

breakdown in our system of criminal justice. Our courts are clogged with untried criminal cases. Months, often years, lapse between the day of arrest and the time of trial. Defendants are either put back on the streets or sent to jail because they cannot make bail . . .

The fact is we are paying a high price for overloading our criminal courts. And I think it's high time we had a new national commitment to revive our system of criminal justice—starting with the goal of making our courts work.

By insisting on prompt trial of criminal cases, we can force an overhaul of our courts and criminal justice procedures. The requirement of a speedy trial can be an action-forcing device that will make states and cities take a fresh look at what's wrong with the system. It may be a question of more grand juries or better court administration. It may be a need for public defenders. It may be the need for new approaches to handle some of the routine cases—like prostitution and drunkenness—that burden the courts.

I believe that the states should be required to submit detailed programs for achieving trial of criminal cases within sixty to ninety days of arrest. And Federal funds must be made available to make these programs work. If a state is not making honest efforts towards the prompt trial objective, it should not qualify for continued Federal support.—from Remarks to Queens Chamber of Commerce, December 8, 1971

Today in America the stability of our democratic system is threatened by the tyranny of a small minority that is systematically disrupting our society while too many Americans sit complacently on the sidelines . . .

As far as these militants are concerned, the rights of the majority do not exist. The right of people to travel a highway, of a storekeeper to be free from terroristic attacks, of a speaker to be heard or a student to attend class, these kinds of rights have no place in the world of these revolutionaries . . .

The American people have a sense of fair play and they will tolerate a good deal in the name of dissent. But they are no longer willing to tolerate the violence and civil disorder or the intolerance of this new brand of American extremists . . .

. . . beyond the problem of punishing the lawbreakers, is the challenge to all men of moderation to reject, visibly and vocally, the forces of extremism. For the stable, sensible majority, the spectators' role is no longer enough. It is time that we stood up for the democratic process and asserted our faith in the capacity of our system to grow and change without resort to violence.—From statement issued June, 1970

At the very root of the rule of law which we honor today lies the concept of the oneness of the law—one law, one standard, one justice for all. Yet we are increasingly aware that this fundamental concept is honored more in the breach than in the observance, that the principle is—all too often—lost in the practice.

We are tolerating not only one law for the poor and one law for the rich. We are, as well, accepting submissively one law for the young and one for their elders; one law for the dissident and one law for the conformist; one law for the man in uniform and one law for the civilian; one law for the uneducated and one law for the college graduate; one law for the small tax-payer and one law for the large tax-avoider; one law for the ordinary voter and one law for the big contributor; one law for the buyer and one law for the seller; one law for the borrower and one law for the lender.

This is wrong. We know it is wrong. Yet among those who have chosen, by their profession, to serve as custodians of the law, there remains all too often a curious passivity toward these wrongs. It is not enough for affluent practitioners, able professors or active public servants to sit in the sanctuaries of the law factories, or in the quiet of academic halls, or in the spotlight of daily affairs talking about equal rights and legal remedies.

We must not only talk the law, we must live it.

The alternative seems clear: a steady decline in respect for the law, a steady decline in the effectiveness of law as a balancing force in our society.—From speech to Wayne State University Law School, April 17, 1971.

QUORUM CALL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1972—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, under the previous order, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11955) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for other purposes.

The Senate proceeded to consider the report.

(The conference report is printed in the House proceedings of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 9, 1971, at pages H12138—H12141.)

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the supplemental appropriations bill, 1972, passed the House of Representatives on December 2. It passed the Senate on December 3, with 75 amendments. The conferees were in session all day on December 7 and met again, and completed action on the amendments in conference, on December 9. The conference report is available to all Members.

The bill as it passed the Senate approved appropriations in the amount of \$3,998,045,371. The increase in the bill over the House of Representatives amounted to \$3,211,762,717. There is a good reason for the large increase which was made by the Senate in this bill. It related to the Office of Economic Opportunity appropriations which were not considered by the House because the authorizing bill had not progressed sufficiently by the time the House considered the supplemental appropriations bill.

Some of the large increases over the House bill effected by the Senate were: \$817,597,000 for "Manpower training services"; \$707,157,000 for "Health manpower"; \$265 million for "School assistance in federally affected areas"; \$376,817,000 for Project Headstart; and \$780,400,000 for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The amount of the bill as finally agreed to in conference is \$3,406,385,371. This is an increase of \$2,620,102,717 over the House bill and it is a decrease under the Senate-passed bill of \$591,660,000.

As I mentioned previously, there were 75 amendments in disagreement and it was necessary to compromise all of our differences.

One of the largest single increases the Senate had effected was \$817,597,000 recommended for "Manpower training services." In conference, the conferees agreed to recommend an appropriation of \$776,717,000. The authorizing legislation for this program is contained in the proposed amendments to the Office of Economic Opportunity Act; and in view of the fact that at the time of the conference, there was some discussion that this bill, which had been sent to the President, might be vetoed, the proviso making the appropriation contingent upon enactment into law of the authorizing legislation was deleted by the conferees. The OEO authorizing bill was later vetoed.

The Senate bill contained \$265,000,000 for "School assistance in federally affected areas." This particular amendment consumed a great deal of time during the discussions, and it was not possible for us to prevail and to secure any part of this appropriation.

Another large increase approved by the Senate was for "Health manpower." Under Senate amendment numbered 28, an appropriation of \$707,157,000 was made for this purpose. This is another item which consumed a great deal of time in the conference. As a matter of fact, it had to be passed over and placed at the end of the discussions because it was so highly controversial with the House conferees. However, we were finally able to agree to an appropriation for this item of \$492,980,000.

For the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Senate bill contained \$780,400,000. In conference, the figure of \$741,380,000 was agreed upon. As the bill passed the Senate, the language for this program contained a proviso making the appropriation contingent upon enactment of the authorizing legislation. In view of the discussions concerning a possible veto of the OEO authorization bill, the conferees have deleted the proviso.

The House, of course, agreed to all of the Senate amendments relating to the Senate. Again this year, the House was adamant, and the Senate receded, on the proposal to restore the Old Senate Chamber and the Old Supreme Court Chamber in the Capitol.

The Senate bill contained the sum of \$102,400,000 for "Construction, Corps of Engineers," and the House agreed to this entire amount.

The Senate bill also contained authority to utilize not to exceed \$20,153,000 of previously appropriated funds for the "Economic stabilization activities" inaugurated recently by the President, and the House conferees agreed to go along with the Senate amendment.

I will be glad to answer any questions any Members may have with respect to the bill. In addition, the chairmen of the various subcommittees are available to participate in the discussions.

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work, let us do it. If it demands the creation of new regional governments with jurisdiction to deal with problems as a whole, let us do it.—From remarks to the Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce, June 3, 1971

AGRICULTURE

American farmers are growing more and earning less. They feel threatened by low farm prices, the growth of corporate giants in agriculture and a national Administration which has failed to develop a constructive farm policy.

There is nothing in the background or philosophy of Earl Butz to reassure the thousands of farmers who look to the Secretary of Agriculture to represent their interests. They have already experienced him in action at the Department of Agriculture—and it wasn't a pleasant experience. And they know that Mr. Butz has shown little concern for the independent farmers working outside the realms of the corporate food producers with whom he has been so closely associated.

In any event, the fact that farmers lack real confidence in Mr. Butz foredooms any chance for reforming this Administration's farm programs. Without broad support in the farm belt, Mr. Butz cannot hope to build a consensus for progressive farm policies. Under these circumstances, and particularly in light of Monday's vote in the Senate Agriculture Committee, the President should withdraw this nomination.—From statement released November 24, 1971

But even as fewer and fewer farmers were producing more and more on less acreage, the return on their time and labor and investment remains far less than what it should be. The fact is that farmers are still not getting a fair share of the consumer's dollar. Prices received by farmers in 1970 were only 3 percent above those received during the 1947-1949 base period. The farmer's share of the retail food dollar was 47 cents in 1950 and 39 cents last year!

As you well know, the heart of the farmer's problems lies in the marketing area. Congress recognized this when it passed the Agricultural Fair Practices Act five years ago.

The Fair Practices Act was an important first step but experience has shown that we still have not achieved a proper balance between the economic power of the buyers and the sellers of farm products. It is particularly important that this balance be achieved as more and more farm products are sold under production and marketing contracts.

The advantage of contracting are obvious. The buyer has an assured supply at a known cost. The farmer has an assured market at a definite price. Our goal must be to see that this is also a fair price.

In my view, finding sensible ways to strengthen the farmer's position at the bargaining table is a priority item on the Congressional agenda.—From remarks to Florida Farm Bureau Federation, October 29, 1971.

REGISTRATION

The modest increases made by Congress mean the difference between mediocrity and excellence in many school districts throughout the country. For some students, these extra funds mean the difference between a first-rate college education or none at all.

The Administration argues that the larger appropriations voted by Congress are inflationary. My response is that the children in our schools and the students in our colleges should not be the victims of the Administration's failure to come to grips with inflation.

The fact is that our schools need more, not less, help from Washington. They have suffered from rising costs and declining tax revenues. The impact of high interest rates—

the highest since the Civil War—has severely restricted school construction and modernization. The cost of educating each child jumps about 10 percent a year—and average spending per public school pupil is estimated to have risen to \$717 in 1970 from \$454 only five years ago. But more than half of public school revenues are still being provided by local taxpayers. No wonder that local school taxes have risen more than 140 percent in the last decade!

There is a limit to the burden that can be imposed at the local level. Considering the demands on the local tax dollar and the broader reach of the Federal taxing power, the Federal contribution to local school costs falls far short. The Federal government, receiving two-thirds of all tax revenues, must foot a larger share of the education bill.—From remarks on Aid to Education September 11, 1970.

I oppose massive busing of children solely for the purpose of satisfying some arbitrary mix of students on the basis of race or religion or heritage.

That's not the issue. The issue is how to assure a quality education for every child in America, regardless of the circumstances into which he or she is born.

Unquestionably, some students must be bused to school if they are to reach school at all. In our preoccupation with busing we are forgetting that a bus ride to a poor school is a bus ride to nowhere. It's high time we moved beyond the busing controversy to the challenge of educational quality.

The problem facing the country is that poor neighborhoods generally have poor schools. It is not fair to a six-year old child—black, white or brown—to condemn that child to an inferior education simply because his or her parents are poor. And it is also not fair to force a child to be bused from a good school to an inferior school.

I would rather go in the direction of the California State Supreme Court decision which says, in effect, that the wealth of a school district should not be permitted to determine the quality of education. If that decision were implemented at the state and federal levels, then no child could be bused to an inferior school or be forced to attend an inferior school.

What we desperately need is not massive busing, but a massive commitment of talent and resources to achieve equality of education opportunity.—From statement issued November 1971.

PUBLIC HEALTH

What this Administration has done in the health field speaks far louder than what it has said. And what it has done is little or nothing to improve the quality, cost or accessibility of health care for those Americans who need it most.

An essential first step towards that end is a drastic reorganization of the way we manage Federal health programs in Washington, D.C. At a minimum, we should divide H.E.W. into two cabinet departments, separating out the education functions and retaining in one department the closely related health-welfare programs.

Along with reorganization must go a mandate for action which expands the scope of public health far beyond the narrow limits of its traditional concerns. This new mandate must cope with the high cost of health care, the rising tide of drug abuse and alcoholism, and the waste of resources in the health field.

Let me be frank to say that the time for laissez-faire in our health care system has long since passed. We cannot afford it. And health care institutions should be on notice to put their house in order or risk forms of regulation they may not like.

The shortage and maldistribution of our medical manpower is a serious national problem which clearly requires national solu-

tions. It deserves as much priority attention as proposals for national health insurance.

The only sure way to free every American from the burden of staggering medical bills is some form of national health insurance. I believe we must start now building a system of comprehensive health insurance, beginning with two great unmet needs: coverage for the poor who do not have and cannot afford insurance and, second, coverage for all against catastrophic illness.

The Federal Government must encourage innovative approaches to provide more health professionals. We must be prepared to put federal prestige and dollars behind programs to increase the output of doctors and nurses and make better use of their skills. We must not be tied to traditional or bound by the old ways of doing things.

We have work to do. As long as the right to good health and decent medical care is denied for any reason to any American, our job is unfinished. Good medical care is no longer the privilege of the rich—or the white—or the lucky. Decent health care is a basic right for all Americans.—From speech to Public Health Association, October 12, 1971.

OLDER AMERICANS

I do not subscribe to the 'out of sight, out of mind' philosophy. One of this country's foremost responsibilities is to see that our aging are free from hunger and poverty.

It is a sad commentary that nearly one-third of those over 65 are living in poverty. In fact, this is the only group in which poverty is increasing. We must improve our social security and tax laws to assist those on fixed incomes to cope with rising costs.

While Medicare has provided some needed assistance, the hard fact is that less than half of the health costs of the aging are covered by Medicare. We must expand this coverage.

We need more than pre-arranged conferences by an unresponsive administration. What we need is a new philosophy and a new strategy. We need a philosophy which does not forget the older American; a new philosophy which does not perceive the aging as passive and happy to merely exist on social security.

And we need a new strategy. A strategy which identifies the aging as an important force; a strategy which embraces reforms in income maintenance, and health care and employment. Such a new strategy would utilize the great potential which you have and the great contribution you can make; a contribution which doesn't end at some arbitrary age level of 62 or 65 or 70.—From remarks to Conference of National Retired Teachers Association-National Association of Retired Persons, November 11, 1971

We need to act now. We must help the countless older people holed up in rooming houses and apartments worrying about health bills that Medicare won't cover, watching their savings being eaten away by inflation and despairing about a government that says "go away."

A nation of wealth and compassion cannot tolerate old people, with untapped abilities, living in poverty, sickness, believing they have been forgotten. This is what we must work to correct.—From remarks to Brevard County Florida Senior Citizens, November 27, 1971

LAW AND JUSTICE

If we are serious about the security of people in America, if we really believe that every citizen—old or young, rich or poor, black or white—has the right to be secure in his person and property, then we ought to analyze our national crime problem as it is, not as the mythmakers would have us think.

At the heart of the crime problem is the

Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I associate myself with the views expressed by the distinguished chairman of the committee. There was a wide range of subjects dealt with in this bill. Most of them have to do with health, education, and welfare.

I think a very reasonable compromise was reached with the House. And, of course, a few items were deleted that the House very strongly objected to.

I believe that as a whole it is a bill that the Senate will approve.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the action which was taken with respect to these supplemental appropriations really is in only one respect a cause for any satisfaction. In many other respects it is well nigh disastrous, and, as we will be going at these things again in other supplementals and other appropriations, I will not engage my colleagues in extended debate on the acceptance or rejection of the fiscal year 1972 supplemental appropriations conference report. I think it is critically important to make the record clear as to manpower training, health manpower programs, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and so forth.

The conferees agreed, in regard to manpower administration, on about one-half, in round figures, of the some \$80-odd million which was added by amendment in the Senate. Having met with the House in conference on these matters myself before, I think that result is by no means anything to cheer about. It is certainly far more of an accomplishment than many other items in this bill. I know, as I have been with the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. YOUNG), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. CORTON), and the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), at these conferences that they do try to sustain the Senate's position. I realize this and thank them for the utilization of their prestige and the weight of their position, in order to gain what they did gain on this item. I am very grateful to them, and hundreds of thousands of youngsters will be as well. So, let us emphasize the affirmative before we get into any other part of this bill. I wish to express that unequivocally, and standing all by itself.

Where we would suffer, in my judgment, disastrously, is in respect of a number of items which relate, as was stated by the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. YOUNG), to Health, Education, and Welfare, which are critically important to our people. First, we took a terrible beating with respect to health manpower in the fact of a really dire emergency.

Mr. President, in that regard I would like to point out that what was done was just about what the administration sought in its budget request, notwithstanding the very grave danger of the closing of medical and dental schools, and the fantastic shortages of doctors,

dentists, nurses, and other health personnel.

I strongly supported the Senate allowance for health manpower and believed it would make great strides forward toward implementing the comprehensive authorizing legislation for health manpower which we passed on July 14, 1971, and was enacted into law as Public Law 92-157 and Public Law 92-158.

One week ago today I urged a separate roll call vote on the health manpower amendment of the supplemental appropriations in order to strengthen the hand of the Senate conferees. I did this because I was deeply concerned about the fate of this measure when it is in conference with the House. The House Appropriations Committee held no hearings on the manpower and nursing supplemental requests and their bill had no dollar recommendations in this area. I was concerned that without a basis for independent judgment they would insist on accepting the administration's proposed budget, which I regret did not adequately respond to health manpower needs; the basic underpinning for any reform of our health care system, with which we also are deeply concerned.

Mr. President, to show how sharply these cuts took place, I would refer to the following:

I. Capitation grants for institutional support:

A. \$200,000,000 authorized for medical, dental and osteopathy schools.

\$120,000,000 requested by Administration.
 \$160,000,000 provided by Senate Appropriations Committee.

\$130,000,000 provided by Conference, a \$30,000,000 reduction.

B. \$34,000,000 authorized for veterinary, optometry, podiatry and pharmacy schools.
 \$20,400,000 requested by Administration.

\$30,000,000 provided by Senate Appropriations Committee.

\$25,200,000 provided by Conference, a \$4,800,000 reduction.

C. \$78,000,000 authorized for nursing schools.

Nothing—requested by Administration.
 \$63,000,000 provided by Senate Appropriations Committee.

\$31,500,000 provided by Conference, a \$31,500,000 reduction.

II. Student Assistance, loans and scholarships:

A. \$75,000,000 authorized for loans, for students at all schools (\$51,000,000 previously appropriated).

Nothing—supplemental Administration request.

\$14,000,000 supplemental allowance provided by Senate Appropriations Committee.

Nothing—supplemental allowance provided by Conference, a \$14,000,000 reduction.

B. \$111,700,000 authorized scholarships for students at all schools (\$35,000,000 previously appropriated).

Nothing—supplemental Administration request.

\$35,000,000 supplemental provided by Senate Appropriations Committee.

Nothing—supplemental provided by Conference, a \$35,000,000 reduction.

III. Construction Grants:

A. \$335,000,000 authorized for medical, dental, and other health profession schools, exclusive of nursing schools.

\$82,000,000 Administration supplemental request.

\$182,616,000 provided as supplemental appropriation by Senate Appropriations Committee.

\$142,385,000 provided as supplemental appropriation by Conference, a \$40,231,000 reduction.

B. \$35,000,000 authorized for nursing schools.

\$9,500,000 Administration supplemental request.

\$25,000,000 provided by Senate Appropriations Committee.

\$19,500,000 provided by Conference, a \$5,500,000 reduction.

Thus, in capitation grant institutional support for medical, dental, and osteopathy schools we have improved over the administration request from 60 to 65 percent, but are substantially down from the Senate amendment 80-percent level of support. My deepest regret and I know shared by all is nursing school capitation grant institutional support now at 40 percent—where the administration had zero—but down from the Senate amendment 83-percent support level.

In addition, the conference report eliminates other vital education funds: namely, \$65 million under Public Law 874, the impacted aid program, for initial funding of the low-income housing provision, category "c" children, so-called, who were added to the program by Public Law 91-230 last year. These payments, some 22 percent of the entitlement, would have covered 1.2 million schoolchildren in local districts throughout the Nation. It is indeed unfortunate that funds were not furnished for this effort which, I might add, I had authored in cosponsorship with the distinguished Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON).

Finally, in the education area, there was omitted \$200 million under Public Law 815 to provide some 5,000 classrooms for about 125,000 children in impacted areas—no funds have been provided for so-called section 5 construction since 1967 and moneys are badly needed, especially for American Indian children.

Mr. President, rather than crying about spilled milk, by point in rising here today is to call attention to what I consider to be the flouting of a very important provision of law. We provided, Mr. President, in the Health Training Improvement Act of 1970, Public Law 91-519, for a report by the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on the need for emergency financial assistance to our medical and dental schools. Congress called for that report on or before June 30, 1971, with a determination as to what was really needed.

I understand, Mr. President, that report is "done" but not "officially" available. We have demanded its release. Indeed, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD my letter to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Elliot Richardson, signed by me, ranking Republican member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, by the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCHWEIKER), the ranking minority member of our Health Subcommittee, by the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS), the chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), chairman of our Health Subcommittee, dated December 1, demanding this report, which request has not been com-

plied with, although I understand that the report is completed.

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

DECEMBER 1, 1971.

Hon. ELLIOT RICHARDSON,
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: As you know, the Health Training Improvement Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-519) contains a provision authored by Senator Javits which sets forth the Congressional finding that the Nation's economy, welfare, and security are adversely affected by the acute financial crisis which threatens the survival of medical and dental schools. The provision requests the Secretary to "determine the need for emergency financial assistance to such medical and dental schools" and "report to the Congress on or before June 30, 1971" regarding "his determinations of such need and his recommendations for such administrative and legislative action as he determines is necessary to meet such needs."

Unfortunately, although requested, the report was not available to the members of the Senate Health Subcommittee in their deliberations on the development of comprehensive health manpower legislation. Nor was it available to the conferees during their extensive efforts to resolve vital funding differences between the House and Senate health manpower bills.

Although it is now more than four months after the report was due pursuant to P.L. 91-519, our staffs have advised us that they have been regularly informed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, on behalf of our interest in the matter, that the report was "done" but not "officially" available.

As the Senate prepared to consider health manpower supplemental appropriations with-in the next week, we believe it is essential that the long overdue report on the medical and dental schools' need for financial assistance be made available to the Congress. Copies of this report will be most important to the Senate as it considers establishing appropriations for health manpower and we are, therefore, hopeful that it will be promptly made available.

JACOB K. JAVITS,
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER,
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS,
HOWARD M. KENNEDY.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I most strongly protest that particular denial of information which is absolutely essential. I attribute the denial of that information in great part to the massive cuts that are so harmful to the whole matter of health delivery which have been made in this supplemental appropriation.

I will do my utmost to find a way in which Congress can make it clear that it will not simply be frustrated by the sheer unwillingness—and I use all of these words advisedly—of the Executive Department to cooperate in giving the information, basic information, to which Congress is legitimately entitled.

I shall do my best to use every means available to me, including the possibility that we may be unable to act on measures they eventually want by virtue of this denial, which I consider to be unjustified and uncalled for.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, my purpose in rising was to emphasize that

point. I cannot understand why we have been denied this information.

Finally, I wish also to invite the attention of the Senate to denial of anything in impacted area funds for the public housing aspect of this situation. This has been neglected a long time. We must continue the fight in the hope of getting some resources.

I realize all the problems of the Committee on Appropriations but I believe these points essentially needed to be made in this matter.

I thank my colleagues for yielding and for their cooperation to the extent I have specifically spelled it out.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from New Hampshire.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I wish to comment for just 2 minutes on the matters that have been brought up by the distinguished Senator from New York.

In my own opinion the health manpower appropriation was by far the most important item in the entire supplemental appropriations bill. If it were left to me alone I would have economized elsewhere in order to furnish more money for the training of doctors, nurses, and technicians in all the fields of medicine. However, on this bill the jurisdiction of the HEW Subcommittee was limited to our own items and it was not possible for me to secure the priorities that I feel must eventually be recognized.

In this area of the health, education, and welfare section of the bill the Senate appropriation ran some \$356 million over the budget estimate and consequently by the same amount over the House appropriation, as the House was not able to consider these items at the time they marked up the bill. The House conferees, and the Senator from New York is familiar with the situation, were absolutely adamant in their demands, so the most difficult part of the entire conference was on these matters that are so vital to the training of the manpower to meet the national need for better health services.

The best the House would offer would be to leave in \$75 million out of the \$356 million by which the Senate increased the House figure. That we would not take and we refused to take.

The matter went overnight into the next day and we were unable to get even a 50-50 split, and we had to accept 40 percent of the amount that the Senate appropriation exceeded the House appropriation. This meant we lost some \$214 million but saved \$142 million of the increase. I wanted the RECORD to show that.

I thank the Senator from New York for giving us credit for doing our best.

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

Mr. COTTON. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator. Having sat with him in conference I know how indefatigable he is in trying to fight for the Senate position.

Mr. COTTON. I thank the Senator.
Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I am

unable to indicate approval of this conference report without at least registering in the RECORD my deep disappointment, and I know I speak for the senior Senator from Michigan as well as myself, because the two of us worked very closely in an effort to try to get funding for a Federal building in the downtown area of Detroit which already has been named after former Senator Patrick V. McNamara.

This building was authorized in 1963. There is only one other building that has been authorized as long as this building without being funded. The plans have been ready for several years. There is a 2.5-acre tract in the center of the city, which is grown up in weeds and it is now off the tax rolls. The Federal Government is spending \$2.5 billion a year renting space to accommodate various agencies and offices because this building has not been built.

One of the agencies that needs space the most is the FBI.

Crime is very bad in the city of Detroit and it is very demoralizing that in the inner city of Detroit the Federal Government delays and delays, which indicates that, like others moving out of the city of Detroit, perhaps the Federal Government is not going to build this building. Psychologically it hurts.

But in addition, the estimated cost of the building has gone up from \$27 million originally to an estimated \$48 million because we delayed for 9 years on this building to be named after a former colleague in the Senate.

In the debate earlier on the regular appropriation, the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MONTROYA) promised he would consider this in connection with the supplemental, and the senior Senator from Michigan (Mr. HART) and I appeared before the subcommittee, and he agreed to put in \$11 million for the substructure to get the building going.

I guess we made a mistake. We should have pressed for the whole amount. We thought we were being very reasonable, but as Senators have indicated, this was not agreed to in conference by the House.

I want to indicate the circumstances. I know the Senate conferees did fight for this measure. I am aware of that and I appreciate what was done.

I wonder if either the chairman or the ranking minority member might give us some enlightenment as to what the situation might be next year with respect to this building.

Mr. ELLENDER. I wish to say that, as the Senator stated, the Senate conferees did their best to maintain the amount for the substructure in the bill but Representative TOM STERN, who is chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee, objected strenuously. His chief argument was that by constructing this building piecemeal—that is, putting the foundation or substructure in first and later the superstructure in a subsequent appropriation bill—it would cost a good deal more.

He promised us that come the next fiscal year he would put the entire amount in so that one contractor could get a bid on the construction of the whole building

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and in that way the Government would save money. That is the argument he made to us and he would not agree to put in the substructure under any conditions.

I believe that by having a single contractor to construct the whole building a better contract would be obtained by the Government.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I thank the chairman for his comments.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, the distinguished chairman of the committee has clearly stated the House opposition on this matter.

The Senator from Michigan had asked for the full amount. If the Senator from Michigan had not been so economy-minded and asked for the full cost he might have gotten his building approved, but I believe putting in the substructure as he proposed would not have added to the cost. In fact it could well have saved money.

Representative STEED thought we should not do this piecemeal but he did agree to put in the full amount for the building next year.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I thank the chairman and the ranking Republican Member for their statements. I hope the senior Senator from Michigan (Mr. HART) and I will be able to see the building next year and I hope the increased cost caused by the delay will not be more than the savings Representative STEED has in mind.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I would be remiss if I did not bring up the subject of the Patrick McNamara Federal Office Building during the discussion of this supplemental appropriations bill.

For several years, members of Michigan's congressional delegation have been seeking funds to construct this building, which has been authorized since 1963.

The federally owned site for the building in downtown Detroit has been vacant for a number of years.

This year some progress was made toward securing funds for the project.

The Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate added \$11.2 million to this supplemental appropriations bill which would have financed construction of the building's substructure.

At this point I want to thank Senator MONROYA, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and General Government, for the leadership he gave in guiding this amendment through the Senate.

Unfortunately, the House conferees refused to yield, and the amendment was dropped in conference.

It is my understanding that Representative STEED, the able chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and General Government, opposed not the project but the partial funding approach.

Let me say at this point that, when Senator GRIFFIN and I testified before Mr. STEED's subcommittee, we found him most responsive.

His responsiveness is indicated, I believe, by the statement he made on the House floor yesterday concerning the McNamara building.

Mr. STEED said:

So far as I know, I know of no other project in the country that is more badly needed

than the Detroit one, and I intend to do everything I can to see that it is in the next budget.

Mr. STEED was speaking, of course, of projects funded by the General Services Administration.

Certainly, the many persons in Detroit and Michigan interested in this project welcome Mr. STEED's support. And needless to say, we will do all we can to see that the entire \$48 million needed to cover the estimated construction cost is included in next year's budget.

Our chances for success would be greatly improved if the administration requests the funds when it sends its budget to Congress next year.

Absent such a request, we will again seek to have the money added by Congress. Again I thank Senator MONROYA for his strong support in this matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from California.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, it is with a considerable sense of disappointment that I rise to speak on the conference report on H.R. 11955, the supplemental appropriations bill for fiscal year 1972. The greatest source of my disappointment is the level of overall funding of health manpower institutional support, construction programs, and student scholarships and loans.

I know that my sense of disappointment is shared by the Senate conferees on this measure, who had brought forth from the Appropriations Committee a bill which was responsive to the initiatives which the Congress so recently set forth in the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971 (Public Law 92-157) and the Nurse Training Act of 1971 (Public Law 92-158).

I know that the leaders of the Appropriations Committee on both sides of the aisle, and particularly the distinguished Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), chairman of the full Appropriations Committee, and the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), chairman of the Labor-HEW Appropriations Subcommittee, did all they could to convince the House conferees of the need for the level of appropriations in the Senate-passed bill.

But the fact is, Mr. President, that they were not fully successful in this task and that 60 percent of the amount by which the Senate bill increased the President's meager budget request has been deleted in the conference report.

Particularly regrettable are: the reduction from 80 percent of the authorized level of capitation for the medicine, osteopathy and dentistry schools, as included in the original bill, to the conference report level of 65 percent; the reduction of nursing school capitation from 83 percent in the Senate-passed bill to just 40 percent in the conference report—a cut of more than 50 percent; the slash in construction grant funding from \$190 million to \$142 million for health professions schools and from \$25 million to \$19.5 million for nursing schools; and the

total elimination of all funding above the limited amount previously appropriated for fiscal year 1972 for nursing and health professions student assistance.

Mr. President, these lower levels of support are basically inconsistent with commitments made in the two new public laws I referred to earlier for an increased Federal responsibility in the training and education of health professionals and nurses to meet the health needs of the American people. In my State of California, with such a great number of medical schools and other schools of health professions and of nursing, these cuts will work a great hardship. And I know that the distinguished Senator from Washington is well aware of this fact by reason of his generous response on the floor on December 3 to the amendment which I cosponsored with by distinguished colleague from California (Mr. TUNNEY) to add \$20 million to the health professions construction grant appropriations item. As I pointed out on the floor on that occasion, in the testimony to Senator MAGNUSON's subcommittee which I inserted in the RECORD, my State of California has three vitally necessary health professions construction grant applications already approved and ready to go to contract, totaling \$14.2 million; and, in addition, California has some \$85 million in approved construction grants which will be ready to go to contract in the very near future for health professions schools.

Now, Mr. President, as I stated at the outset, I am well aware of the great pressures and difficulties under which the Senate conferees labored in this conference, and I know that they did all that was humanly possible to vindicate the Senate position. And I do not propose at this point to suggest that the Senate should move to reject the conference report in view of the brief time remaining in this first session of the 92d Congress and in view of the fact that this supplemental appropriations bill is the life blood for the poverty program.

I would, however, like to address a few questions to the distinguished Senator from Washington to clarify several points with respect to the conference report on health manpower funding.

First, I ask the Senator from Washington to direct his attention to page 27 of the appropriations committee report (No. 92-549) on the supplemental appropriations bill in which the committee states, after noting the inequitable nature of the administration's recommendation of total funding for schools and colleges of optometry when compared against the recommendations for the other six health professions:

Therefore, the committee directs that the total amounts granted schools and colleges of optometry under special project and financial distress grants shall not be less than those grants funded under the special projects and financial distress programs in fiscal year 1971.

My question for the Senator from Washington is: Does this direction of the Appropriations Committee continue to operate under the funding provisions for schools and colleges of optometry in the conference report?

Mr. MAGNUSON. The answer to the question of the Senator from California is yes, because there was an increase in the appropriations agreed to in conference, and the Senate report language, of course, is the only prevailing language, and I assume the Department will follow very closely what we have suggested. That is on page 27 of the Senate committee report, the second paragraph.

Mr. CRANSTON. I thank the Senator very much for his very important and very helpful response.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The 5 minutes of the Senator have expired.

Mr. CRANSTON. May I have 2 minutes?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator.

Mr. CRANSTON. In my State of California there are two fine schools of optometry with 15 percent of all the optometry students in the Nation, and, therefore, the administration's desire to decrease total funding to schools and colleges of optometry is of particular concern to me.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point several letters I have received from schools of optometry in California.

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

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY,
Berkeley, Calif., December 2, 1971.
Hon. ALAN CRANSTON,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CRANSTON: I would appreciate it very much if you would contact your colleagues on the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor/HEW requesting them to give full funding to the VOPP professional capitation grants provided in the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971.

Since Federal assistance has been granted to the U.C. School of Optometry here at Berkeley we have expanded our enrollment and teaching program to meet the nation's health manpower needs in optometry. In 1968-69 when we first received Federal aid we had a total enrollment of 116 professional degree students and a faculty equivalent to 14 1/2 full-time teachers. This fall, largely because of Federal aid, we have expanded our enrollment to 211 students and a faculty equivalent to 27.6 full-time teachers. While the program has expanded the quality of the educational program has also advanced, thanks to Federal funding. (\$13,000 Institutional Grant and \$295,000 Special Project Grants in 1971-72.)

Our present enrollment is within one or two students of absolute capacity. Since our bonding grant application cannot be funded the coming year because of lack of California matching money, we will have to request an exception from a further increase in enrollment. Thus we cannot look forward to bonus capitation grants for some time.

We have made a commitment to presently enrolled students. If there is a cutback in our Federal funding we will be forced to cut back enrollment in 1973. In the meantime to cover we will need to continue with our presently enrolled students with fewer faculty and reduced supplies and expenses. Undoubtedly this will result in a lowering of academic quality.

My opinion unless the capitation grants are funded to at least 75% we will be in serious difficulty in 1972-73. To make any success at all, we will need full funding.

My help you can give us will be deeply ap-

preciated. It should be understood that the opinions expressed above are my own and not necessarily those of the University.

Sincerely,

MURDITH W. MORGAN,
Dean

LOS ANGELES COLLEGE OF OPTOMETRY,
Los Angeles, Calif., December 2, 1971
Hon. ALAN CRANSTON,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CRANSTON: As an administrator in one of the health professions schools in California, I am greatly concerned about the Administration's statement of distribution of funds under the Health Professions Education Act.

A review of this distribution indicates that all health professions with the exception of optometry, received substantial increases in support for education.

California has two fine schools of optometry, the only state in which this situation exists. Each of these schools has incurred considerable expense in recent years in an attempt to meet the health manpower needs of this nation. Each of these schools has increased its output of graduates considerably. Without a fair share of federal funding, the hardships imposed on these two schools and all other schools of optometry in the United States will be immeasurable.

I ask your support in rectifying this situation and assuring that vision care and optometry and its educational programs, specifically, receive more equitable treatment in the disbursement of these funds.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES A. ABEL, O.D.,
Dean

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, the other point of clarification I would like to pursue with the Senator from Washington is of a more far-reaching nature. I have already expressed my sense of disappointment with the general funding level in the conference report which I know the Senator shares fully, given his great record of achievement in appropriating funds to meet our Nation's health care needs. I would hope, I say to the Senator from Washington, that when it comes time for the second supplemental appropriation bill, hopefully reasonably early in the next session, the Senator would give very serious consideration to recommendations for increased appropriations for more institutional, construction and student assistance support in the health professions and in the nursing profession, providing we can at that time—as I am sure we will be able—provide strong indications of the great unmet needs which will continue after the funds contained in this appropriations act at the conference report level are allocated around the country to health manpower institutions. Would the Senator from Washington give serious consideration to such recommendations for the second supplemental?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I agree with the Senator from California.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The 2 minutes of the Senator have expired.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may need.

The amount we finally arrived at in conference was 40 percent or \$143 million of the Senate increase. It is not sufficient, in my opinion, but there is some point to another supplemental coming

along. Of course, we will give serious consideration to all the matters mentioned in the Senator's question. All of us were hopeful we would do much better, although we did fairly well when we consider that the budget was zero on some of these items, and that we had to operate between zero and the Senate figures.

I think we came out with a larger amount than we had hoped for when we consider that the House had not held hearings or looked into the matter. It was not the fault of the House, because the budget request was transmitted too late.

I am hopeful that, in the regular appropriation bill as well as the next supplemental bill, we can move toward some of the objectives mentioned by the Senator from California, because, after all, we passed the Comprehensive Health Manpower and Nurse Training Acts to provide, not a crash program particularly, but to have a forward thrust and put more emphasis on health manpower.

The Senator from California and I thoroughly agree that if there is a crisis in health in this country, it is not in the research field, because we have the finest research anywhere, bar none. It is in the failure of the delivery of health care, and that means manpower. In order to provide it, we have to provide for construction of facilities to train people. Otherwise, we will continue on a treadmill and we are not going to be able to do what we must do to meet the health needs of this country.

I think we can make some progress with the amounts that we arrived at in conference.

The new legislative authorities were just signed by the President 3 weeks ago, of course. We were meeting and working hurriedly, although the Senator from New Hampshire and I held some lengthy hearings on the matter, and the House did not have hearings.

So I can answer the Senator from California that we will do the best we can to increase these amounts as we move along. We need to do it or we are never going to get adequate delivery of health care in this country.

Mr. CRANSTON. I thank the Senator. I look forward to working with him and his very effective leadership in the direction that the Senator and I know we must move.

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

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Are all the items in the supplemental appropriation bill now before the Senate fully authorized?

Mr. ELLENDER. No. However, what we have done has the effect of both authorizing and appropriating funds for the items in the bill relating to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as amended which the President vetoed. We had in the bill that passed the Senate language making the availability of the funds contingent upon an authorization bill being enacted into law, but this language was stricken out in conference. The language that was stricken out reads as follows: *Provided further*, That this appropriation shall be available only upon the enactment of S. 2007 or other

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authorizing legislation by the 92d Congress."

That language appeared in four places in the appropriation bill with regard to OEO activities. That was stricken from the bill in each instance. The effect, then, is an authorization and an appropriation for the items stipulated in the supplemental appropriation bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. What item is that?

Mr. ELLENDER. We have four items: Under the Labor Department, the Manpower Administration, \$26,207,000 for salaries and expenses; and manpower training services, \$776,717,000; under HEW, for child development or the Headstart program, \$376,317,000; and the Office of Economic Opportunity, \$741,380,000.

Mr. MANSFIELD. None authorized?

Mr. ELLENDER. None authorized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. In other words, over a billion dollars in the bill is not authorized?

Mr. ELLENDER. About \$1.8 billion.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Could the distinguished chairman of the committee give an explanation to the Senate as to how the Appropriations Committee can operate in this manner, appropriating funds for agencies for which authorizations have not been received?

Mr. ELLENDER. When the conferees struck out the contingency language, that action has the effect of appropriating funds for these items under the authorization that was last in force. It will tie to legislation that had been continued to be funded by the continuing legislation and will not be based upon the new proposed legislation vetoed by the President. These funds are available for these programs as stipulated in the bill under the old law.

Mr. MAGNUSON. May I say to the Senator from Montana that we did, in the bill, a little authorizing ourselves, to the extent that the OEO funds will be under the Act of 1964, and that includes substantially many of the matters we are talking about, except those with reference to child care, which was the reason for the veto.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would express the hope that no more appropriation bills will come before the Senate unless all items in them are fully authorized, because I think it violates the institutional integrity of the Senate to operate in that fashion. In effect such action renders meaningless the function and alleged authority of 16 out of 17 of the Senate's standing committees.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator knows how I feel about that.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I hope this will be the last bill which will come in with items that have not been fully authorized. I shall watch the bills with that in mind. I know the distinguished chairman will cooperate in that endeavor.

Mr. MAGNUSON. We did not expect the veto, but, of course, we are appropriating for these programs spelled out in the bill under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended, the old legislation. These are programs now being carried on, and that is under the old law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. YOUNG. I yield 5 minutes on the

bill to the Senator from Maryland (Mr. BEALL).

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. President, I think it is appropriate, prior to casting a vote on this supplemental appropriation, that I register my strong dissatisfaction with that section of the bill dealing with health manpower generally, and specifically with that section dealing with the funding of the "physician shortage scholarship program."

One of the most serious health problems we have in the United States today is in the health care delivery system, and in that system we have a serious maldistribution of doctors. A big challenge facing Congress and the country is how to encourage young men and women to go into physician shortage areas. Many suburban areas have an adequate supply of doctors, but in many rural and inner city areas, there is a dire need for physicians. For example in Baltimore a 1970 study identified 16 census tracts with 174,000 citizens totally lacking a primary care physician. A 1970 American Medical Association study found 134 counties in the Nation without a single physician.

Earlier in the year, I introduced a bill, S. 790, called the physician shortage area scholarship program, in response to this problem. This bill provides scholarships to young men or women who agreed to practice 1 year for each year of the scholarship in these physician shortage areas. The measure was co-sponsored by 25 additional Members of this body.

I was extremely pleased when the legislation was adopted as an amendment to the Health Manpower Act by the Health Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and when the measure was later passed by the Senate. Subsequently, the House-Senate conferees agreed the program was needed, and it was included in the final bill. I was delighted when the Senate appropriations included \$1 million for this program in the supplemental appropriation bill.

These funds would have provided at least 200 scholarships to young men and women interested in serving in physician-shortage areas in the coming year. I am naturally disappointed that our House colleagues did not agree to that appropriation. I believe such action was a serious mistake. I also regret that those who are supposedly listening downtown did not have their antennas out and get the message from Capitol Hill and the people of America, that there is concern about this problem. I hope they will put their antennas out now and provide, in the budget about to be sent up for the next fiscal year, substantial funds for these physician-shortage-area scholarships. This program provides the opportunity to tap the idealism of our young men and women for service in their home areas, a unique priority system, based on the premise that individuals from a shortage area are not only more likely to return, but remain there, is established. Priority is also given to low-income individuals.

I would further point out, if those

young people who take advantage of the scholarships do not serve in the shortage areas as agreed, the scholarship reverts to a loan, so that it would not cost us any additional money. In other words, if the program works, communities in dire need of doctors will be aided; if it does not work, the Government will not lose a cent. It is difficult for me to understand why this program was not fully funded, let alone the failure to fund the program at all.

So, although I am disappointed that the appropriation was not approved by the House conferees this year, I hope that when the next appropriation comes up, we will have a significant appropriation to help provide health care in the areas where it is so desperately needed.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Maryland that he wrote us a letter about this matter, and we put it in the Senate bill, but the House conferees insisted on our giving it up to make up some of the differences where they yielded in other places.

What we are running into with the House of Representatives, every time we have a conference, both on the education appropriation bill and on the health appropriation bill, is that they have a complete blockade over there about scholarships. I do not know why, but the members of that committee seem to have their feet in concrete about scholarships. They want to shift the matter, as far as possible, into what they call loans. We have had this argument over and over with them, and in this case, in order to get the bill, we had to do this.

But scholarships are the key to some of these problems, because we want to pick up people who really cannot afford the education, who have talent, down in the lower income brackets, and who would not have the opportunity, if they went to a bank, to get a loan.

Many of the banks—and I have said this over and over again—want the parents to sign a note. In some cases they require an account in the bank. Some of these people do not have that; they cannot sign a note, and we are losing a lot of talent. The scholarship program was only one facet of this effort. There are a lot of people who want to enter into the medical and health professions who just cannot get a loan, or, in many cases, as far as that is concerned, do not even know how to go about it.

With scholarships, you pick up some talented personnel from the lower income groups. But the Senator from North Dakota will agree with me that we have an awful time when we mention scholarships to the House conferees. Their theory seems to be that scholarships should phase out and we should turn to loans.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I appreciate the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Washington.

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

Mr. BEALL. I yield.

Mr. YOUNG. No one could better understand nor be more sympathetic with the position of my friend from Maryland than the Senator from North Dakota. In my home county in my State, we have two hospitals but not a single doctor in

the entire county. Years ago they had 15 or 20.

Many of the doctors we get in North Dakota now are Canadian doctors, or doctors from other countries. There is something wrong when we have such a shortage of doctors that we have the problems that we have mentioned.

Mr. BEALL. I appreciate the remarks of the Senator from North Dakota, and the support given by my colleagues in the Senate to this proposal. I hope we can make our counterparts in the House of Representatives understand the merits of this program. As I said, if the student receiving such a scholarship carries out his pledge to serve in a physician-shortage area, the program is well worth the cost. If the student fails to carry out his commitment, the scholarship is in effect converted to a loan, which must be repaid. I would hope the House and the Administration would carefully study this unique approach, which I believe has the greatest potential of helping to solve the physician maldistribution problem.

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

Mr. YOUNG. I yield.

Mr. COOK. I might say to the Senator from North Dakota, and also the Senator from Maryland and the Senator from Washington, that maybe we in the Senate should send over to our colleagues in the House of Representatives all of the requests we so frequently get from hospitals throughout our States, seeking to keep doctors there who have come from other countries, and whose retention is being requested by the boards of health and the hospitals because they are absolutely necessary, and they do not have others to replace them. Maybe we had better send those requests over to the House committee members, so they will be aware of the problem in many States, when they get these young doctors in from foreign countries, and find out, when their time is up, that they have not to go back, and then they plead with us to see if we cannot intercede with the State Department to keep them here because of the necessity for their services.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Dakota yield to me so that I may make a unanimous-consent request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 3 minutes remaining.

Mr. YOUNG. I yield.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD my floor statement of July 14 when I discussed the physician shortage program and its rationale, the provisions of the program as the language contained in Public Law 92-157, and excerpts from the report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare discussing my program. Again, I repeat the deletion of funds was a tragic mistake and I hope to work with both the Appropriations Committee and the Administration in correcting this error early next year.

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

EXCERPTS FROM SENATOR BEALL'S REMARKS OF JULY 14 ON HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATION ASSISTANCE AMENDMENTS DEALING WITH HIS PHYSICIAN SHORTAGE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

S. 790 was introduced by me on February 17 of this year and was cosponsored by Senator DOMINICK and approximately one-quarter of the Senate membership. As incorporated into S. 934, the physician shortage area scholarship program is substantially the same as the original bill with the major exception being the deletion of the fellowship program. I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks the text of the physician shortage area scholarship program be printed in full in the RECORD.

Under this program, 3,500 scholarships up to \$5,000 each, are authorized over a 5-year period to young men and women who agree to serve in physician shortage areas. Five hundred such scholarships will be available in the first year increasing to 900 by the fifth year. This area may be in rural Appalachia, in an urban poverty area, or among migrant farmworkers. For each year of the scholarship, 1 year of service in a shortage area is required. A student, participating in the scholarship program, who subsequently does all of his postgraduate work in a medical scarcity area, is relieved of 1 year of his service obligation.

If a scholarship recipient fails to honor his commitment, the scholarship is in effect converted to a loan and the individual is required to repay to the Government the value of the scholarship plus interest at the commercial market rate. If the program works, we will have taken important action in helping to solve the maldistribution problem; if it does not, the Government will not lose a cent.

The physician maldistribution problem is one of the most serious problems confronting the country and it is one of the most difficult to solve. That is why I believe that this program, which is specifically designed to respond to this problem, is so important. For the many doctor-shortage areas of the Nation, I believe it is imperative that this program be retained in the final bill. As I mentioned earlier, we need 50,000 doctors in the United States today. This gross national statistic does not adequately convey the gravity of the situation in many rural and urban areas of this country. A 1970 AMA study of the distribution of physicians indicated that there were 134 counties in this country lacking a single physician. While no Maryland county was on that list, there are many Maryland counties which are in dire need of additional physicians.

Obviously there are many more communities than counties in the country without a single physician or without an adequate number of doctors. Although there is not a great deal of information available on individual communities lacking doctors, research that is available indicates that a great need exists. For example, a 1960 survey of over 1,600 towns and cities in Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana identified 1,000 towns as not having a single physician, and an additional 224 towns with only one physician.

One physician counties or communities are likely to become no-physician towns or counties unless action is taken. This is true because the age of physicians in these rural communities tends to be higher. For example, in rural Appalachia 65 percent of the physicians are over 50 years of age. In West Virginia over the last 10 years approximately 50 communities of a population of less than 10,000 have been left without a doctor as rural practitioners retire and younger doctors are not found to replace them. Thus, there is a need for providing incentives for young

physicians to go into these communities.

Just as this program is direly needed by rural America, it is also needed by the inner-city area. A 1970 study of the metropolitan area of Baltimore identified 16 census tracts in the inner city which were totally lacking in primary care physicians. These census areas served approximately 174,000 people, most of whom were economically disadvantaged. I believe that the bill, which is incorporated into S. 934, will effectively respond to the maldistribution problem in both the rural and urban shortage areas. The program establishes a unique priority system for selecting students for the scholarship program.

PRIORITIES FOR SCHOLARSHIPS

The first priority is granted to individuals from lower income families who live in a physician-shortage area and who agree to return and practice in such area.

The second priority is given to individuals who reside in a physician-shortage area who agree to return and practice in such area.

The third priority is allocated to individuals from lower income families who, although residing in an area where there is not a physician shortage agree to practice in any physician-shortage area.

The final priority would go to individuals, not lower income, who do not come from an area of physician shortages, but who agree to practice in any physician-shortage area.

Mr. President, there are two primary purposes for the system of priorities for selecting eligible students for scholarships under the bill.

First, the evidence supports, what commonsense tell us, the hypothesis that persons from physician-shortage areas are more likely to return to and remain in such areas and practice medicine.

The results of an American Medical Association's survey published in 1970, questioning physicians on the factors that influence their decision to practice in a certain area gives support to the bill's priorities. This survey found that over 45 percent of physicians indicated that they were practicing in or around the town in which they were raised. The survey also revealed that 49 percent of the physicians raised in small towns were practicing in communities of 2,500 or less. An equal percentage of doctors raised in nonmetropolitan communities of 25,000 or more were practicing in cities of that size. The AMA survey confirmed previous studies which had indicated that:

"Physicians who practice in small towns are more likely to have a rural than urban background."

The AMA study concluded that:

"Physicians recruitment for rural areas would be enhanced if more young men with rural backgrounds were encouraged to enter the medical profession."

Continuing, the report had this to say about the influence of a doctor's origins or his place of practice:

"Physicians who practice in small towns are more likely to have rural rather than urban backgrounds . . . rural physicians have predominantly rural backgrounds and metropolitan physicians generally had urban locations during their youth."

If we can persuade young men and women to practice in physician-shortage areas, the evidence indicates that most are likely to remain. The AMA study on this point states that:

"Once a physician establishes a practice he is not likely to move."

This survey found:

At least 63% of the physicians had not moved from their original practice location. This percentage was consistent regardless of the community size. A more detailed breakdown of the area showed that about one-

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fourth of the physicians in non-metropolitan areas had practiced twenty years or more in the same place."

This measure is then drafted to give priorities to lower income and other individuals from physician-shortage areas because it is felt that these individuals are more likely to return and remain in the areas in which they were reared.

The second advantage of the priorities established by the bill would be that it would have the effect of attracting and making it possible for more minority and lower income individuals to go to medical school. Across the country there has been a concern over the poor representation of the minority groups in our medical schools. Only recently the University of Maryland took steps to enlarge their minority representation among its medical students.

Another important feature of the legislation is that it would encourage students to practice primary care, including family medicine. In 1931, three out of four of the Nation's doctors were engaged in family practice. In 1967 only one out of five were in general practice. In Baltimore City, only 9 percent of the practicing physicians are in family practice. Indications are that this trend toward specialization and away from general practice is continuing. The Millis report found only 15 percent of the medical students graduates planning to enter general practice.

Steps taken in recent years show some promise of reversing this trend away from general practice. For example, the American Board of Family Practice has been created. In addition, there is included in this bill provisions to encourage family medicine. I believe that these actions will be a further incentive for medical students to specialize in the practice of family medicine and should encourage medical schools to focus anew on the family physician.

Mr. President, much has been written regarding the idealism of today's young men and women. The medical student is no exception. We are told that the new breed of medical students want the opportunity to serve their fellow citizen. My program would provide them with this opportunity. In addition, the priority scheme will not only give them an opportunity to serve but it will provide them the chance to serve and minister to the health needs of citizens, often their friends and neighbors, in the physician shortage area wherein they grew up.

I know the Appalachia area of my State well. It is my home area. I know the young men and women who live there and, I believe, they, as well as similarly motivated students from other areas of my State and the Nation, will confirm my faith in them by making this program work.

I am convinced that this proposal is the most important provision in the legislation to deal with the Nation's maldistribution problem. By granting priorities to individuals from the shortage areas to accept the scholarship conditioned on their making a commitment to serve in such areas, I am convinced that the probability of its success is good.

Mr. President, to solve the health care crisis we must expand our medical manpower and encourage doctors to locate in shortage areas. For if we fail to solve this problem, our goal of quality health care to all Americans, wherever they live, and at a price they can afford, will elude us. As Dr. Egeberg has warned.

"I don't care what Congress does with medical care, Medicaid, and all the other programs, nothing is going to improve the country's medical system until we get more doctors."

In summary, I believe my proposal will significantly respond to some of our medical manpower problems. It will encourage

primary care, including family medicine. It responds to the maldistribution problem. It will make it possible for more lower income minority individuals to enter our medical schools.

PHYSICIAN SHORTAGE SCHOLARSHIP PROVISIONS OF PUBLIC LAW 92-157

TITLE I—AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VII OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT

"SUBPART III—PHYSICIAN SHORTAGE AREA SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

"SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS

"Sec. 784. (a) In order to promote the more adequate provision of medical care for persons who—

"(1) reside in a physician shortage area; (2) are migratory agricultural workers or members of the families of such workers; the Secretary may, in accordance with the provisions of this subpart, make scholarship grants to individuals who are medical students and who agree to engage in the practice of primary care after completion of their professional training (A) in a physician shortage area, or (B) at such place or places, such facility or facilities, and in such manner, as may be necessary to assure that, of the patients receiving medical care in such practice, a substantial portion will consist of persons referred to in clause (2). For purposes of this subpart, (1) the term 'physician shortage area' means an area determined by the Secretary under section 741(f)(1)(C) to have a shortage of and a need for physicians, and (2) the term 'primary care' has the meaning prescribed for it by the Secretary under section 788(c)(3)(B).

"(b) (1) Scholarship grants under this subpart shall be made with respect to academic years.

"(2) The amount of any scholarship grant under this subpart to any individual for any full academic year shall not exceed \$5,000.

"(3) The Secretary shall, in awarding scholarship grants under this subpart, accord priority to applicants as follows—

"(A) first, to any applicant who (i) is from a low-income background (as determined under regulations of the Secretary), (ii) resides in a physician shortage area, and (iii) agrees that, upon completion of his professional training, he will return to such area and will engage in such area in the practice of primary care;

"(B) second, to any applicant who meets all the criteria set forth in subparagraph (A) except that prescribed in clause (i);

"(C) third, to any applicant who meets the criterion set forth in clause (i); and

"(D) fourth, to any other applicant.

"(c) (1) Any scholarship grant awarded to any individual under this subpart shall be awarded upon the condition that such individual will, upon completion of his professional training, engage in the practice of primary care—

"(A) in the case of any individual who, in applying for a scholarship grant under this subpart, met the criteria set forth in subparagraph (A) or (B) of subsection (b) (3), in the physician shortage area in which he agreed (pursuant to such subparagraph) to engage in such practice; and

"(B) in the case of any individual who did not agree (pursuant to such subparagraph (A) or (B)) to engage in such practice in any particular physician shortage area (or who is not, under a waiver under paragraph (4) of this subsection, required to engage in such practice in any particular physician shortage area)—

"(i) in any physician shortage area, or

"(ii) at such place or places, in such facility or facilities, and in such manner, as may be necessary to assure that, of the patients receiving medical care provided by such individual, a substantial portion will consist of persons who are migratory agricultural workers or are members of the families of such workers;

for a twelve-month period for each full academic year with respect to which he receives such a scholarship grant. For purposes of the preceding sentence, any individual, who has received a scholarship grant under this subpart for four full academic years, shall be deemed to have received such a grant for only three full academic years if such individual serves all of his internship or residency in a public or private hospital, which is located in a physician shortage area, or a substantial portion of the patients of which consists of persons who are migratory agricultural workers (or are members of the families of such workers) and, if, while so serving, such individual receives training or professional experience designed to prepare him to engage in the practice of primary care.

"(2) The conditions imposed by paragraph (1) shall be complied with by an individual to whom it applies within such reasonable period of time, after the completion of such individual's professional training, as the Secretary shall by regulations prescribe.

"(3) If any individual to whom the conditions referred to in paragraph (1) is applicable fails, within the period prescribe pursuant to regulations under paragraph (2), to comply with such conditions for the full number of months with respect to which such condition is applicable, the United States shall be entitled to recover from such individual an amount equal to the amount produced by multiplying—

"(A) the aggregate of (i) the amounts of the scholarship grant or grants (as the case may be) made to such individual under this subpart, or (ii) the sums of the interest which would be payable on each such scholarship grant if, at the time such grant was made, such grant were a loan bearing interest at a rate fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, after taking into consideration private consumer rates of interest prevailing at the time such grant was made, and if the interest on each such grant had been compounded annually, by

EXCERPTS FROM SENATE REPORT 92-251 DISCUSSING FAMILY PHYSICIANS SHORTAGE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

PHYSICIAN SHORTAGE AREA SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

The bill includes a new demonstration scholarship program designed to offer stronger incentives to physicians to practice in shortage areas, to encourage more doctors to enter general practice, to assist in remedying the problem of maldistribution of physicians, and to increase the number of lower income and minority young people entering medical school.

The Secretary of HEW would be authorized to make scholarship grants to medical students who agree in advance to engage in the practice of primary care in (1) a physician-shortage area or (2) any practice, a substantial portion of which serves migratory agricultural workers or their families. A "physician shortage area" is defined by the bill to mean a medically underserved area as designated for purposes of the health professions student loan cancellation provisions.

Scholarships could be as much as \$5,000 annually. One year of service would be required for each year of scholarship aid. (A medical student who receives scholarship aid for four academic years would be deemed to have completed one year of the requirement for service if he served all of his internship or residency in a hospital in a physician shortage area or a hospital serving substantial numbers of migrant workers and their families and if, while so serving, he receives training or experience designed to prepare him to engage in the practice of primary care.)

If a scholarship recipient fails to comply with the agreement, the Federal Government would be entitled to recover propor-

donate amounts, with interests, as though the student aid had been a loan, payable within five years.

The bill establishes priorities for selection of students for the scholarship program. First priority is given to individuals from low-income families who live in physician shortage areas and who agree to return and practice in such areas. Second priority is given to individuals who reside in a physician shortage area and who agree to return to practice there. Third priority is given to individuals from low-income families who, although not residing in areas where there are physician shortages, agree to practice in any physician shortage area. Fourth, to any other applicant.

Mr. COOK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield for a question?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I yield.

Mr. COOK. So that we can get it into the Record, there is no mistake or misunderstanding that title I funds will be funded at the 1971 level; that we will not find, for example, the situation in my State, where we will be denied some \$3 million plus that was available to us in the 1971 year, and that they will be available to us under the supplemental appropriation.

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is the amendment dealing with title I funds of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in the amount of \$32.5 million. The conferees accepted our amendment on that, so that no State will receive less than the fiscal year 1971 level.

Mr. COOK. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I think that involves quite a few States.

Mr. COOK. It does.

Mr. MAGNUSON. We put a list of the States into the Record. The House conferees accepted that amendment. It was a little difficult at first, but they finally did accept it.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the conference report to H.R. 11955 for supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1972 contains many excellent provisions. I am most disturbed, however, that the conference deleted most of the additional funds for veterans which the Senate Appropriations Committee had recommended and this body has passed. This deletion is due, I believe, to heavy lobbying pressure by representatives of the administration. That the modest \$25 million in funds that the Senate voted for veteran unemployment has been slashed to \$6 million, is further evidence that the administration prizes form above content. Eloquent statements and plans for the veteran are heard, but seldom is there money to implement them. I am further concerned that information which administration operatives supplied to some of the conferees was, I believe, deliberately misleading. This information noted that the unemployment rate for veterans aged 20 to 29 was at 7 percent for October, down from the 8-percent range where it has remained for most of the year. This, of course, created the impression that the situation was getting better and that additional funds were not needed. What these operatives conveniently chose to ignore was that the November unemployment rate for veterans was back up to 8.2 percent. These figures were released by the Bu-

reau of Labor Statistics several days before the conferees ever met and is a full 1.2 percent greater than for nonveterans of the same age group. Indeed, throughout the entire year of 1971 the veteran unemployment rate has been persistently higher than that for comparable nonveterans.

The President last June announced his firm intention to do something to aid veteran unemployment. Included in his six-point plan was a mandatory listing with the employment service system of all job openings by Government contractors. Qualified veterans were to be accorded priority in referral to these jobs by the employment service. I welcomed that move by the President which would increase the estimated number of job listings this year from 6.5 million to over 11 million. But it was obvious that if these job listings were to be processed, additional funds for personnel were needed. It was obvious, also, that if more veterans were to be referred, additional funds for personnel would be required. And, I believe it was obvious that in the veteran placement rate by the local employment service offices was to be improved, additional funds, personnel, and supervision were needed. Last year less than 13 percent of all veteran applicants were placed in a job for 3 days or more duration.

Indeed, all this was obvious to the Department of Labor who submitted a request of \$30 million to the Office of Management and Budget to aid the veteran. But the Office of Management and Budget authorized a submission of only \$4.5 million. Based on hearings on veteran unemployment held by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, which I am privileged to chair, I believed that additional funds were necessary. Accordingly, I took my case to the Appropriations Subcommittee of Labor-HEW and other related agencies.

I ask unanimous consent that my testimony before the subcommittee be inserted in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks. The response of the subcommittee was most gratifying, particularly from its distinguished chairman (Mr. MAGNUSON) and the ranking Republican (Mr. CORRON). Equally receptive was the distinguished chairman of the full committee (Mr. ELLENDER) and the ranking Republican (Mr. YOUNG). The full committee recommended to this body that it appropriate \$25 million of the \$30 million I recommended.

The \$25 million that the Senate passed to aid veteran unemployment has now, thanks to pressure from the administration, been cut back to \$6 million. Early in this administration, we were told that it should be judged, not by what it said, but by what it did. After witnessing the misinformation and pressure exerted to delete these funds, I believe that I have the basis to judge them. But, more important, the veteran who is unemployed and looking for a job, will have a chance to make his judgment as well.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the testimony I gave before the subcommittee and a copy of my letter to Chairman Magnuson.

There being no objection, the testi-

mony and letter were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR, AND HEALTH, AND WELFARE, AND RELATED AGENCIES

I want to thank the Committee for the opportunity of being able to bring additional information concerning veterans unemployment to your attention. I understand the pressure of time which bears upon this Committee, and I shall not monopolize it by repeating information contained in my letter of October 28 to Subcommittee Chairman Magnuson. Nor will I spend any large amount of time going over a detailed budgetary breakdown of how the additional \$30 million supplemental appropriation would be allocated. This information has been previously supplied to your committee staff and copies of the material are attached to my testimony as exhibits.

I believe a few brief points are in order, however, for your consideration. First, while the unemployment rate seems to be improving somewhat for veterans, the situation still calls for corrective action. In spite of a drop in the veteran unemployment rate in October to 7 percent, this continues to be higher than for comparable nonveterans. For most of this year the veterans has experienced an unemployment rate of 8.5 percent. For those recently discharged from the service who are in the age group 20 to 24, the most current figures indicate the unemployment rate is 11.2 percent. Before too much reliance is placed upon the October unemployment figures, it should be recognized that monthly veteran employment figures are *not* seasonally adjusted. October, as most of you know, is traditionally one of the higher employment months. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has cautioned against viewing the October figures as establishing any sort of trend. Furthermore, it would seem to me if the employment service was only able to place less than 13 percent of its veteran applicants last year that there is enormous room for improvement. While ESARS data may indicate there has been some additional placement of Vietnam-era veterans, it also indicates that the placement percentages are running behind last year's total. For the first quarter of Fiscal Year '72—July through October—there were approximately 1.1 million veteran applicants. Of that number, less than 84,000 were placed in a regular job, which is defined as one of three or more days duration. This would indicate a placement percentage of 7.3 percent. First quarter ESARS data also indicates that although veterans made up 21.2 percent of employment service applicants, they comprise only 18.4 percent of those counseled, 13 percent of those tested, and 12.3 percent of those enrolled in training.

The President himself has noted the importance of the employment service to assure that veterans secure jobs upon return to the United States through his six point plan. Of those 6 points, 3 bear directly upon the U.S. Training and Employment Service and 2 others indirectly draw upon their resources. Of these 6 points, perhaps the most important is the mandatory listing of jobs by all government contractors required by Executive Order 11958.

The Department of Labor has estimated that as a result of this Executive order, there will be generated an additional 5 million job openings above the original projection of 6.5 million for a total of 11.5 million job listings with the employment service. Clearly, this almost doubling of job listings will require additional staff. The Department of Labor itself has recognized that if the job is to be done, additional funding will be necessary. I wish to emphasize that this \$30 million request is in line with the same request that the Department of Labor itself submitted to the Office of Management and

December 10, 1971

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Budget, OMB, in the name of economy, approved a congressional submission of only \$4.5 million. And as late as September 28, Assistant Secretary Lovell of the Department of Labor admitted to me in hearings that he did not believe the \$4.5 million was sufficient and that it would take the full \$30 million to do the job. Since that time, the Department of Labor's official position has been that it could get along with the \$4.5 million. But I think you are aware, Mr. Chairman, that these statements are not dictated by the convictions of the officials of the Department of Labor but are statements from a script written by the Office of Management and Budget. As I have said before, I do not believe we can economize at the expense of our veterans.

Even if the Department of Labor through large efforts is able to supply the necessary services to veterans, it is my conviction that it can only be done at the expense of other programs. As Chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, I am vitally concerned that our returning veterans get an even break. I do not believe, however, and I do not think that any member of this Committee believes, that adequate services to veterans should be purchased at the expense of programs for the disadvantaged and minorities, yet clearly, this is what will happen if we do not provide adequate funding.

Finally, included in my request is a modest proposal for increasing the Veterans' Employment Service by 79 positions. These positions will be used to monitor the effectiveness of the local employment service programs, for veterans. I believe last year's statistics and the continuing statistics of this year justify a larger degree of control and oversight by those who are assigned exclusively to monitoring veterans' functions. While I do not doubt the sincerity of the Department of Labor, there has been a tendency in the past not to closely monitor state employees assigned to veterans' functions. The Veterans' Employment Service will see that the federal money is well spent if they are given adequate personnel.

U.S. SENATE, COMMITTEE ON
VETERANS' AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., October 28, 1971.

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Labor, and
Health, and Welfare, and Related Agencies
Committee on Appropriations, New
Senate Office Building, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Recently the President submitted a request for supplemental appropriations for FY '72 (House Document No. 92-164). Your committee, which has been holding hearings on this matter, received testimony on October 20 from Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, concerning the Administration's request for \$4,500,000 to aid in placement service for veterans in response to Executive Order 11598.

I have examined the request submitted as well as the accompanying testimony of Mr. Lovell, and it is my conviction that there has been substantially less than a full and candid disclosure to your committee of the employment problems facing the returning veteran and the action that must be taken. The Committee on Veterans' Affairs, which I am privileged to chair, has been conducting a thorough inquiry into the employment problems confronting the returning veteran and what services the government is and is not providing him. The committee has held hearings on this subject on April 26, 28; May 10; September 28, 29; and October 8.

The composite picture that emerges is one of neglect by the United States Training and Employment Service. The Veterans Employment Service within the Department of Labor, which has veteran employment as its

prime responsibility, is chronically understaffed and has been unable to effectively monitor the state employment services.

One immediate indication of the problem is, of course, the continuing higher unemployment rate among Vietnam-era veterans. The unemployment rate among the 20-to-29-year-old age group has increased in the past year from 6.2 percent to a current 8.3 percent. By comparison, nonveterans of the same age group are currently experiencing an unemployment rate of only 6.6 percent. It is interesting to note that since June 11, when the President called for an "effective mobilization of federal resources" to aid the veteran, the gap between veteran and non-veteran unemployment rates has widened from .3 percent to 1.7 percent. When one examines the unemployment rate for unemployed veterans in the 20-to-24-year-old age group, the figures increase even more dramatically; and if the veteran happens to be black, he can experience an unemployment rate as high as 20 percent.

Even more pertinent is the ESARS data (Employment Service Automatic Reporting System) obtained by the committee staff for the last fiscal year. Despite a congressional mandate to give priority to veterans and the legal requirement that each of the some 2400 local employment offices have a veterans' employment representative, the record indicates that far from getting priority, the returning veteran is getting less service than the nonveteran. During the past year, veterans constituted 21.5 percent of all state employment service applicants. Yet ESARS data shows that they comprised only 17.9 percent of those counseled; 13.2 percent of those tested; and 14.7 percent of those enrolled in manpower training programs. Proportionally fewer veterans were referred to health, rehabilitative, welfare, or remedial services. Only 11.3 percent of those enrolled in orientation were veterans. Of the nearly 2.7 million veteran applications at the employment service offices last year, less than 13 percent resulted in placement in any sort of job. Again, this was a lesser placement percentage than for nonveterans. It is important to note in this connection that the employment service defines a regular job as one which is of three days duration. How many of these placements were for temporary employment of short duration or "dead-end" type jobs is not revealed by the figures, and the Department of Labor has informed me they are unable to supply any information in this regard. Regulations defining eligibility for manpower programs unfairly and I believe unintentionally have tended to exclude the young veteran. That is to say, veterans who would otherwise be classified as "disadvantaged" and eligible for certain manpower training programs have been excluded by simple virtue of their compulsory service in the Armed Forces. Even more shocking to me is the fact that as to those veterans who were placed in the category of "disadvantaged," proportionately fewer of them were enrolled in manpower training programs than their disadvantaged nonveteran counterparts.

The foregoing suggests quite graphically, I believe, the failure of the state agencies to perform as required by law and the necessity of close effective supervision and assistance by the Federal Veterans Employment Service. Unfortunately, this division has too often been treated as a poor stepchild of the Department of Labor. Its line-item authority for FY '72 is under \$2.5 million. It has a total staff of only 144 employees which includes 77 professionals in the field and 9 professionals in the central office. Of this number, only one is a Vietnam-era veteran. By comparison, over 700 men were assigned to this division following World War II. Operating under a heavy work load, the Veterans Employment Service was able to conduct evaluations of only 732 of the 2400 local employment service

offices last year. Clearly I believe that adequate staffing is necessary if we are to insure that the veteran receives a fair shake.

As you know, the Department of Labor submitted a request for \$30 million to the Office of Management and Budget in order to implement Executive Order 11598 resigned to reduce the higher unemployment rate for Vietnam veterans. OMB gave approval for a submission of only \$4.5 million. While I am cognizant of necessary constraints imposed by budgetary requirements, I do not believe that we can economize at the expense of the young veteran.

Because I know that you share the same degree of concern about the employment problems facing the veteran today, I am respectfully requesting that your subcommittee allow me to present this and additional testimony to members of the committee together with recommendations for budgetary increases prior to any final action on the supplemental request.

Thanking you in advance for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely,

VANCE HARTKE,
Chairman.

Mr. CASE, Mr. President, as a member of the conference committee, I have taken exception to one portion of the conference report on the supplemental appropriations bill that perpetuates an inequity in the distribution of Federal aid to school districts that carry a special burden as a result of Federal activities.

Twice this year the Senate has approved funds to assist local districts educating children whose parents live in low-income public housing. On both occasions, in the education appropriations bill and again in this supplemental appropriations bill, the funds approved by the Senate for this purpose were eliminated in the conference committee meeting with House Members.

Since 1950, the Congress has provided funds to assist school districts that provide an education for children whose parents live or work on Federal installations throughout the country. This assistance recognizes that a Federal activity can impose a special burden on a school district, particularly when Federal property is removed from the local tax rolls.

In my view, there can be no justification for providing Federal aid to school districts impacted by Federal installations if we do not provide the same type of assistance to school districts required to educate children whose parents live in housing projects that are exempt from local taxes because they are Federal property.

The failure to provide funds for the authorized program of aid to districts impacted by public housing is not only inequitable, it is shortsighted on the part of those who support aid to districts impacted by other Federal installations.

We in Congress have already stated our support for spreading low-income public housing beyond the urban areas where most of it now exists. Indeed reports from the 1970 census indicate that suburban public housing will continue to expand during this decade. Over 3,000 communities in all 50 States now have public housing and this is a program that will touch more and more as the years go by.

In my view, Federal aid for school dis-

fields impacted by public housing is one of the most meritorious aspects of the whole impacted aid program and it most certainly is the one related most directly to identifiable public economic need.

ELDERLY—SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I want to commend the conferees for keeping in the supplemental appropriations bill the old level of funding for older Americans programs provided by my amendment last Friday.

The amendment increased the title III community programs for the aging and the foster grandparents and retired senior volunteer program by \$45.75 million. It also increased the training and research programs by \$9.5 million. This raises the overall level of funding this year to \$100 million.

As the chairman of the aging subcommittee which originally passed the Older American Act Amendments of 1969 which established the authorization of \$62 million for fiscal year 1970, \$85 million for fiscal year 1971, and \$105 million for 1972. Now for the first time, we have brought the level of funding close to the level of need that we found 3 years ago.

Thus, the administration originally requested only 47 percent of the authorized level in fiscal year 1970, \$1 million less than the Johnson administration had requested; 36 percent of the authorization in fiscal year 1971, and an utterly inadequate 28 percent of the authorized level in fiscal year 1972.

Congressional action each year increased that level and again last week the 30 to 0 approval of my amendment demonstrates the deep concern for the need of the elderly in this Nation which is beginning to receive expression in all branches of our Government.

Thus, last week, in a turnaround of some importance, the administration agreed to support my amendment to increase funding to \$100 million after the President acknowledged to the White House Conference on Aging that such a funding level was required.

Rather than wait until the next fiscal year, I felt that the additional moneys should be available immediately. For that reason, I submitted the amendment and I am pleased to see that now both the Senate and the House of Representatives have approved that provision.

I hope that passage of this amendment marks a major shift in the attitude of the Nation's political leaders toward the needs of the elderly. I hope it represents a new understanding of the economic deprivation, frustration, and alienation that too often robs our elderly citizens of the dignity that they deserve in the final chapter of their lives. And I hope it represents a commitment to adequate income, decent housing, quality health care, and the opportunity to participate fully in the life of our Nation.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, the conference on H.R. 11955 includes \$2,215,000 for an extension and widening of the runway at Jackson Hole Airport, Grand Teton National Park, Wyo.

In addition, the funds will permit the construction of a parallel taxiway, extension of existing parking aprons, and the installation of electronic equipment.

I am grateful to my colleagues in the Congress for their recognition of the urgent situation which exists at the Jackson Hole Airport. This facility is the major air access to Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks. It is located entirely on National Park Service land and is within a county in which 97 percent of the land area is owned by the Federal Government.

As more and more Americans visit this majestic area, traffic has greatly increased at the Jackson Hole Airport, airlines are using more sophisticated aircraft and safety standards have been raised. In spite of these new conditions, there was not even a taxistrip at the airport and airplanes were forced to taxi down the runway before takeoff.

The appropriation of \$2,215,000 for Jackson Hole Airport will enable the Jackson Hole Airport Authority and the National Park Service to improve the airport facilities and provide for the safety of the citizens using this airport. It would have indeed been tragic if the Congress had failed to act until disaster struck. All too often there is delay until loss of human life prompts action.

I am proud and pleased that Congress has not delayed and has acted to make improvements before an accident occurred at Jackson Hole Airport.

I am grateful to the members of the Committee on Appropriations for their understanding and recommendation that these funds be included in the supplemental appropriations bill. The concurrence of the House in this action underscores the wisdom of this decision.

I sincerely hope that the Senate will pass the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, unless any other Senator wishes to speak, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. YOUNG. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the conference report. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS), and the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE) are necessarily absent.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from Utah (Mr. BENNETT) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) are absent because of illness.

The Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) and the Senator from Maine (Mrs. SMITH) are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) and the Senator from Maine (Mrs. SMITH) would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 84, nays 9, as follows:

[No. 449 Leg.]

YEAS—84

Aiken	Fong	Montoya
Allott	Fulbright	Moss
Baker	Gambrell	Muskie
Bayh	Gravel	Nelson
Beall	Griffin	Packwood
Bellmon	Gurney	Pastore
Bentsen	Hansen	Pearson
Bible	Hart	Pell
Boggs	Hartke	Proxmire
Brock	Hatfield	Randolph
Brooke	Hollings	Ribicoff
Burdick	Hruska	Saxbe
Byrd, W. Va.	Hughes	Schweiker
Cannon	Humphrey	Scott
Case	Inouye	Sparkman
Chiles	Jackson	Spong
Church	Javits	Stafford
Cook	Jordan, N.C.	Stennis
Cooper	Jordan, Idaho	Stevens
Cotton	Kennedy	Stevenson
Cranston	Long	Symington
Curtis	Magnuson	Taft
Dole	Mathias	Talmadge
Dominick	McClellan	Tower
Eagleton	McGovern	Tunney
Eastland	McIntyre	Weicker
Ellender	Miller	Williams
Ervin	Mondale	Young

NAYS—9

Allen	Fannin	Metcalfe
Buckley	Goldwater	Roht
Byrd, Va.	Mansfield	Thurmond

NOT VOTING—7

Anderson	McGee	Smith
Bennett	Mundt	
Harris	Percy	

So the conference report was agreed to.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendments in disagreement.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20 to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed in said amendment, insert:

"Salaries and Expenses

"For an additional amount for the Manpower Administration, \$26,207,000."

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 21 to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum named in said amendment, insert: "\$776,717,000", and delete the last proviso.

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 23, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment, insert:

"National Institutes of Health
"Health Manpower

"For an additional amount for "Health Manpower", \$492,980,000 of which \$162,335,000 shall remain available until expended to carry out part B of title VII and part A of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act: *Provided*, That \$93,000,000 to carry out sections 772, 773, and 774 shall remain available for obligation through September 30, 1972: *Provided further*, That \$100,000 shall be used to carry out programs in the family practice of medicine, as authorized by the Family Practice of Medicine Act of 1970 (81 Stat. 3418, Ninety-first Congress).

"Loans, grants, and payments for the next succeeding fiscal year: For making, after December 31 of the current fiscal year, loans, grants, and payments under section 303, parts C, F, and G of title VII, and parts B

and D of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act for the first quarter of the next succeeding fiscal year, such sums as may be necessary, and obligations incurred and expenditures made hereunder shall be charged to the appropriation for that purpose for such fiscal year: *Provided*, That such loans, grants, and payments, pursuant to this paragraph may not exceed 50 per centum of the amounts authorized in section 806, parts C and G of title VII, and in part B of title VIII for these purposes for the next succeeding fiscal year."

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29 to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert:

"Social and Rehabilitation Service
"Special Programs for the Aging

"For an additional amount to carry out, except as otherwise provided, titles IV and V of the Older Americans Act of 1965, \$45,750,000, to remain available for obligation through December 31, 1972.

"Research and Training

"For an additional amount to carry out, except as otherwise provided, titles IV and V of the Older Americans Act of 1965, \$9,500,000, to remain available for obligation through December 31, 1972."

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 31, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum named in said amendment, insert: "\$376,317,000," and delete the proviso.

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 34 to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum named in said amendment, insert: "\$741,380,000", and delete the last proviso.

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 55 to the aforesaid bill, and

concur therein with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum named in said amendment, insert: "\$4,000,000".

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 57 to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of \$36,000,000 named in said amendment, insert the following: "\$32,000,000", and in lieu of \$36,225,000 named in said amendment insert the following: "\$32,225,000".

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 60 to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted, insert the following: "\$2,200,000, of which \$200,000 shall be derived from the appropriation 'Office of the Secretary, salaries and expenses'".

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 68 to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert the following:

"FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE
PRESIDENT

"ECONOMIC STABILIZATION ACTIVITIES
"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For expenses necessary to carry out the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, as amended, including activities under Executive Orders No. 11615 of August 15, 1971, and No. 11627 of October 15, 1971, both as amended; activities under Proclamation 4074 of August 15, 1971; and hire of passenger motor vehicles, and services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109, but at rates for individuals not to exceed the per diem equivalent of the rate for GS-18, such amounts as may be determined from time to time by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget but not to exceed \$20,153,000, to be derived by transfer from balances reserved for savings in such appropriations to the departments and agencies of the Executive

Branch for the current fiscal year as the Director may determine: *Provided*, That advances or repayments from the above amounts may be made to any department or agency for expenses of carrying out such activities."

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 75 to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment, insert the following: "902"

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House to the amendments of the Senate numbered 20, 21, 28, 29, 31, 34, 55, 57, 60, 68, and 75.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Louisiana.

The motion was agreed to.

WAIVER OF RULE REQUIRING CONFERENCE REPORT TO BE PRINTED AS A SENATE REPORT

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the requirement that the conference report be printed as a Senate report be waived, inasmuch as under the rules of the House of Representatives it has been printed as a report of the House. The reports are identical.

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

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I have a tabulation which reflects the budget estimates, the amounts in the House and Senate versions of the bill for each item, and the final amount agreed to in conference. I ask unanimous consent to have this tabulation printed in the Record.

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

THE SUPPLEMENTAL 1972 (H.R. 11955)

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN THE BILL

SUMMARY

Chapter No.	Department or activity	Budget estimate*	Version of bill		Conference agreement
			House	Senate	
I	HUD-Space-Science-Veterans	\$1,587,000		\$1,587,000	\$1,587,000
II	Interior and Related Agencies:				
	New budget (obligational) authority	26,076,000	\$8,170,000	29,485,000	21,302,000
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authority	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,096,000)	(10,096,000)
	Transfers	(4,172,000)	(3,746,100)	(3,746,100)	(3,746,100)
III	Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare:				
	New budget (obligational) authority	2,684,655,000	334,439,000	3,401,567,000	2,838,790,000
	Transfers	(2,560,000)	(1,900,000)	(2,560,000)	(2,560,000)
IV	Legislative:				
	New budget (obligational) authority	27,719,515	23,549,920	26,443,515	24,922,515
	Fiscal year 1971 (by transfer)			(250,000)	(250,000)
V	Public Works—AEC:				
	New budget (obligational) authority	119,010,000	46,500,000	119,010,000	119,010,000
VI	State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary:				
	New budget (obligational) authority	\$6,471,000	72,094,000	115,273,000	110,354,000
VII	Transportation:				
	New budget (obligational) authority	60,244,000	55,544,000	60,994,000	58,294,000
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authority	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)
	Transfer		(200,000)		(200,000)
VIII	Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government:				
	New budget (obligational) authority	227,592,000	226,956,000	222,006,000	210,556,000
	Transfers	Unlimited transfer language.		(20,153,000)	(20,153,000)

Footnotes at end of table.

THE SUPPLEMENTAL, 1972 (H.R. 11955)—Continued

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN THE BILL—Continued

SUMMARY—Continued

Chapter No.	Department or activity	Budget estimate*	Version of bill		Conference agreement
			House	Senate	
13	Claims and judgments	\$1,069,856	\$19,029,734	\$21,569,856	\$21,569,9856
	Grand total—				
	New budget (obligational) authority	3,254,924,371	786,282,654	3,998,045,371	3,406,385,371
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authority	(3,000,000)	(20,000,000)	(20,096,000)	(20,096,000)
	Transfers	(1,032,000)	(5,846,100)	(26,459,100)	(26,659,100)
	Fiscal year 1971 (by transfer)			(250,000)	(250,000)

THE SUPPLEMENTAL, 1972 (H.R. 11955)

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN THE BILL

Chap. No.	Department or activity	Budget estimate*	Version of bill		Conference agreement
			House	Senate	
CHAPTER I					
Hud-Space-Science, Veterans' Administration and Other Independent Agencies					
S. H. 43	Securities and Exchange Commission				
	Salaries and expenses	\$1,587,000		\$1,587,000	\$1,587,000
CHAPTER II					
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR					
Bureau of Land Management					
91-119	Management of lands and resources	53,000	\$160,000	85,000	85,000
Bureau of Indian Affairs					
	Resources management			230,000	230,000
	Construction			550,000	550,000
	Total, Bureau of Indian Affairs			780,000	780,000
Geological Survey					
92-119	Surveys, investigations, and research	7,000,000		1,190,000	650,000
Bureau of Mines					
	Conservation and development of mineral resources			300,000	300,000
92-164	Health and safety	5,400,000	5,250,000	7,225,000	6,250,000
	Total, Bureau of Mines	5,400,000	5,250,000	7,525,000	6,550,000
Office of Coal Research					
92-119	Salaries and expenses	10,000,000		10,280,000	5,120,000
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife					
	Construction		100,000	100,000	100,000
National Park Service					
	Construction		110,000	2,325,000	2,325,000
	(By transfer)	(1,000,000)		(96,000)	(96,000)
	Parkway and road construction (appropriation to liquidate contract authority)				
	Total, National Park Service		110,000	2,325,000	2,325,000
Office of the Secretary					
92-119	Salaries and expenses	5,000,000	500,000	518,000	500,000
	(By transfer)	21,000,000	(-3,746,100)	(-3,746,100)	(-3,746,100)
92-119	Departmental operations (by transfer)	(17,000,000)	(3,746,100)	(3,746,100)	(3,746,100)
	Total, Office of the Secretary	5,000,000	500,000	518,000	500,000
	Total, Department of the Interior	20,000,000	6,120,000	22,803,000	16,110,000
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authority			(96,000)	(96,000)
	By transfer	(1,000,000)			
RELATED AGENCIES					
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE					
Forest Service					
92-138	Forest roads and trails (appropriation to liquidate contract authority)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)
92-138	Youth Conservation Corps	3,500,000		3,500,000	3,500,000
	Total, Forest Service	(6,500,000)		(6,500,000)	(6,500,000)
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE					
Health Services and Mental Health Administration					
	Indian health facilities			42,000	42,000
National Parks Centennial Commission					
92-104	Salaries and expenses (by transfer)		\$250,000	250,000	250,000

Doc. No.	Department or activity	Budget* estimate	Version of bill		Conference agreement
			House	Senate	
American Revolution Bicentennial Commission					
92-119	Salaries and expenses	\$1,900,000	\$1,800,000	\$1,400,000	\$1,400,000
	Total, related agencies	5,400,000	2,050,000	6,692,000	5,192,000
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authority	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)
	By transfer	(250,000)			
	Total, chapter III, new budget (obligational) authority	26,076,000	8,170,000	29,495,000	21,302,000
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authority	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,096,000)	(10,096,000)
Smithsonian Institution					
	The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts			1,500,000	
CHAPTER III					
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR					
Manpower Administration					
92-15, 93	Salaries and expenses	26,207,000		26,607,000	26,207,000
92-15	Manpower training services	17,597,000		17,597,000	776,717,000
92-164	Limitation on grants to States for unemployment insurance and employment services (trust fund)	(4,500,000)	(4,500,000)	(24,640,000)	(6,000,000)
Bureau of Labor Statistics					
92-164	Salaries and expenses	1,800,000	1,800,000	1,800,000	1,800,000
Office of the Secretary					
92-164	Salaries and expenses	500,000		400,000	
	Total, Department of Labor, Federal funds (new budget (obligational) authority)	46,104,000	1,800,000	846,404,000	804,724,000
	Total, trust funds	(4,500,000)	(4,500,000)	(24,640,000)	(6,000,000)
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE					
Departmental Management					
92-164	Nursing home improvement:				
	Federal funds	7,672,000	7,672,000	7,672,000	7,672,000
	Trust fund transfer	(1,900,000)	(1,900,000)	(1,900,000)	(1,900,000)
Office of Education					
	Elementary and secondary education			32,500,000	32,500,000
	School assistance in federally affected areas			265,000,000	
	Environmental education			2,500,000	
	Higher education			3,000,000	3,000,000
92-164	Civil rights education	19,672,000	19,672,000	19,672,000	19,672,000
Social Security Administration					
92-164	Special benefits to disabled coal miners	289,696,000	289,696,000	289,696,000	289,696,000
	Total, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	1,057,261,000	331,749,000	1,773,973,000	1,291,796,000
	By transfer	(1,900,000)	(1,900,000)	(1,900,000)	(1,900,000)
RELATED AGENCIES					
Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People					
92-15, 92-93	Salaries and expenses	890,000	890,000	890,000	890,000
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission					
92-43	Salaries and expenses (by transfer)	(660,000)		(660,000)	(660,000)
Office of Economic Opportunity					
92-5, 92-93	Programs, salaries and expenses	780,400,400		780,400,000	741,380,000
	Total, Related Agencies	781,290,000	890,000	781,290,000	742,270,000
	Total, chapter III:				
	Federal funds (new budget (obligational) authority)	2,684,655,000	334,439,000	3,401,667,000	2,838,790,000
	By transfer	(2,560,000)		(2,560,000)	(2,560,000)
Health Services and Mental Health Administration					
	Medical facilities construction		1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
National Institutes of Health					
92-44	Health manpower	350,195,000		707,157,000	492,980,000
Social and Rehabilitation Service					
	Special programs for the aging			45,750,000	45,750,000
	Research and training			9,500,000	9,500,000
Office of Child Development					
92-15	Child Development	376,817,000		376,817,000	376,317,000
Special Institutions					
92-164	Howard University	13,209,000	13,209,000	13,209,000	13,209,000
CHAPTER IV					
LEGISLATIVE BRANCH					
Senate					
	Payment to widow of deceased Senator			42,500	42,500
Salaries, officers and employees					
S. Doc. 92-46	Committee employees	21,770		21,770	21,770
S. Doc. 92-46	Administrative and clerical assistants to Senators	597,535		597,535	597,535
S. Doc. 92-46	Office of Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper	68,390		68,390	68,390
Contingent expenses of the Senate					
S. Doc. 92-46	Folding documents	14,000		14,000	14,000
S. Doc. 92-46	Miscellaneous items	275,000		275,000	275,000
	Fiscal year 1971 (by transfer)			(250,000)	(250,000)
S. Doc. 92-46	Stationery (Revolving fund)	17,400		17,400	17,400
	Total, Senate	994,095		1,036,595	1,036,595
	Fiscal year 1971 (by transfer)			(250,000)	(250,000)

Footnotes at end of tables.

THE SUPPLEMENTAL, 1972 (H.R. 11955)—Continued

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN THE BILL—Continued

D. C. No.	Department or activity	Budget* estimate	Version of bill		Conference agreement
			House	Senate	
House of Representatives					
	Gratuities to heirs of deceased Members.....		\$85,000	\$85,000	\$85,000
Salaries, officers and employees					
92-164	Office of the Sergeant at Arms.....	1,070,000	1,550,000	1,550,000	1,550,000
Members' clerk hire					
92-164	Clerk hire.....	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Contingent expenses of the House					
92-164	Miscellaneous items.....	138,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
92-164	Government contributions.....	60,000			
92-164	Postage stamp allowance.....	96,420	96,420	96,420	96,420
	Total, House of Representatives.....	1,664,420	3,731,420	3,731,420	3,731,420
Joint Items					
Capitol police					
92-164	General expenses.....	129,000	129,000	129,000	129,000
Official mail costs					
92-164	Official mail costs.....	17,400,000	18,400,000	18,400,000	18,400,000
	Total, Joint Items.....	17,529,000	18,529,000	18,529,000	18,529,000
Architect of the Capitol					
Capitol buildings and grounds					
92-164	Capitol buildings.....	10,000	24,500	24,500	24,500
S. Doc. 92-46	Restoration of the Old Senate Chamber and the Old Supreme Court Chamber in the Capitol.....	521,000		1,521,000	1,521,000
S. Doc. 92-46	Senate Office Buildings.....	66,000		66,000	66,000
S. Doc. 92-46	Extension of additional Senate Office Building site.....	270,000		270,000	270,000
S. Doc. 92-164	House office buildings.....	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000
S. Doc. 92-46	Modifications and enlargement, Capitol Power Plant.....	1,200,000	1,200,000	1,200,000	1,200,000
	Total, Architect of the Capitol.....	1,692,000	1,249,500	3,106,500	1,585,500
Library of Congress					
92-164	Salaries and expenses.....	7,000	7,000	7,000	7,000
92-164	Copyright Office, salaries and expenses.....	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000
92-164	Distribution of catalog cards, salaries and expenses.....	22,000	22,000	22,000	22,000
92-164	Books for the general collections.....	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
92-164	Books for the blind and physically handicapped, salaries and expenses.....	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
	Total, Library of Congress.....	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000
	Total, chapter IV, new budget (obligational) authority.....	17,719,515	23,549,920	26,443,515	25,922,515
	Fiscal year 1971 (by transfer).....			(250,000)	(250,000)
CHAPTER V					
PUBLIC WORKS					
Department of Defense - Civil, Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers - Civil					
S. Doc. 92-43	Construction, general.....	100,000	34,100,000	102,400,000	102,400,000
Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation					
S. Doc. 92-43	Construction and rehabilitation.....	110,000	7,000,000	9,210,000	9,210,000
S. Doc. 92-45	Upper Colorado River storage project.....	200,000	4,800,000	6,800,000	6,800,000
H. Doc. 92-164	Loan program.....	600,000	600,000	600,000	600,000
	Total, Bureau of Reclamation.....	910,000	12,400,000	16,610,000	16,610,000
	Total, chapter V, new budget (obligational) authority.....	1,610,000	46,500,000	119,010,000	119,010,000
CHAPTER VI					
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE					
Economic Development Assistance					
	Development facilities.....		30,000,000	30,000,000	30,000,000
Minority Business Enterprise					
H. Doc. 92-164	Minority business development.....	400,000	40,000,000	40,000,000	40,000,000
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration					
H. Doc. 92-164	Salaries and expenses.....	332,000			
S. Doc. 92-43	Satellite operations.....	315,000		4,919,000	4,000,000
Patent Office					
S. Doc. 92-43	Salaries and expenses.....	635,000		2,035,000	2,035,000
National Bureau of Standards					
H. Doc. 92-164	Plant and facilities.....	100,000	1,750,000	1,750,000	1,750,000
	Total, Department of Commerce.....	1,585,000	71,750,000	78,704,000	77,785,000
RELATED AGENCIES					
Commission on Civil Rights					
H. Doc. 92-164	Salaries and expenses.....	460,000	344,000	344,000	344,000
International Radio Broadcasting Activities					
S. 92-45	Radio Broadcasting.....	36,225,000		36,225,000	32,225,000

December 10, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 21229

Doc. No.	Department or activity	Budget* estimate	Version of bill		Conference agreement
			House	Senate	
Small Business Administration					
H. Doc. 92-164	Salaries and expenses	\$200,000			
	Total, related agencies	36,885,000	\$344,000	\$36,569,000	\$32,569,000
	Total, chapter VI, new budget (obligational) authority	86,471,000	72,094,000	115,273,000	110,354,000
CHAPTER VII					
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND RELATED AGENCIES					
Office of the Secretary					
92-164	Transportation planning, research and development	5,000,000	2,500,000	5,000,000	2,500,000
Federal Aviation Administration					
92-164	Research and development	15,033,000	15,033,000	15,033,000	15,033,000
S. 92-43	United States International Aeronautical Exposition	2,200,000	¹⁰ (200,000)	¹¹ 2,200,000	¹² 2,000,000
Federal Highway Administration					
92-164	Forest highways (liquidation of contract authorization)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)
	Total, Department of Transportation	22,233,000	17,533,000	22,233,000	19,533,000
RELATED AGENCIES					
Aviation Advisory Commission					
	Salaries and expenses (Airport and Airway Trust Fund)			750,000	750,000
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority					
92-164	Federal contribution	38,011,000	38,011,000	38,011,000	38,011,000
	Total, chapter VII	60,244,000	55,544,000	60,994,000	58,294,000
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authorization	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)	(10,000,000)
	Transfer		(200,000)		(200,000)
CHAPTER VIII					
TREASURY DEPARTMENT					
92-164	Bureau of Accounts, salaries and expenses	10,556,000	10,556,000	10,556,000	10,556,000
POSTAL SERVICE					
92-164	Payment to the Postal Service Fund	216,400,000	216,400,000	200,000,000	200,000,000
INDEPENDENT AGENCIES					
General Services Administration					
	Construction, public buildings projects			11,200,000	
	Sites and expenses, public buildings projects			250,000	
92-151	National Archives and Records Service, operating expenses	636,000			
Civil Service Commission					
92-164	Federal Labor Relations Council, salaries and expenses (limitation increase)	(12,000)	(12,000)	(12,000)	(12,000)
Funds appropriated to the President					
S. 92-43	Economic Stabilization Activities, salaries and expenses	(¹³)		¹⁴ (20,153,000)	¹⁴ (20,153,000)
	Total, chapter VIII—new budget (obligational) authority	227,592,000	226,956,000	222,006,000	210,556,000
	Transfer	(¹)		(20,153,000)	(20,153,000)
CHAPTER IX					
92-164 and S. 92-45	Claims and judgments	21,569,856	19,029,734	21,569,856	21,569,856
	Grand total:				
	New budget (obligational) authority	3,254,924,371	786,282,654	3,998,045,371	
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authority	(20,000,000)	(20,000,000)	(20,096,000)	(20,096,000)
	Transfers	(6,732,000)	(5,846,100)	(26,459,100)	(26,659,100)
	Fiscal year 1971 (by transfer)			(250,000)	(250,000)

* Estimates considered include \$36,225,000 for international radio broadcasting activities and \$2,540,122 for claims and judgments (S. Doc. 92-45); exclude \$85,300,000 for other items transmitted in S. Doc. 92-45 of Dec. 2, 1971.

⁷ Does not include additional \$2,210,000 considered by Senate.

⁸ House received no budget estimate.

⁹ Requested under the heading "Civil supersonic aircraft development termination."

¹⁰ By transfer from "Salaries and expenses, Office of the Secretary."

¹¹ \$2,000,000 contingent upon enactment of authorizing legislation by the 92d Congress.

¹² And \$200,000 by transfer.

¹³ Unlimited transfer language.

¹⁴ To be derived by transfer.

**MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—
ENROLLED BILL SIGNED**

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 10947) to provide a job development investment credit, to reduce individual income taxes, to reduce certain excise taxes, and for other purposes.

The President pro tempore subsequently signed the enrolled bill.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nomination of Mr. Rehnquist to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

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

**NOMINATION OF WILLIAM H.
REHNQUIST**

The Senate resumed the consideration of the nomination of William H. Rehnquist to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, would the Senator from Indiana yield me 30 minutes?

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I would be glad to yield 30 minutes to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the nomination.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, almost a half century ago during the debate over the nomination of Judge John J. Parker for the Supreme Court, Senator George Norris of Nebraska observed:

When we are passing on a judge, we not only ought to know whether he is a good lawyer, not only whether he is honest—and I admit that this nominee possesses both of these qualifications—but we ought to know how he approaches the great question of human liberty.

During the same debate, Senator William E. Borah of Idaho described the unique role of a Supreme Court Justice in our constitutional system:

Upon some judicial tribunals it is enough perhaps, that there be men of integrity and of great learning in the law, but upon this tribunal something more is called for, here the widest, broadest, deepest questions of government and governmental policies are involved.

There is no doubt in my mind that Mr. Rehnquist is an able lawyer, a man both of deeply held convictions and personal integrity. If these were the sole qualifications for a Justice of the Supreme Court, then he should be confirmed unanimously. But there are other broader, deeper, more sweeping philosophical and constitutional matters at stake here which involve, as Senator Norris said, "the great question of human liberty."

We are concerned here with much more than technical legal ability and personal integrity. We are concerned about the makeup of that institution which must deal with the most important business of the human enterprise—freedom.

It will be the measure of this society as to how we honor a commitment to equality for all men and a mark of our form of government as to how we preserve the individual liberties of our citizens.

An examination of Mr. Rehnquist's record and views leads me to conclude that he is inadequately sensitive to human rights, and misunderstands the fundamental nature of the liberties guaranteed to our citizens in the first 10 amendments to the Constitution. If a fair share of the responsibility for the preservation of freedom, equality, and human liberty under the Constitution is to be entrusted to the Supreme Court, as it is, then each Senator must make a personal judgment on how adequately the nominee will perform that responsibility.

Such judgments are difficult to make because there are no simple, clear objective standards by which we can measure justice, freedom, and human rights or balance individual rights against the power of the state. So one must concede

that such judgments are a mix of subjective and objective considerations. Thus conscientious citizens concerned about the same great issues may very well reach different conclusions about the same man.

I claim no special insights or superior qualities of judgment about the important matter before us. My conclusion is based upon a careful evaluation of what Mr. Rehnquist has said on a number of issues which, it seems to me, go to the very heart of what this Nation is all about. Reading the same document, we come to different conclusions about what it means. These differences are of such significance that I cannot support his nomination just as in other circumstances he would not be able to support mine.

As I read Mr. Rehnquist's record, and as I interpret his position, he is prepared to grant much greater authority and far broader powers to the state at the expense of the individual citizen than is consistent with a free and democratic society.

As Assistant Attorney General, Mr. Rehnquist has consistently subordinated the first 10 amendments to the Government's requirements for expediency. He has actively supported the Federal Government's power to wiretap on its own initiative and without the supervision of the Court, to preventively detain persons in jail without trial, to enter private premises without announcement, to suspend normal criminal procedures and make mass arrests, to use illegally obtained evidence against the accused, and to gather information about the public activities of persons who are in no way connected with illegal activities.

At the same time that this nominee has defended the right of the Government to disregard individual rights for the interests of the State without the overview and protection of judicial supervision, he has also defended the right of the Executive to expand his war powers on his own initiative and invade Cambodia without so much as a nod toward Congress or the Constitution.

These public positions go far beyond what I believe the Founding Fathers intended when they carefully described the powers and limitations of Government in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

With regard to Mr. Rehnquist's commitment to racial equality, his record indicates that even as late as 1964 he was opposing a public accommodations law in his city that was far weaker than the statute which has been the law of the State of Wisconsin since 1895.

Thirteen years after the Supreme Court declared that segregated schools were inherently unequal, the nominee wrote a letter to the editor in 1967, opposing a modest program to implement this law of the land in the Phoenix schools. This is not a record which indicates to me a sensitivity to human rights or an appreciation of this Nation's quest for social justice during the last 25 years.

It is argued by some that "what the Senate should be looking for are integrity, intellectual strength and legal

qualifications" alone and that a nominee's views on civil rights and individual liberties are not the prime criterion.

I am more in accord with the view which George Norris expressed in the 1930 debate:

I believe we ought to put more humanity into the courts . . . We ought to know that everyone who ascends to that holy bench should have in his heart and in his mind the intention of looking after the liberties of his fellow citizens . . . or discarding, if necessary, the old precedents of barbarous days and construing the Constitution and the laws in the light of a modern day, a present civilization . . . Human liberty is the issue. The preservation of our government is the issue.

It would also appear that on the issue of the scope of Senate examination of a Supreme Court nominee's qualifications, Mr. Rehnquist and I would agree. In an article entitled "The Making of a Supreme Court Justice" which appeared in the Harvard Law Record of October 8, 1959, Mr. Rehnquist advocated that the Senate begin—

Thoroughly informing itself on the judicial philosophy of a Supreme Court nominee before voting to confirm him . . .

The concept of "judicial philosophy" to which Mr. Rehnquist referred was meant to encompass more than a strictly legal definition of whether written laws and decisions should be widely or narrowly interpreted. Rather he makes it quite clear that he considers a full investigation of a nominee's social and political views on substantive issues of the day a proper and necessary subject for Senate inquiry.

It is clear from any historical view of the constitutional responsibilities assigned to the Senate through the "Advise and Consent" power, that a broader review than a nominee's intellect, integrity, and legal talent is required. This should be readily apparent from an examination of the documents describing the birth and adoption of the Constitution and from the actual practice of the Senate in confirmation of Supreme Court Justices since 1789.

The Constitution of the United States expressly gives the Senate an important role and responsibility in the selection process for Supreme Court judges. Reflecting the deliberations and decisions during the Constitutional Convention in 1787, the "Advise and Consent" role given to the Senate in article II, section 2 of the Constitution is much more than a perfunctory perusal of Presidential preferences for Supreme Court positions. Rather, the duty and the responsibility delegated to the Senate by this provision is to give complete and careful consideration to the qualifications for office of Supreme Court nominees before making an independent decision as to whether the high standards for this position have been met by a Presidential nominee.

Historically, the strong role given to the Senate in the nomination process for Supreme Court Justices can be traced back beyond James Madison's notes of the Constitutional Convention to an earlier period of America. Under British rule, the American colonies had been subjected to the capricious administra-

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McMillan
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Mallory
Mann
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Matsunaga
Mayne
Mazzoli
Meeds
Melcher
Metcalfe
Michel
Mikva
Miller, Calif.
Miller, Ohio
Mills, Ark.
Mills, Md.
Minish
Minshall
Mizell
Mollohan
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morse
Mosher
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nichols
Nix
Obey
O'Konski
O'Neill
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Peyser
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Freyer, N.C.
Price, Ill.

Purcell
Quite
Quillen
Rallsback
Randall
Rees
Reid
Reuss
Rhodes
Roberts
Robinson, Va.
Robinson, N.Y.
Rodino
Roe
Rogers
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Rousselot
Roy
Roybal
Runnels
Ruppe
Ruth
Ryan
St Germain
Sandman
Sarbanes
Satterfield
Saylor
Scherle
Schneebein
Schwengel
Scott
Sebellus
Seiberling
Shipley
Shoup
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Snyder
Spence
Springer
Staggers
Stanton
J. William

Stanton,
James V.
Steed
Steele
Stelger, Ariz.
Stelger, Wis.
Stokes
Stratton
Stuckey
Sullivan
Symington
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Terry
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Thone
Tiernan
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Veysey
Vigorito
Waggoner
Waldie
Wampler
Ware
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitehurst
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams
Wilson, Bob
Wilson,
Charles H.
Winn
Wolf
Wright
Wyatt
Wyder
Wyllie
Wyman
Yates
Yatron
Young, Fla.
Young, Tex.
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Pryor of Arkansas.
Mr. Rangel with Mrs. Mink.
Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr. Long of Louisiana.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Jacobs.
Mr. Jarman with Mr. Dowdy.
Mr. Galifianakis with Mr. Mitchell.
Mr. Montgomery with Mr. Moss.
Mr. Bingham with Mr. Abourezk.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.
A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include extraneous matter, and I ask unanimous consent that all Members be permitted to revise and extend their remarks on the joint resolution just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?
There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE REPORTS

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I ask unanimous consent that that committee may have until midnight tonight to file reports on two bills.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?
There was no objection.

AUTHORIZING PREPARATION OF OFFICIAL DUPLICATES OF S. 2097

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the Senate concurred resolution (S. Con. Res. 68) to authorize the preparation of official duplicates of S. 2097.

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman the meaning of his request?

Mr. STAGGERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I am glad to yield to my friend from West Virginia.

Mr. STAGGERS. I will say to the gentleman that the House and Senate passed a bill to establish a special action office for drug abuse prevention and directing the President to concentrate the resources of the Nation against the problem of drug abuse and we had to have a conference with the Senate on it. During the conference the Senate lost the official papers.

Mr. GROSS. The Senate did what? Will the gentleman please repeat that statement?

Mr. STAGGERS. I will be happy to. I will say that the Senate or some of the people working for the Senate committee lost the official papers, and we have to pass this concurrent resolution in order to have the papers reprinted.

Mr. GROSS. As one gentleman suggests, I have heard everything now. I do

not believe that in my years in Congress I have ever heard of the papers being completely lost. Is there any indication of where the Senate papers were lost?

Mr. STAGGERS. I have not heard anything about it. All they say in the Senate that they were lost and they need to have a concurrent resolution passed before we can bring the conference report to the floor.

Mr. GROSS. Do you suppose it would be of any benefit if we appropriated a little money on the House side to supply the Members of the other body and their staffs with seeing-eye dogs or a reward or something of that kind?

Mr. STAGGERS. I am not sure, sir, whether that would be helpful or not, but it really is the first time I have ever heard of anything like this. However, this is the only way we can proceed.

Mr. GROSS. Or perhaps a course in memory training.

Mr. SPRINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SPRINGER. I want to say to my distinguished colleague from Iowa that this is the second bill we have brought up here in the last week and a half. I know it pleases my colleague that this does not cost a single cent.

Mr. GROSS. That is helpful, but it still does not answer the question as to how papers can disappear as readily and as easily as they apparently did in this case.

However, I thank the gentleman for his observation.

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

There was no objection.
The Clerk read the Senate concurrent resolution as follows:

S. CON. RES. 68

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives are authorized and directed to prepare and sign official duplicates of the conference papers of the bill (S. 2097) to establish a Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention and to concentrate the resources of the Nation against the problem of drug abuse.

The Senate concurrent resolution was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table. *DEC APPB 94*

CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 18, GRANTS TO RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. FASCELL submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (S. 18) to amend the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 92-914)
The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 18) to amend the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do

Archer
Baker
Camp
Cleveland
Collins, Tex.
Colmer

Crane
Devine
Gross
Hall
Landgrebe
Mathis, Ga.

Price, Tex.
Rarick
Roncalio
Schmitz

NOT VOTING—51

Abourezk
Arends
Ashbrook
Aspinall
Badillo
Baring
Bingham
Blackburn
Broomfield
Caffery
Chisholm
Cotter
Dellums
Dowdy
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edwards, La.
Fisher

Galifianakis
Gaydos
Green, Oreg.
Griffiths
Hébert
Hollifield
Hull
Jacobs
Jarman
Jones, Ala.
King
Landrum
Long, La.
McDonald,
Mich.
Macdonald,
Mass.
Mink

Mitchell
Montgomery
Moss
Nelsen
O'Hara
Pelly
Powell
Pryor, Ark.
Pucinski
Rangel
Riegle
Scheuer
Stephens
Stubblefield
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin

So the joint resolution was passed.
The Clerk announced the following pairs:

- Mr. Hébert with Mr. Arends.
- Mr. Stubblefield with Mr. Broomfield.
- Mr. Hollifield with Mr. King.
- Mr. Hull with Mrs. Dwyer.
- Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Pelly.
- Mr. Fisher with Mr. Nelsen.
- Mr. Van Deerlin with Mr. McDonald of Michigan.
- Mr. Jones of Alabama with Mr. Ashbrook.
- Mr. Caffery with Mr. Blackburn.
- Mrs. Green of Oregon with Mr. Riegle.
- Mr. O'Hara with Mr. Powell.
- Mr. Cotton with Mr. Dellums.
- Mr. Stephens with Mr. Udall.
- Mr. Baring with Mr. Badillo.
- Mrs. Chisholm with Mr. Eckhardt.
- Mr. Gaydos with Mrs. Griffiths.

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totaling about \$89 million. The one in default, of course, is for \$28 million to the Reading Co.

I might add that it is my understanding that this listing constitutes the maximum remaining potential liability of the Government under this program. The authority for the ICC to make new guarantees under the 1958 act has terminated.

Mr. VANIK. I thank the distinguished chairman.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, if I may have the attention of the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Gross), I believe he was referring to me a moment ago. I would say to him that the bank in which I am a director has made some guaranteed student loans, only to local boys and girls of good reputation and whose parents have a good reputation, and up to now we do not have any in default.

I am amazed and surprised to hear the statement of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I believe it is shocking and it should be looked into.

In connection with something else the gentleman said, he said anything is controllable. I am inclined to agree with him, so far as Congress appropriating the money is concerned.

In fact, anything is possible. I will give an example. I was at a dinner party a couple of nights ago. There were a couple of Cabinet members from this administration there. They were needling the Democrats about the terrible situation we are in, with our plethora of candidates, and with Mr. Wallace the front-runner, apparently, in Florida, and they said, "Look what a situation you Democrats are in. Here is Wallace going to the convention with a couple of hundred delegates, and he can be nothing but trouble, because there is no way that you Democrats could have him on the ticket."

I said, "What do you mean, there is no way? Everything is possible." I said, "If they want to nominate me, I will take Mr. Wallace for Vice President."

One of the Cabinet members said, "Would you run with Wallace?"

I said, "Why not? Nixon ran with AGNEW, did he not?"

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, the question was asked by one of the Members here as to where these young people acquired at the age of 19 or 20 the experience of bankruptcy.

I suggest it is not a very difficult thing to acquire that experience under this administration, and what we are picking up in this bill are the consequences of an economic policy of an administration that has been in existence for 3 years and that has plunged a good part of this country into bankruptcy and into default on loans. Until such time as this administration comes up with a cogent and coherent economic policy it makes no sense to blame these failures on young students.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALDIE. I am happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Would the gentleman prefer that some of these young men who will get these loans go back to Vietnam as they did under the past administration or have the whole thing open up as we had in the past, or would he like us to go through the transition from war to peace as we are doing now? Or do you want to go back to a period of peace to war?

Mr. WALDIE. I prefer that the administration provide for these young people the job opportunities that a Democratic administration provided for you and for me. This bill does nothing but deal with the failures of economic policies of this administration which has as its keystone policy, putting people out of work.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. WALDIE. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CEDERBERG. The unemployment rate at the present time is right where it was during the Kennedy administration, which the gentleman supported at that time. When we did send all of our boys over to Vietnam and when we had a high draft call, it went down, of course. Now it is down lower than it was, but we are back to the pre-Kennedy administration days in the area of unemployment. We can discuss that all we want to—

Mr. WALDIE. We do not have to.

Mr. CEDERBERG. But that does not make any kind of a contribution to what we are talking about here.

Mr. WALDIE. We do not have to discuss it any further, because I will not yield further. But you are dead right that the unemployment rate was the same as today under Nixon when Kennedy took over from Eisenhower, the last Republican administration, and when we had a similar high rate of unemployment. That is what we are dealing with now. What we are dealing with here are the consequences of that absurd economic policy which President Nixon has foisted on the American people. This is a consequence of these deficiencies, with its effect on the young people who graduate from college and find no jobs available.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge quick approval of the \$28 million, plus interest to date of payment, to repay a Government-guaranteed loan made to the Reading Co. With interest on the loan accruing at \$5,000 a day, time is of the essence. If by some miracle we could pay this loan by tomorrow, the interest costs alone would be almost \$1.3 million. A delay in payment until the end of June will add another \$500,000 to the bill.

At a time when we are all struggling to put our economic house in order, it is my hope that the House will promptly approve this request and that the Senate will do likewise. Further delay will only result in needless wastes of the American taxpayers' money.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the joint resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. Boggs). The question is on the engross-

ment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 364, nays 16, not voting 51, as follows:

[Roll No. 73]

YEAS—364

Abbt	Corman	Hagan
Abernethy	Coughlin	Haley
Abzug	Culver	Halpern
Adams	Curlin	Hamilton
Addabbo	Daniel, Va.	Hammer-
Alexander	Daniels, N.J.	schmidt
Anderson,	Danielson	Hanley
Calif.	Davis, Ga.	Hanna
Anderson, Ill.	Davis, S.C.	Hansen, Idaho
Anderson,	Davis, Wis.	Hansen, Wash.
Tenn.	de la Garza	Harrington
Andrews	Delaney	Harsha
Annunzio	Dellenback	Harvey
Ashley	Denholm	Hastings
Aspin	Dennis	Hathaway
Barrett	Dent	Hawkins
Begich	Derwinski	Hays
Belcher	Dickinson	Hechler, W. Va.
Bell	Diggs	Heckler, Mass.
Bennett	Dingell	Heinz
Bergland	Donohue	Helstoski
Betis	Dorn	Henderson
Bevill	Dow	Hicks, Mass.
Biaggi	Downing	Hicks, Wash.
Biester	Drinan	Hillis
Blanton	Dulski	Hogan
Blatnik	Duncan	Horton
Boggs	du Pont	Hosmer
Boland	Edmondson	Howard
Bolling	Edwards, Ala.	Hungate
Bow	Edwards, Calif.	Hunt
Brademas	Eilberg	Hutchinson
Brasco	Erlenborn	Ichord
Bray	Esch	Johnson, Calif.
Brinkley	Eshleman	Johnson, Pa.
Brooks	Evans, Colo.	Jones
Brotzman	Evins, Tenn.	Jones, N.C.
Brown, Mich.	Fascell	Jones, Tenn.
Brown, Ohio	Findley	Karch
Broyhill, N.C.	Fish	Kastenmeier
Broyhill, Va.	Flood	Kazen
Buchanan	Flowers	Keating
Burke, Fla.	Flynt	Kee
Burke, Mass.	Foley	Keith
Burleson, Tex.	Ford, Gerald R.	Kemp
Burlison, Mo.	Ford,	Kluczynski
Burton	William D.	Koch
Byrne, Pa.	Forsythe	Kuykendall
Byrnes, Wis.	Fountain	Kyl
Byron	Fraser	Kyros
Cabell	Frelinghuysen	Latta
Carey, N.Y.	Frenzel	Leggett
Carney	Frey	Lennon
Carter	Fulton	Lent
Casey, Tex.	Fuqua	Link
Cederberg	Gallagher	Lloyd
Celler	Garmatz	Long, Md.
Chamberlain	Gettys	Lujan
Chappell	Giamo	McClary
Clancy	Gibbons	McCloskey
Clark	Goldwater	McClure
Clausen,	Gonzalez	McCollister
Don H.	Gooding	McCormack
Clawson, Del	Grasso	McCulloch
Clay	Gray	McDade
Collier	Green, Pa.	McEwen
Collins, Ill.	Griffin	McFall
Conable	Grover	McKay
Conte	Gubser	McKevitt
Conyers	Gude	McKinney

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recommended to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the text of the bill and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

That the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 is amended by inserting after section 702 the following new section:

"AUTHORIZATION FOR GRANTS TO RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

"SEC. 703. There are authorized to be appropriated to the Department \$36,000,000 for fiscal year 1972 to provide grants, under such terms and conditions as the Secretary considers appropriate, to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Except for funds appropriated under this section, no funds appropriated after the date of enactment of this section for any fiscal year, under this or any other provision of law, may be made available to or for the use of Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty."

And the House agree to the same.

That the House recede from its amendment to the title of the bill.

THOMAS E. MORGAN,
CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
WAYNE L. HAYS,
DANTE FASCELL,
W. S. MAILLIARD,
PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN,
WM. BROOMFIELD,

Managers on the Part of the House.

FRANK CHURCH,
STUART SYMINGTON,
GEORGE D. AIKEN,
CLIFFORD P. CASE,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

JOINT EXPLANATORY STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE

The managers on the part of the House and the Senate at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 18) to amend the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, submit the following joint statement to the House and the Senate in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the managers and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The Conferees were in disagreement as to whether the Radios should be continued in operation beyond this fiscal year.

The House Conferees felt strongly that the Radios should not have their activities terminate precipitously and without further study as to whether they serve the national interest. Thus, the House Conferees were insistent that the Radios be authorized for two years during which time their utility could be studied.

The Senate Conferees were adamant in their belief that the Radios should be continued only for the balance of the current fiscal year leaving the future of the Radios to determination by the Congress in action taken before the beginning of fiscal year 1973. Some felt that the future of the Radios should be considered within the context of periodic State Department or USIA authorization legislation.

The Conferees resolved their differences by agreeing to legislation which will continue the programs at the authorized rate of \$36 million only for the balance of the current fiscal year with the clear understanding, however, that further legislation will be considered before the end of this fiscal year.

It is, of course, not possible to predict what action the Congress may take. However, the Conferees were agreed that should there be a decision to terminate the activities of the

Radios, fairness and equity require that funds would need to be made available for orderly termination. They also agreed that this reference to termination is not to be construed as a prejudgment as to continuation of the programs, their expansion, their contraction, or other means of financing the Radios.

THOMAS E. MORGAN,
CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
WAYNE L. HAYS,
DANTE FASCELL,
W. S. MAILLIARD,
PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN,
WM. BROOMFIELD,

Managers on the Part of the House.

FRANK CHURCH,
STUART SYMINGTON,
GEORGE D. AIKEN,
CLIFFORD P. CASE,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

FOREIGN AID—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 92-190)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Today I am transmitting to the Congress legislation which would authorize funding for my foreign aid proposals for the coming fiscal year. This draft bill, which is entitled the Foreign Assistance Act of 1972, also contains provisions to make our military assistance more effective.

As I have often indicated, our foreign assistance programs are a central element in our foreign policy for the 1970s. For it is as dangerous for this Nation to ignore the problems of poverty and hunger and the need for security in other nations as it is to ignore our own domestic needs.

The Congress, acting after two-thirds of the current fiscal year had already passed, drastically reduced my foreign assistance requests for fiscal year 1972. In my judgment, the amounts appropriated for both security and development assistance in fiscal year 1972 are below the minimum level required to attain our foreign policy and national security goals. These reductions have created difficult problems in essential programs and in our relations with several countries. A repetition of these reductions and delays in 1973 would call into serious question the firmness of our commitments abroad and could have a destabilizing effect at a time when calm confidence in our support and perseverance will be critically needed. I therefore urge the Congress to act promptly to authorize and appropriate the full amounts requested for foreign assistance in fiscal year 1973.

In forwarding the Foreign Assistance Act of 1972, I would also underscore the points I made in my message to the Congress on April 21, 1971. In that message I addressed the need for fundamental reform of foreign assistance and recommended a major reorganization of these

programs. I hope that the Congress will give closer consideration to these proposals in this session, and that together we can develop the most effective program possible, one that truly merits the broad bipartisan support that foreign aid has enjoyed in the past.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE

As I pointed out in my annual Report to the Congress on Foreign Policy last month: "Security assistance is a cornerstone of our foreign policy and of Free World security . . ." We live today in a period of transition in world affairs, in a time in which the United States is taking bold initiatives to build a new structure of peace, while asking our friends and allies to assume a greater responsibility for their own defense.

As we begin to make adjustments in our international role, it is especially critical that we maintain a firm U.S. commitment to an adequate level of security assistance. For without such adequate levels, our friends and allies will lack the confidence required for successful international cooperation in an era of negotiations. And without adequate security assistance, we cannot safely reduce our military presence abroad.

I am therefore requesting authorizations for security assistance programs totaling \$2,151 million in fiscal year 1973: \$780 million for grant military assistance, \$527 million for military credit sales, and \$844 million for security supporting assistance, of which an estimated \$50 million is intended for Israel.

NARCOTICS CONTROL

I am requesting that a separate appropriation of \$42.5 million be authorized for the support of international narcotics control activities. Control of illicit drug production and trafficking is one of the highest priorities of my Administration. I believe the authorization and appropriation of funds specifically for this purpose is essential to clearly demonstrate the determination of the Administration, the Congress, and the American people to overcome this serious menace.

SOUTH ASIA RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE

I am also proposing the authorization of \$100 million in fiscal year 1973 for refugee relief and humanitarian assistance in South Asia. This sum would be in addition to the \$200 million appropriated for this purpose for the current fiscal year.

The damage and destruction growing out of the war between India and Pakistan has truly been immense. We have indicated our willingness to work with other donors under the auspices of the United Nations to provide relief and rehabilitation to those in need.

The Secretary General of the United Nations has issued an assessment of these needs and a special appeal for support. We have already made an initial contribution to this effort and will continue to contribute in the light of the efforts of others and further assessments of need. The \$100 million which I am requesting would enable us to continue to participate generously, along with other nations, in this important work.

RICHARD NIXON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, March 14, 1972.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

March 14, 1972

NATIONAL PROGRESS IN AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ACTIVITIES DURING 1971—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Science and Astronautics:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit herewith a report of our national progress in aeronautics and space activities during 1971.

This report shows that we have made forward strides toward each of the six objectives which I set forth for a balanced space program in my statement of March 7, 1970.

Aided by the improvements we have made in mobility, our explorers on the moon last summer produced new, exciting and useful evidence on the structure and origin of the moon. Several phenomena which they uncovered are now under study. Our unmanned nearby observation of Mars is similarly valuable and significant for the advancement of science.

During 1971, we gave added emphasis to aeronautics activities which contribute substantially to improved travel conditions, safety and security, and we gained increasing recognition that space and aeronautical research serves in many ways to keep us in the forefront of man's technological achievements.

There can be little doubt that the investments we are now making in explorations of the unknown are but a prelude to the accomplishments of mankind in future generations.

— RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 14, 1972.

SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST THE DALLAS OFFICE OF THE WAR ON POVERTY

(Mr. CABELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that over the past 10 days the Dallas Office of the War on Poverty has come under serious charges from both local newspapers that threaten to curtail or to completely eliminate future conduct of this program.

Today, the executive board of the Dallas Community Action is hopelessly divided and incapable of executive action.

The executive director of DCA has resigned under fire from both factions and for more than 2 months agreement on a successor has been impossible.

Over the past 2 years many responsible individuals both from the public sector and from the poverty group have left the program because of their inability to achieve progress or harmony, and

An increasing number of DCA programs are under investigation for a variety of violations, including misuse of "hot checks," conflict of interest any other obvious violations of guidelines.

Currently at least three investigations are underway, including those by the local DCA office, the regional OEO office and the Dallas District Attorney. Only recently the DCA credit union was evaluated by the National Credit Union Administration and problems of growth and participation, of improper loan documentation, and of improper loan approval were uncovered.

In addition to serious discrepancies in the conduct of the program's credit union, newspaper investigation has disclosed that almost \$1,000 in hot checks have turned up following the expenditure of \$5,242 during 6 months by a former member of the DCA youth program who is now in California and refuses to answer questions, that over \$4,000 was spent by the same youth program for a Southern Christian Leadership Conference film showing that was available for \$250 and that serious questions existed on financial decisions made by individuals with authority to rule on budgets of their own departments including their own salaries.

These charges are a bitter disappointment to those of us who have helped originate this program and who know the great need that it can fill when properly administered. I am aware that any charge against the Dallas DCA must be balanced by sincere praise for its accomplishments over the years, for the sense of hope that it has given many of our disadvantaged, and in recognition of the selfless devotion to its ideal by so many hard-working individuals, some of whom have retired from its frustrated and disillusioned.

I believe that a prompt, objective and thorough review of the entire program is needed to save it from itself. However, I sincerely question the effectiveness of the current studies. I hope that discrepancies uncovered will fall short of the criminality that would warrant action by the district attorney.

Nevertheless, I feel any investigation by either local or regional OEO officials would be meaningless.

The present OEO regional director, Samuel R. Martinez, has shown no more inclination to deal firmly with discovered violations than his predecessor James W. Griffith.

For almost 4 months I have been waiting upon the OEO office for an explanation of what I felt were questionable practices in local operations. Though my office has been repeatedly told the matters were under investigation, no further word has been given and, to this date, the new regional director has excused his inaction on this matter by protesting difficulties of a move from Denver to Dallas which, as near as I can learn, has now occupied him for almost 2 months.

In the meantime, Mr. Martinez has granted employees found guilty of conflict of interest violations 12 months of freedom to continue an illegal position that threatened them last December with a loss of \$6 million in Federal funds.

Lacking confidence in either the local board or its staff, and in the new regional director and his staff, the only recourse, it seems to me, is fullscale review of the program from the Washington OEO of-

ice. However, while such reviews in the past have brought firmer guidelines, the ability of the Washington office to impose discipline at the local level leaves much to be desired.

It may be that an entirely independent financial audit must be ordered by Congress of all questionable OEO projects or that Congress itself must investigate the program.

The really sad commentary on this whole mess is that two segments of our citizenry are suffering irreparable losses.

The tax-paying citizens, who are willing for their tax dollars to be used for assisting those less fortunate than themselves are seeing their hard-earned dollars going down the drain. Most importantly, the disadvantaged, for whom these taxes are levied, are not being assisted. They are frustrated and are losing confidence in their Congress for not maintaining better oversight over these programs initiated ostensibly for assistance to those disadvantaged.

If OEO is unable to clean its own house at all levels, then it is the responsibility of this Congress to make certain its intent is obeyed or the program be abandoned.

SOME IMPORTANT FACTS

(Mr. NIX asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, recent public criticism about U.S. policy toward South Africa and the Portuguese colonies in Africa, as reflected in our votes in the United Nations, is understandable. It should not, however, obscure the sustained efforts the United States has made, and is making, to assist in the development efforts of countries we often refer to as Sub-Sahara Africa.

The transition in Africa from a colonial status to independence has not always been smooth and peaceful. Each of the newly independent countries is busily engaged in molding its own political forms in a manner compatible with its internal situation. There is little that the United States can, or should, do to direct the political patterns of these governments.

In each of these countries there are, however, common-core problems that have engaged our resources, such as food production, basic health and family planning services, public administration, and transforming their educational systems to respond to the requirements of rapidly changing societies. Much of U.S. economic aid has gone into these sectors.

The growing role and interest of the United States in Africa is reflected in AID support and commitment to a number of regional organizations in Africa. These organizations each have a solid base of support in Africa and are playing an increasingly effective and important role in the development activities of their member states. The four principal organizations include the African Development Bank, the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, the Entente Fund, and the East African Community. In addition to these organizations, there are a number

H 2320

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

March 22, 1972

DRUG ABUSE PREVENTION

(Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, yesterday President Nixon signed into law the Drug Abuse Office and Treatment Act of 1972. This bill gives permanent status to the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention. Under this Office, Government efforts will be coordinated to prevent drug addiction through education, treatment rehabilitation, training and research, and tough law enforcement. The Office will pull together the drug abuse prevention threads which now run independently through 13 Federal agencies. It is my belief that this new approach, coupled with the full cooperation of the Congress and the people, can not only root out the misery peddlers on our city streets, but also provide help to the many victims of this national problem. We must present a balanced attack on this problem. That is, we must move through tough law enforcement against the supply sources for illegal drugs while at the same time moving through strong drug abuse prevention programs against the demand for drugs among our citizens.

We need to fumigate every corner of the breeding grounds for drug addiction. Intense, coordinated efforts such as planned by the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention will give us a good start on this massive problem.

THE NEWEST CONSUMER FRAUD

(Mr. SMITH of Iowa asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I noticed in the newspapers yesterday there were two full-page advertisements by Giant Foods and Supervalu alleging to help the consumer to spend his money better. I was curious, so I went out this morning shopping to the Giant store and the Supervalu store across the road in the 3900 block of Minnesota Avenue. I found as a matter of fact the cost per unit of proteins in the food they are pushing was more than in the food they do not want people to buy. In fact some cuts of meat were as little as one-fifth as expensive per protein unit as pizza, which is the kind of food one ad encourage people to buy. These ads constitute an outright consumer fraud. They take the consumer's money to buy an advertisement to mislead the consumer. During a special order today following other business previously scheduled, I am going to detail the facts relative to this newest consumer fraud.

INTEREST RATES ON HOUSING

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I join my good friend, WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, from New Jersey, the ranking minority member on the Banking and Currency Com-

mittee, in expressing appreciation that we have a large number of housing starts. It is wonderful.

However, it is a great pity that the people who are building these homes are having to pay from \$30,000 to \$40,000 on the purchase of a \$20,000 home, in interest rates. I believe it is terrible we permit that to be done.

We have been unable to reduce the rates. They can be reduced. They could be reduced to 5 percent on housing loans to the purchaser and owner. There are ways of doing it without additional cost to the Government, to save the people tremendous sums of money. I certainly am dissatisfied that we are not able to do more to save the consumer more money on the purchase of homes, something that is so necessary in the promoting of environmental quality.

THE EFFECT OF CHANGING THE PAR VALUE OF GOLD ON INTEREST RATES

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that implicit in the action which was taken yesterday to devalue the dollar, sponsored and fathered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PATMAN) is an increase in interest rates and inflation, because, if I read the papers correctly, many hundreds of millions, perhaps billions of dollars will be extracted from the U.S. Treasury to take care of the so-called short fall in U.S. contributions to various international institutions due to the deliberate dollar devaluation.

I wonder who is going to take care of the "short fall" for every citizen of this country whose dollars will also be depreciated as a result of yesterday's action by some 8 percent.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 18, GRANTS TO RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 18) to amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of March 14, 1972.)

Mr. MORGAN (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the statement be considered as read. It was printed in the Record on March 14, I am sure the Members have read the report and the statement.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

(Mr. MORGAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

After long and frustrating deliberation, the managers on the part of the House reached agreement on S. 18, which authorizes the funds necessary to keep Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty operating until the end of the current fiscal year—June 30, 1972.

The Senate agreed to the House figure of \$36 million for fiscal year 1972, an increase of \$1 million over the Senate authorization.

The House bill included an authorization for fiscal year 1973, but the Senate refused to agree to any authorization for fiscal year 1973. The House accepted the Senate provision which provides funds only through next June 30.

The Senate conferees agreed, however, as set forth in the statement of the managers "that further legislation will be considered before the end of the fiscal year."

The principal issue which confronted the conference committee was the fact that the majority of the Senate conferees wanted Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty to close down next June 30.

The House conferees insisted that we would not accept the Senate bill if, by accepting their bill, we were put in the position where we might be said to have accepted the Senate contention that the two programs were to terminate on June 30. We did not agree to the termination of these programs, and the statement of managers includes a statement agreed to by both sides that further legislation will be considered before the end of the fiscal year.

We were confronted with the fact that both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty had run out of money and would have to close down unless agreement was reached.

The continuing resolution which had financed their operations since last July expired on February 22. They had been able to meet their payrolls for a couple of weeks, but they said it was necessary to notify their employees that they were closing down unless an agreement on the authorization was reached on March 15.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs was impressed by the testimony of the witnesses who appeared before us last fall in support of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. People who had lived behind the Iron Curtain and who had depended on these two programs for uncensored news gave convincing testimony as to the effectiveness of both of these operations.

I remember particularly that when there were riots at certain seaports in Poland over a year ago, the only way that news of these riots reached the people of Poland outside the cities was from the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe.

I believe that the United States should continue to support these programs. I also believe that this view is shared by a majority of the other body.

The latest information I have is that more than 60 Senators have joined in

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, 1972

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me and know my thoughts: and see if there be any wicked way in me and lead me in the way everlasting.—
Psalm 139: 23, 24.

Eternal Father, to whom the darkness and the light are both alike in the midst of the troubles of these trying times, worn and weary by worry and work, we turn to the quiet calm of Thy presence. For a moment we would be still and know that Thou art God.

Endow us with insight to understand the needs of our people and help us to work for greater justice in our land, for fuller freedom among the nations and for an enduring peace in our world. May we realize that Thou art our Father, our fellowmen are our brothers, and we are our brothers keepers. With this vision of Thy kingdom may we make our decisions, mold our laws and build our Nation. Thus may we walk from darkness to light, from weakness to strength, from fear to faith and from any ill will to an abiding good will. In the mood of the Master, we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Sparrow, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 904. An act to amend the Uniform Time Act to allow an option in the adoption of advanced time in certain cases.

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3054) entitled "An act to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962," agrees to a conference requested by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. NELSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. STEVENSON, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. TAFT, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. SCHWEIKER, Mr. DOMINICK, and Mr. BEALL to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and a concurrent resolution of the following titles, in which

the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 764. An act to authorize the disposal of lead from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile;

S. 778. An act to authorize the disposal of metallurgical grade chromite from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile;

S. 1379. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a volunteers in the national forests program, and for other purposes;

S. 3086. An act to authorize the disposal of nickel from the national stockpile; and

S. Con. Res. 55. Concurrent resolution providing for the recognition of Bangladesh.

HOUSING BOOM CONTINUES TO PACE OUR ECONOMIC EXPANSION

(Mr. WIDNALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the unprecedented boom in new home construction accelerated in February. Private housing starts soared 8.4 percent over the previous month, to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of nearly 2.7 million units. This unusually strong advance indicates that the housing sector will continue to be a potent contributor to the economic expansion and provide the new homes so essential to the well-being of this Nation's families.

It is important to put these statistics in perspective. The many record-breaking months of housing construction recently may give some the idea that the housing sector has always been strong. This is, of course, a mistaken impression. Until recently, we have never had a year when housing starts totaled 2 million units. Until recently, we would have to go way back to 1950 to find a month when housing starts reached an annual rate of 2 million.

During the 1960's, housing starts never reached an annual total of even 1.6 million units. In contrast, the total for 1971 is now estimated to be nearly 2.1 million units. February 1972 is the third consecutive month that the level of starts has remained above the 2.4 million unit mark. And the level of permits for new home construction remains at 2.1 million, suggesting that starts will remain strong for many months to come.

It is easy to find bad economic news if one searches hard enough. But the housing sector will give pessimists no consolation. Housing construction has been unusually vigorous. And the signs are that this sector will continue to add strength to the current economic expansion.

HON. OGDEN R. REID WELCOMED TO DEMOCRATIC PARTY

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BRADEMAS) and the majority leader in welcoming the conversion of the gentleman from New York (Mr. REID) to the Democratic Party. I have been a friend of OGDEN REID since he came to the House. I think he is a sound, dedicated, hard-working Member. I think he will be a valuable addition to our party.

Might I say this is in great contrast to the mayor of Fun City, who lately converted to the party, Mr. Lindsay. I also knew him when he was here. He served on my NATO Committee. He made absolutely no contribution. He is phonier than a Confederate \$3 bill with Abraham Lincoln's picture on it.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE LAURENCE E. TIERNEY, JR.

(Mr. KEE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, at 2:45 a.m. this morning, Mr. Laurence E. Tierney, Jr., known widely by his friends in "Larry," died at St. Mary's Hospital in Richmond, Va., following extensive and complicated surgery.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Tierney was a neighbor and very dear personal friend of mine in my home city of Bluefield, W. Va., and he was known as the tower of strength. A man of complete dedication not only in southern West Virginia but throughout a good part of the United States.

Unfortunately, time does not permit me to list his unexcelled positions of responsibility in numerous business enterprises, each one of which grew and prospered under his able leadership. While he retired from many of his business activities, he had the ability to select extremely qualified men to carry on under his most capable direction.

Some time ago, he sold his vast coal interests and at the time of his death, he was chairman of the board of directors of the Flat Top National Bank in my home city of Bluefield. The example he set will long continue to influence and inspire us.

Mr. Speaker, while we are all filled with sadness, I take this opportunity to extend my prayers to Mr. Tierney's family and I have a strong feeling that he will watch over us from his house in the kingdom of heaven.

H 2319

March 22, 1972

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

H 2321

sponsoring Senate Resolution 272, expressing support for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, but the Senate conferees apparently were not influenced by this indication of the attitude of a majority of the Senate.

The bill that passed the House on last November by a vote of 271 to 12 provides a much more realistic and constructive approach than the legislation we have brought back from conference.

I believe that the conference report before us is the best agreement that could be reached under the circumstances, however, and I urge its approval.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. I am glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Let me compliment the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the distinguished chairman of the committee, and the gentleman from California (Mr. MAILLIARD), the ranking Republican member of the committee, for trying to get a better settlement than has been brought back to the House today. I know that both of them and the other members of the conference on the House side strove mightily to attempt to get a longer life for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and better funding, but complications arose in the conference which, unfortunately, could not be resolved except for the conference report which is before us today.

Could the gentleman from Pennsylvania outline, if possible, what he thinks will happen between now and the end of this authorizing legislation?

Mr. MORGAN. I understand that funds have already been appropriated and are available as soon as the authorization is approved. I can assure the minority leader that as soon as the message comes up from the Executive asking for an extension for the year 1973, the Committee on Foreign Affairs will hold hearings and take action to bring the matter before the House before the end of the fiscal year I believe that the proposal for a study commission to decide what future arrangements should be made for continuing these programs as provided in the House is a good idea and will receive careful consideration by the Foreign Affairs Committee when the matter comes before us again. I feel it is the best approach, and I hope we can extend the life of the agency through 1973 until this study is completed.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I thank the gentleman, and I wish him well because I agree with him that this program has had a fruitful and beneficial life from the point of view of the United States. To kill these two programs now I think would be a most unwise act as far as our country is concerned.

Mr. MORGAN. I think that the many expressions of support for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty which came from all parts of the country show that these programs are in the best interest of the United States.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. MORGAN. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Would the gentleman refresh my memory? Is the \$36 million provided in the conference report the total for fiscal 1972?

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Mr. GROSS. The total authorization for this purpose for fiscal year 1972?

Mr. MORGAN. That is correct. This is for fiscal year 1972 which ends June 30.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York (Mr. PODELL).

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, we have before us a bill to amend the United States Information and Education Exchange Act of 1948 to provide assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Radio Liberty's history reads of good worthy goals, accomplished by not-so-worthy means. The revelation that Radio Liberty's espousal of the cause of freedom was financed with Central Intelligence Agency funds illustrates this point most cogently.

Thus I welcome S. 18, designed to make Radio Liberty an agent of the public interest, financed by the public and accountable to it. I welcome the proposed study commission and its goal to evaluate the need and appropriateness of such broadcasting in an era of detente.

But there is one sort of broadcasting that is clearly needed now, today, more than ever. That is regularly scheduled Yiddish broadcasts directed to Soviet Jews. Such broadcasts should not replace the regular news and feature items aired in Russian. They should be in addition to such Russian language material.

Such programs serve a dual purpose:

First, they would provide information on cultural, educational, and religious topics that Russian Jews can find nowhere else. For in Russia, all books on Jewish history and culture are locked in libraries for the use of scholars with official authorization. And I need not tell you that the Russian Government rarely favors interested Jews with such permission. In fact, several courageous men and women have served sentences in the notorious Russian labor camps for exactly this crime—unauthorized possession of Jewish educational material. Radio Liberty Yiddish programming could fill this gap now in a time when the consciousness of Russian Jews and their interest in their cultural heritage grows daily.

Second, Yiddish broadcasts to Russian Jews by a radio station financed by the U.S. Government would communicate to the Soviet Jews struggling to retain their cultural identity in an atmosphere of persecution and repression that the people of the United States support them in their valiant fight.

Some people have minimized the potential impact of such broadcasts with deceptive figures on the number of Jews who speak Yiddish. It is true that most Soviet Jews do speak Russian; but it is also true, and much more significant,

that most Soviet Jews understand Yiddish. Many, in fact, prefer to use it as a means of retaining their Jewish identity.

Some Americans, free to educate themselves and their children as they see fit, look at the decreasing usage of Yiddish in this country and wrongly conclude that Yiddish is a language of the "shtet Europe shetl" that exists no more. I disagree with this conclusion.

Soviet Jews have no freedom to send their children to cultural schools. But they do have Yiddish with its cultural richness and texture, that expresses 2,000 years of Jewish history like nothing else can, to teach their children. They would be glad, as emphasized by many prominent young Russian Jews who have escaped to the West, for Radio Liberty's help in that task.

It is a task that Radio Liberty can safely undertake without fear of upsetting our efforts to achieve a detente with the Russians. I base this conclusion on a news interview that quoted Ambassador Anatole Dobrynin, of the Soviet Union, as saying that such broadcasting would have no effect on Russian-American relations.

I have written to the Secretary of State and to Radio Liberty on this matter.

I hope that Radio Liberty will use its new freedom wisely and in the public interest, and broadcast regularly scheduled programs in Yiddish.

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. MAILLIARD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the conference report on S. 18, the bill to authorize funds for the operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

It was an extremely difficult and frustrating conference. I am keenly disappointed that we were not able to sustain the position of the House, which had passed a reasonable and constructive bill on November 19, 1971.

I am sure most Members are aware of this intransigence of several of the Senate conferees. In their effort to kill the radios, they rebuffed our every effort to negotiate a reasonable compromise.

While the conference agreement leaves much to be desired, it does at least continue the radios through the remainder of this fiscal year. It specifies that the conferees agreed to legislation which will continue the programs at the authorized rate of \$36 million only for the balance of the current fiscal year "with the clear understanding, however, that further legislation will be considered before the end of this fiscal year."

I hope the House will demonstrate its strong support for the continuation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty by voting overwhelming approval of this conference report.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the adoption of the conference report on S. 18 today represents the culmination of many months' laborious effort to save Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty as voices of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. While it is necessary to accept this report, the legislative solution it con-

tains is inadequate because it provides for the continuance of these two valuable radio organizations only until the end of this fiscal year. This is an insufficient reflection of the confidence this body has shown in the two radios. With the adoption of this conference report, we are now faced with the prospect in the near future of going through the hearings again and repeating the whole legislative process in order to obtain legislation for next year. The House bill would have provided a 2-year authorization and a commission to carefully study the desirability of continuing the radios and making their recommendations to the Congress before the end of that period.

In conference, the Senate conferees seemed to be unaware of the fact that the name of the game when the conferees of the two bodies meet is compromise. The Senate conferees refused to budge one iota from their 1-year authorization and from the requirement that the funding be through the State Department rather than through an independent source.

You will recall, Mr. Speaker, that the House version of S. 18 passed this body with 27 votes in favor and only 12 votes against. The Percy-Humphrey sense of the Senate resolution, Senate Resolution 272, advocating the continuance of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty has now been cosponsored by 67 Members of that body. This is a clear indication of what the Members of Congress think of the work that is being done by the radios.

As a dramatic indication of how important the voice of Radio Liberty is to those compelled to live behind the Iron Curtain, in the Soviet Union, a letter was sent this week to Congress signed by 97 residents of Israel who were able to leave the Soviet Union. Their plea to the Congress is to preserve Radio Liberty. In their letter they say:

It is very difficult to explain to you, people of a free country, how vital and important it is for everybody behind the Iron Curtain to get a true and objective information about world affairs.

We suppose that you have already received many letters and requests from righteous persons all over the world, asking you not to close down this station. We believe that they are, as we are, wondering how could you even take into consideration the shutting down of this source of encouragement and hope for so many people!

The record of the hearings in committee is replete with similar statements by former residents of Eastern Europe. We have done the right thing in preserving the radios but it is unfortunate that we must start our labors anew in order to keep the radios from falling victim to those who seek their demise.

The fact that there will be legislation concerning the radios is a tribute to the persistence, patience, and leadership of the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I support the conference report with reluctance. I believe Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty should have long-term authorization and appropriations support, not the very limited time set by this report.

It is my understanding that necessary steps will be taken in the House and Senate to overcome the obstructionist tactics of the junior Senator from Arkansas and legislation extending the operations of these two radio stations will develop in time.

I would remind my colleagues of the House that much as we wish it, the battle for the minds of men is not yet over. So long as censorship prevails in the Soviet bloc, their citizens will seek to know the truth.

If we tire of the competition and write off the minds of millions in the Soviet bloc, we reduce their ability to influence their governments toward the liberalization of policies. To achieve a generation of peace, we must continue to compete for the minds of men.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, my recent trip to the Soviet Union increased my understanding and appreciation of the vitally needed service to Soviet citizens—Jews and non-Jews alike—provided by Western radio broadcasts. In my conversations with Jews and dissidents in Moscow and other cities, I was told over and over again that the programs of the Voice of America and Radio Liberty, BBC, and Kol Israel make available not only hard information suppressed by official media, but also build for them a deeply needed emotional bridge to the West.

The broadcasts reassure them that they are not alone, that people in the outside world have not forgotten them and continue to take a sympathetic interest in their struggle for basic human rights.

I share the desire to end the cold war and its relics. But, as the Washington Post has noted, Radio Liberty's broadcasts are not "provocative, propagandistic diatribes." Instead, Radio Liberty provides the people of the Soviet Union with news that they are unable to obtain in any other way, and it does so, again in the words of the Post, "professionally, responsibly and effectively." The broadcast of news in this manner cannot be viewed as a continuation of the cold war, and the free flow of information cannot be viewed as an obstacle to the continued search for detente.

It may very well be that the broadcasts of Radio Liberty ought to be further toned down, but the need for reform should not impel us to "throw the baby out with the bathwater." We should make every effort to support Radio Liberty, and the desire for better relations between the United States and the Soviet Union should not prevent the acceptance of this bill which will permit Radio Liberty to continue its broadcast operations.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to give my strong support to the conference report on S. 18, to permit continued funding for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty through fiscal year 1972. However, I am at the same time deeply distressed by the recent impasse that for a time threatened to silence the broadcasting of factual news and opinion by these two stations to the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Communist East block nations.

It is imperative, in my judgment, that we immediately move to consider legislation to resolve the future role of Radio

Free Europe and Radio Liberty following this brief reprieve for the stations' operations.

I have a special interest in these two voices of freedom, Mr. Speaker, for I am the author of Public Law 90-215, enacted in 1967, which amended the Immigration and Nationality Act to permit the naturalization of the dedicated employees of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Previously these individuals, who for long years selflessly served the interest of the United States abroad, had been unable to obtain citizenship. Despite their permanent resident alien status, they could not fulfill the residency requirements of our Immigration and Nationality Act because they remained in Europe to transmit messages of truth and hope to the peoples of Russia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

I urge approval of the conference report, and I would like to include in the RECORD an article from Time magazine of March 6, and an editorial from the Newark Star-Ledger of March 16 commenting on the importance of continuing the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

It is my hope that Congress will act expeditiously to consider the role of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and the proper means of financing their broadcasts, for, as the Time article noted:

They have both won a reputation for veracity and reliability inside and outside the Communist countries.

The articles follow:

[From Time, Mar. 6, 1972]

TURNING OFF THE RADIOS

For more than two decades, the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies have tried to silence Radio Free Europe, which beams programs of news, music and political commentary to five Eastern European countries, and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts exclusively to the Soviet Union. Last week both stations were on the brink of being shut down—by U.S. Senator J. William Fulbright.

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is waging a singlehanded and (so far) highly effective battle against the two stations whose broadcasts from West Germany, he feels, jeopardize America's efforts to improve relations with Communist nations. "These radios," says Fulbright, "should take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics."

STOP PAYMENTS

One basis of Fulbright's two-year-old campaign is that the stations, instead of being the private organizations that they claimed to be, were actually supported by the Central Intelligence Agency. Last spring the Nixon Administration ordered the CIA to stop its payments and proposed the creation of a public-private corporation similar to COMSAT that would run the two stations under congressional scrutiny. But Fulbright has created a deadlock between the House and Senate over bills that would keep the stations alive until this or some other new arrangement could be worked out. As a result, a temporary congressional appropriation expired last week, leaving RFE and Radio Liberty with only enough money for a few more weeks of operation.

As it happens, Fulbright's criticism of the stations is itself a cold war relic. To be sure, when they were founded in the early 1950s, both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were indeed propaganda tools that sought to undermine the Communist governments. To its enduring discredit, Radio Free Europe, in the opening stage of the

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1956 revolution, encouraged Hungarian freedom fighters to believe that the West would intervene militarily on their side. Since then, however, there have been massive personnel and policy changes at both stations.

MUSIC HOURS

Most of the old émigré right-wingers, who unrealistically ranted for an overthrow of the Communist regimes, were weeded out in favor of younger and more perceptive East Europeans and Soviet defectors. In general, these staffers have tried to encourage a process of liberalization within the Communist societies. No one can evaluate to what degree the stations have affected developments in the East bloc, but they both have won a reputation for veracity and reliability inside and outside the Communist countries.

Radio Free Europe employs 1,600 people, 960 of them at its headquarters in Munich. Operating on a \$21 million budget, it broadcasts a total of 557 hours each week in native language to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. About half of the programs is news and analysis of events in the various East bloc countries. Other programs range from music hours featuring the latest Western rock to special reports on living conditions of foreign workers in Western Europe.

Much of RFE's information comes from monitoring of East European news services and radio broadcasts, and interviews with travelers. The station's 100 political analysts, many of them natives of Eastern Europe, often are able to draw deductions that an official Eastern European commentator could never make. Example: the notion that the Polish government actually encourages alcoholism because it collects a big tax on vodka.

To protect its reputation for accuracy, RFE's broadcasts, if anything, err on the side of caution. When reports of Alexander Dubcek's ouster first came from Prague over a Western news ticker, RFE waited for Czechoslovakia's confirmation before airing the item. Despite the fact that for years RFE held up Yugoslavia as an example of how a Communist regime could peacefully develop toward liberalism, RFE has given extensive coverage to the Croatian crisis that has shaken Yugoslavia's progress toward greater governmental freedoms. Judging by the annual polls of East bloc tourists in Western Europe, RFE's audience is impressive: 78% of all radio-listening Poles, 81% of the Hungarians, 77% of Rumanians, 78% of Bulgarians and 80% of the Czechoslovaks. At present, all the East bloc countries except Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have given up trying to jam RFE since the broadcasts tend to get through anyhow.

Samizdat Essay. Radio Liberty, which has a \$14 million budget, employs 800 persons, including 250 Soviet defectors. It broadcasts 24 hours daily in 19 languages. A research staff of 40 gleans Russian publications for details about happenings in the country. Through private channels, Radio Liberty receives underground *samizdat* (literally, self-publishing) manuscripts that are clandestinely circulating in the Soviet Union and broadcasts them to listeners in Russia.

At Radio Liberty, a typical day's broadcasting, in addition to hourly news bulletins, might include a *samizdat* essay by a Soviet engineer on the need for economic reform in Russia and a synopsis of a Polish film that is not being shown in Russia. Radio Liberty tries to fill in gaps caused by Soviet censorship. For example, it carries criticism by Western psychiatrists about Soviet imprisonment in mental hospitals of political dissenters.

The Soviet and Eastern European regimes understandably want RFE and Radio Liberty closed down since they challenge the governments' control over the information reaching their people. Despite Fulbright's argument that the stations must be silenced as a U.S. contribution toward relaxing tensions

in Europe, many Western Europeans maintain exactly the opposite. As one West German editorial put it: "In this era of *détente*, it is all the more important that the voice of free opinion is not silenced." Even though his Ostpolitik seeks better relations with the Communist countries, West German Chancellor Willy Brandt obviously agrees. He has consistently rejected Polish and Soviet suggestions that the stations' licenses to operate from West German territory be withdrawn.

[From the Star-Ledger, Mar. 16, 1972]

VOICES OF FREEDOM

The Nixon Administration has won a partial victory in averting the unfortunate shutdown of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which have played vital roles in keeping open lines of communication for people in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The transmissions of these stations have provided factual news of the outside world to people whose governments would prefer to force-feed with distorted domestic propaganda.

Despite a highly favorable report by the Library of Congress, which made a study at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the stations were threatened with extinction because of differences between House and Senate conferees on bills authorizing the continuation of these broadcasts.

Under an arrangement worked between the White House and congressional aides, the Administration agreed to drop its efforts to obtain long-term funds for American-operated stations and accepted a plan to keep them on the air at least three more months.

The two stations were set up at the height of the cold war to broadcast news and commentary to people behind the Iron Curtain. They have been attacked and reviled by Moscow and other Communist countries because their transmissions often included news not available in the tightly-controlled Communist media.

The existence of electronic allies of liberal elements in the Communist world could be a bargaining point for the President when he visits Moscow next May. Any final decision on the fate of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty should be deferred until after Mr. Nixon returns from the Soviet Union when Congress can take a fresh look at U.S.-Russian relations.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days during which to extend their remarks on the conference report just agreed to.

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

There was no objection.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 13592, NATIONAL SICKLE CELL ANEMIA PREVENTION ACT

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 904 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. Res. 904

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 13592) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the prevention of sickle cell anemia. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATTI), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

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

Mr. O'NEILL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. BURTON was allowed to speak out of order.)

(Mr. BURTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

DEMOCRATIC STUDY GROUP WELCOMES REPRESENTATIVE OGDEN REID TO THE RANKS OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Democratic Study Group, I am pleased to welcome Representative OGDEN REID to the ranks of the National Democratic Party in the House of Representatives. As noted in an editorial in this morning's New York Times, he has long been a leader of the progressive wing of the Republican Party. His joining our party brings to us "another future leader of great decency, dedication, and talent."

Since the latter part of the 19th century, Representative REID's family has devoted itself to public service in the finest tradition of the Republican Party. In light of this tradition, it is easy to understand Representative REID's disillusionment with the current direction of the Republican Party.

We encourage men of conscience on the other side of the aisle to emulate Representative REID's fine example. Thus strengthened, we will go on to make the House of Representatives the progressive, responsive institution conceived by the founders of the Republic.

The editorial follows:

DEMOCRAT REID

Leaving the Republican party is a much tougher wrench for Representative OGDEN R. REID than it was for Mayor Lindsay. His grandfather was a founder of the G.O.P. and its Vice Presidential candidate in 1892 on a slate headed by Benjamin Harrison. The Westchester Congressman was the last member of his family to edit The New York Herald Tribune in its long career as a voice of intelligent Republicanism.

That Mr. Reid has decided he can no longer stay in the party is graphic evidence of how far to the right it has drifted under the leadership of President Nixon. Unques-

tionably, the stiff primary challenge Mr. Reid faced from powerfully backed conservative elements in the state G.O.P. helped prompt his switch into a Democratic party that is hardly at the peak of its popular appeal or internal unity. But an even stronger spur was the increasing distaste Mr. Reid felt for pretending ties with an Administration whose policies he could not swallow on such issues as civil liberties, education, child care, the fight against racial discrimination and the pace of extrication from Vietnam. Above all, his break came out of despair at the divisive trend of most Administration approaches.

As believers in a strong and vital two-party system, we are sad to see the Republican party in this state—so long a leader in the party's progressive wing—becoming a conservative bastion with diminished appeal to independents of the type responsible for the repeated elections of Governor Rockefeller and Senator Javits. But the Governor himself has been a poor recent steward of that tradition and Mr. Reid risked total isolation. His decade of service in the House has been marked by steady growth in the quality and diversity of his accomplishment. Still short of his 47th birthday, he brings to the Democrats another future leader of great decency, dedication and talent.

REPRESENTATIVE REID QUITTING GOP; PLANS RACE AS A DEMOCRAT

(By Richard L. Madden)

WASHINGTON, March 21.—Representative Ogden R. Reid of Westchester County, whose family's involvement with the Republican party dates back almost a century, will announce tomorrow his switch to the Democratic party.

Friends of the 46-year-old liberal Republican said that among the factors involved were a decision that he could not support President Nixon for re-election, the prospect of a difficult Republican primary fight in his newly drawn Westchester district, and a feeling that his chances for advancement to statewide office, such as Governor, were blocked on the Republican side.

Mr. Reid, who is completing his 10th year in the House and who has been increasingly critical of the Nixon Administration, scheduled a news conference for 10:30 A.M. tomorrow at the Carlyle Hotel in New York City to make what his office called "an important political announcement."

Mr. Reid was reported by his office to be in New York and unavailable for comment. However, other political figures—Republican as well as Democratic—who have talked to him in recent days said they were convinced that he would announce his candidacy for reelection as a Democrat.

Such a shift would follow by seven months the move by Mayor Lindsay, a political ally of Mr. Reid, into the Democratic party and would further weaken the ranks of the so-called progressive wing of the Republican party in New York State.

In anticipation of Mr. Reid's announcement, the Westchester County Republican organization, which had been scheduled to hold a convention in White Plains tomorrow night to designate Congressional candidates, postponed its meeting. Republican officials began discussing potential candidates who might make a strong race against the Representative.

PERSUASION SAID TO FAIL

It was understood that John N. Mitchell, the former Attorney General who is now directing Mr. Nixon's re-election campaign, met with Mr. Reid last weekend in an apparently unsuccessful effort to talk the Representative out of bolting the Republican party.

At a news conference in Albany today, Governor Rockefeller acknowledged that he had discussed the matter with Mr. Reid "over

the last two or three weeks." The Governor indicated that he expected a party switch.

Mr. Rockefeller said that any statement should come from Mr. Reid, whom he praised as a "long and old friend" who had been a strong supporter of previous Rockefeller campaigns for the Presidency and Governor. The Governor added:

"Now I know, and have known for quite a while, that he [Mr. Reid] has been frustrated with getting—the problem of getting things done—in Congress, and that his rate of progress onto the statewide scene in the state has not been as rapid as I think he would like to see it. So I understand the considerations he faces."

"THE WRONG PARTY"

Mr. Rockefeller continued: "Now, my personal feeling would be that for anyone to switch his allegiance from the Republican party to the Democratic party would be joining the wrong party at the wrong time, but that is a personal feeling.

Two years ago Mr. Reid scored only a narrow victory in the Republican primary, but he won handily in the general election, with his traditional drawing of Democratic and independent votes.

Max Berking, the Westchester County Democratic chairman, declined comment on Mr. Reid's intentions, but he said that he thought the Representative would be welcomed by Democratic officials, who are scheduled to meet Thursday night to designate candidates.

While Mr. Reid has been increasingly critical of the Nixon Administration, a decision to leave the party was regarded as somewhat uncharacteristic for the Representative, whose ties to the Republicans have been strong.

His grandfather, Whitelaw Reid, was the unsuccessful Republican nominee for Vice President on Benjamin Harrison's ticket in 1892. Mr. Reid, a former president and editor of the now defunct New York Herald Tribune, was the United States Ambassador to Israel in the Eisenhower Administration.

If Mr. Reid is re-elected as a Democrat, his 10 years of seniority in the House also might be endangered.

Mr. O'NEILL, Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 904 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 13592, the National Sickle Cell Anemia Prevention Act.

The purpose of H.R. 13592 is to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the prevention of sickle cell anemia.

A national program will be established for diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of the disease together with screening and counseling programs and informational programs.

Grants and contracts by the Secretary are authorized for the establishment and operation of voluntary screening and counseling programs as part of other existing public health care programs. In order to carry out this section of the legislation, \$20 million are authorized for fiscal year 1973, \$25 million for fiscal year 1974, and \$30 million for fiscal year 1975.

The Secretary is authorized to make grants and contracts for research and development programs. In order to carry out this section of the bill, \$5 million are authorized for fiscal year 1973, \$10 million for fiscal year 1974, and \$15 million for fiscal year 1975.

The bill sets forth the requirements applicable to grants under the act.

Mr. Speaker, sickle cell anemia is one of the greatest killers among young

black children in the Nation today. Annually, an estimated 1,155 new cases are discovered; and for each of these new cases a very painful and usually fatal disease has begun. This figure for the estimated number of new cases discovered is considerably higher than the estimate for other major hereditary childhood diseases. For instance, cystic fibrosis has only 1,206 new cases discovered annually; muscular dystrophy, 813.

At least 50,000 black Americans suffer from sickle cell anemia. Each year, one in 500 black births is afflicted with this crippling disease, and at least 5,000 require hospitalization. Although there is a wide range in the severity of the disease process, black Americans afflicted with this disease rarely survive to adulthood. Most die before they reach the age of 20.

It is important to distinguish between those who have the sickle trait and those that suffer with the disease. Those who have only one positive sickle cell gene may not suffer from the disease, but can transmit the disease to their children. Experts have estimated that of the 25 million black people in America, approximately 2.5 million may have the sickle cell trait. This means that if two carriers produce a child, there is a 25-percent chance that the child will have sickle cell anemia and a 50 percent chance that the child will be a carrier.

Sickle cell anemia results from an abnormal hemoglobin molecule in the red blood cells which cause the cells in the body to take on a sickle S-shape. Once the cells have this form, several clinical manifestations may occur: Severe anemia can result; the normal flow of blood to the vital organs such as the heart, kidney, lungs, is impeded by the sickle-shaped cell. When the normal flow of blood is impeded, intense pain results; most victims die from the disease, since the repeated oxygen crisis from lack of blood flow to vital organs causes a toll on the body.

Sickle cell anemia is a genetically hereditary form of anemia which afflicts blacks almost exclusively. At the present time, there is no known cure for this disease.

I need not emphasize the significance and importance of the legislation before us today. The national program established by H.R. 13592, National Sickle Cell Anemia Prevention Act, would not only conduct research to improve the treatment of persons suffering from sickle cell trait or sickle cell anemia. More importantly, the bill authorizes grants and contracts to assist in establishing and operating voluntary sickle cell anemia screening and counseling programs. The screening process would be to determine who has the disease and who are the carriers of the disease; this is the one major area of the disease which needs to be further developed.

It is estimated that between 8 and 13 percent of the black population carries sickle cell trait. This bill will enable tests to be run in schools in black areas to help both parents and children understand the disease and understand how best to keep healthy those who are afflicted with the disease or those who carry the trait.

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S. 11, S. 12, S. 13, S. 14, S. 15, AND S. 16—INTRODUCTION OF BILLS REPRESENTING A CONTINUATION OF MATTERS CONSIDERED BY THE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL LAWS AND PROCEDURES DURING THE 91ST CONGRESS

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I introduce several items of legislation. Each represents a continuation of matters considered by the Special Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures during the 91st Congress. They are as follows:

First. S. 13, the Physical Evidence Act of 1971, which provides for the issuance of subpoenas for the limited detention of specified individuals for obtaining evidence of identifying physical characteristics in the course of certain criminal investigations, and for other purposes;

Second. S. 11 and, third, S. 12, alternative versions of the Wagering Tax Act Amendments of 1971, which would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to modify the provisions relating to taxes on wagering, to insure the constitutional rights of taxpayers, to facilitate the collection of such taxes, and for other such purposes;

Fourth. S. 14, the Student Disturbances Act of 1971, which would prohibit the disruption of federally assisted institutions of higher education, to provide for the enforcement of such prohibition, and for other purposes;

Fifth. S. 15, to amend title XII of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, to empower the Commission on Individual Rights to consider individual security, and for other purposes;

Sixth. S. 16, which would amend title IX of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, to provide for injunctive and other civil relief for those victimized by organized crime, and for other purposes.

Mr. President, each of these items of legislation is introduced as a study bill. I am not committed to their enactment in their present form or indeed to their enactment at all. I do expect, however, in the coming months of this Congress that the subcommittee will hold hearings on these and related matters. I shall also, at a later time, address the Senate separately on each of these items of legislation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bills will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills:

S. 11. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to modify the provisions relating to taxes on wagering to insure the constitutional rights of taxpayers, to facilitate the collection of such taxes, and for other purposes;

S. 12. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to modify the provisions relating to taxes on wagering to insure the constitutional rights of taxpayers, to facilitate the collection of such taxes, and for other purposes;

S. 13. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide for the issuance of subpoenas for the limited detention of particularly described or identified individuals for obtaining evidence of identifying physical characteristics in the course of certain criminal investigations, and for other purposes;

S. 14. A bill to prohibit the disruption of federally assisted institutions of higher edu-

cation, to provide for the enforcement of such prohibition, and for other purposes;

S. 15. A bill to amend title XII of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, and for other purposes; and

S. 16. A bill to amend title IX of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 to provide civil remedies to victims of activities prohibited by said title, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. McCLELLAN, for himself and Mr. HAUSKA, were read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ORDER FOR REFERRAL OF S. 11 and S. 12 TO THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE FOLLOWING THEIR PRESENT REFERENCE

Mr. McCLELLAN subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when two bills which I introduced this morning, which are now at the desk, numbered tentatively, I believe, S. 11 and S. 12, shall have been considered and reported by the Committee on the Judiciary, to which I am advised they are now being referred, they be thereafter referred to and considered by the Committee on Finance.

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

S. 18—INTRODUCTION OF A BILL TO BRING RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY UNDER CONGRESSIONAL SCRUTINY

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I introduce a bill to bring Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under the authorization and appropriation process of the Congress.

During the last 20 years, several hundred million dollars in U.S. Government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe. In the last fiscal year alone, over \$30 million was provided by CIA as a direct Government subsidy; yet at no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditure.

My bill would amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to authorize funds to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in fiscal 1972. It would also provide that no other U.S. Government funds could be made available to either radio station, except under the provisions of the Information and Educational Exchange Act.

I plan to ask that those administration officials concerned with overseas information policies be called to testify before Congress on the financial needs of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Without committing myself to a particular level of funding, my proposal tentatively calls for an authorization of \$30 million. This figure would, of course, be subject to change as more information becomes available.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty both claim to be nongovernmental organizations sponsored by private contributions, but available sources indicate direct CIA subsidies pay nearly all their costs. According to returns filed with Internal Revenue—form 990-A—

their combined operating costs for fiscal 1969 were almost \$34 million—\$21,109,935 for Radio Free Europe and \$12,887,401 for Radio Liberty.

Under the auspices of the Advertising Council, Radio Free Europe conducts a yearly, multimedia "advertising" campaign.

I have been advised that between \$12 million and \$20 million in free media space is donated annually to this campaign while the return from the public is apparently less than \$100,000. Additionally, both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty attempt to raise money from corporations and foundations, but contributions from these sources reportedly pay only a small part of their total budgets.

The bulk of Radio Free Europe's and Radio Liberty's budgets, or more than \$30 million annually, comes from direct CIA subsidies. Congress has never participated in authorization or appropriations of funds to Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty, although hundreds of millions of dollars in Government funds have been spent during the last 20 years.

I can understand why covert funds might have been used for a year or two in an emergency situation when extreme secrecy was necessary and when no other Government funds were available. But the justification for covert funding has lessened over the years as international tension has eased, as the secrecy surrounding these radio stations has melted away, and as more open means of funding could have been developed. In other words, the extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes and congressional approval no longer exist.

In fact, after disclosure in 1967 of CIA funding of the National Student Association, a Presidential committee made up of John Gardner, then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Richard Helms, then and now Director of CIA, and Nicholas Katzenbach, then Under Secretary of State, recommended that "no Federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the Nation's educational or voluntary organizations"—and that "no programs currently would justify any exception to this policy." On March 29, 1967, President Johnson accepted the committee's recommendations and directed they be implemented by all Federal agencies.

Legislation similar to my proposal will shortly be introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman OGDEN R. REID of New York.

I ask unanimous consent to have the bill printed at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 18) to amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, introduced by Mr. CASE, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

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mit ourselves now to a program designed to correct the widening imbalance and disparity of our population and industrial growth. If we bring jobs and the accompanying services and benefits to these people, there will be little need for them to relocate in other areas.

The Federal Government must provide the impetus and incentive for industry to expand to these areas. In this connection, I was extremely pleased and encouraged by the administration's support of the objectives of the resolution I offered last year. Moreover, it is especially heartening and significant that the President devoted a portion of his state of the Union address to this issue. I wholeheartedly endorse the broad objectives of his statement that he will—

Propose programs to make better use of our land, and to encourage a balanced national growth—growth that will revitalize our rural heartland and enhance the quality of life throughout America.

I am, of course, anxious to see and to study the specifics—the details of the President's program—and I look forward to working with him toward the realization of a truly revitalized America—rural and urban. There is no better way to begin this task than by the adoption of the national policy established by my bill.

Mr. President, the future of America cannot be left in the hands of fate—we must begin today to fashion a better tomorrow.

The purpose of the bill I offer today transcends regional interest. For its true objective is to revitalize the withering economy in rural areas while at the same time it will give the urban areas—especially our decaying inner cities—an opportunity to concentrate on their own programs of revitalization and restoration, free of the continued aggravation of the problems by the constant influx of people whose living necessities they are unable to provide.

I anticipate that this measure will be referred to the Committee on Government Operations, and it will be my intention to hold a series of hearings on this measure as early as convenient and practical. I would welcome the comments, suggestions, and cosponsorship of my colleagues.

I urge my colleagues to join with me in this search to achieve a more rational and a better balanced pattern of growth for America and her people.

The bill (S. 10) is as follows:

S. 10

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress finds that—

(a) seventy per centum of the American people live on only 1 per centum of the land of the United States and this high concentration of population results in increased pollution, critical problems of housing and transportation, unhealthy living conditions, and increased crime;

(b) the location and expansion of industries in the major metropolitan centers of the Nation continue to attract more people to these highly congested areas, thus further aggravating and intensifying these unwholesome conditions;

(c) the population of one of every three

counties in the United States decreased during the past decade because industries expanded in already overcrowded and congested population centers thus denying equal opportunities for economic advancement in the less populated communities of our Nation;

(d) a more balanced distribution of our population and economic opportunities is needed to accommodate the anticipated population increase of more than one hundred million persons in the United States over the next half century; and

(e) a more even and practical geographical distribution of industrial growth and activity would reduce the continued concentration of industry and would stimulate the growth and development of less heavily populated sections of our country with a view toward providing a more diversified and better balanced distribution of our inhabitants and facilitating the restoration and protection of the quality of our environment, thus enhancing and enriching the lives of all Americans.

NATIONAL POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress declares that it shall be the national policy of the United States to encourage the distribution of future industrial growth, and its attendant expansion more evenly throughout the United States.

(b) In implementing this policy, all departments and agencies in the Executive Branch of the Government shall give preference, to the maximum extent practicable, to those areas which have a low concentration of population and industry, in—

(1) awarding Federal contracts for the purchase of equipment, goods, or services for use by any department or agency of the Federal Government to business and industry which will locate or relocate in such areas; and

(2) administering or implementing new and existing Government programs, particularly the multibillion-dollar Federal grant-in-aid programs.

(c) In further implementation of said national policy, all departments and agencies in the Executive Branch of the Government having responsibility for the development and administration of manpower training programs, financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government, shall take immediate steps to—

(1) direct or redirect such programs with a view toward providing a work force of the size, composition and quality to meet the manpower requirements of business and industry locating or relocating in areas having a low concentration of population and industry; and

(2) to insure, to the extent practicable, that such programs are designed to increase employment opportunities for those who are unable to obtain or maintain suitable employment and will serve to improve the economy by increasing productivity and facilitating the movement of the work force to the job.

DISSEMINATION OF POLICY

SEC. 3. The President shall issue appropriate directives to all departments, agencies and independent establishments in the Executive Branch of the Government of the United States, embodying the national policy set forth in section 2 of this Act, and shall require such departments, agencies and independent establishments to comply therewith, to the maximum extent that compliance is practicable and feasible.

AGENCY REVIEW

SEC. 4. (a) Each department, agency and independent establishment of the Executive Branch of the Government of the United States which is engaged in any activities or programs involving, or related to, those activ-

ities specified in subsections (b) and (c) of section 2 of this Act, shall, immediately following the effective date thereof, conduct a comprehensive review and analysis of all such activities in which it is engaged.

(b) Not later than 120 days following the effective date of this Act, each such department, agency and independent establishment shall file with the Comptroller General of the United States, in such form as he shall prescribe, a comprehensive report with respect to all such activities, accompanied by specific recommendations concerning the most effective means by which such programs and activities may be directed or redirected in compliance with the national policy set forth in section 2 of this Act.

(c) Following the submission of the initial report and recommendations required by subsection (b) of this section, each such department, agency and independent establishment shall make a continuing survey of the type required by subsection (a) of this section and report to the Comptroller General with respect to findings and recommendation at such times as the Comptroller General may designate.

ESTABLISHMENT OF BOARD

SEC. 5. (a) The Comptroller General of the United States is authorized and directed to establish in the General Accounting Office a Board for the Revitalization of Rural and Economically-Distressed Areas (in this Act referred to as the "Board"). The Board shall be composed of three officers of the General Accounting Office who shall be designated by the Comptroller General from among senior officers who are knowledgeable and experienced with respect to the subject matter of the national policy set forth in section 2 of this Act. Officers of the General Accounting Office who are so designated shall, to the maximum extent practicable, be relieved of all other duties.

(b) The Comptroller General shall make available to the Board, from available resources of the General Accounting Office, such professional and clerical assistance as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions and duties.

(c) There is authorized to be appropriated to the General Accounting Office such sum or sums as may be necessary to enable the Comptroller General to carry out the provisions of this Act.

DUTIES OF THE BOARD

SEC. 6. (a) The Board shall study and evaluate the reports and recommendations filed with the Comptroller General pursuant to section 4(b) of this Act, as well as all other pertinent materials, in order to determine whether the departments, agencies and independent establishments are complying with the national policy set forth in section 2 thereof and the requirements set forth in section 4 thereof.

(b) The Comptroller General shall report to the Congress, from time to time, with respect to the progress made by departments, agencies and independent establishments of the executive branch in complying with the national policy set forth in section 2 of this Act, and shall transmit to the Congress an annual report with respect thereto at the close of each fiscal year.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES DIRECTED TO FURNISH INFORMATION

SEC. 7. Subject to the requirements of national security, any department, agency, or independent establishment of the executive branch of the Government which is requested by the Comptroller General to furnish information, documents, or other pertinent materials to the Board is hereby authorized and directed to comply with all such requests. Failure to furnish information so requested shall be reported to the Congress at the earliest practicable time.

January 25, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 131

S. 18

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 is amended by inserting after section 702 the following new section:

"AUTHORIZATION FOR GRANTS TO RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

"SEC. 703. There are authorized to be appropriated to the Department \$30,000,000 for fiscal year 1972 to provide grants, under such terms and conditions as the Secretary considers appropriate, to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Except for funds appropriated under this section, no funds appropriated after the date of enactment of this section for any fiscal year, under this or any other provision of law, may be available to or for the use of Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty."

S. 19—INTRODUCTION OF A BILL TO AMEND THE EXPORT-IMPORT ACT OF 1948 RELATING TO STRENGTHENING THE FINANCING OF U.S. EXPORTS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I am introducing today a bill amending the Export-Import Bank Act to provide for the greater expansion of U.S. export trade.

The 92d Congress begins in an atmosphere of great uncertainty with respect to American foreign economic policies.

Only a few weeks have passed since we narrowly averted the passage of legislation which, I fully believe, would have ushered in a period of protectionism and growing economic isolation.

We are still faced with the kind of economic insecurity, borne of recession, which has historically found an outlet in an appeal to protection.

We are still faced with a deficit in the balance of payments, largely due to a persistent inflation which has dangerously narrowed our traditional trade surplus.

We are still—and will continue to be—faced with increasing economic competition from Europe and Japan—modern, industrialized economic giants capable of matching U.S. productivity in most products and beating us in many.

We will be faced more and more with increasing economic unity in Europe—a phenomenon which will pose great challenges to our trade negotiators in responsibly preserving the interests of U.S. workers, farmers, and businessmen.

Yet our trade picture is not without its bright spots, even at present, or without great potential in the years ahead. We are still the world's greatest trading Nation. Last year, even amid our inflation, our exports rose to some \$43 billion and our trade surplus increased to about \$2.7 billion. The protectionist momentum was broken, and the eyes of most Americans have turned from an unreasoning fear of foreign imports to the great promise of American exports. In this spirit, I think, we are once again looking to a vigorous expansion of exports to bring jobs to the American worker; income to American business, industry, and agriculture; and strength to the American dollar.

It is in that spirit which I offer this Export-Import Bank bill.

The Export-Import Bank is our major national institution designed to expedite export financing and to facilitate the sale of American goods through the provision of competitive credit rates and terms.

More and more, the key ingredient in international competition are the rates, terms, and other conditions of credit which can be attached to export sales. Since the Bank's inception, some \$35 billion in exports have been facilitated through the Bank programs, principally direct credits, guarantees and insurance, and discounting export paper.

Besides these major programs, the Bank, under the chairmanship of Henry Kearns, has begun a broad range of new programs and services, designed to make the Bank a more aggressive and responsive partner in U.S. exports while still complementing rather than substituting for the services of private financial institutions.

There are, however, a number of constraints on the Bank's operations which are increasingly limiting its capacity to serve U.S. exporters. The bill I am introducing today should, I believe, lift most if not all of these major constraints.

REMOVE THE BANK FROM THE CONSTRAINT OF THE UNIFIED BUDGET

Last December 18, the Senate passed S. 4268, a bill which would have removed the receipts and disbursements of the Ex-Im Bank from the unified budget and from the annual expenditure ceiling imposed by the Congress on this budget.

This was a measure which I was reluctant to endorse in the last Congress. The budget—the way it is presented and what it includes or excludes—is the rightful prerogative of the President. If there was a strong case for removing the Bank's net disbursements from the unified budget, this could and most properly should be done by the executive branch which first put the Government lending programs, including the Ex-Im Bank, into the unified budget in 1968. As an alternative, of course, constraints on the lending ability of the Bank could be removed or reduced simply through action of the Office of Management and Budget allocating to the Bank a larger share of the total budgetary pie.

I did not and cannot now, however, quarrel with the fact that the Export-Import Bank is now severely curtailed in its lending operations by the constraints imposed by the Office of Management and Budget; nor can I quarrel with the fact that these constraints in the coming budget will have a potentially disastrous impact on the Bank's ability to continue providing credit, guarantees, and insurance in furtherance of U.S. exports. In fact, officials of the Bank have said that new obligations will have to virtually cease by this spring without some form of relief.

Therefore, while I am disappointed in the continued unwillingness of the executive branch to bring about this relief, I feel that the Congress must do what it can to enable the Bank to continue operating and enlarging its role in the ex-

pansion of U.S. exports. This bill, incorporating S. 4268 of the 91st Congress, would remove the net disbursements of the Bank from the budget. At the same time, it will continue to require a budget for administrative expenses and program activities; it will require the President to report to the Congress the amount by which the congressionally imposed expenditure ceiling will be reduced by this exemption; and it will require a report from the President to the Congress on the effect of this exemption on the various operations of the Bank. I believe that this provision will, in fact, be of great benefit to the U.S. exporter, and will show the responsiveness of the Congress to the need for export expansion—notwithstanding the unwillingness of the administration to achieve these ends through the appropriate executive remedies.

INCREASE THE CEILING ON AGGREGATE LOANS, GUARANTEES, AND INSURANCE

Another impending constraint upon future Bank operations is the current ceiling of \$13.5 billion on outstanding loans, insurance, and guarantees. This bill would raise this ceiling to \$20 billion in order to allow for the continued expansion of Bank commitments and to expand Bank operations consistent with the vital expansion of U.S. export sales in the years ahead.

INSURING COMPETITIVE RATES AND TERMS FOR U.S. EXPORT CREDIT

Increasingly, our major international competitors have turned toward favorable credit as a device for winning sales in the world marketplace. Virtually all of our major trading partners have established export financing systems with direct or indirect governmental subsidies in order to provide the most favorable rates, terms, and other conditions of credit to facilitate their exports. As these nations are able to insulate export credit from their domestic credit markets, and as U.S. interest rates remain high due to the current tight money policies, U.S. export financing has increasingly been unable to compete with financing offered their exporters by France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Great Britain, or other of our major trading partners.

While it is the declared policy of the Export-Import Bank to insure that otherwise sound U.S. export sales are not lost due to insufficient credit, American banks and exporters are reporting that sales are, in fact, being so lost. While the market for export financing is exceedingly complex and the conditions of "internationally competitive" not easy to arrive at, there would appear to be value in an expression of congressional intent that the Ex-Im Bank insure—through all the devices at its disposal—that the American exporter be able to offer his potential customer all the conditions of credit, including rates of interest, terms of repayment, and other conditions, competitive with that which his foreign competitors are able to secure from their export credit institutions. This bill expresses such an intent of the Congress without, however, in any way tying the hands of the Export-Import Bank in the

ways in which it may continue to seek a fully competitive position.

THE INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF EXPORT CREDIT

At the same time as we seek to become more fully competitive in rates, terms, and other conditions of credit, we must recognize the futility and the grave dangers inherent in an international export credit war. Such a credit-war, in fact, would be little more defensible or productive than other forms of trade wars imposing quotas, tariffs, or other barriers upon imports.

Currently, there is a loose international agreement under the Berne Union to maintain orderly competition in world export financing. Like so many international agreements with similar purposes, however, the Berne Union has proven itself unable to deal with all the various aspects of competition in financing and has been totally unable to enforce its guidelines.

Without in any way stipulating the form of such an agreement, then, the bill adds to its "policy of the Congress" section a stipulation that the President seek to open negotiations toward such an international agreement in order to prevent a destructive world credit war.

REMOVAL OF ABSOLUTE PROHIBITIONS AGAINST EXPORT-IMPORT INVOLVEMENT IN TRADE WITH EASTERN EUROPE

Currently, the Export Import Bank is forbidden to participate in direct credits, guarantees, or insurance with the nations of Eastern Europe. Through the so-called Fino amendment adopted in the 90th Congress, the Bank cannot finance any exports bound for any nation which in turn carries on any trade with North Vietnam. By enjoining only trade carried out by "nations," this amendment allows Ex-Im participation in exports to Western Europe whose businesses or nationals carry on certain trade with any Socialist nation where the government technically carries on this trade, regardless of the nature or extent of that trade.

This restriction is an absolute anachronism and serves merely as an unnecessary harassment to U.S. firms seeking trade in peaceful, nonstrategic trade with East Europe.

We have laws, extensive regulations, and international agreements designed to keep any U.S. products out of Eastern Europe which could in any way contribute to the military potential of these nations or otherwise harm the national interest of the United States. If this is to be our policy—and I strongly endorse it—then there is no way to add to the strength or precision of these controls. A law designed to simply harass U.S. exports to Eastern Europe "across-the-board"—with no stipulation as to the nature of the exports or the wisdom of granting commercial credit in specific instances—is wholly unnecessary and is, in fact, inconsistent with declared congressional policy with respect to peaceful East-West trade.

The Export Administration Act, passed in December of 1969, clearly stated that it was the policy of the United States "to encourage trade with all countries with which such trade has

been determined by the President to be against the national interest."

Furthermore, this act directed the Department of Commerce to expedite trade in peaceful, nonstrategic goods with the nations of Eastern Europe in order to strengthen political ties, to further weaken the dependence of the Eastern European nations upon the Soviet Union, and to make our own controls more consistent with those of our Western allies.

To have begun—as we did by passage of the Export Administration Act—moving toward a more realistic policy with respect to East-West trade and yet to retain these across-the-board barriers upon the financing of such peaceful trade is economic, political, and strategic nonsense.

By removing the absolute restriction upon Ex-Im participation in East-West trade, there would, in fact, still be a prohibition against such participation within the Export-Import Bank Act as amended. This earlier prohibition, however, has a provision allowing the President discretion in exempting specific operations in specific sales where he finds these to be in the national interest and reports this to the Congress.

Surely, we cannot make ourselves more secure than through such a restriction, combined with the existing controls maintained upon exports to the nations of Eastern Europe. But by giving back to the President the discretion he once had in passing upon specific Ex-Im credits, guarantees, and insurance for certain exports to East Europe, we can facilitate the declared policy of the Congress and the administration to seek strengthened ties in peaceful trade with the nations of Eastern Europe.

EXTEND THE CHARTER OF THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

Finally, this bill extends the charter of the Bank, now to expire in 1973, to June 31, 1976. This is a clear expression of confidence in the functions provided by the Bank and will allow 5 more years of smooth, uninterrupted operations of this vital institution.

Mr. President, I think this legislation can do much to strengthen our Export-Import Bank and to allow for the greater expansion of U.S. exports. Other proposals and other legislation may be brought before us with other suggestions for strengthening the basic legislation. I would welcome such proposals, and I look forward to hearings in the Banking and Currency Committee where we might further examine the crucial topic of U.S. export financing. But I believe that most of the needed features are incorporated in the attached bill, and I would hope for speedy hearings and enactment.

I ask unanimous consent that this bill, to amend the Export-Import Bank Act to allow for the greater expansion of the export trade of the United States, be printed at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 19) to amend the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 to allow for greater expansion of the export trade of

the United States, to exclude Bank receipts and disbursements from the budget of the U.S. Government, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MONDALE, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 19

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 2 (b) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 (12 U.S.C. 635 (b)) is amended by adding at the end of paragraph (1) the following: "In the exercise of its functions the Bank shall, insofar as practicable, provide guarantees, insurance, and extensions of credit at rates and on terms and conditions which are reasonably competitive with the rates, terms, and other conditions applicable to the financing of exports from countries with which the United States carries on its principal trading relations."

(b) It is the sense of the Congress that the President should cause negotiations to be commenced at the earliest practicable date with those nations with which the United States carries on its principal trading relations with a view to entering into an international agreement or agreements for maintaining orderly completion in financing the sale in foreign countries of products and services with direct or indirect governmental assistance.

Sec. 2. Section 2(b) (3) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 (12 U.S.C. 635(b) (3)) is amended to read as follows:

"(3) The Bank shall not guarantee, insure, or extend credit, or participate in the extension of credit in connection with (A) the purchase of any product, technical data, or other information by a national or agency of any nation which engages in armed conflict, declared or otherwise, with the armed forces of the United States, or (B) the purchase by any nation (or national or agency thereof) of any product, technical data, or other information which is to be used principally by or in any such nation."

Sec. 3. Section 7 of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 (12 U.S.C. 635e) is amended by striking out "\$13,500,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$20,000,000,000".

Sec. 4. Section 8 of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 (12 U.S.C. 635f) is amended by striking out "1973" and inserting in lieu thereof "1976".

Sec. 5. (a) Section (a) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 (12 U.S.C. 635(a)) is amended—

(1) by inserting "(1)" immediately after "Sec. 2(a)"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) The receipts and disbursements of the Bank in the discharge of its functions shall not be included in the totals of the budget of the United States Government and shall be exempt from any annual expenditure and net lending (budget outlays) limitation imposed on the budget of the United States Government. In accordance with the provisions of the Government Corporation Control Act, the President shall transmit annually to the Congress a budget for program activities for administrative expenses of the Bank."

(b) The President shall—

(1) not later than January 31, 1972, report to the Congress the amount by which the annual expenditure and net lending limitation imposed on the budget of the United States Government by act of Congress will be reduced as a result of the amendment made by subsection (a); and

(2) not later than September 30, 1972, report to the Congress with respect to the effect of the amendment made by subsection

January 26, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

E 151

Though many of the Nixon policies have been devised in a crisis atmosphere—more so than the President had hoped before taking office—they have not been improvised in response to pressure from lower echelons. The strike into Cambodia was hurriedly planned, but only after due deliberation at the White House. The Sontay raid last November to liberate prisoners in North Vietnam was planned over many months.

Anger and anxiety at the White House cooled quickly when the opportunities for action seemed limited. The President, though he wanted to, did not retaliate for the shooting down of a spy plane by North Korea. Nor did he act on—or even betray—his private fears and sense of challenge when Chile elected a Marxist Government last fall.

As Mr. Nixon has recognized, he has allowed foreign economic policies to develop in chaotic patterns, often in opposition to his larger strategic purposes. A bold and imaginative foreign-aid program is the natural corollary of the Nixon doctrine, but little has been done to design a plan and to overcome the formidable political obstacles it would encounter.

MEETING MILITARY NEEDS

The difficult task of matching future military might to the nation's sense of danger and obligation around the world has only begun. Having dismantled Robert S. McNamara's civilian team of whiz-kid analysts at the Pentagon, the White House must now evolve its own machinery for weighing the rival claims of the military services. Only the most rudimentary efforts have been made to develop methods by which a President could truly reorder priorities and weigh military "necessities" against the most urgent domestic needs.

By concentrating control of foreign affairs at the White House, Mr. Nixon had also hoped to restore the public's confidence and to overcome what is called a President's credibility gap. He has fulfilled his pledges on troop withdrawal and has tried to be somewhat more open about remote operations in Laos and Cambodia. But the rules of engagement in Indochina have been a constant source of confusion and the larger effort to reconcile globalism with the popular yearning for retrenchment has produced much deliberate ambiguity that has left large segments of the public suspicious.

Congressional efforts to clarify policies and tactics have become more difficult in the Nixon years. The President has not generally taken even Republican members into his confidence, and more and more of the most important concepts and decisions have been made in staff offices, whose occupants are not subject to legislative oversight or questioning.

Since Presidential news conferences are rare these days, Mr. Nixon has had to account for his foreign policies only to the extent that he has deemed useful or necessary.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—
HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 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?

THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1971

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, our Nation is greatly concerned over what many persons have called the environmental crisis. Much of this concern centers on our coastal environment, and the future of these areas.

The Delaware Coast Press, a weekly newspaper published in Rehoboth Beach, Del., recently carried a very informative editorial that discussed many of these questions. As I believe this editorial has significance beyond my State, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extension of Remarks.

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

THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

One of the biggest problems today confronting Americans, and particularly those of us living in coastal lands or adjacent to inland waterways, is that created by prolonged pollution of water and air.

It is a problem that must be solved in this decade. It is a problem that must be of concern to all of us—not only as it relates to our health and well being, but in terms of the well being of future generations.

We must reverse—beginning right now—the abuse of our environment. We must take steps—now—to not only alleviate the existing crisis but to protect our natural resources against any repetition of those abuses that created it.

This problem must have high priority on the agendas of the new Congress and the Delaware General Assembly, and must receive the immediate attention of those who govern at county and municipal levels.

Virtually every governmental leader from the President on down has in recent months acknowledged the existence of an environmental crisis and promised support of existing or proposed plans aimed at solving this problem.

It is significant that, here in Delaware, a Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Control was the first cabinet-level department requested by Governor Russell W. Peterson and created by the Delaware Legislature. With its creation, Delaware, for the first time in its history, placed the essential aspects of our natural resources and environment under one "umbrella". Included are water and air resources, parks and forests, soil and water, and fish shellfish and wildlife.

This new department, with the cooperation of Delaware's professionally-staffed Planning Office, has already started to develop long-range environmental protection plans for our state.

A special Task Force on Marine Resources and Coastal Affairs, headed by Dr. James H. Wakelin, Jr., an internationally renowned oceanographer is even now working on a master plan for our coastal and bay areas which will provide the basis for managing Delaware's vital marine resources and our coastal areas.

In recent months, Governor Peterson and other leaders at state, county and municipal levels have spoken out in opposition to the locating of additional heavy industry near the Delaware River and Bay, and any further use of dune-lined coastal areas for any purpose that would adversely affect the ecology, the natural beauty or the anticipated greater public enjoyment of our beach lands.

Recently, too, the Rehoboth Beach Chamber of Commerce and the city's Mayor and

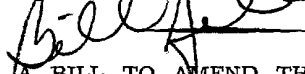
Board of Commissioners, following the example of their counterparts in southern New Jersey, have made strong protests against the continuation of the dumping by Philadelphia and other up-river cities of partially treated sewage in areas over the Delaware and New Jersey coasts.

These protests against offshore dumping have, incidentally, received the support of members of Congress from both Delaware and New Jersey and undoubtedly will be reflected in corrective measures that will be presented to the new Congress.

These protests will also be carefully considered by the Delaware General Assembly when it convenes this month. In fact, at this very moment, this area's elected members of the Delaware Legislature—Senator Thomas E. Hickman and Representative Harry E. Derickson—are attempting to arrange meetings with Governor Peterson, Attorney General Stabler, and legislative leaders of both houses and both parties, along with Austin N. Heller, secretary of the Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Control, Dr. Wakelin and others, for the purpose of having legislation drafted that will have as its basic purpose the curtailment of the offshore dumping sludge.

Members of various organizations, such as the Wildwood-based Stop Ocean Dumping Association, and the Delaware-based Save Our Shores group and the nationwide Sierra Club, are expending time, energy and dollars in the effort to alert public officials, at all levels, to the existing environmental crisis and to solicit their support of corrective and preventative measures.

We, as citizens rightly concerned about our environment and the future utilization and enjoyment of all these who are trying to correct the existing situation and to prevent repetition of the abuse that created it.



A BILL TO AMEND THE U.S. INFORMATION AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE ACT REGARDING FUNDS FOR RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1971

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill which would authorize funds for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. This is identical to the bill introduced in the other body by Senator CASE of New Jersey.

The purpose of this legislation is to prohibit the covert Government funding of these two supposedly privately funded organizations. In the last fiscal year alone, the Central Intelligence Agency provided these institutions with a total of over \$30 million for their operations. And yet although these funds came from the taxpayers' pockets, the Congress has never participated in their authorization. My bill would merely insure congressional oversight of the use of these funds, and by this, could hopefully insure a greater degree of objectivity in the broadcasts of the transmitters.

I urge that my colleagues think back to the recommendations of a 1967 Presidential Commission—including John Gardner, then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Richard Helms, then and now Director of the CIA, and Nicholas Katzenbach, then Under Secretary of State—that "no Federal agency shall

provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the Nation's educational or voluntary organizations" and that "no programs currently would justify any exception to this policy." President Johnson accepted these recommendations and directed that the Federal agencies involved implement them.

In my judgment, covert Government actions such as these do little to enhance the reputation of the United States as an honest and open democracy. The strength of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty broadcasts is in its independence. Any suggestion that these organizations are covertly or secretly operated impairs their credibility and is out of place in our free society. I think that the Congress now bears a responsibility to clarify the position of the United States in this regard; my bill accepts that responsibility.

IDEA OF REVENUE-SHARING SUPPORTED BY 77 PERCENT OF PUBLIC

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1971

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Dr. George Gallup's latest poll shows that 77 percent of the public support the concept of revenue sharing. What is particularly significant in Dr. Gallup's findings is that this support cuts across party lines: Republicans—81 percent; Democrats—77 percent; and independents—73 percent.

Revenue sharing received major emphasis in President Nixon's recent state of the Union message. I am hopeful that when the Congress considers the President's proposal it will keep in mind the fact that the majority of Americans favor this plan.

I include in the RECORD at this point the Gallup poll to which I have referred: [From the Baltimore Sun, Jan. 24, 1971]

IDEA OF REVENUE-SHARING SUPPORTED BY 77 PERCENT OF PUBLIC (By George Gallup)

PRINCETON, N.J.—Although President Nixon's plan to share federal income tax receipts with state and local governments may face rough sledding in Congress, the concept has the overwhelming support of the American people.

A Gallup survey of the nation's adults conducted January 9-10 finds 77 per cent of the public in support of the concept of revenue sharing, with only 14 per cent opposed. Nine per cent did not express an opinion.

Public support for the revenue sharing idea has reached its highest point to date, with the percentage in favor up 6 points from a measurement taken two years ago.

BIPARTISAN SUPPORT

Favorable reaction to the concept cuts across party lines, with large majorities of rank-and-file Democrats (77 per cent) Republicans (81 per cent), and Independents (73 per cent) in favor of the plan.

In his state of the union message yesterday, the President made a strong plea for revenue sharing.

The plan would give a small percentage of federal income tax receipts to state and local governments.

This would represent a basic shift from the present practice of rigidly allocated federal grants to states and municipalities for welfare, hospitals, housing, highways and other programs.

The idea of revenue sharing was first advanced in 1964 by Walter Heller, then chairman of President Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers.

PRO AND CON

Congressional proponents of revenue sharing argue that the program would halt the increasing centralization of power in Washington.

Others support the idea in the belief that state and local governments are closer to the social and economic problems for which money is needed.

Opponents of the plan in Congress believe that state governments are no more likely to be efficient in dealing with social and economic problems than the federal government has been.

The thinking of the man-in-the-street is indicated by the following comments recorded in the survey:

"Housing, road construction, education—problems like these—are really all local problems. I can't see why the federal government has to get involved with huge programs that often don't work." This was the view of a 36-year-old tax appraiser.

A laboratory technician commented: "I'm against the idea of revenue sharing until I see rigid guidelines as to how the money is to be spent. The possibility of state and local corruption could greatly increase with all that money to be used."

In the latest survey a total of 1,502 adults were interviewed in person in more than 300 scientifically selected areas of the nation during the period of January 9-10.

The following question has been asked of representative samples of the nation's adults five times during the last four years to determine attitudes on revenue sharing:

It has been suggested that 3 per cent of the money which Washington collects in federal income taxes be returned to the states and local governments to be used by these states and local governments as they see fit. Do you favor or oppose this idea?

(The 3 per cent figure in the question is based on plans that had been proposed prior to President Nixon's State of the Union message.)

The latest results and those from earlier polls follow:

	[In percent]		
	Favor plan	Oppose plan	No opinion
January 1967.....	70	18	12
April 1967.....	70	15	15
July 1967.....	72	17	11
January 1969.....	77	14	9
Latest.....	77	14	9

MAYORS' OPINIONS

Gallup Poll editors sought the views of mayors of 20 large cities on the subject of tax sharing. The mayors interviewed were in general agreement that anything to help the cities would be welcome, but some expressed concern that the money might not get to the cities that need it most because of state and local "red tape."

The views of Mayor William J. Ensign of Toledo, Ohio, typify the attitudes of many of the urban mayors contacted:

"Any means by which some of the local money now going to Washington can be returned to your cities and states would be a welcome relief. The President's proposal

sounds good, but I would like to see a lot more cash and much less conversation.

"Cities such as Toledo cannot survive under their present financing formulas. A revenue sharing plan, minus the usual strings and red tape, could mean the difference between satisfactory municipal services (police, fire, sanitation) and continued municipal problems."

MICHIGAN'S GOVERNOR MILLIKIN CALLS FOR "A NEW POLITICS"

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, earlier this month Gov. William G. Millikin, of Michigan, one of the Nation's outstanding public officials, addressed the Ripon Society's eighth anniversary dinner in Chicago.

Governor Millikin, who is vice chairman of the Republican Governors Association, discussed challenges facing the American people and called for "a new politics."

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Governor Millikin's address be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

ADDRESS BY GOV. WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN

I'm delighted to be here—and delighted that you thought enough of governors to invite two of us to talk about the state of the States on the national scene. There's a lot of talk these days that governors don't really count on the national political scene.

Governors, as public opinion analyst Samuel Lubell bluntly told us at the recent Republican Governors' Conference, are among the more expendable commodities in the political marketplace.

"You are expendables," he said, "the GI's on the ground fighting to take Sales Tax Hill or Income Tax Hill. The voters are likely to turn against you if you take those hills, but they are also likely to turn against you if social deterioration spreads still further."

Voters did turn against Republican governors in 1970 and could turn against Republicans in 1972 by the millions unless we start a new and more positive approach. The net loss of 11 governorships in November was a serious setback for the Republican Party and underscores the need for a new National Strategy in which we reconcile our differences, unite in common purpose to formulate workable solutions to mounting problems, and reject any attempt—however appealing it might be in the short run—to write off any section or any group within our country.

The Republican setback in this section of the country, the Midwest, demonstrated the urgency of unifying our party and broadening its base. In a 10-state Midwest region, we had only two winning Republican candidates for Governor, and the congressional and legislative outcomes in this great heartland were devastating.

To win, we must be united.

We're a minority party, one that cannot afford to have feuding factions going into an election. Debate, yes; division, no.

We would have lost the Governor's office in Michigan if Republicans had not closed ranks.

We should be closing ranks across the country, including Illinois.