania succeeded in getting rid of the Communist regime in the country; freedom and independence were restored and a free government was re-established. This free, provisional government remained in existence for more than six weeks. At that time Lithuania was overrun by the Nazis who suppressed all the activities of this free government and the government itself. During the period between 1940 and 1952 alone, more than 30,000 Lithuanian freedom fighters lost their lives in an organized resistance movement against the invaders. The cessation of armed guerrilla warfare in 1952 did not spell the end of Lithuania's resistance against Soviet domination. On the contrary, resistance by passive means gained a new impetus. The persecution of Solzhenitsyn, the clamp on Rostropovich and other dissenters in the Soviet Union received a great deal of

publicity in the free world's press. Very well publicized were the Simas Kudirka—Coast Guard tragedy, the Hijacking of a Russian jet liner by Brazinskas and his son, death sentences imposed on two Jews and a young Lithuanian, Vytautas Simokaitis, for trying to escape the Communist tyranny. But this is only the tip of the iceberg of desperation in the Soviet empire. In slave labor camps in the Soviet Union millions of people are still being held. Many dissenters are being confined in psychiatric institutions and being murdered by the Kremlin thugs. It is an established fact that a brilliant Lithuanian linguist, Dr. Jonas Kazlauskas, 40 years old, was murdered in a psychiatric hospital in Moscow three months ago. His only "crime" was that he had received an invitation to come to the University of Pennsylvania (in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) as a guest professor for this very spring semester of 1971.

The Government of the United States of America has refused to recognize the seizure and forced "incorporation" of Lithuania by the Communists into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Our Government maintains diplomatic relations with the former free Government of Lithuania. Since June of 1940, when the Soviet Union took over Lithuania, all the Presidents of the United States (Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon) have stated, restated and confirmed our country's nonrecognition policy of the occupation of Lithuania by the Kremlin dictators. However, our country has done very little, if anything, to help the suffering people of Lithuania to get rid of the Communist regime in their country.

At a time when the Western powers have granted freedom and independence to many nations in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world, we must insist that the Communist colonial empire likewise extends freedom and independence to the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and other captive nations whose lands have been unjustly occupied and whose rightful place among the nations of the world is being denied. Today and not tomorrow is the time to brand the Kremlin dictators as the largest colonial empire in the world. By timidity, we invite further Communist aggression.

The United States Congress has made a right step into the right direction by adopting H. Con. Res. 416 that calls for freedom for Lithuania and the other two Baltic republics—Latvia and Estonia. All freedom-loving Americans should urge the President of the United States to implement this very important legislation by bringing the issue of the liberation of the Baltic States to the United Nations. We should have a single standard for freedom. Its denial in the whole or in part, any place in the world, including the Soviet Union, is surely intolerable.

#### LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

### HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday marked the 53d anniversary of the independence of Lithuania.

Today, I would like to pay tribute to a people whose courage in the face of great adversity has remained strong and vital.

It was on February 16, 1918, that Lithuania declared her independence, a goal for which her people had been striving throughout long periods of domina-

tion by both the Russians and the Germans.

As an independent nation, Lithuania flourished. Developments were made in agriculture and a comprehensive program of land reform was instituted, shaping Lithuania into an agrarian nation of small farmers. During this period industrialization progressed and great strides were made in social legislation. Lithuania's culture developed rapidly with great achievements in music, opera and literature.

Sadly, independence was short-lived as Lithuania fell under the sword of the Russian army during World War II. Declared a constituent republic of the Soviet Union on August 3, 1940, Lithuania was subjected to Nazi rule 10 months later.

When the tide turned against the Germans, Lithuania was not to return to independence. Soviet domination followed as the Russian army again marched west. By the end of 1944, all of Lithuania had fallen prey to the Soviets.

The borders of Lithuania were subsequently sealed and have remained sealed. Those who successfully fled from their native country to seek freedom in a new land, report a total absence of freedom and the imposition of totalitarian rule in their mother country. The Lithuania of today is a product of aggression and tyranny wrought upon a small nation by a superpower bent on world domination.

The enslavement of these noble people is a black mark on the history of the world. Today, Lithuanians continue to resist domination and alien rule. We, here in the United States, reassert the right of these people to govern themselves—to again be free and independent. The United States has never recognized the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

As former Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, said in 1967:

"United States support of the Lithuanian people's just aspirations for freedom and independence is reflected clearly in our refusal to recognize the forcible incorporation of your community into the Soviet Union and in the warm sympathy manifested by the American people in the Lithuanian cause.

"In continuing to look resolutely toward a free and independent existence, the Lithuanian people both here and abroad have established a firm foundation for the hope of free men everywhere, that the goal of Lithuanian national self-determination will ultimately be realized."

It is this eternal hope and courage of a people dedicated to the pursuit of freedom that we pay tribute to today.

#### LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

**HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, February 16 marked the 53d anniversary of Lith-

uanian independence. While I have already reaffirmed my support for the Lithuanian people and their just goal of self-determination, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the resolution adopted by the Lithuanian Council of New Jersey:

#### RESOLUTION

On the occasion of the 53rd Anniversary of the Restoration of Lithuania's independence, we the representatives of the Lithuanian ethnic community of New Jersey, assembled here on February 13, 1971, in Newark, New Jersey to:

*Commemorate* Lithuania's Declaration of Independence proclaimed on February 16th, 1918, in Vilnius, whereby a sovereign Lithuanian State, having antecedents in the Lithuanian Kingdom established in 1251, was restored;

*Honor* the memory of the generations of Lithuanian freedom fighters who fought to defend Lithuania's national aspirations and values against foreign oppressors;

*Recall with pride* the political, cultural, economic and social achievements of the Lithuanian Republic during the independence era of 1918-1940;

*Express our indignation* over the interruption of Lithuania's sovereign functions as a result of the military occupation of our homeland by the Soviet Union on June 15, 1940, during the course of which national traditions and values were trampled, the personal freedoms of the people were suppressed and hundreds of thousands of people were liquidated by the Soviet genocidal practices;

*And to emphasize* once again our confidence that, regardless of what methods the Soviet oppressors devise, they will, in the end, be unable to suppress the aspirations of the Lithuanian people for freedom and the exercise of their human rights. These hopes were made most evident in the recent successful hijacking of a Soviet aircraft to Turkey by Pranas and Algirdas Brazinskas, as well as in Simas Kudirkas's heroic attempt at defection.

*Gravely concerned* with the present plight of Soviet-occupied Lithuania and animated by a spirit of solidarity we, the members of the Lithuanian ethnic community of New Jersey,

*Demand* that Soviet Russia immediately withdraw its armed forces, administrative apparatus, and the imported Communist "colons" from Lithuania, thus permitting the Lithuanian nation to freely exercise sovereign rights to self-determination.

*We call* upon our Senators and Representatives to make use of every opportunity to urge that President Nixon once again publicly reiterates the long standing United States position of non-recognition of the incorporation of the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union and to raise this issue in the United Nations and at various international conferences.

Dated at Newark, New Jersey—February 13, 1971.

**MARCUS B. ROBERTSON IS ALABAMA  
WINNER IN VOICE OF DEMOCRACY  
CONTEST**

**HON. TOM BEVILL**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Marcus B. Robertson, of Gadsden, Ala., is this year's Alabama winner in the Voice of Democracy contest. Each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United

States and its ladies auxiliary conduct a Voice of Democracy contest. This year over 400,000 school students participated in the contest competing for the five scholarships which are awarded as the top prizes. First prize is \$10,000 scholarship, second prize is \$5,000, third prize is \$3,500, fourth prize is \$2,500 and the fifth prize is \$1,500. The contest theme was "Freedom—Our Heritage."

We of the Seventh Congressional District are extremely proud of Marcus. His hard work has won for him the top honor in our State.

Marcus will now come to Washington, D.C., for the final judging in the contest. All Alabamians will be watching and pulling for this outstanding young American.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Marcus' winning speech:

#### FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE

(By Marcus B. Robertson)

What is freedom? If you were to ask that question to the next ten people you met, I'm sure you would receive ten distinctively different answers. Upon asking a policeman, he might give you a reply like this: "Freedom is the privilege of living in a free society and obeying the laws it has given to protect you."

You might see a businessman, and upon asking him what freedom is, he could answer, "Freedom? Why that's the means by which private enterprise grows and prospers! Without freedom in our business, our economy would collapse!"

Spying a minister, his answer to the same question might go like this: "My friend, freedom is the wonderful experience of being subject to the Divine will of God."

Curiosity then might lead you to ask a hippie what his thoughts were of freedom. "Hey, man," he might say, "freedom isn't here unless you got love—can you dig it?"

The policeman's answer, I thought, was very clear. Did you actually realize how honored we are to be Americans? The Statue of Liberty is an unwavering reminder of our freedom. But did you ever stop to think what color is the statue, or what race? Did you ever stop to think of what faith it might represent? Is it's color black, or white? Maybe it is red or yellow. But isn't it more a mixture of many colors which have withstood the wind and rains of the sea over a long span of time? Although the statue is weather worn and wind beaten, does any particular color stand out? No, for that statue, just like our country, stands for nothing less than Americans. What about its religious representation? Does it represent the Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish faith, or no faith at all? Maybe it represents all religions. You know—it does.

The Statue of Liberty represents freedom, liberty, but most of all—Americans! Americans who fought at Lexington and Concord. Americans who fought at Shiloh and Gettysburg . . . At Guadalcanal, the Battle of the Bulge, and for Americans who are now fighting in obscure little rice paddies in Viet Nam.

Why do Americans sacrifice for others? For the same reasons Americans have tasted death for the past 200 years. That man might be free.

The businessman's answer was unique. Americans can enjoy private enterprise—not only that, but we take advantage of it! America has a higher standard of living than any other country—and I'll stake my life on it that tomorrow we will still have the highest standard; for I believe that Americans strive more for success than any other country in the world! And what is that great incentive that drives American enterprise?



What is that supreme motivation that stirs Americans to take that extra step when everyone else is too exhausted or frustrated to do so? It's our love of freedom.

The minister also had a good idea. Americans have realized that in all their own glory and power, there stands only half a nation unless the Creator of freedom is laid as a foundation. This is one nation under God, but when it becomes one nation that thinks it is better than God or can do without God, it will collapse.

But I'm seeing Americans—many of them, take roots in the God of real freedom and many more are following the footsteps of these as God's army begins to grow in this nation. And if America stands, as I think it will, it will stand on the freedom of God's power—the key to liberty.

The hippie's reply seems to sum everything up: freedom isn't here unless you have love. Love and freedom walk hand in hand. If America expects to emerge from these times stronger than it has ever been, love must be the common denominator. Love of country, love for liberty, and love for God.

What is freedom to me? Freedom is that chill of excitement that runs up my spine when I find out my favorite football team has won a ballgame. It's that proud feeling I get when I receive an A on my report card in algebra. It's that big fat turkey staring me right in the face at Thanksgiving dinner as Dad carves a big piece just for me, and just when I'm about to selfishly dig in, Mom says, "Son, don't forget to say grace," and I quietly think of millions of people who live in wretched poverty, endless frustration, and constant insecurity because they don't have freedom as their heritage. Freedom is the Star Spangled Banner at the World Series or a Miss America Pageant, but most of all, freedom is people—Americans who died for me so I could enjoy those freedoms.

So what's our job? We don't have half the job that Americans had 200 years ago. In those days, men struggled to keep a small spark of freedom alive. Today we have a constant flame because of their valiant efforts. Our job is just to keep that flame from being snuffed out. It's just keeping that flame alive in the hearts of Americans.

#### GEORGE WASHINGTON AND KARA GEORGE

#### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Monday was not only a holiday for the people of the United States, but a double anniversary for Americans of Serbian ancestry. While most of us honored the memory of George Washington, the Father of His Country, those of Serbian blood also recalled the revolt of 1804, when George Petrovitch, better known as Kara George, led the fight for independence from Turkey.

While the infant Nation which George Washington led to freedom has grown in size, in population, and in power, Kara George's country has had a precarious existence. Through the years it has suffered greatly from within and without.

Ottoman Turkey, Hapsburg Austria, National Socialist Germany, and Communist Russia, have taken turns oppressing Serbia. Today, along with the

Croats and Slovenes, the Serbs are under Communist domination.

Thousands of people of Serbian ancestry migrated to the United States in order to escape from the various tyrannies that have from time to time taken over their native land. Many began life anew in the State which I am privileged to represent, in part, in the Congress of the United States.

The last King of Yugoslavia, Peter II, was the great-great-grandson of Kara George. During World War II he was a fugitive from the Nazis who took over his kingdom, and during the quarter of a century that followed the end of the war, he was an exile from Tito's brand of communism. King Peter died last year in the land that has given a new home to thousands of his fellow Serbs and rests in the soil of Illinois at Libertyville.

Mr. Speaker, as we continue to honor the memory of George Washington, who contributed so much to the cause of independence, let us not forget the peoples of other lands who suffer under godless Communism. Among them are the political descendants of Kara George—the people of Serbia.

#### LITHUANIA

#### HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, this week has particular meaning for the over 1 million Americans of Lithuanian origin or descent, who with their countless friends, will be observing two important anniversaries. Seven hundred and twenty years ago Mindaugas the Great brought together all Lithuanian principalities to form the Kingdom of Lithuania. And, 53 years ago this month the modern Republic of Lithuania was established.

One of the real tragedies of 1971 is that these freedom-loving people will know no joy in the midst of their observances, for their native land today, as for the past 30 years, lies locked behind the Iron Curtain, a victim of Soviet exploitation of the Baltic region.

Since the Soviet takeover in 1940, the Lithuanians have been subjected to a ceaseless process of extermination and annihilation. Many Lithuanians have been forced to migrate to Siberia and other remote areas, far from families and friends. The suffering which these people have experienced reminds us that "thaws" in the cold war often have little meaning to those most directly affected by political domination.

The 89th Congress passed a resolution calling for freedom for the Baltic peoples, and discussion of their plight by the United Nations and other appropriate international forums. This month, as our Lithuanian friends mark these historic days in the life of their homeland; we renew that call for freedom.

#### DROPSIE UNIVERSITY CONVOCA- TION IN JERUSALEM

#### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on November 1, 1970, the Dropsie University held its first convocation outside its own academic premises, outside its own campus, outside its own city and country—Broad and York Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. The convocation was in the Presidential residence in Jerusalem. The occasion, granting of the degree of doctor of laws, *honoris causa*, to Shneur Zalman Shazar, President of Israel.

Mrs. Myer Feinstein, member of the board of governors of the university, presented the candidate: A man of impressive achievements, first Minister of Education and Culture of the State of Israel, former head of the Department of Culture and Education of the Jewish Agency, statesman, pioneer, author, scholar, nation builder, and third President of the State of Israel, is presented here for the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

The citation follows:

CITATION BY ABRAHAM I. KATSH, PRESIDENT  
OF THE DROPSIE UNIVERSITY

Shneur Zalman Shazar, born in Russia and receiving a traditional education in Heder and Yeshiva, you pursued your academic studies at the famous Academy of Jewish Studies in St. Petersburg and at the Universities of Freiburg and Berlin.

Since early childhood, the Book has never left your hand and mind and as a result you blend within yourself beautifully and harmoniously the art of the poet, the depth of the historian, the erudition of the Biblical scholar, the imagination of the critic and editor, the brilliance of the essayist and the extraordinary genius of the orator.

From the dawn of the Labor Zionist Movement until the realization of its dream—the resurgence of the State of Israel—you have devoted all your talents with rare devotion and dedication, epitomizing in your life the consciousness, the hopes, the aspirations and the longing of a historic people to return to a home divinely ordained and miraculously achieved.

We salute you for illuminating the roots of our heritage and for your tireless efforts in cultivating our vineyard.

The Dropsie University devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, wisdom and truth is most pleased to welcome you into the honorary fellowship of our great institution of higher learning. By the power vested in me, I am delighted to confer upon you the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*.

PRESIDENT KATSH EXTENDED THE CITATION WITH  
THESE REMARKS (IN HEBREW)

With profound affection and regard, I am honored to confer upon you the Dropsie University's degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*. This degree symbolizes the cultural tie between the State of Israel and the Diaspora and between your admirers in the United States and Israel.

For you represent not only the Israeli nation, but all the generations of Jews who, since the Destruction 1900 years ago, prayed for the time when they would return home from all the lands of their dispersion.

From your early childhood Your Excellency was spurred by the vision of Jewish Redemp-

tion. Zionism was then only in its genesis; it was just setting out on the path along which it was to win many adherents. But the young Shneur Zalman Rubashov did not need encouragement; he had been imbued with the Zionist ideal and vision in his parents' home, a home proud of its origins and its legacy. For Shneur Zalman Rubashov, Zionism was a natural development; the urge to participate in the achievement of the ideal was natural, spontaneous. And in time, Your excellency, you moved from user of the tools of implementation to creator of tools.

In my archives I have a copy of a Hebrew newspaper called "Yarhon" ("Monthly")—a Zionist organ published by a 10-year-old lad in the town of Stolpy in the Russian Province of Minsk. This newspaper, written entirely in its editor's hand, was neatly laid out, in sections, as a modern newspaper should be: editorial, news, and, below a line drawn across the centre of the page, political comment. In this little newspaper we can see the future writer, scholar, leader; the warm, homely Jew that his reporter, commentator, editor and publisher was to become. From that day forward he never laid down the burden of responsibility that the Zionist idea and the Zionist movement placed upon him. With immeasurable devotion he bore this burden on the long and difficult path of Zionist fulfillment. His achievements were crowned by the honor of the Presidency of the restored Jewish State.

And in his Presidency he has created a model of what a President of Israel should be. He is a true President of the people—for from the people he came; his life was always among and with the people. Now the entire Jewish world sees in him its true and faithful representative.

He has become rooted in our consciousness as the man of our generation and the man representative of all the Jewish generations. In his historical conception, it is impossible to remove any one generation from the chain of the generation that constitute Jewish history. Every generation says its piece, leaves its mark on the trail for coming generations to follow.

A product of the Russian Diaspora, of an East European Jewish hamlet, he has always remained a "natural Jew"—dwelling among his people, studying in the school of his people, dreaming of and for his people, his way always lighted by his people.

He has not only continued the tradition which he received and loved and which informed his entire being. Together with the best Jewish minds of our time he took part in planning a bright new world, the Jewish world of tomorrow, a more just world, a happier world, a world free of the chains of enslavement.

And at the centre of his world has always been the book. When he stood before his father's bookshelves, he saw the key to the Jewish People's existence. As a boy he knew that books are measured not by size and shape, but according to their contents.

And when he grew up, he did not cast aside a single one of those books. All had their place in the pattern he formed for his life—a pattern of wisdom, of devoutness, of law and custom which in all ages has given our people the strength and courage to live its unique life in the face of all obstacles. From every book he learned and continues to learn, from all those books he drew the knowledge and formed the values which created the mind and the soul of the man who was to be President of the State of Israel.

And accompanying him throughout his life was a melody, the melody of Habad, the melody of the Ba'al Hatanya, the founder of Habad Hassidism. Rabbi Shneur Zalman of L'adi after whom he is named. This melody accompanied him in "his lying down and in his waking up" and in all his travels. This melody gave him direction, kept him from

straying, encouraged him and strengthened him in moments of reflection, doubt and crisis. Nor did he ever rise up against his people's yesterday: he built his view of the future on the remote past and the immediate past.

An incident reflects on the vision of President Shazar. In 1947, on Mt. Scopus, I addressed the First World Congress for Jewish Education. In my talk, I stressed the fact that the only way to attract American youth and American people to the issue Yishub, would be by bringing each summer groups of professors and students to study in the Land's natural setting and language. Everyone in the audience considered this proposal unrealistic, even a meshugat.

When I returned to the States, I began to concretize my plan with New York University, the institution with which I was then connected. The only difficulty I encountered was finding a place in Palestine to house the people. It happened that Zalman Shazar was then visiting New York as a member of the Yishub Delegation to the UN. Having known him for a long time, I approached him with my problem. He responded immediately with this statement: "We are building a new place called Bet-berl. You may have it." I had never heard of that place till then, in fact the place was not even known in Israel, but I accepted it. Out of that venture all subsequent groups and missions to Israel developed.

To Zalman Shazar the view of the Messianic future was never a remote dream. For he has been privileged to live in the time of the beginning of Redemption and to be one of those speeding its coming. And we pray that the Final Redemption, bringing with it lasting peace for Israel and all the world, will come speedily in our day.

*President Shazar responded:*

It is difficult to find words to express my appreciation of this gift you have presented to me in the name of so distinguished an academy of Jewish studies in the United States. One does not thank one's fellow Jews for having made a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Jerusalem, but I must find some way to thank you wholeheartedly for having singled me out and given me this honorary doctorate. It is quite clear to me that the position I hold is certainly one of the reasons for your honoring me. But there may be another reason: the particular relationship between the University founded in Philadelphia in 1907 by Moses Aaron Dropsie and first headed by Dr. Cyrus Adler, and now under my friend Prof. Abraham Katsh and that other institute of Jewish studies established that same year in Petrograd by Baron David Ginzburg, the great teacher under whom my old friend, Dropsie's distinguished Professor Solomon Zeitlin, and I studied for four years before the First World War.

In this relationship and in the fact that our meeting today brings together the surviving alumni of the Petrograd courses and the present leadership of Dropsie University, there is, I feel, true symbolic significance and a very great measure of historic pathos.

The institution founded by Baron Ginzburg was cruelly cut down by the regime in Russia which has suppressed Jewish culture within that country and in countries under its influence. For the searing agony of that loss there can be no atonement, not even in Russia's contribution to the rescue of thousands of Jews from Nazi extermination nor in the significant and deeply appreciated aid it gave to the establishment of Israel's statehood. The fate of the American "twin" was very different: organically intertwined with the growing and developing American Jewish community, Dropsie, too, grew and developed. Exposed to all the dangers that threaten the community, it has also benefitted from the human and national opportunities open to the community.

In its realization, the beautiful dream of

the blind advocate named Moses Aaron Dropsie bears witness to his extraordinarily clear vision. His decision that the institution be non-sectarian was characteristic of his time, but he was ahead of his time in his insistence on scientific objectivity and non-affiliation with any of the religious trends in Jewry. Indeed, at the recent conference of the Leo Baeck Institute held in Jerusalem, Professor Gershom Scholem pointed out that he knew of only two schools of Jewish higher learning in the Diaspora which were purely academic and free from theological influence and connection: Dropsie University and the Petrograd courses of Baron Ginzburg.

I, for one, have not despaired of the spiritual future of Russian Jewry, though I know that change may take generations. As things now stand, the creative legacy of Russian Jewry has taken on new form within the emerging culture of the State of Israel. In essence, too, German Jewish scholarship lives again within Jewish Studies here. And I am firmly convinced that in the not distant future Israel will be enriched by the new flowering in these disciplines in the United States.

Upon the memory of the founders and pioneers, as upon the deeds of their followers, may blessing come from the sacred heights of Jerusalem, and may the Shekina return to Zion speedily in our day.

## RACISM AND POLARIZATION

HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, no nation in human history has the promise that even approaches that of the United States of America. It was, as you will recall, "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." And "from the mountains to the prairies, to the oceans white with foam," it is endowed with resources that are the envy of the world. Its people, drawn from the nations of the earth, have used their education, their driving energies, and their creative minds to develop dimensions of wealth that stagger the imagination. And yet, we are a nation in agony, beset by problems and currents and forces that are shaking its foundations and threatening to destroy it. It is paradox that demands the attention of our best minds and the highest priority on our national agenda.

What has gone wrong, in this, of all nations? A nation with more churches than all of the Christian nations combined. A nation that spends billions of dollars on education and boasts the finest universities in the world.

What is wrong is that we are suffering the agony of race and racism, despite the fact that more than a century has passed since the Civil War and despite the hundreds of court cases, many of which have gone the judicial distance to the Supreme Court, and despite the great civil rights laws of the 1960's.

And the problem fundamental in discriminatory and racist practices is the willingness of the majority of Americans, both silent and vocal, to resist necessary change or to be callously indifferent to it.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, one of the Nation's best known



human relations agencies, has recognized a situation that is critical to all Americans.

In an effort to do something about the solid resistance and indifference the National Conference of Christians and Jews is sponsoring a national committee for commitment to brotherhood in 1971. The purpose is to urge all concerned citizens to support organizations, which, together with the NCCJ, work to effect rapid, yet peaceful social change, and bring about brotherhood through the eradication of racism and polarization.

The committee advocates support for and involvement in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—organizations which work for the rights of all people regardless of color, religion, or national origin. These interracial organizations have records of positive accomplishment achieved by nonviolent approaches in seeking an end to social injustice.

This marks the first time that a national human relations agency has undertaken to obtain support for other such groups.

The national committee for commitment to brotherhood is composed of a cross section of influential men and women dedicated to broadening the mutual concern for the rights of all, so vital to national unity.

During 1971, the committee will foster public support, involvement and cooperation for the NAACP, NUL, and SCLC throughout the United States through educational programs and cooperative projects.

Local NCCJ chapters will participate in the brotherhood commitment.

I salute the National Conference of Christians and Jews for its project and I think it is time our country's leaders began to exercise some strong moral leadership in this area. We cannot tacitly condone nor encourage any more deadly polarization.

#### VICTORY IN VIETNAM

### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the American people did not greet the United States sponsored invasion of Laos by South Vietnam with the same vocal outrage that met last spring's venture into Cambodia. While President Nixon has called this the silence on consent, others have called it the silence of despair.

We can thank Newsday publisher William Attwood and editorial page editor Bernie Bookbinder for a clear-sighted editorial February 8 which breaks this silence. I am inserting in the RECORD this editorial which calls for America to overcome the real enemy . . . our own stubborn pride and withdraw immediately from sponsorship of the death and devastation of Southeast Asian peoples.

The editorial follows:

#### VICTORY IN VIETNAM

In the beginning it was Vietnam, then Cambodia, and now Laos. No one who has watched the tragedy of Indochina unfold since the first American military mission arrived in Saigon 20 years ago should be surprised at our government's decision to spread death and devastation to still another country. It doesn't matter that the ground troops who have been crossing the Laotian border are South Vietnamese and not American. We subsidize them, arm them, train them, "advise" them, transport them and give them air, artillery and logistical support. They are our mercenaries; we call the shots; this is an American adventure—make no mistake about that.

And it is all quite understandable and justifiable if you can picture yourself sitting at a desk in the White House or the Pentagon. Just imagine the mounting frustration of waging an expensive, unpopular, bloody and unwinnable war—year in and year out—in a faraway land where our national interest is hard to define, let alone locate. Is it any wonder that our military and political leaders—who have staked their reputations on assurances, first of victory and then of "Vietnamization"—want to pull off one more spectacular operation? Especially one that—who knows—might vindicate them at last?

Never mind public opinion at home or abroad. Never mind the cost in blood and treasure. Never mind the peasants in the villages of Laos: They have now become as expendable as their brothers in Cambodia and Vietnam. Hell, our B-52s have already given parts of Laos the works; and by now it should make little difference to the poor wretches who live in these places whether they are machinegunned in ditches or bombed from the skies.

#### NOTHING HAS WORKED

Of course, this latest adventure won't work. Nothing we have done in Vietnam has worked. Not even last May's "incursion" that turned placid Cambodia into a slaughterhouse. A Reuters news dispatch from Cambodia last week quoted "senior Cambodian officers" as saying that "the Viet Cong were returning to sanctuaries cleared by South Vietnamese and U.S. troops last summer and building new ones opposite South Vietnam."

The reason things don't happen as programmed by the Pentagon is that there is no way to win the kind of victory we seek so long as the willingness of the Vietnamese to die is greater than the willingness of Americans to kill. (We could, technically, obliterate Vietnam with nuclear weapons but would we—and would that be victory?) And after 25 years of fighting to rid their country of foreign troops, the Vietnamese aren't likely to quit now or even to negotiate on our terms. Time has always been on their side.

It took the French eight years to learn that you cannot subjugate a determined and patriotic people by superior firepower. So they gave up trying. But it has been 10 years since the first American combat death in Vietnam, and our government is still trying—250,000 American casualties, 5,000,000,000 tons of bombs and \$105,000,000,000 later. And we the people are paying this bill—in many more costly, corrosive ways than merely tax dollars.

Victory in Vietnam? It can yet be won if we face up to the fact that the real enemy is our own stubborn pride. We don't have to admit defeat if that is more than our collective national ego can stand; but we can and should admit to making a mistake. We can and should stop kidding ourselves—as we have been doing for 10 long bloody years.

It wouldn't be so hard. Not even politically. The latest Gallup poll reports that 73 per cent of our people now want to end

American troop involvement in Vietnam by the end of the year.

At his next press conference, the President could simply announce that we have long since discharged whatever obligation we had to the Saigon generals; that this is and always was their war, not ours; and that our objective—to beef up their army—has been achieved.

As commander-in-chief he could then announce a complete and immediate American withdrawal from Indochina. Not a phase-out, but a pull-out. Not just ground troops but naval vessels, aircraft, helicopter gunships, patrol boats, military advisers, napalm, pesticides, everything lethal. And we would also bring home the hundreds of American prisoners now languishing in North Vietnamese camps.

The Vietnamese could continue their civil war if they wanted to. But for our part, we would finally stop killing innocent people and begin taking care of pressing and unfinished business here at home.

This would be a victory worth celebrating. A victory for America's best instincts. A victory for reason and humanity and common sense. A victory that the whole world would applaud.

#### EX-GOODSELL AIDE HELPS NIXON BRIDGE GAP IN CONGRESS

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, soon after the current administration took office, it selected a former Western New York newspaperman to handle congressional liaison for the Department of Labor, a job he handled ably.

William L. Gifford, a native of Weston, Conn., and a graduate of Fordham University, was political reporter for the Jamestown, N.Y., Post-Journal before he came to Washington in 1959 as administrative assistant to then-Representative Charles E. Goodell.

Last November, he was promoted to the White House staff and Ronald J. Maselka of the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News reported on his new role as follows:

#### EX-GOODSELL AIDE HELPS NIXON BRIDGE GAP IN CONGRESS

(By Ronald J. Maselka)

WASHINGTON, January 13.—The excitement of working at the White House never wears off, says William L. Gifford, a former Jamestown, N.Y., resident, now a special assistant to the President.

Mr. Gifford, 40, formerly served as special assistant for legislative affairs to former Labor Secretary George P. Shultz. Formally named to his \$35,000-a-year White House post Nov. 13, his specific assignment currently is to handle congressional relations for the new office of Management & Budget, headed by Mr. Shultz.

Installed in the Executive Office Bldg., directly adjacent to the White House, in a spacious office once occupied by Army Gen. John J. Pershing, Mr. Gifford said part of the excitement comes from keeping Mr. Shultz informed on legislative, political and congressional affairs.

"Say you give Mr. Shultz a piece of information or maybe gossip," Mr. Gifford explained. "A couple of hours later he tells you: 'I passed on what you told me to the President' . . . You feel you can have an impact on the President's thinking, even if only a little."

## WORE TWO HATS IN 1970

Mr. Gifford moved to the White House at Mr. Shultz's request last summer, and worked there in the mornings and at the Labor Dept. in the afternoons for about two months. But it wasn't only his relationship with Mr. Shultz that brought the move.

"The President has had two studies done by private groups on the effectiveness of congressional relations," Mr. Gifford said. "In each of those reports, I was shown to be doing the most effective job in terms of what the Congress thought. That's not to blow my own horn but it's part of the reason I am here."

While his duties are "kind of nebulous—you're doing everything," Mr. Gifford compared it to bridge-building, saleswork and "constantly vacuuming up information."

"There's a constitutional gap between the executive and legislative branches," he explained. "We have to build a bridge across that gap."

## KEY IS SERVICE TO CONGRESS

Citing his nine years' service in the House as administrative assistant to then Rep. Charles E. Goodell (R., Jamestown), Mr. Gifford added:

"The basis for the bridge is service to Congress. For instance, he estimated he gets about 50 inquiries a day from congressional offices, anything "from a status report on funding for a dam..."

A record of prompt, reliable service, establishes a rapport for seeking to enlist members' support for administration-backed legislation.

Besides his departmental experience at the Labor Dept. in 1969-70, Mr. Gifford credits his success to the experience on legislation, politics and representation problems he gained as Mr. Goodell's aide.

Asked if the President knows he worked for Mr. Goodell, who as a senator opposed many administration policies, Mr. Gifford added: "He knows. I went through the receiving line with Sen. and Mrs. Goodell at the Christmas reception the President had here last month for the Congress."

## NOT FIRST NAME YET

While he regularly attends staff meetings—usually eight or 10 people, two or three times a week—with the President, Mr. Gifford acknowledged he is not yet on a first-name basis with Mr. Nixon.

"I think I've detected a more increased glimmer of recognition," he smiled.

What's he get asked? "The President might say 'I want to know what the Senate thinks about such and such,'" Mr. Gifford said.

The average week-day of finding those answers begins for Mr. Gifford at 7:30 AM, where he goes through the mail, and later attends a staff meeting of about 20 top aides.

"The main purpose of that usually is for each of us to say whether we personally know anything that anyone else in the White House should be aware of," he said.

From 8 AM until 8:30 PM, when he gets home, the schedule varies. It could be attending meetings of the President's Domestic Council, where is the "only one oriented towards the congress," or visiting members on Capitol Hill. Mr. Gifford said he also usually works half a day Saturday.

## ACCENT ON BUDGET ISSUES

The Office of Management & Budget, which replaced the old Budget Bureau, oversees and evaluates all federal programs in cabinet level departments. As the OMB congressional liaison man, Mr. Gifford expects to be working most on explaining budgetary issues and government reorganization and revenue sharing proposals to Congress in the months ahead.

"It's like trying to sell things," he said. "We try to convince people on the merits that these are good proposals."

Pointing out that he always carries a little radio with a 20-mile range that enables the White House switchboard to contact him, Mr. Gifford chuckled: "It can be a little embarrassing when this thing blares: 'Mr. Gifford. Call the switchboard.'"

While his wife, the former Marion Milletti of Jamestown, and their three children take his White House move in stride, Mr. Gifford said: "If the children say my father works for the President, most kids don't believe them."

But his son, Billy, 9, was "the star of the show and tell period" in school one day. It seems he was displaying the hand Mrs. Nixon shook when the Giffords were among the crowd welcoming the President back from Romania.

## WILBUR J. COHEN'S "ESSENTIAL PROVISIONS OF A NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM"

## HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Hon. Wilbur J. Cohen, dean, school of education, the University of Michigan, formerly Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, recently wrote concerning a universal national health insurance plan in the Milwaukee Journal:

## ESSENTIAL PROVISIONS OF A NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM

(By Wilbur J. Cohen)

The adoption of a universal national health insurance plan is a necessary and inevitable development for the decade of the Seventies. Such a plan would cover a major portion of medical costs for everyone in the nation from birth to death—the rich and the poor; the employed and the unemployed; those in middle-incomes and those in middle age; those who live in urban areas and those who live in rural areas; those working for large corporation or small businesses or who are self-employed.

The following are the essential elements of a feasible national health insurance plan covering a wide range of medical services:

1. *Breaking the barrier between the paying for health care and eligibility for service.* We must create a system where the individual is not forced to meet the total cost of health care at one particular time. The use of an insurance system allows the individual to pay for medical services while working so that financial considerations are not a major problem during illness.

2. *Requiring the government to contribute part of the cost.* This would enable individuals without incomes or with low incomes to receive equal access to health services on the same basis as those with more adequate incomes. Thus, the stigma of poverty and welfare would be removed from the medical care system.

3. *Requiring the employer to pay part of the costs of health care so the immediate financial burden is not so great on the individual.* Good health is a valuable asset for the employer as well as the employee. This fact has been recognized by many employers who today are contributing to the private health insurance protection of their employees and their families. It is something which should be extended to the general working population.

4. *Assuring that eligibility for service would be determined by Federal rules.* The operation of a medical insurance program by the Federal government would insure that

all persons would receive the same benefits, be eligible under the same standards, and be required to contribute on the same basis no matter where they live in the United States. A Federally administered program would also assure an individual of a fair hearing on matters in dispute before a Federal agency and an appeal for judicial review by Federal courts. Thus, due process and equal treatment would be assured every individual irrespective of his color, age, sex, education or background.

5. *Providing for new, innovative, economical and efficient methods of organizing and delivering medical care.* Financial incentives should be provided for expanding ambulatory and outpatient care, improving emergency services and group practice plans and salary and capitation plans. Funds should also be provided to allow for experimentation with different models of medical care so that new procedures for allocating scarce medical resources may be discovered.

6. *Providing for expansion of preventive medical techniques.* The scope of coverage of medical services must be broad. At the same time it must be recognized that not every element of medical service can be provided in unlimited quantity. Multi-phasic screening, periodic examinations, and community sponsored coordinated plans for health, education, family planning, nutrition and environmental concerns should be supported and encouraged. The most economical and humane method of dealing with illness is to prevent its occurrence. Medical research must continue to be encouraged and supported and undoubtedly will have a tremendous impact on changes in services, costs, and arrangements.

7. *Encouraging and accelerating plans for effective increasing health personnel.* Financial incentives should be provided for expanding the training of more physicians, nurses, dentists and other health personnel including physicians' assistants, aides, technicians and allied health personnel. Methods must be developed which will provide for the most effective use of para-medical personnel so that doctors, dentists and nurses can devote their full attention to their respective professional tasks. Particular attention should be paid to encouraging more black persons and individuals from other minority groups to be trained, and for more women to have opportunities to participate in the delivery of services.

8. *Providing opportunities for the various groups in society to play a significant role in policy formulation and administration of the health system.* Health care is too important to be the sole province of any one professional group no matter how well trained or well intentioned. Therefore, mechanisms must be developed where concerned parties—employers, labor unions, and the consumer himself can make a contribution in determining the amount of money to be spent, the efficiency of care, the priorities to be met first, and a host of administrative, psychological and procedural factors essential to good health. This involvement must be present at all levels of the health care system—at the local, regional and national levels.

9. *Assuring health personnel reasonable compensation, opportunity for professional practice, advancement, and the exercise of humanitarian and social responsibility.* The various components in a national health insurance program should be designed so as to foster the highest quality of medical care with individual and group responsibility for initiative, advancement, and a sense of creative and social responsibility.

10. *Encouraging effective professional participation in the formulation of guidelines, standards, rules, regulations, forms, procedures and organization.* There should be widespread participation by all health personnel in the formulation of policy at every



level of administration. A cooperative sense of participation should be fostered which would overcome hierarchical considerations and individual distinctions based on income, education and prestige. The importance of professional and administrative competence must be fostered and encouraged.

11. *Fostering a pluralistic system of administration.* There are widely differing ideas in the different parts of the United States and among different groups as to how medical care should be administered. As science and technology continue to develop new methods of diagnosis and treatment, as new drugs are developed, and as new systems to delivery of care are established, we should be willing to adapt our arrangements to new needs and new opportunities. We must be open to the development of different methods of treatment and new forms of medical care organization. It is essential that various procedures be tried so that we can evaluate which methods prove to be the most effective for different types of situations and changing conditions. There must be opportunities for institutional self-renewal.

12. *Recognizing administrative reality and administrative competence.* National health insurance is not a panacea for all the problems of medical care. The continued increase in demand for medical services while the increase in supply remains inelastic will certainly create increasing price and cost pressures for the foreseeable future. Changes in organization, delivery, and access to services will not occur overnight. Changes in medical school curricula, admissions, and orientation will take time. The administrative implementation of all these components will be difficult and errors of judgment will occur inevitably.

Meanwhile, we must make a more effective effort to distribute medical services in a more rational socially conscious manner than at present. National health insurance is a mechanism to focus our planning and our priorities for a more intelligent distribution of the miracles of medical science to the millions of our people. Medical needs are almost infinitely expandable. Medical services are a scarce resource. The allocation of scarce resources to priority needs involves planning, judgment, administrative capacity, and self-restraints.

### JOHN J. McMULLEN RECEIVES AWARD POSTHUMOUSLY

### HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, the late John J. McMullen was one of the outstanding citizens of western Maryland. Recently, the Cumberland Dapper Dan Club presented the Henrietta Schwarzenbach Civic Service Award to John McMullen. His son, Hugh, accepted the award for his late father.

John J. McMullen, a native of Cumberland, Md., was 68 at the time of his death last April 6 at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. He served as publisher and later chairman of the board of the Times & Alleganian Co. He also served as chairman of the Upper Potomac River Commission since 1939 and as a member of the State roads commission for more than 10 years including a stint as chairman. He had served on the Maryland Postwar Planning and Development Commission, as chairman of the Allegany County Democratic State Central

Committee, and as a director of the Allegany County League for Crippled Children and the Sacred Heart Hospital.

John McMullen's many contributions to the State of Maryland and his home area of western Maryland are a tribute to a great man. He always shunned publicity, but no man deserves the Schwarzenbach Award more than he.

### REPORT ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN

### HON. ROBERT H. STEELE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, much has been written about the plight of the American Indian. One of my constituents, Miss Christina Camp, recently returned from an extensive stay with the Navajos in New Mexico and Arizona. Her comments, printed by the Hartford Courant on February 7, 1971, may prove of considerable interest to my colleagues:

NOTES OF A PHOTOGRAPHER LIVING WITH THE  
NAVAJOS

(By Christina Camp)

Recently much has been written and broadcast about the American Indian. Do these words reflect the conscience of a nation which is truly concerned for the social and economic well-being of our native Americans? I was disturbed by the tragic situations I had read about—the high mortality rate of the Indians, high unemployment; incomes averaging only \$1,500 a year. Depressing truths! I decided to go to the reservation and draw my own conclusions.

Surprisingly, it is not easy to find full-time volunteer work in this country. In January, I started writing foundations, missions, agencies—assuming that a "concerned, interested" person would be needed in the many underprivileged areas throughout the United States. I soon realized by lack of response in many cases and polite refusals in others that the Indians were reluctant to bring volunteers into reservations. Their attitude was a surprise to me—one which I did not actually understand until after I had lived on the reservation among them.

In mid-May I received a letter from the Ganado Presbyterian Mission in Arizona. Their reply stated that the school had re-evaluated their program and was changing from a four-year high school to a center for high school graduates who want to continue their education but were not prepared for college. Ganado Learning Center needed exposure and publicity to inform the Navajos and other Indian students of the newly-developed programs. My job, as photographer, was to take pictures to be used in a new catalog.

I happily accepted the opportunity and arrived in Gallup, New Mexico, in mid-June. Ganado Mission appeared in direct contrast to the surrounding desolate land. It is a green, shaded complex of about 62 buildings approximately 60 miles northwest of Gallup. Ganado Mission began its ministry to the Navajo people about 70 years ago. Many changes have taken place especially in the past couple of years. The most influential is Project Hope which assumed administrative and operative responsibility of the original Sage Memorial Hospital. During June I set up a darkroom and began photographing. (Indians are repelled by people photographing them, so it is important that you gain

their trust and acceptance first.) It was a somewhat disillusioning experience for me due to the fact that the Mission had few people—most of whom were belegonas (Navajo word meaning "white").

In many respects the Mission seemed to be a contradiction from what it proposed to stand for. Ganado, like many Missions throughout our Indian Reservations, has a history of implementing cultural genocide. I talked to a Navajo who was in the area looking for a job. He told me of his life as a student at the Mission about 40 years ago. One story described how the teachers would make the boys put dresses on every time they heard them speak their native language! Of course, attitudes and policies have improved since then, but it's taken too long. Only this past year, when the administration at Ganado changed, did they change their policy of compulsory Bible class and daily chapel. Past philosophy was to eradicate the Navajo culture.

Efforts are being made to gain interest and confidence in the new program for Ganado Learning Center but it takes much more than words and promises to break down the barriers which have widened the gap between the tree-shaded building of the Mission and the barren land beyond.

Ganado Learning Center seems to be headed in the right direction. The new program will provide post-secondary educational opportunities and community educational benefits for the Navajo people and other interested Indians. The ideas are good, but Ganado is having difficulty in gaining support from the Navajos.

The problem is basic among most of the schools on the reservation—there is a lack of communication. Regardless of the proposals made, there must be more dialogue and interaction between the white man and Indian.

The Navajo wants to receive an education and become trained, but he cannot bring himself to do so only on white man's terms and through white man's means. The problems being at pre-school age. ONEO, Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity, has pre-school programs throughout the reservation. The children often come from 100 or more miles away to find themselves with a white teacher who knows little about the Navajo ways. There are some children who have been exposed to the white man, but the majority cannot relate to the new foreign language and life-style. From the first moment on, it is the teacher's responsibility to gain the confidence and understanding of the children. This can be done only if the teacher has a real understanding of the Indian ways and cultural differences. If the Anglo makes the effort to understand the thinking and ways of the people—communication would become much broader. From there, the teacher will have a greater ability to offer courses in the Indian's native culture and history. Another needed development is the offering of courses in Indian studies within the schools. Instead of the old theory of repressing the Indian culture and language, the schools must encourage Indian interest and pride for their own background.

Although I spent a limited time at Ganada Mission, I observed these basic faults. The school is being administered and taught by Anglos, with only a few Navajos taking part in the new program.

They do not speak Navajo, nor are they offering much in Indian studies. But their worst mistake is the fact that they are not getting to the grassroots and giving any understanding of the new improved program. Diagrams, blueprints, curriculum, means nothing to the Indians without the mutual or reciprocal action between the Mission and The People! The intentions of the white people at Ganada Mission are good, but they must be more open to the ideas of the people they hope to serve.

Ideally, the schools throughout the reservation should be controlled by the Indians themselves. Hopefully, such a trend will develop with the Ramah Navajo School in New Mexico as a model. This is the first Indian-operated school in the United States. They are going through growing-pains, but there is confidence among the people that an Indian-operated school will be the answer to many of the problems existing on the Reservation.

After finishing my photography job at Ganada, I left for Crystal, northwest of Gallup, New Mexico. I was offered the opportunity to herd sheep for Mrs. Ruth Polacca on her ranch—at last I had a chance to really gain an understanding of the people and their ways. I was offered the chance by Kathryn, Mrs. Polacca's daughter, who works in Ft. Defiance for the BIA in adult education. Mrs. Ruth Polacca is on the Tribal Council but continues to run a ranch having about eighty sheep, twenty cattle, and a few horses. She lives in a fertile area very different from most of the reservation which is eroded, barren land. Kathryn lives up the dirt road, near the lake where her brother built her house. Both houses have electricity and running water—a luxury for many Indians on the reservation. My job as sheep herder was actually done by two sheep dogs who knew the land better than I. Instead, I just led them up the mountain, then corralled them at night. The first few weeks I was there I mainly drove for Mrs. Polacca. We went to different Chapter Houses throughout the reservation. She had a pickup but no license and she had to supervise the different precincts for the upcoming election of tribal chairman.

I enjoyed this because it gave me an opportunity to see parts of the vast 14,450,369 acres of the reservation. My first reaction was—How do these people survive on such barren, eroded land? Bumping over the dirt roads, looking from side to side—miles and more miles of desolation! I later learned and felt that the spirit of the people is what keeps them alive and happy.

Mrs. Polacca and the men who worked for her made me feel very much at home. Mrs. Polacca accepted me as "one of her own." By listening and observing, it did not take long to feel deep respect for The People. Mrs. Polacca, at 75 years, is a very active, strong woman; she attributes this to years of hard work. This is true with most Navajos; their history is a continuous struggle—most hardships were brought on by the white men's efforts to assimilate the Navajo. But the Navajos have survived our oppressions and seemed to gain greater strength from it all.

Their thriving language, culture, and customs are proof of the spiritual depth within these people. The younger generation of Navajo is acting and speaking the pride within them and their determination is to hold on to the traditions while they also improve economic conditions.

Looking into Mrs. Polacca's eyes, one can sense the years of hardship. But nothing is an obstacle. The severe climate, over-grazed land, miles of rugged terrain between families, are conditions which the Navajos have accepted. Ranch life is much more difficult than I had imagined. The hours are long and the work never seems to be done. Where as many times I found it to be very exerting—the Navajos working beside me seem to be very much in harmony with their work and nature. Harmony is a very influential concept among the Navajos—they live within the harmonious cycle of man and nature.

It especially amazed me to see Mrs. Polacca, about 50 years older than myself, working right along with us. There is something within this beautiful lady beyond description. Hers is the true strength and endurance of the Navajo people after decades of formidable odds.

There are so many things which need to be improved on the reservation. Education, public health, the BIA, the traders, alcoholism—each area with its own special problems. Through my own observation, I have tried to answer one question—what can the white man do to help? First before helping, I believe each person should ask himself if it is to the Navajo's advantage for me to even become involved. Do they need me or can they do it better without me? Many people go to help the Indians on the Navajo Reservation. Some are successful and are able to help the people—others are confused, discouraged, and frustrated. Some people leave while others stay on to fight it out! Many times the results are worse than before they came.

I was told when I was first looking for volunteer work on the reservation that dogooders and VISTA-types are not wanted. I did not understand then, but I do now. Too many people go to do something good for the people but actually end doing more harm. These particular people do not understand the Indian ways and, therefore, have not communicated with them.

Kathryn Polacca wrote a report to the Teachers in Adult Education of the "Ways of working with the Navajos who have not learned the white man's ways" . . .

"We have another 'Long Walk' ahead of us before the paths of our cultures merge. There are still rough paths, but as more of us take time to study, observe, give, share, and to know each other, perhaps our intercultural relations will improve. It is like someone said, 'We need to walk a few miles in the other fellow's moccasins then we will know how they feel.' This will help us to understand each other better."

I look forward to the day I return to my Indian family to learn more of their Navajo ways, for they seem to have helped me more than I helped them!

#### PAN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION—ITS SUCCESSES AND HOPE FOR FUTURE

### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most crucial needs in Latin America is to bring about changes in income distribution, land tenure and social justice. A great many efforts have been made to accomplish these tasks, but few have been as successful as that undertaken by the Pan American Development Foundation, a private organization which, in the course of just over 4 years, has assisted in the organization of National Development Foundations in 15 Latin American countries—all dedicated to the goal of helping people to help themselves. I think that the story of the PADF's work is truly inspiring and I wish to commend to the attention of my colleagues a speech delivered by its executive director, Mr. Sy Rotter, on January 7, before the Twentieth Century Club.

The text of the speech follows:  
SPEECH DELIVERED TO THE 20TH CENTURY CLUB BY MRS. SY ROTTER

I am particularly grateful to you for this invitation to share with you some observations on the development process in Latin America. These are, as you well know, not easy times for advocates of foreign assistance

efforts in general, and perhaps as a result of recent social and economic crises in Latin America it has become even more difficult to find opportunities to discuss Western Hemisphere development activities. So, again my thanks to you for this opportunity.

As evidence of my appreciation I will depart from what has unfortunately become the vogue in such analyses, and will focus my comments on one of the successes, not the failures, of foreign assistance.

A week ago I was sitting on the shore of Lake Atitlan, high in the mountains of Guatemala, talking with a friend about the changes he had seen among the Guatemalan Indian population during the 25 years he had been living there. I told him about this talk which I was preparing and asked him what he thought I should emphasize without talking too much about our own program. He reminded me of one of Mark Twain's famous quotes, "I may have been born modest but it didn't take me very long to grow out of that state". He suggested that I put aside modesty and review with you what we describe as the only complete self-help foreign aid program which we are aware of; a program in which the people plan their own projects, contribute their own labor, borrow money at normal commercial interest rates, pay a fee for the administration of their loan, and repay their loan in pennies per day in accordance with their ability and capacity. This is what my friend Sam Greene refers to as the "penny approach to development."

Now, there may well be some who will scoff at my concern about modesty when I speak of a penny approach to development, particularly when we usually think about the cost of development in terms of millions or billions of dollars. But I trust that after this discussion you too will share our belief in the economic and social power inherent in this penny philosophy.

I will talk to them about the program of the Pan American Development Foundation (PADF), of its successes and of the opportunities we see for it in the future, and equally important, I will try to identify ways in which you, as private citizens and as members of the Twentieth Century Club, can participate with us in this effort.

Ours is a private development foundation. It is, however, affiliated with the Organization of American States in much the same way as UNICEF is with the United Nations. We have an independent Board of Trustees of leading citizens from Latin America and the United States and we derive our operational funds from other foundations such as Rockefeller, Russell Sage, Tinker, Public Welfare, Sloan and Donner, and from the Inter-American Development Bank and the Agency for International Development.

Our basic purpose is to facilitate the involvement of the private sector in the development process in Latin America in order to accelerate the changes in income distribution, land tenure, and social justice which are no longer debatable as necessary development objectives. The limited results of government efforts in this regard have clearly established the need for this kind of supplemental participation on the part of concerned and knowledgeable private citizens.

We encourage those businessmen and professionals in each country who do agree with us in these objectives that we will assist them in the organization of their own development agency if they in turn will agree to commit some of their time, money, and prestige to it. We refer to such agencies as National Development Foundations, although in practice each chooses its own name. In just over four years we have assisted in the organization of these foundations in 15 Latin American countries.

What distinguishes these private sector efforts from the many others which are stimulated by what may be described as



well-intentioned outsiders? First, they are entirely autonomous local agencies which are completely responsible for their own management and operational policies. Second, they obtain their own legal recognition from their governments as non-profit development organizations. And third, they have fulltime paid executive directors and supporting staff whose salaries are paid through local private sector contributions.

While each of the foundations reflects the same basic organizational approach, there are no two alike in program characteristics. Each foundation charts its own program in accordance with its own national circumstances and priorities, and follows the policy guidance of its own Board of Directors.

How do these foundations function? I have stated as PADF's basic purpose the acceleration of changes in cash income distribution, land tenure, and social justice. Let's consider some illustrations of the way each of these objectives is approached by the National Development Foundations.

During my recent visit to Guatemala I met with a group of farmers in a small Indian community. They proudly showed me their fields of vegetables which they would soon be harvesting and bringing to market in Guatemala City. They regarded themselves as extremely fortunate to be able to sell their vegetables at a good price and to earn a fair return for their labor. They were free, they were independent, and they were proud. It was good to talk with them and to feel the enthusiasm which stems from such pride. Two years ago, however, their situation was far different. They were sharecroppers then, living with their families in a form of economic slavery, without hope, without a future. What made the difference? Credit and technical assistance—which, when blended with motivation, are in fact the basic ingredients of all development efforts. The provision of credit and technical assistance was the responsibility of the National Development Foundation. The motivation which was inherent in the people, was quickly transformed through their new opportunities into the reality of a new life.

Unlike the traditional methodology of working from the top down, of putting money into government agencies and seeing relatively little emerge at the rural community level where the great majority of impoverished people exist, the National Development Foundation brought its credit and technical assistance directly to the community.

Forty-two families were living on this land, paying \$3,750 a year in rent to its absentee owner—about \$90 a year per family. The local Foundation's field staff met with the leaders of the community and encouraged them to think about purchasing the land with a loan from the Foundation. They were shown how they could apply the same rental payments to a mortgage and earn a great deal more from the land through the use of better seed and fertilizer. No one in this community had received credit before since no one had any assets of sufficient value to serve as a bank guarantee. The Foundation's representatives explained that the moral integrity of the community was the basic guarantee which they required and that this could be evidenced through their own organizational efforts to develop their farm and to repay their loan.

The farmers purchased the land for \$22,000 through a combination of NDF credit and a supplemental bank loan. As a result of better farm management and increased cash income they will completely repay their loan in a little over three years. At that time they will have clear title to their land, which is as important psychologically as it is economically, and they will have the equivalent of the \$3,750 per year which they had formerly paid as rent to spend, to save, or to invest, as they wish.

This may appear to be a fairly simple experience. If so, it is deceptive, for otherwise one would expect to find a great many similar stories. The fact is, however, that because of the relative scarcity of such capital for self-help programs, income distribution within Latin American countries reflects the widening gap as between rich and poor nations. As Barbara Ward Jackson has reported to the United Nations Development Program, "There is no doubt that among the nations of the world the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer." Simply stated, the combination of traditional banking procedures and scarcity of "high risk" capital has made such success stories as I have just described the exception rather than the rule. Is there then any real hope for its more extensive application? This depends upon many factors, not the least of which is the ability of the local foundations to continue to demonstrate the validity of the program. In this regard the National Development Foundations have so far proven through \$2.5 million in loans during the past four years to 2,500 different community groups that incomes of subsistence farmers could rise and that this could occur at no cost to the incomes of the wealthy. In fact, since all National Development Foundation loans are immediately converted into local purchases and tax payments, both merchants and governments experience increases in income as well. In truth, the foundation program is not so much an illustration of redistribution as it is generation of new wealth. With an increasing volume of such examples it is to be expected that banking procedures will become less traditional and government credit policies more flexible as new efforts would be undertaken to encourage greater generation of new wealth.

The example of the purchase of farm land also illustrates the second of our objectives—to accelerate changes in the patterns of land tenure through private, non-government land reform. Recent history has shown that in spite of good intentions, politically motivated agrarian reform has generally achieved less than its promise. Indeed, the architects of the Alliance for Progress soon realized that it was one thing—albeit difficult—to gain Latin American government acceptance of agrarian reform in terms of redistribution of land as a prerequisite for development assistance; it was something else to see it actually implemented, for such agrarian reform usually meant government expropriation with payment in delayed bonds. Landowners and their congressional colleagues have demonstrated very effective counter pressures to such schemes and as a consequence relatively little land of any value has actually been passed on to poor farmers by government decree.

Within the realistic constraints of limited private bank financing, the PADF's approach represents what we believe to be a practical and effective supplement to government reform programs, but one which can nevertheless be expanded through enlightened government policy directives. One example of such a policy is the U.S. Government's recent adoption of a guarantee authority which encourages private banks in Latin America to lend to community groups who would not otherwise have access to commercial-rate credit. Through the foundation program the farm land owner is paid immediately in cash for the value of his farm. As a guarantee, in addition to that of the moral integrity of the community, the foundation or private bank which extends the credit can if appropriate take the mortgage to the land or the crop to be produced.

Would poor farmers paying rent as sharecroppers be willing to reapply their rental payments to ownership? Do we really have to ask such a question? Why, then, isn't there more land purchased in this manner by poor

farmers? Again the problems have been related more to tradition than to distrust, for until very recently the business community—Latin as well as North American—was only interested in making profits at the least possible risk. Then too there were until a very few years ago no private sector foundations to extend credit to economically marginal people. Both conditions are, however, changing, and changing rapidly.

To quote from David Rockefeller in his recent speech to the most important U.S. corporate investors in Latin America, "I believe we must respond to current events in Latin America with a truly new revolution, one of thought and determination that individual human dignity can be attained through an awakened and responsible business system, which will, because it must, put our corporations directly into the forefront of securing that dignity. If we do not respond, who will? We have urged our companies to recognize and to accept longer range goals in their Latin American operations, goals which include social as well as economic benefits. Each business entity of the private sector within a country, regardless of form or ownership, has a responsibility not only to operate profitably but also to operate in the best interest of society and its development." That was David Rockefeller, one month ago, at the Annual Meeting of the Council of the Americas.

However, the reality facing the National Development Foundations in their efforts to greatly expand their loan programs is their limited loan fund capacity. I should explain that the foundations obtain their loan funds from two basic sources—through local contributions from their own private sector, and through one-to-one matching loans from the Pan American Development Foundation. That is, for every dollar contributed to the local foundation through its private sector, the PADF lends a dollar at low interest rate for a twenty year period. This combination of local equity and borrowed capital is loaned to community groups at the usual bank interest rates that apply in each country.

The PADF has received \$1.25 million in loans and grants from AID during the past four years which has served as its matching fund resource. All of this, however, has been loaned to local foundations and we are over \$2.0 million behind what the Latins have raised. Mr. Galo Plaza, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the PADF, has publicly described this response by the Latin American private sector as both outstanding and unique for it is the only program he has ever seen in which the Latin share of the partnership has been so readily subscribed. We do hope—and are working hard to assure—that the foundations will receive additional loan and grant funds from the future Inter-American Social Development Institute as well as through the Inter-American Development Bank and the Agency for International Development.

Still another indication of change in the business of making credit available to the poor is seen in the previously indicated amendment to the United States Foreign Assistance Act. Inaugurated this year the "small loan guarantee program" was designed as a pilot project for application in five Latin American countries. The program will allow private banks to lend to community groups to encourage land purchase and other self-help economic and social development programs with up to 75% of the value of each loan guaranteed by the United States Government with a 25% overall guarantee for each bank's portfolio of such loans. We estimate that as much as \$2.0 million may be loaned in Guatemala and Honduras alone by private banks during the next two years under this guarantee program—credit that will go directly to poor people.

And still another indication of change can be seen in the growing interest of U.S. foundations in applying some small portion of their endowment as a guarantee with the National Development Foundations so that they can obtain still additional bank credit for community groups.

These illustrations underscore our belief that concern for changing current land tenure practices need not be the sole prerogative of governments—ours or theirs. There is indeed a great opportunity for involvement by the private sector, through their own development foundations, to pioneer for governments those policies and procedures which governments could then amplify to encourage improvements in the income and life style of currently poor people.

The third objective of the PADF program is directed toward achieving social justice for the poor. This is unquestionably a basic government responsibility, but again there is a clear opportunity for citizen participation at all levels to supplement and give direction to government action. We can observe in this regard that government programs are generally and realistically directed toward providing services for people in response to their demands. The danger, however, particularly in lesser developed countries, to the perpetuation and deepening of people's dependence on government action is the concurrent and consequent loss of the ability for individuals to express their own responsibilities. It is the purpose of the National Development Foundations to supplement government services by encouraging self-help efforts through which poor people have the opportunity to exercise their independence to make those basic economic and social decisions which will in fact begin to influence their lives. In addition to greater cash income, which derives from most foundation-community loans, the subjective and often intangible return in the enhanced dignity of the people involved in their own self-help efforts is not to be denied. As important as the seed, fertilizer, and other tangible assets provided through the loans is the opportunity provided for self-motivation and self-determination.

One of the principles of the Charter of Punta del Este—the Magna Carta of the Alliance for Progress—is that help will come to those who help themselves. President Richard M. Nixon has repeatedly endorsed this principle and has established it as the moral bedrock for future aid programs under his Administration. Bipartisan as well as non-partisan political endorsement of his position has certainly substantiated its popular appeal.

Although social justice in the context of this discussion is based upon respect for and facilitation of individual responsibility, we see two forces conspiring to prevent its attainment by the great masses of Latin America's poorest citizens. One is its denial in economic terms through the inability of poor people to obtain the credit and related technical assistance essential for them to escape the slavery inherent in poverty. On the other hand there is the increasing tendency of government decrees to assume responsibility for resolving problems through political programs which serve to inhibit—not encourage—individual responses. The French philosopher deNoey captured the essence of both circumstances when he wrote, "Freedom is not a privilege, it is a test. If we do not take care of the human situation we find ourselves faced with, we will find that freedom lost to the extent government control ensues."

The thesis of my discussion today is that development is far more than physical objects—roads, dams, factories, and schools. These are at best only environmental improvements. Development must be understood as a reflection of the attitudes of peo-

ple, particularly in their belief in themselves and the realization of their capacity to participate in the direction of their struggle to achieve a higher standard of living for themselves. How they direct their struggle is, of course, for them to determine. Our concern is that they have at least the opportunity to understand and choose from alternatives.

Contrary to current general impressions, development experiences have not all been disastrous. What is disastrous, however, is the tendency among some of us to use what George Woods, former President of the World Bank, has described as the increasingly "plentiful statistics of misery" as justification for calling a moratorium on further development assistance.

Our concern for social justice is clearly not evidenced when we turn our back on the realities of the developing world with its staggering problems reflected in increasing poverty, population density, and unemployment, simply because previous development efforts have experienced difficulty in achieving the desired levels of success.

Two years ago in one two-week period, 36 infants and children in one small Indian village in Guatemala died of typhoid fever. There is no social justice in the knowledge that they would not have died if they had been able to obtain clean drinking water, but that development loans which could have been used for this purpose found their way to other activities, some of which might, in retrospect, have been less urgent. But social justice is evidenced when I tell you that repayments of three cents a day by forty-two families in that community on a \$500-loan they requested from the Foundation to purchase the pump, cement, pipe, and valves for a well for clean drinking water, will repay that loan in a little over one year.

The opportunity for encouraging similar experiences in a completely non-patronizing, non-political and businesslike way can be seen in National Development Foundation programs throughout Latin America. Whether or not we respond to these opportunities for encouraging social justice as adequately as we might remains to be seen.

I said at the beginning of this discussion that I would suggest ways in which you could participate in this effort, and perhaps now some of you may wish to consider what these opportunities might be.

The first is for you to understand and then to encourage your friends and colleagues to recognize that the greatest reservoir for social action is within the private sector. If there is nothing else we can show as a persuasive quality of our life style in the U.S.—documented from de Toqueville's analyses 150 years ago to the most impressive community service record of your own Twentieth Century Club today, it is that we respect and cherish the right to try to resolve our own problems before turning to government. We understand too from our own recent experiences in this country, that government response to the vacuums which exist when private citizens refuse to help to resolve economic and social inequities are not always the wisest or most reasonable. Specifically then, every citizen and Congressman who is interested in assuring the greatest opportunity for self-help programs for poor people through the application of U.S. Government foreign aid funds, should understand that by directing some of these funds to private sector programs such as the Pan American Development Foundation, more of this objective is likely to be achieved.

Secondly, perhaps some of you are members of Boards of Directors of foundations which are interested in assisting self-help programs. Grants and loans to this foundation would be put to excellent use, and U.S. private foundation endowment guarantees can serve as leverage for obtaining still more private bank participation in community loans.

A third opportunity would be for you to help us identify new and surplus machine tools and hospital, medical and dental equipment, all of which we can deliver, with the assistance of AID freight subsidies, through the local National Development Foundations to technical training schools, hospitals, and clinics which would not otherwise receive such equipment.

We also need help in writing about our program and getting our stories published so that our potential base of support for these efforts can be greatly increased.

And finally, we need new ideas and the opportunity to review our experiences and to help us better understand their meaning. Perhaps, Madam Chairman, with this request for new ideas and comments, I should conclude mine. I do so, once again, with my sincerest appreciation for this wonderful opportunity.

Thank you.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN FREDERICK, MD.

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, the month of February is noted for the birthdays of two great Americans, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Both Presidents spent time in my district, but the trip of Abraham Lincoln to Frederick after the Battle of Antietam in 1862 was of special note. It was during this trip that he spoke to the assembled citizens of the town. The following year on his way to Gettysburg he wrote part of his famous Gettysburg Address in Frederick. The following article commemorates the 1862 trip and was published in the February 12, 1971, Frederick Post:

LINCOLN IN FREDERICK

On this day 162 years ago in an unchinked log cabin standing in the middle of a stump-cluttered clearing on his father's farm near the present community of Hodgenville, Ky., occurred the birth of a man rated by all American historians as the greatest of our Presidents.

He was born of parents so poor that by even the most rigid modern standards his entire family would have been enrolled as recipients of public welfare.

Son of an industrious but poverty-stricken carpenter who was virtually an illiterate and a drifter who progressively lost the farms he claimed in not only Kentucky but later Indiana and Illinois and a mother who in the opinion of qualified historical researchers was an illegitimate child, even by the standards of backwoods Kentucky his status was hardly elevated enough to rank him above the "poor whites."

Yet Abraham Lincoln on his father's side came of good mediocre lineage.

His family had been in America since 1637—only 17 years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock—when Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, England, emigrated to America to better his economic status and—purely by coincidence—settled in the adjacent town of Hingham, Massachusetts.

Descendants of Samuel lived honorable if obscure lives in New England, had representatives who fought in the War of the Revolution, and relentlessly driven by that Yankee impelling motive to "see what lies on the other side of the hill" moved westward



in the intervening centuries until the grandfather of the future President for whom he was named, Abraham Lincoln, hacked a farm out of the wilderness of what is now West Virginia.

Before the eyes of his son, Thomas, the pioneering Abraham was shot dead by an Indian arrow and scalped before being callously left to wallow in his own blood in the midst of the clearing he had hoped to convert into a farm to support his family.

His son, Thomas, who never spent a day in school in his entire life, sober, industrious, but never able to put down deep roots in any area where he settled, married Nancy Hanks, whom the most talented researchers have been able to establish only as the daughter of Lucy Hanks but have been unable to find any trace of who was her father or any record of a marriage prior to her birth.

Shortly after the birth of Abraham Lincoln, his father resumed his search for the Holy Grail—the rich bottom land which he always expected to find facing him as he turned his face westward.

He sold the Kentucky log cabin and half-cleared wooded acres for a pittance and with his family moved to a new land claim in the newly opened lands of Indiana.

Here the young Lincoln experienced even more depressing economic conditions.

The Kentucky cabin at least had four walls, a door, and a puncheon floor.

Compared to the "half-faced" cabin of logs and poles Thomas Lincoln pushed up on his new Indiana claim, the Kentucky home had been in keeping with that of his neighbors and at least livable.

In Indiana, however, the new crude cabin had only three sides with the fourth open to the elements.

In truth, it consisted of little more than a lean-to.

A constant roaring wood fire had to be maintained on the completely open fourth side of the structure to keep the Thomas Lincoln family from freezing to death in the winter.

Then came tragedy. After a brief illness with what was then loosely diagnosed as "milk sickness," Nancy Hanks died. Her grief-stricken husband whip-sawed a crude coffin, dug a grave in the clearing, and while Abraham and his sister wept at its side, laid her to rest in an unmarked grave.

That there was no clergyman available within a hundred miles or more to say the healing words of Christian burial added to the tragedy of the family.

While his two small children "made-do" in the lonely cabin, Thomas Lincoln hastily returned to Kentucky, married a widow, Sarah Bush Johnson, with whom he had become acquainted while living in that state, and returned to the Indiana farm.

It was of this step-mother that the future President, who barely recalled his natural maternal parent because of his tender age, was to eloquently say later in life: "All that I am I owe to my sainted Mother."

She insisted that Abraham attend the infrequent sessions of a frontier school where the only qualifications of its teacher, as Lincoln said in after life, was that "he or she be able to teach readin', writin' and cipher to the rule of three."

This constituted the only formal education ever received by the future 16th President of the United States.

Beyond this, he owed his intellectual development which stamped him as a master of English prose in his immortal Gettysburg Address, Second Inaugural, and other classics of his incumbency of the White House he obtained by the insatiable reading of books for which he frequently walked as much as 20 miles to obtain.

Just as his family both at his birth and until he attained his majority would by today's standards be classified as in the "wel-

fare range," so was Abraham Lincoln by any educational standards even lower in the scale than our present-day "school drop-outs."

He became a lawyer by serving an apprenticeship in the office of a licensed attorney and passing a verbal examination at the hands of similarly trained but older members of the bar.

From a background which he himself described in answer to a letter from a biographer seeking material with which to write a campaign history for his 1859 bid for the presidency as "simply the short and simple annals of the poor," he became a leader of the Illinois bar, served several times in the Legislature, and was a one-term Whig member of Congress from Illinois.

Then he became the candidate of the Republican Party for President of the United States.

When the Democratic Party split into two warring factions over the issue of the extension of slavery into the territories, the Illinois "rail-splitter" was elected with a majority of the electoral vote but a minority choice of the people. South of Virginia, his name was not even on the ballot in a single state.

"I leave you," he told his Springfield neighbors from the rear of his train en route to take him to both world-wide recognition as America's greatest man but also to his death at the hands of an assassin, "to assume a burden greater than that of Washington."

And less than two years later in the fall of 1862, this man whose indomitable will alone made possible our presently united nation, came to Frederick City by special train of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to visit the Army of the Potomac then in camp some 10 miles south of Harpers Ferry following the inconclusive Battle of Antietam in which its commander, Major General George B. McClellan, had forced Confederate General Robert E. Lee to abandon his plans for further invasion of the north and retreat to Virginia.

McClellan had 85,000 seasoned troops compared to the 40,000 of the Army of Northern Virginia under Lee but like all of the commanders of the Army of the Potomac until Lincoln finally discovered the military commander with the "killer instinct" who was Ulysses S. Grant and placed him in sole command of all of the armies of the North with the rank of Lieutenant General, the "Little Napoleon" lacked the will to fight.

It is highly apropos today—as we celebrate the 162nd birthday of this greatest of all Presidents—that it is possible to reproduce from an old file of Harper's Magazine of those Civil War days the speech that Abraham Lincoln made to the nearly 3,000 assembled citizens of Frederick City when after visiting McClellan's camp he returned here to board the special train to take him back to Washington.

According to Harper's reporter on the scene, "President Lincoln responded to the loud calls for a speech, left his coach for the rear platform, and in that honest, good-natured manner for which he is always noted," said:

"Fellow Citizens: I see myself surrounded by soldiers and by citizens of this good city of Frederick all anxious to hear something from me.

"I can only say that it is not proper for me to make speeches in my present position.

"I return thanks to our gallant soldiers for the good services they have rendered, the energies they have shown, the hardships they have endured, and the blood they have so nobly shed for this dear Union of ours.

"And I also return thanks not only to the soldiers, but to the good citizens of Frederick, and to all of the good men, women and children throughout this land for their devotion to our glorious cause.

"I say this without any malice in my heart toward those who have done otherwise.

"May our children and our children's children, for a thousand generations, continue to enjoy the benefit conferred upon us by a united country, and have cause yet to rejoice under those glorious institutions bequeathed us by Washington and his compeers.

"Now, my friends—soldiers and citizens—I can say only once more—farewell."

And it is undeniably true that but for the unconquerable dedication of this greatest of all our Chief Executives the outcome of the Civil War might have been far different.

The South had not only one of the nation's greatest generals of all time in Robert E. Lee but it also had in Jefferson Davis a political leader who fancied himself a master military strategist and kept iron control over all of his generals.

But Lincoln—after heart-breaking trials and errors—finally found the "killer with the instinct for the jugular vein" in Grant and had the wisdom to give him complete and absolute control of the armies of the North which finally by sheer attrition brought victory.

## THE MULTIPLE PAYOFFS OF PUBLIC SERVICE JOB CREATION

HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, as the unemployment rate continues to grow at an alarming rate, the need for emergency public service job-creation legislation becomes more urgent. In the past year alone, an average of more than 4 million Americans were unemployed. That is an increase of more than 100,000 people a month in just 1 year. It is imperative that we in Congress focus our attention on the plight of these millions of Americans who are desperately seeking decent jobs.

In the opening days of the 92d Congress, many measures were introduced, both in the House and in the Senate, which would provide for some type of job-creation legislation. Although the proposals were given a strong endorsement by the Legislative Action Committee of the National Conference of Mayors in their testimony before Senator NELSON's Employment, Manpower and Poverty Subcommittee last week, there is still much to be done if we are to see legislation of this nature enacted in this session of Congress.

An article which appeared in the October-November 1970 issue of *City*, a magazine published by the National Urban Coalition, makes several strong arguments in favor of this method of curbing unemployment. Because of the concern we all have for finding a workable solution to our present unemployment crisis, I am sure that my colleagues will find this both interesting and informative:

### THE MULTIPLE PAYOFFS OF PUBLIC-SERVICE JOB CREATION

(By Donald Cauty)

Where will the jobs come from, to turn offenders to careers other than crime? In fact, where will the jobs come from, to reverse the upward climb of unemployment—which, as always, is hitting hardest precisely the most volatile and most vulnerable segments of our urban society?

Again as always, because we are also a free-enterprise economy, most of the jobs must be supplied by this economy's continued growth. Yet, as we are in the process of learning once again, total reliance on economic growth to reduce unemployment leaves many behind—and gives others on the bottom of the economic ladder a tragically temporary boost upward.

The manpower programs of the Great Society did rely on the unprecedented prosperity of the times to supply the jobs. These programs concentrated on preparing the poor to take jobs. The final annual report of Lyndon Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers warned that even a slight dip on the curve of prosperity could quickly take the jobs away from those traditionally last-hired and first-fired. Now the dip has come and the warning has been proved accurate. Since it was issued, in early 1969, unemployment as a whole has gone from 3.5 per cent to September's six-year high of 5.5 per cent. In nine cities, in August, the rate was 10 per cent or more (20.7 per cent in Flint, Mich.)—and clearly rising.

These trends, quite logically, are causing some members of Congress to question whether the Administration's Family Assistance Plan can, as advertised, transfer people "from the welfare rolls to payrolls."

They are also giving rise to a new wave of interest in an idea advanced by virtually every major Presidential commission of recent years to take a hard look at the problem of unemployment: the idea that the federal government must create jobs as well as training slots. The commissions, moreover, have agreed on precisely what kind of jobs should be created: jobs in the area of local public services, from maintaining the parks to providing paraprofessional help in the schools and hospitals.

The commissions and other advocates of public-service job creation through federal subsidy make a convincing case that no other single urban program could have such a multiplicity of deep-reaching benefits. A partial listing of these benefits follows:

1. Such a program would increase the number of jobs rather than the competition for jobs. The Great Society's single-minded focus on training and "hard-core" recruitment generated quite legitimate fears among white workers that they might be pushed aside—especially as the job market tightened. Creating new jobs would diminish this source of urban tension.

2. At the same time, it would get badly needed public business done. Demand for all manner of local public services—from garbage collection to police protection—is rising as the quality of these services declines because of many cities' nearbankruptcy. The money is at the federal level but, as Wilfred Owens of the Brookings Institution has wryly pointed out, the people all happen to live at the local level. The shoddiness of local public services importantly impacts upon the quality of their lives, generating daily irritations that can—at any time—come together in a fire-storm of urban turmoil.

3. Moreover, a public-service job program would provide the cities with precisely the kind of fiscal relief they need most—money to pay people to do things. More than one city recently has built a new library, but the doors remain locked, because there is no money to hire staff. The cities' most critical deficiencies are in their operating budgets, where the public service subsidies would go.

4. Finally, these subsidies could effectively tie the delivery of public services to the communities served. Thus, putting a neighborhood mother in an inner-city school as a teacher's aide does more than augment the teaching process. It installs a friendly, familiar presence in the classroom or hallway: someone who shares, and therefore knows,

the particular problems of the neighborhood and its residents, young and old.

It also could lead the mother to an upgrading of her own skills and education and, eventually perhaps, a full-fledged teaching assignment—if the subsidy program were designed, as it must be, to offer a genuine hope of careers, public and private, as well as jobs. This would require, first, that every office of local government regard itself, in part, as a training office. It also would require much firmer linkages than now exist between public agencies and private employers.

A second essential element of the program's design would be sufficiency of scale. The need is great, in terms of both the numbers of the unemployed whom the program could help—and the amount of public business perennially left undone. The best measurement of the latter came in a survey of 50 big-city mayors in 1968, in which the mayors said they could usefully put some 300,000 men and women to work on the delivery of essential public services. Certainly any program involving substantially lesser numbers would be a drop in a bucket that is, at present, dangerously dry and getting drier.

### HIJACK CASE TURNS SPOTLIGHT ON MANY SOVIET INJUSTICES

#### HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, the Congress marked the anniversary of Ukrainian independence from Czarist Russia. For 3 years, one brief shining moment, the brave people of that nation were free from foreign domination and free to inherit the traditions and values of their own proud heritage.

Now that freedom is lost, trampled beneath the Soviet Union's steamroller of conformity.

Recently we saw what looks like another wave of persecution against Russian Jews. A similar, if not more severe, persecution of Ukrainian people has been conducted over the past 20 years; and there are no signs that it is subsiding.

I believe this matter should be brought to the attention of the Congress. Accordingly, I commend to my colleagues the following article by Peter Worthington of the Toronto Telegram. It seems to me an excellent account of the persecution of the Ukrainian people by the Soviet Union:

#### HIJACK CASE TURNS SPOTLIGHT ON MANY SOVIET INJUSTICES

(By Peter Worthington)

The case of the Leningrad Jews has stirred the indignation of the world.

Individuals and governments ranging from Pope Paul to Prime Minister Trudeau protested against the death sentence given two Soviet Jews accused of plotting to hijack a plane to Israel.

Although the Soviets commuted the death sentences to 15-years imprisonment, protests around the world against Soviet anti-Semitism (and anti-Israel policies) have increased.

But the Soviets appear unimpressed and recalcitrant.

Whatever the merits of the world-reaction on behalf of Soviet Jewry, it is only part of

the overall internal situation in the USSR. And not necessarily the most significant part at that.

There are other groups and individuals inside the Soviet Union who have suffered—and are enduring—far greater indignities and injustices than are Jews in Leningrad, or elsewhere.

Without denying the right, or moral duty, of Jews around the world to protest on behalf of their brethren, there has been an uncanny silence over the years by the rest of the world on the plight of other victims of Sovietism. And this excludes, for a moment, the fate of the "lost peoples"—the Chechen-Ingush, the Crimean Tartars, and Balts who were deported and annihilated in the past.

A deep and resounding silence greets the fate, say, of Yuri Shukhevych, a Ukrainian who was arrested in 1948 at age 15, because his father, General Roman Shukhevych, was commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army until he was killed in 1950.

Yuri Shukhevych has been imprisoned ever since in Siberia, paying for the "crimes" of his father. His original 10-year sentence is being renewed every decade because, according to the Soviets, he "refuses to be re-educated." This means he refuses to acknowledge his guilt or to renounce his background. Yuri Shukhevych is doomed, it seems, to spend the rest of his life in custody. The 15-year-old boy is now a 37-year-old adult: More than half his life has been one of imprisonment, just for being his father's son.

But no world leader appeals for justice—or compassion—for him. Only his fellow prisoners, occasionally, write petitions on his behalf—and promptly wind up in solitary confinement for their efforts.

Still, Shukhevych's plight is not as cruel as that of Volodymyr Horbovy's an old man today whose first visit to Soviet soil occurred when he was imprisoned for "betraying the homeland."

Horbovy used to be a judge in Czechoslovakia. He was imprisoned by the Nazis during the war. In 1947 he was extradited to Poland and put on trial for alleged war crimes. But the Warsaw court found him not guilty. Then the Polish secret police delivered him to the Russians who sentenced him to 25 years on an administrative decree. That was 23 years ago. He has been in the camps all this time, and still no suggestion of a formal trial.

Horbovy is now 73 and in frail health. Yet according to Gerald Brooke, the British teacher who was in Soviet custody and exchanged for Soviet spies Peter and Helen Kroger—and who is the last known Westerner to have seen Horbovy—the old man is possessed of such dignity, integrity and courage that even his captors respect and fear him. Horbovy has become a living symbol to other prisoners, and a legend throughout the Soviet camp network.

Horbovy's greatest (and only) sin against the USSR was that as a young lawyer he defended the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Stepan Bandera, at his trial in 1935. Bandera was subsequently assassinated in Germany by the KGB.

Again no one, except fellow prisoners and Ukrainians abroad, has ever protested the Soviet state's crimes against Volodymyr Horbovy.

Then there is a man named Andreyev, who could qualify as the most unjustly imprisoned man on earth today. Andreyev was a witness at an international commission that investigated the mass graves of Polish officers found at Katyn Forest in 1943.

The Germans claimed the Soviets had murdered some 15,000 Polish officers, and 4,000 of these were in the graves at Katyn, near Smolensk. The Soviets, when they recaptured the area, held their own investigation and counter-claimed that the Germans did the deed and that 15,000 Poles were buried there.



## RUSSIANS RESPONSIBLE

Today, with the exception of Soviet propaganda, the world accepts the fact that the NKVD executed the Poles.

Andreyev, who was a prisoner of the Germans and a witness to events at Katyn, was sentenced to a lifetime at solitary confinement in Vladimir prison when the Russians got him back. Vladimir prison is infamous in that few of its inhabitants are ever seen again. It is almost inconceivable that Andreyev is still sane. But he's still alive, and still in solitary. That much is known.

The Ukrainian writer Vyacheslav Chornovil, who himself was imprisoned for chronicling the fate of others, has wondered wryly why such a harsh sentence was given for "false testimony."

"Is false testimony under duress really such a terrible 'war' crime to justify 25 years in a stone grave?" he asks.

Again, there has never been international or U.N. protest on Andreyev's behalf.

There is also M. Soroka who was arrested in 1940 on a trumped up charge. On his release in 1949 he was re-arrested for the original "crime," and sent into exile. In 1952 he was given 25 years for allegedly organizing Ukrainian nationalist groups in the camps.

In 1957, after the 20th Congress "exposed" some of Stalin's crimes, Soroka was rehabilitated with respect to the original frame-up in 1940—yet he was kept in custody. If he survives to the completion of his present sentence, he will have served 38 years imprisonment—all for committing no offense.

No international voice has ever been raised on his behalf.

A couple of years ago a large number of hitherto unpublished documents from Ukraine reached The Toronto Telegram and were duly published. They constituted extraordinary and irrefutable testimony to the policies of Russification and the repression of dissent under way in the USSR.

Now another of these documents has come to the West—this time a 15-page "chronicle of resistance" by Valentyn Moroz, a 34-year-old history teacher who was sentenced to five years of hard labor in 1966 for alleged anti-Soviet propaganda.

On his release for good behavior he wrote an impassioned story about the historic Ukrainian village of Kosmach, and the fate of that community's religious artifacts.

Apparently a Soviet film team "borrowed" about 100 icons from Dovbush church for the movie *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*. At the conclusion of filming the icons were not returned—were, in fact, confiscated by the state. Petitions, pleas, requests and demands by the village for their return were unanswered.

Moroz wrote an account of the events, replete with pithy observations about why the icons were "stolen." He noted that in today's Soviet lexicon anyone who speaks Ukrainian, or is concerned about cultural heritage, is regarded as a potential "nationalist"—the most damaging indictment under Sovietism.

## THE "SABOTEUR" BLAMED

"In Western Ukraine 'nationalist' is a synonym for 'saboteur,'" writes Moroz. "The 'saboteur' is officially responsible for all the obscurities of Stalin and Khrushchev. Whenever there is a bread shortage, or when cattle have disease—it is the 'saboteur' who is to blame. All evil in Western Ukraine is done by nationalist saboteurs. Even the flood in the Carpathian mountains in 1969 was the work of 'saboteurs!'"

Moroz, like others, is not pro-West, as such, or even anti-Communist. He is devoted to Ukrainian culture and traditions—a sin the Jews of Russia are also guilty of, and seemingly must be punished for. Says Moroz, with insight: "It is impossible to break a people or to make slaves of them until you

destroy their traditions and trample their temples. . . .

"Enlightenment, by Soviet terms, happens when a person is deprived of his traditions and heritage—and then given education. Enlightenment is when culture is not allowed to develop naturally from its core, but is stuffed into people under some five-year plan.

"The Ukrainian of our day is being made insensitive to his history, is being culturally devastated, and is being driven into a state of somnambulism: Apathy takes over the intelligentsia."

Moroz is speaking in universal terms. While he is referring specifically to Ukraine, Jews everywhere probably would not disagree. He writes: "The 'creation' of traditions is just as ridiculous as the promotion of 'cultural revolution.' They are incompatible and conflicting phenomena. Culture represents centuries of maturation, which is impossible to speed up. Any kind of revolutionary interference is destructive. You cannot 'create' traditions. They are created by themselves, through the centuries."

Valentyn Moroz wrote this assessment early in 1970.

Because of it, in November, he was put on trial and sentenced to nine years of hard labor for spreading anti-Soviet propaganda.

But no foreign government or international body is protesting today on his behalf.

Few people would disagree that the injustices being meted out to Jews in the Soviet Union should be protested. But it would be more constructive, perhaps, if the protests were carried out on behalf of those being denied the basic tenets of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, common justice and individual dignity.

Sadly, to some, the impression is given that Soviet Jews are the only ones for whom the rest of the world is prepared to express its collective indignation.

And this, in its way, is an injustice too.

## PITTSBURGH COLUMNIST QUESTIONS SANCTITY OF BIG BUSINESS

## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Andrew Bernhard is one of the most respected newspapermen in Pittsburgh. A former editor of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Mr. Bernhard now writes a regular opinion column for the paper.

Last week, Mr. Bernhard took a long look at a disturbing trend in the business arena, the increasing role that big government is being asked, and in many cases being forced, to play in the world of high finance.

In answering the question, "Must Government Bail Out Ailing Business," Mr. Bernhard was gracious enough to quote me on what I believe are the real facts about the Defense Department's plan to save Lockheed Aircraft.

A man with the experience and insight of an Andrew Bernhard is a man to be listened to.

I could not agree with him more when he says:

I am not one who believes the government should take over business. But I am not one who believes business is holy as long as it's making money and that the government should insure its profits when consumer demand falls.

I include Mr. Bernhard's column in the RECORD at this time:

## MUST GOVERNMENT BAIL OUT AILING BUSINESS?

(By Andrew Bernhard)

Whatever became of private enterprise?

It seems only yesterday that business was good, consumer demand was high and employers across the country were searching for men to add to their staffs at high pay. We were assured that this pleasant state of affairs was the result of a system that allowed business its head. Any suggestion that government perhaps should keep an eye on the doings in the market place were howled down. The private enterprise system would kick the inefficient operators out of business without any help from government. The proper business of government was to keep its nose out of business.

So now what has happened to those who preached this doctrine? Penn Central's troubles are old stuff. So are its desperate pleas for help from the U.S. Treasury. One of these days I suppose the federal government will have to come to grips with the Penn Central case. When it does it might also ventilate the charge that certain Penn Central officials, aware that the business was in bad shape, unloaded their stock holdings before the rest of us had any inkling that the corporation was in dire trouble.

The Penn Central may take what pleasure it can from the knowledge that it has plenty of company in its misery. The air industry, both in the skies and in the shops, is singing the blues. The airlines plead that they be permitted to raise fares to merge operations, and that the government crack down on the people running charter plane flights.

Lockheed-California Company was in difficulties before the Rolls-Royce company went bankrupt and put the supply of engines for the Lockheed Tristar Airbus into doubt, thus compounding Lockheed's troubles. Those troubles, the management feels, would be alleviated if the government advanced a generous loan.

Pittsburgh's Congressman William S. Moorhead views such a solution to Lockheed's troubles with great reserve. He believes it might cost as much as \$1 billion to bail out the company and he deplores "making plans to give money to Lockheed when we should be acquiring its assets on the basis of default."

Industrialists not begging for government loans are just as fervently imploring for higher tariffs to hamper foreign competition.

Makers of steel, shoes, textiles and a long list of other products plead for protection by government action, with the labor unions joining in the chorus and for a time submerging their usual differences with the bosses.

I get a certain wry amusement from the plea of manufacturer of pantyhose to President Nixon for relief from a flood of foreign pantyhose which he says is washing over our shores.

Things must be getting tough when even the pantyhose industry seeks governmental relief.

Over in England when Rolls Royce fell into trouble the Prime Minister Heath talked turkey: "Governments must rid themselves of the illusion that you can find the way to prosperity by pouring out the taxpayers' money in perpetual subsidies for uneconomic ventures. . . . We must rid ourselves of the illusion that we can buy our way out of the problems of today by mortgaging the future."

The matter is before the House of Commons this week. Whether it will support Mr. Heath's tough mood remains to be seen.

I am not one who believes the government should take over business. But I am not one who believes business is holy as long as it's making money and that the govern-

ment should insure its profits when consumer demand falls.

REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT RESIDENTS—FEBRUARY 15, 1971

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my commentary on the President's Economic Report to the Congress:

THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC REPORT

The President's Economic Report to the Congress predicts that 1971 will be a better year than last year, and that it will lead to a good year in 1972.

His report translates this optimistic, but very general conclusion into specific targets. The President believes that the Gross National Product (the total of all goods and services produced in the U.S.) will total \$1,065 billion in 1971. This estimate goes considerably beyond the predictions of most non-government economists, who think the Gross National Product will range from \$1,045 to \$1,050 billion.

The President believes that unemployment will be in the 4½ percent range as we approach 1972. Inflation, he says, should be running about 3 percent. We now have an unemployment rate of 6 percent, and we closed out 1970 with an inflation rate of more than 5 percent.

The President's basic tool to bring about an improved economic growth is the Federal budget. He has submitted to the Congress a budget which calls for spending \$229 billion in Fiscal Year 1972 (an increase of \$18 billion over the current fiscal year). He is planning on Federal revenues of \$217 billion (\$23.4 billion more than the current fiscal year). He anticipates a deficit of \$11.6 billion, but most observers believe the deficit will be substantially more.

The President has moved to an expansionary budget, believing that it is desirable to put it into a deficit in times of growing unemployment and sluggish economic growth. The object is to spend money as if the country was at full employment, and in that way, help to bring about full employment.

Apart from the Federal budget, there is another important economic control—that of monetary policy, which is under the jurisdiction of the Federal Reserve Board, not the President. The Board last year allowed a growth in the money supply of about 5½ percent, which is slightly higher than normal, but not wildly expansionary. The Board will be coming under the pressure of the President and others to allow a more liberal growth—especially if the unemployment situation worsens.

A third economic tool is incomes policy, which generally means government intervention—short of wage and price controls—to limit increase in prices and wages. The President has flatly rejected wage and price controls, and most, but not all, economists agree with him.

I have come to believe that in order to make significant progress against increases in wages and prices we must have an active incomes policy, one which is market oriented and aimed at reducing the pressures on spiraling costs and prices. The classical remedies have not worked well enough, or fast enough, to deal with this new problem in economics—persistent inflation in the face

of substantial unemployment. The following steps would be helpful:

1. Continued jawboning by the President, letting both business and labor know that unwarranted wage and price boosts must stop. He has moved in this direction by establishing a special collective bargaining commission for the construction industry, by requesting that the Council of Economic Advisors bring to his attention significant wage and price increases, and by his successful efforts to reduce Bethlehem Steel price increases.

2. Opening up the construction unions, there is today an artificial scarcity of workers and a continued resistance to technological progress. Some of the sharpest increases in wages have come from the construction industry.

3. A new approach to our import policy, including liberalization of import quotas which have, in some instances, permitted American business to become non-competitive and raise prices easily.

4. Increase competition. We should repeal or modify laws that prevent competition, fix prices, or place restrictions on buying. Government power should be used to attack, not encourage, inflation that comes from monopoly and oligopoly.

5. Expansion of training programs to increase the supply of skilled workers.

6. Improve the present available information on employment opportunities, utilizing a computerized job bank.

7. Establishment of a high-level price and wage review board, with authority to investigate, advise and recommend (but not enforce) price and wage modifications.

EFFORT TO SAVE THE WILD HORSE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to protect, manage, and control free-roaming horses and burros on public lands. My bill is similar to measures sponsored by more than 50 other Members of the House, but is more extensive.

In the 70 years since the beginning of this century, the number of wild horses roaming the western grasslands has been reduced from an estimated 2 million to fewer than 17,000. This decimation of the horse population has resulted from their being hunted down for sport and slaughtered for pet food, as well as from epidemics of disease and starvation in the 1920's and 1940's.

The plight of the mustangs has been brought to my attention in recent weeks by Mrs. Edwina Snow, publisher of the Oyster Bay Guardian, an excellent weekly in my congressional district. In cooperation with Mrs. Daphne Murray of Upper Brookville and Mrs. Chris Watson of the Country Art Gallery in Locust Valley, Mrs. Snow has worked diligently to inform residents of Long Island's North Shore of the impending extinction of these last wild mustangs and the urgent need to save them from slaughter. A benefit showing of "The Nobility of the Horse in Arts" at the Country Art Gallery was extended through February 10, and will open in an expanded version

at the Washington Gallery of Art on March 15.

I am delighted by the initiative my constituents have shown in their efforts to save the wild horse, and will do everything I can to cooperate with them. For that reason, I am introducing today legislation recommended by the American Horse Protection Association, which gives the Secretary of the Interior exclusive jurisdiction over all free-roaming horses and burros not privately owned. The bill directs the Secretary to establish and maintain ranges for the protection of these herds on public lands, and calls for the maintenance of a thriving ecological balance on the ranges so as to preserve the integrity of the landscape and the natural habitat of the horses.

My bill specifically instructs the Secretary of the Interior to consult with, and seek the assistance of, the Secretary of Agriculture concerning any free-roaming horses or burros on public lands administered by the Secretary of Agriculture—this would include National Forest Service lands, for example. In addition, private landowners finding wild herds on their land could request that such herds be removed by agents of the Secretary of the Interior—but in no case would private landowners be authorized to dispose of, or harass, free-roaming horses or burros.

Any person who violated regulations issued by the Secretary under this bill, permitted any of the mustangs to be processed into commercial products, or took possession of any of the horses could be fined not more than \$1,000 and/or receive 1 year in prison.

Presently, wild horses are virtually unprotected by law, despite their scarcity. Because they have been technically classified as domestic animals gone wild—rather than as wildlife—they are covered neither by Federal or State laws protecting wildlife, nor by laws protecting domestic animals.

It is clear that we must take immediate action to preserve the wild horse, symbol of the West and of the pioneer spirit of America, and save it from extinction. I would hope that Congress will move swiftly.

FIGURES ON TEXTILE IMPORTS SHOW CAUSE FOR CONCERN

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the figures just released by the Northern Textile Association on textile imports for 1970 are cause for grave concern. American industry simply cannot continue to withstand foreign dumping in a domestic market already competing with dollar-a-day wages existing in certain countries abroad. The Northern Textile Association reports that during 1970 imports of all textiles and apparel have increased by 23 percent and in the case of man-



made fiber textiles and apparel have increased by 54 percent. The trade deficit in textiles last year was \$1.3 billion, up 31 percent in 1 year.

The repercussions in New England have been very serious and in many cases disastrous to small companies trying to stay alive but being forced to close their doors due to cheaply produced products from abroad. Thirty textile mills have been forced to shut down—leaving some 6,000 workers jobless.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the membership to act now on badly needed trade legislation as a matter of the highest priority. The threat to the jobs of thousands of American workers is very real and unless we want to see additional factory closings, it is imperative that Congress not delay in granting needed relief to both the textile and shoe industries.

The tabulation follows:

U.S. GENERAL IMPORTS OF COTTON, WOOL AND MANMADE FIBER MANUFACTURES CALENDAR YEARS 1964, 1968, AND 1970  
(In millions of square yards equivalent)

	1964	1968	1970	Percent change	
				1964-70	1968-70
<b>Yarns and fabrics:</b>					
Cotton.....	495.9	841.9	720.0	+45	-14
Wool.....	68.5	102.0	71.3	+4	-30
MMF.....	187.7	813.7	1,514.3	+707	+86
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>752.1</b>	<b>1,757.6</b>	<b>2,305.6</b>	<b>+206</b>	<b>+31</b>
<b>Apparel and other made-up goods:</b>					
Cotton.....	561.5	806.4	813.6	+45	+1
Wool.....	69.1	107.4	96.9	+40	-10
MMF.....	140.7	639.3	1,237.2	+779	+93
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>771.3</b>	<b>1,553.1</b>	<b>2,147.7</b>	<b>+178</b>	<b>+38</b>
<b>Total imports:</b>					
Cotton.....	1,057.4	1,648.3	1,533.6	+45	-7
Wool.....	137.6	209.4	168.2	+22	-20
MMF.....	328.4	1,453.0	2,751.5	+738	+89
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1,523.4</b>	<b>3,310.7</b>	<b>4,453.3</b>	<b>+192</b>	<b>+34</b>

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Textiles.

#### Textile Mill Closings

1969:		1970:	
Location	Employment	Location	Employment
<b>Massachusetts:</b>		<b>New Bedford Rayon.....</b>	<b>New Bedford.....</b>
Berkshire Hathaway, Inc.,		Peitavino Silk Mill, Inc.	do
Box Loom Division.....	New Bedford..... 1,100	Connecticut:	
Paul Whitin Corp.....	Gilbertville..... 200	Ponemah Mills.....	Taftville..... 135
Stanrich Mills.....	North Oxford..... 75	The Aldon Spinning Mills Corp.	Talcottville..... 150
<b>New Hampshire:</b>		<b>Maine:</b>	
Wyandotte Industries.....	Rochester..... 330	Ames Textile Corp., Maine Spinning Co.	Skowhegan..... 100
<b>Rhode Island:</b>		Division.....	
French Worsted.....	Woonsocket..... 400	Crown Alexander, Inc.	Dexter..... 150
Syntextils, Inc.....	Johnston..... 100	West Point Pepperell, Inc., Sheeting	Biddeford..... 900
		Division.....	
<b>Total (7 mills, 2,467 employees)</b>	<b>2,467</b>	<b>New Hampshire:</b>	
		Abbott Worsted Mills.....	Wilton..... 150
<b>1970:</b>		Brampton Woolen Co.....	Newport..... 200
<b>Massachusetts:</b>		Cheshire Mills.....	Harrisville..... 150
Abdon Mills Corp.....	Fall River..... 125	A. G. Dewey Co.....	Enfield..... 300
Clinton Silk Mill.....	Holyoke..... 45	Florence Mills.....	Greenville..... 145
J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc.	Dracut..... 300	Gallant Manufacturing Co.	Newmarket..... 180
J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc.	North Andover..... 200	J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc.	Tilton..... 608
J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., United Elastic	Easthampton, Littleton, and	Do.....	Franklin..... 608
Division.....	Lowell..... 500	<b>Rhode Island:</b>	
<b>Lano Knitting Mills:</b>		Blezard Yarn Mills, Inc.	Pawtucket..... 75
Weaving Mill.....	New Bedford..... 30	Pontiac Print Works, Inc.	Warwick..... 450
Spinning Mill.....	Millbury..... 30	Sparling Mills, Inc.	North Scituate..... 180
Marriner & Co., Inc.	Lawrence..... 250	Do.....	West Warwick..... 132
		Troy Yarn and Textile Co.	Pawtucket..... 75
		<b>Total (30 mills, 5,984 employees)</b>	<b>5,984</b>

Source: Feb. 9, 1971, Northern Textile Association, 211 Congress Street, Boston, Mass.

#### NEW YORK BELL DOES IT AGAIN

### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the New York Telephone Co., which is responsible for the most out-of-order telephone network in the country, has just petitioned the Public Service Commission for the largest increase in local rates in its history. This petition comes less than 6 months after the Commission granted the phone company a \$120.8 million annual rate increase which the company is presently contesting in the courts as not being enough.

It cannot be denied that inflation and other factors exert pressure, even on the phone company. But a 29.1-percent rate increase, which is what the New York Telephone Co. has asked for, also creates inflationary pressure. To bring this increase into better focus, one should consider that the increase will raise the basic

monthly charge for just having a phone from \$6.08 to \$7.85 in New York City; from \$7.32 to \$9.44 in Buffalo; and from \$5.97 to \$7.71 in Huntington, Long Island.

It might be easier to accept New York Telephone's arguments if it were not for the continued poor service that exists in New York City and other urban centers. These service difficulties, of course, not only affect residents of the New York metropolitan area but anyone else from New York State or from across the country who calls New York City.

Mr. Speaker, the New York Times today carried a well balanced editorial concerning the increase requested by New York Telephone. The editorial concludes by saying:

It undoubtedly does cost more for the company to produce a dial tone; but it is up to the Public Service Commission to see to it that the caller will at least receive a dial tone, especially at higher prices. It must not cost more to get the same old wrong number—or no number at all.

The full New York Times editorial follows:

#### HIGHER COST FOR WRONG NUMBERS?

The New York Telephone Company, whose service has so grossly deteriorated in recent years, yesterday petitioned the Public Service Commission for permission to charge higher rates. It gave a number of arguments for the increase, including one heavily touched with irony. Because its service is bad, the company said, additional revenues are required to improve it.

The Public Service Commission will have to weigh these and other arguments in public hearings. It is beyond dispute that inflation takes a heavy toll, pushing up the cost both of labor and of equipment. Without an adequate return on investment, the telephone company claims it will not be able to attract the new investment required for expansion and upgrading to meet ever-increasing demands for telephone service.

The company forecasts the need to spend \$1 billion a year for the next ten years—"by far the largest construction and service program ever launched by any telephone company"—to meet these demands. The company's petition for rate boosts approaching 30 per cent includes a catalogue of other cost increases that deserve public attention and perhaps sympathy. The petition mentions that in recent years "prospective employees in greater numbers lack the basic skills, edu-

ational background or work habits that telephone work requires." It notes that special instruction, lengthened training sessions, more on-the-job training and closer supervision have all contributed to higher labor costs. Crime, vandalism and general unrest in urban areas have created the need for plant and personnel protection, again at added costs.

None of these points can fairly be rejected—though whether they justify the large rate increases sought by the company is something else again. It undoubtedly does cost more for the company to produce a dial tone; but it is up to the Public Service Commission to see to it that the caller will at least receive a dial tone, especially at higher prices. It must not cost more to get the same old wrong number—or no number at all.

#### GENERAL HODSON'S INABILITY TO COPE WITH A RACIAL SITUATION

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 11, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in Okinawa a young officer in the Judge Advocate General's Corps can be relieved of his assignment in 24 hours for refusing to shake hands with a planted black equal employment officer. But in Washington, a Member of Congress encounters top brass runaround for 24 days in obtaining the simple courtesy of a report of the so-called incident or the disposition of Capt. Jerry Lane Finley's case. And nothing yet.

Perhaps the justification for this military inefficiency at the "Penthouse" comes because the inquiry was directed to the Judge Advocate General, Kenneth J. Hodson, who as a lawyer is not in step with the military; and being naive about the duties of Congress, cannot relate to the role of an elected official inquiring as to the status of a constituent.

With such a record of inefficiency and buckpassing in a routine manner, I shudder to think of the delays that would be encountered if the JAGC suffered a casualty.

Certainly, the Judge Advocate General must have someone in his office—a couple other generals or a civilian—who can translate military justice and assist him in obtaining and/or translating the facts. While I feel sure General Hodson and his military justice officers are busily involved in equal employment it would still seem in fairness—even if not a policy of the JAGC—they could spare some time to present denial of the usual legal rights to a member of their corps. Further delays and denials but generate suspicions as to whether it is that an investigation report is not available or that a general is hiding the facts and fabricating the stories to cover up faulty and irresponsible leadership in his command—or can it be that a two-star general who can find no rights for a captain under his command is frightened to death to report anything which might be detrimental to a Negro captain from another command?

Or it can be that under the new revolutionary procedures, it is the intent of

General Hodson to crucify his young southern captain to prove his freedom from bias toward a black captain who serves under a three-star general.

Many a mother and father are watching, General—make it good.

#### THE DIRECT SELLING INDUSTRY

### HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, as the economy of our Nation continues in its decline and the unemployment rate continues to rise, more and more Americans are turning to a method of earning income that is as old as our Nation.

Starting back in the 18th century, the concept of individuals traveling from community to community, from home to home, offering wares of one sort or another has been a reality. The "Yankee peddler" helped open up this country by making life a bit easier and more pleasurable for frontier families. As the country moved West, door to door salesmen followed, providing goods and services that would otherwise have been unavailable. A tradition developed that continues today and now the direct selling industry registers billions of dollars in sales per year while providing a source of income for millions of American men, women, and youths.

Leading firms in the area belonging to the Direct Selling Association—DSA—subscribe to the principle that salespersons, by creating demands for goods, help provide the American people with employment and the world's highest standard of living, and that those who devote their lives to selling are making important contributions to the welfare of our Nation. Individual sales representatives, numbering over 3,000,000, represent 2,500 to 3,000 companies which do an annual sales volume of \$3 to \$5 billion. The marked trend which is easily discernible is an expansionist one with there being twice as many individuals who sell by personal contact in the home than there were 10 years ago.

President Nixon recently recognized the vitality of this industry and the contributions it makes to the economy. In greeting the member firms of the DSA at their annual meeting, the President stated that—

In the long tradition of in-home selling, the members of the Direct Selling Association offer convenience and service to the buyer, and provide important career opportunities for all who seek immediate tangible results from their personal efforts.

Mr. Nixon continued:

You have done much to further the development of self-regulatory business practices that are among the most prized aspects of our free enterprise system.

I wish to concur with the President's observations.

In addition to the economic contribution that the industry makes to State, local, and Federal Government, it is also

keenly aware of its responsibilities to the consumer and seeks to take positive action to insure that deceptive and unethical practices are, as far as practicable, eliminated. Recently, the DSA promulgated a code of ethics and regulations which sets forth the fair and ethical principles and practices to which all member companies must adhere. In addition, the mechanisms for implementing the code have also been established and the association is mandatorily required to initiate appropriate action with State or Federal enforcement agencies to right a wrong that has come to light. Ralph Nader recently held a seminar on what he termed "corporate whistle-blowing." The Direct Selling Association has built this concept into its rules of procedure and has insured that unremedied violations of their code of ethics will result in the offender being turned over to the proper Government agency for prosecution.

Consequently, it becomes apparent that we have here an industry group that clearly recognizes its contribution to the economy of our Nation, to the citizens it provides income opportunities for, and to the consumer whom it serves. The self-regulation of its member companies and the swift action taken against fly-by-night operations by the association and its member firms is to be encouraged and commended. As the industry continues to grow, every effort must be made to insure that the opportunities for citizens to participate and earn an income are not unduly bridled by well-intentioned but impractical licensing or registration procedures. Recruitment of sellers who deal directly with the public in the home should not be unfairly restricted. Let us be mindful of the actions we take and recognize that the direct selling industry has made great contributions to our society and under the very able leadership of DSA's Chairman of the Board Cabell Brand of the Stuart McGuire Co. and of the association's own dynamic President J. Robert Brouse, will continue to do so in the future.

#### LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during these impressive days in February when we celebrate the birthdays of our beloved heroes, Lincoln and Washington, as well as observing a heart-warming St. Valentine's Day, we should remind ourselves of the deep significance of the observance of another memorable event which took place 53 years ago yesterday. I refer to the Declaration of Lithuanian Independence, which is so meaningful to our loyal American citizens of Lithuanian birth or extraction.

Three years ago when so many of us joined with Lithuanian-American organizations in celebrating the 50th anniversary of Lithuanian Independence we had high hopes that the drab and ad-



verse conditions to which the Lithuanian people were being subjected would be improved. Unfortunately our hopes have been in vain.

Lithuania today is but one of the Communist Russian colonies, cruelly taxed and ruthlessly ruled by Red bosses. That glorious feeling of freedom and self-determination which the people of Lithuania enjoyed from 1918 to 1940 is now but a memory to those old enough to remember it. The job of independence has had to give way to the sadness of enslavement. The happiness of freedom has been supplanted by the sorrow of serfdom imposed by the Soviets upon a people who still prize independence and yearn for freedom.

Our friends in Lithuania today are subjected to the most vicious kinds of colonial tyranny. They suffer unbearable taxation with no representation. They must sell the products of their own hands and fields to the Russians at below standard prices and often below the costs of production. They must buy essential commodities back from Russia at exorbitant prices. To protest is to risk life itself, for the Soviets employ sinister methods of obtaining strict compliance with their mandates. Death sentences for disobedience are common, as demonstrated by the recent sentences to death of Simokatis Wytautas and and Grazyna for attempted hijacking in Vilnius.

Secret methods were recently employed to cause several young scholars to disappear. Other youths have been deported to Siberia.

No, Mr. Speaker, the hopes we held for an improvement in the situation faced by our Lithuanian friends have not come to pass; rather, their plight has worsened and the future outlook for them is equally grim.

The tragic event which took place some weeks ago here at home has not given the Lithuanian people much assurance of our interest and sympathy. I feel a deep sense of shame in even mentioning our colossal blunder in handling the appeal for help of Simas Kudirka, the Soviet Lithuanian radio operator who escaped from a Russian ship in our own waters and sought asylum aboard one of our Coast Guard vessels.

The inept and unforgivable acts of our own officials in turning over this man to his bestial shipmates to beat and mistreat have done much to dishearten an already discouraged people. Only by a show of positive action in their behalf will these people—our long-time friends—be able to overlook the stupidity of our recent shameful faux pas.

We should do our utmost to utilize every economic, every political, and every cultural asset at our command to demonstrate to our friends in Lithuania that Americans remain steadfast in their affection for them and determined in their efforts to help regain the independence which Russia so blatantly stole from them in 1940. I was pleased to note that our Secretary of State saw fit to send Mr. Joseph Kajeckas, Chargé d'Affaires of the Lithuanian Legation, a warm note of best wishes and a reaffirmation of this Nation's support for Lithuania's right of self-determination. Mr.

Speaker, I include Secretary of State Roger's letter for the attention of the Members of the House:

DEAR MR. CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES: As the Lithuanian people commemorate the 53rd anniversary of Lithuania's independence, it is my sincere pleasure to extend to you best wishes on behalf of the Government and people of the United States.

Lithuania's history is the record of a long struggle against foreign domination. In 1918, that struggle culminated in the bright flame of national independence when Lithuania took its rightful place among the nations of Europe. That flame was tragically extinguished only 22 years later when Lithuania was forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the spirit of the Lithuanian people has remained undaunted, and their hopes for a restoration of national independence has never wavered. Their courage and patriotic determination which have sustained the goal have been the inspiration for all who cherish freedom.

The American people understand and sympathize with the desire of the Lithuanian people to be masters of their own destiny. The United States Government, by its continued non-recognition of the forcible incorporation of Lithuania, affirms its support for Lithuania's right of self-determination.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM P. ROGERS.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I urge all my colleagues, in fact I urge all Americans to give personal endorsement of Secretary Rogers' pledge of support to our Lithuanian friends. We should all do our utmost individually and in cooperation with our patriotic Lithuanian American organizations and the captive nations' groups to seek redress for the illegal Soviet annexation of Lithuania and to the limit of our ability to further the return of independence to a nation so richly deserving of it. Meantime, we must remain steadfast in maintaining the policy established by President Truman of refusing recognition of the forcefully imposed and illegal annexation.

I commend the officers and members of the Lithuanian-American organizations for their determined pursuit of redress for their suffering relatives and friends. I wish them every success in their continued endeavors and I pledge anew my own help in their behalf.

REV. JOAQUIN PINTO DE ANDRADE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, anyone who has had the opportunity to talk with the leaders of the independent African nations knows that one issue is paramount to them: the issue of racism, especially as it is manifest in the white minority regimes, colonial or independent, in Africa.

While speaking out against racism serves our foreign policy aims in black Africa, this is not the principle reason for combating racism. Racism is wrong. It is contrary to the professed principles of our Nation and we should not accept it anywhere.

A week ago, I joined 54 colleagues in deploring the arrest and detention of the Very Reverend Gonville Aubie french-Beytagh by the racist South African Government.

Today, I ask permission to place in the RECORD a February 12 New York Times story by Marvin Howe. It concerns the charges the Portuguese Government has lodged against another African clergyman. As in the french-Beytagh case, serious violations of due process of law are involved. The trial of the Reverend Joaquin Pinto de Andrade, former chancellor of the archdiocese of Luanda, Angola, too, "is a cause for anguish to men everywhere who believe in liberty, justice, and due process of law."

It is a sad commentary on the affairs of southern Africa that within a week's time, the above words can be applied to the cases of two clergymen, each caught up in the legal system of a country engaged in suppressing majority black rights in Africa—Portugal in the Pinto de Andrade case, and South Africa in the french-Beytagh case.

Father Pinto de Andrade was banished from Angola a decade ago. A principal charge against him is that he was nominated in 1962, while he was in a political prison in Lisbon, as "honorary president" of the Angolan nationalist movement.

Mario Brochado Coelho, Father Pinto de Andrade's lawyer, declared in court:

His only crime is that he is Negro, Angolan, well-educated and non-servient.

In the Portuguese colonies these are indeed serious charges.

The article follows:

PORTUGAL TRIES ANGOLAN PRIEST—MULATTO DENIES ANY LINK WITH NATIONALIST GROUP

(By Marvin Howe)

LISBON, February 11.—A former chancellor of the Archdiocese of Luanda, Angola, went on trial here today on charges that he was connected with the nationalist movement in that Portuguese African colony.

The defendant, the Rev. Joaquin Pinto de Andrade, a mulatto, denied the charges and said that he was a victim of racist persecution.

Father Pinto de Andrade, who is 43 years old, has experienced deportation, prison without trial, rearrest upon release, house arrest, restricted residence and constant police harassment since June, 1960.

"His only crime is that he is Negro, Angolan, well-educated and nonservient," his defense lawyer, Mario Brochado Coelho, declared in court.

Some 200 people, mostly mulattoes, waited for several hours in the corridors of the 17th-century monastery that serves as the Boa Hora courthouse. But only 24 seats were available for the public and six for newspapermen. Half of the public gallery was taken up by plainclothesmen. The police then removed from the courthouse members of the public who remained unseated.

This is the second political trial of a priest opposed to the wars in Portuguese Africa. In Oporto, Portugal, the Rev. Mario Pais de Oliveira, a white priest who served as a chaplain in Portuguese Guinea, has been accused of preaching against the wars and is expected to be sentenced tomorrow.

Father Pinto de Andrade was one of nine priests banished from Angola, in West Africa, in the troubled period during the nationalist uprising there a decade ago. Two died in exile, and restrictions on the others were

eased recently, with the exception of Father Pinto de Andrade.

#### ORGANIZATION TERMED SUBVERSIVE

His case is delicate because he is a brother of Dr. Mario Pinto de Andrade, a leader of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which is fought by Portuguese forces. The police are said to have seized correspondence between the brothers.

One of the principal charges against Father Pinto de Andrade was his nomination as "honorary president" of the Angolan nationalist movement in 1962 while he was in a political prison in Lisbon.

The charge describes the Popular Movement as "a secret, illicit organization of subversive nature, aiming through violent means, namely acts of terrorism, to obtain the separation of the overseas province of Angola from the mother country and thereby alter the political Constitution of the Portuguese state by illegal means."

Mr. Brochado Coelho denied charges that the priest had had any connection with the movement and emphasized that his nomination as honorary president could not have been a reward for services performed since he had been under close police surveillance since 1959.

Four foreign lawyers were authorized to attend the opening of the trial. They represent the International Association of Democratic Jurists, the Belgian League of Human Rights and Amnesty International, a private organization conceived with political prisoners all over the world.

Besides Father Pinto de Andrade, nine persons went on trial today for connection with the Popular Movement. Two are white. Seven were born in Angola, one in the Cape Verde Islands and one in Portugal. The prisoners include a doctor, several students and two young women.

#### ARRESTS IN LUANDA

The trial is connected with mass arrests in Luanda, Angola's capital, over a year ago, according to court sources. Some 70 arrested Angolan blacks and mulattoes are said to have been sent to prison camps without trial.

The Government-controlled press in Portugal has not reported the arrests. The Government contends that there is no nationalist movement in Angola and that the guerrilla activity is the work of Communist-backed extremists outside the country.

Throughout their detention the Angolan priests have denied any direct or indirect role in the guerrilla movement. However, they openly opposed discrimination the Portuguese African territories and called for freedom for the Angolans.

Father Pinto de Andrade, a slender quiet man, is fond of poetry and art. As chancellor of the Luanda Archdiocese, he was the chief administrative officer.

He holds a doctorate in theology and philosophy from the Gregorian University of Rome. Before his banishment from Angola, he was editor in chief of the archdiocesan weekly newspaper, *The Apostolate*.

### HAWAII COUNTY DEMOCRATS TELL WHY NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS TO BLAME FOR FAILING TO CURB THE INFLATIONARY RECESSION

#### HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, the Hawaii County Committee of the Democratic Party on January 27, 1971, adopted a

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position statement that is the most accurate summary I have seen on why the Nixon administration is to blame for recession and inflation simultaneously.

The Hawaii County Democrats correctly point out that the working people of this country have to pick up the tab for our economic difficulties.

With unemployment at disastrous levels and thousands of businesses on the brink of failure, it is imperative that the administration be made to see its mistakes.

The statement by the Hawaii County Democrats follows:

#### CURB INFLATION

(A position statement adopted by the Hawaii County Committee of the Democratic Party, January 27, 1971)

After two years in office, President Nixon has accomplished a feat believed to be impossible: simultaneously he brought about runaway inflation and rising unemployment. His economic advisors told him to fight inflation with unemployment, but it isn't working out as they predicted.

More than five million people are now jobless, of whom two million were thrown out of work in 1970. The overall unemployment rate is now close to 6% of the labor force, but for weaker segments of society it is materially greater: 10% for unskilled laborers, 16% for white teenagers and 32% for black teenagers.

Economic growth, measured in terms of output of goods and services, is down. Profits of small business have been squeezed, and business failures are plentiful. The stock market behaved more erratically than at any time since 1929.

The economic policies of the President and his advisors—carved out by major industrialists and financiers—have been specifically designed so that working people will pick up the tab for the nation's economic difficulties, through increased unemployment, regressive taxation, higher interest rates and cutbacks in domestic spending. The President steadfastly refuses to put the prestige of his office behind wage, price and profit guidelines.

Time and again the nation has been told that unions and high wages are the cause of inflation. Hard economic facts do not support this allegation. Labor costs per unit have increased only slightly in the past year and even less in 1968 and 1969. Real wages have actually been falling.

Actually, current high prices for manufactured goods reflect the monopolistic nature of the American economy. Prices for all major commodities are fixed or "administered" by a few major producers. When Bethlehem Steel or General Motors raise prices other corporations quickly follow suit.

Perhaps the greatest single inflationary factor in the past two years has been the increase in interest rates. When on June 9, 1969, the nation's bankers raised the prime interest rate a full percentage point, the Nixon Administration did nothing to halt this conspiracy. On the contrary, it hailed high interest rates and "tight money" as a device for halting inflation.

One percentage point does not sound like much but it boosts interest payments 10% for the average home owner. Since the nation's debtors owe \$1.5 trillion, an extra percentage point puts \$15 billion more per year into the pockets of moneylenders. It is no wonder that the nation's biggest banks reported record profits in 1970.

The policy of the Administration seems to be that inflation occurs when working people ask for wage increases but when banks raise interest rates—which boosts the price of everything, that corrects inflation!

A Democratic Congress gave the President legal authority to control the amount of business and consumer borrowing and to bring down home mortgage costs, thereby regulating spending directly rather than relying on high interest rates and tight money. But the President refused to use this power.

The higher interest rates enriched the banks, but placed a tremendous burden on small businessmen, homeowners, wage earners who must borrow for emergencies, and taxpayers who foot the bill on the national debt. It's quite painful to be gouged like that, especially when given the phony reason the high interest rates save the country from inflation.

Furthermore, President Nixon reduced Federal spending on social programs, allegedly to fight inflation. He vetoed bills providing funds for education and health research, training for family doctors, and wage increases for federal blue-collar workers. At the same time, however, he requested funds for such non-essential spending as anti-ballistic missiles, and supersonic transports, and he refused to veto a bill which authorized more than \$1 billion for Navy ships he had not even asked for. He refused to repeal or modify the oil import program even though this was recommended by his specially appointed commission.

Excessive military spending is universally recognized as the single most overall cause of inflation. Some \$30 to \$40 billion goes down the drain each year in Indochina while an equal amount is spent on military goods and services elsewhere. The millions of workers in "defense" industries receive wages but they do not produce consumer goods. The thing they produce are either destroyed in war or await replacement by more sophisticated weapons. This causes an inflationary pressure because the supply of consumer goods is limited.

Spending for defense has caused sharp cutbacks in outlays for domestic use. Home, school and hospital construction has fallen sharply. Public works projects are delayed or stopped indefinitely. Aid to education, to the elderly and indigent has been minimized.

When Congress finally got around to making minimum cuts in defense spending, the Administration made no plans to provide productive employment to the thousands of workers laid off. Although the President promises that combat troops will be withdrawn from Indochina, few steps are being taken to convert the economy to a peacetime footing.

As the economic recession deepened, pressure was exerted on Congress to pass restrictive legislation which would reduce imports of certain goods and products (textiles and shoes). Such legislation would boost the consumer price of the restricted products and ignite trade wars which would have a further disastrous effect on prices and employment.

During its two years in office the Nixon Administration has not been able to achieve price stability without increasing unemployment. It has not been willing to curb growing concentrations of wealth while millions of people sink deeper into poverty. It has not provided orderly economic expansion at home. And it has expanded U.S. economic intervention abroad.

Alarmed at the stagnant and demoralized state of the nation, the Hawaii County Committee of the Democratic Party urges Congress to consider and enact measures which will curb inflation and stimulate production and employment, such as:

1. Cutbacks in defense spending and a definite timetable for ending the war in Indochina.
2. Increase in domestic programs and spending for housing, medical care, education, ending air and water pollution, and increase in public work programs to provide necessary employment and public services.



3. Transform economic anarchy into reasonable order by establishing general standards or guidelines for behavior of prices, wages, profits, dividends and other income.

4. Lower interest rates and establish greater public control over the banking industry.

5. End the oil import program and take other steps to expand free trade on a world-wide basis.

6. Place greater controls on American corporations operating abroad at the expense of jobs and incomes of American workers.

7. Strict enforcement of anti-trust laws and other steps to curb the growing trend toward economic monopoly in the nation.

#### SCHOOL CHIEF BARS CUT IN FEDERAL AID TO POOR

**HON. WILLIAM D. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Nixon in his state of the Union address last month painted a broad, and vague picture of Federal reorganization. Included among his proposals was a plan to distribute Federal funds to State and local governments and school districts and allow them to make decisions about specific funding of programs.

Since Mr. Nixon's address, the details of his proposed revenue sharing have been slowly filtering down through the administration. Little by little, from various offices and officials small pieces of the large puzzle have been made public.

Typical of this filtering process was the unusual interview "invited" by the U.S. Commissioner of Education Sidney P. Marland, Jr., recently. Although this interview alone will not supply details for Congress to evaluate the entire proposal, it appears that only through bits and pieces such as this will the entire puzzle of revenue sharing become public record.

I include the interview at this point in the RECORD as it appeared in the Wednesday, February 10, 1971, edition of the Washington Post:

#### SCHOOL CHIEF BARS CUT IN FEDERAL AID TO POOR

(By Peter Millus)

President Nixon's special revenue-sharing plan will preserve for the nation's poor at least as much federal education aid as they are getting now, U.S. Commissioner of Education Sidney P. Marland Jr. said yesterday.

"We are not," he said, "simply going to put this money out on a stump and turn our backs."

The plan will, as the President said when he outlined it in his State of the Union and budget messages, simplify and consolidate many current programs, and turn over more money to the states to use as they see fit, with fewer strings attached.

But it will not, Marland said in an interview, go quite as far in that direction as some critics fear and have said.

It will earmark as much federal aid for the poor as is earmarked now—more than half of the total. And the states, Marland said, though they will have the right to reallocate some funds—use some vocational money for textbooks, for example—will not have the right to spend funds for the poor on other students.

The commissioner granted the interview—invited it, actually—to dispel what he called "misimpressions" of the President's plan that are making it harder to sell both in public and in Congress.

Details of the revenue-sharing plan have not been announced—most are still being worked out—and Marland said that it will be three months before the proposal is sent to Congress.

But when it is sent, he said, "it is going to have national priorities clearly reflected."

The plan is to take the current pantryful of federal programs—about 75 at last count, many of them narrow in their purpose, most of them legacies from Great Society days—and lump them into five new, broader-purpose block grants to the states, for vocational education, aid to federally impacted districts, the disadvantaged and the handicapped, and "educational support," things like textbooks and equipment.

Still undecided are all sorts of basic questions: such things as which old programs would be merged into which new categories, how large an appropriation would be requested in each new field and, perhaps of greatest interest in Congress, how the money in each field would be divided among the states.

Even more acute, and still undecided, are the related questions of how to divide funds within states, how to assure funds to big cities, how to save some for Catholic schools, whether to set aside any money for the poor in such fields as vocational training.

Marland has task forces at work on all these issues. The church-state and big-city problems are especially troublesome. Neither the Catholics nor the cities are happy with their treatment now by most state governments—and both have the votes, if not to block, then certainly to make great trouble for education bills in Congress.

The Johnson administration, in its bills, was only barely able to find distribution formulas that the cities and the Catholics accepted. The Nixon proposal means finding new ones. And that, too, Marland said yesterday, means putting some strings on federal funds.

The President's plan, the commissioner said, does not contemplate abandonment of federal "stewardship" in education.

Each district's share of funds for the poor, he noted, would still be governed by federal formula, based on how many poor children it has. The states could not change that. "We want to be sure that the money reaches the poor, and the cities."

Each district also would still be required to meet federal standards in using this money, Marland observed. It could not divert the money to other students, and would have to use it as a distinct extra for poor children.

The commissioner said that the plan may also require the states to set aside some vocational funds for poor children. Congress put such a set-aside provision in the law three years ago, because of a fear that the states were giving short shrift to the poor.

Marland said that the states would be able to transfer 15 or 20 percent of the funds from one category to another, from vocational training to the handicapped, for example. The only exception would be the funds for the poor, where there could be "no cuts, only additions." It is unsettled whether the local school districts would have the same latitude.

One other new feature in the plan, Marland said, may be incentive grants. The government would provide bonuses to states for meeting performance standards. But the states, Marland said, would set those performance standards themselves.

#### SAL SI PUEDES

**HON. JAMES G. O'HARA**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, "Sal Si Puedes" is an expression, a phrase, and,

in many places, a name for a neighborhood. It means, with all the bitterness you can elicit from three short words, "Get out if you can." It is what Chicanos from one end of America to another call the barrios in which they live.

If you have seen the barrios of many of our great urban centers—and they are not all in the Southwest or the West, by any means—you can understand the urgency in the slogan "sal si puedes." Getting out, getting away, getting a new start, may seem to some of the human beings crowded into the narrow streets and the too-small apartments and the neglected schools of the barrios, an imperative beyond any other.

Yet not everyone gets out. Not everyone saves himself. A few truly great men stay among their fellow men determined not to rise from the poor, but to rise with the poor.

Such a man is Cesar Chavez, director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO. The seldom-told story of his own personal history, and how he came to the cause of the farm worker—or rather, Mr. Speaker, how he came to the cause of justice—is movingly told in a profile which appeared in the February 1971 issue of American Labor.

I insert this article at this point in the RECORD:

#### THE MAN

"Judge me, oh Lord," said David (Psalm 26) "for I have walked in mine integrity. Examine me and prove me, try the reins of my heart."

Would that it were all that simple in man's own judgment of his fellowman for—to quote again from the Old Testament—"each of us is fearfully and wonderfully made," and a thousand understandings are less than a leaf in the forest known as character.

The poet is there in Cesar Chavez. The mystic walks side-by-side with the picketer and one facet of his nature colors the other. Mahatma Gandhi is there fighting non-violently for change and the Pied Piper who can gather to his side an army of totally committed followers willing to give him round-the-clock labors at no pay.

Another David is this subject—with darker skin, perhaps, and of different ancestry—waging another war on another battlefield for the oppressed masses that are of his blood and time, repeating the biblical story and conquering his own Goliath on a different acre of land.

What constitutes a business executive, or whether Cesar Chavez can ever fit into that suit, is another matter—perhaps of little consequence at this point—for the movement he heads is far more a spiritual than a dollar-oriented one whose bonds of cohesiveness lie solidly in the magnetism of a singular personal force.

Try to fit him into a niche and the mold breaks. By some, he is hailed as the greatest single entity ever to take up the cause of the farm workers and the one most likely to make it the first viable union of its kind. By his own cousin Manuel, he was considered originally as a calculating long-range planner moving in on a good thing that would one day make him rich enough to retire to a villa in Mexico. That same Manuel now—in Chavez' own words—"is probably the best organizer we have today."

By the AFL-CIO unions, Chavez is reckoned as the ablest and most charismatic figure ever to pick a grape. To the growers, he's the worst menace ever to hit the industry. To the press, he's the kind of copy editors dream about. To the public at large, he's the eloquent voice of protest for a ne-

glected minority and one who has given that minority a greater measure of respect and dignity than anyone has attained for it before.

## FORTY ACRES

The compound of buildings that houses the national offices of the UFWOC is on the outskirts of Delano, California, on a plot of 40 acres fronting the city dump. The name of the property is derived from the size of the land which was purchased in 1966 by the UFWOC through a "dummy" for even real-estate facing the dump was not for sale to Chavez and his brother Mexican-Americans on their own. When the garbage is burning, the aroma is a little less than fragrant to a one-time visitor, but as one of the men in office observed: "after a while you get used to it and don't even know it's there. Besides," he added, "we've got more important things to think about."

The administration building, erected by the free labor of many unionists in many fields, is a one-story affair of perhaps 4,000 sq. ft.—if that. The waiting room has about a dozen or so chairs of aluminum and vinyl in different colors and styles that look in the aggregate more like a series of individual donations than any cohesive effort at design. The very diversity somehow symbolizes brotherhood.

The "private office" of the director cannot be larger than 5' by 8'. Crowded in it is a desk of about 3 ft. by 2 ft., hand-made by his brother Richard, who was a carpenter, which takes up practically the entire side of the right wall as one enters the cubicle. A half-length curtain hangs over a smallish window. On the far wall is a bookcase which runs from the window to the door at the rear. On the top of the bookcase stands a porcelain statue of the Virgin Mary plus a number of photographs and personal knick-knacks. Completing the furnishings are a hard-backed chair and a rocker. The writer has seen many unpretentious offices before, but nothing quite as small and stark as this.

It stands at the extreme right of the building as one faces it and there were worries that it might be too exposed a spot for a man whose life has been many times endangered. But Chavez, with a "Que sera sera" fatalism, took it anyway.

Chavez rose with some difficulty to shake hands and to a look of concern responded simply, "my back is acting up today," after which statement he gave it no more conversation.

Queried as to how he might like the interview to be conducted, "Ask whatever you like," he replied with a quick smile, "I do better, I think, with direct questions."

That, therefore, was the way it was done.

## FROM THE TOP

Conversation was slow at the start. Not that there was any false humility in the man but he appeared a bit uncomfortable speaking of and about himself.

Taking it from the beginning, Cesar E. (Estrada) Chavez was born March 31, 1927, in the North Gila Valley of Arizona about 16 miles outside of Yuma. He was the eldest son and the second of five children given to Librado Chavez and his wife Juana Estrada, both natives of Chihuahua, one of the Mexican towns along the border.

Cesar's grandfather, Cesario (after whom he was named) had come to the Gila Valley some years after the turn of the century and had originally homesteaded a few hundred acres there. But as his family reached maturity—he had 17 children—and as each went off on his own, "Pretty soon," said Chavez with a big grin, "collectively, we had a lot of land in that valley."

Had the big depression not come along when it did and had the animosity towards the "wetbacks" been a little less severe, young Cesar might have remained in Ari-

zona, finished school and ultimately might have wound up in a completely different type of calling. But whoever presses the buttons had other plans for his future.

## UPROOTED AT TEN

His father's loans at the bank were not renewed; the land was ultimately reclaimed for back taxes and Cesar—less than ten years old—was uprooted with his brothers and sisters to make the overland journey to California where—almost immediately—he became part of the faceless migrant stream working the crops throughout the state.

The going wages then were all of 12 cents an hour for adult farm workers. Chavez, the boy, got 8 cents an hour. Further steady formal education (he had completed the fourth grade) was not to be his. Migrant farm workers did not stay long enough in any one place to make that possible. More than that—the pittance that the children earned was essential for family survival. Such intermittent schooling as he might have attained between work sessions might have put him two or three years ahead—no more.

The next seven years for young Chavez were a repetition of the first; one crop finished, then on to another. "I picked everything under the sun in California—except pockets," he said of that period, with no bitterness in his voice—a fact which made the observation perhaps even more poignant.

Home at that time—when the family was home—was in a barrio of San Jose called Sal Si Puedes Barrio, in Spanish, in the literal sense, means section or neighborhood. A closer translation, in this instance, would be slum. Sal Si Puedes means Get out if you can.

History does not record what genius created this name (there are many "Sal Si Puedes" stretching from central California to the southern tip of Argentina) but it is indicative of the ironic sense of humor inherent in the Spanish psyche—in so many ways—a completely different and fascinating phenomenon of its own.

Chavez got out as best he could when he was about 17, by joining the Navy in 1944, returning (honorably discharged) two years later as a seaman, first class.

On why he returned to Sal Si Puedes instead of seeking a career in the navy—a calling which might offer him better opportunities and benefits than the one given to a farm worker or most any resident of the barrio, Chavez ran a finger over his lip and shook his head slowly.

"It was home," he said, "and I wanted to be home."

Did he return to the life of a farm worker almost immediately?

Yes, he did.

Wasn't there there anything more profitable he could find?

He didn't look. And besides—what other opportunities were there then for a Mexican-American with only four years of schooling?

## CIGARETTES AND MARRIAGE

As he saw it, God disposes and it all worked out for the best. Fate, he felt, (which moved him to the decision to return home) brought him to the girl who was to be his wife, for if he had not gone back to the fields, he might never have wound up in Delano and never met Helen Fabela who was to become the kind of a life partner few men have the fortune to possess.

"I was a pretty heavy smoker at the time," Chavez smiled, (he has since kicked the habit) "so I went into this supermarket in Delano to buy a pack of cigarettes." He moved a bit in his chair to make himself more comfortable.

"Cigarettes were hard to come by in those days. They didn't have them openly displayed like they do now. They used to keep them under the counter and give them out a pack at a time. And you had to be a steady customer or they were out of them."

And there was this young lady telling him just that very thing.

Chavez crossed his fingers as he leaned forward in his chair, obviously enjoying the moment.

"Well," he laughed, "I finally persuaded her to take a closer look."

Two years later, Helen Fabela became his wife. She has given her husband eight children, has worked in the fields to help put bread on the table for her family while Chavez often went without food, himself, in his early efforts to help provide a better life for the farm workers. Even today she works round the clock for the \$5.00 a week paid to all UFWOC employees alike. As with her husband *la causa* has become her own.

Of those moments of disagreement that are part of any normal married relationship, Chavez summed up his wife's personality with an almost boyish grin. "She's the daughter of a former Colonel in Pancho Villa's army," he said. "And she has her father's 'non-violent' temperament."

## CIGARETTES AND A JOB

Somewhere in 1952, Chavez had a meeting with a man who was to change his thinking patterns drastically over the next decade and whose later actions—in a sense—were to plunge him into the work to which he now devotes his life.

The man was Fred Ross who had come out of Chicago and was trying to organize Mexican-Americans in the barrios of California for a socio-political group known as The Community Service Organization (CSO).

One of the names given to Ross by Father Donald McDonnell, priest of the only Catholic church in the barrio was that of Cesar Chavez. A charitable organization, the CSO's functions covered a broad base of aims: voter registration drives, citizenship classes, public relations efforts to help barrio residents obtain needed facilities, aid for welfare recipients, the reduction of police harassment, etc.

Ross had tried to contact Chavez on numerous occasions, but—out of an early ingrained suspicion and easily understood mistrust of the helping hand of all "Anglos"—he had been ducking the calls.

As Juan Flores, the UFWOC comptroller told it, Chavez—at the urging of his wife—finally agreed to a meeting if he could bring a number of friends along.

"He told his friends," said Flores, "and he brought a bunch of tough ones—I'm going to hold my cigarette in my right hand while Ross is talking. And as soon as I switch it to my left—that's when we start giving him a rough time."

The conversation lasted several hours and through many cigarettes, but Chavez never switched hands. Shortly after that meeting he joined the CSO as a volunteer. A few months later he became a staff member at \$35 a week.

If he looks so young now—at 43—one can understand why Chavez—at 25—felt his appearance might not be old enough for the job. He was shy, then, unsure of himself and of his potential. During the initial months, on his new job he would often walk around the block several times before he found the courage to enter the meeting hall. He even grew a moustache in the hope that it might add years and authority to his bearing. He certainly doesn't need it any longer as any form of compensation for that inadequacy.

The calibre of leadership was there. Within not too long a span he was put in charge of the entire San Joaquin valley and subsequently became state director of the CSO.

By 1962, Chavez was earning \$7,200 a year. It was at that year's convention that he openly suggested, as he had done so many times before, that the farm workers of California be organized. But the CSO Board said it was outside the purviews of the CSO and turned the suggestion down once more.



## TURNING POINT

"When I left that morning," said Chavez, "I don't know how I knew but I knew that that was what I had to do."

He spent the next two weeks cleaning up his work and on March 31, his 35th birthday, severed his relations with the CSO.

If proof is needed of the biblical truth that man "is fearfully and wonderfully made" Chavez's decision is open testimony. With a wife and eight children to support, to renounce a \$7,200-a-year job for a skittish endeavor whose whole past history was one of failure, takes a kind of spirit out of which legends are born.

He had saved some \$1,100 which was to be used as a down payment on a home. That dream gave way to the larger one. He moved his family into the cheapest house he could rent in Delano and set about the job to be done.

Some say Chavez chose Delano because his brother Richard lived there. That may be part of it but perhaps a more practical reason should be added as well: there are over 70 large grape ranches in this area which provide jobs for farm workers almost nine months of the year. And this non-migratory peculiarity both simplified organization and enhanced the potential unit as a bargaining force.

His wife got a job there, picking grapes, and Cesar, bundling his youngest children in his car, took a three-day trip that carried him as far north as Marysville (about Sacramento) to Tehachapi in the South, to "get the feel" of the entire Valley. Then he returned home and began picking peas. It was to be the first in a long series of such stop-gap occupations to help sustain him in his drive.

## DEATH OF A USED CAR SALESMAN

Sometime in this period his cousin Manuel dropped in to see him. In truth, the visit was not accidental; one of Chavez' brothers had asked him to "please go over and talk to Cesar because I'm afraid he's losing some of his buttons." The translation is loose but the meaning is the same.

Manuel, at that time, was a used car salesman, doing very well. A hustler and an extremely practical guy, he had extricated himself from the barrio and, as Chavez put it, "If he didn't have \$300 in his pocket he felt he was broke."

Manuel just couldn't see anybody working for nothing—especially for somebody else. And he couldn't believe that Chavez—who had never evidenced this odd evangelical bent before—was renouncing a solid income unless there was a better one at the end of the road. Had Cesar told him that was the case, he probably would have bought the story and said "que viva!" But Chavez told it as it was and there was no communication between them at all.

Actually, some of the earlier conversations erupted into open warfare. Manuel—as with most people of Mexican blood—had a great love—for family and he felt that his cousin was doing his irreparable harm.

In an effort to bring him back to his senses, Manuel overspent his planned three-day visit and went with Chavez into the fields, arguing the impracticality and the outright idiocy of the venture.

"We almost came to blows a couple of times—we got each other so furious," smiled Chavez. "He said the whole idea was impossible and more than that—that I didn't even know how to organize what I was trying to organize to begin with; that he could do it better as a used-car salesman with no experience than I could with all of my background and feelings about the farm workers."

That stung Chavez and the challenge that ensued was the turning point in Manuel's conversion to the movement.

"He did do better than me," said Chavez openly and with a degree of pride. "Maybe

I shouldn't admit it, but he did. And I was glad he did. Because the more he got involved the more he came over to our side. That three-day visit is now almost 8 years long. And as far as I'm concerned, they don't make people any better than Manuel."

## ENTER—MOTHER OF NECESSITY

They didn't make them much hungrier either, at times. There were many days, as Chavez recalled it, when the choice was between food or gas and gas always won out. One evening, after they had gone without anything for some 36 hours, Manuel turned and said, "We've got to find some way of promoting a meal or we're going to starve to death before we run out of gas."

Moving through a poor section of the town of Corcoran, Manuel stopped the car before a run-down home and knocked at the door. To the woman who answered, few words were needed, for she, too, had known hunger.

"We had planned to just stop maybe half an hour," said Chavez, "but we stayed there till almost 4 o'clock in the morning talking to Julio Hernandez and his wife—both farm workers. Julio threw in with us immediately. Today, he's a vice president of the UFWOC."

This accidental meeting caused by hunger set the pattern for the development of a whole series of food stops along the route that both men traveled. "Manuel set them all up," said Chavez, "and we knew—for the first time—that if we ever really needed a meal, there would be one handy."

"We always went to the very poorest homes," his voice went quiet for a moment, "they were the ones who really understood best and were most willing to share what little they had."

This was the picture of the initial—years: perhaps a meal a day, long hours of work, and frustration at both ends of the saw—the fear of the workers, themselves, to join a union (because even this tiny thrust for independence would put them out of jobs) and the solid wall of antagonism from the growers.

## THE BLACK EAGLE

In September of 1962—about six months after Chavez had left the CSO—the first meeting of the National Farm Workers Association took place in Fresno, California. Here, for the first time, before some 240 dues-paying members, the black eagle—symbol of the union—was revealed. Manuel had designed it.

If it looks something like the Ford Thunderbird, let it be said kindly that Manuel had sold many of them in his day and that he would be the first to admit that he was a far better organizer than an artist.

"When that damned eagle flies," he said boldly as he unveiled it, "the problems of the farm workers will be solved."

A nice line.

But nice lines, like nice guys, often share the same fate. Ten months after that "damned eagle" was supposed to start flying, Chavez' 240 members had dropped to 12. And about half of that remainder were his relatives.

Let it be noted that he could have quit (he was offered a \$21,000-a-year job with the Peace Corps) but that he did not. Within two years, during which period he went down to 120 pounds due to lack of food and sleep, the membership stood at 1,000.

The first strike waged by the NFWA was called in March of 1965 in defense of some Ranch, in the Valley, won a pay raise and a contract for the grape pickers there. But strikes are expensive and by December of that year—with little money to begin with and even that little soon exhausted—the union faced bankruptcy once more.

Another strike began at J. D. Martin's rose workers in McFarland, a farming town, outside of San Francisco. It was a fiasco,

dying about three weeks later when the growers agreed to a pay raise and the workers—breaking their pledge to Chavez—went back to their jobs without a contract.

## REUTHER AND A TELEPHONE

At that point in its history, the late Walter Reuther, then head of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department (IUD) entered the picture with dollars, comfort and whatever knowledge he could supply.

As the Reverend James Drake, who now heads up the New York office (at \$5 a week), related it, "It was the first time we really drew some national attention."

"Jim" (for this is an organization of first names only) filled ALM in on an amusing incident that occurred as a result of this new-found wealth.

"Our office then was in a Quonset hut on an old labor camp near the '40 Acres' we now own. And finally, we had the money to install another phone. But there was no place to install it. So they made my office out of the women's John. Richard built a desk over the toilet and we were in business."

Asked where the women went when nature demanded its moments of privacy, "We doubled up on the men's John," laughed Drake, "as simple as that."

This kind of spirit—the growers should have seen "as simple as that"—would be next to impossible to defeat.

## ON THE BOYCOTT

On the national boycott of table grapes, now a part of history, the facts reveal that it actually did not start as one nor was it conceived as one and—in retrospect—was sparked by the growers instead of Chavez.

As background, the boycott idea had its origins in the 1965 strike against the Schenley wineries, culminating in the April 1966 "march" of the farm workers to Sacramento, after which, that corporation negotiated a contract. As a point of interest, the then Governor, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, was not available for a meeting when Chavez arrived at the State Capital: he had gone off to Palm Springs for a week-end of golf with Frank Sinatra.

Several months after that "march" (August, 1966) the initial interest of Reuther, which had engendered the cooperation of AFL-CIO President, George Meany, culminated in the merger between the FWO and the NFWA into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee with Chavez as its director and Larry Itliong as the Number 2 man.

Chavez had employed the boycott tactic against the DiGiorgio interests during that same period until DiGiorgio capitulated in September. DiGiorgio is one of the world's largest shippers of fresh fruit and allegedly the prototype of "Gregorio" in the Grapes of Wrath.

Emboldened by these victories, the UFWOC struck the Giumarra fields. The boycott here was so effective that Giumarra, in an effort to break it, persuaded other growers to let him use their labels for his product.

This illegal conspiracy, designed to break the UFWOC, actually worked in reverse. It solidified it as perhaps no other single act had done before. On January of 1967, a letter was sent by Chavez to all growers of grapes advising them that the boycott would no longer be specifically against Giumarra but against the industry as a whole. After that—the battle lines were drawn. The strike became the largest of its kind since the Corcoran walk-out of 1933 which idled some 18,000 workers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

To the growers, one of whom is reported to have said, "I've got more men working in my fields than all of Chavez' and Itliong's crazy Chicanos put together." Initially, it was just another one of those irritating little fires that would have to be extinguished as so many others had been before.

## VIOLENCE AND A SIGNPOST

The machinery of extinguishment was standard: dogs on leashes, poisonous insecticides sprayed at pickets, fast moving trucks side-swiping "agitators", sheriffs making wholesale arrests without cause, vicious beatings and more of the same. The prognostications were also standard: fear and hunger would take over, morale would break and the scabs would be back at work in a few days.

Why it didn't go according to script is one of those mysteries that makes man the imponderable that he is. Perhaps there comes a time in the human spirit when it feels that it has had enough. The Spanish have an expression for it: "Ya no camino mas," which, loosely translated, means "This is as far as I go." Apparently, that moment had come.

Violence accelerated as the strikers held firm, and the story of violence needs no graphics. But of the tiny highlights that occasionally surface in confrontation, one of the alleged signs on a field probably expressed the emotion of the growers in a capsule that should be recorded as a classic:

"No Trespassing! survivors will be prosecuted."

Chavez, whose whole concept for change hinges on non-violence, became increasingly fearful for the safety of his members, many of whom did not share his "turn the other cheek" philosophy. But—somehow or other—he was able to hold them in check. And public opinion, in one of its few moments of compassion for this submerged minority—did the rest.

The victorious boycott plummeted Chavez into the national arena as an important figure, and the farm workers for the first time in their dismal annals of failure, had found a way to make their "damned eagle" flap its wings and fly.

"What Chavez has done or rather taught his people, is to do for themselves," says Peter Matthiessen in his fascinating book, *SAL SI PUEDES*. "Nothing I know of in the history of labor in America shows as much sheer creativity . . . as much respect for what people, however poor, might make of their own lives once they understood the dynamics of their society."

If the victory was a magnificent one for the farm workers, to whom accolades are due for a superlative effort, it must also be considered (in another light) as a victory for the American conscience as well, for the boycott could never have been successful without its awakening and its aid. It was the involvement of the very same "Anglos", whom it is so popular today to deride, no matter by whom or what means inspired that turned the trick.

"When my own people speak to me of 'La Raza,'" said Chavez, "I never forget that fact."

## ON THE UFWOC ITSELF

"We've come a long way," Chavez patted one of the huge German Shepherd dogs which are his almost constant companions, "but we've got a much longer way yet to go."

The organization presently comprises about 20,000 dues-paying members. At \$3.50 a month (a figure that has never risen since Chavez began organizing in 1962) the dollars might barely cover expenses if it weren't for one slight flaw in the continuity. Most of the farm workers pay dues only about three months of the year.

"When they're not working on unionized fields, we get no dues," said the UFWOC director quietly. "There's some help from the AFL-CIO unions and from the UAW . . ." his voice trailed off, then resumed again, "And we get a lot of contributions. But there's still not enough yet to give anyone a salary."

The potential was considerable, as he saw it; there are some 3 million farm workers in the United States. On the proportion of those farms that hired outside labor as against those that worked their small tracts as a family, he had ready figures.

"In California," he noted, "7 percent of the farms hire 75 percent of the labor." But he wasn't prepared to extend that ratio as a national estimate. It was his feeling that the larger farms would continue swallowing up the smaller ones as mechanization would make it all but impossible for the latter to stay in business.

From an organizing standpoint, it would make the UFWOC's job progressively easier as this trend continued, he admitted, but he deplored the conditions that were making this constriction an inevitability.

"The day of the small independent grower is coming to an end," he said pensively. "Men like my grandfather or father are never going to be able to make it that way anymore in our present society. And it's a kind of a shame. What used to be called 'rugged individualism' is going to have to take another turn and I don't know in what direction."

## MAJOR PROBLEMS

On the major problems yet to be solved for his own members, he listed: coverage by the Wagner Act; the inclusion of agricultural workers in the Social Security system; the elimination of poisonous pesticides; the reduction of accidents (farm workers represent only 6 percent of the present labor force, yet they account for 22 percent of all fatal work accidents); workmen's compensation, from which benefits they are presently excluded; better methods of schooling (migrant children in this area, are the most deprived human beings in America).

He listed three pieces of data which pinpointed some frightening conditions that would have to be changed: infant mortality among the farm workers is 125 percent higher than the national average; the accident rate is over 300 percent higher and the life expectancy is only 49 years.

## ON MAJOR LEGISLATION

Chavez saw little immediate likelihood of farm workers being placed under the aegis of the National Labor Relations Act. The growers in California, he observed, have consistently supported the former Senator George Murphy's bill which puts these workers under the Department of Agriculture, outlawing strikes and boycotts and bringing any impasse before an "impartial" arbitration board.

Asked what was being done to remedy all this, "Well—we helped to defeat Murphy in the last election for one thing," he said with a big grin. "It's a start."

It is for this reason that Chavez seeks to turn to the Wagner Act as the initial thrust toward first-class citizenship for the farm workers. "The Wagner Act is a positive act that helped build unions," Chavez explains, "and, for instance, we're in the same position today as the auto workers were in the 1930's. We, too, have to go back to the basics, to the Wagner Act to get the protection it gives, and not to the limitations that come in later legislation."

There were some bills in the hopper, but as he saw it, the Senators and Congressmen in the farm states, would pigeonhole any progressive legislation that might arise in this arena for the foreseeable future.

On Social Security, Chavez said that California had been carrying such coverage on its books for some years but that as far as his members were concerned it meant zero.

"You need a minimum amount of hours with a specific employer before you can qualify," he said, "and the migrant worker just can't build up that kind of a bank. There's got to be a different solution for these par-

ticular workers, but it's not on the horizon yet."

As for better educational facilities, he observed that there has been an effort made to develop mobile schools, but that it has not been too successful to date, and that until the head of the household could earn enough on his own so that the children could stay in one place, progress would consist largely in "conversation."

## ON HEALTH AND SAFETY

On pesticides, he was particularly vehement. The total population was now feeling its effects, he noted: it has reached dangerous levels even in a nursing mother's milk. And this is by way of comparatively minute exposure.

Grape workers, who are subject to these particulates nine months of the year, he said, have seen their children die of pesticide poisoning too many times to have it called "an accident". Many have grown so allergic to these pesticides that they break out in a rash as soon as they get near the vines.

In Delano, the heavy and constant spraying which—theoretically—is mostly washed away by rain, has actually infested the water table which is now so polluted that farmers have to dig ever deeper to find subterranean streams fit to drink.

"We now have a clause in our contract barring use of DDT, Aldrin, and other such killers," said Chavez. "We'd like to eliminate all pesticides. Maybe the fruits and vegetables won't look so good, but they'll be a lot healthier for everybody."

Any disease caused by these pesticides is not yet considered compensable under the law. "The men, women and children are putting their lives on the line," said Chavez, "and not a penny's worth of compensation is provided for them or their families even if they grow sick enough to die."

The reduction of accidents, too, Chavez felt was mandatory. The figure he quoted before (300 percent higher than the national average) included only those accidents "reported," he claimed but he said there were many more thousands "not reported" purely out of fear that it would go bad for the worker if he did.

"So you see," he shrugged as though the situation was too obvious for further comment, "there's still a lot of the road to be paved."

## ON THE MAN AND THE MISSION

Several personal observations seem almost mandatory before an equation of the man and the mission is drawn, for to the person with a lesser sense of commitment and perhaps a different concept of the meaning of responsibility some things seem out of focus.

One does not argue here with the meaning or the value of the work that has been done, nor with Chavez' total commitment to that task. But in his unending struggle to help provide a better life for the fraternity of man, the thought persists: has he not sacrificed to that commitment not only himself but his family as well? Has he given them any part of that good life he wants so badly for others? In his fight for better education—has he provided the means for his own children to achieve it, or has he by his commitment—perhaps doomed them to the very existence he so abhors?

Disturbing questions, these, that were never asked.

Perhaps there are no answers, for each man is a universe unto himself with conscience and character a couple of lonely moons revolving in silence about the even lonelier spirit to which they have been assigned. And who is to say what is right and what is not in the governing forces that motivate the soul?

Cesar Chavez—as all of us—is one of a kind. The director of the United Farm Work-



ers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) is a devout Catholic who wears a mezzuzah around his neck because to him, God is everywhere and because Jesus honored the Ten Commandments long before the Saint Christopher medallion was born.

He's an individual who could walk into a dozen top-paying jobs tomorrow but chooses instead to devote his life to a 24-hour, 7-day week schedule for the betterment of his people at a remuneration of \$20 a month plus board and lodging and often without the dollars when they aren't there. His "lodging" is a modest two-bedroom home whose entire furnishings if bundled together might not equal the \$50 a month the UFWOC pays for his rent.

He lives there with his wife and six of his eight children; the two oldest are now off on their own. His "board" consists of groceries parcelled out by the organizing committee on a so-much-per-person basis.

Chavez, himself, is almost an ascetic in his eating habits. He touches no meat; a few walnuts and an orange have often served as his lunch—if and when he found time (or remembered) to eat at all.

He's a man in almost constant pain due to semi-atrophied leg and back muscles—a condition acquired by his labors in the fields and one common to many farm workers, leaving them partially disabled before they have even reached much past maturity. Yet he is one whose spiritual courage is somehow able to disregard and even overcome that pain.

"Cesar" (nobody in the UFWOC calls him by his family name) is a great deal more than a colorful little Chicano who has captured the nation's imagination at the moment and has heard its applause. To lock it up there would be to miss the point entirely and perhaps even denigrate his individual aims and goals and also of those who have dedicated themselves so selflessly in that behalf.

To label him an extraordinary modern-day labor leader would be missing the mark by just as wide a margin, for through his aims are ineluctably tied to social progress, the roots of those aims lie far less in power than in a kind of mystique that transcends it. There is a fervor and evangelism to his call that is uniquely his own and unparalleled in recent labor history.

Cesar Chavez—more than anything else—is a symbol; the very essence of the energy of a drive; that catalytic agent that has crystallized the sufferings of a people forgotten and almost excommunicated by society from its benefits, and who has been able to rally around him by some inner strength uncharted the kind of devotion only conscience can capture and which money has never been able to buy.

More than anything else, his total being believes that what man truly seeks he shall find. And whether "la causa" ends with him or moves to whatever its destiny, the feeling is that with his coming, alone, the Mexican-American will never return to what he was before.

#### THE MAN

"Jail is a small price to pay to help right injustice . . ." Cesar Chavez.

The Bud Antle Corporation is the world's second largest lettuce grower and the largest not yet to negotiate with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. It farms in excess of 43,000 acres of land in California and Arizona.

Dow Chemical entered the Antle corporate structure in 1968, when Antle sold it some 17,000 acres for a reputed price of \$5 million. Dow—at this point—put one of its board members on the Antle board and rented the property back to the seller.

The Dow-Antle complex was one of those

which was struck immediately after the Salinas growers signed a contract with the Teamsters. "Unlike United Fruit and Purex," said a Farm Worker spokesman, "this conglomerate chose to fight" and went to Judge Gordon Campbell of the Monterey County Superior Court.

Sitting in Salinas, Judge Campbell issued one of the most incredible decisions in recent labor history. Not only did he prohibit farm workers at Antle from striking, but he actually directed Chavez to instruct the public that they should purchase Antle lettuce to help offset the negative effects of the boycott. Chavez, of course, refused.

On December 4, last, Chavez appeared before Judge Campbell in answer to a "warrant of attachment" and was put in jail. Reaction from some Congressmen was immediate. Following is the partial text of a telegram sent by Senator Alan Cranston (D.-Calif.) on December 7 to Bud Antle Farms in Salinas.

"I wish to express my concern about recent events in Salinas, California, which have resulted in the jailing of Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) . . . I must express my profound distress that this confrontation has escalated to the point where the Nation's greatest living advocate of nonviolence has been jailed. This development raises the spectre of old and discredited tactics for thwarting legitimate unionizing drives . . . It is precisely because the jailing of Chavez can only detract from the development of a climate of understanding that I am sending you this telegram.

"I urge you to lead the way from combat and toward negotiations in good faith with UFWOC representatives on this important matter. It is in the interest of both workers and growers to bring peace to our troubled valleys at once. It is from honest efforts at the bargaining table that peace and justice will come to the Salinas Valley. The jail cell is not an acceptable alternative."

On December 24, Chavez was released on his own recognizance. The California Supreme Court had set aside the injunction, thus freeing him. That decision, as of press time, was being appealed.

Some industry figures were made available to ALM on what the government had purchased from Bud Antle since 1969. The information, according to a Farm Worker spokesman, was put together by Senator Edward Kennedy's office from material supplied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In fiscal 1969 (July) the Federal Government Department of Defense purchased \$840,000 worth of lettuce from the Bud Antle ranches. In fiscal 1970 (July), the figure was \$730,000. But in the first three months of the present strike, these purchases totaled \$750,000. Percentage-wise, it was 9.9 percent of the total lettuce it bought in fiscal 1969; 8.3 percent in fiscal 1970 and 29.1 percent for the first quarter of 1971 alone. In other words, it has tripled its purchases since the strike.

On why Dow-Antle is so anxious to fend off the UFWOC, Jim Drake, head of the Farm Workers' New York office, stated, "Antle is to lettuce what Giumarra was to grapes. But probably more critical is Dow's anxiety about the firm intent of UFWOC to limit the use of pesticides on fruits and vegetables.

"The fact that Dow is both in the business of manufacturing and applying pesticides on a vast scale gives them reason to fear the workers' drive for a union.

For example, a UFWOC release stated, "2-4,d, the potent poison used in Salinas on lettuce, is also used in Viet Nam. To bring it under control here will automatically imply that it should be controlled elsewhere, Dow manufactures 2-4,d.

#### MONTY HALL

### HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to say these all-too-few words about Mr. Monty Hall, who is among my neighbors in California.

Mr. Hall is best known to the American public as the man who hosts one of television's most popular shows, "Let's Make a Deal." But to many of us Mr. Hall is respected for something much more important: He is a humanitarian.

I will not even try to recount all the time he has devoted over the years to worthwhile causes. However, I will mention that he is an international ambassador for Variety International, and is also the outgoing president of the Southern California Variety Club, in which capacities he has raised hundreds of thousands of dollars to support such activities as the Boys Club of East Los Angeles, which serves the Mexican-American community; the children's heart clinic at UCLA; and the construction of a pediatric wing at Cedars of Sinai Hospital in Los Angeles.

Monty Hall also is a member of the board of directors of the United Jewish Welfare Fund, serves on the board of trustees of the Watts training center, and is a vice president of B'nai B'rith.

Recently all of us in the United States were deeply shocked and grieved when airplanes bearing members of the Wichita State University and of the Marshall University football teams crashed, taking 106 lives, and leaving in their wake untold human suffering and needs.

Immediately after the Wichita University crash—on October 2, 1970—Monty Hall phoned friends in Wichita and asked how he could help. He thus started the ball rolling for an all-star show—which included himself, Bill Cosby, Phil Ford and Mimi Hines, George Gobel, the Young Americans, Minnie Pearl, Marilyn Maye, Mac Davis, Leif Ericson and Humble Pie—in Wichita University's fieldhouse on November 28. Gate receipts, alone, from that show exceeded \$170,000.

A decision was made along the way to also televise the all-star show and to appeal to the viewing audience to contribute additional funds.

Then, on November 14 the second tragic crash occurred, involving football players and others from Marshall University. A quick decision was made to have the families of the victims of the second crash also benefit from the all-star show.

The exact figures are not yet available, but suffice it to say that approximately \$500,000 will be available as a result of the show and its telecast over 202 stations to help take care of the urgent needs brought about by both crashes.

Monty Hall, you see, is a man with a heart. He is also a man who, rather than merely stand by and say something ought to be done, actually goes out and does it.

The fact that he is both a man of action and a humanitarian has helped many persons over numerous rough spots.

Mr. Speaker, people in show business are very often—and sometimes justifiably—condemned for their public activities. On the other hand, there are many entertainers who use their positions in the public spotlight to do worthwhile things. Monty Hall is such a person, and it is my pleasure to say "thank you" to him on behalf of us all at this time.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, U.S. INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, recently the senior Senator from Oregon, Mr. HATFIELD, introduced in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a series of articles, editorials, and statements in regard to the proposal of the U.S. International University to establish a campus at the site of the former Camp Adair, near Corvallis, Ore. With slight exception, these writings were critical of the proposal and of the U.S. International University.

In the interests of complete objectivity, and so that the wrong impression will not be left in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am asking to be published today an article in the Portland Oregonian, editorials of the Corvallis Gazette-Times, and the Albany Democrat-Herald, and a news story published in the Corvallis Gazette-Times.

It should be noted that the cities of Corvallis and Albany are the cities which are directly affected by this educational proposal, and that the citizens' committee which was formed to find a beneficial use for Camp Adair, was drawn from people in these two communities. The citizens' committee labored long and hard, in fact for many months, and unanimously recommended the transfer to the U.S. International University.

FEDERAL OFFICIALS DENY ADAIR TRANSFER HELD UP AT HATFIELD REQUEST

(By John Guernsey)

United States International University, a San Diego-based institution which plans to establish a branch campus on the old Adair Air Force base near Corvallis, is a highly accredited and growing institution.

A thorough investigation of the proposed federal land transfer to the institution makes it appear that Sen. Mark Hatfield may be attacking a straw man, in his attempts to delay the land transfer.

A Hatfield aide said the senator requested a "hold" on the transfer for two reasons:

—To be sure the U.S. General Services Administration and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare have followed proper governmental procedures in arranging transfer of the land.

—To learn more about the United States International University.

The Hatfield aide said "Only a sketchy financial statement currently is required of potential recipients of surplus government

property. Hatfield has indicated a more complete disclosure should be required."

Hatfield indicated he also is investigating the broader problems involved in disposal of surplus government property.

An aide said Hatfield may introduce legislation to tighten federal property disposal procedures, and require a more detailed financial statement by prospective private land surplus recipients.

The senator's land transaction delaying action also has resulted in these speculations by some Oregonians:

... That the property was "railroaded" to the California institution, with Oregon businesses and public agencies not having a chance to acquire it.

... That USIU is a fly-by-night university, trying to obtain some surplus property.

... That operators of independent colleges and universities in Oregon have convinced Hatfield that Oregon does not need another private college. Some of the existing independents in Oregon are having trouble staying alive.

... That a segment of the Methodist Church has urged Hatfield to try and keep USIU out of Oregon. The school had strong ties with the Methodist Church until the mid 1950s, when it broke away and launched its expansion program.

... That Hatfield senses the proposed land transfer as a worthwhile political issue, if he runs for re-election to the Senate in 1972, and is challenged by Gov. Tom McCall. The governor has endorsed transfer of most of the abandoned air base property to USIU.

The records and testimony from all persons involved remove any doubt that Oregon public agencies, and many businesses and industries, had first grabs at the multi-million dollar Adair property before USIU was even asked if it was interested.

PROBLEMS AROSE

The General Services Administration, in the spring of 1969, made it known to many Oregon firms and public agencies that the 371 acres of Adair property, and 128 buildings, would be declared surplus.

Aldon Toves, president of the Citizens Bank of Corvallis, headed up a committee of public and private lenders, trying to solicit a user for the property.

"Our first target was to get a big taxpayer to apply for and use the property for business or industry."

He said some firms did show an interest, "but we ran into some problems. We didn't have a GSA appraisal on the property, and couldn't adequately explain what we had to sell.

"And there was the problem of timing. The land availability came at the time of the national economic slowdown."

There were some ideas for using the property, but no financing.

Toves said his committee represented Monmouth, Independence, Salem, Corvallis and Albany leaders, as well as public agency leaders. They tried for 1½ years to find a taker for the property, after which the committee supported USIU's application for some of the land and buildings.

"Education is a prime form of industry in the Corvallis area," Toves said. "The committee saw no conflict if USIU got the property. It might well ease the burden on tax supported institutions in Oregon.

"A study of USIU indicates that it has performed well beyond requirements when developing other campuses," he concluded.

Other Oregon organizations, which received early GSA notification of the property availability, were:

The Oregon System of Higher Education, the Oregon Board of Education, the Oregon State Board of Health, Benton County Health

Department, Linn-Benton Community College, Jewish Welfare Federation of Portland; Oregon Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, the director of manpower and training for the Oregon Columbia Chapter of Associated General Contractors of America, the Catholic Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon, diocesan headquarters for the Oregon Episcopal Church, Oregon State University, the Linn-Benton County Education District, and the Benton County Board of Commissioners.

BEST PROPOSAL

Gov. Tom McCall also was notified, and asked all state agencies if they had any proposals for using the land.

"The System of Higher Education had a weak proposal to use it as some sort of disposal site for used and dangerous chemicals.

"Dale Parnell (Oregon superintendent of public instruction) proposed using it as a state environmental teaching center. But he could offer no plans for financing it.

"The poor people later made a bid for the property. But how can we finance it?

"There were a lot of great ideas, if you had unlimited money.

"The California university proposal is the best one we had. It will cost us no money, provide us some payroll, and provide some interaction between the two universities," McCall explained.

How did the California-based university get into the Adair land hassle in the first place?

Joseph Everett, of Health Education and Welfare's educational division, said he alerted the Corvallis committee to contact the institution after all Oregon possibilities for using the land had been exhausted.

He said he knew Dr. William C. Rust, president of USIU, was interested in acquiring land outside of California for new campuses. He said he knew this from dealing with Rust several years ago, when the university acquired part of old Camp Elliott in San Diego, on which it now operates a college.

He said several Corvallis leaders went to San Diego and checked out the university in detail before HEW reached the decision to transfer the land to USIU.

In addition to its three San Diego campuses, the university also operates campuses in Colorado, London, Kenya and Mexico. It plans to open campuses in the fall of 1971 at Adair, and at the abandoned Sundance Air Base in Wyoming. The institution also hopes to land property in Hawaii.

Some believe Hatfield may be irked because Oregon muffed a chance to acquire the valuable land.

This may be justifiable grounds for being miffed, but Oregonians did have a year-and-a-half of opportunity, and didn't take it.

Hatfield's eyes may have been curious over the frequency with which the university has acquired surplus government land in recent years.

RECORD STANDS UP

In April of 1965 the university obtained 350 acres of abandoned Camp Elliott in San Diego. In January of 1966 it received another 50 acres of the Camp Elliott property.

In August, 1970, it was granted 54 acres and 71 buildings in Wyoming, the old Sundance Air Force Station. The part of Adair now in question is 257 acres and 35 buildings, for which the university received a temporary permit this year.

HEW officials say that in each case, the university's bidding has been considered only after local agencies have shown no interest in the properties.

Everett added that in all cases the university has more than lived up to the pre-stated requirements for obtaining and using the land.



Records and conversations with persons involved indicate that government regulations for disposing of surplus property have been followed precisely in the Adair case.

Rep. Wendell Wyatt has been active in the Adair transfer proposal, and is satisfied that governmental regulations have been satisfied.

"The loss of the Air Force station was a severe blow to the Corvallis area," he said. "But USIU will be a welcome replacement."

The law provides that branches of the armed services have first choice at armed service property to be declared surplus. If they don't want it, then public agencies in the area and state are considered. If they don't want it, private enterprises are considered.

Everett said these procedures have been followed.

#### ULTIMATE COST ZERO

There also has been some confusion about what, if anything, community service or non-profit agencies have to pay for surplus government property.

On paper, USIU will pay the General Services Administration appraised value of the property.

But in actuality, the university will pay only closing costs, and nothing out-of-pocket for the property.

This is because government regulations for handling such properties provide that a receiving institution will receive a 3½ per cent discount from total appraised price, for each year the property is operated as agreed.

That is, if USIU receives the property, and operates it as an educational institution for 30 years, the total appraised price of the property will have been amortized by discount.

Some Oregonians have speculated that the university may acquire the properties for educational use, discontinue the campus operations after only a few years, and then sell the valuable land at a profit.

"Not a chance," says Everett of the HEW. The law provides that if a contract is breached, if the University should choose to close the Adair campus after only seven years of operation, the federal government would reserve two options.

... Reclaim the property and deed it to another community benefit operation, if another agency wants it.

... Let the occupying institution retain it, but only after paying full market value for the property. Full market value would be determined at the actual date of sale, not based on prior valuation when the institution first occupied the property.

#### CREDENTIALS GOOD

Hatfield has requested that the financial position of United States International University be given further study.

From the accreditations which the institution has, it appears the institution has the financial stability necessary for the expansions it is undertaking.

Educational accrediting agencies, before putting the stamp of approval on an institution, explore the academic and financial aspects of an institution in exhaustive detail.

USIU is accredited by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges.

Dr. Kay Andersen, executive director of the accrediting agency, explains that information assembled by the accrediting study teams—including seasoned businessmen, is confidential.

"But you can certainly say their resources are adequate, or they (USIU) would not have been accredited and re-accredited."

Since 1956 the WASC has examined, accredited, and renewed accreditation of the California-based university six times. The most recent re-accreditation was last spring.

Educational institutions are not reexamined for accreditation renewal because anything is suspect. They are reexamined periodically because accreditations are granted

only for brief periods, three, four and five years.

The stability of USIU also is enhanced by the stature of membership on its 32-member board of trustees.

It includes leaders such as John Cranston, lawyer in San Diego; the Rev. Gerald Kennedy, bishop of the United Methodist Church of Los Angeles; T. Claude Ryan, chairman of the board of Ryan Aeronautical in San Diego; C. Arnhoit Smith, chairman of the board of U.S. National Bank of San Diego; James M. Carter, judge of the ninth District Court of Appeals.

Most of the board members are from San Diego, with three from Los Angeles and one from Phoenix.

The university is a member in good standing of the Council of Graduate Schools of the United States, and of the Western Association of Graduate Schools.

#### REGULATIONS STRICT

Its law school is on the approved list of law schools of the American Bar Association, the State Bar of California, and is a member of the Association of American Law Schools.

The university offers liberal arts and professional programs at undergraduate and graduate levels, and appeals to high school graduates with 'B' averages and better.

The campuses do not have social fraternities nor sororities. The combined campuses have about 4,000 students.

The campuses sponsor college-community orchestra, chorus, opera workshop, surfing, sailing, skindiving clubs, religious service and honorary groups.

The Christian-flavored institutions stress democracy, decency, and acceptable student conduct and dress. Alcoholic beverages and drugs are banned from the campuses.

Tuition is about \$1,950 per year, and dormitory rates for a school year amount to about \$950.

About 650 freshmen were admitted last year, out of 2,650 who applied.

Some Oregonians wonder how USIU could make ends meet, when some Oregon independent institutions are having trouble staying alive—even though charging higher tuitions than USIU would charge.

Robert Dunn, vice president of USIU, answers the questions this way:

"We concentrate on very good business management, and we offer valid, exciting programs to attract students.

"We pay substantial faculty salaries, stress academic excellence and a wholesome-decent climate on campus, and we have no trouble getting students.

"We stress finding a meaning in life with academic education. A lot of parents and students want this.

"And we don't offer a lot of high cost graduate programs," Dunn added.

Both HEW and GSA officials deny that the land transaction is being held up due to Hatfield's "hold request."

However, HEW granted the university a temporary permit to the property Sept. 28, and it was stated that the GSA appraisal of land value would be available about Oct. 15. The appraisal is necessary before the final deed can be negotiated.

Hatfield has requested a meeting with Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to discuss the matter further in early 1971.

[From the Corvallis (Oreg.) Gazette-Times, Jan. 5, 1971]

#### WYATT ON THE USIU CAMPUS

It is Sen. Mark O. Hatfield who has requested delay of the transfer of Adair Air Force Station to United States International University because he has some "questions" about it.

But it was Rep. Wendell Wyatt, congressman from Oregon's First District, who spent

part of his Christmas holidays at the San Diego-based institution which, unless Hatfield's Johnny-come-lately intervention turns USIU sour on Oregon, will locate north of Corvallis.

At his own expense, Wyatt visited each of the two USIU branches near San Diego—Elliott and California Western—to double-check his data on the financial stability and educational quality of the institution. He talked with Dr. William C. Rust, president, who, incidentally, will speak at the Distinguished Citizens' banquet here on Jan. 28. Wyatt's opinion of Dr. Rust as "a good man . . . a man of vision who has seen his ideas through to fruition," was reinforced. "Remarkable" and "exciting" were Wyatt's terms for Rust's concept of education at geographically dispersed, small campuses. Wyatt described the California Western campus as one of the most beautiful he has seen.

Rep. Wyatt went over the financial books of USIU with Robert S. Dunn, vice president and business manager. His assessment of the financial structure is that it is sound, capable of establishing and maintaining a new branch at Adair as required under the use mortgage stipulations of acquiring the property. While in San Diego, Wyatt also discussed USIU with James Faulstich, Oregon's head of economic development, who agrees with the congressman's assessment.

Since Adair was first declared surplus, Wyatt has assisted the local search committee. After federal, state and local government agencies had struck out in finding (and funding) a viable use, the door opened to private enterprise.

Originally, it was hoped that a suitable industry could be found, but the economic climate combined with other detriments to void the objective. Then USIU entered the picture. After discussions here and at San Diego with USIU and government officials, and after further investigation, the multi-county committee granted approval.

In the interim there have been periodic flareups of alternate proposals, but nothing, according to Alden Toevs, search chairman, to cause committee members to recant their recommendation. Nor has new information raised doubts about the decision. In the main, the questions asked by Hatfield and others had been raised and settled months ago.

In fact, Hatfield cosigned a letter with Wyatt which Sen. Bob Packwood wrote to General Services Administration this summer urging the agency to expedite the transfer of Adair to USIU. Later Hatfield apparently listened to dark whispers, possibly inspired as a result of USIU's not-too-distant divorce from the Methodist Church. Perhaps political winds also were carrying messages.

Whatever the underlying cause of the senator's attempt to sidetrack USIU from Adair, the base has been vacant for a year and a half. If USIU, which holds promise of becoming a significant local asset, is aborted, the hunt for an occupant must start all over again while the property continues to deteriorate rapidly and the economy of the area misses out on the boost the new university would bring.

Wyatt's conscientious action on this matter is typical of the man. His reiterated support for USIU polishes the welcome mat that this area should be preparing for the newcomer to Benton County.

#### ADAIR DELAY COULD BE DISASTROUS, REPRESENTATIVE INGALLS SAYS

State Rep. Robert C. Ingalls, R-Corvallis, said today that housing and buildings at Camp Adair are deteriorating, and that further delay of occupancy of these buildings could be disastrous.

Ingalls, in an interview with the Gazette-Times, said he is opposed to legislation presently under consideration in the House which asks the U.S. Committee on Health,

Education and Welfare to appoint a special committee to study Adair and conduct hearings.

The proposed memorial to the Committee on Health, Education and Welfare was introduced by Rep. LeRoy Owens, D-Eugene. It must be passed by the Oregon House and Senate to be adopted.

"I don't believe that the people who are getting involved in this have a complete understanding of what has gone on before or what could happen now," Ingalls said.

Adair was declared surplus in 1969 and since that time it has been offered for sale to county, state and federal organizations. It was then offered for sale to private business and the only organization to show interest was the U.S. International University, Ingalls pointed out.

"One big problem in taking over Adair is the mortgage on the Carport housing, which is held by the Retired Teachers Association of the State of Washington," Ingalls told the Gazette-Times. "The mortgage amounts to move than \$1 million, and anyone who acquire the property would have to pay off this cost.

"Further, there is a tremendous expense in running the former base insofar as sewage disposal, water and electricity and upkeep on the buildings is concerned," the representative continued. "This will run into several thousand dollars per month."

Ingalls said the longer occupancy of Adair is delayed, the greater the deterioration will be and the more costs of rehabilitation will increase.

He emphasized his fears that the U.S. International University might be scared off "because of the negative attitude of other people" and because "if they think they're not welcome there is a strong likelihood they will say, 'forget it,' and leave us with no one capable of picking up the facility and bringing an economic resource into Benton County."

"The occupancy of Adair by the university has already been delayed by Sen. Mark Hatfield some six months," Ingalls stated. "Hatfield will meet with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Friday, and perhaps the matter will be resolved at this meeting."

[From the Albany (Oreg.) Democrat-Herald, Jan. 26, 1971]

#### DOES ANYBODY HAVE ANSWER FOR ADAIR?

How is one to evaluate the proposal to transfer Adair Air Force Station to a private California college?

What once seemed to be a matter of mere formality has become somewhat of a cause. Consider, if you will, the following circumstances:

The Corvallis chamber, which did the initial work on locating United States International University at Adair, gives the transfer its unqualified backing.

Congressman Wendell Wyatt, a man who is famous for his homework, looked over USIU in California and pronounced the school a good potential tenant for Adair.

Sen. Mark Hatfield disagreed, albeit late in the turnover process, and suggested there might be some good reasons for not giving the land to USIU. So far, he hasn't revealed those reasons.

At least two Oregon newspapers have questioned the proposed transfer. Neither has been able to come up with any hard information that would indicate either that there is a better use for Adair or that USIU would be a poor choice.

The Oregon Poor People's Conference, a loosely woven confederation of people looking for a power base, wants Adair but so far has received little support.

Dale Parnell, state superintendent of public instruction, wants the base given to the state so that it can develop an environmental studies center.

Several influential people, including at least two college presidents, claim Oregon doesn't need another private college. They say USIU will dilute the already precarious finances of some of the state's private colleges.

Late last week, Congressman Wyatt said it was probably too late to stop the turnover. Sen. Hatfield disputed that and said the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's head, Elliot Richardson, was looking into it himself.

It becomes virtually impossible for a layman to understand what is happening. It may be that nobody really knows.

One thing that seems apparent. If Oregonians don't have the imagination to find a use for Adair, maybe they could hire somebody who does?

[From the Corvallis (Oreg.) Gazette Times, Feb. 5, 1971]

#### SHORTAGE OF HOMEWORK ON ADAIR

The depth of ignorance and misinformation which surrounds the transfer of Adair Air Force Station to United States International University is appalling.

Particularly culpable are those promoting, on stage and behind the scenes, House Joint Memorial 1 that would delay a transfer of the deed—a transfer which already has taken place.

It would have helped immensely if some of these people had talked with Alden Toevs. Since the deactivation of Adair was first announced in April 1969, the Corvallis banker and First Citizen has headed up the group of area leaders working to find an occupant for the base. The Site Utilization Committee was formed in May 1969 after a top-level team from the Department of Defense spent two days in Corvallis. Among other things, they briefed the committee of representatives from Polk, Linn and Benton counties and from Salem and Portland on the transfer procedures and opportunities for assistance in locating a compatible occupant.

The committee, and particularly Toevs, worked closely with the General Services Administration, during the year that federal and state agencies had priority in acquiring the property. He can detail the early flyers—Navy Fleet Weather Control, Department of Agriculture, Oregon State University, State Department of Education, Human Resources and others—all counted out for lack of available funding.

Even while the government agencies were in the market, the local utilization committee was hunting for private industry and institutions which might be interested in Adair. But nobody could be found with the capability of converting Adair into a viable asset until they located Dr. William Rust and USIU. The committee, almost a year ago, literally sidetracked Rust on his way home from a trip to Puget Sound where trustees were considering locating a branch campus. It was local groups that, after extended investigation, requested on April 22 the transfer of Adair to USIU.

Precipitous action? When it takes over 10 months? A "deal" made in Washington, D.C.? When the local committee and citizens initiated the contact with USIU, approved it and rode herd on it all the way? Phooey.

From the first rumors of Adair's deactivation, Rep. Wendell Wyatt, R-First District, has been of extraordinary help to local people trying to develop desirable utilization of the base. Has anybody who questions the transfer talked with Wyatt about what he found when he went to San Diego in December to re-examine the financial statements and credentials of USIU on the spot? About how Wyatt, an astute lawyer as well as an influential and respected Congressman, views USIU's increase in indebtedness in the light of its substantial investment in new construction? About how the Department of

Education finds nothing at all unusual about requests for loan repayment extensions, a pattern in many institutions?

Wyatt maintains his firm support for USIU and for rapid occupancy of the deteriorating property. So do those others who have worked most closely over the long period of transfer activity.

Two valuable sources of factual and comprehensive information about the transaction have been virtually ignored in favor of trumpeting some "vague apprehensions" and specious inferences. Also ignored is the reversion clause in the contract through which the government recovers the property at any time during the next 30 years if USIU fails to operate an institution of higher education at Adair.

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEMS IN OUR NATIONAL PARKS

##### HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, for those Members who carefully read the record of the supplemental hearings of the Interior Subcommittee on Appropriations with reference to the law enforcement problems in our national parks, I am taking this opportunity to place in the RECORD here a report to me from George Hartzog, director of the National Park Service. I place it in the RECORD prior to our hearings so that all those who are interested in crime and law enforcement, as it has an impact on recreation and park travel, may have an opportunity to comment to the subcommittee:

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEMS IN OUR NATIONAL PARKS

(By George Hartzog)

It is a pleasure to report further to you on the measures we propose to take to cope with the increasingly difficult law enforcement situations in the National Park System.

Your committee and the Congress responded generously to the needs we expressed in requesting supplemental funds this year to apply to our law enforcement programs, and we are most appreciative. With the monies thus made available we are able to act immediately along the lines described below. Based on a comprehensive study of law enforcement problems in the System, and an evaluation of our effectiveness and capability of dealing with these matters, by expert consultants from the International Association of Chiefs of Police, assisted by representatives of our U.S. Park Police from Washington, we are proceeding as follows:

1. In this fiscal year the U.S. Park Police force will be increased by 40 additional positions. Recruitment of candidates has already gotten underway, and basic training has begun. This added strength will permit us to form a police cadre capable of being dispatched to areas of the System throughout the country to assist Park Rangers in cases of special need such as occurred last summer.

2. Our law enforcement program will be strengthened by providing professional law enforcement assistance within our present Washington, region and park organization structures. Staffing of positions at these levels will be accomplished with available manpower and funding. We are placing maximum reliance upon the expertise and professional ability of officers of the Park Police to provide leadership and program direction. Field execution of the law enforcement functions



will, however, continue to be the responsibility of Park Rangers who, we believe, are especially suited to the unique conditions prevailing in the parks.

At the Washington level we are creating a Division of Law Enforcement, headed by an Inspector, U.S. Park Police, which will report to the Assistant Director, Park Management. The Division will have responsibility for program development, definition of operating standards, establishment of priorities for program and budgeting consideration, and related functions.

At the Regional level we are creating the position of Law Enforcement Officer on the staff of the Directors of the Regions. The position will be filled by assignment of an officer of the Park Police at the Lieutenant-Captain grade. The law enforcement function at the Regional level is concerned primarily with inspection and evaluation of field enforcement operations to assure adherence to standards. The position also will provide a source of ready professional advice and assistance to the Directors of the Regions in law enforcement matters.

At the park level we are creating Law Enforcement Officer positions on the staff of the Superintendent in parks where law enforcement problems are identified as major in degree and proportion. We anticipate that 15-20 parks are now in need of professional police assistance during the heavy travel season. The positions will be filled by the assignment of a Park Police Officer at the Sergeant-Lieutenant level.

3. During the next 6 months we are engaging in a comprehensive law enforcement training program that will reach 225 Park Ranger candidates and selected management personnel. Before the opening of the travel season this year 50 Park Rangers from all parts of the country will have completed 540 hours of basic police training at our Washington Training Center. The first basic class, now in session, consists of 25 Park Rangers and 15 Park Police recruits.

As you know, we place maximum reliance upon seasonal Park Rangers to accomplish our objectives in public use management during the heavy travel season. Accordingly, we are developing a special training program in law enforcement to reach a minimum of 100 candidates from selected areas.

An intensive 8-week training program heavily oriented to police management and administration is being designed for supervisory Park Ranger personnel from areas experiencing major law enforcement problems.

A seminar in law enforcement is planned which will involve top field managers of the National Park Service in exposures to law enforcement problems in our society. The purpose of the 2-week seminar is to develop a policy and philosophical base upon which to formulate and execute the Service's law enforcement program.

4. The level of staffing in the Service generally is inadequate to the needs of law enforcement. Serious deficiencies occur, seasonally, at such areas as Yellowstone, Grand Canyon, and Yosemite National Parks, Lake Mead National Recreation Area, Cape Cod National Seashore, and others where enforcement problems have risen sharply in recent years. Moreover, the upward trend in the incidence of crime in the national parks suggests a continuing need for additional staffing.

At the present time approximately 800 permanent Park Rangers and Technicians and 1,300 seasonal Park Rangers are employed in duties which involve law enforcement responsibilities in varying degrees. We are able to respond quickly to remedy immediate deficiencies through the funds made available from the approved supplementary budget request. As mentioned above, the Park Police force level will be increased from 371 to 411 positions to provide capability of dispatching police assistance on short notice to

areas of the System as needs arise. Use of the Park Police in this fashion will materially alleviate staffing needs this year in the specialized law enforcement area.

For the long range the emphasis in recruitment must be directed to staffing the Park Ranger and Technician ranks with personnel possessing social science and police science backgrounds. The traditional functions of the Park Ranger have been oriented to protection of park resources and interpretive services to park visitors which have led to recruitment largely from the fields of natural science, history, archeology, etc. Increasingly, public use of the parks and changing patterns of use make the traditional role of the Park Ranger unsuited to involvement with the urban problems that are more and more evident in the parks, especially in law enforcement areas.

The measures discussed herein reflect our commitment to initiate early action and achieve effective results in advance of the travel season this year. They give priority attention to the areas of greatest need; i.e., training and organization. The fact that they are capable of immediate implementation is due in large measure to your personal interest in and support of the programs of the National Park Service.

#### THE 53D ANNIVERSARY OF THE LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC

#### HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, this month the courageous people of Lithuania and their friends throughout the free world are commemorating two very important anniversaries. February of this year marks the 720th anniversary of the formation of the Lithuanian State in 1251 and the 53d anniversary of the establishment of the modern Republic of Lithuania on February 16, 1918.

It is always a great privilege for me to join in the celebration of these events and to add my personal support to the struggle for freedom by the brave people of Lithuania.

In September 1939, the Kremlin moved troops into Lithuania and annexed this republic in June of 1940. Under the guns of the Red army, so-called elections were held, followed by the Soviet claim that Lithuania had voted for inclusion in the Soviet empire.

Then began the brutal occupation during which hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians were dragged off to trains and jammed into cars without food or water. Many died from suffocation. The pitiful survivors were dumped out in the Arctic Siberia. As a result of this occupation, since June of 1940 Lithuania has lost more than one-fourth of the country's population.

Since the very beginning of Soviet-Russian occupation, however, the Lithuanians have waged an intensive fight for freedom. This year marks the 30th anniversary of Lithuania's successful revolt against the Soviet Union. During the second part of June of 1941 the people of Lithuania succeeded in getting rid of the Communist regime in the country—freedom and independence were restored and a free government was reestablished.

This free, provisional government remained in existence for more than 6 weeks. At that time Lithuania was overrun by the Nazis, who suppressed all the activities of this free government and the government itself. During the period between 1940 and 1952 alone, more than 30,000 Lithuanian freedom fighters lost their lives in an organized resistance movement against the invaders. The cessation of armed guerrilla warfare in 1952 did not spell the end of Lithuania's resistance against Soviet domination. On the contrary, resistance by passive means gained a new impetus.

The Government of the United States of America has refused to recognize the seizure and forced incorporation of Lithuania by the Communists into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Our Government maintains diplomatic relations with the former free government of Lithuania. Since June of 1940, when the Soviet Union took over Lithuania, all the Presidents of the United States—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon—have stated, restated, and confirmed our country's nonrecognition policy of the occupation of Lithuania by the Kremlin dictators.

When those of us who are privileged to live in this great and free Nation commemorate events whereby others have lost their freedom and independence, we always do so with a mixture of sadness and hope. We are deeply saddened by the continuing plight of the millions of people in Lithuania and other captive nations of the U.S.S.R. who still live in captivity under the tyranny of Communist rule. This occasion is, of course, a particularly sad one for the more than 1 million Americans of Lithuanian origin or descent.

We must never give up hope, however, that some day these people will once again control their own destinies and enjoy the precious human right to freedom. In 1966, with the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 416, the United States Congress gave formal expression to our genuine concern for the Baltic peoples held in captivity as well as our continuing hope for their eventual freedom. In this resolution the Congress reaffirms the support of the U.S. Government for the aspirations of the Baltic peoples for self-determination and national independence, and urges the President to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to them.

This resolution follows herewith:

H. CON. RES. 416

Whereas the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation; and

Whereas all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, cultural, and religious development; and

Whereas the Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been forcibly deprived of these rights by the Government of the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union, through a program of deportations and resettlement of peoples, continues in its effort to change the ethnic character of the populations of the Baltic States; and

Whereas it has been the firm and consistent policy of the Government of the United States to support the aspirations of Baltic peoples for self-determination and national independence; and

Whereas there exist many historical, cultural, and family ties between the peoples of the Baltic States and the American people: Be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the House of Representatives of the United States urge the President of the United States—

(a) to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums and by such means as he deems appropriate, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and

(b) to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

#### BILL TO INCREASE CHILD CARE TAX DEDUCTIONS

**HON. EDWARD I. KOCH**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, with the increasing number of women who work—and the added number who want at least some part-time employment out of the home—it is time for the Congress to update its laws relating to tax deductions for child care expenses.

I have introduced a bill to liberalize child care tax deductions allowed under the present internal revenue code. Currently, a working mother can deduct up to \$600 in day care expenses for one child and up to \$900 for two or more children. My bill would increase these allowances to \$1,000 for one child and \$1,500 for two or more children. The bill also would eliminate the \$6,000 income ceiling now placed on working wives; under present law only divorcees and fathers who are the sole parent are excluded from this income limitation—while no deductions are given to working wives whose total family income exceeds \$6,000.

The need for this legislation is readily apparent, particularly when one compares the employment and wage statistics applicable to women with those applying to men. While more women are working today than in the past—women now make up 38 percent of the labor market—statistics released by the Labor Department show a wide differential between the salaries paid men and those paid women. Moreover little progress is being made to close the gap; instead the gap is widening. While in 1955 the woman's median wage was 63.9 percent of the man's, today it is reduced to 58.2 percent. And, while 58.6 percent of workingmen earn \$7,000 or more annually, only 13.8 percent of women workers are in this category, and only 0.4 percent of women have incomes over \$15,000.

The presence of young children in the family has a direct effect on the mother's participation in the labor force. About 11.6 million women in the labor force in March 1969 had children under the age of 18 years; 7.4 million of these working mothers had no children under the age of six. Also, almost three-fifths of all women workers are married and living with their husbands; more than one-fifth are single; and almost one-fifth are widowed, divorced, or separated from their husbands.

This legislation is also important to those working wives who raise family income above the poverty level or from a low to a middle range. Only 3 percent of all husband-wife families had incomes below \$3,000 in 1968 when the wife was a worker; 10 percent when she was not.

My bill will allow expenses eligible for deduction to include those for care in the home or in a day care center. To a working mother, child care expenses are in the nature of a business expense. It seems to me that if a businessman is entitled to deduct expenses for dining and dining a customer, surely any working mother should be able to deduct the expenses for the care of her children.

#### LOWELL HIGH SCHOOL IN UNIQUE PROGRAM

**HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Tom Hollenbach and Wendy Stern, seniors at Lowell High School, should be commended for their initiative and persistence in organizing a program of volunteer service for the handicapped and underprivileged. As ably reported by Staff Reporter Carolyn Miegel of the Lowell Sun, the program is designed to broaden the outlook of the students, increasing their social awareness and helping them learn more about professions they might wish to enter. The article provides an encouraging insight into the desire of the students at Lowell High to assist the less fortunate, and it should be read especially by those who are concerned over the motivations and activities of today's youth. What is going on at Lowell High should not be allowed to pass without recognition, and I am pleased to recommend Miss Miegel's article for the reading of my colleagues:

#### LOWELL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN UNIQUE PROGRAM

(By Carolyn Miegel)

LOWELL.—In September of 1969, Tom Hollenbach, now a senior at Lowell High School, had an idea about how students could do volunteer work and learn something too. Since that fall, the concept of student volunteers has grown to include a new program at Lowell High this month, where students are released early from school to work in Lowell service agencies.

In the summer of 1969, Tom and some other Lowell students worked at Camp Paul, a summer camp run for children with learning and emotional difficulties. At the end of

the summer, "I made a pitch to the volunteers to continue the work during the school year, after school—and those kids became the nucleus of the kids now working at the Solomon Mental Health Center," Tom says.

From the embryonic stages of community service, came another thought—why not do the same sort of work within the high school itself and in other agencies, and on school time?

So along with fellow senior Wendy Stern and a faculty advisor, Miss Elizabeth Kinney of the physics department, Tom set up the community service club last fall.

Initially the club was formed for a tutoring program and the two students, with others, gathered names of students who had free time to begin a tutoring program for fellow students. That was last fall and the list has grown to 120 names, but there is still no tutoring program.

Hollenbach explains that organizational problems at the high school have prevented the start of the program, including the scheduling and overcrowding problems which evolved from the initial chaos of the "modified open campus plan," last fall.

So last December, with the 120 names for tutoring in his pocket, Tom and Wendy went to English classes soliciting names for a new program similar in structure to the high school work experience program, which gets jobs for non-college bound students.

Under the program developed by the two seniors, students in college preparatory courses would be able to leave school at 12:30 and do volunteer work at the Model Cities educational component center in the area. Approximately 35 students, all seniors, now are released but Tom says there could be many more.

The value of the volunteer work, they argued, was that the college-bound students would have an opportunity to sample what kinds of professions they might pursue in an academic situation.

They could have the satisfaction of learning from a new experience and applying that knowledge to the choice they must make in college.

Wendy and Tom consulted with Model Cities educational director Patrick J. Mogan and special education director James Demos and finally with the high school administration.

Wary of the high school administration's view of outside programs, the students say they had set up the program and worked out details before going to high school headmaster Raymond Sullivan and work experience director Christopher Mitchell.

The tutoring program was at a standstill and they didn't want the same delay to infect the "release-time" program, as the volunteer work is called.

They went to Asst. Supt. of Schools G. Douglas Sullivan and then back to the high school. Mitchell was hesitant to approve the program because of state regulations requiring a 5 hour school day. But after a visit by Supt. of Schools Wayne R. Peters, Mitchell's tribulations were erased.

But, even with Peters' go-ahead, the program was not off the ground. In the first week 15 students were supposed to spend Monday and Wednesday afternoons at the special education center.

The first day, however, there were some difficulties with transportation, and the kids didn't go. But now the fifteen are working in the special education center—as "friends," according to Wendy Stern.

"We're not supposed to be teachers there, just a person that the kid can have fun with, study with and confide in. And we can be used as a reward because we are friends. There is none of the structured student-teacher figures with us. We play with the kids and help them with school work, but that is about all," she said.



Wendy has one student, Robin Ann Gablois. Tom works with one of the city's all too few special education classes at the Pawtucket Memorial school on Thursday afternoons. And on Mondays and Thursdays he goes to the Solomon Clinic.

At the mental health center, I act very much like a big brother. It takes about a month for someone just to get the hang of it, though, he says.

Students are not working yet at the Model Cities program but Tom and Wendy hope they will soon.

"We talked with Mr. Mogan and we'll mostly be used in a tutorial capacity, probably for remedial reading," Wendy says, in public and private schools in the Model Cities area.

Both Tom and Wendy see great possibilities in program—and hope the planned open campus for seniors this spring will help to expand their pet project. Under the totally open campus plan, seniors would be allowed to leave school grounds when they don't have a class—and could work in free hours.

"This is the first time that I can remember where we can make constructive changes in the system being done entirely by students," Tom says.

And it seems Dr. Peters sees the possibilities of the program too, as does Asst. Supt. Sullivan.

Sullivan now heads a study committee of students, teachers and community representative to outline an open campus plan for seniors to begin sometime in April.

One state requirement for an open campus plan is for "mini-courses", where students are able to delve into areas in the community and outside the standard curriculum. The "mini-course" requirement for the open campus prevents a local school department for instituting the program merely to save drastically needed school space.

Sullivan has talked briefly with Tom and Wendy about the possibility of incorporating the "release-time" program and expanding it under the open campus plan. Giving credit for the work "is an administrative decision" right now, Tom says, waiting for the open campus to evolve, but Sullivan says it might happen.

At least one of the recipients of the student's time couldn't be more pleased. Dr. Kenneth Bryant, head of the children's division at the mental health center says he is "charmed with the concept."

"They can come and work with quite a few troubled children. It gives the high school students a very different slant on things. They learn and the kids learn from them, even from just having older kids around," Dr. Bryant says.

Other high school and college students also do volunteer work at the mental health clinic, he says, including some from Concord-Carlisle regional high school who are dismissed early to come to Lowell.

Tom and Wendy would eventually like agencies outside the school department—like the mental health center, included in the release time program.

people are subjected to an inordinate amount of criticism because of the anti-social behavior of a few young people, it is reassuring to know that young men such as Fred Thomas are giving thoughtful consideration to the pressing issues facing our Nation. So that my colleagues can be reassured and inspired by his words, I insert his remarks in the RECORD at this point:

#### POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF FREE MEN

Gentlemen, I was asked to speak to you tonight on any subject I chose. I have decided to speak on the political responsibilities of free men. There are two kinds of responsibilities—responsibilities to one's self and responsibilities to others. First things first. Hence, I shall discuss the responsibilities one has to one's self and then the responsibilities one has to others.

The principal responsibility to one's self is that he be informed on all issues. The possession of this information is imperative because only when one is aware of all sides of a situation can one be truly free to choose his course of action. And we all know that action without thought is like a body without life; cold and meaningless.

Two intrinsic responsibilities are that one exercise the given rights and that one not be apathetic; that is not having an opinion about an issue. A free man must exercise the given rights or else he shall lose them in the same manner as one loses the use of a muscle that lies unused for a long period of time. If one loses his rights in this manner it is because he does not care. Losing one's rights in this manner is worse than losing all one's freedom to a dictator for when a dictator seizes one's rights, one is aware of it. A free man cannot be apathetic because this world we live in is based on Boolean Algebra; that is a base two with either yes or no opinions on everything. When one does not decide yes or no or pro or con, the world forces him into a decision without consulting him. Ergo, one loses part of his freedom.

This last group of responsibilities to one's self includes two which are usually not considered in this manner. They are to obey all laws and to protect the rights of all men. All laws must be obeyed to preserve order and society for without order, it becomes impossible to remain free because one must spend his time and effort defending his property, a task normally assigned to society. Also, it is society which says how much freedom one may have. Recalling the Old West brings to mind an example of a place and time without order or society and absolute freedom meant no freedom. This responsibility must be considered here because only an individual can decide whether or not a law is going to be obeyed. Finally, the rights of all men must be protected so that one does not find himself in the group of people whose rights are being denied. This can most easily be done by each individual fighting to protect the rights of all men. There are two major responsibilities that each free man has to every other man. These responsibilities are to resist oppression and to do service to one's country.

Every free man must resist oppression to insure justice. Justice is essential to a free society because, by its very nature, a free society enables men to choose their very course of action. When some people are not allowed to do certain activities which others are allowed to do, resentment springs up. When resentment springs up, a clash becomes eminent. When a clash becomes eminent, society is threatened. When society is threatened, individual rights are threatened. No cause which can arise in a free society is worth the loss of individual rights. Hence, justice must be maintained.

Free men must do service to their country for a country is made up of people. If the

people do not help the country, how can the country be expected to help the people? Several of the services an individual owes his country are to serve on a jury, to serve in the armed services, and to vote. An individual must be ready to serve on a jury, if called, because it is the reciprocal of having the right of trial by a jury of one's peers. There would be no right of trial by jury of one's peers if no one would be a juror; hence, a fundamental right of our free society would be lost. An individual must be ready to serve in the armed services for the defense of his country for, as pointed out earlier, a country is made up of people; hence, people must fight. One cannot be free and apathetic, as pointed out earlier, so when the occasion arises that our country must be defended all free men must come to its aid for this is the price which one must pay for enjoying the advantages of a country. An individual must vote intelligently so that corrupt officials, who take all their orders from special interest groups, will not be elected. For when this happens, the majority will of the people ceases to rule and an oligarchy begins to form.

In conclusion, the fundamental ideal which lies behind all of these responsibilities is a responsibility common to both divisions. If it is neglected, all the people following the neglecter, as well as he, lose their freedom. Hence, not only one's self but others are involved. This fundamental responsibility of all free men is that they remain free.

#### VEYSEY INTRODUCES BILL TO ALLOW CALIFORNIA TO PROTECT ITS ENVIRONMENT

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, the people of southern California suffer from what is commonly acknowledged as the worst smog and air pollution in the country. Although national awareness of the damage done by polluted air has only recently grown strong enough to persuade Congress to take some action, Californians have been struggling with the problem for decades.

The priority California places on cleaning up its air is demonstrated by the recently enacted California Aircraft Emissions Standards Act. I supported the bill as a member of the California Assembly and I know it was the result of extensive research. Its provisions relate to the specific air quality problems of California much more closely than any national standard can, and there is strong local support for hardnosed enforcement.

The effective date of the act was January 1, 1971. On New Year's Day, officers of the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District posted themselves at the airports and issued over 100 citations for alleged violations of the act.

I think vigorous enforcement like this is needed to control air pollution today. But Congress, in its effort to deal with air pollution on the national level, preempted these citations and the entire California act when it passed the Federal Clean Air Act.

Section 233 of the law expressly prohibits any State from adopting or at-

#### POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF FREE MEN

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, recently, I shared the platform with an outstanding young man from my congressional district, Fred Thomas, a student at Sultland High School. At a time when young

tempting to enforce aircraft pollution standards other than those established under the Clean Air Act itself. But, I have been informed that it will be at least a year and possibly two or three before the Federal Aircraft Emission Standards can go into effect. In the meantime, the people of California who have taken responsible steps to protect themselves against aircraft pollution are left helpless.

Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to restore California's right to preserve its own environment until the Federal Aircraft Standards go into effect. I think it is appropriate for the Environmental Protection Agency to take time to hold hearings to consider the views of all interested parties before setting national standards in this field. But a State that has already done so should not be penalized in the meantime. I urge my colleagues to join with me in correcting this injustice.

#### FREE SCHOOL LUNCHES

### HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, all of us are aware of the important role that nutrition plays in child development. The so-called hunger hearings shocked the Nation and served as a catalyst, arousing national support for antipoverty programs.

School lunch programs have been consistently popular in Congress and have gone a long way toward assuring that youngsters receive the nutritious meals they need. While the programs are far from being an answer to hunger—they are a first step.

Unfortunately, however, even as a first step they are not sufficiently inclusive. U.S. Department of Agriculture figures indicate that nationally 7.8 million youngsters in nearly 78,000 schools are eligible for free and reduced-price meals, but only some 5.5 million received such lunches in November, while preliminary indications are that 6 million were reached by the program in December.

New York State's estimate of children eligible for free and reduced-price lunches was 7.8 million for October. The State's report showed that while there were 77,598 NSLP schools with an attendance of 38.7 million, another 23,097 schools, with an estimated average daily attendance of 6.7 million had no food services. For lack of facilities or other reasons, 71,803 children in New York State are not receiving free or reduced-price lunches, even though they are eligible for them.

For the information of my colleagues, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the very interesting and perceptive assessment of the school lunch program by *El Diario*, a widely read Spanish-language newspaper in New York:

#### FREE SCHOOL LUNCHES

Education and food go hand in hand. A well-fed child has much greater possibilities of being a good student than one with an empty stomach.

This truth has been acknowledged by our government and the Food and Nutrition Service of the United States Department of Agriculture has launched an ambitious program tending to provide free lunches or low priced ones to all needy school children.

An initial estimate from the state educational agency indicates that 620,000 needy children attending the 4,496 schools in New York that participate in the National School Lunch Program are eligible for free and reduced price lunches, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Nationally it is estimated that nearly 7.8-million youngsters in nearly 78,000 schools are eligible for such meals.

Some 5.5 million of them got free and reduced price lunches in November, while another 17.9 million children paid the regular price. The total of 23.4 million participants set a record for the lunch program. Preliminary indications are that some 6 million children received free and reduced price lunches in December, USDA's Food and Nutrition Service said.

The estimates of eligible children enrolled in NSLP schools were made last October, before the mandatory January 1 full implementation of amendments enacted last May to the School Lunch and Child Nutrition Acts.

"These reports represent the first State and local experience in reporting children's eligibility for free and reduced price lunches, as required by the new legislation," Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng commented. "We are working now with the States to refine their reporting methods, to assure greater uniformity in subsequent semi-annual reports required every March and October," he said.

"At the moment, however, these are the only benchmarks available. We are using them in our efforts with State and local school cooperators to be sure all eligible needy youngsters in participating schools get a free or reduced price lunch," Mr. Lyng said.

The States' estimates of the number of enrolled children eligible for free and reduced price lunches in NSLP schools totaled 7.8-million in October. The States' report also showed a total of 77,598 participating schools with an average daily attendance of 38.7 million at the opening of the current school year last fall. Another 23,097 schools with an estimated average daily attendance of 6.7 million were reported as having no food service.

During November of last year, a daily average of 548,197 youngsters received free or reduced price free lunches in New York. However, there were still 1,656 schools without a meal service in the state at the beginning of the school year.

For lack of facilities or other reasons, there still are 71,803 children in New York not receiving free or reduced price lunches, even though they are entitled to them.

This is a situation that our school authorities, working together with the school lunch program, should remedy as soon as possible. Free lunches are a basic step forward in our schools. We should not, however, stop there. Free breakfasts should also be provided to our needy children.

#### MARYLANDER KILLED IN VIETNAM

### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, a fine young man from Maryland, Pfc. Larry A. Woodburn, was recently killed in action in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

[From Baltimore Sun, Feb. 10, 1971]

#### LARRY WOODBURN DIES IN VIETNAM MARINE FROM SILVER SPRING WAS ON 2D COMBAT TOUR

The Department of Defense announced yesterday that Marine PFC Larry A. Woodburn, of Silver Spring, has been killed in action in South Vietnam.

The 20-year-old Marylander died February 5 in Quang Nam province while on patrol duty his mother said.

"He didn't like it. He said he thought they weren't accomplishing too much there," Mrs. Dale E. Woodburn, the marine's mother, added.

In Vietnam for a second tour of duty, Private Woodburn was a member of K Company, 1st Marine Division.

He was a graduate of Montgomery Blair High School here and had been a member of Troop 295 of the Boy Scouts. He also belonged to a group of local explorers who were fond of nature and the outdoors.

He had planned to go to college after completing his service in the Marine Corps.

Funeral arrangements were incomplete yesterday, but the marine will be buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

In addition to his parents, his survivors include a brother, Lee Woodburn, also of Silver Spring.

#### LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

### HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, we in the United States frequently look back with great pride at the history of our battles for freedom, and because of that, we are today a free and independent people. Because we are, indeed, a free and independent Nation, we can all the more appreciate the efforts of our forefathers which attained fruition.

Unfortunately, the small but proud country of Lithuania cannot relate its present state to its two decades of independence. Dominated by the Soviet Union, its history is a saga of constant struggle and sacrifice against suppression by an alien power.

February 16, 1971, commemorated the 53d anniversary of Lithuanian independence. It is a noteworthy tribute to the fierce determination of the Lithuanian people that this day is still celebrated. Although their independence was short lived, it was and is a monument to the pride and courage of generations of Lithuanians. The people of Lithuania displayed remarkable courage in their fight against Russian subjugation. The czarist regime undertook a long campaign to replace the Lithuanian language and culture with their own but had to abandon their policy because of Lithuanian resistance.

Time and time again the Lithuanians have been called upon to resist communism and each time such invasions have been repelled.

During its short period of independence the Lithuanian nation became self-sufficient and created a modern diversified country. Many of its people became farmers as a result of a great land reform program. The number of industrial establishments increased dramatically af-



ter World War I giving rise to economic prosperity. The period of independence became an age of growth and maturity for Lithuania, and proved to be a strong contributive force for its development and social progress. How tragic that it was crushed.

Despite courageous but vain attempts to remain neutral during both World Wars, Lithuania fell victim to the aggressive appetites of Germany and the Soviet Union. Following the war's end, Lithuania could not return to its independent status as the repressive power of the Soviet Union dominated the Nation.

We know very little about life in Lithuania now. We can assume, however, that the people suffer from the lack of freedom and independence that characterize Soviet rule. The United States has always recognized Lithuanian independence.

This indicates the faith and esteem which the Government of the United States has for the Lithuanian people. I hope the day will never come when we will recognize the lowering of the iron curtain separating them from the rest of the world, and that the day will come when once again Lithuania can take her place beside the free nations of the world.

Rarely has one people fought with the determination and patience exhibited by the Lithuanians who are faced with a seemingly insurmountable challenge, a constant reminder to all Americans of the value of our own independence.

National pride is their challenge. Their goal—*independence*.

Though the road may be long and difficult, I am confident that their spirit and national pride will overcome all obstacles.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to lend my voice to honor the Lithuanian people on the 53d anniversary of their independence. The future of Lithuania may look bleak to some but if the people demonstrate the same patience and courage in the future as they have in the past, then I for one am sure that given time, they will overcome their oppressors.

**THE VERY REVEREND GONVILLE  
AUBIE FFRENCH-BEYTAGH AND  
THE TERRORISM ACT**

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial comments are from South African newspapers. They concern the arrest and initial detention of the Very Reverend Gonville Aubie french-Beytagh, Anglican dean of Johannesburg, South Africa.

On February 8, I noted that the RECORD statement of 55 Members of this Congress on the french-Beytagh case spoke for itself. It is equally true that the editorials I include today in the RECORD need no further comment. They

[From the Argus, Jan. 22, 1971]

**RIGHT TO FAIR TRIAL**

In a normal society the Dean of Johannesburg would have appeared before a magistrate in open court by now, or he would have been released. Either way the public would know what it was he was being questioned about and, if a charge were to be laid, the Dean would have had the help of a lawyer and been in contact with his family, friends and colleagues.

But the law under which the Dean was detained is not a normal law. The continued silence on the specific reason for police action against him, the manner of the detention and the knowledge that there is no machinery existing to test the validity of the action against him or even to secure his release, all these are abnormal circumstances. Public disquiet is, therefore, understandably grave. More than that, the matter is causing international concern. The British Government has intervened directly to secure access to the Dean, who is a British citizen. Friends and foes of South Africa throughout the world are reacting just at a time when South Africa's affairs are being closely examined once again by the World Court at The Hague and by heads of government of Commonwealth countries.

Nothing will undo the harm already done by this unexplained action. But the longer the public is kept in the dark, the longer the Dean is denied his freedom or the right to fair trial, the greater the injury to this country will be. It is fitting that bells should toll (not just from Anglican churches but from churches throughout the land) for those who have lost their liberties without trial.

The Dean should be charged or freed immediately and the bells should not stop tolling until this happens.

[From the Cape Times, Jan. 22, 1971]

**LAWS AND USAGES**

We often wonder whether the harm that can conceivably be done by mischievous clergymen is not vastly less than the harm that is done when the machinery of the State sweeps into action with deportations, withdrawals of passports, cancelling of residence permits and, as in the latest instance, locking up in gaol. The arrest of the Very Rev. G. A. french-Beytagh in the precincts of his own cathedral, in circumstances lacking only the tolling of the sanctuary bell, could be calculated to ensure maximum emphasis of the event. It has, in fact, already attracted powerful attention: it was a main item in the news services of at least three of the major international radio stations in yesterday's morning broadcasts. That the South African Broadcasting Corporation was not prominently among that number is not evidence that the world at large is unconcerned about the detention by Security Police of eminent clerics.

We entirely agree with Mr. Gerdener in his statement yesterday that nobody can expect that clergymen, because they are clergymen, are in any way immune from the laws of this country. "Laws" in this sense is usually understood in terms of well-tried procedures. A man is arrested, appears in public within 48 hours before a judicial officer, is presented with a specific charge and within a reasonable time is publicly tried on evidence given under oath and with provision for legal representation and appeals to higher courts. If the Very Rev. Mr. french-Beytagh had been arrested as part of a judicial procedure of this kind there could not be the slightest criticism.

But we are a little anxious about Mr. Gerdener's coupling with "the laws" the words "and usages." It is presumably under the banner of "the usages" that in the last year or so a score or so clergymen of vari-

ous kinds have been deported or refused visas or have had passports without drawn. As distinct from the normal working of the laws, these usages are marked by the total refusal of the authorities to prefer a formal charge or to give any information about why the cleric concerned has drawn upon himself the wrath and power of the State. It was presumably in terms of the usages that a Moslem priest, the Imam Haron, was arrested, whisked away from friends and relatives and locked up incommunicado for three months, at the end of which he died after falling down some stairs. He had some 26 bruises and other injuries, not all of which, according to the inquest magistrate, could be ascribed to the fall down the stairs.

The information that the Very Rev. Mr. french-Beytagh has been arrested in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act is not reason for expecting that he is being dealt with in terms of law as distinct from usage. This is the section which enables any policeman above the rank of lieutenant-colonel to arrest without warrant anyone he thinks is a terrorist or has information about terrorists. He can then have the man locked up without any obligation other than to tell the Minister of Police what he is doing and, once a month, to give the same Minister a statement of the reasons why the man shall NOT be released. The rest of the section lays down that no court of law shall pronounce on the validity of the detention, no person shall have access to the detainee and no person shall be entitled to any official information about the detainee. However, "if circumstances so permit" a detainee shall be visited in private by a magistrate once a fortnight.

[From the Cape Times, Jan. 23, 1971]

**LAWS AND USAGES**

After much damage has been done, the public is presented with the statement that the Dean of Johannesburg has been arrested and kept *incommunicado* in a police cell "for reasons connected with his private life—not with his political views nor his church life". The first question which arises is: Why the Security Police? The whole function of the Security Police, a body quite separate from the ordinary police, is to protect the State against political subversion and to deal with crime and criminals associated with political protest. If the Dean's misdemeanours have nothing to do with his political views and concern only his private life, the matter is one for the ordinary police, formulating a charge, legal representation, bail and public trial.

And why the Terrorism Act? The section under which the Dean has been arrested requires that the detainee shall be suspected of being a "terrorist" or of "withholding from the police any information relating to terrorists or to offences under the Terrorism Act". If the Dean is a terrorist or is withholding information about terrorists, how can it be claimed that his detention is "for reasons connected with his private life" and has nothing to do with political views?

A further question arises from the reported statement of Mr. S. L. Muller, the Minister of Police: "I know nothing about it." The Act requires that "The Commissioner shall, as soon as possible after the arrest of any detainee, advise the Minister of his name and the place where he is being detained". How long is "as soon as possible"? Or do the police incarcerate eminent clerics and get round to informing the political head of their department only after the accomplished fact and through the leisurely channels of inter-departmental correspondence?

[From the Argus, Jan. 25, 1971]

**PUBLIC CONCERN**

While there is undoubtedly relief that the Dean of Johannesburg is to face trial follow-

ing his detention under the Terrorism Act, the announcement itself in no way mitigates the way in which the laws governing "subversion" are being implemented. Concern remains for the manner of the Dean's detention, for the continued refusal to grant him access to his lawyer and for the deprivation of rights which he along with others held under these laws are suffering.

A senior Security Police officer says: "It is normal procedure to bring an accused man to court as soon as possible." But it is precisely because normal procedures seem too often to be dispensed with when the charges are political, that there have been so many who have been held for months before first appearing in court, that the public has been disturbed by the Dean's arrest. Normal procedure is for the police to establish a case before detaining anyone. Normal procedure is for anyone detained to appear before a magistrate within 48 hours, even if only then for remand. Normal procedure is for an accused to have ready access to legal advice, to be provided with every facility to ensure that he does nothing to incriminate himself. The principle that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty is firmly adhered to even for the most serious crimes.

It is wrong, therefore, for anyone now to attempt to dismiss the very real perturbation at the treatment of people suspected of "subversion". No matter what crimes anyone is alleged to have committed he should enjoy the full protection of a system of justice which is one of the most cherished traditions of this land. By failing to give this protection the authorities are blackening South Africa's name throughout the free world.

### "WHEELCHAIR SAFARI"

## HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, several times each year, Humboldt County, in my California congressional district, entertains groups of amputees, who are in San Francisco Bay military hospitals. The program ranges from hunting deer to fishing for salmon in north coastal streams.

Recently, an article appeared in the Marine Corps publication, the *Leatherneck*, detailing the experiences of 15 men, all of whom had lost one or more limbs in Vietnam, on a deer-hunting excursion in the county.

In addition to including the article in the *RECORD* at this point, I would like to publicly commend two people who are primarily responsible for this tremendous program, retired Marine gunnery sergeant, Bob Boudreau, himself a double amputee and Ervin Renner, the county veterans service officer.

Following is the article, written by Marine Sgt. Hank Berkowitz:

"This was my first step back into public life, and I couldn't have asked for a better experience to start out with."

These words were spoken by Cpl. Bobby DeVoll, one of 15 amputees, both Marines and Navy corpsmen, who had just returned from a successful weekend of deer hunting and other recreational activities. The weekend was sponsored by the community of Humboldt County in Northern California.

The 15 men—13 were Marines and two

Navy corpsmen who had lost one or more limbs in Vietnam—had been flown from Oak Knoll Naval Hospital, Oakland, Calif., along with five attendants.

The program was initiated by Humboldt County in 1966 under the directorship of Ervin Renner, County Veterans Service Officer. Since the start of the program, the county has entertained more than 160 Marine and Navy Vietnam amputees.

Renner, a double-leg amputee himself, lost his limbs in the Battle of the Bulge during World War II. "I was a patient in a military hospital after the war," he explained, "so I know the mental and physical trauma to which these young men are subjected. During my period of hospital recuperation, the surrounding community sponsored a program whereby we were able to get out of the hospital and get involved with life again. Sort of a 'first step' back to the land of the living, you might say.

"And that's what we're trying to accomplish here," he continued. "We want to give these men that chance and help them realize that someone still cares for them. That's hard to realize when you're lying in that hospital bed day after endless day, thinking lonely thoughts of the world flowing by without you.

"So, after much thought and consideration, we finally got the program started here in Humboldt County. The first trip wasn't that successful, but we learned more as time went by.

"The program has grown now to envelop the whole community. They provide for two trips a year—a fishing trip and then the hunt. Everybody donates something," said Renner. This includes local citizenry, merchants, service organizations and the sheriff's office. The VFW and the American Legion are the biggest backers, getting out and asking for monetary donations, food, housing, sports equipment, transportation and all the other necessities needed to provide a memorable weekend for the amputees.

"We have no specific therapy in mind; we're just a group of people who want to make the men feel that someone is concerned about their welfare, and we try to make their period of recuperation a little easier," he concluded.

The amputees were greeted at the airport by local officials and veterans, then taken to lunch before changing clothes and heading for the hills and the deer hunt.

Arriving at the Roy Fulton Ranch, owned by one of the five local ranchers who had donated their private land for the hunt, the novice nimrods were given rifles. Amputees confined to wheelchairs had their chairs securely fastened in backs of trucks before heading out. A few hours of daylight still remained for hunting.

Each amputee hunter was accompanied by a driver, guide and one or two helpers. This was to insure the safety of the hunt. Also, in case the hunter only succeeded in wounding a deer, one of the guides would be there to make sure it didn't get away.

Because of their various handicaps and the rough terrain, hunters were confined to the trucks. Drivers would travel the hill roads until they reached a likely-looking area. They would then stop, and the truck beds would be used as deer stands.

Guides used binoculars and rifle scopes to survey the hills, looking for deer in the dense underbrush and timber. If a deer wasn't sighted after a reasonable length of time, one or two helpers would tramp through the area, trying to drive one out of hiding.

The spirit of the hunt affected one and all, each group insuring their particular hunter that they knew a place in the woods where deer were certain to be found. At first, most of the amputees were restrained, but it wasn't long before they were conversing easily.

For most of the Marines, it was their first

try at deer hunting. It didn't take them long to snap in, though; seven white-tail bucks fell the first day.

Back at camp, local men and women had been busy preparing a steak barbecue with all the trimmings. From past hunts, they knew there would be some big appetites coming in soon.

A few bucks had escaped the sights of the hunters and during dinner there were jests from the local populace about the famed Marine marksmanship. But it was all good-natured kidding, and besides, there would be another chance the next morning.

After the meal, a trio of musicians provided a wide assortment of sounds and songs for entertainment. In the audience were more than 200 county residents who had made the long trek up to the Fulton ranch to visit with the amputees.

One of those who had driven up to participate in the hunt was retired Marine GySgt. Bob Boudreau, president of the Rehabilitation Jobs Development Company in Humboldt. Boudreau, who lost both legs in a mine accident, had been a member of the first trip sponsored by the county in 1966. Impressed by the area, he and his family moved there. Since then, Boudreau has made every hunting and fishing trip the amputees have taken.

"That first trip up here was a great inspiration for me. I was a pretty bitter individual after losing my legs," Boudreau mused, "and I really didn't know what I was going to do with myself.

"And that's the way it is for a lot of these young amputees," he stressed. "For some of them, it's their first public contact since their injuries. For most, it can prove to be the first step back on the long road to complete rehabilitation. This kind of program shows the men that the American people haven't forgotten them, and by using myself as an example, I hope to show them that they too can find their places in society."

The barbecue festivities lasted well into the night, but the entire camp was up at 4:30, awakened by the siren of a fire engine driven up especially for the occasion. As Cpl. Greg Najera, one of the Marine hunters said, "It reminded me of the 'Nam with that siren going off."

After a hot breakfast, the hunters and their helpers were again on the trail, some looking for their first deer while others were on the lookout for their second, trying to use up their full deer tag allotment. This was the last day of the hunt and the hunters knew there could be no wasted shots.

It was a cool, crisp morning and one seasoned guide observed, "It's just right for the deer to be up and moving." Drivers, guides and Marine hunters spread out over the hills in their vehicles, each group hoping to claim the biggest buck.

It wasn't long before several shots broke the morning stillness. For most of the hunters, though, it was a long wait to sight a deer, then scoping it out to make sure it was a buck and not a doe or fawn. Then there was another pause while they made sure they had a clear shot.

By noon most of the hunters had returned to camp. Cpl. Ed Busby was the only Marine to fill both his tags, downing two bucks. Navy Corpsman Bruce Eades also collected two. But Cpl. Tommy Brock brought home the prize with a three-point buck weighing almost 110 pounds. In all, the 13 Marines and two Navy corpsmen collected 17 bucks before the hunt ended.

With the hunt over, it was time to head back to Eureka and dress for a banquet in their honor, scheduled later that night at the Eureka Inn.

More than 300 community residents attended the banquet. Congressman Don Clau-



sen was guest speaker. During the awards ceremony, he presented Cpl. Brock with a pair of binoculars for his firstplace buck. Sgt. Henry Barcena received a "Maggie's Drawers" for missing his only shot at a deer.

Afterwards, the amputees had a chance to visit some local night spots. Several chose to visit a discotheque for some dancing. One of those swingers was Cpl. Greg Najera, who had lost both legs in a booby trap explosion.

Najera was still confined to a wheelchair, waiting to be fitted with artificial limbs at the hospital. But that didn't stop him from showing the young set a new dance technique. Najera used his chair to perform wheelies, spins and twists around his dancing partner. The young crowd circled him and expressed their approval with a burst of applause.

Tommy Brock, who had recuperated enough from his wounds to be fitted with artificial limbs, tried his luck on the floor. "I had never tried dancing since my injury, but I figured if Greg could dance in his chair then I could do it with my new legs," he chuckled. "That first time I fell flat on my face, but I just got right back up and tried it again until I succeeded."

As the evening came to an end the weary but happy hunters returned to the Eureka Inn, where they spent the night.

The next morning the amputees participated in a trap and skeet shoot prior to boarding a plane for the flight back to the hospital.

Home again in his ward, Cpl. Bobby DeVaal had one last comment about the weekend. "Thank them for us would you? For the wonderful hospitality and, most of all, for just making us feel at home."

#### REVENUE SHARING: TAX SPENDER'S RELIEF

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, throughout America today, and particularly in California, resounds the demand for tax relief. In vote after vote the people have made it clear that they think their Government costs too much; that the last thing they want is more taxes and more inflation to continue the seemingly endless expansion of Government programs.

The greatest impact of these votes has been at the local level of government, where the people either have the right to vote directly on increases in the tax rate—as in the case of school taxes—or at least can see first hand not only where their tax money is coming from, but also where it is going. The result is that the inevitable clamor for more money to meet Government "needs"—read "wants"—has been met by a still louder outcry of "stop."

So now the spenders have come to Washington in force looking for relief—not for the taxpayer, but for themselves. They want more money in a less visible form. And in Federal revenue sharing they think they have found the magic carpet to carry them over the angry ranks of aroused taxpayers. They are all but beating down the doors of Congressmen to get their hands on the \$5 billion President Nixon would offer them—with no strings attached.

The rhetoric of revenue sharing pleases many supporters of limited government because it speaks of returning more authority to lower levels of government. But this talk is utterly meaningless unless Federal authority, or Federal taxes, or local taxes are reduced as a result. The revenue-sharing proposal now being presented to Congress would reduce none of these. It would simply add \$5 billion more on top of everything else government at all levels is now spending.

It is highly undesirable to separate the level of government which collects taxes from the level which spends the money collected, because this makes it so difficult to call government to account for how it uses or misuses the money it takes. This point was made in my newsletter 2 weeks ago, and deserves repetition and even greater emphasis as the drive for revenue sharing escalates. Local government programs financed by Federal funds are for all practical purposes out of the people's hands, and quickly become bureaucratic nightmares.

Congressman JOHN W. BYRNES of Wisconsin, senior Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee and a leading opponent of the revenue-sharing proposal, has pointed out that in Germany during the 1920's, before Hitler came to power, a revenue-sharing system was in effect. The disastrous results were explained in an official report in 1930 by S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparation Payments:

The Government of the Reich collects the taxes, but does not feel the full responsibility for them since it must pass on a large share of the proceeds to the States and communes . . . The States and communes, on their side, spend the money without having had any of the responsibility or odium of collecting it, and they have fallen into the habit of expecting the Reich to provide more and more money for them to meet their recurring budgetary deficits . . . The financial relations between the Reich and the States and communes will not be on a sound basis until the responsibility for raising the money by taxation has been reunited with the responsibility for spending it.

There is substantial and growing support for Congressman BYRNES' position—which is also mine—among House Members of both parties who do not feel that they should vote relief for local tax spenders trying to evade the voters' verdict on their liberality with other people's money.

#### A HUNDRED YEARS IS TOO LONG: THE WAGE BOARD SYSTEM MUST BE REFORMED

### HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States in early January of this year vetoed a bill which would have revised the Federal pay system for its blue collar employees. This bill would have been the first real reform in that pay system since the Civil War. The

President said it was inflationary while within a few days approving a bill for white collar employees, the total cost of which was \$2.3 billion, while the so-called blue collar wage increase would have amounted to \$130 million.

The President's veto defies common-sense.

While the bill which was forwarded to the President provided for an additional within step increase, because of a threatened veto by the President the bill I introduce today is one which will provide for 10 steps within grades.

Within grade increases are those given for time in service. It is necessary in work where there is little room for grade advancement to provide some pay incentive to those workers whose loyalty and dedication lead them to stay in the Federal service for a lifetime. Long time employees should be rewarded rather than ignored.

Additionally, my bill provides for participation by employee representatives in the wage board system to the extent of studying and making recommendations for changes in coverage and the collection of data. The wage board system depends for its comparability with pay for the same work in private industry on correct data.

The comparability principle of equal pay for equal work with local private industry is a simple one.

But it has become very complicated because of profound differences in pay in different cities. A few years ago, Federal workers often received different pay in the same trades in different Federal agencies in the same city. Management can not resist comparing Federal trades with unlike occupations in private industry.

The result has been a mess. In 1965, President Johnson ordered an overhaul of the wage board system. It was completed this past October, 5 years later.

The time for statutory reform is here. A hundred years without such reform is too long to wait. It is for the Congress to set policy.

Congress needs to set policy because those who work for nonappropriated fund activities have never been included in the wage board system. These employees work in PX's and other activities which pay for themselves. This distinction which is a bookkeeping one has been enough to keep thousands of workers from receiving decent pay, while ignoring the fact that such activities would have no life without their connection to the Defense Department and other Federal agencies.

Congress needs to set policy in matters of pay such as overtime and seniority because the executive branch has refused to look at these problems. The responsibility for the functioning of all Federal activities ends with the Congress. Should they cease to function, the American people will look to the Congress for a solution. The employee morale of "blue collar" employees is declining seriously. We must take action. I believe that this legislation will provide some of the answers to our difficult problems.

## DSG CONSUMER LEGISLATION

## HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the consumer task force of the Democratic Study Group held a press conference today to announce its support of a package of progressive consumer legislation.

Eleven other House Democrats joined me to express a collective commitment to the American people that we in the Congress are aware of the tremendous and growing importance of consumer interests and the need for increased consumer protection.

The failure of the administration to propose meaningful consumer protection measures demonstrates that there is a clear and urgent need for the Congress to take the lead. I hope this Congress will enact a body of consumer legislation which can redress the imbalance between the consumer and the collective might of the business community.

I include below my statement at the press conference and a list of the legislation endorsed today by the Democratic Study Group's consumer task force:

## STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

Our subject today is disorder in government. We are here because there is an ever growing imbalance between the ability of the American business community to abuse the consumer and the ability of government to protect him.

We are also here to endorse a progressive consumer legislative package. We hope this checklist of important legislation will inspire action from an Administration whose consumer proposals have been a mixture of rhetoric, confused promises and misleading goals.

The consumer record of the past Congress can also be viewed as a tragic disappointment for America's 200 million consumers. We view today's press conference, therefore, with a sense of urgency.

The American consumer is lost in a commercial jungle without weapons and without a guide. He faces the slickest combination of technology and Madison Avenue ingenuity. He is matched against whirling computers and motivational experts.

The free enterprise system with its give and take in the marketplace is essentially healthy and constructive. But it sometimes appears to me that businessmen at all levels—from producers to retailers—are involved in a gigantic bait and switch scheme: today's typical consumer is tempted into the marketplace by promises of product perfection. But the system that produces, promotes, sells and services that product is characterized by planned obsolescence and poor quality control; by the fanciful, frivolous or deceptive advertising it permits; by the withholding of unfavorable performance data from the public; by the absence of meaningful and understandable warranties and guarantees; by the use of irrelevant product endorsements; by the existence of underpaid and underinformed salesmen on the showroom floor; by the omnipresence of unreliable auto, TV, or appliance repairmen.

The result is that the great free enterprise promise too often proves an illusion!

The American consumer is without the kind of help he needs and deserves from his government. If this Administration, and

this Congress, really intend to stop inflation, we had better become concerned about proper consumer representation in Washington which is where many price increases either begin or fail to be halted.

Two years ago, at the beginning of the 91st Congress, there was genuine hope that a massive legislative attack on consumer abuses could be mounted. With the help of special interest forces, that hope died in the final days of last year's legislative session.

But this is a new and, we believe, a better Congress for enacting needed consumer legislation.

There is some cause for optimism:

—133 Democratic Members of the House will today cosponsor the bill to establish an independent Consumer Protection Agency. A bi-partisan effort to enlist Republican cosponsors, under the leadership of Mrs. Dwyer of New Jersey, is underway at this time;

—On January 8, 1971, one of the nation's most prestigious bar associations, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, endorsed consumer class action legislation proposed by Congressman Eckhardt of Texas.

The Administration will very shortly be sending Congress its consumer proposals. As legislators it will be our responsibility to examine these bills with objectivity and in a spirit of bi-partisanship. But it is not our responsibility to ratify proposals which have the "seal of approval" of those special interest groups whose practices the legislation must correct. It is our responsibility to pay special attention to the views of those in our society—the consumers—whose interests must be protected. These voices have consistently spoken in favor of the legislative approaches we endorse today.

I fear that this Administration's approach to consumer protection has been dictated more by a concern for the hypochondria of the business community than for the real maladies facing millions of consumers.

Let me say a brief word about other bills in which I have a particular interest:

First, together with Senator Gaylord Nelson, I am reintroducing today the bill to establish nationwide, a federally regulated program of unit-pricing of packaged consumer products. Segments of the supermarket industry are to be commended for instituting unit-pricing programs on a voluntary basis. But there is a need for uniformity and an assurance of continued operation.

The new bill permits retailers to display the unit price either on or near the packaged product; it exempts "Mom and Pop" stores with gross sales under \$250,000 per year; it also exempts from federal law retailers who do business in a state with a comprehensive mandatory unit-pricing law;

Second, based on the preliminary results of a U.S.D.A. study, I will introduce a revised "open-dating" bill, first proposed legislatively by Congressman Farbstein;

Third, I am reintroducing today, without modification, last year's bill for better labeling of food products, including nutritional statements, and other bills covering drug and appliance dating.

Finally, I am today introducing a new bill which would permit the advertising of prescription drug prices, now prohibited in most states. This bill is a response to a recent study by Consumers Union in New York City showing a wide disparity in the prices of identical drugs.

## LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC STUDY GROUP CONSUMER TASK FORCE, FEBRUARY 17, 1971

Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Chairman.  
Rep. Joseph Karth, Vice Chairman.  
Rep. Shirley Chisholm, New York.  
Rep. Bob Eckhardt, Texas.  
Rep. Joshua Ellberg, Pennsylvania, and

Rep. James M. Hanley, New York.  
Rep. James J. Howard, New Jersey.  
Rep. Torbert Macdonald, Massachusetts.  
Rep. Abner J. Mikva, Illinois.  
Rep. Joseph G. Minish, New Jersey.  
Rep. Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii.  
Rep. John E. Moss, California.  
Rep. Neal Smith, Iowa.  
Rep. Fernand St Germain, Rhode Island.  
Rep. Robert O. Tiernan, Rhode Island.  
Rep. Lester Wolf, New York.

Following is a summary listing of legislative proposals recommended by the DSG Consumer Task Force for action in the 92nd Congress:

## NEW AND PENDING CONSUMER MEASURES

(\*Indicates amended bill; \*\*indicates new bill)

## A. Consumer organization and representation

\*1. *Consumer Protection Agency*: Titled the Consumer Protection Act of 1971 this bill establishes a statutory Office of Consumer Affairs and an independent Consumer Protection Agency. It provides for representation of consumer interests before federal agencies and the courts, coordination of consumer programs, release of government test data, continuation of the work of the National Commission on Product Safety, publication of a Consumer Federal Register, and other items.

2. *Independent Office of Utility Consumers' Council*: Provides for the establishment of an independent agency to represent the economic interests of consumers of utility services before state regulatory agencies and the courts.

3. *Grants to State and Local Consumer Protection Offices*: Provides for federal grants-in-aid and assistance in establishing and strengthening state and local offices of consumer protection.

## B. Private consumer remedies

\*1. *Consumer Class Action*: Affords increased protection to consumers by permitting and facilitating consumer class action suits in state and federal courts on matters which now involve sums too small to justify individual litigation.

\*2. *Comprehensive Warranty Protection*: Authorize the FTC to set standards to guarantee comprehensive warranty protection, expressed in simple language, to purchasers of retail goods shipped in interstate commerce.

3. *Door-to-Door Sales Regulation*: Amends the Consumer Credit Protection Act to provide a right of rescission regarding sales not made at the seller's place of business.

\*4. *Eliminating Sales Promotion Games*: Original bill prohibits manufacturers, producers or distributors from requiring or encouraging any retail seller to participate in promotional games.

The proposed bill in the 92nd Congress would also prohibit a retail seller from engaging on his own in a promotional game in connection with the sale of any item.

5. *Injunctions by FTC to Stop Deceptive Sales Practices*: Would give the Federal Trade Commission power to halt deceptive sales practices by issuing temporary injunctions rather than waiting for the outcome of lengthy "cease and desist" proceedings.

6. *Home Improvement Industry Investigation*: Directs the Federal Trade Commission to conduct a comprehensive investigation of unfair methods of competition and unfair trade practices in the home improvement industry, and to expand its enforcement activities in this area.

7. *Minimum Electric Power Reliability Standards*: Amends the Federal Power Act to promote adequate bulk electric power through regional coordination, consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the environment.



*C. Food and drug safety*

1. *Wholesome Fish and Fishery Products Act*: Provides for continuous inspection of fish harvesting and processing facilities and fish and fishery products, including adequate intrastate inspection through federal grants-in-aid.

2. *Drug Dating Act*: Requires that prescription and over-the-counter drugs and vitamins which are determined by the FDA to be of a type whose effectiveness or potency becomes diminished, or which change chemical composition, after storage, be labeled as to the date beyond which the products should not be used.

*D. Product safety*

1. *Consumer Product Safety Act*: Establishes an independent Product Safety Agency with regulatory powers to promulgate safety standards for household products.

2. *Medical Device Safety Act*: Amends the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act to assure the safety, reliability and effectiveness of medical devices.

*E. Food and drug information*

\*1. *Unit Pricing*: Original bill requires retail businesses selling packaged consumer commodities to disclose plainly to purchasers both the retail price of the entire contents of such package, and the unit retail price of its contents per single unit of weight, volume or measure, on the package.

Proposed bill in the 92nd Congress requires retailers to display unit price information either on the product itself or in close proximity to the packaged product. It would also establish a dollar volume below which a retailer would be excluded from the provisions of the bill and allow state and city laws of similar effect to apply instead of the federal law.

\*2. *Open Dating Act*: Amends the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act to require a packaged perishable food to bear a label specifying the date after which it loses substantial quality.

\*3. *Prescription Drug Advertising Act*: A new bill which would permit retailers of prescription drugs to publicly advertise prices of such drugs.

4. *Better Labeling Act*: Requires processors of packaged consumer foods to label these foods with nutrition statements, ingredient contents and other items.

5. *Consumer Food Grading Act*: Requires promulgation by the Department of Agriculture of a uniform system of retail quality grade designations for consumer food products based upon the nutritional quality and wholesomeness of food products.

6. *Generic Labeling of Prescription Drugs*: Requires that the generic or established name of certain prescription drugs appear each time the proprietary or brand name is used in the labeling and advertising of such drugs.

*F. Other labeling information*

1. *Appliance Dating Act*: Requires manufacturers of consumer durable products to label the month and year of manufacture on such goods whose design or performance standards are changed on an annual or other periodic basis.

2. *Performance Life Disclosure Act*: Requires, under National Bureau of Standards regulations, that durable consumer products sold at retail to consumers, including appliances and electronic items, bear a conspicuous label disclosing performance life under normal operating conditions.

3. *Durable Products Dating Act*: Requires manufacturers to label the expiration date of the effective performance life of all durable consumer products which the National Bureau of Standards determines are subject to deterioration in storage.

## "FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE"

## HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary conducts a Voice of Democracy Contest. The winning speech from the State of Hawaii was delivered by Mr. John Wilson Ames of the Wahiawa, Hawaii, a resident of the Second Congressional District. A student at Farrington High School, Honolulu, Hawaii, Mr. Ames is 17 years of age and is the son of Mr. Wilson Ames and the late Mrs. Opal Wallace Ames.

The subject of Mr. Wilson's remarks is "Freedom—Our Heritage." For the benefit of my colleagues, I insert his remarks at this point in the RECORD:

## "FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE"

(By John Wilson Ames)

The Christmas Play was ended! Our Young People's Group had presented the immortal, "A Christmas Carol." I had portrayed the difficult, demanding role of Ebenezer Scrooge. The play was a huge success! Later, that evening, my Mother gently closed the door to my bedroom. I heard her proudly say to my father, "Let him Relax! He has done a good job!" Happily contented, I closed my eyes. Suddenly, the Steeple Clock struck midnight! My door was opened. A Lovely Lady, dressed in white, entered. I noticed that her eyes were blind-folded, and she carried a pair of Silver Scales, in her hand.

"Oh, No! Not again!" I whispered! But, in order to play my part—in this Charade, I politely asked, "Who are you?" "What Do You Want?"

"Do you not recognize me, Child! I am the Spirit of America's Past!" "I stood one day, in a Meadow, called Runymede! I remember it well! That was the Day, on which *Individual Rights and The Dignity of Man Were Born!* Mine was also the Guiding Spirit on that warm August Day, in Convention Hall in Philadelphia, when your Constitution was born. I shall never forget it! We the people! No challenge is too great! No foe is too formidable! As long as we stand, in unison, and proclaim—we the people of the United States of America!"

"Why do you carry a pair of Scales in your hand, and why are your Eyes bandaged?" I asked.

"The scales represent justice to all Men! The bandage I wear, because I am a Female Spirit! I cannot bear to gaze upon the thousands of bruised and battered bodies of my Sons and Daughters, who have fallen on the Battlefields of the World!"

"The Hour grows late! You will soon be visited by my Younger Brother, The Spirit of America's Present. Be careful with him! He is both turbulent and troubled! He worries constantly about such Problems as Over-Population, Air and Water Pollution, Human Ghettos, Moral Collapse, etc., etc.!"

"I keep reminding him! You really have nothing to worry about! You are the most prosperous, most progressive, most powerful nation—in the world!"

Just then, the East Wall of my room blew away! And, a lovable, laughing Giant burst in!

"Do not be afraid, Little Brother! The Spirit of America's Present said to me, I have waited 200 years for your generation! You are my heirs! Heirs to America's Heritage! Oh, I

know that you are besieged by Problems! But the Problems, as well as the Privileges, are vital parts of your Heritage! Please remember that thousands of eager, education-hungry teenagers covet your inheritance, today!"

"Walk on the Moon, with Neal Armstrong—if you like! But, don't forget to return to America! For, this is your Home! As the poet said, centuries—ago.

Humanity, with all its Fears,  
With all the Hopes of Future Years,  
Is hanging Breathless, on Thy Fate."

As the Spirit of America's Present, departed, he handed me a scroll: I opened it, eagerly, and read:

"This is Your Legacy, Guard it well!"

Fellow Peers! This is our moment in History! What will the future generations say of us? America's past has given us freedom! America's Present has given us Security and the Pursuit of Happiness? Are we "big enough" to "Bind up the Nation's Wounds!" Are we capable of restoring our Nation's dignity? I believe that we must! For Freedom is our Heritage! In the words of Eternal Youth, we say:

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust!

So near is God to man. . . .

When Duty whispers, 'Lo, thou must!'

Then Youth replies, 'I Can!'"

DR. LUDWICK GROSS AND THE  
BRONX VA HOSPITAL—WE ARE  
PROUD OF THEM

## HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, last May, a sensational article in Life magazine depicted the Veterans' Administration Hospital in New York's 23d Congressional District as a dead end for paraplegic veterans. As I said at the time, the article made a good point that many of the facilities serving our veterans are in need of repair but the article failed to balance the picture with the story of the excellent care that is given patients in the Bronx Veterans Hospital in spite of the poor conditions and lack of sufficient funds. It is truly a labor of love.

The February 22, 1971, issue of Newsweek magazine, whose feature story is "The War Against Cancer: A Progress Report," carries a short article about Dr. Ludwik Gross, a Polish-born cancer researcher who, in 1950, isolated for the first time a virus that induced leukemia in mice. Today, Dr. Gross is still carrying on his career research efforts at the place where it all began—at the Bronx VA Hospital.

Mr. Speaker, we in the Bronx are proud of Dr. Gross. His example is just one more reason for us to give expanded support to our network of VA hospitals across the country.

The article follows:

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

OF MICE AND MEN

Two decades ago, conventional medical wisdom held that cancer in general and leukemia in particular were essentially genetic, rather than infectious, diseases. Then, early in 1950, an obscure Polish-born researcher at New York City's Bronx Veterans Administration Hospital succeeded in isolating, for the

first time, a virus that induced leukemia in healthy newborn mice. This achievement by Dr. Ludwik Gross suggested two striking new possibilities: first, that the existence of a virus causing leukemia in mammals could lead to the development of a vaccine to prevent the disease; and second, that the forms of cancer other than leukemia could be similarly caused by viruses and thus perhaps were equally susceptible to immunization.

Gross's findings were so startling that his report to the medical community in 1951 was greeted not only with suspicion but with derision as well. But Gross was not dismayed. An intense man and an indefatigable worker, he persisted in performing his experiments again before the very eyes of his detractors—often right in their own laboratories.

"I had a terrible time," the graying, 66-year-old Gross recalls today with a visible shudder. But far from harboring bitterness, Gross shows an obvious pride in his multiple triumphs over adversity. He came to the U.S. at the beginning of World War II after nine years of cancer research at the Pasteur Institute in Paris and continued his experiments while serving with the U.S. Army Medical Corps. Now he delights in pointing out the overwhelming array of awards lining his office wall to demonstrate the vindication of his efforts.

#### PURSUIT

Trim, gracious and constantly fidgeting with nervous energy, Gross still holds forth at the same VA hospital where, as chief of the cancer-research unit, he controls a budget of nearly \$200,000, a staff of twelve and a squeaking, whistling menagerie of some 10,000 mice, hamsters and guinea pigs. Through the years, he has relentlessly pursued his research, working six long days each week, with precious little time to spare for attending an occasional concert with Augusta his wife of 28 years.

As for making the long leap from mice to men, Gross remains cautiously optimistic. "As yet," he concedes, "we still have no reason to believe that we will ever 'cure' cancer. But there is so much that we can do right now to minimize such cancer-inducing factors as pollution, cigarettes, the use of dangerous hormones in food processing and, above all, atomic-bomb testing. We have at least made some tremendous strides toward someday learning how to prevent cancer."

#### H.R. 4329, THE WIDOW'S EQUITY ACT

### HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, today I am reintroducing a measure which is long overdue. One group of Government employees are second-class citizens when it comes to survivor equity—the military. The military retiree is the only Federal employee whose dependent survivors do not automatically receive a survivor annuity based on the retired pay which he was receiving at the time of his death.

A member of the Armed Forces retired from active duty receives retired pay as long as he lives. But, no part of his military retirement income automatically passes to his surviving dependent when he dies. Every other Federal employee is assured by law that his surviving dependents will automatically receive 55 percent of his Federal retired pay when he dies, unless at the time of his retirement, he signifies in writing his refusal

to participate in the survivor annuity plan.

Since 1953, military retirees have been able to participate in the retired servicemen's family protection plan (RSFPP). This plan is a self-supporting survivor annuity program with the Government paying only the minimum administrative costs. The cost of the RSFPP is borne entirely by the participating members of the plan, with the exception of those minimal administrative operational costs.

Despite minor amendments and Public Law 90-465, the basic inequity remains: the high cost to military retirees for their survivors' annuity. Under RSFPP the military retiree pays two and one-half to five times as much as does the civil servant for an annuity of the same dollar value. For instance, a master sergeant who retires at age 50 after 30 years of service must pay more than three times as much as a civil servant to get the same benefits for his survivors.

Despite efforts to make the program more attractive, relatively few military retirees choose to participate in RSFPP. While 90 percent of those eligible for participation in the civil service annuity program do so, only 15 percent of military retirees participate in RSFPP. Clearly, the program has not been appealing to retiring servicemen and therefore not adequate.

The need for an equitable survivor annuity plan for military retirees has been documented by a number of Government studies in recent years. For instance, the Department of Defense's "Study of Military Compensation of October 1964" stated that:

The evidence is conclusive that the military fringe benefits trend is running counter to private industry trends, with the net result that the military man is rapidly losing ground to his civilian counterpart in this significant part of the compensation package. Reductions in benefits are effectively reductions in pay.

In 1967 President Johnson appointed the U.S. Veterans Advisory Commission and charged them to investigate veteran's benefits and make formal recommendations. In a report dated March 18, 1968, the commission recommended:

That a federally financed survivors' benefit program be established as an adjunct of the serviceman's retirement program.

H.R. 4329, the bill that I am introducing is designed to change the unfortunate situation in which many survivors of military retirees are faced with economic hardship. It will create a program that will be more flexible and which will bring the serviceman into proper alignment with the rest of the Federal work force. The Government will share in the cost of the program for servicemen, just as it now does for civilian employees. The financial burden will no longer be borne exclusively by the retired military men, though the program will be economically sound. In addition, the bill would provide better survivor benefits and thus place the Armed Forces in a better position relative to private industry, in terms of attracting and keeping employees. Private enterprises generally offer much in the way of liberalized retirement plans.

Basically, the "Widow's Equity Act"—H.R. 4329—provides for an equitable survivor benefits plan to all military retirees, present and future. It will provide two types of annuities for retired servicemen's survivors. One, for married retirees, will be automatic unless declined in writing at the time of retirement. The other, for unmarried retirees, will provide an annuity to a named person having an insurable interest in the retiree. This latter type of survivor annuity may only be elected to those retiring in good health.

For a reduced amount of his retired pay during his retired lifetime, the serviceman will be able to provide a predetermined annuity for his survivors. The formula will be the same as used for civil service survivor annuities. The survivor benefit will be 55 percent of whatever amount of his retired pay the serviceman specifies.

Thus, the bill—H.R. 4329, will be a step in the improvement of fringe benefits for our military personnel and will help countless widows and their families to avoid deprivation. It will help the armed services to compete with the benefits of private industry and will bring widows' equity for retired military men to the level of survivors of retired civil servants.

Mr. Speaker, the adoption of this act will go a long way toward changing a shameful situation.

#### NATIONAL SOJOURNERS MEMORIALIZE MENDEL RIVERS

### HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to the fact that Charleston Chapter No. 28, National Sojourners, has passed a resolution memorializing our dear departed colleague, L. Mendel Rivers. I am very pleased to ask that this resolution be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### A RESOLUTION IN MEMORIAM

Whereas, it has pleased our Heavenly Father, in His infinite wisdom, to call our Brother Sojourner, the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, to that house not made with hands eternal in the heavens.

Therefore be it resolved,

First, That we humbly bow in submission to God for the privilege of having known Brother Rivers and having served with him through the years in the service of God and our Country.

Second, In the untimely passing of this Brother, the Chapter, the community, the State and the Nation have suffered a great loss, and the Chapter extends deepest sympathy to the bereaved family.

Third, That a memorial be established in the name of Brother Rivers in the Sojourners Endowment Memorial Fund.

Fourth, That all Brother Sojourners be offered the opportunity to contribute to the Sojourner Endowment Memorial Fund in memory of Brother Rivers to the end that an engraved plate bearing his name be added to the Sojourner Endowment Memorial Plaque located at National Headquarters.

Fifth, That this memorial be inscribed on a page of the minutes of the Chapter, and that a copy thereof be transmitted to the family of our late Brother.