

S. 3637 raises a host of other questions of both principle and practice. It would require that broadcasters charge candidates no more than the lowest unit charge of the station for comparable time. This is tantamount to rate-setting by statute and represents a radical departure for the Congress which has traditionally abhorred any attempt to establish rates by legislation.

Among the other questions raised and left unanswered are these: How would expenditures of various individuals and organizations not directly connected with the candidate be charged? Would they be considered part of a candidate's allowed total expenditure, even if they were beyond the candidate's control? And how would money spent by a committee opposing a candidate be accounted? Would it be included in the total for that candidate's opponent, even though spent without his consent or control? This bill does not effectively limit the purchase of television time to oppose a candidate.

In the end, enforcement of the expenditure limitation would in most cases occur after the election. This raises the possibility of confusion and chaos as elections come to be challenged for violation of S. 3637 and the cases are still unresolved when the day arrives on which the winning candidate should take office.

There is another issue here which is perhaps the most important of all. An honored part of the American political tradition is that any little known but highly qualified citizen has the opportunity to seek and ultimately win elective office. This bill would strike a serious blow at that tradition. The incumbent—because he has a natural avenue of public attention through the news media in the conduct of his office—would have an immeasurable advantage over the "out" who was trying to get in. The only others who would share part of this advantage would be those whose names were well-known for some other reason.

What we have in S. 3637 is a good aim, gone amiss. Nearly everyone who is active or interested in the political process wants to find some way to limit the crushing and growing cost of political campaigning. But this legislation is worse than no answer to the problem—it is a wrong answer.

I urge that the Congress continue to analyze and consider ways to reach this goal through legislation which will not restrict freedom of discussion, will not discriminate against any communications medium, will not tend to freeze incumbents in office, will not favor the famed over the worthy but little-known, will not risk confusion and chaos in our election process and will not promote more rather than less campaign spending. Such legislation will have to be far better than S. 3637.

I am as opposed to big spending in campaigns as I am to big spending in government. But before we tamper with something as fundamental as the electoral process, we must be certain that we never give the celebrity an advantage over an unknown, or the officeholder an extra advantage over the challenger.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, October 12, 1970.

ADJOURNMENT TO 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 21 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, October 13, 1970, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 12, 1970:

U.S. ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

The following-named persons to be members of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for terms expiring May 11, 1973:

Dr. Homer Daniels Babbidge, Jr., of Connecticut.

Dr. Martha B. Lucas Pate, of Connecticut.

CALIFORNIA DEBRIS COMMISSION

Col. James C. Donovan, Corps of Engineers, to be a member of the California Debris Commission, under the provisions of section 1 of the act of Congress approved March 1, 1893 (27 Stat. 507) (33 U.S.C. 661), vice (P) Col. George B. Fink, Corps of Engineers; resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 12, 1970:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS

DeWitt S. Hyde, of Maryland, to be an associate judge of the District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of years prescribed by Public Law 91-358, approved July 29, 1970.

Dyer Justice Taylor, of Virginia, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for term of 15 years, as prescribed by Public Law 91-358, approved July 29, 1970.

Normale Holloway Johnson, of Washington, D.C., to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years, as prescribed by Public Law 91-358, approved July 29, 1970.

Leonard Braman, of Maryland, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years, as prescribed by Public Law 91-358, approved July 29, 1970.

Paul F. McArdle, of Maryland, to be an associate judge of the District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years, as prescribed by Public Law 91-358, approved July 29, 1970.

Sylvia A. Bacon, of the District of Columbia, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years.

John F. Doyle, of Maryland, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years.

Eugene N. Hamilton, of Maryland, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years.

Stanley S. Harris, of Maryland, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years.

Theodore R. Newman, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years.

Nicholas S. Nunzio, of Maryland, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years.

John G. Penn, of Maryland, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years.

George H. Revercomb, of Virginia, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years.

William E. Stewart, Jr., of Maryland, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of 15 years.

James A. Washington, Jr., of Maryland, to be an associate judge, District of Columbia court of general sessions, for the term of years prescribed by Public Law 91-358, approved July 29, 1970.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

VFW NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ACTS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on September 28 and 29, 1970, the National Legislative Committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States met here in Washington. This key committee of the 1,600,000-member veterans organization drew veterans leaders from throughout the Nation to review

scores of resolutions approved by delegates to the Miami Beach, Fla., convention last August. It was during this convention that the more than 13,000 delegates elected Herbert R. Rainwater of San Bernardino, Calif., as their national commander in chief.

This VFW leader, known to his friends and comrades as Chief Rainwater, has a long and enviable record of service to our country and to those who have taken up arms in defense. Chief Rainwater has been in office now a little over a month and is currently on a worldwide factfinding trip that will take him into more than 15 countries. One of his major goals is

seeking the release of American prisoners of war being held captive by Communist forces. With him go our blessings and a prayer that the 3 million signatures on petitions for the POW's release compiled by members of the VFW will impress the Communist leaders with the concern of Americans everywhere for those being held in captivity under inhuman conditions.

There can be little doubt from this that the VFW will be an even better organization under his dynamic leadership during the year ahead. Shortly before he left for overseas, Rainwater appointed members to the legislation committee.

These appointments are a good example of his ability to select those who will do the best job.

The main purpose of the meeting of the National Legislative Committee was to recommend a priority legislative program for this year. In addition, the committee unanimously approved a resolution that encompasses many of the objectives and concerns the VFW has experienced respecting its legislative program this past year and including approval of pending veterans legislation in this 91st Congress.

I am particularly pleased that the Veterans of Foreign Wars has extended its high commendation to the Congress for its efforts, which have resulted in \$155 million being added to the VA hospital appropriation for this year, as provided in the vetoed Independent Offices appropriation bill.

The leadership and support of the Veterans of Foreign Wars has been crucial in helping to obtain congressional approval of a large number of veterans' measures, and especially additional funds and personnel for VA hospitals.

Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Foreign Wars resolution recommended by its National Legislative Committee and approved by Commander in Chief Rainwater includes many of the current legislative concerns of this great organization, and I commend my colleagues' attention to it:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the National Legislative Committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in its meeting of September 26-27, 1970 reviewed the status of all veterans' legislation considered and approved during the 91st Congress, and

Whereas, the record indicated that the 91st Congress has initiated, favorably considered, and approved a large number of veterans' bills, and

Whereas, the 91st Congress has under active consideration other very important bills which are aimed at helping veterans of the Vietnam war and veterans of previous wars, and

Whereas, practically all veterans' legislation was or is being opposed by the Administration, including legislation to update and improve major veterans' programs in need of immediate attention, and

Whereas, the President in a special message to Congress entitled "Federal Economy Act of 1970" has requested the Congress to eliminate compensation payments for residuals of service-connected TB and the \$250 burial allowance to which every veteran is entitled, and

Whereas, Administration spokesmen continuously rejected additional funds and personnel recommended by the Congress for VA hospital and medical care despite overwhelming evidence of deteriorating conditions and service in VA hospitals obtained by V.F.W., House Veterans' Affairs Committee, and Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and

Whereas, the 91st Congress has approved an appropriation bill for veterans' programs for 1971, which included an extra \$105 million added by the Congress for VA hospitals, which appropriation bill was vetoed by the President, and

Whereas, the President has stated to Commander-in-Chief Rainwater that he has no objection to the extra \$105 million added by the Congress for VA hospitals for 1971, and

Whereas, the President stated to Commander-in-Chief Rainwater that the extra \$105 million for VA hospitals was not a factor in his decision to veto the Independent Offices Appropriation bill for 1971;

Now, therefore be it resolved, by the National Legislative Committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars that the veteran who has fought on the battlefield and returns home is special and deserves the highest consideration; that, accordingly, there should be an order of priorities by the Administration to assure there will be no unreasonable budgetary or personnel restrictions on programs to help veterans regain their health and make their way back to civilian society, and further that the Veterans Administration should have the same national priority for personnel and funds as the agencies which bear the brunt of the war—for the Veterans Administration is the one single agency of Government responsible for taking care of the aftermath of war; and

Be it further resolved, that Commander-in-Chief Rainwater continue the unrelenting campaign of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to have the deteriorating conditions to veterans' hospitals eliminated at the earliest possible time with the ultimate objective that each of the 166 VA hospitals can once again truthfully state that the hospital care being provided in all VA hospitals is second to none; and

Be it further resolved, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars continue its insistence that compensation, pension, and GI training and educational programs keep up with cost of living increases, that entitlement to GI home loan assistance be restored to World War II veterans; that there be established at least one national cemetery in every state under the jurisdiction of the Veterans Administration; veterans' burial allowances be increased, and that the GI home loan program be made to function in the same magnitude and effectiveness as it did for veterans of previous wars, and the most important unfinished business for the 91st Congress—Senate approval of the veterans' pension bill with its increase in payments and income limitations to assure that no veterans, widow, or dependent parent who received a 15% increase in social security payments, beginning January 1, 1970, will lose any of his VA pension, and

Be it further resolved, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars express its high commendation to the Congress for restoring most of the recommended Administration cuts to the 1970 hospital budget and adding an additional \$7 million to the 1970 VA hospital budget and \$105 million to the 1971 VA hospital budget and that appropriate action be taken by Commander-in-Chief Rainwater and his National Legislative staff to urge the Congress to approve a second 1971 VA appropriation bill not less than the one vetoed by the President, and

Be it further resolved, that Commander-in-Chief Rainwater and the more than 1,600,000 members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States extend every effort to obtain Administration support on veterans' legislation and adequate funds and personnel for VA hospitals, as contained in the mandates approved by the delegates to the recently-concluded Miami Beach National Convention.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, 1970-71

Chairman: John J. Stang, Kansas.

Vice Chairman: Ted C. Connell, Texas; Robert E. Hansen, Minnesota; John W. Mahan, Virginia; and Timothy J. Murphy, Massachusetts.

Members: Ray R. Allen, Illinois; Vern Anderson, Minnesota; Ray H. Brannaman, Colorado; Mark D. Buchheit, Iowa; Jerry H. Cooper, Colorado; Charles C. Ford, Texas; Leonard E. Friedlander, New York; Morton Fromm, Pennsylvania; Frank G. Hahn, New Jersey; Olen E. Holmes, Maine; Oscar B. Jones, Texas; Samuel E. Leman, Indiana; W. Leroy Maddox, Maryland; Telfair J. Mashburn, Alabama; Edwin L. Myers, California; Lowell H. Norris, Pennsylvania; Richard E.

Ress, Ohio; Frank H. Rice, Illinois; Richard L. Roudebush, Indiana; James E. Van Zandt, Virginia; Gene Walker, Tennessee; Joseph R. Walsh, Alaska; and Joe T. Wood, Georgia.

Director of National Legislative Service: Francis W. Stover, Washington, D.C.

BREZHNEV'S NEW DOCTRINE

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, an article by Mr. Walter Darnell Jacobs, assistant professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland, which appeared in the October issue of *Military Review* published by the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, is extremely interesting. Mr. Jacobs analyzes the strategy currently being employed against the non-Communist world by the Soviet Union with specific reference to the main target of this strategy—the United States.

Mr. Jacobs does a very good job of succinctly outlining the main tenets of what he refers to as the real Brezhnev Doctrine. "Brezhnev," he says, "is stressing the 'assault on capitalism inside its own citadels' due to the tremendous success which the Soviets have had in linking their proxy war in Southeast Asia with the unarmed struggle in the United States."

The politicalization, organization, and guidance of significant segments of American citizens, especially young adults, using the war in Vietnam as a focal point is of strategic significance to the Soviets.

Mr. Jacob's analysis would be borne out by the fact that at the meeting of international Communist and workers parties in Moscow, which took place in June of 1969, the Communists shifted their order of priorities from the order in which it had been established at the previous meeting of the international Communist movement in 1960. In 1960 the order of concentration was first, world socialist system—Soviet Union and appendages—second, wars of national liberation, and third, Communist parties in the advanced nations. In 1969 this was changed with the Communist parties in the advanced capitalist nations replacing wars of national liberation as the No. 2 area of interest. The Soviet motherland always comes first.

For those who are interested in reading an explanation for the reason for this shift from the Communist point of view I would refer you to the speech made by the delegate from Morocco at the international meeting in 1969. He explains the necessity for this change to his comrades from the third world area.

Mr. Jacobs article follows:

BREZHNEV'S NEW DOCTRINE

(By Walter Darnell Jacobs)

Leonid I. Brezhnev apparently has consolidated his hold on the levers of power in the Soviet Union. His installation as the unquestioned leader has been accompanied by an attempt to elevate him to the lofty ranks of the classicists of Marxism-Leninism.

The image of Brezhnev alongside Karl Marx, V. I. Lenin, and other "greats" of communism as a theorist and as an originator of operational ideology may be a difficult picture for some observers to accept. However, Brezhnev has made a contribution to the ideology which could rank with Marx' ideas on exploitation and alienation, with Lenin's theories of imperialism and revolutionary organization, and with Nikita S. Khrushchev's formulas on peaceful coexistence and about "no fatal inevitability" of war.

The Brezhnev contribution is the theory of the "assault on capitalism inside its own citadels." This, and not the earlier, so-called "Brezhnev doctrine" which allowed for intervention in other "Socialist" countries, or for their "limited sovereignty," is the true Brezhnev doctrine. It is a major contribution to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and now is a major part of current Soviet operational strategy.

While Brezhnev rejects none of the earlier classical Marxist-Leninist ideas—imperialism, exploitation, and peaceful coexistence—he translates them all to terms of the 1970's and conceives of them as support for his theory of the "assault on capitalism inside its own citadels."

Brezhnev has completely reinterpreted the theory of peaceful coexistence in the years following his ouster of Khrushchev. To Khrushchev, the theory of peaceful coexistence was based on the idea that the "camp of socialism" was strong and getting stronger. The camp of imperialism was weak and getting weaker. Khrushchev thought that some of the more advanced elements inside the camp of imperialism could see this situation and might draw the necessary conclusions. These conclusions would be, so he thought, that the Socialists were going to win and that resistance was pointless.

VICTORY WITHOUT WAR

The result, in the Khrushchev view, was that victory would come to the Socialists without war—or could come without war. The advanced elements inside the Capitalist camp could, therefore, decide to accept socialism without fighting for their survival. Thus, Khrushchev's theory of peaceful coexistence envisioned the possibility of victory without war and, since war in the nuclear era might be so costly, operated on the theory that wars were no longer fatally inevitable.

The Khrushchev theory of peaceful coexistence was attacked by the Chinese Communists as a deal with the imperialists for the division of the world and as a revisionist failure to exploit the possibilities for revolution represented by Soviet strength.

The Brezhnev rewrite of the Khrushchev theory of peaceful coexistence is neither so crude as the Chinese argument nor so sanguine as the original Khrushchev idea.

DIFFERENT CONCLUSIONS

To Brezhnev, the possibility of Socialist victory without war is still present. He draws different conclusions from that hypothesis than did Khrushchev. Brezhnev also rejects the Chinese argument that the Soviet Union is failing to utilize and exploit its strength in dealing with the imperialists, and especially with the United States. In addition, Brezhnev finds nothing revisionist, and certainly nothing suggesting alliance with the imperialists, in his version of peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence, said Brezhnev in June 1969 to a meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow:

"... creates the most favorable conditions for building the new society in socialist countries, and for developing the revolutionary and liberation movement."

Peaceful coexistence, to Brezhnev, is "a necessary element of the strategy of the international proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism." In

short, Brezhnev views "peaceful coexistence" as a part of the revolutionary armament of the Communist movement in its struggle to implant Socialist governments everywhere in the world.

An article in *Kommunist*, 18 November 1969, elaborated on the Brezhnev version of peaceful coexistence:

"The peaceful coexistence policy is a special form of class struggle in the international arena. Far from restraining the revolutionary struggle, it in fact promotes its upswing. The peaceful coexistence principle does not apply—and cannot apply—to the class struggle within the capitalist countries, to the ideological battles, and to the fight of the oppressed peoples against their oppressors."

This version of the principle of peaceful coexistence is basic to the new Brezhnev doctrine. The other elements of preliminary support to the new Brezhnev doctrine are the theories of the national liberation movement and of the inevitability of Communist victory in history.

Neither of these two theories is new with Brezhnev. He has retained them from past Communist leaders such as Khrushchev and Lenin, but has refurbished them for the new conditions of the 1970's. In the Brezhnev view, the national liberation movement is successful in Vietnam and elsewhere so long as it keeps the "imperialists" from winning and so long as it brings new recruits to the side of the international revolutionary movement.

Communist leadership and domination of the national liberation movement can come at its early stages or later—it is not so important just when the leadership of the Communists is established as it is that Communist leadership definitely will be established. The theory of the inevitability of Communist victory has been used by Brezhnev to mean that temporary alliance with imperialists—or even temporary concessions—are acceptable. Victory, after all, is coming so that Communists should not be afraid of dealing on a tactical basis with their opponents.

These three elements, then—the new version of the peaceful coexistence policy, the new version of the national liberation movement, and the continuation of the theory of inevitable Communist victory—form the supporting framework of the new Brezhnev doctrine.

On this supporting framework, Brezhnev posits his new doctrine. It can be stated as follows:

"The 1970s are the time when the citadels of capitalism can be assaulted from within. This assault should not be conceived of as the only method of waging revolutionary war. It is, however, now possible to wage such war inside the citadels of imperialism where it has been impossible or adventurist in the past. With the other capabilities of the International proletarian revolution, the assault on the citadels of capitalism from within will lead us to the inevitable victory."

Because the new Brezhnev doctrine carries such pregnant implications for the security of the countries of the West and because it is so little understood, or even acknowledged, by Western leaders, it should be examined in some detail.

NEED FOR UNITY

The leading Brezhnev elaboration of the doctrine was made in his June 1969 speech entitled, "For Greater Unity of Communists, for a Fresh Upsurge of Anti-Imperialist Struggle." Brezhnev spent some time talking about the need for unity in the movement which, of course, meant settling the dispute with China. He declared that this was a great aim for Communists, but that Communists could not wait for its solution before achieving a "fresh upsurge" in the anti-imperialist struggle. That struggle was overriding, he declared, and without China now, or with China later, it must go forward.

Brezhnev then talked about some of the new possibilities in the anti-imperialist struggle. He declared:

Comrades, one of the decisive sectors of the anti-imperialist struggle naturally runs through the capitalist countries themselves. The blows which the revolutionary forces are dealing imperialism in its very citadels are highly important for the whole of world development. The 1960s have introduced many new elements in the front of the struggle as well.

Brezhnev's ensuing discussion made it clear that he was talking not only about those "blows" which resulted from actions by Communist-led or Communist-dominated movements. He was considering, also, actions by the workers and by others who are disaffected with the Capitalist system. He said that the era of social peace was ended for all time in the Capitalist countries.

VICTIMS OF ILLUSION

Brezhnev also discussed those inside the "citadels of imperialism" who thought that change might be worked within the system by reform. He declared that these persons were victims of illusion:

"Quite a few people in many capitalist countries fall captive to these illusions. It is, after all, a fact, for instance, that at election time a sizable section of the workers cast their votes for capitalist candidates and their placement. But for all the machinations of the capitalists, the social struggle in the 1960s showed signs of shifts in favor of the revolutionary forces whose importance it is hard to exaggerate."

Brezhnev described these shifts in favor of the revolution as a sharp increase in the popular pressure for social change, and the intertwining of this with the class struggle. He also tied the popular pressure for change to action against the imperialists' military gambles, against the resurgence of fascism, and to other customary Communist slogans.

He discovered an antagonism between "imperialism, which intensifies social oppression and rejects democracy" and the people. He talked about "explosions" inside the United States which, he said, could be set off by a very small spark. He drew the appropriate "revolutionary" conclusion from his analysis of these events:

"Such explosions are becoming ever more frequent everywhere, including the United States, where the most acute social contradictions, the struggle against the war in Vietnam, and the fight for Negro civil rights are tangled in a tight knot."

Brezhnev's analysis of the situation inside the citadels of imperialism stressed the "violent forms of social protest" and the inability of the leaders of the imperialist system to deal with the protest. It is not without its significance that Brezhnev considered the most important trend of a revolutionary potential to be the tying together of the anti-Vietnam war movement and the civil rights movement.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

Brezhnev could easily have foreseen, as could many other observers, that attempts to organize social protest around the banner of ecology or antipollution or some other equally honorable but innocuous cause would be futile. Brezhnev recognized that social protest with a revolutionary protest must base itself on an issue which brought the entire system and its values into question.

Brezhnev said that the working class, in the conditions inside the United States or inside the citadels of imperialism which he had described, was being actively joined "ever more frequently [by] broad masses of peasant, intellectuals, white-collar workers, students and middle strata of the urban population." This was his way of saying, among other things, that the revolutionary actions of these non-Communist groups might be led, eventually, by the Communists and, until that time came, that the revolu-

tionary actions of peasants, intellectuals, and students should be recognized for the revolutionary content that they might have.

Brezhnev, as an experienced revolutionary leader, was not about to overestimate the importance of these types of actions, whatever their revolutionary potential in the long run. At the same time, he was not going to ignore or underrate the value of the actions in creating present or future problems for the leaders of the Capitalist countries. Brezhnev explained:

"In these conditions, it is inevitable that elements of surprise and spontaneity should arise in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle in the advanced capitalist countries. Experience shows that in such a situation special importance attaches to the problem of relations between the working class and its allies. This is a question both of jointly taking various concrete political actions and of planning long-term cooperation on a mutually acceptable basis."

UNDESIRABLE TRAITS

Surprise and spontaneity are undesirable traits in a revolutionary movement but must be accepted, Brezhnev is arguing, until such time as the "working class"—for example, the Communists—can gain effective control of the movement. In the meantime, specific political actions can be undertaken and long-term cooperation begun. This Brezhnev analysis sounds more like specific instructions to a disciplined subordinate group than like a simple analysis of events. It sounds like a detailed plan for action and little like a cold, objective analysis of what is going on. Brezhnev claims that:

"... the requisites are emerging for uniting all democratic trends in a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role of the monopolies in the economy of the countries, putting an end to big capital rule and carrying out fundamental transformation which could ensure favorable conditions for the struggle for socialism."

To Brezhnev, the working class is the leading force of the political alliance and the only class capable of leading the alliance. Brezhnev tells how the working class or, in his vocabulary, the Communists, should work among "the most diverse mass organizations" including cooperatives, sports clubs, and "democratic circles of religious bodies taking part in the struggle for peace."

TROUBLESOME YOUTH

He makes clear that he recognizes the dangers of the alliance led by the working class. The dangers come from the nature of the allies. The peasants tend to be reliable allies, but must be led and motivated. The intelligentsia is suspect unless it is closely associated with the workers. Still, these and other groups should be admitted into the alliance because they can further the revolutionary movement. An especially troublesome ally is the youth.

Brezhnev recognizes the potential of the youth—but also their drawbacks. He said:

"It is natural that the fraternal parties now devote considerable attention to work among young people. It is a fact after all that the rising generation in the capitalist countries, including the students, is in revolutionary ferment."

Brezhnev recognized, at the same time, that the youth of our affluent society are not well disciplined. This can be overcome, he claimed, once "the young fighters against imperialism have mastered the theory of scientific socialism and have acquired experience in class battles."

With these caveats, Brezhnev concluded his analysis. "There is," he insisted, "every indication that the possibilities of the anti-imperialist struggle are extending." He said that on these possibilities "will largely depend world development in the closing third of the twentieth century." He concluded with the following promise:

"One cannot fail to see that not only the material but also the socio-political conditions are maturing for a revolutionary replacement of capitalism with the new social system, for socialist revolutions. By closing the ranks of staunch revolutionaries, carrying Marxist-Leninist ideology into the midst of the working-class masses, and rallying the allies of the working class round it, Communists fulfill their historic mission in the struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism."

This is one area where Brezhnev and Mao Tse-tung seem to agree. If not so explicit as Brezhnev, Mao Tse-tung also has recognized the revolutionary potential of the movement inside the citadels of capitalism. After the demonstrations in this country following the decision by President Richard M. Nixon to send troops temporarily into Cambodia, Mao, in his speech of 20 May 1970, spoke of a "fresh upsurge in the struggle against United States imperialism" and noted that "Nixon's fascist atrocities have kindled the raging flames of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States."

The differences in the approaches of Leonid Brezhnev and Mao Tse-tung, if they must be sought, are found in the fact that Brezhnev disposes a complete and closed theory while Mao only issues exhortations and rallying cries. The Mao approach is no less real thereby as it is, in all probability, supported by a considerable network of agents and organizations both inside "the citadels of imperialism" and outside.

Still, the Brezhnev approach is undoubtedly more dangerous for United States and Western planners of national security policy because the Brezhnev approach is fully orchestrated and supported by an integrated military-political-industrial-agitational machine. That integrated machine is at the disposal of Brezhnev and is responsive to his commands.

The new Brezhnev doctrine recalls, in many particulars, the elaboration of the doctrine of wars of national liberation by Khrushchev in 1960 and 1961. At that time, Khrushchev had devised a method of weakening imperialism and furthering the cause of revolution without, at the same time, coming up against the great strength of the countries of the West.

Khrushchev's doctrine of national liberation wars was described in detail in a speech that President John F. Kennedy made required reading for all leading members of his administration. President Kennedy was, indeed, prescient in foreseeing that the national liberation doctrine would be the major problem of the 1960's. It was that. It remains a major problem of the 1970's.

The success of the Khrushchev doctrine of national liberation wars made possible the posting of the Brezhnev doctrine of the assault on capitalism from within.

Neither the Khrushchev doctrine nor the Brezhnev doctrine would have pertinence to the United States and to the West without the full-hearted and vigorous support of these doctrines by the Soviet leaders. With such support, the doctrine of national liberation wars has created a problem for which the United States has not yet devised a satisfactory and enduring answer. With that support, the doctrine of the assault on capitalism from within raises new security problems.

It is true that the two doctrines are recursive. The Brezhnev doctrine would be ineffective and of limited concern if a solution to the national liberation wars were at hand.

Until such a time as the national liberation war problem is solved, the new problem must be faced. The problems posed by the new Brezhnev doctrine are exacerbated by each internal disturbance, by each riot on campus, and by each massive demonstration against the leaders within our system.

The Brezhnev doctrine is by no means invincible. It is, rather, very susceptible to

defeat. It will not, however, be defeated by ignoring its existence or by suggesting that it has been based on a faulty analysis of events inside the citadels of capitalism. The doctrine deserves examination, consideration, and a close study by all military and political leaders in the West.

PROBLEMS IN THE TAX REFORM ACT OF 1969 WHICH NEED ATTENTION

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I recently introduced legislation to amend the Tax Reform Act of 1969. The following article from the Christian Science Monitor illustrates some of the problems in the act which need attention.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 21, 1970]

TAX WATCHER: ADVOCATE OF EQUITABLE TAXATION WARNS OF ABUSES ENTRENCHMENT

(By David R. Francis)

WASHINGTON.—"When it comes to federal tax matters," says Thomas F. Field, "our system of government is better described as a corporate oligarchy than as a democracy."

That's a strong charge. But Mr. Field knows this nation's tax system well. Until early in 1970 he was an attorney-adviser on tax affairs in the Treasury. He has sat through many administrative hearings on tax issues. He has observed how the congressional tax committees meeting in closed sessions give tax breaks to special-interest lobbyists whose bosses are key campaign contributors.

Mr. Field left the Treasury to form a non-profit group of attorneys and economists calling themselves Taxation With Representation. He regards the body as a "public-interest tax lobby."

Indeed, the United States tax system is so shot through with loopholes that one wag has said, "If you think taxation without representation is bad, you should see it with representation!"

TAX SYSTEM ASSAILED

Mr. Field blasts the tax system in a speech prepared for delivery at the National Tax Association's annual convention in Honolulu.

Mr. Field makes it clear that the Tax Reform Act of 1969 didn't really get to the heart of tax reform. Rather, he terms it "a monument to the effectiveness of the corporate tax lobbyist."

In fact, he says, it "may actually have entrenched existing tax abuses more firmly, by reducing the outrageous excesses that scandalized the public, while failing to eliminate the abuses themselves."

He goes on to point out how the present administration's commitment to the use of tax incentives could enlarge the tax burden faced by ordinary taxpayers lacking the use of expensive tax lobbyists.

"The lasting memorial of the present administration in the tax area," he says, "may be the tax preferences it creates, rather than the Tax Reform Act of 1969."

"The brave talk about greater fairness in the tax system seems to have been forgotten."

REASONS EXPLORED

Why is it that the Tax Reform Act of 1969 was to such a large extent a failure in closing loopholes and such a success in opening new tax escape hatches for industry? Why is tax reform so difficult?

Mr. Field's basic answer applies to many areas needing reform. The public is apathetic and uninformed. The lobbyist is alert and knowledgeable. The news media has largely failed to adequately cover tax issues and arouse action. Congress and the executive have let the special interests outweigh the general interest.

"Tax laws are changed," said Mr. Field, "because a politically influential person or group wants them changed."

The lobbyists employed by major corporations and their trade associations play a key role in changing tax laws.

He adds: "The campaign contribution is the ultimate source of the tax lobbyist's power. The cost of political campaigns has been rising very rapidly. Most of the money needed to pay these sharply increased costs comes from corporations that 'want something' from the federal government. What's wanted may be a tax favor."

APPEALS SELECTED

Mr. Field might have noted that direct political contributions by corporations are illegal. But highly paid corporate executives are heavy campaign contributors. And there are some indirect techniques for firms to make political donations.

Members of Congress, Mr. Field says, frequently find it difficult to distinguish between the public interests of their constituents at large and the special interests of a vocal individual or firm located in their constituency.

Knowing this, trade associations and tax lobbyists often present their arguments in the form of appeals from carefully selected persons located in key congressional districts.

"In this way, some congressmen become little more than marionettes in the hands of special-interest lobbies."

Examining the role of the executive in formulating tax policy, he held that the president is largely uninvolved. Thus the job usually falls to Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officials.

He declared that Attorney General John N. Mitchell, a lawyer specializing in the lucrative area of municipal and state bond law before leaving New York for Washington, was "the moving force" in making sure that the Tax Reform Act of 1969 did not touch the nontaxable status of these bonds. Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, he indicated, has been the "principal proponent of business-oriented tax incentives."

NEWS MEDIA CRITICIZED

Looking at Congress, Mr. Field charged that the tax-writing committees "have failed to equip themselves with staffs that have the time to undertake sustained research on tax questions."

Thus Congress must rely on the Treasury and lobbyists for tax expertise. Mr. Field cited numerous cases where lobbyists carved out special tax arrangements for their clients.

He criticizes the news media for its inadequacy in covering tax affairs. Because taxation is complicated, involving law, economics, and accounting, most newsmen are not equipped to write on the subject with accuracy.

Thus Taxation With Representation is setting up a companion group to provide "unbiased" information on federal tax matters to the media.

FEW SPEAK FOR PUBLIC

The general public can influence tax policy. And their letters do exert pressure when the public is jolted by scandal and clear evidence of tax inequities. But tax laws are so complex, ordinary citizens find it difficult to speak out intelligently.

Almost no one speaks for the general public at legislative hearings on tax matters. It has been years since anyone without an ax to grind has appeared at an administrative hearing on a proposed Treasury tax regulation, Mr. Field asserted.

"It should shock you," he says, "that the principal witnesses at legislative hearings are the same special-interest lobbyists who help to pay campaign expenses for many of the legislators who preside at those hearings."

"It should shock you that the typical medium-size corporation has better tax representation in Washington than does the public at large."

This being the case, many hope that Taxation With Representation does succeed as a 'public-interest tax lobby.'

COLUMBUS DAY

HON. JORGE L. CORDOVA

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. CORDOVA. Mr. Speaker, today we honor the memory of a truly great man, one who after fighting adversity, scorn and even animosity, was able to accomplish one of the greatest feats in history: the discovery of America for Spain and the world and the establishment of the first permanent settlements by Europeans on the Western Hemisphere.

Two years ago this Congress passed a bill sponsored by my esteemed colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANNUNZIO), to declare the second Monday in October, beginning in 1971, a legal national holiday in tribute to Christopher Columbus. I rise today to express my admiration for this man and for his exemplary faith, courage, patience and self-reliance. Without these qualities he would never have reached the start of his long journey into the mysterious Atlantic, in search for what he thought to be a land of countless riches in the Orient.

We in America are rightly indebted to him, and we should be thankful that he was the type of a man I have just described. But when I say America I am speaking not only of this great nation of ours, blessed with all possible blessings. I mean those two great continents commonly known as the New World, whose peoples are bound together by destiny and history, even though at times it may seem we are moving along divergent paths, and the Spanish-speaking portions of which so proudly regard this anniversary as their own, "El Día de la Raza."

Perhaps this bill passed by the Congress had more significance than is usually attached to legislation of this kind, for the lessons Columbus taught in 1492 and in the years that preceded and followed his great feat still have a practical value for the modern man.

Those were troubled times: times of transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, times of change and wars—Spain had been fighting the Moors for 800 years in her own territory; and yet out of them something great and magnificent came about, because this man had courage, will power, and—yes—in a way also prudence and discretion. To us, after almost five centuries, Columbus is still a subject for marvel, admiration, and certainly an example of deep, profound faith. Let us never lose that faith

which should be his most richly valued legacy.

"A LEGEND OF GOODNESS"

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, there has probably never been a time in our national history when all of us, young, middle, and old, whatever our station or occupation, were more urgently in need of inspiring example which, after all, represents the truest teaching.

Such an example was and is provided by the life story and deeds of a noble creature, Raymond J. Callahan, of Framingham, Mass., who died suddenly last Wednesday night, October 7, 1970.

Throughout his days Ray Callahan enriched the lives of all his associates and fellow citizens and the spirit of his community by his hourly projection and persevering practice of those immaterial but everlasting virtues and values upon which this Nation was founded and without the revival of which its long endurance remains questionable.

Ray Callahan was deeply respected for his character and his integrity. He was widely acclaimed for his professional skill and competence. But he was universally beloved for his genuine unselfishness, his generous spirit, his kind heart, his unbounded compassion, his self-effacing modesty, his wholesome neighborly interest, his extension of encouragement to the faltering, his refreshing humor, his liking for children, his belief in youth, his good will toward everyone, his faith in his God, his loyalty to his community and his country, his steadfast friendship to those who were so privileged, and his complete dedication to his devoted wife and loving children.

Ray Callahan was a living, devastating rebuttal to those who attempt to tell us that these homely virtues have fled the American scene; that these idealistic values have no welcome place in modern American society.

On the very sad occasion of his passing a vast multitude of friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and professional associates demonstrated that the noble qualities in which Ray Callahan believed and for which he stood are still rightfully recognized and sincerely honored even in this overly material and sophisticated age. People came from everywhere to join in the most tremendous public outpouring of attendance, admiration, affection and sorrow that has ever occurred in the history of the Framingham region. It was a united, unique salute to a departed community leader who will everlastingly remain in their memory and their annals as a truly inspiring "legend of goodness."

Mr. Speaker, at this point I wish to include some of the tributes that were given to Raymond J. Callahan and some excerpts from the poignant, heart-stirring articles about his life and his death written by his esteemed associate, news city editor of the Framingham News, Mr. Charles Ayer, and they follow:

[From the Framingham-Natick News,
Oct. 8, 1970]

FRAMINGHAM NEWS EDITOR RAYMOND J.
CALLAHAN DIES

(By Charles Ayer)

FRAMINGHAM.—Raymond J. Callahan, veteran editor, town historian, Framingham official and financial leader, was stricken suddenly with a heart attack and died at his home, 125 Maple St., Framingham Centre, last evening. He would have been 75 today.

The widely known newsman, who had started his long career on the staff of The Framingham News as a paperboy, served continuously from 1915, a total of 55 years.

He became editor of The News in 1947, taking over the reins from the late Ralph Dewey with whom he had worked closely on The News staff for many years.

Mr. Callahan was a newspaper man in the traditional sense—that is, he was "on duty" 24 hours a day, and in addition to the long hours of regular coverage of the events of the town, responded to calls at all hours, including coverage of major fires, accidents and emergencies in all kinds of weather.

Even in the senior years of his editorship, he remained "on call" and covered many such stories of vital importance and interest to residents of the Framingham area.

The highest recognition to Mr. Callahan came in 1965 at the Framingham Chamber of Commerce annual banquet, which although staged as a tribute to The Framingham News, was in actuality an opportunity for praise to be accorded to the paper's editor for his long and valued service to the area.

A high point of this observance was the reading of the following telegram from then President Lyndon Johnson:

"I am happy to join," President Johnson said, "in the tribute to Raymond J. Callahan for his many outstanding contributions in both his private and professional life toward the advancement of the Framingham community. I am pleased to learn of the high integrity and responsible judgment which Raymond Callahan has brought to his career in American journalism. I know he will always sustain this enviable reputation."

The Chamber of Commerce on this occasion presented the veteran editor with a plaque "for a demonstration of concern to humanity and to his community in his unselfish and faithful service as managing editor of the Framingham News."

He was regarded as a warm friend by old and young alike, having played a major role in the development of park and recreational facilities for the town, and also in the more recent provision of public housing for veterans, low income families and the elderly.

Longtime residents of Framingham had come to think of Mr. Callahan as "Mr. Framingham", through his long association with many integral aspects of the Framingham area's growth and development.

Keenly interested in the town's history, he became an authority on this subject, and he served for many years as President of the Historical Society and was currently chairman of the board of managers of that society.

Mr. Callahan had served as Acting chairman of the 250th anniversary of the town's incorporation in 1950, directing the details of that colorful, week-long event which was climaxed with one of the largest parades in the town's history.

The Framingham selectmen recently named Mr. Callahan as chairman for the plans for the observance of the town's 275th anniversary and he had started organizing committees in preparation for that occasion.

In addition, he was engaged in the gathering of material for continued historical research which was designed to lead to publishing of an updated history of the town, the last definitive work having been produced by Temple in 1880.

In the past few years, Mr. Callahan was called upon to speak to many groups on the history and the significant growth and development of the town.

Notably, he was asked to address new teachers at orientation sessions held by the school department each fall, providing them with an understanding of the town's traditions and background in a manner which the new arrivals invariably found interesting and entertaining.

Mr. Callahan was a storehouse of anecdotes concerning the past events of the town and colorful and interesting characters of the past.

Besides his service to the town as Park Commissioner and Housing Authority member, he also was for many years a Commissioner of Trust Funds. He was a member of the original Council of the Aging.

MANY ORGANIZATIONS

He was called upon by Town Moderators and the Selectmen, to serve on a number of committees studying important questions.

He was on the panel which commissioned the Minute Man Statue and determined upon its location in Buckminster Square.

He served as Vice-chairman under the late Joseph R. Perini of the committee which proposed major grade crossing relocation plan for which the state agreed to commit \$10 million in funds.

Mr. Callahan carried the ball in the presentation of this proposal to the town meeting, but that body declined to support the plan which would have relieved serious downtown traffic congestion and would have provided for revitalization of the central business district.

Mr. Callahan, in company with the late Dr. Edward Regan, was instrumental in bringing about the town's acquisition of the Bowditch field area, and later, as a member of the Park Board, with the late George Butterworth and Nathaniel Bowditch, he was instrumental in obtaining federal WPA funds for construction of the athletic field stands and the field house.

In his service as a member of the Housing Authority, he aided scores of young families, and later senior citizens in obtaining needed housing within their means.

A veteran of World War I, with two years of service overseas in France and Britain as a member of an Army medical unit, Mr. Callahan served his country in World War II as an integral cog in the Civil defense network which covered a large area in eastern central Massachusetts.

The headquarters was established at the field house at Bowditch field, and night after night Mr. Callahan stood vigil at this communications center, reporting to his regular news job as usual the next day.

LONG NEWSPAPER CAREER

His news writing career began while he was still a junior in high school. He was asked by the late Charles J. MacPherson, owner and founder of The News, to serve as correspondent and in this capacity reported not only school news but many athletic events.

When he graduated from Framingham High School, he was asked to become a full-time member of the news staff, and served until his entrance into the armed forces.

Even while in the Army, and overseas, he continued to send stories to The News. He rejoined the staff on a regular work schedule after the war.

Widely acquainted with many prominent officials on the level of the state government, Mr. Callahan was an original member of the Advisory board of the Framingham State College, and was currently serving as chairman of that group.

His interest in sports extended from the years when he was a center on the high school football team. He served as a member of the Athletic Advisory Council for the high school, in the period when John R.

"Jack" Daniels coached many high school teams.

For many years, Mr. Callahan sat on the bench at each football game, covering the stories of games in addition to his regular news writing duties.

He saw the "world" of news coverage undergo far-reaching changes, having first served in the days when radio and television had not appeared on the scene, and people learned of their current events by crowding into Irving Square to view election results and notice of other important events from chalk boards displayed in the window of The News office, then located there.

He saw the paper through the years of development which resulted in the establishment of a new News plant on Route 30, and he served as a key source of important data for residents, officials and others concerned with the community's growth and development.

In addition to his news coverage for the Framingham News, he also wrote for the Boston Globe, the Boston Herald-Traveler, The Worcester Telegram, and he also served both the United Press and the Associated Press.

He belonged to the Sigma Delta Chi professional newspaper society, the New England Editorial Writers Assn. and the U.P.I. Editors group.

A friend to those in all faiths, Mr. Callahan was the first individual ever to be awarded the Brotherhood award of the Bay State Lodge, B'nai B'rith. This was in 1957.

This award was given "in recognition of the unselfish service rendered by you for many years as a member of the Framingham Park Dept. and as a member of the Framingham Housing Authority . . . and in further recognition of the unlimited space made available by you as editor of the Framingham News to all religious groups and church affiliated organizations and the other unselfish and unrestricted services rendered by you to the peoples of Framingham and the surrounding communities."

An original member of the board of directors of the South Middlesex Cooperative Bank, Mr. Callahan ultimately became President of that Bank, 12 years ago, and it was during his administration that the financial institution moved into its present location on Union Ave.

He was a charter member of the James J. McGrath Post No. 74, American Legion.

He was also President of the Framingham Rotary Club and was President of the Framingham Civic League.

He was clerk of the board of directors of the Framingham Union Hospital for many years, maintaining the vital records of that institution during periods of major expansion of the facilities. He was also a corporator of the Children's Hospital in Boston.

Just recently he had been named as a trustee of the St. Patrick's Manor Nursing Home on Central Street.

The Framingham Heart Study which gathered massive amounts of key data in the effort to determine cause of heart disease and maladies, was a project of great interest to Mr. Callahan. He had been an active member of the committee which was established recently to attempt to save this vital research program which was due to be phased out.

He was a member of the Salvation Army's Advisory Board.

He was also a member of the Framingham Lodge of Elks, St. Bridget's Parish, having served on the building committee for the present church, the "Men of 200", Knights of Charity, and the LLL Club.

He was a member of the Framingham Country Club for over 40 years, and recorded the results of all matches for publication in The News, providing a continuous record over the years.

He was a member and strong supporter of the efforts of the Museum of Fine Arts and the Aquarium.

He actively aided the efforts of the Friends of the Framingham Reformatory, which formed originally to bring restoration of Supt. Dr. Miriam Van Waters, and then continued to spearhead efforts for penal reform.

AIDED MANY IN JOURNALISM

Through his role in the newspaper, he provided key assistance to annual fund drives of the Red Cross, the Community Chest and the United Fund.

Not the least of his service was his counselling and aid to scores of persons entering on careers in journalism. Many of these individuals have moved on to key positions in the publishing world and in public relations.

Mr. Callahan was a native of Framingham, the son of William and Bridget (Finn) Callahan.

Besides his interest in career and community service, Mr. Callahan was a man who devoted much time to his family. He was the husband of Marie M. (Carroll) Callahan.

Besides his wife, he leaves one son, Rev. Raymond J. Callahan, S. J. Headmaster of Xavier School in Concord, and five daughters, Joan, who is Mrs. John B. Gilbert of 95 Barnard St., Watertown, Commander C. Jane Callahan, of 145 Benham Road, Groton, Conn., dietitian at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, New London, Conn., Martha, wife of Atty. Francis G. Dewar, of 6417 DelPaso Ave., San Diego, Cal., Moira who is Mrs. Rudolph J. Minnucci of 23 Belridge Dr., Shrewsbury, and Miss Darragh E. Callahan, of Lajuna, N. Mex.

Also surviving is a brother, W. Frank Callahan of South Natick, four sisters, Miss Mildred Callahan, Sister Mary Paschal, C. S. J., Mrs. John McLoud and Mrs. John J. Sheehan all of Framingham, and several nieces and nephews.

MANY TRIBUTES FOR MR. CALLAHAN

FRAMINGHAM.—Judge Arthur M. Mason started today's court session with an unusual "moment of reflection" for the late Raymond J. Callahan, editor of the News.

Judge Mason said Mr. Callahan "was a source of strength and inspiration in the community for many years. He will be sorely and sadly missed in the community." Judge Mason said, "Mr. Callahan was a friend of my family for many years and of my predecessor, the late Judge Farley, for many years."

Judge Mason observed he had known and associated with Mr. Callahan and the News since World War I.

REV. R. DUNCANSON, INTERFAITH CLERGY ASSOCIATION

Rev. Richard Duncanson, secretary of the Framingham Interfaith Clergy Assn.

"In the person of Raymond J. Callahan, the area, especially its churches and temples, lost a great friend and a man of faith. His strong belief that religious institutions were for the common good and betterment of our communities made him the most ecumenical editor in the country. His door was always open to men, women and children of every creed. As Catholics, Jews and Protestants we mourn his passing. He has now gone on to his eternal rest and reward. We pray God's blessing upon him and his devoted family. He will be sorely missed by all of us."

DR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, FSC PRESIDENT

"I feel a sense of untold loss in the passing of Raymond J. Callahan. The College and I personally have lost a staunch and true friend. He gave of his time and talents generously, willingly and with no thought of recognition. Whether heading the college advisory board, helping our students from his vast fund of knowledge about the history of Framingham, or serving us in the press, he stood alone. His character and influence reflect themselves in the fine family which brought him such joy and pride. His life was a full one. His loss leaves the deepest of voids. We will never forget him."

BERNARD L. ROACH, C. OF C. EXEC. SEC.

Bernard L. Roach, Executive Vice President of the South Middlesex Area Chamber of Commerce, said today that the region has lost a great and dedicated leader in the passing of Ray Callahan. "He was an inspiration to all of us who worked with him on community endeavors over the years. His family, the community, Chamber of Commerce, and myself personally have lost a true friend. His counselling and wisdom were always given freely and of a great value to all of us who were privileged to know him.

"My deepest sympathy and that of the entire Chamber are extended to Mrs. Callahan and his children in this time of sorrow."

JAMES MACPHERSON JR., PUBLISHER FRAMINGHAM NEWS

It is difficult not to be redundant in speaking of a man who became a legend in his own time.

In acknowledging the service and devotion—and, I am sure, at times, forbearance—that Raymond Callahan bestowed on four generations of my family it must be especially noted that his capacity as my own teacher included that of "custodian of our standards."

If I were to hazard that the only immortality any man has a right to is the extent to which his personality and character have grown so as to properly influence his family, his friends and his acquaintances, Raymond Callahan would have to be the pre-eminent candidate.

It's like plunking a stone in the water, and the ripples start going out; so that the man influenced in turn passes it on in better order.

EDWARD M. KENNEDY, U.S. SENATOR

The Framingham community has lost a great friend with the death of Raymond J. Callahan. And so has the journalism profession.

The Framingham News was his life. He devoted his energies and his great talents to The News, and it is in a very real sense a monument to him.

And with his death, we have lost as well, his great personal qualities of warmth and sincerity.

He was a kind and gentle man, as all of us who were privileged to know him could attest.

"His death is a loss to us all."

REPRESENTATIVE HAROLD DONOHUE, U.S. CONGRESS

"I was deeply shocked and saddened to hear this morning of the sudden and the unexpected death of my longtime dear friend, Raymond J. Callahan, editor of the Framingham News.

"He was a rock of personal and professional integrity.

"In these tumultuous and ultra-sophisticated times he was the type of professional journalist to whom people turned for the honest facts and the reassuring word.

"He was a devoted husband and an inspiring father. In his work and in his private life his own mark was excellence, and he brought out the best in everybody who was ever privileged to be associated with him.

"He motivated people to their best effort not by speech, but by action. Not by command, but by personal example. For his unique character, competence, and compassion, he was beloved by multitudes in this area and throughout the Commonwealth.

"He literally gave up his life in the honorable service of his neighbors and his friends, his community, and his country.

"Ray Callahan's life constitutes a legend of goodness in the Framingham area that will remain forever, and I doubt very much that this poor world will soon see his like again.

"My heart goes out to his wife, Marie and his wonderful children in this hour of the deepest sorrows a loving family can ever experience."

[From the Framingham-Natick News, Oct. 11, 1970]

HUNDREDS PAY FINAL RESPECTS TO MR. CALLAHAN

(By Charles Ayer)

FRAMINGHAM.—Tributes of the last three days from thousands of friends and associates to Raymond J. Callahan as an outstanding newsman, town official and financial leader were climaxed Saturday morning at a Mass of the Resurrection which emphasized his role in life as one who loved, above all, his fellow man.

The widely-known journalist and community leader who had served the Framingham News for 55 years, as editor since 1947, died suddenly Wednesday night when stricken suddenly with a heart attack.

Recognition of his service to his town and his state, and to scores of persons through individual acts of kindness, has come during the calling hours Thursday and Friday at the McCarthy Funeral Home. There has been the largest turnout of individuals ever to attend visiting hours held there.

Among those who paid their respects were such long-time friends as U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy, Attorney General Robert H. Quinn, Secretary of State John F. X. Davoren of Milford, and Middlesex County District Attorney John J. Dronney.

At the graveside services in Edgell Grove Cemetery, the flag was received from five members of the James J. McGrath Post, American Legion by Congressman Harold D. Donohue of Worcester, a close friend of many years' standing, who in-turn presented the flag to Mrs. Callahan.

There were messages of condolence from many other leaders, including Gov. Francis Sargent and Congressman Philip Philbin.

Over 700 persons filled the church for the solemn ceremonies.

The casket was brought into the church between a uniformed formation consisting of Framingham policemen, Framingham firemen and State Troopers.

The central theme of the brief homily delivered by Rev. Raymond J. Callahan, Jr., son of the late editor, and principal celebrant of the Mass, was Christ's dictum "love one another as I have loved you".

He noted that Christ "has gone before us and left us with a pattern to follow."

This was the very simple manner of life of Dad. He felt that the words of St. Paul to the Christians at Ephesus were truly meant for him: that he was one chosen by God in Christ to be holy and spotless and to live through love in his presence.

"This is how he lived with his family, with his fellow workers and with all people who entered his life. He was a gentle and kind man with a ready wit. He would be embarrassed by all the wonderful tributes paid him, for he felt his life was based on faith and hope and he felt that he was nothing more than a man trying his best to follow in the footsteps of Christ and therefore needed no accolades."

Scriptural readings were given by Rev. Richard Duncanson, assistant minister of the Plymouth Congregational Church, and Dr. D. Justin McCarthy, President of the Framingham State College, both longtime friends of Mr. Callahan.

MANY CLERGY ATTENDED

The large crowd attending the rites included a great many Framingham town officials, business and community leaders, and there were many present representing the various faiths. The fact that the Jewish holidays were concluding this week-end prevented many of Mr. Callahan's Jewish friends from being in attendance. He had been the first recipient of the Bay State Lodge's B'nai B'rith award in 1957 in recognition of his contributions toward the churches and the religious life of the community.

Many Sisters were present from the Congregation of St. Joseph, of which Mr. Callahan's sister, Sister Pashal is a member, the Sisters of Charity, the Carmelite Sisters, who operate the St. Patrick's Manor Nursing Home on whose board of trustees Mr. Callahan was serving, and other groups.

All members of the Board of selectmen who had proclaimed yesterday as a day for residents to recognize the long and valued service for Mr. Callahan to his community, were at the rites.

One of the significant features of the visiting hours was the number of young people who were included among the callers symbolizing the interest which Mr. Callahan had in the town's younger youth.

COLUMBUS DAY

HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, on this Columbus Day, 1970, I want to reflect for a moment on the achievement of the man we credit with discovering this continent, and the contributions of other Italian-Americans to the growth of our Nation during the five centuries since Christopher Columbus sailed.

Columbus was not bound by the superstition of the Dark Ages which held that the world was flat and that he who sailed too close to the ocean's edge would be lost.

Columbus looked beyond dogma. He had faith and courage. His desire for knowledge was greater than any fear of the risks. In these ways he exemplified many of the qualities possessed by others of his countrymen, and would-be Americans from all corners of the world. These qualities have proved indispensable to the development of the greatest civilization the world has ever known.

We have come a long way since Columbus spent 2,000,000 mavarri—\$52,000—to the time of the \$24 billion Apollo program. But both voyages, the venture of three small ships into uncharted waters and the sophisticated technological effort which climaxed in the landing of the *Eagle*, were landmarks in the history of man. These accomplishments are tributes to the eternal spirit of discovery which inspires human beings to brave the unknown.

I think it is no accident of fate that the first men on the moon were Americans. Our leadership in space, as in other areas of endeavor, is a result of the pooling of the talents of people from all nations who possessed the drive, optimism, and know-how to follow Columbus to America.

Our ancestors had the imagination, motivation, and constructive restlessness that is needed to build a new nation, and as they lived and worked on these shores they created a new kind of man—the American.

The American's special characteristics may have destined him for his present world leadership, but we must never forget that the origins of his unique abilities were in the nations we lead. The

American is a magnificent composite of all the peoples of the world. Because there is no nation which is not represented in the building of America, we owe the world a debt of gratitude, respect, and responsibility.

On this day I especially want to call attention to the contributions of Italian-Americans to our Nation's art, music, literature, science and technology, and other endeavors indispensable to the quality of our national life.

We as Americans have inherited a tradition of courage and faith. Although the opportunities for pioneering and exploration by great numbers of people are more limited now than they were when our forebears unshackled themselves from the Old World, there are still unconquered frontiers.

Few of us can go to the moon or the planets. But the challenges of poverty, ignorance, war, tyranny, and catastrophe are frontiers which are open to us all, and they are frontiers which never close.

Let us use our special heritage in tackling them.

COLUMBUS DAY

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, Columbus Day is upon us once again, and with it the opportunity to renew our awareness of a singular man and his Italian countrymen who today share the American heritage. Beginning with such notables as Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, the Italian-American community has closely involved itself with the history of this Nation since its early days as explorers, priests, traders, and partners in the American Revolution.

In modern times, they have fought alongside us in wars, participating in famous battles, producing Medal of Honor winners, and having U.S. naval ships named in honor of their heroes. They have gone on to give us important Italian-American politicians, high officials, scientists, musicians, painters, and singers.

Today I am proud to say that the Santa Clara Valley in California shares the modern heritage with many Italian-American fellow citizens. They are a strong community preserving their distinct Italian-American way of life through organizations like the Sons of Italy, newspapers like *L'Eco d'Italia* and various other social and service organizations.

This day not only honors Italian-Americans, however, but by implication stresses the principle that our roots are diverse and that our heritage was made rich by the many groups in earlier years that locked together in similar pursuits and welded that heritage from coast to coast. Still, that process is not complete—the process, Mr. Speaker, is not complete. We must yet welcome into full

status those of our brothers who were left behind because of our mistakes.

On this Columbus Day, then, let us call forth those qualities of faith, courage, and determination that made it possible for one man many centuries ago to move out and forge ahead, though the future was far from clear. He went forth. We, too, accept the challenge.

ALWAYS REMEMBER MOTHER AND I LOVE YOU

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, more than 1,600 American servicemen are listed as prisoners of war or missing in action in Southeast Asia. I deplore the incredibly inhumane and barbarous attitude of the Communist enemy in their disregard of the basic standards of human decency and continued indifference to the feelings of the families of these prisoners.

Maj. Carl Lasiter has languished in a North Vietnamese prison for 2½ years. Until last April his family had received no word of him or from him. He is but one of these hundreds of men who have been subjected to abuse and humiliation because of North Vietnam's continued refusal to abide by the terms of the Geneva Convention.

At this point I insert the Indianapolis News' September 26, 1970 article about Major Lasiter, whose devotion to duty has torn him from his family and country:

ALWAYS REMEMBER MOTHER AND I LOVE YOU
(By John Carpenter)

A girl on her 13th birthday is overwhelmed with tears as she reads a letter.

A proud father of a man in the Air Force sobs and tries to hold back emotions that have clogged his life for more than two years.

A soft-spoken, but strong woman says, "He just has to come home."

"We don't want him or others like him to be forgotten." Mrs. Carl Lasiter, mother of four children, says.

Her husband has been a prisoner of war in North Vietnam for 2½ years.

Maj. Lasiter, an outstanding athlete at Southport High School in 1952, made the Air Force his career in 1957.

He realized possible consequences when he began his "job," but little did he know of the suffering it would bring him, his family and relatives.

He was shot down on his 64th mission north of Hanoi Feb. 5, 1968 in an Air Force F105.

After being reported missing in action for about two years he was included on the official prisoner of war list.

Lasiter had been based in Korat, Thailand, since Oct. 12, 1967, before disaster struck.

His family had no word of him nor from him until last April 3.

Until a week ago, his wife, Eleanor, had received two letters and one card—all taking approximately three months to arrive in the United States.

The Lasiters have four children, Tammy, 13; Kim, 12; Susie, 11, and John 9.

In a telephone interview this week with Mrs. Lasiter, who now is living in San Diego

with the children, she said, "It looks encouraging—I've received three letters in the last four days from Carl."

The most recent letter touched deeply the heart of Lasiter's oldest daughter who was trying as well as possible to celebrate her 13th birthday without her father by her side.

"Tammy usually does not show much emotion, but when she read the letter from her daddy she was overwhelmed with tears," Mrs. Lasiter said.

The letter, in part read:

"Happy birthday, teen-ager.

"Wish I could help you celebrate.

"Hope your future is full of happiness and success.

"Set your life goals high and plan for the future.

"Enjoy growing up.

"Try to set a good example for others.

"Always remember mother and I are proud of you and love you . . ."

Mrs. Lasiter, director of nurses for the Home of Guiding Hands, a hospital for the mentally retarded in Lakeside near San Diego, said, "We have very strong children and they have all done well, but we all miss Carl so very much."

"Carl has missed out on so much. The girls are growing up and his little boy is growing into a fine young man."

"John is following in his father's footsteps.

"He is playing first string flanker back in the Pop Warner football league and batted .455 in Little League baseball this summer." Mrs. Lasiter said.

Lasiter was a four-year letterman in baseball, basketball and football at Southport. He attended Ball State University one year and played football at the University of North Dakota. After graduating from North Dakota, he was a high school head football coach in Warren, Minnesota before entering the Air Force in 1957.

"In his letters Carl says he is uninjured and in good health, but I don't feel he is in good health with the diet they have over there," Mrs. Lasiter said.

His wife said the menu consists of rice, pumpkin soup and pig fat.

The 31 long months have left a mark of almost unbearable grief for his mother and father in Indianapolis.

Lasiter's father, Ralph, 9901 Pendleton Pike, a security officer at Winona Hospital, apologizes as his voice trembles when asked about his son.

Choking back tears, his father said, "All we can do is hope Carl returns home safely . . . I can't talk anymore about it . . . I'm sorry."

Carl's wife has attended committee meetings in Washington with other POW wives, and they are urging the American public become more concerned about the treatment of our prisoners.

"This concern is important. World opinion might force Hanoi to honor basic codes of human decency and possible release of prisoners," Mrs. Lasiter said.

She said she plans to go to Washington again Friday with a group of other wives whose husbands are prisoners of war. "This time I'm taking my two oldest daughters with me," she said.

"If you want to help the men many Americans have forgotten, you can. Your letters will help.

"Write to senators, representatives or to United We Stand, Box 100,000, Dallas, Tex. 75235, saying you are concerned about the inhumane treatment of American Prisoners of War—that Hanoi should live up to the spirit of the Geneva Convention by putting into practice the convention's rules on the treatment of war prisoners.

"Your letter could be the one that spells the difference," Mrs. Lasiter said.

THE HERITAGE GROUPS DIVISION OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND ITS DIRECTOR, LASZLO PASZTOR

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the Sunday Star of October 11, 1970, carries an article on the Republican National Committee and on its dynamic chief, Laszlo Pasztor.

I insert the article in the RECORD with my remarks:

THE GOP GOES ETHNIC AND IN A BIG WAY

(By Kenneth Ikenberry)

The Republican Party has gone ethnic with a vengeance. Making up, perhaps, for all those years when the average immigrant probably thought of the GOP as a collection of Mayflower-descendant bankers in Coolidge collars, the party is fathering Italian and Polish and Hungarian Republican clubs all over the urban East and the industrial Midwest.

For the first time, the Republican National Committee has a permanent nationalities division working away in its Capitol Hill headquarters, and high hopes of severing the many ties that bind ethnic groups to the Democrats.

The GOP has what it thinks are some heavy issues—crime, campus radicals, moral rot—and a man it knows is a shining folk hero—Spiro T. Agnew. Republicans hope to change ethnic voting patterns enough this November to win in some important states.

The head of the nationalities division (or Heritage Groups Division as it is called) is Laszlo C. Pasztor, a pleasant, earnest, properly partisan man who in many ways probably represents the attitudes of the people the Republicans intend to bring into the fold.

Pasztor was a strong opponent of the Communist regime in Hungary and spent several years in prisons. He was active in the uprising of 1956 and escaped to this country when it was put down. A pharmacist, he took graduate courses in chemistry at the University of Pittsburgh while working for the J & L Steel Corp. there. He was a research supervisor when he left the company last year to take the GOP job.

Pasztor is devoutly conservative, and he thinks most members of nationality groups share his attitudes. "As the Democrats were taken over in some areas by liberals, ultra liberals and extreme liberals, the more these people (the ethnic groups) felt the party slipping out from under their feet," he said.

He said that first and second generation immigrants, many of whom hold down a second job to send their children to college, are enraged by campus disturbances. (Pasztor's son is at Harvard, where, the father complains, he and his conservative friends are excluded from the usual channels of student communication, such as the newspaper.)

ANGER ERUPTS

The anger he speaks of came boiling up last weekend at the second annual Heritage Groups conference here. Rep. Donald Riegle of Michigan, a member of the party's liberal wing, was angrily denounced by many of the 300 delegates after his keynote speech, in which he implied criticism of Vice President Agnew and said he supported Sen. Charles Goodell of New York in his campaign for reelection.

Later, in the resolutions they passed, the delegates spoke of "the triple threat of crime

in the streets, narcotics and pornography" and stated their "rejection of permissiveness in American society."

The resolutions backed the President on Vietnam and warned of Communist activities in the Middle East, Latin America and elsewhere. They urged "the speedy creation of a permanent congressional committee on Captive Nations." There was a resolution of support for Agnew for "exposing the bias of national news media" and "condemning leftist radicals, in our streets and in our universities."

The nationalities division covers every group from Albanians and Ukrainians to Mexican-Americans and American Indians, and Pasztor speaks glowingly of the party's possibilities among each and every one of them.

But the area from which the Republicans hope to draw for their "emerging majority" is clearly made up of the European immigrants in the eastern and Great Lakes states—people in the great middle and lower-middle class that figures so largely in the calculations of the analysts.

To a large extent, this bloc—or group of blocs—is Roman Catholic, and while it may respond to the attacks on "permissiveness," there is no harm in turning a sympathetic ear to appeals for government aid to parochial schools, as the Nixon administration is doing.

Laura-Anne Genero, who works for the nationalities division and is considered the "resident expert" on the Catholic vote, lists five key states where the Republicans hope to make gains with their ethnic approach:

New Jersey (50 percent ethnic/Catholic—Italian, Irish, Polish, Hungarian), New York (45 percent ethnic/Catholic), Connecticut (50 percent), Ohio (26 percent), Pennsylvania (30 to 35 percent) and Maryland (20 percent).

The Republicans, financially well-off and hoping to make some changes in the composition of Congress, are not stinting on their new effort to win over the nationalities. They have a full-time staff of five working in headquarters to coordinate and encourage nationalities work throughout the country.

A BIG TASK

One of the chief tasks is helping state GOP committees create nationality organizations. To this end the Heritage Groups Division has put out a handbook for organizers, full of very specific advice ("Agree on the name of the club and its geographical area. The name of your club can be anything that your committee may decide, but it should be definitive and appealing to prospective members. Suggestions include such names as Polish-American Club for . . ."). It tells how to make up news releases and membership cards, and offers a suggested club constitution and bylaws.

The division also is helping individual Republican candidates go after the ethnic vote. Among its services to this end: Historical profiles on nationality groups for use in speeches; calendars of nationality holidays; advisors who can put out news releases and campaign literature in other languages, and advice on what issues are of primary interest to the particular nationality group being considered.

Pasztor's division also has its voice in GOP patronage councils, although he insists that the effort will not be built on jobs for the faithful.

On the back of their organizer's handbook, the Republicans have printed a credo that begins: "As a naturalized U.S. citizen I am a Republican because. . . ." Among the "because's": "I believe that Socialism and the 'welfare state' would destroy the incentives of free enterprise, limit my opportunities to succeed, weaken the nation and are contrary to the concepts of our Constitutional form of government."

Solid conservative Republican doctrine, of course, but is it really what the "nationalities" want? Lloyd Bedik, who works for the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee, thinks it will be the GOP's stumbling block.

The Democratic liaison with the ethnic groups was formed over a long period of time, he said, and it involved personal work in the wards and legislation that represented the interests of the groups, much of it contributing to the "welfare state."

"The blue collar worker really needs some help now," he said. "But the Republicans are unwilling to spend the money to give him the things he needs."

Kevin Phillips, author of a book ("The Emerging Republican Majority"), that has become a semisacred text for some GOP strategists, thinks the party is revealing a "Captive Nations preoccupation" in its ethnic effort.

In his syndicated newspaper column yesterday, Phillips argued that even most ethnic Americans of Eastern European background are relatively apathetic about politics in their old homelands. "Most of ethnic America has moved from Little Italys, Kerry Patches and Polish Hills to solid two-family house neighborhoods or beyond to suburbia," he wrote. This has served to reinforce their social conservatism, and as never before, they are ripe for participation in a Middle American-based political constituency that demonstrates real concern for their socioeconomic welfare."

COLUMBUS DAY

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, we pause today to commemorate Columbus Day and to recall that when Columbus set sail on October 12, 1492, he hoped to discover a new route to the riches of the East Indies. He discovered, instead, our western hemisphere, verdant and rich in natural resources and potential material rewards for all mankind, far exceeding Columbus' dreams.

As we celebrate the 478th anniversary of his landing in our hemisphere, we need to remind ourselves that discovery is a never-ceasing human enterprise. We, in these troubled times, may all be discoverers of America in terms of our immense riches and possibilities. I refer not only to the elimination of poverty and injustice, both of which are possible in this generation; but the rediscovery of the rights and the kinship of all men, irrespective of race, color, creed, sex, or nationality. We need the rediscovery of the community between the generations, each contributing to the other's needs; the rediscovery of the beauty of our Nation, ridding it of the pollution of water and the land, and even of the pollution of the mind.

This kind of rediscovery is unceasing since the problems that confront us are ever present and ever changing.

In honoring this great explorer today, we salute his Italian forebearers—the people from whom he drew the character that made his expedition possible.

The Italy that gave us Columbus has provided us with millions of our finest citizens—whether they are average peo-

ple, decent and patriotic—or poets, musicians, writers, statesmen, judges, or leaders of business and labor, they are pillars of America and we honor them today.

When we now attempt to pioneer in the social, political and economic seas, we are given the same discouraging advice: it is too dangerous, disaster will result.

But, we Americans who have flown to the moon, split the atom, created the wonders of science and technology, should emulate the determination and courage that guided Columbus.

AUTO SAFETY: BUMPERS—NO. 5

HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, an article contained in the Des Moines Register for March 31, 1970, attributes an employee of the National Highway Safety Bureau with a statement that "Detroit would not offer much resistance to standards, in this area," referring to bumper standards. If this is the case, it is difficult to understand why standards have not yet been promulgated. The article follows:

UNITED STATES IN STEP TO REQUIRE SAFER BUMPERS ON CARS

(By Dan Fisher)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The National Highway Safety Bureau (NHSB) will take an important step Thursday toward requiring automobile bumper designs that could save lives and drastically reduce the cost of low-speed collisions.

The bureau will hold a public meeting in Washington—a key step in the setting of a new standard that would force auto makers to improve bumper designs. After digesting testimony at the meeting, procedure calls for issuance of a proposed standard, then a final version.

FIRST-STEP

While low-speed collision promises some safety benefits—and is the first step toward "crashworthiness" standards that Transportation Secretary John Volpe has estimated could save 5,000 lives a year—the more immediate benefit for consumers could be in lower insurance and repair costs.

NHSB has issued a discussion paper on a new "exterior protection" standard, designed to serve as a base for Thursday's meeting. It would require that cars withstand the equivalent of a 5 mile-an-hour collision without any damage or displacement of sheet metal, headlights, hood and trunk latch systems, and fuel, cooling and exhaust systems.

Tests by the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety show that damage on typical U.S.-built 1969 four-door sedans ranges from \$134 to \$305 in a 5 m.p.h. impact.

Auto insurance companies have been increasingly vocal in calling for Detroit to design cars with repairability in mind to cut accident losses.

Two weeks ago, Allstate Insurance Co. began a 20 per cent offering premium discount on collision insurance for vehicles that can sustain 5 m.p.h. front and rear impacts without damage.

INTENSIFY EFFORTS

Facing such facts, auto makers have intensified efforts to design future cars with functional bumpers, as well as with other features to ease repair.

Alex M. Calaluca, safety standards engineer at NHSB, says comments received so far on the discussion paper indicate Detroit won't offer much resistance to standards, in this area, even though "now, no one makes a car to meet this standard."

By standardizing bumper heights and configurations, the "impact zone" in collisions can be localized, enabling the bureau to focus attention on the whole system for impact absorption in accidents.

The key to reducing injuries generated by the impact is so the passenger doesn't have to.

Combined with air bags that will be required on future cars, crashworthy vehicles could dramatically cut the death toll, and make even very high speed collisions—in excess of 60 m.p.h.—survivable, it is believed.

The first energy-absorbing bumpers are likely to appear on 1972 model cars.

A REVIEW OF THE RECORD OF THE 91ST CONGRESS

HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, when the returns of the 1968 election were in, the American people had elected a new President of one political party and both Houses of Congress in the firm control of the other. It was necessary to look back in history 120 years to find a parallel circumstance. In 1848, the country had elected General Zachary Taylor, a Whig, as President, and with him a Democratic House and Senate. That 31st Congress stayed in session 302 days during its first session, the longest on record to that time. The precedent of the 31st indicated that the 91st Congress, too, would be in session throughout its term. The present Congress has not overturned that precedent. Instead, it has reinforced it. The earlier Congress held a lameduck session by constitutional mandate. The present Congress will be in session following the election of its successor as a matter of choice. As a matter of further historical interest, the reconvening of this Congress on November 16 will be the first time in two decades that any Congress has sat after its successor has been chosen.

Although the work of this Congress is not complete, the American people must judge it now. In an effort to inform, I briefly review some of the record of the 91st Congress, mentioning issues which appear of major public interest.

The present Congress has been as willing, in my opinion, to create new and costly Government programs as was its immediate predecessor, though neither the 90th nor the 91st Congress showed the proclivity along that line that the 89th Congress demonstrated. At the same time, this Congress has been as understandably reluctant as its predecessors to provide the added revenues through taxation needed to fund those programs. As a result, Congress has been obliged to raise the public debt limit, once in 1969 and again in 1970. The actual expenditure of appropriated funds is within the control of the Executive, and President Nixon has been applying the brakes on

Federal spending at all practical points. The time came, however, when this Congress mandated the President to spend on some programs. He vetoed that bill but his veto was overridden.

As of now, all of the regular 1971 appropriation bills have passed the House, but most of them are still to be acted upon in the Senate. Those who defend the appropriations record here will point out that the House action is within the President's budget. I think it fair to point out that some items greatly exceed the budget. Other appropriations are less than the President recommended. Perhaps the excesses and the savings about cancel each other, and the variation represents a difference in national priorities between the President's administration and the Congress in control of the political opposition.

FOREIGN POLICY

This Congress, in its legislative actions, has supported President Nixon in his foreign policy. The Senate, acting unilaterally but pursuant to power vested in either House of Congress by the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, repealed that resolution; but it acted to do so only after the administration stated the repeal of the resolution would cause no embarrassment in our foreign relations. Only one of the several amendments aimed at altering our policy in Southeast Asia which were offered in the Senate and given wide publicity reached the House, and the House refused to agree to it. The House has adopted resolutions of support for the President's policy. It has passed resolutions calling upon the North Vietnamese Government to respect the prisoner of war conventions.

TAXES

We all receive complaints about how high the taxes are, and indeed they are high. This Congress, however, will be heard to point out that it has reduced the Federal tax rates. It allowed the income tax surcharge to expire, and passed a tax reform measure which afforded tax relief in lower and moderate tax income brackets. At the same time, Congress was compelled to increase the base on which social security taxes are paid in order to finance social security benefit increases, and administratively the Government was forced to increase the charges for medical care for those over 65 in order to cover increased costs.

THE ENVIRONMENT

President Nixon's first official act in the decade of the 1970's was to sign into law an act of this Congress passed late in 1969 creating a Council on Environmental Quality. Later in the year, by reorganization plans approved by this Congress, the President established the Environmental Protection Agency, transferring to that agency various governmental programs to overcome pollution in air and water. This Congress is more keenly aware of the threats to our environment than any of its predecessors, and has been most active in legislation conserving our natural resources.

CRIME

The alarming increase in crime in recent years has engaged the Federal Con-

gress in concerns for criminal law enforcement, a function previously left to the States and localities except in its interstate aspects. The 90th Congress created a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and appropriated funds to assist States and local law enforcement agencies in upgrading and improvement of technique. The present Congress has enlarged that program. It is also in the final stages of putting on the Federal statute books a strong new law against organized crime, and providing new tools of law enforcement. The previous Congress made it a Federal crime to cross State lines for the purpose of instigating or fomenting riot. This Congress is in the last stages of making bombing a Federal crime, and federally regulating the manufacture and sale of explosives. This Congress has taken action to withhold Federal grants and loans to those who engage in campus disruption. The 91st Congress has enacted greatly needed crime legislation in the District of Columbia, and has reorganized the court system in the District. Congress has provided for needed additional Federal judges throughout the country in an effort to reduce the time between arraignment and trial. It is enacting a comprehensive new Federal law for the tightened control of drugs. Congress has recently enacted legislation to bar the use of the mails for the solicitation of minors in the sale of pornographic materials, and the House has passed legislation barring the unsolicited advertisement of salacious materials through any of the channels of interstate commerce.

LEGISLATIVE REFORM

This Congress passed the first act of legislative reform since 1946. Under it, the next Congress will operate under different rules in several particulars.

POSTAL REFORM

Congress enacted the Nixon administration's proposal for reform of the postal service. The Post Office Department will be succeeded by the U.S. Postal Service, headed by a commission appointed by the President. Its chief administrative officer will be a Postmaster General who will not be a member of the President's Cabinet. The Service is to be an independent agency within the structure of Government, with powers to regulate itself, even to fixing postage rates, and bargaining with its employees as to rates of pay and conditions of employment. There will be no right to strike, however, and the Postal Service must maintain an open shop.

ATTENDANCE AND VOTING RECORD

During the 1969 session there were 353 rollcalls in the House. Of these, 176 were quorum calls. I answered 170 of them. There were 177 rollcall votes, and I voted in 176 of them.

In the 1970 session, from its convening on January 19 through September 30, there were 325 rollcalls in the House. One hundred and forty of them were quorum calls, of which I answered 137. Out of 185 rollcall votes, I voted in 178 of them.

THIS IS THE WAY THE WORLD ENDS

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, some day the world will end in a whimper, some say a bang, according to Roger Starr writing in the October 1970 issue of *American Heritage*. His thoughtful article, entitled "This Is the Way the World Ends," deals with environmental factors and stresses individual involvement in saving the earth. The article follows:

THIS IS THE WAY THE WORLD ENDS

(By Roger Starr)

A few weeks ago my eighteen-year-old son went to bed after me, leaving the lamps burning and the radio playing all through the night. I conclude from this that the human race is indeed doomed. Lest I be taken for something of a crank, let me explain that—

My son had spent the earlier part of the evening haranguing me about the destruction of man's environment. He indicted the corporate society for polluting the sweet air with noxious automobile exhausts and corrupting the healing rivers in a frenzy to generate electricity. His familiar accusation frightened me far less than the melancholy discovery that the bill of particulars stopped short of incriminating his own carefree consumption. The world may indeed be trending toward an early end, and my son may know how to change it, but knowledge has not yet affected his behavior.

I do not claim that his few blithely squandered kilowatt-hours will shatter the ecological system of the planet, but rather that many of those most deeply outraged by the spoliation of their habitat have scarcely begun to measure the changes that would be required—not merely of General Motors but of themselves—to bring the spoliation to a stop.

In short, I am afraid that if the world is in fact ending—for any of the reasons currently heard—men and women will sooner let it end than make the changes in their ways necessary to save it. The institutional and behavioral rearrangements, the challenges to implicit value judgments, and the inversions of habit that would be required to save the environment are so serious, so devastating to popular notions of personal freedom, that we may surrender to inertia and keep on as we are even as the world dies around us.

Do we agree that the world is in fact ending? So far, at least, few of us have risen to oppose the testimony of scientists on the speed with which the common physical environment is deteriorating. But do we really believe the implications of such testimony? Judging by past performance, if we really perceived a threat to our life-style—imagining our steak reduced to wheat germ, half the horsepower subtracted from our Mustang—we would rush to challenge the prophets of doom.

But the environmental experts have so far been sheltered from criticism behind a pair of misapprehensions. First, that the technique and aims of serious conservation are simple. Second, that only Bad People—polluters, big business, etc.—will be hurt. Even those leaders who have glimpsed that something crucial is at stake have politely wrapped in soft slogans the fist of the political clout they will need to save the natural environment. The nation, they tell us, requires a "rearrangement of its priorities," a suggestion that remains reassuringly bland because most of us have got fairly well along into adult life without ever learning who established

the priorities we have or what they are. After all, if we didn't know they were there, how could changing them hurt us? Or we are told the nation requires active steps to improve the "quality" of American life—a supposition that disarms opponents who cannot be expected to remember that the last major effort to improve the quality of American life resulted in the Eighteenth Amendment, which outlawed drinking alcohol.

If all the criteria that are urged today as the hallmarks of sound legislation—high moral purpose, dedication to an improvement of the quality of life, and a business-battered animus—were indeed vouchers of legislative wisdom. Prohibition would have been the outstanding triumph of the government of free man. But these moss-covered reflections are hidden from a new generation that is prepared to undertake new Noble Experiments as readily as it accepts a new rock combo.

But the size of the problem we face is proportional to its cause: the success of the human species, a success so overpowering that it threatens not only every other form of life on the planet but ultimately even man himself. A serious program of environmental conservation must therefore reinterpret the very success of the species as a kind of failure and redirect human activity accordingly—a radical job.

Undeterred, a large and growing number of scientists insist the danger to life is real, though they may disagree among themselves over what constitutes the most pressing danger. Some, upset by significant changes in the basic chemistry of the air or transfixed by man's delight in concocting deadly chemicals, subscribe to variants of a sort of Bang Theory—that all will end in a crash. Others, observing the relentless growth of population and the staining of the earth with the wrack and offal tossed off by human concentrations, accept a Whimper Theory—that earth's life-giving resources will gradually be eroded until men fall before generations of bacterial predators or slay each other in a vain scramble for the remaining crumbs.

Dr. Lamont C. Cole, of Cornell University, spells out one of the more spectacular variants of the Bang Theory. He points out that the chemical industry already produces extremely powerful herbicides and defoliants, chemicals that extinguish plant life even in highly dilute solutions. Dr. Cole imagines several tankers filled with such solutions fendering in a section of the Atlantic Ocean especially rich in diatoms—the minute, single-celled algae that throw off vital oxygen while photosynthesizing organic compounds. Plankton—microscopic forms of sea life—feed on diatoms; crustaceans and fish feed on plankton; ultimately, higher animals and man depend on this same chain for their own food. Dr. Cole points out that such a herbicide accident might deplete the diatom population of the ocean beyond recovery, severing the chain of life itself.

If you are unpersuaded that this is a clear and present danger, consider a slow-motion version of the Bang Theory: the consequence of a change in the carbon dioxide content of the air as industrial man revs up his ally, friend, and prime mover, the internal-combustion engine. As any good garage mechanic knows, all internal-combustion engines are driven by the explosion of gasoline vapor and air inside the cylinders of the engine block. Whence comes the gas? From petroleum, which is itself the fluid hydrocarbon residue of countless corpses of tiny sea animals, accumulated over millions of years in crevices and pools in the earth's crust. How did these sea animals build the hydrocarbon compounds that we are so busily exploding to drive our engines? By absorbing carbon dioxide, a gas, from the atmosphere removing and releasing the oxygen, and retaining the carbon in their bodies. What has been happening in the past one hundred years? A tremendous share of the stored hydrocarbon

compounds has already been recombined with oxygen in the process of driving giant diesel-powered oil-burning ships across the seas or two-cycle gasoline-powered mowers across our lawns.

What is the significance of this reversal of the chemistry that created the life-sustaining atmosphere? A confirmed Banger will offer a variety of alternatives, depending on how he weighs the evidence that informs his prophecy. One possibility is that the soiling of the atmosphere by the by-products of combustion will block some of the solar heat energy passing through the atmosphere to the earth. The temperature on the earth will drop. A small drop in mean temperature produces a mighty change in climate; ergo, a new ice age. Other qualified observers point out that the earth loses heat by radiation and heat radiates less efficiently as the CO₂ in the atmosphere increases. If earth-heat cannot so easily penetrate the gaseous bubble that surrounds the earth, the earth will become hotter, not colder; ergo, not a new ice age but a new flood, resulting from the melting of the polar icecap. The oceans would rise considerably. Two hundred feet seems like a reasonable guess, a change in sea level that would obliterate New York, London, Tokyo, Calcutta, Venice, and just about every other coastal city you can think of.

The frustrating point of these and similar prophecies is that by the time we receive unequivocal warnings of what is happening, it will already be too late to do much about reducing the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere. The Bangers offer us an undertone of anxiety to carry with us wherever we go.

The Whimper theorists, who infer from accelerating overpopulation a threat to survival, tantalize us with a hope; but the hope hangs on social changes that will be extremely difficult to arrange and even more difficult to enforce.

Specialists in population trends, working in the wake of British economist Thomas Malthus, the original alarmist, have been worried about the vast population increase since the middle of the eighteenth century in Western Europe; more recently, throughout the world. Not that women have become more fertile, but that the humane introduction of modern public-health and medical techniques has enabled more infants to survive and reach reproductive age, and the population has increased explosively.

To help offset the accompanying havoc, the demographers have anticipated that the overpopulated, underdeveloped countries would imitate the agricultural miracles of the industrialized West. Of these, two of the most miraculous have been the development of chemical insecticides (read DDT) and fertilizers (read phosphates and nitrogen compounds.) These cheery expectations have curdled since the word has gotten out that while DDT is remarkably effective as a short-term insecticide, it is even more effective as an environmental poison. To make the case even worse, it is almost impossible to limit DDT to local application, and it decomposes with tragic slowness, meanwhile interfering with the vital processes of fish and animals.

Now that the United States government has finally moved to restrict the use of DDT, others—not only those involved in the manufacture of DDT have warned that the ban itself has serious human consequences. Spokesmen for several African countries claim that DDT is the only chemical available to protect their food supply from insect marauders. They claim that its ban would seriously reduce the already inadequate diet of their people now, without waiting for some distant time when the possible genetic effects of the chemical might make themselves felt at the human level.

The recipe devised for feeding the underdeveloped countries requires fertilizers as well as insecticides. While the fertilization problem may have seemed simple to the de-

demographers of twenty years ago, new problems have now emerged. Fertilizers are nitrogen and phosphorus compounds stretched with inert fillers. The fertilizers do not remain in the topsoil into which they have been folded. Rainfall and irrigation leach them down into the aquifers and ultimately into the streams and rivers. These compounds are equally effective in stimulating plant life in water, where the resulting growth slows stream flow, affecting the oxygen-bearing capacity of water in which the decaying vegetation competes for dissolved oxygen with human and animal wastes and aquatic animals. Ultimately, the water becomes unfit for any but the simplest forms of life. The sad condition of Lake Erie is a famous case in point.

Another problem arises from the need to transport bulky, heavy fertilizers to these countries, which so often lack the mineral resources and/or the electric power for local high-volume production. The tonnages to be carried and the distances over which they must move, according to Professor Georg Borgstrom, of Michigan State University, present a logistical challenge greater than all of the war transport of World War II.

It is, of course, possible that technological achievements yet hardly dreamed of might enable men in the near future to supplement their food intake by artificial photosynthesis or by turning inedible organic compounds—lumber, for example—into edible form. But unless one is willing to hazard, at least in theory, the future starvation of the race (preceded, no doubt, by political turmoil on a colossal scale, supplemented by war), the only reasonable alternatives are stopping population growth or minimizing by rigid controls the demands made by a larger population on dwindling resources. Or both.

What can be done to arrest further growth of population? One thinks immediately of education and propaganda to encourage voluntary limitation on family size. So far no one knows how this job should be done, or how effective it might be, or what demographic changes it might entail. Furthermore, there would be strong resistance to the mounting of such a program at governmental expense, and not only because of the Roman Catholic Church. Racial and class considerations intrude. Malthus, in his day, was greeted with virulent criticism by liberal champions, who claimed that his advocacy of limits on population growth obscured his real intent: to prevent the dilution of concentrated wealth among growing numbers of children of the poor.

Similarly, within the United States birth control and family planning have been criticized by some black leaders as a masked attempt to stunt the growth of black population—and political muscle.

Is there any simple way out? The most direct way to reduce the birth rate would involve compulsory measures: sterilizing mothers who have produced two children, for example; or implanting, as has been suggested, some hormonal device in each male at birth that would keep him sterile until he obtained a temporary neutralizing agent, to be dispensed by the state only to those who have fewer than two living offspring. Such denial of choice could scarcely be imposed by a freely elected government until the population had already reached disastrous levels, which is another way of saying that free men would accept such a limitation on their families only after it had become futile.

It is possible to dream up part-way schemes—such as the denial of the six-hundred-dollar tax deduction for any child after the first two. But would such an attack succeed in reducing average family size? Nobody knows; it is safer to predict, however, that in a free society there would be a reaction against any official policy that discriminated so clearly in favor of the rich. The population-control measures suggested—a mixture of tax incentives and education—

bulk very small against the natural fecundity of a healthy species living in acceptable conditions. In short, stabilization of the population by adjustments in the birth rate would be chancy, unpredictable.

If population growth can scarcely be curbed by the means at our disposal, man's efforts to preserve his environment depend on lowering the demands made by each of us. While most people talk as though the environment were simply to be preserved by a process teaching good manners to anonymous corporations, this is the easiest part of the job. If, taking the United States as our first target, we decide that the continued construction of electric generating waterways, a limit must be placed on their construction threatens the atmosphere and the construction. But if the population keeps growing, such a limit can exist only if the population is prepared to cut back its per capita use of electric power. In the United States, 90 per cent of the new power production since 1940 has gone to feed increased per capita appetites, not to provide electricity for new population.

But should the electricity allowance vary, depending on the appetite for electric power in different consumers? That hardly seems fair. How else could it be managed? How could any limit be set on the use of electric power in industry, especially if industry were constantly expanding its manufacturing processes in order to provide products for a growing population?

Because most of the current talk about environmental protection concerns the pollution of air and water by the effluents of urban populations and of industrial plants, most attention has been paid to the alleged reluctance of municipalities and manufacturers to pay the bill. Whenever I suggest that protecting the environment from a constantly growing horde of humanity will require personal sacrifice as well as a punch in the nose of General Motors, my listeners are astounded. In truth, some manufacturers have only reflex objections to pollution control, and some wholeheartedly support the idea provided that their customers pay any added costs and that all competing manufacturers be similarly burdened. This would require national pollution standards for manufacturing plants, standards that would prove devilishly difficult to establish and enforce.

But establishing legal standards for plant effluents would turn out to be the easiest part of the job. It would be much more difficult to ensure that no one produced anything that could menace the environment, either in its direct use or in its eventual disposal.

Ultimately, to protect the environment from pollution by waste products generally, the manufacture of everything would have to be licensed, a cumbersome bureaucratic constraint that at the very least would severely inhibit the best of inventive capitalism along with the worst.

The unavoidable upshot of all this is that if numbers of people cannot be reduced, the natural environment will be protected only by reducing the material standards of their lives. Since the products of combustion threaten the atmosphere men breathe, the use of combustion must be kept as low as possible. This means, for only one example, that the number of internal-combustion engines must be limited and priorities assigned to their use and manufacture. If these engines in automobiles, boats, and airplanes are to be limited, then travel itself must be rationed or diverted to more efficient public conveyances. Naturally, the size of automobiles and their engines will have to be controlled along with their number.

We must recognize that the deliberate lowering of the standard of living would have to continue not only through such pleasant but relative tangential pursuits as high-speed travel and the manufacture of nondistinguishable containers, but also to

food, clothing, and housing. If the United States must reckon with a constantly increasing human population, it must consequently provide for a constantly increasing animal population, for our countrymen are in the habit of deriving their proteins largely from meat. The cattle and poultry, naturally, eat vegetable products in the course of manufacturing in their bodies the proteins destined for human consumption. To feed more animals would require more agriculture; which would require more fertilizers, probably more intensively used; which would cause more water pollution, among other problems.

Clothing also is largely produced from animal and vegetable fibers, wool and cotton being only the prime examples. A larger population requiring additional sheep or cotton plants would also place a heavy burden on the productive capacity of the land itself, land that, incidentally, already shows signs of erosion due to overgrazing and loss of fertility due to continuous cotton production. Increased use of artificial fibers could probably make possible the abatement of wool raising, which could then be replaced by meat production. The manufacture of artificial fibers, however, is a chemical process requiring large amounts of electric power and producing harmful chemical by-products.

As for housing, the nation has announced goals of 2.6 million units per year for the next ten years, a goal that is more than double the present pace of construction. But the figure represents the minimum number of units necessary to replace housing that is currently considered officially substandard and to provide for increased population. It is beginning to become clear that the required quantity of housing cannot be built unless standards are reduced, if four hundred million people are to live in the United States by the year 2030, only sixty years from now—one current prediction. This judgment is based on the apparent fact that the ready sources of materials needed in housing construction—such as iron, nonferrous metals, limestone, clay, sand, and stone—will have become exhausted or have been protected from further exploitation in an effort to preserve the quality of the environment near man's habitations. This has already foreclosed the use of dredged sand and terrestrial sand pits in and around the New York area, for example. In the past these sources furnished a large part of the concrete aggregates that built New York City. The more remote the material sources, the more energy must be used to transport the materials to the place they will be used (pollution again). Eventually, sheer material shortages will cut the amount of living space allowable to each individual.

Nothing about this is new; we are coming full circle. What we look forward to is a newly poverty-stricken world, a re-creation of the world in which everyone—or nearly everyone—lived before the Industrial Revolution. Then men were poor because they did not know how to exploit the natural resources of the planet. In the late twentieth century men will approach poverty again, because the remaining natural resources of the planet cannot be exploited at the old per capita rate for a new population without irreversible damage to the environment as a whole.

It was hard enough for men to endure poverty when they had no choice; it is infinitely harder to become poor by an act of will, knowing what one has abandoned, and its luxurious lure, but choosing to set it aside.

Some seem to believe that men and women will cut down their standard of living freely, keeping it down not merely for an emergency, but permanently. As proof, they often point to groups of the young who have proclaimed their adherence to a simpler life style, believing themselves liberated from the "thing" thrall of their parents. I may be blinded by generational suspicions, but I

have been unable to shed the notion that the freedom from "things" means for most of the young rather freedom from the effort of producing them. They expect that others will provide the guitars while they will make the music.

Equally suspect is the moral refusal of some of the young to impose behavioral standards on others. Thus it has been reported to me as a profound ethical truth that in the good life every man should be allowed not merely to say and think whatever he wishes but to do as he wishes. Interference with man's total license is life-destroying; its absence, life-creating. My problem with this is that it constitutes an odd foundation on which to base the reversal of environmental spoliation, for it was precisely in this spirit that the land was opened up to the rapaciousness of its ruggedly individualistic pioneers. I suspect that growing interest in ecological matters among the young will eventually overcome their lust for license. Ultimately, the voluntarists will emerge on the familiar plateau of authoritative restraint, having discovered that war on spoliation will ultimately involve the same tactics of discipline that economists and public officials developed during the military wars of the twentieth century: rationing.

The suggestion that man's survival depends on his willingness to accept a lower standard of living, licensed and rationed, runs directly against the grain of Western history since the Renaissance. The spiral of rising expectations has been accompanied—and sustained—by rising productivity. One reason that men have been generally satisfied with theoretical equality in the face of gross actual inequality is because of their faith that generally rising standards of living will tend to mitigate the inequalities. What will happen when this possibility is foreclosed by the downward drift of production in an effort to save the environment? Must society then rest on a foundation of authoritarianism? Survivors in a lifeboat can, without relinquishing their egalitarian beliefs, cut down their equally shared water consumption from a pint to a half pint per day to preserve themselves in the hope of eventual salvation; but can any consensual method permanently halve the water ration on Life Raft Earth when the common danger is not commonly recognized and when this may leave some men with more than they can drink while others thirst?

Ultimately it seems that a serious program for saving the environment can depend on nothing other than authoritarianism, if only because the threat to the environment itself is announced to us not directly yet but largely through authority. The problems of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, radiation, eutrophication of water, scarcely affect our senses. We must be told of the dangers by authorities, and the predictions of future trends depend entirely on the soundness of the forecasts of those people who may know more than the common run of men, but who have in the past often been wrong.

Will young people continue to treasure a program for conserving the environment when they find that it pinches their equally treasured right to do exactly as they please? And that it derives from the very authority that, above all other sources of knowledge, they distrust? Will it not seem more reasonable to them to expect that if authority knows so well what will happen, authority will also devise ways—painless, of course—to avoid fate? That it will extract nourishment, fuel, water, and air from the environment by ways not yet envisioned? Will it not be easier to believe that the present population forecasts will be no more reliable than tonight's forecasts of tomorrow's weather?

Rather than accept life on terms totally inconsistent with the values we have inherited from generations past, will we not prefer to dance to the old music right out to the edge of the world, and then over it?

MISS JOSEPHINE NICHOLSON McDONELL CONCERNED ABOUT OUR SERVICEMEN'S PROBLEMS

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, while almost every American is deeply concerned about the problems of our servicemen and would like to alleviate some of the hardships many endure, there is a remarkable, compassionate, gentle lady who lives in Owosso, Mich., who is devoting her life to this very thing.

Miss Josephine Nicholson McDonell's name is familiar to many, many men who have served in our Armed Forces over the years and have benefited in a warm and personal way from her indomitable efforts in their behalf. Miss McDonell has created and carried on almost single-handedly since 1948, an organization known as "Joe's Operation Telephone Home" which provides free telephone calls for enlisted men in the five lowest pay grades and for wounded men, regardless of rank, serving overseas. All calls are made through the military affiliate radio system with Miss McDonell paying the bill for the commercial phone from our coasts' reception points to the servicemen's homes. "Jo's Operation Telephone Home" is financed by donations from all over the country with all donations going directly into the fund. Miss McDonell pays all administrative expenses herself and has never accepted any compensation for her work although the program is indeed a full-time project. It is difficult to envision the redtape and paperwork Miss McDonell plows through to keep things going although she is quick to say that military officers have been most cooperative and eager for the services she has provided their men.

"Jo," as she likes to be called, was only 16 years old when she began helping to entertain troops at military installations throughout Michigan. During World War II, she volunteered and served as a servicemen's adviser and following the war she worked as a volunteer at Percy Jones Hospital at Custer Air Force Base in Michigan until it closed in 1955. She was responsible for opening the first chapel within a military stockade in the 5th U.S. Army area and has been honored for her work by the 2d Infantry Division stationed in Korea when she was presented with the Division's Warriors Statue and Injun Scout Insignia, usually given only to those who serve on the Korean Demilitarized Zone. But the tributes she appreciates the most are the letters from "her men" and their families telling how much a particular call meant such as the message she received recently from the parents of a young man who was killed in Cambodia on May 25. They wanted her to know that through her good work and concern, they had been able to talk with their son the day before he died and that they will never forget that memory.

Miss McDonell has been recognized on other occasions for her efforts which also

include the sponsorship of a Governor's proclamation ceremony in the State Capital of Lansing, Mich., each year in observance of Armed Forces Day and many good deeds for active and Reserve military men. However, I think she deserves a national salute for her hours and days and years of dedication and for this reason, I insert a moving article, by Vera Henry, which appeared in the Detroit Sunday News magazine of July 5, 1970, in the RECORD so that many may know of what one lady is doing for our men in the Armed Forces:

MISS JOSEPHINE NICHOLSON McDONELL CONCERNED ABOUT OUR SERVICEMEN'S PROBLEMS

(By Vera Henry)

When the call came from California, that black January day, my son's beloved young voice said, "We're leaving now, Mom. Good-bye and thanks for everything. It was real good."

"Thanks for the warm fragrance of cookies, for footprints in the summer sand; for band-aids and bicycles and Christmas trees; for the times we scolded and the times we didn't; for the smell of popcorn on a rainy day and a room that was often astoundingly untidy."

For love.

I hung up the telephone receiver knowing I might never again hear his voice. Knowing that if he came back he would not be the same person.

I tried to follow him on a globe that had suddenly become at one time too large and too small.

Hawaii—Wake Island—Guam—Manila—Vietnam.

Vietnam—a country that, when I went to school, had not even been called that. A part of French Indo-China, where, I had a vague impression, they raised water buffalo and rice.

The first of the envelopes bearing a blue map of Vietnam in the corner arrived. He was stationed close to the Cambodian border, northeast of Saigon.

"These poor Vietnamese make me think of a starving kitten someone has fed so it hangs around the door, hoping for another hand-out," he wrote.

I thought of the stray animals and even people he had brought home because they needed help. I knew beyond question that he had courage, but compassion and a reverence for life are uneasy companions for a soldier.

There is a picture of my son in cub scout uniform saluting the American flag.

There is another picture of him taken during basic training, looking very serious and handsome in his infantry uniform and behind him the Stars and Stripes.

I came to recognize the duplicate of that pose often on the obituary page.

I wrote daily letters which I hoped were cheerful.

Once a week I sent a small package with bullion cubes, foot powder, safety pins, saturated pads, anything that might make even a moment's comfort for a man living in 100-degree heat, his only possessions in the pack on his back.

Mail delivery was the most important part of the day. He wrote often, although, unusual for him, his letters were brief. Sometimes there would be a long delay between letters, then four in a batch. My understanding mailman might wave from down the street, or else, handing me a batch of miscellaneous mail, say, "Nothing today."

When a letter came, I looked at the date. Ten days ago, two weeks—he had been alive and uninjured.

My own day started with the seven o'clock morning newscast and ended with the eleven o'clock news at night. I read every word of war news. From the first, it was apparent that my son was in a heavy combat

area. His job as squad leader was a dangerous one.

My cheerful letters cannot have been as successful as I thought.

"You aren't to worry," he wrote. "The numbers on my mailing address are much like a regular civilian address. The infantry division number is about the equivalent of the state where you live. When there is a casualty in this infantry division, it is about the same as saying someone in Michigan was killed in a traffic accident."

That helped a little, but quite by accident I saw on TV the devastated firebase camp where he was stationed, the morning after it had been hit in a heavy raid. The battered remnants of the company lined up, a last salute was fired over six empty helmets.

Not my son! Not my son! Only if not mine, then the loss is that of another woman.

That was a long, long week.

When I finally heard from him, he did not mention the attack although I learned later one of his best friends had been killed.

Sunday was always the worst day. There was no mail. All during training, he had phoned once a week. Our telephone bills had been astronomical but worth it.

On this particular Sunday, the news broadcast had showed the ambush of a group of American soldiers, fighting their way through the jungle.

Then my telephone rang.

"Sgt. Henry calling from Saigon," the operator said. "Will you accept the call?"

Would I accept it? If it cost everything I owned!

The operator tried to explain. The call was being relayed by radio. Only one person could talk at a time. I must give my message, then say "Roger" and wait for the other person to speak.

There was a pause on the line, then a voice, tired but unmistakable, said, "Hi, Mom."

Time was so short! There were so many important things to say!

I asked if the box of cookies I had sent had arrived safely. I told him what the weather was like and asked what time it was in Saigon.

The inane words didn't really matter. All that did matter was that for this moment, my son was as near as the sound of his voice.

For the first time in months I know beyond doubt that at that very minute he was alive.

After I hung up, I who no longer believed in prayer and who never cried, did both.

I had no idea how much an overseas call might be, I expected it to be enormous.

A few days later, I had another surprise. A letter from my son's commanding officer told me that the phone call that had brought me so much peace of mind was the gift of Jo's Operation Telephone Home.

"Jo" I discovered was a magnificent tiny lady, Miss Josephine McDonell, of Owosso. She is a sixth generation Detroit and military to her bones. She comes from a long line of British officers including several generals and the commander of the English frigate squadron at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. Her affiliation with Selfridge AFB dates back to its beginning, when her mother made the first windproof goatskin vest for pilots.

"Jo" claims to be 69 years old. She doesn't look it. She might have had a very pleasant sheltered life. Instead she has what must be one of the most impressive records of volunteer service to the military in the country.

Of her many splendid achievements, Jo's Operation Telephone Home is her special pride.

Started 22 years ago as a Christmas project, it now extends over the entire year. Enlisted men in grades E-7 and under who serve in combat or have been wounded, may telephone free of charge. The fund also includes telephone calls from servicemen aboard American vessels around the world.

Selection of individual servicemen is made on the basis of need, battle record or time in combat. He may also be selected by the lottery system.

Each commercial call from Vietnam costs approximately \$25. When MARS (Military Affiliate Radio System) is used, the charge on the call is rated on the distance it travels in this country, similar to any continental long-distance call.

The call is completed when the military makes a ham operator "patch," which connects the Vietnam radio message with the Bell system's wire network over here. The cost is paid by "Jo's Operation Telephone Home."

"Jo is fiercely proud of the integrity of her fund. Since she volunteers her own time and she herself pays all administration costs, every penny contributed is used directly for the benefit of the troops. She refuses to accept cash. Checks in amounts from five dollars up, are made payable to "Jo's Operation, Telephone Home" and sent to "Jo's Operation Telephone Home," c/o Postmaster Owosso, Michigan 48867.

"Jo" puts in from 12 to 16 hours a day on her project. As long as our men are in Vietnam, she says she can not take a holiday. The drain on her strength must be tremendous. Her reward is the plaques from the various branches of the service that line her apartment and grateful letters from servicemen and their families.

War brings more than misery and maiming and death to the men in uniform. It is impossible to estimate the toll in terms of shattered happiness, the anguish of separation and of uncertainty, the constant fear that corrodes like acid. Who can take their measure or estimate the loss?

One determined civilian found her own way to fight back. Through the ugly violence of war comes the ring of a bell. Jo's operation Telephone Home is calling. Across thousands of miles of sea and foreign land, another serviceman, like my own son, for a few precious minutes is back home.

ELECTION-YEAR SOCIAL SECURITY PLOY

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the election-year social security ploy being perpetuated by the party across the aisle. It constitutes a fraud and deception of America's 20 million social security recipients. After grabbing headlines with proposed 10 percent increased benefits, they have quietly shelved the bill until the lame-duck session in November, after the elections. Of course, millions of people think that they are going to start getting increased benefits right away. This election-year vote buying with counterfeit promises illustrates the need to take social security out of the political arena.

The Republican Party for the past 2 years has been pushing for a cost-of-living increase for social security recipients. President Nixon has recommended this approach. Our senior citizens should not be subjected to election-year tug of wars. They could have been getting bigger checks for the past year if the majority party had been thinking of their welfare instead of scheming to manipu-

late their social security checks for political purposes. It is time for this Congress to give the older generation a break by making social security a retirement aid, not a political football.

**GROUNDBREAKING CEREMONY—
SAN MARCOS FOUNDATION**

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, there is a genuine need for low-cost housing in many of our cities today, and this is particularly true in Santa Clara County, Calif. It is a happy instance, therefore, when a stride forward can be justly claimed.

Such a stride forward is the housing project sponsored by the San Marcos Foundation of San Jose, Calif. The groundbreaking ceremony that took place October 1, 1970, was an event that caused many in the Ninth District to sit up and take note. Indeed, the ceremony had a profound significance. It meant that families would now have homes at prices they could afford. Homes not only adequate, but beautiful, with a unique range of services structured into the total community. It is a project that I have followed with deep interest.

This is neither the beginning nor the end, Mr. Speaker. There have been other efforts and there will continue to be efforts made toward low-cost housing as long as the need exists. We are pledged to it, and with institutions like the San Marcos Foundation that pledge will surely be redeemed.

The following is the article that appeared in the San Jose Mercury-News, Wednesday, September 30, 1970:

SAN MARCOS HOUSING GROUND BREAKING SLATED

Groundbreaking ceremonies for the first in a series of low-middle income housing complexes, sponsored by the San Marcos Foundation, will take place at 4 p.m. tomorrow in South San Jose site.

Representatives of the Mexican-American community, industry, the City of San Jose, the county and the FHA will be on hand to dedicate the breaking of ground for Villa San Pedro, a 100-unit early California style development.

It will be constructed at the corner of Bendorf and Carryback avenues near Edenvale Elementary School, south of Capitol Expressway between Bayshore Freeway and Monterey Highway. The public is invited to attend the ceremonies.

Victor H. Camacho, founder and first chairman of the non-profit San Marcos Foundation; Carlos Perez-Medina, chairman; S. W. Burriss, president of Lockheed Missiles & Space Co.; San Jose Mayor Ronald R. James; Santa Clara County Supervisor Sig Sanchez; and Robert Gillan, chief underwriter of the FHA Regional Insuring Office in San Francisco, will participate in the ceremonies.

The \$1,550,000 project will cover a five-acre site, with extensive landscaping and special care taken to preserve a stand of apricot trees and the rural nature of the area. Four two-story historical adobe-style apartment structures of 16 units each and nine four-unit town houses will be built around a central plaza containing a 1700-square-foot community center.

Villa San Pedro will provide rentals for low-middle income families of one, two, three and four bedroom units from 660 to 1,200 square feet. The project is funded by FHA and is designed to provide healthful suburban living within walking distance of shopping, schools and other necessary facilities.

A unique facet of the San Marcos program provides special services at Villa San Pedro, such as child care, assistance in pre and post natal care, a preventive medicine program in cooperation with Stanford Medical Center, legal, immigration and other social services.

Contract for Villa San Pedro has been let by the Foundation board to Baskin Development Co., with construction scheduled to begin this month for completion in May 1971. Architects are Van Bourg-Nakamura & Associates.

The San Marcos Foundation board of directors is composed of representatives from the Mexican American community, education, social services, six local corporations—FMG, Hewlett-Packard, Pacific Telephone Co., Syntex, Varian and Lockheed—and the Joint Drywall Training Committee of California representing the building trades.

**INFLATION HURTS ELDERLY WITH
FIXED INCOMES WORST**

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the burden of inflation lies heavily on all Americans, but most heavily on elderly retirees who must live on fixed incomes. Wages, to a degree, have kept up with the inflationary spiral, but those living on pensions, social security, annuities, and savings accounts are falling further and further behind.

The dollars they saved during their working years to support them in retirement have been eroded so badly by inflation that many senior citizens today live near or below the poverty level.

The present administration, which is so free with money for the Pentagon, for corporate farmers, for banks and for big business, shows little sympathy for the plight of the elderly.

As a presidential candidate in 1968, Mr. Nixon pledged "policies of sound fiscal management so as to end the alarming inflation which eats up so much of the savings and pensions of the elderly."

After 22 months in office, the results have hardly lived up to this promise. The rate of inflation has doubled, the cost of living has soared beyond belief, and interest rates have hit their highest levels in more than 100 years.

These cold economic statistics are translated for senior citizens into the hard reality of having less and less money for food, rent, taxes, clothing, and medical care.

Again, in 1968, Presidential Candidate Nixon recognized the need of older Americans "for better housing, specially designed for their particular needs, located close to shopping, medical, cultural and transportation facilities, and offering opportunities for human contact with a broad range of age groups."

Thoughtful words, but again followed by unthoughtful action. President Nixon vetoed the 1971 appropriations bill for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which would have provided money for that housing he had promised earlier. I joined with many others here in the House in an attempt to override that veto, but we were not successful.

President Nixon justified his veto on the grounds that it would help combat inflation. What an irony for the elderly retirees. They must bear the brunt of inflation twice over. First, they see their savings and income deflated by inflation, and then they are the ones who must suffer again so that inflation can be halted.

Bank profits have risen in the past 2 years. Why not let them carry the burden? Why not the big oil companies, who still enjoy the depletion allowance? Why not the corporate landowners who receive billions of dollars for letting their land remain idle? Why not the huge industrial empires which rake in billions from military contracts?

I propose that we stop making promises that we do not intend to keep to our senior citizens and start keeping some of the promises which we have already made. We have time and time again committed ourselves to the principle that no senior citizen, having worked hard and paid taxes for many years, should be required to live in poverty. Yet, nearly five million senior citizens now fall below the poverty line; more than two million are on welfare; and medicare, even though it has brought great help to millions, still only covers 45 percent of their health care expenditures.

We should extend medicare to cover prescription drugs. We should improve social security widows' benefits coverage, raise the earnings ceiling, provide cost-of-living protection, increase the Government contribution and raise present benefit levels. I have introduced legislation to provide these changes and will continue to work for its passage.

I supported the 15-percent increase in social security benefits that went into effect earlier this year, despite the President's threat to veto the increase as too inflationary. The Senate Finance Committee has just announced a decision to recommend another 10-percent increase, with a \$100 monthly minimum benefit, effective next January. This will eventually have to be reconciled in a joint House-Senate conference with the House-approved 5-percent increase and \$67.20 minimum monthly benefit. I will support the higher increases when this bill comes back to the House for further consideration, and I will oppose any Presidential veto in the name of inflation control.

The President has been given tools by this Congress to control inflation, which he has refused to use. I will not stand by and see senior citizens made the sacrificial scapegoats to fight inflation while available controls have never been used and other segments of the economy are continuing to prosper.

Mr. Speaker, as you know, Congress has passed legislation, in addition to social security increases, which provides needed assistance to senior citizens. Among these are:

The Civil Service Retirement Financing Act, which provided needed improvements for Federal employees.

The bill providing needed hospital construction money, under the Hill-Burton Act, which was successfully passed over a Presidential veto.

The appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which will continue successful senior citizen programs such as Foster Grandparents, legal assistance for the elderly, and Operation Mainstream, although funding levels are still too low to allow these programs to reach many senior citizens who could benefit from them.

The amendments to the Older Americans Act, to authorize continued funding and to expand service and volunteer programs under the act for senior citizens.

There is still much more to be done if we are to keep the promises already made to our senior citizens. I have proposed the following legislation to this end:

A bill to establish an older workers community service program to promote and foster useful part-time work opportunities in community service activities for senior citizens.

A bill to provide fair and reasonable financial assistance for relocation to those who are forced to move from their homes by urban renewal, highways and other federally financed construction projects. All too often, it is our senior citizens who are forced to relocate because of these projects.

A bill to provide reduced air fares for senior citizens so that they may visit relatives and friends more easily and more often.

We must not only keep our past promises, but also look to our future obligations to the senior citizens of tomorrow. Their years of hard work have surely earned them the right to adequate incomes, quality medical care, decent housing and a dignified and comfortable retirement.

CONGRESSMAN BOW REPORTS

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, at the close of each Congress I prepare a summation for circulation to the people on the work we have done.

	1970 Johnson budget	1971 Nixon budget	Change
Defense.....	\$77,740,200,000	\$68,745,666,000	-\$9,994,534,000
Income security.....	43,832,000,000	50,384,000,000	+6,552,000,000
Education.....	3,566,212,000	3,996,824,000	+400,612,000
Health.....	14,957,000,000	13,265,000,000	-1,692,000,000
Housing, independent offices.....	15,525,182,000	17,468,223,500	+1,943,041,500

The \$10 billion saved in defense is only a beginning. President Nixon is rapidly bringing the war in Southeast Asia to an end and reducing our commitments worldwide. Foreign aid is cut in half. We should be able to end the draft next year. In these policies he has my entire support. As war savings grow, additional

This is my report to the people of my congressional district on the work that I have done in the 91st Congress and the work of Congress generally. This is the 10th biennial report.

There have been 5,052 rollcalls during my service in Congress. I have answered over 90 percent of all rollcalls despite the fact that the demands of the district and official business occasionally require me to be away while the House is in session. Few men are on public record on as many critical issues.

I have worked for adequate Federal services to the people and against unnecessary Federal programs or Federal interference in our personal lives and local governments. I have campaigned against debt and inflation and for economical operation of the Government with the lowest possible tax burden. My record shows that I have voted consistently in accordance with the principles on which I have asked and received public support. My voting record on the major bills of this Congress is included in this report.

As senior member of the Appropriations Committee in my party, the expenditure of tax dollars is a major concern. Taxpayers are shortchanged when Members of Congress vote to provide Government agencies with too much money. It seems to be almost irresistible to many men and women to support extravagant sums whether or not there is money in the Treasury. The resulting debt builds inflation and reduces the value of the dollar appropriated.

During this Congress we have had a rollcall vote on passage of 21 major appropriation bills. I have voted for 14 of them. I have voted against six of them because they were too big. Three have been vetoed by the President because they were inflationary. I have voted to sustain those vetoes. Two of the vetoes were sustained.

These votes against appropriations do not indicate objection to the programs concerned. They are protests against waste.

NEW PRIORITIES IN FEDERAL BUDGETS

For the first time in 20 years the 1971 Nixon budget provided more money for human needs and domestic programs than for defense. In each of the 2 years of the Nixon administration we have reduced funds for the Defense Department while increasing funds for school lunches, education, housing, pollution control, and other constructive programs. This is a trend that will continue. The following table illustrates the trend:

money will be available to apply to other priority programs, to cut taxes and reduce the public debt.

ENVIRONMENT

Provisions of three Bow bills to strengthen control of air pollution, improve solid waste disposal and create new parks and recreation areas and im-

prove conservation of the public lands are included in measures that have passed the House and Senate this year. Two other Bow bills on the environment are still under study. One would establish the Environmental Financing Authority to assure communities the funds for their share of pollution control projects. The second would expand Federal aid for waste treatment plants and related projects.

My interest in environment goes back to my first term in Congress. I authored the original Saline Water Conversion Act, establishing an intensive research program for reclaiming brackish and salt water. This program has tremendous value now when water supply has become a serious environmental problem. At the same time we established the Taft Water Resources Center in Cincinnati which has provided us the technology to control water pollution. I support the President's effort to put all environmental agencies into a single department.

Those who believe that the environmental damage of 100 years can be corrected overnight will be disappointed. Those genuinely concerned will buckle down to the long and costly struggle to end additional pollution and restore clean air and water. Despite millions spent on research for 20 years there remain problems we do not know how to solve.

REVENUE PROBLEMS

I am cosponsor of the Federal revenue-sharing proposal initiated by President Nixon and endorsed by most of the local government bodies in the 16th district. It would reduce local tax burdens by returning a portion of our tax dollars to our counties and cities—over \$1.5 million in the 16th district the first year. This is a logical development from the Bow bill of 1957 when I proposed returning to the States for education 1 percent of all income tax collected in each State. That idea would have produced more dollars for education than is now provided without red tape.

JUSTICE, LAW AND ORDER

In this Congress I have supported five major legislative proposals by President Nixon to improve our system of justice, hasten trials and reestablish the rule of law. They include the District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedure Act, the Organized Crime Control Act, the bill to create 50 additional Federal judgeships, and the bill to control

the sale and use of explosives, a measure that I cosponsored which became an amendment to the crime control bill.

In addition we amended and improved the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and increased its appropriation in 2 years from \$63 million to \$480 million. Nearly \$200,000 of this sum has come back to our district for our new narcotics program, juvenile detention and rehabilitation and police equipment. For the first time in history, my Subcommittee on Justice Department appropriations recommended and Congress approved over \$1 billion in crime-control funds.

On a related subject, I introduced two anti-pornography bills, one of which has passed the House. It would forbid mailing obscene material to homes where there are minors.

GENERAL LEGISLATION

I also sponsored the postal reform bill which became law, the Equal Rights amendment which passed the House, four bills to regulate international trade and control imports of steel, electronics, and other items which are right now putting people out of work in this district. Some of the provisions of my bills are included in the Trade Act of 1970 which will be debated by the House in November.

I introduced again my bill for cost-of-living increase in social security payments. The provision was adopted during debate in the House but with a financing provision to which I object. The bill is pending in the Senate and is a first order of business, along with the House-passed Welfare Reform Act, of which I am also a sponsor, in November.

Other measures I sponsored which have not received attention include a bill to prohibit appropriations for the SST, establish additional national cemeteries, the revenue sharing plan, and a new American merchant marine program.

As usual, my capable staff has assisted me in handling hundreds of problems for veterans, servicemen, immigrants, persons on social security, students needing information or assistance, and others who must turn to the Federal Government for aid.

The mayor of Canton recently compiled a list of Federal aid, housing, sewer, highway, and other programs with which I have helped, showing over \$400 million to that city in recent years. At least an equal amount has gone with my assist-

ance to other communities and the counties. If we are going to pay a disproportionate share of the Federal aid burden, I intend that we shall receive every necessary and available Federal dollar to match local money on needed projects.

Article I of the Constitution creates the Congress as the citadel of our Liberty. This Capitol Dome is the symbol of the right of every American to have a voice in his Government. I am privileged to be that voice for 500,000 good Americans in Stark and Mahoning Counties. This is my voting record on major issues.

PRESIDENT NIXON SHOULD REJECT THE MAJORITY REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON OBSCENITY AND PORNOGRAPHY

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon most certainly should reject the majority report of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. The majority members of this Commission chaired by William B. Lockhart have produced an idiotic monstrosity which should be promptly disavowed by every sane right-thinking Member of the Congress.

Under the permission heretofore granted me, I include a newspaper item from the Washington Sunday Star of yesterday entitled "34 GOP Senators Hit Obscenity Panel Report" as well as an item from The National Catholic Register of the same date entitled "Clergymen Tell Senate: Ignore Smut Report":

34 GOP SENATORS HIT OBSCENITY PANEL REPORT

A majority of Senate Republicans has urged President Nixon to reject findings of a presidential commission which suggested repeal of laws prohibiting distribution of sexual material to consenting adults.

In a letter sent to Nixon yesterday, 34 GOP senators, including the entire Republican Senate leadership, expressed "strong disagreement" with some of the recommendations contained in the commission's recent report on obscenity and pornography.

The commission, created during the Johnson administration, 10 days ago recommended repeal of censorship laws affecting adults, but the panel urged new state legislation to curb material available to children.

"We respectfully request that you disavow this report, for we believe strongly that a vast majority of Americans will reject completely the findings and recommendations of the commission," the senators' letter to Nixon said.

"We especially deplore the recommendation to repeal all laws prohibiting the distribution of explicit sexual material to consenting adults," it said.

Senate GOP Leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania led the list of signers. Others included Assistant GOP Leader Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, and the three officers of the Senate conference and policy committee.

The only Republican senator from nearby Maryland or Virginia, Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland, was among the 34 signers.

1ST SESS.

Rollcall No.	Bill No.	Subject	Date	Bow Vote	Action
47	H.R. 514	Elementary and secondary education	Apr. 23, 1969	Yes	Passed.
113	H.R. 11651	Expand School Lunch Act	July 21, 1969	Yes	Do.
149	H.R. 13270	Income-tax reform	Aug. 7, 1969	Yes	Do.
158	H.R. 12085	Amend Clean Air Act	Sept. 4, 1969	Yes	Do.
177	H.J. Res. 681	Electoral college reform	Sept. 18, 1969	Yes	Do.
181	H.R. 12549	Council on Environmental Quality	Sept. 26, 1969	Yes	Do.
317	H.R. 4249	Voting Rights Act	Dec. 11, 1969	Yes	Do.

2D SESS.

22	H.R. 15165	Commission on Population Growth	Feb. 18, 1970	Yes	Passed.
56	H.R. 16196	District of Columbia crime control	Mar. 19, 1970	Yes	Do.
63	H.R. 4148	Water pollution control amendments	Mar. 25, 1970	Yes	Do.
83	H.R. 16311	Family Assistance Act	Apr. 16, 1970	Yes	Do.
136	H.R. 17550	Social security amendments	May 21, 1970	Yes	Do.
152	H.R. 17867	Foreign aid appropriations	June 4, 1970	No	Do.
315	H.R. 18583	Drug Abuse Control Act	Sept. 24, 1970	Yes	Do.
332	S. 30	Organized crime control	Oct. 7, 1970	Yes	Do.

CLERGYMEN TELL SENATE: IGNORE SMUT REPORT

WASHINGTON.—Members of Congress have been urged "to file in the wastebasket" the upcoming majority report of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.

Two dissenting members, both clergymen, of the 18-member commission made the recommendation in testimony before the Senate subcommittee on juvenile delinquency.

The report, was expected to recommend repeal of all laws that prohibit consenting adults from obtaining sexually explicit books, films and pictures.

Father Morton A. Hill, S.J., of New York City told the subcommittee that the commission has not "carried out the mandate of the Congress to recommend means to regulate effectively and constitutionally the traffic in obscenity and pornography."

A United Methodist minister from Nashville, the Rev. Winfrey C. Link, told the Senate unit:

"Any recognition of the validity of the majority report will be to the detriment of the nation and will lead to an ultimate breakdown of all that we have held sacred through the years."

The clergymen accused the commission's chairman, Dean William B. Lockhart of the University of Minnesota Law School, of coercion, repression and censorship.

BILL CURBS POLITICAL TV SPENDING

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the October 8, 1970, issue of the West Side Courier, a respected publication in the Detroit metropolitan area.

This excellent editorial pointed out convincing reasons why the legislation recently approved by Congress, S. 3637, to curb political spending for television, is strongly in the public interest and why its veto would be an act of crass disregard of the public interest and shameless partisanship.

TV SPENDING BILL

Though it contains some questionable provisions, the recently-passed bill to curb political spending on television is a far-reaching reform of political campaign financing which was badly needed.

In brief, the bill bars candidates from spending more than seven cents for each vote cast in the last election for the office involved. This limitation is somewhat offset by the requirement that television stations charge political candidates the lowest commercial rate charged major advertisers for air time.

The bill also repeals the present equal-time requirement which has often prevented political debates between major party candidates. It will probably not affect this Fall's elections (it goes into effect 30 days after being signed by the President).

The basic merit in the bill is the fact that it will enable poor as well as rich to offer for certain public offices. In recent years the cost of television has grown to such figures that, in some cases, candidates without private wealth or large outside sources of funds have been severely handicapped.

IS THE CORPORATION DEAD?

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD today a speech made by Dan W. Lufkin before the New England Council at Cheshire, Conn. I was unusually impressed by the refreshing combination of honesty and optimism in his outlook on today's society. Mr. Lufkin recognizes not only that the profit incentive is still the most vital ingredient in corporate success but that corporate survival is dependent upon the application of humane and ethical values. In a society plagued with environmental destruction, an urban crisis, a youth rebellion, a protracted war and increasing reliance on crime, violence and drugs, a constructive and positive approach such as this is essential if the challenge is to be squarely met.

The speech follows:

IS THE CORPORATION DEAD?

(By Dan W. Lufkin)

Twenty years ago, the playwright Arthur Miller shocked the American public with his modern tragedy, *Death of a Salesman*. In that play, an individual was destroyed by the system. A man who had given his life to the corporation was chewed up and spit out by that soulless organization when his usefulness had ended. As grim and as inhuman as Willie Loman's fate seemed, few doubted that the portrayal was accurate. The corporation seemed all-powerful, a blend of technology and human ambition which, in satisfying the demands of the mass, was moving rapidly away from dependence on the individual.

Twenty years ago, the tragic truth of Willie Loman was also underscored by the unfolding miracle of cybernetics. Not only was the individual increasingly meaningless to the corporation, but the computer and the automated machine seemed destined to replace him even in his highest creative tasks.

Throughout the 1950's and early 1960's the concept of corporate supremacy pervaded every aspect of American life—though there were some disturbing signs to be perceived, it is true. William H. Whyte wrote of the "organization man" in relatively unflattering terms; educators complained of apathy and conformity on the campus; personnel officers reported that applicants put a higher priority on the corporate retirement plan and benefit program than in the challenge of the job itself of moving down life's green fairways to the 19th hole in the sky. But even these small imperfections could not outweigh the massive promise of everlasting prosperity. Corporate profits surged ahead in a seemingly endless ascending arc. Cities overflowed into the countryside. Highways crowded out the small landowner—and automobiles clogged the highways. Factories worked 24 hour peacetime shifts to provide enough goods to satisfy the rapacious demands of a nation of consumers. Large corporations swallowed smaller ones as the conglomerate—headed by a seemingly infallible business wizard—became the symbol of the endless vitality and diversity of the American economy.

Then something began to happen to tarnish the brightness of this American dream. Television comics had joked about smog and the terrors of the Los Angeles freeway. But now millions began to experience them. Junior executives whose companies shipped them like freight to a succession of cracker-box suburbs began to find that life's

amenities were always somewhere beyond the horizon. The poor, the black, the disadvantaged, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican American began to demand their due from the profits of the corporate state. And then, in Archibald MacLeish's poetry "quite suddenly the top blew off." The soaring sixties began to sputter and die—caught in the morass of a protracted war—a decaying environment—an urban crisis—a youth rebellion—and a rising crescendo of crime, violence, drugs, and assorted obscenities. Twenty years after Willie Loman was destroyed by the establishment, his grandson was throwing rocks at it, planting bombs in it, advocating its overthrow. Is it any wonder that thoughtful men can seriously ask "Is the Corporation Dead?" and not really be certain of the answer.

For those businessmen whose life is bounded by the Yacht Club on the east and the Country Club on the west, complacency is still possible. But few such isolated executives still exist. And if they do, their children are reminding them, sometimes most painfully, that "The times are indeed changing." From the top of our society down there is a lack of faith in authority and a disbelief in old dreams. In a recent poll of students, 66% said they believed the President was not telling the truth. A majority felt that their education was irrelevant and they admitted to a total lack of a value system. They thought that American society was rapidly becoming a mere technocracy, without nobility of purpose—and they felt that most of our troubles stem from economic competition which puts profit above service.

Twenty years ago, by refusing to pay him \$40 a week, the corporation was able to dispose of Willie Loman and hound him to his death. It is dramatic irony, to say the least, that this year giant General Motors paid \$400,000 in damages to Ralph Nader as the price for its failure to hound him into silence. All the Willie Lomans of the world must have cheered at the news. And the corporate ideal received yet another nail in its coffin.

Although the nation's business schools and liberal arts colleges are still filled with young men and women eager to hitch their wagons to a corporate star, the new management generation is far less docile and unquestioning than any before. The values of the young, reared in affluence, are a far cry from those of their fathers whose sweat created the affluence. As Tony Athos has written in a provocative article for the Harvard Business Review entitled "Is the Corporation Next to Fall?", "The rewards of achievement . . . savored by the fathers who wrought it are merely taken for granted by the sons who have benefited from it." Instead of satisfaction with their own success and security, the new generation demands that corporations share their wealth with the poor and contribute more directly to fighting the wrongs that our industrial society has created.

Although there are only sporadic signs of actual revolt against the corporate bureaucracy, a growing restlessness and dissatisfaction are manifest among the best of our youth—and even some of their elders as well. Tony Athos' vision of junior executives on the rampage—disrupting meetings, singing songs, demanding defiance of decisions they disagree with—may be somewhat farfetched at the moment—but a generation whose hero is Ralph Nader is not going to tolerate for long corporate neutrality on the most urgent issues of the day.

Many of these issues fall under the general heading of "quality of life." Born under the shadow of the hydrogen bomb—reared during a long and cheerless war—educated by television in all the horrors of poverty, violence, and pollution—the generation now entering the corporate world will never swallow the line that earnings per share is the measure of all things good. Sweetening the stockholders equity is to them insufficient

justification for corporate existence. Though the generation of jobs and wealth is still regarded by them as the major concern of business, a growing number of young managers feel acutely that the profit motive and social responsibility are often in conflict. They argue persuasively that moral neutrality is inevitably immoral, just as we have argued for years that profitability without growth is inevitably loss. The corporation, they say, cannot operate in an ethical vacuum, but must include social responsibility in its decision-making process.

Without attempting to argue the merits of our policies in Southeast Asia, I would say that industrial involvement in Viet Nam war production has been a prime factor in alienating youth from the corporate establishment. While President Eisenhower's warning against the dangers of a military-industrial complex was abstract and philosophical, the sight and sound of destruction by bomb, bullet and napalm produced by that complex has created a crisis of conscience among most Americans. As an advertisement displayed in a recent magazine proclaims, "Who opposes the ABM? The scientists who may have to build it, that's who!"

But armament manufacturers have always been a target for the idealists of every society and every generation. Anti-war sentiment alone cannot explain the deep and widespread concern and discontent that is prevalent today. Its source is far closer to home—in the air we breathe—the water we drink—the land we live on. It is where quantity of production meets quality of life that the battle line against the modern corporation has been drawn. A decade ago, this conflict was dramatized by one lonely David ranged against the Goliath of organized industry. Today, consumerism is a rallying cry for millions—and no corporation has yet proven immune to the slingshots of its dedicated enemies. Every day's headline or television news program brings new evidence of corporate complicity in the rape of the environment and the destruction of the good life. From detergents to DDT; from mercury in the water to fly ash in the air; from oil spill in the Pacific to fish kill in Lake Erie—the American industrial giant seems to stumble from disaster to disaster. The cigarettes it produces by the billions cause cancer; the breakfast foods it seductively urges upon small children are apparently without total nutritional value; its automobiles turn the atmosphere into a lethal fog and its waste matter threatens to transform the pleasant land into a junk yard.

Faced with this hideous vision of the future that is in store for them, the young people of today can hardly be blamed for seeking the source of the problem, and for believing they have found it in the profit-oriented corporation. Rich, successful, geared to mass production and mass distribution, the corporation makes a tempting target. And all too often, as the General Motors settlement so poignantly illustrates, the corporation hasn't the slightest notion of how to fight back.

Unfortunately, in almost every sphere of social concern, the corporation which is so bright and capable in its field of technical competence, has been sluggish, inept and unresponsive. Over the past two decades, corporate spokesmen have given an infinite number of speeches in praise of their new sensitivity to social responsibility. With ardent self-congratulation they have pointed out how far business has come from the "public be damned" days of the nineties or the "give 'em any color they want as long as it's black" despotism of the twenties. Unfortunately, this new awareness has not extended much beyond its public relations and marketing activities. True, the corporation has become more market oriented. It runs tests and conducts surveys and then hastens to satisfy the demands it either uncovers

through research or generates through advertising. But when it comes to sensing the deeper needs of people and institutions, the American corporation has been guilty of criminal neglect, an offense that could, if uncorrected, be fatal.

It can, of course, be argued that the responsibility of business is simply to mind the store, while it is the function of government to deal with society. Many businessmen today object strenuously to corporate involvement in not-for-money-profit social endeavors, or even profit endeavors with a socially responsible overtone. These, they feel sincerely, are properly the concerns of government or foundations, or churches, or other non-profit institutions. I disagree. I hold with Peter Drucker that the job of government is to propose directions for society and to legislate the rewards and penalties into being. But it is the role of enterprise to act, to manage, to innovate and to bring about social change. This, after all, is what business men are supposed to be good at doing. As a matter of historical fact, one of the reasons why we have big government today is because private enterprise, lacking the perception of its own mission, shirked for so long its environmental and social responsibilities. The corporation could perhaps ignore the humanity of one Willie Loman, but it cannot ignore the humanity of an entire nation. And this is the charge which the young are now leveling against us. If we do not listen seriously to what they are saying and react to it with intelligence, the corporation as we know it today may indeed be the next to fall.

In a discussion of the future role of the businessman, Asa Knowles, President of Northeastern University, says that industry will find that social considerations will far outweigh technical concerns in the 1970's. The businessman of the future, he says, will be spending less time on the technical operation of his enterprise and more time on the social environment in which he must exist. And, to the more conservative businessmen who regard such a view as heresy, he says, "What seems economically irresponsible to today's cost conscious executives will look very responsible to tomorrow's managers, who will consider additional values."

It is this consideration of additional values that the profit-oriented corporate manager has traditionally been unwilling to undertake—to his great and everlasting detriment.

He failed to regard the working man as more than another tool of production, and brought about the rise of the labor union.

He failed to take account of his responsibility for the safety and quality of his product and brought about federal legislation which imposed harsh standards upon him.

He failed to understand that child labor was creating an unbearable social cost, though it kept his own wage levels down and so he brought about unrealistic child labor laws.

He did not care to invest in equipment to create safe surroundings for his workers, and so he produced a public outrage and still punitive worker safety measures.

He did not recognize his obligation to train and hire the minority members of our society—and he and we are reaping the whirlwind of that neglect.

He did not think it necessary to provide equality of opportunity for women, and he is now being forced by law and outcry to do so.

He did not respond to the revulsion of the public against pollution of land, air and water until he was forced to take heed. And even now, he only grudgingly takes first steps to reduce his most obvious insults to the environment.

The list is long and not very pleasant to contemplate. It is not a record of statesmanship, but one of the narrowest parochialism,

an abdication of social responsibility in the name of profits.

As Dr. Knowles says, cost effectiveness in the future must be measured in terms of total impact. No corporation can measure results solely in terms of its own earnings. It will be held accountable for the larger implications of its business activities: its internal environment; its concern for employee welfare; its ecological relationship with the communities in which its plants and offices are located; its responsiveness to the pressing needs of the nation; its contribution to the rebuilding of the human habitation; its willingness to help break down the social and economic barriers which still exclude large groups of Americans from full participation in the benefits of our economic system; . . . and finally it will have to display forbearance and self-discipline in evaluating the fruits of its own technology so that socially and physically harmful products are not manufactured simply because they can be manufactured.

I believe we must apply a value system for technology in some form if we are to survive the "future shock" which now has us in its grip. Otherwise, we will be overwhelmed by change—buried by our own excessive ingenuity and productivity. If a new process, or product, or system or mode of transportation or method of communication or form of habitation is to be created, it must meet six criteria, or approximations of the same:

(1) *Is it useful*—rather than wasteful, redundant, or actually superfluous?

(2) *Is it efficient*—rather than simply noisy, garish, or ornamental?

(3) *Is it flexible*—rather than forcing permanent changes on the environment to accommodate it?

(4) *Is it an amenity*—does it enhance life rather than contribute to strain and discomfort?

(5) *Is it relevant*—does it serve real needs rather than those which have been artificially induced simply to create a market?

(6) *Is it modest*—is it human in its scale, adaptable to comfortable modes of life—or will it escalate the dehumanization of society through speed, noise, size or power?

These are not the only criteria that can be applied to the works of man, but they are as good as any, and better than most we have been using in the past. The profit incentive is still the most vital ingredient in corporate success—and I do not suggest that we abandon it. But values—humane and ethical—are the essential requirement for corporate survival. And it is the message of values added to profit that I would leave with you today. In the name of corporate profit, there is no rational excuse for exercising our dominion over nature in such a way that nature is finally conquered—paved over—crowded out—robbed of lesser life—of animals, plants, birds and fish—just so that we can impose our technological mastery upon it.

The humane, creative, successful business organization in a free society can be one of the highest forms of human enterprise. The corporation need not die—unless it is blind to the threats to its survival—unless it becomes responsive to a vision of a humane society in which every Willie Loman is counted and in which every Willie Loman counts. The corporation can no longer hold itself aloof from society, nor can the corporate manager measure his success in costs cut or profits maximized. "Business as usual" is obsolete, and we must recognize this stern fact before, as Norman Cousins has said, modern man becomes obsolete as well.

I quote Lady Barbara Ward Jackson who has said, "We stand in a new history. The history when there is abundance. The history when science and technology can put at mankind's disposal something less grim and less ugly than the means of atomic de-

struction. The history when we can recreate the face of the earth. When we can use this vast wealth, this vast science, to see fields coming back under rich harvest."

This, gentlemen, is no vision of Utopia. It is within our power to achieve. It is the means by which the corporation and our civilization may escape death. I believe, and the world hopes, that we, as business men, will accept the challenge of this vision and make it the work of all of our lives.

Thank you.

BLACK PANTHERS

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, all Americans are alarmed when we hear of the anarchic tactics employed by groups such as the Black Panthers. Their philosophy declares that they are above the law, and those who have the responsibility of enforcing the laws are listed as "the enemy." Revolutionaries are not new to the United States but we must recognize this group for the potential murderers that they have become.

Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial on this subject was aired on WBRC-TV and WBRC Radio in Birmingham. At this time, I would like to insert into the RECORD. I commend it very highly to you.

WBRC-TV AND WBRC RADIO EDITORIAL:
BLACK PANTHERS

If there is any doubt that the revolution is on, that doubt should be dispelled with the flick of a dial on a TV or radio set or the turn of a page of a newspaper. With alarming frequency we hear and read of the wanton killing of policemen by elements of the Black Panther party.

If there is any doubt of the seriousness of the situation, let us pose this question: "Did you know that in parts of the country pamphlets are being circulated proclaiming a week in the near future as 'Kill a Pig Week?' The reason given is that 'Pigs have framed some of our soul brothers.'"

During the same seven days, a southern city is scheduled as the scene for a "solidarity week to support the struggle in the south." Among those scheduled to participate is that savory character, William Kunstler.

In testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, F.B.I. Director, J. Edgar Hoover, said: "A free society is in trouble when blatant propaganda so overshadows the truth that the rule of law is jeopardized. Currently, law enforcement agencies throughout the country are wrongly accused of harassment by many well-intentioned but uninformed voices echoing outright lies generated by the lawless Black Panther party."

Hoover continued, "Police have been lured into ambush by Panthers carrying out cold-blooded assassination plots. Negro and white police are treated alike. Panthers say they make no distinction between black and white policemen."

The term "Pig" at one time referred exclusively to policemen. Now it apparently extends to anyone in authority. Mr. Hoover states that the Black Panthers have openly called for the assassination of the President and the violent overthrow of the government.

This threat to society is not one that can be ignored by the silent majority.

THE UNITED STATES AND YUGOSLAVIA—JOINED IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the ties of international friendship that join the United States and Yugoslavia were further strengthened this past month, when in a historic gesture President Nixon became the first American President to visit Yugoslavia. The cordial and friendly exchange between the two Presidents contributed to a deeper mutual understanding and will be remembered as a positive step forward in the quest for peace.

Particularly notable was President Tito's warm and sincere address to President Nixon which went largely unreported in the American press. From the newspaper accounts I read and heard, one could rightly conclude that President Tito just said "hello" on behalf of the Yugoslavs and left it at that.

There was much more than a superficial exchange of pleasantries. President Tito gave an enlightening and historical view of the cultural, political, and social connection of our two countries which had its fruitful beginning back in the 19th century.

United States and Yugoslav friendship is nothing new. The United States extended legation status to Serbia in 1887 under President Grover Cleveland. Later, President Wilson's efforts to provide for the "self-determination of all people" resulted in the creation of the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia, later called Yugoslavia. When in June of 1948 Stalin tried to make Yugoslavia a subservient tool of Moscow, President Truman was quick to see that the Yugoslav people backed their determined leader and resolved to help this brave country. Each succeeding President, whether Republican or Democrat, has continued this constructive policy.

Of particular interest is the great tribute President Tito paid to our Declaration of Independence and to three of our outstanding Presidents. Especially commendable was the cordiality President Tito showed President Nixon in personally escorting him to Zagreb—the capital of Croatia, and to the little village of Kumrovec, President Tito's birthplace. No other head of State has been accorded this privilege. It should be remembered that this kindness was extended to our President at a time when other heads of State were attending President Nassar's funeral.

Mr. Speaker, I include President Tito's memorable address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

MR. PRESIDENT, MRS. NIXON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: On behalf of the people and the Government of Yugoslavia, and in the name of my wife and myself I am happy to be able to greet you as the first President of the United States of America to visit our country.

I give you, your wife and your associates a cordial welcome.

I had a very cordial meeting with President Eisenhower in 1960, and had friendly and useful discussions with President Kennedy in 1963 when I visited your country. These talks contributed to the advancement of relations between our two countries. We value, Mr. President, your personal interest and contribution to the promotion of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States of America. Your visit undoubtedly marks a very important date in the annals of these relations and gives an impetus to their continuing development.

Relations between Yugoslavia and the USA have a long history and a positive, friendly tradition, dating back to the establishment of relations between the USA and Serbia, and to the conclusion of the Consular and Trade Relations convention in 1881. Our two countries were allies in the First World War. And in the Second World War we fought together and each contributed his share in the struggle against the darkest powers that threatened mankind.

In those arduous days of war, our Partisans, among others, prevented hundreds of American pilots from falling into enemy hands. We for our part do not forget the considerable assistance and support which the American people extended to us during the national liberation struggle and after the war.

Your country, Mr. President, is a community made up of many nationalities. Men and women from our part of the world have also made a substantive contribution to the development of America with their work, talents and intellect. These men and women were miners, fishermen and manual laborers. They were there at the time when the foundations of your country were being laid. There was Nikola Tesla, Louis Adamic, Mihailo Pupin and many others who figured prominently in the American scientific community, cultural and public life. American citizens of Yugoslav origin have always been—and we hope they will remain—one of the bridges linking the two countries.

Your great country is preparing to celebrate two hundred years of its independence. The world has always held in esteem the deeds of the great sons and minds of your country, such as, Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and many others. Your Revolution and Declaration of Independence have become a component part of the freedom-loving and democratic aspirations and progress in the world.

Mr. President, we are living in an integrated world, a world that is becoming smaller, which—as witnessed by the bold space explorers—resembles a small ship, whose fate, in the end, we all share. The achievements of every nation become the heritage and inspiration of the world at large.

It is with an epochal development of science and technology—to which your country also has made an historical contribution—that the world has come to the threshold of the twenty-first century.

However, a large part of the world is still living in poverty, and many peoples are not yet liberated and do not enjoy genuine independence. In many parts of the world wars continue to destroy precious human life and to wipe out achievements that have been attained with such difficulty. The present-day world is characterized, on the one hand by inexhaustible possibilities for comprehensive development and prosperity, and on the other, by dire need, injustice and problems, which so heavily and dangerously weigh upon international relations.

Mr. President, it is only natural that from such a large and developed country as the United States of America, men throughout the world expect a great contribution to the welfare of the people and peace in the world. We welcomed your significant words in your inaugural address when you said that hu-

manity "instead of confrontation should enter an era of negotiations." This has always been our cause. In 1961 the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Countries addressed an appeal to all great powers to engage in a dialogue in order to avoid a general catastrophe.

Yugoslavia feels that the present orientation of the great powers toward negotiation is a positive one.

In view of the fact that the great powers have at their disposal weapons of high potential which could destroy the world, these powers bear the prime responsibility for the fate of the world. For this reason they are expected to utilize this power and force for the benefit and wellbeing of man.

We are all agreed that the world is becoming smaller and more interdependent. Everything happening in it—whether good or bad—is reflected on a broad scale. Every conflict or crisis has global repercussions. The entire post-war experience demonstrates that peace and stability in the world cannot be preserved by the great powers alone. Therefore, all countries, irrespective of their size and power, should take an active part in the affairs of the world community, not only because it is their right to do so, but because this is a vital precondition to the safeguarding of peace and the advancement of international cooperation. And just as "big" peace cannot for long rest upon "small" wars, neither can international cooperation progress by way of anyone's monopoly and the denial of the legitimate interests of other peoples and countries. Without the peace and progress of small and insufficiently developed nations, there can be no durable peace, or stable development of the big and developed countries.

There is prevalent, it seems to us, an increasing concurrence in the world to the effect that mere negotiation and the avoidance of conflicts between the great powers are not enough. Unless solutions are found to the vital world issues, unless the pressing problems of development and disarmament are settled and the policy of force and interference in the internal affairs of others are eliminated, and the overcoming of the bloc division of the world is undertaken, with full responsibility, we shall only have shorter or longer breathing spells between periods of cold war, accompanied by a constant threat of conflict with unpredictable consequences. Actually, the post war development, demonstrates that durable peace and cooperation cannot rest upon the balance of force and fear.

For all these reasons, Mr. President, we are exerting our efforts to have negotiation and peaceful settlement of disputes become a generally acceptable practice in international relations among all countries. The small and medium-sized nations like all the developing countries, are fully aware of their commitments and responsibilities, both in terms of their own development, and the settlement of international issues.

More specifically, what I have just outlined actually constitutes the substance of the message of the recently held Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Lusaka. The non-aligned countries were unanimous in their demands for democratisation of international relations, for the respect and attainment of the inalienable rights of peoples to independence and sovereignty, for the accelerated development of the insufficiently developed countries, for the strengthening of the United Nations and the realization of its universality, etc. They also manifested their determination to do their utmost to contribute toward the achievement of these goals.

Mr. President, our views are known on the most ominous trouble spots, more specifically, the protracted war in Vietnam, which has been extended to a new area of Indo-China, and the crisis in the Middle East, which is becoming more dangerous and more

complicated. The peoples of these regions are subjected to terrifying suffering and misery. This situation at the same time endangers the peace and security of all. We have always endeavored, within the limits of our possibilities, to contribute to the search for just solutions, and we shall continue to do so. Our position has always been that the preconditions for this are the cessation of the intervention by every foreign power and the ensuring of the legitimate rights of the peoples of these countries to full independence and unobstructed development, without outside interference.

When speaking about the Middle East, I wish to tell you that we received the news of the death of the outstanding statesman and indefatigable fighter for peace, President Gamal Abdel Nasser, with deep sorrow and distress. His passing away, especially at this critical moment for the Middle East, makes it incumbent upon all of us to exert maximum efforts with a view to achieving a peaceful and just political solution, which President Nasser championed consistently and with full dedication to the last moment.

Mr. President, we are also for the immediate liquidation of colonialism still prevailing over wide areas of Africa. This constitutes the greatest disgrace to mankind in this century of general emancipation of peoples, generations and races.

The present positive processes in Europe, which have brought about a certain relaxation of tensions, are opening avenues to the gradual overcoming of bloc divisions and the establishment of European security on new foundations. Yugoslavia as an independent and non-aligned country, which has in practice opted for the policy of open borders and a free exchange of ideas and goods, is vitally interested in the comprehensive development of cooperation with all European countries. We cannot conceive of a stable system of European security in a permanently divided Europe.

At the same time, as a European and a Mediterranean country we are always aware of the close interdependence between the European continent and the entire Mediterranean region. For this reason it is understandable that we are directly interested in peace in the Middle East, which is so close to us, as well as in having the entire Mediterranean transformed into a sea of peace and international peaceful cooperation, with full respect for the rights and interests of the peoples inhabiting its coasts.

Mr. President, I am confident that I share your views when I say that world peace and cooperation can be strengthened only through consistent respect of the principles of the United Nations. The principles of independence, sovereignty, equality, non-interference, territorial integrity, etc. must be respected, without any exception whatsoever, in relations among all states, and the violation of these principles cannot be justified by political, ideological, or any other motives.

I am happy that it is precisely upon such principles and in mutual respect that the friendly relations between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United States of America are developing.

The mutually beneficial cooperation between our countries is going ahead favorably. There have been problems from time to time, which is only natural but through a realistic approach and mutual good-will we have succeeded in preserving continuity and ensuring constant advance.

There has been good progress in relations between our two countries in recent years which can be partly ascribed to high level contacts and exchanges of views between the representatives of the two countries and, in our opinion, there are great possibilities for further advancement, especially in the field of industrial cooperation, joint ventures, etc. We attach great importance to the further development of scientific, and in par-

ticular to the intensification of technical, cooperation.

We have, Mr. President, always worked for good relations with all states and it is our persistent desire not to promote relations with one country at the expense of others. In the promotion of friendly and stable relations with the greatest possible number of countries in Europe and in the entire world—commencing with our neighbours—we see a premise of our more rapid development, as well as of the strengthening of security and international position of Yugoslavia. In this context we attach great significance to the development of all-round and good relations with your country and we feel that this constitutes an important factor of stability and peace in this part of the world and elsewhere, as well as of our economic, scientific and technological progress.

I would like to point out that the status of Yugoslavia as an independent, non-aligned and socialist country—constitutes an irreplaceable foundation of our entire policy and our approach to international relations and problems. We are determined to safeguard our independence for which we so dearly paid. A guarantee of this we see, above all, in the unity of our country and in the readiness of our peoples to defend their independence and unobstructed internal development from any threat or attack.

Mr. President, relations between the USA and Yugoslavia, a big and a small country, with different social systems, demonstrate the reality of a policy of peace-loving and active coexistence and, this in itself, is a significant contribution to broader international cooperation.

True, there have been and still are differences of opinion and positions on specific international questions, differences which, generally speaking, we have in relations with other countries. These differences, however, have not been an obstacle to the promotion of friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries.

Mr. President, we look forward with pleasure to our talks which will offer us an opportunity to exchange views with you on the international situation and on the further advancement of our bilateral relations.

You will, in the course of your visit, see some of the things that have been achieved in our country. We are sorry that your visit is so short and that you will be unable to see more of the achievements of our people and the beauties of our country.

I wish you a pleasant stay with us.

I raise this glass to your health, Mr. President, to the health of your esteemed wife and distinguished associates, to friendship and cooperation of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the United States of America.

ANTIBOMBING LEGISLATION

HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, the critical need for the administration's antibombing legislation is shown by a recent 18-month survey taken by the Treasury Department. The survey shows that during this period there were 4,330 explosive or incendiary bombings; 1,475 bombing attempts; and 35,129 threats of bombings.

In addition, the General Services Administration has reported that bombing and arson incidents increased from 13 in the 12-month period ending June 30,

1969, to 38 in the corresponding period ending in 1970—a threefold increase.

Mr. Speaker, we should have little patience with those who dismiss these bombings as idealistic acts of conscience or those who imply that while they deplore the method they sympathize with the cause.

These bombings have caused death and severe injury to innocent people who just happen to be in the area, and they have caused an uncountable loss in property damage, including the destruction of humanitarian research projects whose loss cannot be figured in dollars. We are dealing with anarchy and we should treat it as such. The administration's antibombing legislation should help put an end to these acts of terrorism.

THE VALUABLE SERVICES HAM OPERATORS PERFORM

HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of all Members the valuable service performed by our ham radio operators. Operating their own private radio stations, hams render emergency assistance in providing communications during disasters such as Hurricane Celia. We have all read accounts of such activities and are well aware of the invaluable help these volunteers provide. What is not so well known is the continuing assistance hams provide in alleviating a most human problem—the loneliness and suffering that comes from the separation and lack of communications between our servicemen and their families. Those of us who daily see our wives, children, and close friends forget that there are hundreds of thousands of young people whose contact with their families is limited to letters and occasional photographs. Like the concerned public servants they are, hams have stepped forward to lend their aid and provide radio communications facilities so that servicemen abroad can talk to their loved ones at home. Using "phone patch" equipment coupled directly to their own radio receivers and transmitters, hams call friends and parents of servicemen on the telephones and let them talk to their absent soldier in Vietnam who use military radio facilities over there. Acting as the vital link, the ham provides a much needed human contact between individuals separated by the war.

The following articles which appeared in Parade magazine and American Red Cross Journal are worthy of the attention of all Members as well as citizens all over the country:

[From Parade, June 21, 1970]

THIS IS YOUR SON CALLING FROM VIETNAM

(By John G. Rogers)

MILLINGTON, N.J.—Without even leaving their peaceful mountaintop home in northern New Jersey, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander A. Yankaskas and their children are intimately and busily in touch with the Vietnam war nearly every day of the year.

Yank, as he is called, and his wife Helen are amateur ham radio operators and on some days their powerful short wave equipment installed in a den off the living room relays as many as 140 telephone calls to parents, wives and sweethearts from U.S. military men in Vietnam.

HOUSEWORK WAITS

"When reception is good and the calls are piling up," says attractive Helen, "the housework just doesn't get done. It has to wait for a break."

"Most of the conversations are happy ones full of love, hope and emotion," says Yank, Pilot for the private planes of the Ronson Corp. "We know because we have to listen in order to flip the switch, whenever one of the parties says, 'Over.' But sometimes you get a sad one. The other day this guy asked his wife, 'Why haven't you been writing me?' And she told him, 'You'll find out in a few days when the divorce papers arrive.'"

Yank's station—AFB2DBF—is one of 165 in the U.S. which take part in the program known as MARS—Military Affiliate Radio System. Most of the members are hams, like Yank and Helen with their receivers and transmitters right in the home. One of the most prominent of them is Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who operates from his hill-top residence in Phoenix. While the basic business of MARS is to provide a backup communications network in case of emergency, the MARS hams are principally occupied these days with the Vietnam phone calls.

"I've sat here at the set as long as five hours without even getting up," says Yank. "With all those phone calls waiting to be handled, you don't just tell Vietnam you're closing down. And I wouldn't want to, either. This is my way of being involved. There's a great kick in bringing a boy in touch with his mother from halfway around the world."

MARS has handled some 3 million calls from Vietnam since December, 1965. The procedure is this. The serviceman goes to one of the 76 MARS stations maintained by the military in Vietnam and waits in line. Meanwhile, he gives the MARS operator his name and the telephone number he wants to reach in the U.S. The MARS operator sends those names and numbers to a U.S. operator such as Helen Yankaskas. PARADE watched her at work the other day. She dialed the first phone number—it was Raleigh, N.C.—and when someone answered she explained who she was and asked whether the Raleigh number would accept a collect call from Millington, N.J., from Sgt. Billy Smith. The reply was an emotional affirmative. Helen told the Vietnam operator to put Sergeant Smith on and the conversation began—by short wave radio from Vietnam to the Yankaskas home and by commercial telephone on to Raleigh. The only cost was the phone bill.

"Sometimes," says Helen, "they're expecting the call and sometimes it's a complete surprise out of the blue. A mother or a wife may gasp and then become speechless. If that happens we sort of settle them down a bit so they can get started talking."

SHORTWAVE DRAMA

The variety of calls is as broad as life. A girl friend pleads, "When the next letter arrives tear it up. I don't mean those things." A soldier's wife in a maternity ward tells him he has a new son or daughter. Many young men call to reassure families that their wounds are slight. One call was from a sergeant who said that a young soldier was out of control and needed advice from his father. So dad got on and from Cleveland, U.S.A., spoke the few words to his son that straightened him out in a remote Vietnam military base. There have even been a few marriages performed over MARS.

Yank and Helen have placed phone calls to all 50 states and 12 foreign countries. The two oldest of their six children live away

from home but Kurt, 18, is a skilled operator and pitches in to help. The contribution of Jean, 16, is to run the kitchen when her mother is tied up at the radio. Mary Christine, 9, and Alexander Jr., 7, like to hang around the den—"ham shack" is the correct term—and listen in on conversations. As they arrived home from school the other day, they watched their mother complete the 23,892d call handled by the Yankaskas station.

AROUND THE CLOCK

Senator Goldwater's station in Phoenix has a club of more than 25 operators which enables it to spread out the work and operate 24 hours a day. But the Yankaskas family operation ranges from 10 to 18 hours. When he isn't flying, Yank puts in a long schedule and Helen serves him many a meal at the set. He, in turn, is greatly appreciative of her help and understands that sometimes she may put radio ahead of housework. "Only dull people have immaculate houses," says Yank. Their ham togetherness extends even to their personal call letters. He's WA2DBF. She is one letter away at WA2DBG.

It's a long and arduous devotion the MARS operators contribute but they love it and feel fully rewarded by letters such as this one Yank and Helen received from a mother last December: "God bless you. Hearing his voice and knowing he is all right was the most wonderful Christmas present we could have had."

[From the American Red Cross Journal, January 1968]

HAMS IN DISASTER

(By Roy S. Popkin)

The winds whipping the Texas coastal town were nearing hurricane force, and the floodwaters of the storm-caused tidal surges were beginning to flow through the streets, well ahead of the big storm's major impact. Inside a school that was being used as a Red Cross shelter, the volunteer shelter manager checked his food supplies and realized that he was running low on milk and bread.

Supplies were available in Houston, more than 40 miles away, but how could he get them? Telephone? The town's telephone service was no longer functioning; too many lines were down. The shelter manager walked into the room where the local amateur radio operators had set up a broadcasting unit as part of the Red Cross-Civil Defense disaster plan.

The urgent request for milk and bread was broadcast through the storm to another station at Red Cross headquarters in Houston. From there it was relayed to a mobile unit traveling with a convoy of trucks that was carrying supplies to shelters in outlying areas. Within minutes a truck was headed for the isolated shelter, and the milk and bread were delivered.

In Alaska, amateur radio operators in Fairbanks provided the major communications link with the rest of the world when the flooding Chena and Tanana rivers inundated almost all of that central Alaskan city last fall. Only one telephone line remained, and that was jammed with urgent priority traffic.

Amateur radio operators handled messages from the international airport dealing with emergency supplies and rescue operations, and from various Red Cross shelters. Later, they handled all the communications involved in the evacuation of hundreds of children to Anchorage, 450 railroad miles away, relaying their messages by way of far-off Wake Island and Guam when the mountains between the two Alaskan cities blocked their signals.

Shortwave radio is a key factor in Red Cross disaster communications. Scores of Red Cross chapters house amateur stations, using volunteer services of amateurs to man

them. Many Red Cross disaster vehicles are radio-equipped to guarantee communications during storms, fires, isolated search-and-rescue operations, and other disasters.

There is a cooperative understanding between the Red Cross and the American Radio Relay League, which states: "The American Red Cross recognizes that the amateur radio service, because of its excellent geographical station coverage, can render valuable aid in maintaining continuity of communications during disasters and emergencies when normal communications facilities are disrupted or overloaded."

Every day, somewhere in the United States, this cooperative understanding becomes a living reality when disaster strikes, as amateur radio operators play their vital volunteer role as part of the Red Cross Disaster Service.

REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, most of the American people are becoming increasingly aware that the race mixers and their mentors are spurred on to agitation through coercion, not in the interest of brotherhood, civil rights, or morality, but rather because of personal profits. Race agitation has been most profitable to the leaders and their parasitical supporters. The fact that this little crowd of elite does not practice what it preaches is that its rules are always made for someone other than themselves.

School desegregation has now developed into a coerced racial percentage of attendance. Busing is now displayed as an important part of the educational curriculum. Those who want quality education flee and can still get it at a price. Blockbusting of neighborhoods has proven most profitable to the realtors, landowners, and contractors, as the urban population swells.

A rewriting of children's textbooks, especially history, math, and the so-called social studies, has proven profitable to the researchers and the textbook publishing companies alike. Integration of labor unions, now progressed into ratio-hiring quotas, may be destructive of labor seniority and organization but cost-plus contracts which permit deadheads on the job, despite the ever-present safety factor, has proven profitable.

The courts, once established to defend individual liberty and property, are now being used as the whipping boy for the race-mixing revolution. Court backlogs and new racial cases constantly justify more and more judges, courts, and employees. So, the race baiters have rewarded their court friends as well as the law book publishers who must constantly go to print so that our young lawyers can know how the Constitution is to be interpreted from political goal to political goal.

But, what is not being told is the truly American story of those fathers and mothers and many other good citizens who are now being forced to band together and in many instances create a parallel government within their own

government in order to exist and exercise their freedom, which is their right.

Private schools are really not private—they are independent. Independent, that is, of bureaucratic tyranny and suppression of individual preferences and parental duty.

This new evolution to escape the unconscionable suppressions of their Government finds these many fine citizens having to sacrifice, suffer intimidation, harassment, and unheard of punishment from the race mixers and their bureaucrats as they attempt to build their own establishment in accordance with their ideals of acceptance.

Interestingly enough, this progress in building has now reached the state of profitable enterprise in communities where they can expect more and more acceptance from their friends and neighbors and their movement can be expected to mushroom.

The frantic effort of the so-called race-mixing commission and tax-free groups by their latest demands for police-state activity to snuff out individual liberty can be but further evidence of planned destruction of the once great institutions of our land which force additional freedom-loving citizens to take refuge by joining the ever-growing society of free people within our Government.

If Reverend Hesburgh, the titular head of the civil right commission, is to be considered an authority on racial matters, his first area of operation should be to cure the escalation of racial strife in South Bend, Ind.—his own backyard.

Mr. Speaker, I submit a letter from Mr. Keith Montague of Charlotte, N.C., a newsclipping from the Clarion-Ledger, a report on Ohio house bill No. 1219, and a newsclipping from the Washington Star:

CHARLOTTE, N.C.,
September 15, 1970.

DEAR FOLKS: I have written and talked to some of you about the forced school transfers taking place. A Federal District Judge passed down his personal opinion as a court order that all schools in Charlotte should be 30% black and 70% white. He has imposed a plan mass busing over 10,000 black and white children, criss-crossed through the city. His Honor is a very smart fellow because he knows all about what is best for everyone, knows all about running schools, knows how to arrive at false figures on the number of buses required, has publicly stated that the quality of education is less important than the magic 30%-70% ratio, and has labeled it all the law of the land. He said he is going to check the situation periodically to make certain the ratio is kept. I assume this means children, during the year may be switched around to keep the numbers game going. He is also a deeply religious person, reflecting back on his ultimatum that judges have been making laws since the days of Moses. I have been misled, because I have always thought our courts were supposed to interpret the law.

Briefly, what is happening to my family is that my eleven year old daughter will get to a designated point before daylight the best way she can, be put on a bus to her neighborhood school, then put on another bus for a twelve mile ride across town to a school in an all black section. Our other three children will look forward to the same experience in the near future. The colored children are getting equal rights by being forced to bus to my neighborhood. The neighborhood school has been carefully destroyed.

You, like some others may think it serves the South right. Most of us here agree that the Negroes should be helped to advance themselves, but feel this court action is as unjust for them as it is for us. Charlotte has had a freedom of choice plan in which black children can be bused to the school they wish to attend, or be allowed to stay in their neighborhood school. Now, this Court decision expounds upon the difference in the races, and categories the races by numbers like apples and oranges. Any successful integration must make race differences insignificant.

In America, we have a tendency to shrug off an asinine and unconstitutional verdict because with a great court system such as ours, even if a ruling was made by a mentally incapacitated judge, the check and balance system offers chance of appeal. Our case went to an appellate court which came to the conclusion that the Charlotte ruling was more severe than necessary, but the case went back to a panel for hearing, with our favorite original judge on that panel. An effort has been made to appeal to the Supreme Court where it has been conveniently scheduled in October after their vacations and after the deadline for the court order to go into effect. The Supreme Court refused to issue a stay of the implementation until after their decision, which means hundreds of buses have had to be acquired that will not be needed if the ruling is reversed. This might lead a suspicious person to believe they have made up their minds, but just haven't clued us in on it formally or listened to our case. Making the issue even more upsetting and confusing is the fact that judges in different districts have handed down conflicting decisions, opinions, and interpretations about what should be done about integration of schools. Still the Supreme Court is silent.

We believed in Mr. Nixon when he campaigned in North Carolina and helped put him in office. Likewise, we have turned to him for help and have tried to remind him that when visiting Charlotte on that campaign, he stated he was against forced busing for the purpose of integrating schools. Our school board, our Congressman, and a delegation of concerned parents bearing over 80,000 black and white signatures against busing have been snubbed in Washington by the President. He has graciously let some of his aides talk to the poor people of Charlotte. These aides reportedly have been astonished at the court decision, but if they have even bothered to tell their wives the amusing story, I do not know.

What this boils down to is that our school system and children have been raped by pressures put on bureaucrats by the N.A.A.C.P. and God knows who else through the Health, Education, and Welfare Office, whose job seems to be telling the majority of the people what they have to do to comply. One of our particular misfortunes in Charlotte is that we are under the jurisdiction of a judge, who it seems, may want to win favor with the institution where other famous Southern judges have failed.

So you would probably ask why I am so upset by a little busing. It has to happen to you as a parent as it is happening to me before you can realize the impact. My first instinct was for the safety of my children shipped against my will to a strange place, out of reach, to an area where crime rate is high and where the population, for all I know may be hostile to whites. School buses at best are dangerous. Now, buses are being taken out of the junk heap to go rattling through town at the peak of traffic, many with inexperienced drivers. This initial fear, however, is secondary to a deeper concern that I and many others have. I can see the whole mess as a sick dictatorial take-over not only of our schools but of Americans' most cherished freedom, personal liberty. What is more sickening is that it is being done under the smokescreen of racial equal-

ity for all, using the Southern Negro as a cover-up scapegoat who has no more to gain by busing than I do. They will lose the same rights I do and will have increased taxes just as I will to pay the millions of dollars extravagantly spent for the whole scheme. I am not a racist. In fact, this court order has put me in the same position that an honest silent majority of Negroes have found themselves in the past by unfair justice. It has actually made me more sympathetic toward them. Two wrongs do not make a right.

What are we doing, now that school has started? Some are sending their children to school because they think it is right. Some are, against their wishes, sending their children because they think it is the law. I and many others are keeping our children at home because we feel the court ruling is wrong and a boycott is the only way left for us to peacefully defy what we consider to be unconstitutional, not yet law, and certainly not endorsed by a majority of people. You may say we are harming the education of our children. That is very true, but the court plan can wreck our school system permanently. No political machine can defy the public opinion of masses and survive for long. However, in most cases only some directly affected by criss-cross busing are participating in the boycott. Some others seem to think it will go away before their children get the treatment. I sincerely fear that if this court experiment on our children works, the Supreme Court will stall a decision, and allow our local ruling to become a precedent for the Nation. Aren't most of our court decisions based on past rulings? Our judge friend says he got his brainchild from a past case. If all fails, perhaps we will have learned to be more particular about who our public officials are, what their past records are, what their feelings on current issues are, who they appoint, and make sure by public pressure they mean and do what they say. Some strong political leaders in the Nation and our own school board have been willing to stand up for their convictions against this and similar court rulings. Others have waited to see how the tide turns.

If you think all of this will never affect you, you had better give it a second look because H.E.W. has already announced they intend to force full integration in all the country and enforce it by police action. If this swindle is "pulled off in Charlotte" (to use the Judges own words), you will certainly be in line for the same, no matter where you are, and odds for you seem even better if you live in the South. If the monster we have created can force this busing on us, it can tell us where to live, where to go to church, where to work, how much money we can make, and on and on to what end? At what point will the American people wake up?

I assure you it is very frightening to be sucked in by a political machine, all pleas for help ignored, to be shunned by some of your friends not immediately affected by the order who consider you an extremist if you are willing to say what you think and be willing to try to do something about it. In traveling over a large portion of the country during the past several years, I have found that people, me included, have been passive about what is going on around them until something hits personally, close to home. Some of the news media is telling the Nation what is happening to our schools here and in other areas, but after all, it is being done in a very quiet orderly manner, is being swallowed by the silent majority, and is not as exciting as a riot, a sky jacking, or a good ball game. Read the Communist Doctrine and you will find this passive attitude in America is the major weapon in their effort to eventually let us defeat ourselves. They have repeatedly told us they will get to us through our schools and children! I have already seen here, neighbors splitting friendship over the situation.

I am sending this letter to two-hundred acquaintances around the country and copies to every influential person in the country I can think of. I have argued, prayed, cried and lost sleep over this catastrophe for over a year and feel I am going to burst if I don't scream about it to anyone who will lend an ear. A National organization, the Unified Concerned Citizens of America, organized in Atlanta is being formed that has large membership, money and legal counsel to try to battle the forced busing. Perhaps such an organization can become a voice for the silent majority who have been silent too long. We need to take action against idiotic costly programs that are chewing us to bits and are being pushed upon us by loud forceful, radical minorities. Let's investigate the organization and support it if we like it. The wheel that squeaks the loudest has been getting the grease. Let's get together and make a few squeaks ourselves. You may just read this long wordy letter and decide that old Keith has finally gone off the deep end. If you like, just throw it in the trash. But if you are not willing to take up a personal peaceful fight for what you believe, no matter what your convictions are, just relax as we have been doing in the past and in about five years, contemplate on what has happened to your Country and weep.

Of course this is all just the opinion of a not too well off, but working taxpayer. If you disagree with what I have said, I will be only too happy to have you prove me wrong. There is a popular patriotic bumper sticker that says love America or leave it. Perhaps it should read if you love America and don't want to leave it, fight for it.

Sincerely,

KEITH MONTAGUE.

JUSTICE BRADY SAYS PRIVATE SCHOOLS BOON TO BUSINESS

Jackson's lead last year over other U.S. cities in raising retail sales coincided with the sudden growth here of private schools, Justice Tom P. Brady of the Mississippi Supreme Court pointed out Wednesday in urging support for the \$1.75 million expansion drive of Council School Foundation.

Brady, who along with U.S. Senator James O. Eastland is heading the drive, cited a recent article in U.S. News & World Report (Sept. 14, 1970) which showed Jackson first among central U.S. cities in increase of department store sales for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970.

Up 25 per cent over the 12-month interval, Jackson gained more than twice as much as any other city in the South, Houston, Texas, up 12 per cent, and New Orleans up 11 per cent. Average increase for cities in the whole central region, from the Gulf to the Canadian border, was 6 per cent.

In the entire United States only two cities, Portland, Maine with 26 per cent and Tucson, Arizona with 33 per cent, exceeded Jackson in growth of department store sales. This was also pointed out in the September issue of "Building Jackson," a publication of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce.

During the school year covered by the figures, Judge Brady pointed out, the three Council Schools then operating went from 500 to 3,200 in enrollment. Later increases have raised the number of operating schools to 5 and total enrollment to 5,250. The whole economic effect of private schools on the economy of the city is stimulating and healthful, Judge Brady said.

MEMORANDUM

The Supreme Court justice's remarks were made in connection with the issuance of a memorandum to campaign workers in the Council School Development Fund drive on the "Relevance of Private Schools to the General Local Economy." The campaign has been quietly under way for several weeks.

Besides Judge Brady as chairman, and Sen-

ator Eastland as honorary chairman, leaders of the campaign include B. C. Rogers of Morton, vice chairman, and subcommittee chairman Tom Virden, John R. Wright, George G. Bell, Al Fred Daniel, and William Girod of Jackson.

A steering committee is composed of former Governor Ross Barnett, Al Fred Daniel, Charles H. Dean, Jr., Scott H. Fowler, W. G. Gilchrist, Jr., Judge M. M. McGowan, Dan H. Shell, E. W. Smalley, and former Mayor Allen C. Thompson.

Approximately one-third of the \$1.75 million goal has been achieved, said Judge Brady. The importance of the drive to the whole community, he continued, lies in the vital impact private schools have on the general economic life, as well as in their cultural value.

In calling on businessmen to support the drive necessary for further expansion of the Council Schools, Brady made these points:

The Mississippi public is demanding quality private education.

Private schools are one of the purest examples to be found of keeping money at home in the local market.

Failure to support a flourishing private school system depresses the economy in areas hard-hit by the federal courts' disruption of public schools.

Full support of an alternate system of education is required from every business and professional man who has an interest in the economic future of Jackson.

FAMILY CONTROL

In urging support of the fund drive, Judge Brady said, "The private school is the one sure guarantee that the sacred right of parents to say by whom, with whom, and what their children shall be taught will be preserved."

Following a partial text of Justice Brady's comments:

"The public has shown that it is willing to patronize Council Schools. Tuition is set to cover operating costs and to retire normal indebtedness. Tuition is not adequate to support an overnight expansion program of the magnitude required to meet the present demand.

"Basically, the interest of community leaders in private schools is the same as their interest in public schools. Schools are necessary institutions in American society as we know it.

"Our people expect certain advantageous services from schools, and will not live or work in communities where these are not available. As public confidence in public schools lessens, the demand for private schools increases.

"Public schools alone are no longer adequate to meet the general community need—at any rate a great many parents so feel—and it is hardly practical to argue with them about it. They are not likely to change their minds because of advertising rhetoric. The public will not vote bonds for new 'public' schools. It will pay tuition for new private schools. (And) the whole community will suffer if the demand is not met.

NOT SUBTRACTED

"A misleading belief has gotten abroad that tuition and contributions to private schools is money subtracted from retail sales and other indices of business activity in the local market. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"Private schools are one of the purest examples to be found anywhere of keeping money at home in the local market.

Colonel Mim, "Money in Mississippi"—should give a big fat prize to the Mississippi Private School Association.

"Private schools have no profit margin; sooner or later they spend everything they take in. Moreover, because of the urgency under which they have been organized, they spend it practically as fast as they get it.

"Teachers' salaries . . . go into the retail market just as fast from private-school as from public-school teachers.

"Construction money in the private school area returns to the local retail market as fast as that from public schools.

"Every student of economics knows that the economy is not depressed simply because money passes through additional hands . . . recent reports show Jackson with one of the sharpest rises in the country in retail sales—25 per cent—at the very time when Jackson was also leading in new enrollment in private schools.

"It is widely recognized that intervention into public-school administration by the Fifth Circuit and other Federal courts has been damaging to the economy of many cities in the Deep South."

"The damage has been less in Jackson than in any other city of comparable size and situation: because Jackson has the largest private school development of any such city.

"More generally, all cities in which court orders requiring integration have dislocated the functioning of the public schools, have experienced widespread anxiety which has some tendency to dry up the economy, as people consider what to do next—move or what? In such a period of suspense they hold up on spending and save—not necessarily invest—instead of spending.

"PART FROM SAVINGS

"On the other hand, a flourishing private school system not only relieves this anxiety, but calls for positive outlay of funds often drawn in part from past savings. This means that the retail market is stimulated in cities where private schools prosper, but is hard hit in areas without private schools.

" . . . there is general recognition that federal insistence on massive school integration has been extremely damaging in the areas of education and race relations, but so far inadequately recognized that the federally enforced revolution in the public schools has also had, or threatened to have, damaging economic effects.

"In the past, industry has been drawn to Mississippi in part because heretofore we have had unusually attractive and excellent public schools. That those formerly attractive public schools have now been, are still being, revolutionized is no secret—and thus one drawing card for industry to come to Mississippi has been removed from the scene, unless it can be replaced by equally attractive and excellent private schools.

"For such replacement to be practicable, full support is required from every business and professional man who has an interest in the economic future of Jackson."

THE DESTRUCTION OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ANARCHY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

(By William E. Warner)

PREFACE

A free society is composed of many independent institutions designed to serve the people concerned, whereas a totalitarian society brings these under the control of the state. In order to maintain its dictatorship.

There is also the issue of realism versus the academic or Oxford tradition in higher education, which the authors of the Land-Grant Act resolved by focusing on "Agriculture and Mechanic Arts" as the basic departure for their new system in America. This was signed into law by Abraham Lincoln in 1862 and has produced 59 institutions, which in turn have dominated the American trend.

All went well until the decade of the depression and the period of World War II, when many evidences of changes or revolution began to occur. These concerned staff as well as curriculum, each of which has increasingly deteriorated during the past forty years. For example, administrative

authority has been maneuvered, surrounded, diluted and even intimidated by leftist and/or "liberal" forces into making decisions that serve to weaken or destroy their responsibilities. The attacks have been psychological and have involved semantics as well as emotionalism. Well established security measures have been neglected or ignored, all of which have served to stimulate anarchy.

The trend has become cancerous and the impact on the Universities more critical than meets the eye. The need is for a far more subtle treatment than a single Legislative Act, even though this is certainly desired, as in the case of House Bill No. 1219. The present report has been prepared at the invitation of Ohio House Speaker, Charles F. Kurfess, and is concerned primarily with the internal problem of preventive security, rather than with the more obvious provisions of a punitive nature, such as those listed in the present statute, which are designed to cope with the perpetrators of overt acts and the accompanying displays of physical anarchy.

FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, advises that the USSR assigned 1957 intelligence officers to the UN and their American embassies in 1965 and expanded this number to 2626 in 1969. These are considered to be back of the 850 demonstrations on 225 campuses with over 4000 arrests last year and should be evidence enough of the critical nature of the internal problem, as well as to clarify the purpose of this report. Only one type of institution, namely higher education is presented, whereas many others are under attack today, including the Home, and Church, the Common Schools, the Courts, all Communications Media, and many other types which must remain free, if our nation is to survive.

WILLIAM E. WARNER,
Chairman.

I—OBJECTIVES

The focus on world domination

People are shortsighted indeed, who cannot interpret the present surge of student riots, because many types of psychological, or physical and political warfare, have been with us since the Soviet Revolution at the end of WW I, as witness the following well known tactics:

"Corrupt the young, get them away from religion, interest them in sex, make them superficial, destroy their ruggedness.

"Get control of all means of publicity, harp on "controversial" matters, hold leaders up to contempt and ridicule.

"Preach 'true' democracy, but seize power as fast and as ruthlessly as possible.

"Encourage government extravagancy, destroy credit, produce inflation with rising prices, unemployment and discontent.

"Foment strikes, civil disorders and a lenient government. Cause the breakdown of moral virtues, honesty, sobriety, continence, faith in the pledged word and ruggedness.

The institutions of the USA have been gravely weakened and are now considered to be from half to two-thirds influenced by such things as the above as witness not only higher education, but the press, radio and screen, not to mention the churches, courts, trade unions. . . .

All of Asia appears to be lost with the exception of Nationalist China, South Korea and Australia. Europe has deteriorated with the possible exception of Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. The same is true of South America with the exception of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay. Africa, and especially the Arab world is tragically influenced with the exception of Rhodesia and South Africa—so the hour is very late and Lenin's prediction of the early twenties is upon us.

The strategy is to destroy from within and the tactics are largely psychological, as well as economic, as witness the student riots, the spread of crime, narcotics and sex, and

of constantly yielding to the calculated "demands" of the minorities. Our \$200 billion giveaway extravaganza on an international scale and the weakening of our defenses have contributed to the above and to the inflationary spiral that has accompanied it. The only conclusion possible is that our leaders either do not understand, or have gone soft, because the result is clearly along the lines planned.

Pages 4 and 5 which follow include first-hand experiences of more than forty years of faculty service at Ohio State, a federal security agency consultancy in Washington at the start of World War II, nearly two years of general staff security experience at Supreme Headquarters, AEF, including the "Battle of the Bulge" in Europe, and nearly three years in general charge of the Ohio security program during the Korean crisis, in which 42 emergency plans were produced and coordinated.

II—STATUTORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE ESSENTIALS

While a riot demonstrates an external and more obvious type of security problem, a much older and more subtle type is internal, like that presented in the paragraphs which follow:

Faculty selection and service.—These require: (1) a professionally administered security check and record of service of new, as well as present employees for a period of at least fifteen years, (2) a contractual arrangement that explicitly defines the loyalties expected and services to be rendered, and by the same token, what is not to be attempted for each academic year, (3) a well defined agreement of all elements of load cleared by all concerned, (4) a biennial publication of all professional biographies, and (5) abolishment of tenure.

Student selection and focus.—The universities of the State of Ohio have been generously subsidized by the people, not as "common" schools, but as institutions for the preparation of its future leaders. They are centers of higher education where attendance of clearly qualified and periodically checked students shall be recognized as a privilege, not a right. Selection, therefore, includes an evaluation of all student, family, employment, service, psychological, and interest records for that percent of the population considered by the Regents to be representative of the intellectual reservoir and need or quota. Student interests and potentialities are to be identified within the first or freshman year and a program of professional orientation (or of postponement, pending more maturity) planned to reflect these findings. The present program of two years duration cannot be justified, because it unduly favors the academic and only serves to delay and restrict the basically important professional preparation. A carefully organized program of professional preparation in a major interest shall follow, accompanied by a highly useful series of studies involving the fundamentals of health, morality, political and economic security in a free society. These are to be concluded by a senior evaluation seminar where each student's progress and readiness for graduation shall be determined by the University and the public or professional leaders concerned.

Facilities.—These involve the entire university and all its outside security contacts concerning the physical plant, including all valuable resources and records that must be kept operational. They involve: (1) a completely secure Control Center that is in continuous operation, (2) a series of well identified, lighted and appropriately designed or constructed buildings, each staffed continuously by, (3) a Guard, Warden, or Custodian especially of sensitive spots such as Water supply, Coal, Inflammable materials, Power, Tunnels, Telephone exchanges and Communication Lines, Shelters and Toilets or Sewage.

Records.—These concern the computerization of all personal, personnel, instructional,

institutional, inventory, historic and disaster records (involving insurance or governmental refunds). Some of these need to be in duplicate and placed in completely secure storage vaults, while others may and should be more readily accessible, but in files or lockers that are burglar and fireproof.

Policy leaders.—These include: The Governor and Lt. Governor, the Legislative, the Higher Courts, the Board of Control, The Chancellor, the University Presidents and Vice Presidents, the Deans and Department Heads. The State does not now clearly define or certify the status of these people, but is exceedingly careful to select, train and certify many others such as attorneys, police cadets and an increasing variety skilled personnel prepared in a wide variety of public and private vocational schools. The subtle, internal, and highly critical nature of the Ohio security problem in higher education requires that one or more high level short courses of a confidential nature be arranged periodically for the "policy leaders" named above, that can be conducted by highly qualified security specialists at the Academy or at an equally appropriate spot.

Program validity.—The philosophy and mandate of the Land-Grant Act of 1862, concerns the realistic focus of The Ohio State University, but which has evolved in patch quilt fashion into an institution of sixteen colleges, the last six of which are academic and because of that, are questioned. The Legislature and/or Regents need to clarify the focus of each state supported school and indicate the organization required. An even more vital problem concerns the validity of all instruction, in which a periodically revised series or guidelines and syllabi need to be produced by the Regents that would assure the necessary depth, as well as political perspective and other necessary safeguards essential to the leadership of a free society in which a "Black Studies" program currently pressed upon the Trustees at Ohio State, is considered to be unfortunate and illustrative of the security issue. The question of awards and honors is also in need of safeguards, because several of the recipients would not have been awarded if their security records had been consulted.

Student life and extra-curricular programs.—These concern, (1) the wider endorsement and use of endowed or privately supported resources for constructive purposes, such as the Museums, Mershon Philanthropy, and the regular system of social and honorary fraternities and sororities, (2) all forms of intramural and intercollegiate sports, in which some football games have been exploited for political purposes, e.g. the UN, Mental Health, Peace in Vietnam, (3) Student Unions which are regularly exploited by so-called "art" and "cultural" presentations, with browsing centers containing liberal, but very few examples of conservatism and the American tradition or ideal, (4) so-called "religious" centers which condone political agitation, e.g. on how to avoid the draft or on how to stage a riot, (5) certain houses or institutions focused on student exploitation or dissipation that border college campuses, including centers of agitation, drugs and sex, (6) the wasteful use of leisure time has become a problem and needs to be answered by stimulating a wider variety of recreational and cultural interests of a realistic nature, and even for course credit, (7) the recognition and/or solicitation of student donations or memberships for WSSF, NSA, SDS and for any plausibly sounding but inappropriate purpose, such as in the current requests of students for thousands of dollars to defray certain court and other costs of the riots, (8) the use of University resources, supplies, or personnel for private or agitational purposes such as by the Campus Newspaper, Graduate Student Council, and the like, (9) single course enrollments or "legitimacy cover," such as Savio in Philosophy at Berkeley whose interest was political, not professional or educational, (10) the individ-

ual or group publication of agitational causes such as handbills, so-called news items and editorials in campus newspapers, or organizational newsletters . . .

III—CONCLUSIONS

Members of the Legislature and everyone else concerned, were understandably embarrassed and angered by the recent series of student riots on Ohio college campuses and quickly passed House Bill #1219 as a stop gap until a more deliberate study could be made of the problem. Thirty-one other states have followed suit.

An Ohio Un-American Activities Commission was first proposed in 1949, but some 500 communists descended on the Legislature from all parts of the state to agitate against it and were successful. It was not until 1951-52 that such a commission was established and extended for two more years in 1953, after which an unfortunate ruling by the Warren Court stopped it. The Wylie Act of 1963 concerning Off-campus Speakers was the only other accomplishment to date.

The present report contains a considerable variety of security problems that have been accumulating in Higher Education over the past forty years. They are grouped under seven headings on pages 4 and 5. The most critical concern the *teaching corps* and the *validity* of what is taught, in which a series of well defined guidelines by an advisory commission of the Legislature, with help from the Regents and Security people is a must, and especially concerning the instructional level achieved in academic subjects at first and second year levels.

Attention also needs to be focused on the effectiveness of the Policy Leaders and Student Life programs, because these are clearly not producing the results required. All individuals and groups that seek in any way to influence the quality of what the Universities seek to accomplish, must be regularly checked, because far too many mistakes of both omission and commission have been made. The sharpest of penalties need to be available for use on individuals found guilty of promoting personal interests or of sabotaging the best interests of the universities and the State. Reference is made here to those who use emotionalism or subversion in any form, i.e., who seek to weaken the ROTC program or who threaten either to attack or weaken accreditation. . . .

A number of other points occur, such as the use of inexperienced and untrained students in policy of instructional spots, or for the sole reason of their minority group status. All state policy and security measures should be uniformly developed and administered. The number of out-of-state students should be reduced and more carefully supervised, especially those who were turned away from entrance to eastern colleges. The point of all this concerns what is produced: rioters? or Ohio's future professional leaders?

GET TOUGH ON BIAS, NIXON URGED: U.S. PANEL HITS FEDERAL EFFORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

(By Philip Shandler)

The President should provide new mechanisms and leadership to advance racial justice, the Civil Rights Commission said today.

In a report to President Nixon and Congress, the commission urged a tougher and more resourceful effort by the entire federal government, from the top down, to improve compliance with civil rights law.

The commission in a year-long study, concluded that federal agencies consistently have failed to bring about equality of opportunity.

Throughout the 40 agencies studied, the commission found staff shortages, lack of authority or unwillingness to acknowledge authority, and "undue emphasis on a passive role."

COORDINATION LACKING

But "the most serious flaw in the federal civil rights enforcement effort has been the

failure to provide overall direction and coordination," the commission said. "In fact, a total civil rights policy has not been developed, nor have overall national civil rights goals and priorities been established to govern the component parts of the federal civil rights effort."

"In the final analysis, the achievement of civil rights goals depends on the quality of leadership exercised by the President in moving the nation toward racial justice," the 1,100-page report concludes.

"The commission is convinced that his example of courageous moral leadership can inspire the necessary will and determination, not only of the federal officials who served under his direction, but of the American people as well."

PROBLEMS NOT NEW

The commission says inadequacies did not originate with the Nixon administration—"nor was there any substantial period in the past when civil rights enforcement uniformity was at a high level of effectiveness."

The commission is headed by the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, who was named chairman last year by Nixon. The panel was created in 1957 as an advisory body.

The commission recommends that the President establish two major mechanisms to provide direction and coordination in civil rights from the executive level:

A civil rights subcommittee for the White House Council on Domestic Affairs.

A Division of Civil Rights within the new Office of Budget and Management, formerly the Budget Bureau.

To further enhance concern for civil rights, the report urges the President to:

Direct agency heads to elevate their civil rights offices to the level equal with the officials who are in charge of agency programs in most cases that would be the assistant secretary level.

Direct these top officials to submit legislative proposals for bigger civil rights staffs.

Develop a reorganization plan establishing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as a "single independent agency" with responsibility for fighting job discrimination. The new EEOC should be given both the contract-compliance powers of the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the civil rights litigation responsibility now held by the Justice Department, the CRC says.

Give the Justice Department power to direct other agencies to require state compliance with non-bias requirements in their use of federal assistance, and give the department the power to cut off funds, if necessary.

Ensure that low-income housing, which is open to minority groups is available as a prerequisite for establishment of new federal facilities.

The commission's study examined how the government uses its roles as employer, purchaser of goods and services, financial supporter of state and local governments, and regulator of industries to enhance equal opportunity.

Since the study began, the commission notes—though it claims no credit—some agencies have made significant changes.

Particularly, the commission cites changes by the Civil Service Commission and the Defense Department—the former to boost minority employment in government, the latter to stimulate minority hiring by industries with which it does business.

But wider gains will require the setting of numerical hiring goals and timetables and the use of sanctions for non-compliance, the report says.

The civil rights subcommittee recommended for establishment as part of the White House Domestic Affairs Council would identify problems, set government-wide priorities, policies and timetables, and determine the need for any new legislation or executive action.

The Budget Office civil rights division would work with the subcommittee to develop implementation of these goals.

Specifically, its examiners would check agency budgets for civil rights considerations, help them set adequate civil rights targets, and evaluate their compliance and coordination machinery.

Besides the changes recommended for action by the President, here is what the commission suggests for agency improvement:

The government's personnel agency, the Civil Service Commission, should establish a firm policy requiring agency racial-hiring and promotion goals. Stricter punishment of discriminating supervisors, more uptraining of minorities and recruiting outside for high-level jobs are urged.

The Office of Federal Contract Compliance should require the same kind of specific goals by industry, with thorough on-site reviews and greater use of sanctions, such as debarment and contract termination.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development also should be given cease-and-desist power against discriminatory housing practices.

AGENCY PERFORMANCE

Here is what the Civil Rights Commission says about specific agencies, in its report on the Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort.

WHITE HOUSE

"White House coordination of (civil Rights) still is not conducted on a systematic and comprehensive basis . . .

"Although there are some specific White House staff members currently assigned to civil rights enforcement, some have other duties which require significant amounts of their time. . . .

"There is no systematic effort to evaluate the enforcement activities of federal agencies, to coordinate their civil rights efforts, or to set goals or priorities for the agencies."

BUDGET BUREAU

This agency, now called the Office of Management and Budget, has "not officially acknowledged that it has any civil rights coordinating role, nor has its staff received any civil rights training.

"Through its central role (over agency budgets, it) can play a significant role in improving the effectiveness of civil rights compliance and enforcement, (but) it has failed to do so."

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Justice "has undertaken an aggressive enforcement program" in housing but has "failed to coordinate its law suits into a total government effort to eliminate employment discrimination." In both fields, it hasn't paid as much attention to other minorities as it pays to blacks.

The department, which is responsible for ensuring that states use U.S. funds in a non-discriminatory manner, "has not done an effective coordination job."

"The status of the official responsible . . . has been systematically downgraded. . . . Currently it is being carried out by a junior attorney in the Civil Rights Division."

The division views its role as "narrowly, focusing on litigation rather than assuring effective administrative enforcement by the various federal agencies."

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

HUD "has not made full use of the enforcement tools at its command, nor has it made the most effective distribution of available resources" in the open-housing effort. But the department has begun to demonstrate the leadership which the CRC says it should assume. For example, it is urging other government agencies to require collection of racial data on government-backed loans.

But HUD "did not decide to collect such data regarding its own programs until April 1970," and apparently isn't collecting them yet.

In regard to its responsibilities to assist other public and private agencies to oppose bias in housing, it "has done little systematically."

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

The Pentagon "did not perform effectively" until this year, when it made "significant changes" in its dealings with industry on job bias. In recent months, it has helped develop a model compliance plan for the aircraft industry, and has issued more than 35 show-cause orders, a step toward invoking sanctions for non-compliance.

Historically, "only a small fraction of its contractors are reviewed at all." Although "non-compliance is found frequently, follow-up reviews to determine whether violations have been corrected almost never are done . . .

"The sanctions of contract termination or debarment never have been imposed by compliance agencies" against companies.

Requirements set a few years for non-discrimination in off-base housing have helped minorities, but "in fact . . . the degree of integration is still low." Base commanders generally rely on complaints, without initiating surveys among their troops on housing problems.

OFFICE OF FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE

(Labor Department)

Recent actions, requiring industry to set minority hiring goals and streamline the monitoring of compliance, "show promise."

But a "continuing weakness" is the agency's failure to impose sanctions. This "lessens the credibility of the government's compliance program and weakens the . . . effort."

Between its creation in 1965 and 1970, the office referred only eight cases to the Justice Department for litigation.

It has been "grossly" understaffed.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

Plagued by staff shortages and turnover, EEOC has "further restricted its effectiveness by adopting a passive role," relying too much on complaint processing.

It has made "relatively little use of its initiatory capabilities, such as public hearings and commissioner-initiated charges, to broaden its attack on job bias."

Faster complaint-processing procedures recently were developed. Heretofore, processing has taken 16 months to 2 years.

The few hearings EEOC has held haven't been coordinated with other related agencies and haven't been followed up systematically.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

In the past year, the CSC has displayed "increasing vigor and imagination" in the areas of minority job recruiting, test revamping, promotion procedures, racial-data collection, supervisor sensitization and complaint-procedures.

But "weaknesses remain" in training minorities for top jobs, where they're the most scarce. The report suggests more hiring from the outside for these jobs.

"Rigid adherence to the existing merit system by the . . . commission and other federal departments has impeded achievement of the goal of equitable representation of minorities in the federal service."

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION AND VETERANS' HOUSING

In open housing, both have relied too much on consumer complaints, instead of putting pressure on industry.

Reinstatement of a disqualified builder requires only a new agreement not to discriminate—"an agreement he already has violated."

Unlike FHA, the VA still exempts one and two-family owner-occupied houses from its

non-bias requirements, and doesn't require certification of non-discrimination before insuring loans for property covered by discriminatory covenants.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Last year, GSA established a policy requiring low-income housing to be available at the offices of new federal installations. But it "is silent" on assurances of minority access to such housing.

(An executive order that broadened the policy similarly is silent.)

THE REGULATORY AGENCIES

(Federal Power Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Civil Aeronautics Board.)

The industries regulated by this agency have "uniformly poor" records of minority hiring, yet "only one of the regulatory agencies (FCC) has issued rules prohibiting employment discrimination."

"Because of the agencies' cumbersome procedures regarding issuance of licenses, which serve mainly to protect the economic interest of existing licensees, many minority-group members are effectively barred. . . .

None of the four agencies offers free legal help to license challengers, and none has "instituted the mechanisms necessary to assure against . . . discrimination" in industry facilities and service.

For example, Federal Trade Commission has "not carried out the responsibility (of aid to the ghetto poor) with sufficient vigor or imagination."

Its anti-trust reviews have not been concerned with the impact of corporate actions, like mergers on services in the ghetto.

And it has "not sufficiently exercised its authority to protect minority businessmen from investing in economically unsound franchises."

AIRCRAFT HIJACKING

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. PICKLE, Mr. Speaker, I am compelled to state my concern with H.R. 19444, the aircraft guard bill which passed the House on September 30. Because of a longstanding prior commitment, I was not present during the floor debate. However, when this legislation was considered before the Rules Committee, I appeared and asked that an open rule be granted so that amendments could be offered. My request was denied.

Although I have some doubts about the wisdom of placing armed guards on airplanes, I am certainly in favor of taking positive action which will prevent skyjacking. In fact, I have introduced legislation on this subject, H.R. 19307.

My objection to the bill this House passed involves the increasing of the passenger tax to pay for these guards. The tax on domestic fares was increased from 8 to 8½ percent and international flights were increased from \$3 to \$5.

I am not aware of any other time in history, that U.S. citizens had to pay to be protected from international pirates.

Air passengers are already paying a heavy tax. Although it is difficult to say that there is one motive behind the rash of air piracies, I think it is safe to say that these skyjackings have been aimed at U.S. governmental policies, and not at the air passengers or the owners of the

aircraft. Since I believe these air piracies are aimed at the U.S. Government, I think it is extremely unfair to ask the passenger to pay for protection.

This measure was moved through the House very quickly. I hope the Senate will take more time to consider this special tax on passengers to pay for protection from a problem brought about by governmental policy.

PULASKI DAY

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity today to call to the attention of the House a recent resolution adopted by the Polish-American Congress at their meeting in Hartford, Conn., on Pulaski Day, October 11, 1970.

This group of Americans of Polish extraction has long been active in Connecticut in voicing the feelings and concerns of their members. They have been strong spokesmen for their views and have frequently called to our attention the problems and frustrations of those millions who live under the repression of Communist rule in the captive nations of eastern and central Europe. The struggles of these people in their attempts to preserve freedom during difficult times are an inspiration to all of us who value liberty, law, and justice.

Pulaski Day serves to remind us all of the invaluable contributions of Count Casimir Pulaski to our own struggle for freedom in the Revolutionary War. His deeds serve as a model of courage and dedication to all Americans, but most especially to Americans of Polish descent.

I commend the Polish-American Congress for its efforts and urge my colleagues to consider carefully the proposals and positions that group has endorsed:

RESOLUTION

Adopted by the Polish American Congress, District of Connecticut, on Pulaski Day, held in Hartford, Connecticut, on October 11, 1970

1. We support the efforts of the United States Government to bring a just peace with order and stability in Middle East and Southeast Asia, where the Vietnam conflict has put to a historic test American determination to defend freedom from communist aggression.

2. Deeply concerned with internal crises that afflict our nation, pledge our unreserved support to programs that will strengthen the viability of the United States in terms of social stability and civic wisdom in all sectors of American life, which we pray will result in law, order and justice to all.

3. We call upon the Government of the U.S. and we appeal to the conscience of the free world to use all means and efforts to restore freedom and independence to Poland, other nations in eastern and central Europe, suffering under the imposed communist regimes and neo-colonial Russian exploitation.

4. We urge that Polish Regained Western Territories be recognized by the U.S.A. Government as an integral part of Poland and the present Odra-Nyssa line be ratified de

jure as the final boundary of Poland. In regards to eastern boundary of Poland, we do not recognize the seizing of the eastern half of Poland by Russia during the last war and we insist on the border as mutually established by the Riga Treaty.

5. Bearing in mind the important part played by Poles and Americans of Polish descent in the fight for America's independence and also their vast and lasting contribution to the present greatness of America, we urge that Americans of Polish descent be given well deserved, greater representation in the federal and state governments.

6. Honoring today the memory of General Pulaski, the great Polish patriot and the hero of the American War of Independence and the 50 anniversary of the Battle of Warsaw, we pay tribute to all those brave men who fought on numerous battlefields and gave their lives in defense of freedom and liberty under the noble motto of our forefathers: "For your freedom and ours."

GLASS RECLAMATION PROJECT

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I have often stated before this body my feelings that significant progress against environmental pollution can only be made by a total commitment by the various factors in our economic and social structures. It was in this light that I recently commended to my colleagues the clean air car race put on by the students at MIT and Cal Tech in Pasadena, Calif.

It is with this same concept in mind that I now commend to my colleagues a glass recycling program which is experiencing unprecedented success in my home district in reclaiming waste glass and reusing it in container production. As a matter of fact, this program has been so successful it is being expanded to encompass the Nation's major urban areas.

This program is being sponsored by the Glass Container Manufacturers Institute and deserves our full support. Equally significant, in my mind, are the efforts being made by the Institute to develop other means of disposing of our Nation's solid waste. New methods of separation are being explored to permit reclaiming of diverse types of waste. Research is also being done in areas of secondary uses for nonreclaimable glass waste. Construction brick, glass wool insulation, and "glasphalt" are all areas under development.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the glass container industry of the United States should be commended for its efforts in attempting to help solve the serious crisis facing our Nation. Following is a resolution recently approved by the Los Angeles City Council relating specifically to the reclaiming effort I noted earlier. I believe it merits the careful attention of my colleagues.

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Glass Container Manufacturers Institute initiated a program of reclamation of used glass containers in April, 1970; and,

Whereas, this program is aimed at solving the problem of solid waste, eliminating litter, promoting neighborhood cleanliness, and recycling glass containers to help preserve our natural resources; and,

Whereas, the Southern California Glass Reclamation Program and its eight participating glass container manufacturers are now collecting over one million glass containers per week in Los Angeles; and,

Whereas, the Los Angeles pilot program has met with such an enthusiastic response by citizens of Los Angeles that it now serves as the model for glass reclamation all over the United States:

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Los Angeles City Council commends the Glass Container Manufacturers Institute and its Southern California Glass Reclamation Program for its role in seeking a solution to solid waste disposal and in preserving our natural resources by recycling used glass containers and thanks them for their contribution in keeping our City's parks, beaches, streets, and neighborhoods clean and beautiful.

Presented by:

EDMOND D. EDELMAN,
Councilman, Fifth District.

Seconded by:

MARVIN BRAUDE,
Councilman, 11th District.

CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT NEEDED

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, crime has burgeoned into one of Utah's major problems. In the past year, Utah's crime rate has grown twice as fast as the rest of the Nation's.

I am in complete agreement with those authorities who believe that the solution to this critical problem requires more than the mere allocation of additional money. Citizen involvement on a large scale is crucially needed if we are to reverse the crime trend, in Utah and elsewhere in the Nation.

The Deseret News, Salt Lake City, Utah, expressed editorial concern with respect to this problem recently. The editorial follows:

HOW UTAHANS CAN HELP THE POLICE CURB CRIME

If Utahans are to come to grips with a growing crime rate, they will have to spend more money for better police protection.

When an organization as careful and conservative about tax dollars as the Utah Foundation comes to pretty much that conclusion, as it did the past weekend, those who hold the purse-strings should sit up and take notice.

But then what other conclusion can one come to when Utah's crime rate in 1969 grew twice as fast as the rest of the nation.

When the chance of a Utahans becoming the victims of a crime has gone from one in 89 in 1960 to one in 46 last year.

When the Salt Lake City police force, for example, is handling nearly twice as many cases today as it did 10 years ago with 19 fewer line officers.

When police salaries in Salt Lake City are said to be about \$150 a month below the average for cities of comparable size.

When crime fighting equipment becomes more expensive as it becomes more sophisticated to meet more demanding situations.

Or when the cost of not doing a better job

of enforcing the laws must be measured not only in dollars and cents but also in terms of human life, bodily injury, and mental anguish?

As Utahans focus on these aspects of the crime problem, they should not overlook the Foundation's observation that:

"Authorities are in general agreement that the full answer to the problem is not money alone, and that if a community, state, or nation were provided unlimited funds it could not immediately end the problem of crime."

More money, while necessary, is no substitute for more direct citizen interest and involvement in combatting crime.

As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice has observed, each time a citizen fails to report an offense, declines to take commonsense precautions against crime, is disrespectful to an officer of the law, shirks his duty as a juror or performs with a biased mind or a hate-filled heart, he contributes to crime.

Moreover, when we turn our backs on those being attacked by a criminal . . . when we insist that the individual isn't personally responsible for his actions and that society is to blame for whatever goes wrong . . . and when we shout down those who disagree with us and refuse to grant them the common courtesies we demand for ourselves, again we inevitably contribute to lawlessness and national decay.

More constructively, one can keep alert to suspicious circumstances that may indicate a crime is being committed, and call police right away. And one can participate in crime-fighting programs like Salt Lake City's Women Alert campaign.

With contributions of time and effort as well as money, alert Utahans can be a most effective weapon in the struggle against crime.

RODINO URGES ALL-OUT WAR ON NARCOTICS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation giving the President of the United States broad emergency powers to use any facility of our Government that he deems necessary to conduct an all-out war against narcotics addiction.

During my 22 years in Congress, it has only been when our country has been involved in wars abroad that I, and the majority of my colleagues in both political parties, have agreed to give to the President broad emergency powers of this nature. In my view, narcotics sellers are now threatening the security of our Nation as much as could any actual military attack, and emergency measures such as I have proposed are essential.

Every segment of our society is now being endangered by heroin and other deadly hard narcotics. However, the greatest devastation is in the major industrial centers of our Nation—in such cities as New York, Newark, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Detroit, and Los Angeles. In these cities and their suburbs the narcotics plague has reached critical proportions. In New York, for example, overdoses of heroin are now the largest single cause of death for persons under 35. Each month hundreds of juveniles

are dying either directly from heroin, or from diseases produced by the filth of unsterilized needles jammed into abscessed arms and weakened veins.

Last year alone, more than 1,000 babies born in New York City were addicted to heroin at birth because of the addiction of their mothers during pregnancy. Some 300,000 to 400,000 heroin addicts loose in the United States, desperate to feed their habits, are turning our cities and their suburbs into crime-infested jungles.

Mr. Speaker, if our youth is to be preserved, our society to remain healthy, and our streets to be made safe, then I am convinced that an all-out war against hard narcotics must be waged. For that reason, I have developed a comprehensive plan and have been doing everything in my power to generate support for this plan, not only from my colleagues in Congress but also from the administration, national organizations, and local community groups.

THE RODINO PLAN

For the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to briefly review the current status of my plan.

The Rodino plan calls for a vigorous three-pronged attack on all hard narcotics such as heroin and cocaine. First, under my bill H.R. 17269, any person known to be an addict would be placed under medical supervision and control by Public Health officials. Such treatment would be mandatory and could involve confinement of the addict if and when medical officials consider it necessary. The Judiciary Committee is holding hearings on this proposal, and it has already received the support of the American Medical Association as well as a number of State and local narcotics officials.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment the compulsory medical treatment of narcotics addicts is not only sound social philosophy, in terms of preventing lives from being destroyed and families ruined—it is also sound economics. Statistics released recently in the District of Columbia indicate that the crime rate in this city has decreased by 19 percent since an extensive addict-treatment program was instituted. The economics of this program are highly significant. An untreated addict steals at least \$50,000 worth of property per year. Even if we assume that there are only 100,000 addicts in the United States, this amounts to an economic loss of \$11 billion per year.

To incarcerate an addict in prison for 1 year costs between \$5,000 and \$10,000 at present. To provide the same addict with the kind of treatment that is being administered in the District of Columbia, and which is being used effectively to reduce crime, costs only \$2,000 per year.

Under the circumstances, the medical treatment of the addict is not only something that we must do for moral reasons, it is also something that should be done for economic reasons.

Obviously, the treatment of narcotics addicts is in itself not enough. The second prong of our attack must be directed at the most heinous criminals of our times—the narcotics pushers who peddle their horrors on the streets; the orga-

nized drug rings; and international narcotics entrepreneurs who operate on a worldwide scale. Under my plan, law enforcement officials would be freed to conduct vigorous crackdowns in these areas. My bill would make it possible for more law enforcement officials to use other measures that have been developed by the House Judiciary Committee on which I serve. In particular, they could concentrate on the strong powers provided in the Organized Crime Control Act approved by our committee and passed by the House on October 7. With enactment of H.R. 17269, the administration would also be enabled to make greater use of provisions of the Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act, which has passed both House and Senate and now awaits conference agreement.

The third thrust of my attack is in an area which has been too long neglected by both the administration and the Congress—the area of international control over narcotics. It is shocking to realize that all of the illegal narcotics in the United States come from abroad and that 80 percent of the heroin in the United States originates from opium grown in Turkey and processed in France. Yet, despite the fact that such countries as Turkey have been a major source of the contamination that is threatening our whole country, the administration persists in giving foreign aid to Turkey with no strings attached. Recently, for example, President Nixon approved a \$40 million development loan to Turkey even though the Turkish Government has not complied with our request to eliminate opium production.

To deal with this appalling situation, I have introduced H.R. 18397, which would impose economic sanctions on foreign governments that fail to take adequate steps to curb the illegal production and processing of opium, heroin, cocaine, or morphine. It would also provide affirmative assistance to countries which do cooperate. I have written personally to every Member of the House of Representatives to call this matter to their attention, and I am gratified that as a result 141 Members of the House—both Republican and Democratic—have given me their wholehearted support by cosponsoring my bill. It is now pending before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Although the administration has not yet taken a public position on this issue, I am hopeful that my bill can be enacted in the near future.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that a three-pronged attack of the type that I have formulated is essential. These are times when our Nation is divided—there are disagreements among young and old, between blacks and whites, management and labor. But the narcotics contamination affects all of our institutions. As a result, every responsible member of our society should be willing to unite in such a war against narcotics. I, for one, have pledged to the people of the 10th Congressional District of New Jersey that, as their Representative, I will do my utmost to muster the full resources of the Federal Government in this fight. I intend to keep that pledge.

CUTTING THE DEFENSE BUDGET

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the Kansas City Star in an editorial concerning defense budget cuts makes some sound points both pro and con on this question but concludes that so far it does not appear that we are repeating the past mistakes of inadequate preparedness. The editorial of Sunday, October 4, follows:

CUTTING THE DEFENSE BUDGET WITHOUT EXCESS RISK

Defense spending is on its sharpest swing downward since the end of the Korean fighting 17 years ago. This development brings a variety of reactions—elation that more billions will be available for education, housing, transportation, the control of crime and pollution and possible tax relief; the distress of more than 500,000 families and individuals already hurt by the elimination of defense jobs, and fears in some quarters that the military cuts, are excessive and could risk the nation's survival.

Any defense budget involves a measure of calculated risk. Total security is beyond achievement by any nation. That was true when wars were fought with crossbows and ramrods and it is true in this jittery era of nuclear warheads and intercontinental ballistic missiles.

This country's Vietnam experience has produced disillusionment. Gone is the assumption that a superpower can use its armed might to win any kind of war. Americans now understand that a guerrilla war is a special case. It may be indecisive and unwinnable—as Vietnam is—when the great power limits a conflict by imposing restrictions on itself in order to avoid a larger war. Thus the U.S. has refrained from invading North Vietnam or obliterating it from the air lest Red China intervene with its endless legions. The 1950 lesson of attempting to invade and conquer North Korea has stuck.

Now the United States is on its way out of the war in stages. By the middle of 1971 the South Vietnamese will be wholly responsible for the land defense of their country. U.S. help is making this possible and it was an American expeditionary force that saved South Vietnam from Communist conquest in the critical years from 1965 to 1968. Thus anyone who claims that the U.S. had no valid purpose in Vietnam or failed to accomplish it ignores the facts.

VIETNAM LOAD DIMINISHES

But the Vietnamese involvement is marching into history, and the United States finds itself able to retrench heavily on both military expenditures and manpower. The following is a summary of cuts made and in prospect:

From a peak of 81.2 billion dollars in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1969, defense outlays have been reduced more than 7.5 billion. At the same time the cost of weapons has increased and men in uniform have been granted pay raises. When these are excluded, defense spending dropped from 78.7 billion in fiscal 1969 to 65.9 billion in the current fiscal year, a decline of about 16 per cent. Defense spending absorbs 34.6 per cent of the federal budget compared with 43.2 per cent in 1968.

By another measure, total defense expenditures in the current fiscal year are expected to decline to 7 per cent of the gross national product, the lowest level in 20 years. At the height of the Vietnam war, about 9 per

cent of GNP was going to defense; at the peak of the Korean war, about 13.5 per cent. It was more than 40 per cent at the height of World War II.

The 1971 defense budget is for a little over 71 billion, with a possibility that the level may fall below 70 billion in fiscal 1972. Even larger cuts are possible depending on the political climate. After several years of rubber-stamping most Pentagon requests, Congress is now taking a hard look at all major items and rejecting some of them. Most recently the legislators scuttled a 152-million-dollar start on a third nuclear-powered aircraft carrier.

In addition to the half-million workers who have lost their jobs at defense plants in the last year, another 500,000 are expected to be laid off during the next 12 months. Civilian payrolls in the Defense department are being cut by 100,000 perhaps more.

By next June the total number in uniform will have declined to 2.9 million, compared with the Vietnam war peak of 3.5 million in 1968. Three more divisions will be cut from the standing Army, bringing the number of divisions to the lowest point (13½ divisions) in more than 10 years. The Air Force, the Navy and the Marine Corps are also undergoing personnel cuts. In Vietnam the American forces will be down to 284,000 or fewer by next May. The highest figure was 543,000.

At a time when the Soviet navy is expanding rapidly, especially in submarines, the U.S. Navy is shrinking. A total of 286 ships has been announced for mothballing or scrapping since April of 1969. Fifty per cent of the Navy's surface vessels are more than 20 years old. The building of modern ships has lagged during the Vietnam war.

By one measurement—nuclear megatonnage—the United States is reported to have fallen behind the Soviet Union in strategic military strength. The Russians may also have more "delivery vehicles" for atomic warheads. But there is also the grim fact that both countries have sufficient nuclear might to destroy each other several times over. Moreover, the deployment of multiple warheads in the MIRV missile system will enlarge the U.S. capability.

QUESTION OF SOVIET MIGHT

Thus there is no apparent basis for the alarm registered by Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House armed services committee, and some others in Congress that there is present danger from being eclipsed by Russia as the world's strongest military power. The real concern is whether the hard line recently taken by the Soviet Union may continue. The main test will be the outcome of the U.S.-Soviet talks on the limitation of strategic arms. If this effort to freeze the arms race should fail, the United States would have to take a new reading on its military requirements.

But for now it seems that the recent curb on unlimited military spending—a big factor in taxes and a cause of inflation—is justified. The time had come to trim the military budget and Secretary Laird of the Defense department is doing that with the help of Congress. There are unfortunate dislocations for individuals losing their jobs, for communities where defense plant jobs are important and for an economy in which one in every 10 jobs stemmed from defense less than two years ago.

Yet the impact of defense cuts on the economy should never be the decisive consideration. It has been shown since World War II that there are acceptable nonmilitary alternatives to wars and defense spending in order to keep the economy from stagnating. By cutting taxes or increasing investments in social needs, the government can achieve much the same result.

So it comes down to a question of whether the United States is providing sufficiently

for its self-defense and its international commitments. The course of retrenchment so far followed does not appear to be repeating the past mistakes of inadequate preparedness.

AUTO SAFETY: BUMPERS—NO. 4

HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, as I have indicated earlier, the National Highway Safety Bureau started actively working on the problems of poorly designed bumpers with their advance notice of proposed rulemaking issued October 14, 1967. The only specific accomplishment was a public hearing held on April 2, 1970. We still have no notice of proposed rulemaking, the next step toward implementing a formal regulation.

To complete the record on this subject, I insert in the RECORD at this point the text of a discussion paper prepared by the Bureau for use at the April meeting:

EXTERIOR PROTECTION (BUMPERS)

On October 14, 1967, the Federal Highway Administrator issued an advance notice of proposed rule making (32 F.R. 14278), establishing dockets to receive comments on the height of motor vehicle bumpers, Docket No. 1-9, and on bumper effectiveness, Docket No. 1-10. On April 2, 1970, the National Highway Safety Bureau will hold a public meeting beginning at 9:00 a.m. in the Department of Commerce Auditorium, 14th and E Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., to discuss bumpers and other aspects of front and rear low speed collision protection. It is expected that the information presented at the meeting will aid the prompt development of a final rule in this area.

In order to focus the issues as sharply as possible, the Bureau has drafted a discussion paper, in the form of a motor vehicle safety standard, representing the Bureau's concept of the form and content of a final rule. Copies of the discussion paper may be obtained on request from Mr. Clue Ferguson, Director, Office of Standards on Crash-Injury Reduction, National Highway Safety Bureau, 400 7th Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20591.

DISCUSSION PAPER

Exterior protection—passenger cars, multipurpose passenger vehicles, buses, and trucks w/gross vehicle weight rating of 10,000 lbs. or less

S1. Purpose and scope.—This standard establishes requirements to provide an effective front and rear low speed collision interface between vehicles and between vehicles and fixed objects.

S2. Applicability.—This standard applies to passenger cars, multipurpose passenger vehicles, buses, and trucks with gross vehicle weight rating of 10,000 pounds or less.

S3. Definition.

S3.1. "Vehicle corner" means a point or line on the vehicle established by a vertical plane that is tangent to the vehicle and at an angle of 45° to the vehicle's longitudinal centerline (see Fig. 1).

S4. Requirements.

S4.1 When tested according to S5:

A. No portion of the vehicle shall make contact with any of the vertical surfaces of the pendulum impact face.

B. The vehicle's lamps, reflective devices and associated equipment as specified in MVSS No. 108 shall incur no damage nor displacement so as to affect their function

and/or exceed the as installed adjustment capability specified by the vehicle's manufacturer.

C. The vehicle's hood and trunk latch systems, and the fuel, cooling, and exhaust systems shall incur no damage so as to impair their as installed operational performance.

S5. Demonstration Test.

S5.1. Preparation of Test Vehicle.—The vehicle shall be at curb weight and on a level, hard surface with the front wheels in a straight-ahead position. Each road wheel shall be equipped with the manufacturer's standard size original equipment tires inflated to the vehicle manufacturer's recommended pressure for the indicated loading. The wheels shall be blocked to keep the vehicle in one test position. In addition, if desired, the vehicle's parking brakes may be engaged and the transmission placed in lock or neutral.

S5.2. Preparation of Test Device.—Prepare a pendulum type impact device containing a mass equal to vehicle curb weight. The mass shall:

(a) Be affixed to one end of a rigid shaft such that the distance between its fulcrum and the center-of percussion of the mass shall measure 132 ± 1 inches.

(b) Be capable of swinging in a circular arc in a vertical plane and through a prescribed angle.

(c) Have affixed to it an impact face consisting of a rigid non-deforming contoured surface as detailed in Fig. 3. Line-A of the contoured surface and the center-of percussion of the pendulum shall lie in the same horizontal plane when the pendulum is freely hanging. Also when the pendulum is freely hanging, a clearance of not more than 6 inches shall exist between the bottom of the steel contoured surface and the ground.

S5.3. Method of Impacting the Vehicle.

S5.3.1. Prepare to strike the vehicle with the pendulum impact face by swinging the pendulum away from the vehicle to a position that when released to free-fall it will produce a striking velocity of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet per second. Line-A of the pendulum's impact face at the instant of impact shall:

(a) Impact the vehicle when it intercepts a vertical plane that is tangent to the vehicle surface being impacted, and

(b) Be 20 inches above ground level.

S5.3.2. Impact the front and the rear of the vehicle with the pendulum positioned according to S5.3.1 as follows:

(a) Parallel to the vehicle's longitudinal centerline commencing at the vehicle's centerline and repeated at each 16-inch interval both to the right and left of vehicle centerline until the width of the vehicle bounded between vehicle corners has been impacted.

(b) At the vehicle corner in a direction that makes an angle of 45 degrees with the vehicle's centerline.

S5.3.3. Repeat S5.3.1 and S5.3.2, except Line-A of the pendulum's impact face shall be 14 inches above ground level at the instant contact is made with the vehicle.

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

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

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

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

How long?

**WORDS OF BORIS PONOMARYOV
SHOW SOVIET INTENTIONS**

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, to supplement an article by Mr. Walter Jacobs appearing elsewhere in the RECORD which deals with Soviet strategy I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the June issue of International Affairs magazine. This magazine is published by the Agit-Prop section of the Soviet Politburo. Since this article is quite lengthy it will not be read in but rather I will comment on certain portions of the article which are particularly interesting in the light of current events. Any of my colleagues who wish to read the article in full can obtain a copy from the Library of Congress.

International Affairs magazine serves as an instrument by which Communist cadres in the English speaking nations receive detailed instructions on the more complex issues involved in waging rear warfare in the United States. It transmits the Communist line. An interesting historical sidelight on this particular publication is that Donald MacClean, the English diplomat who fled to the Soviet Union in 1951, was the editor of International Affairs for several years. He was subsequently moved to a position on the English desk of the Soviet foreign section.

The article which I wish to comment on was authored by one Boris Ponomaryov, secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and head of the foreign section. Mr. Ponomaryov is an old hand at international subversion. Stalin thought so much of his ability in conducting operations in the non-Communist nations that he appointed him to head the Communist International, as the mechanism for coordinating global subversion was known in Stalin's day. Mr. Ponomaryov was also charged with organizing the Cominform and today heads the international organization of Communist and Workers parties in its present refined form.

Ponomaryov makes a statement which has particular significance at this point where there seems to be a competition developing to see who can dismantle our defense system the fastest. Mr. Ponomaryov says:

In present day conditions account must also necessarily be taken of the fact that external factors, that is, the general world balance of forces, the possibility of getting support from the world socialist system and, on the other hand, the degree of danger of imperialist export of counterrevolution, have a considerable role to play in determining the concrete ways of revolution.

For those not familiar with Communist jargon the "world socialist system" is basically what we think of as the Soviet Union and its colonies. When it is remembered that this article is aimed at cadre members of the English speaking

parties, including naturally the CPUSA, we can see that what Ponomaryov is doing is offering the U.S. Communist party military assistance. He is telling the Communist cadre in the United States that they can count on a nuclear boost to power from the good old Soviet motherland when the time is right and they should plan their operations accordingly. As the balance of forces continues to shift in the Soviet favor this possibility of assistance grows.

Now one might imagine that statements of this type from the head of the Soviet Foreign Section might tend to strain relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Mr. Ponomaryov does admit further along in the article that promoting friendly relations between governments at one level and at the same time directing, supporting, and assisting a subversive organization designed to overthrow that same government, to the point of promising them direct military assistance, does present a bit of a problem. He said:

To the CPSU has fallen the lot of being the first to tackle *in practice* (emphasis original) the problem of relations between a socialist state and the revolutionary movement of the working movement in the camp of imperialism, the problem of combining the struggle for peaceful relations with the capitalist states with the *direct support and assistance for this movement* (emphasis mine). It is not necessary to prove that this is no simple matter, that it requires the skillful combination of principle and flexibility in politics. The CPSU has worked consistently on this task.

I would be the first to agree that it is no simple matter to establish the spirit of "detente" with the Government of the United States and promote the spirit of conquest at all other levels of contact. Ever since the cold war, better known as unarmed warfare, disappeared from the minds of the men in the State Department and in some other policy formulating echelons, though hardly from the real world, this task has been immeasurably easier. We tend to ignore the unbridled hostility manifested by the Soviets both in word and in deed for the occasional soothing words of one of her diplomats. We relegate all the obvious signs that the Soviet Union is proceeding handily toward its stated goal of global conquest to the realm of fancy and hang on the words of such proven liars as A. Dobrynin.

It has gotten to the point where it seems that the notion that we can somehow mystically evoke peace is actually being taken seriously. That we can call it up from some mysterious historical process, as it were. That our wishes and interests coincide with Soviet interests and objectives. This is not the case.

It is my hope that those who are in doubt about Soviet intentions will study the words of Mr. Ponomaryov. That the next time the military budget comes around, it is clearly understood by all concerned that the Soviets are on record, in this instance and many others, as stating that when they get the necessary bang we are going to be left holding the proverbial buck. Those of us who are left, that is.

VOTING RECORDS FOR 91ST
CONGRESS

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, it has been my custom at the close of each session of Congress to outline my voting record and to report my stewardship to constituents of the first district.

I introduced 92 public bills. Over 42 percent received action either by being totally or partially enacted, passed by the House and awaiting either Senate or conference action. My staff and I have handled approximately 47,900 pieces of first-class mail which included opinions of constituents, requests for information and publications, military problems, and other items of personal concern.

A large share of my time has been devoted to problems involving pollution abatement projects and environmental quality. Municipalities in my district have initiated 55 projects in these vital areas with the lowest request for funds being \$1,500 and the highest \$4,360,600. I am happy to say that the first district received \$7,275,766 in Federal funds for these projects. With 24 projects still incomplete, additional requests for \$4,055,500 are receiving my personal attention.

I have stayed abreast of the changing conditions in the first district by returning to Wisconsin from Washington 60 times during the 91st Congress. These trips have allowed me to keep in constant touch with local as well as Federal officials in order to expedite community requests and head off possible trouble areas. My overall attendance record on the House floor is 93 percent.

To better serve my constituents I have maintained two full-time district offices. They are staffed by full-time secretaries. In addition, my field secretary represents me at citizen meetings and conferences when my duties in Washington prevent me from attending these most important community functions.

Mr. Speaker, the following is my voting record for the 91st Congress, including the session held on Wednesday, October 7. It would be impractical and costly to include every recorded vote since some votes were on minor legislation and some were on parliamentary procedures which would necessitate lengthy discourse to make clear. I am proud of my record. It reflects my desire to be a careful steward of my constituents' tax dollars; my determination to bring spending within the national budget; to restore and promote security within and without; to improve the quality of our environment; and to strengthen the framework of law.

VOTING RECORD FOR 91ST CONGRESS

AGRICULTURE

Voted in support of:

- (a) Limiting single farm subsidy payments to \$20,000.
- (b) The Agriculture Act of 1970.

COMMERCE

Voted in favor of:

- (a) Amending the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 to establish a ten-year merchant marine ship construction subsidy program.

(b) Authorizing funds to build and operate American merchant ships so that our Merchant Marine fleet can become competitive with other nations upon whose shipping

(c) The Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970, authorizing a long-range program for improving the United States' aviation system.

(d) Establishing a program for preserving additional historic property throughout the United States.

(e) The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1969, extending the due date for a final cost estimate of the interstate highway system.

(f) Authorizing funds for motor vehicle and tire safety programs and enacting new safety regulations for tires and motorcyclist's headgear.

Voted against:

(a) The appropriations bill for the Department of Transportation and related agencies because of inflationary increases which had been added to the budget request.

(b) The radio-TV campaign spending bill which would discriminate against broadcasters and against minor candidates.

DEFENSE AND SECURITY

Voted in favor of:

(a) The Foreign Military Sales Act to assist other Nations in the defense of the free world.

(b) Defense Department appropriations.

(c) Military Procurement Authorization for fiscal 1971 including a proposal to cut \$550 million.

(d) Military construction for the Department of Defense.

(e) Allowing the President to institute a lottery system for selecting persons for induction into the Armed Services.

(f) The "Toward Peace with Justice in Vietnam" Resolution supporting President Nixon's effort to negotiate a "just peace" in Vietnam and requesting the President to continue to press the Government of North Vietnam to abide by the Geneva Convention of 1949 in the treatment of prisoners of war.

(g) Resolution calling for humane treatment and release of prisoners of war held by North Vietnam.

(h) The Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act of 1970, authorizing measures to protect defense production and classified information released to defense industry against subversion.

(i) Retaining \$345.5 million for procurement of and \$400.0 million for research for the Safeguard Antiballistic Missile System.

(j) Reducing United States contributions to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Voted against:

(a) Foreign aid appropriations for fiscal 1970 and 1971, which proposed spending approximately \$4 billion on military and economic foreign aid programs.

(b) The bill replacing existing export control laws with new legislation designed to ease controls on exports of goods to Communist nations.

(c) The National Aeronautics and Space Administration authorization bill for fiscal 1971 which contemplated spending too large a sum for advanced space exploration programs at a time when Federal spending on non-essential programs must be reduced.

EDUCATION

Voted in favor of:

(a) Authorizing \$24.6 billion for three years to implement Federal education programs.

(b) Authorizing funds for three years to operate the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities.

(c) The National Science Foundation Authorization, voted earlier to reduce final amount of funding.

(d) The Health, Education and Welfare-Labor Appropriations bill for fiscal 1970 as passed the House.

(e) Authorizing funds for the Public Broadcasting Corporation, after voting to reduce total funding.

(f) The bill providing emergency student loan guarantees.

(g) The Amendment to deny Federal interest subsidies on college construction loans to colleges which fall to cut off Federal aid to students who willfully violate college regulations of a serious nature and contribute to substantial disruption.

(h) The bill to authorize a 3-year program of research, advanced training, and remedial programs to help children with learning disabilities.

(i) The amendment prohibiting use of Federal funds to force busing and providing for freedom of choice plans.

(j) The bill establishing a National Commission on Libraries and Information Sciences.

(k) Authorizing indefinite amounts of funds for the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

(l) The Office of Education Appropriations bill for fiscal 1971.

(m) Creating a center to develop teaching materials and methods for the handicapped.

Voted against:

(a) A highly inflationary \$1 billion Amendment to the Health, Education and Welfare-Labor Appropriations bill for fiscal 1970 which would have added nearly \$600 million for impacted aid programs.

(b) Against overriding the President's veto of a highly inflationary conference report of the Health, Education and Welfare-Labor Appropriations bill for fiscal 1970.

(c) Against overriding the President's veto of a highly inflationary conference report of the Office of Education Appropriations bill for fiscal 1971.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

Voted in favor of:

(a) Amending the Clean Air Act to extend the program of research relating to fuels and chemicals.

(b) Establishing the Council on Environmental Quality.

(c) Authorizing \$348 million to protect public waters from oil and sewage pollution for a three year period.

(d) The bill authorizing feasibility investigations of certain water resource development projects.

(e) Establishing the Apostle Islands National Seashore.

(f) Establishing the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

(g) The Emergency Community Facilities Act of 1970 authorizing an additional \$1 billion for construction of water and sewer facilities.

(h) Legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to establish nationwide air pollution standards.

(i) Extending and increasing authority to undertake research in solid waste disposal.

(j) Creating a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

(k) The bill establishing legal requirements for cleaning up the Nation's rivers.

(l) Public Works appropriations for pollution control.

(m) Department of Interior appropriations.

(n) Authorizing \$45 million through fiscal 1973 to establish programs on environmental education.

(o) The bill providing for conservation of anadromous fishing resources.

(p) Restoring the Golden Eagle program to the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act.

Voted against:

(a) Funding of the proposed SST.

(b) The consideration of the National Timber Supply and Management Act which would have allowed increased logging and

intensify forest management in the national forests.

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Voted in favor of:

(a) The Federal Employees Salary Act of 1970 providing for a 6% pay increase retroactive to December 27, 1969, for Federal postal and other civil service employees.

(b) The Federal Salary Comparability Act.

(c) An amendment to the legislative branch appropriations to authorize a \$4.5 million restoration of the west front of the U.S. Capitol instead of a \$45 million expansion.

(d) Resolutions providing monies for investigative activities of the House Internal Security Committee.

(e) Requiring Members of the House to report honorariums of \$300 or more, and unsecured loans for more than 90 days in excess of \$10,000.

(f) The Legislative Reorganization Act, which reformed procedures for the House of Representatives.

(g) The Postal reform bill which converted the Post Office Department into an independent U.S. Postal Service.

(h) Authorizing an additional 600 positions on the White House police force to be used for the protection of foreign embassies in D.C.

(i) The President's reorganization plan to create a Domestic Council and expand the Bureau of the Budget to create an Office of Management and Budget.

Voted against:

(a) The Civil Service Retirement Fund Financing Act. Included in the bill was a provision liberalizing retirement benefits for Members of Congress and Congressional employees.

(b) The Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill for 1970 since it contained payment for increased Congressional Salaries.

(c) The resolution to adjourn over Lincoln's Birthday in 1969, thereby foreclosing the possibility of considering the matter of Congressional pay increase. This increase was untimely, ill-advised and contributed to inflation.

(d) Providing an additional employee for each Member of the House.

(e) Authorizing the Education and Labor Committee to conduct foreign studies.

(f) Authorizing additional funds for the construction of the James Madison Memorial Building of the Library of Congress.

(g) Fiscal 1971 Independent Offices and H.U.D. appropriations after efforts to reduce amounts were unsuccessful. Supported the President's veto of even higher inflationary conference report.

(h) Additional funds for the Kennedy Center for Performing Arts in Washington. What had once started as a private building was becoming a publicly supported building for the benefit of a few living in and around Washington.

HEALTH

Voted in favor of:

(a) Extending the Hill-Burton hospital construction aid program for three years. Later voted to override the President's veto because of the dire need for medical facilities in this country.

(b) The Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act with provisions for mentally-ill children.

(c) The Health Act Extension bill for research and training in the fields of heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other diseases.

(d) Amendments to the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Health Centers Construction Act of 1963.

(e) Authorizing the Secretary of H.E.W. to provide education programs on drug abuse.

(f) The medical library assistance bill extending federal assistance for an additional three years.

(g) Expanding and making permanent legislation to provide milk for school children at reduced cost.

(h) Extending for three years the programs of assistance for training in the allied health professions.

JUDICIAL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Voted in favor of:

(a) Justice Department and judiciary appropriations.

(b) Amending statutory provisions relating to the judicial machinery of the Custom Court.

(c) Amending the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to require insured banks to maintain certain records and to require reporting of certain transactions in currency and monetary instruments to the Treasury Department to prevent use of financial institutions and foreign bank accounts in criminal activity.

(d) The bill providing statutory standards for camping activities in the National Park System in order to prevent illegal demonstrations and camp-ins.

(e) Creating a Select House Committee to investigate crime in the United States.

(f) Prohibiting mailing of obscene material to persons under 17 years-of-age and permitting persons who object to receiving such mail to list their names with the Post Office Department.

(g) Authorizing \$3.15 billion in Federal Law Enforcement Assistance funds for three years.

(h) Prohibiting the use of interstate facilities for transportation of unsolicited salacious advertising.

(i) The Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act which will strengthen the controls over the proliferation of drugs in the United States.

(j) The Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 which will increase the ability of the Justice Department to control organized crime. Contained in the bill is provision for dealing with terrorist bombings.

(k) Authorizing funds for airline security operations.

(l) The Voting Rights Act which provided for nationwide standards for voting eligibility and which set up a nationwide 30-day residency requirement for presidential elections. Voted against final bill since it contained completely different provisions from the House passed version, and since it contained an unconstitutional provision requiring all States to adopt an 18-year old voting age.

(m) Amendment to Constitution providing for election of the President and the Vice President by direct popular vote, after supporting the District Plan.

LABOR

Voted in favor of:

(a) The Coal Mine Safety Act providing for additional safety standards, requiring closing of unsafe mines, and providing compensation for miners suffering from black lung disease.

(b) Increasing by 15% the benefits paid to retired workers under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937.

(c) The unemployment compensation bill to provide coverage for an additional 4.5 million workers.

(d) The railroad retirement act amendments providing for retirement at age 65 with an extension of certain retirement benefits.

(e) Raising Social Security benefits by 15%.

(f) The 1970 Social Security Act increasing payments by 5% and providing for cost-of-living benefit increase and increasing to \$2,000 the outside earnings limitation.

Voted against:

(a) Requiring employer contributions to joint promotion funds for construction materials in the construction industry.

TAXES AND ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY

Voted in favor of:

(a) Providing tax relief to most taxpayers and to close many tax loopholes. Major provisions included: Increase in personal income tax exemption from \$600 to \$750 over the

next three years; reduction in the depletion allowance on gas and oil from 27.5 to 22%; and increase in all stages the maximum standard deduction for taxpayers who do not itemize from the present 10 percent of income with a \$1,000 ceiling to 15% with a \$2,000 ceiling, fully effective in 1973.

(b) Providing additional mortgage credit and authorizing the President to control credit, lower interest rates, and fight inflation.

(c) Authorizing \$4.8 billion for housing and urban development programs.

Voted against:

(a) An amendment to the Defense Production Act Extension to require the President to freeze prices, rent, wages, salaries and interest at their May 25, 1970 level and against \$2 billion to carry out the provisions of the freeze.

(b) The Defense Production Act Extension which would destroy small business participation in Defense contracts by creating a cost-accounting board, and which would grant to the President unwanted authority to impose wage and price controls.

(c) The second supplemental appropriations bill which would have imposed a flexible federal expenditures limitation.

(d) The bill to raise the temporary and permanent debt ceilings thereby allowing Congress to further policies of deficit spending.

(e) Extending the temporary surtax at 10% through December 31 and at 5% through June 30, 1970.

WELFARE

Voted in favor of:

(a) The substitute O.E.O. bill, which would have turned control of the antipoverty programs over to the Senate.

(b) The school lunch program, making \$100 million available for meals for needy children.

(c) The antipoverty conference report making appropriations for fiscal 1970 and fiscal 1971.

(d) Extending the National Council on Indian Opportunities for five years and increasing the authorizations.

(e) Establishing a cabinet committee on opportunities for Spanish-speaking peoples.

(f) Repealing the freeze on aid to families with dependent children (A.D.C. program).

Voted against:

(a) The Family Assistance Plan. The final version did not contain enough positive reform to justify adding some 10 million new persons to welfare at an additional cost of \$4 billion/year.

VETERANS AFFAIRS

Voted in favor of:

(a) Providing increases for disability compensation and updating the criteria for determining eligibility of widows for benefits.

(b) Increasing availability of guaranteed home loan financing and providing additional mortgage guarantees for veterans and increasing the income of the National Service Life Insurance Fund.

(c) Providing increased benefits for veterans and their widows and exempting the Veterans Administration from employment cuts.

(d) Modifying the reporting requirement and establishing additional income exclusions relating to pensions for veterans and their widows, updating the bar on payment of benefits to remarried widows of veterans, and liberalizing the oath requirement for hospitalization of veterans.

(e) Increasing education benefits for 736,000 veterans.

Bills totally or partially enacted into law: To limit the questions in the decennial census of population and to remove criminal and civil liability for refusing to answer questions.

To increase the amount of income tax deductions.

To remove limitations on income earnings for Social Security beneficiaries.

To update additional income exclusions on veterans pensions, benefits to remarried widows, and to liberalize the oath requirement for hospitalization of veterans.

To improve operation of the Nation's water quality control facilities.

To continue the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

To improve the legislative branch operations.

To provide funding for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

To prohibit the mailing sexually provocative material through the mail.

To appropriate funds to complete the Federal commitment due 45 hospitals.

To provide for automatic annual cost-of-living adjustments in benefits paid of Social Security beneficiaries.

To appeal to North Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam to comply with the Geneva Convention relative to treatment of prisoners of war.

To express the support of the House in the President's attempts to negotiate a just peace in Vietnam.

Bills passed the House and awaiting Senate or Conference action.

To provide additional income tax deduction for dependents of permanently disabled.

To provide greater penalties for illegal fishing in U.S. territorial waters.

To authorize the Council on Environmental Quality to conduct studies and make recommendations regarding reclamation and recycling of material from solid wastes.

To extend the duration of the Clean Air Act, and to provide for national standards of ambient air quality, and to regulate fuels and fuel additives.

To include Great Lake ports in the Merchant Marine Act.

To provide for increased Federal disaster assistance.

To strengthen the law concerning illegal use, transportation, and possession of explosives and to strengthen the penalties thereto.

To provide for uniform relocation assistance for the Federal Highway System and to improve the management of the System.

Bills upon which Committee hearings have been held.

To study the need of increased expenditures for public works in smaller urban areas to reverse migratory trend towards large metropolitan areas.

To add additional mileage in the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways.

To provide for a more equitable Federal policy relative to real property acquisitions by Federal programs.

To include privately owned property in Federal participation in the cost of protecting the shorelines of the United States.

To license personnel on certain vessels.

To provide indemnification to cheese manufacturers as a result of pesticide residues.

To provide highway appropriations for 1974-76.

To provide for the orderly trade of textile articles and leather footwear.

more spectacular than Columbus', for he opened the door not only to the development of the Western Hemisphere but also paved the way for the establishment of our own great country.

Columbus Day is a happy, proud and glorious occasion for all Americans, regardless of ethnic origin, race, or creed, for it is a day when we share a common pride in Columbus' courageous deed and reflect on the great advances mankind has made since the eventful moment that the great Italian Navigator first set foot in the New World.

In my own city of Chicago, Columbus Day is celebrated each year with a gigantic parade on our main street, State Street. Over 200 units marched today in the parade, representing every branch of the U.S. military forces. Hundreds of floats participated in the procession, as well as various school bands, scores of marchers, drum and bugle corps, and women and children wearing authentic Italian costumes.

The costumes are handmade by the ladies in the community and are authentic to the most minute detail. They are modeled at one of the most popular activities held in conjunction with the Columbus Day festivities—the Festa Della Moda fashion show—which this year was held on October 4 at the Sheraton Chicago Hotel. More than 150 persons, including children and adults, participated in the fashion show and displayed authentic Italian costumes depicting the native dress of the various regions in Italy. The Authentic Italian Costumes Subcommittee of the 1970 Columbus Day Parade Committee, which sponsored this event, includes the following officers and members: Dr. Mary Ellen Batinich, chairman; Mrs. Frank Amico, Mrs. Maria DeSerto, and Mrs. Elena Frigoletti, cochairmen; Mrs. Norma Battisti, Mrs. Stella Boschelli, Mrs. Mary Ann Cervi, Mrs. Judy Guzaldo, Mrs. Josephine Lavorata, Mrs. Ann Menconi, Mrs. Violet Loiccono, Mrs. Ann Parisi, Mrs. Marie Pedi, Mrs. Annette Salvatore, Mrs. Mary Spallita, Mrs. Ange Tufano, and Mrs. Ann Yelmini.

The theme of the 1970 parade was "The Heirs of Columbus" and therefore, in addition to honoring Columbus, the parade also recognized the many other great Italians who have made significant contributions to the advancement of our culture and civilization.

In this year's parade, we made a special effort to recognize those men of Italian ancestry who have made significant contributions in recent times to our way of life in politics, in the sports world, in business, in the theater, and in many other fields. These great Italo-Americans, whose names are familiar to millions of young people throughout America, include: Hon. John A. Volpe, Jimmy Durante, Vincent Lombardi, Judge John J. Lupe, Rocky Marciano, Brian Piccolo, Frank Sinatra, Tony Bennett, Enzo Stuarti, Sergio Franchi, Joni James, Connie Francis, Vic Damone, Ron Santo, St. Francis X Cabrini, Medal of Honor winner Sgt. John Basilone, Chicago police officers James A. Alfano, Anthony Rizzato, and others who were killed in the line of duty, Amadeo Giannini, and Italian Americans serving in the U.S. Congress.

In addition to the contemporary heirs of Columbus, we paid tribute to the eminent contributions made to world civilization by the great Italians of earlier years, including: Americo Vespucci, Enrico Fermi, Michelangelo, Filippo Mazzei, William Paca, Giacomo Puccini, Giacomo Beltrami, Giovanni Caboto, Dr. Maria Montessori, Constantino Brumidi, Guglielmo Marconi, Enrico Tonti, and Francesco Vigo.

Chicago's Columbus Day parade is one of the most eagerly awaited patriotic events in our city. On State Street it attracts over 1 million people, and is televised for 1½ hours. An additional 2 million people view the procession on television, which WGN-TV has televised again this year as it has in past years. Sponsors of the telecast are Anthony Paterno of the Pacific Wine Co.; Dominick Di Matteo, of Dominick's Finer Foods; and Frank Armanetti, of Armanetti Liquor Stores.

The Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, comprised of more than 40 Italo-American civic organizations, in cooperation with other groups, annually sponsors the Columbus Day parade as well as many other activities honoring the greater explorer. Mr. Anthony Sorrentino, consultant for the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, has capably served in this post for many years and has done a fine job in helping to coordinate the various events scheduled in observance of Columbus Day.

Leading the parade today were Hon. Richard J. Daley, Mayor of Chicago, Hon. Richard Ogilvie, the Governor of Illinois, Hon. Giuseppe Avitabile, Consul General of Italy in Chicago, as well as myself. Following in the line of march were political dignitaries, civic leaders, members of the judiciary, and outstanding businessmen from the community.

Some of the leaders in the Italian community who participated in the parade were Anthony Bottalla, president of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans; Charles C. Porcelli, first vice president; Anthony Fornelli, second vice president; Dr. James F. Greco, third vice president; James Coli, fourth vice president; Dr. N. J. Bruno, fifth vice president; John G. Rovetto, treasurer; and Ettore DiVitos, secretary. Also participating were past presidents Peter R. Scallise, Anthony Paterno, Dr. Mario O. Rubinelli, and Victor J. Failla; and Reverend Armando Pierini, P.S.S.C., director of the Italian Old Peoples' Home in Melrose Park, Ill.

The honorary chairman of the 1970 parade were Mayor Daley and Dr. Avitabile. The general chairman of the Columbus Day Parade was Anthony Terlato, whose untiring efforts and complete devotion to the responsibilities of chairman of the parade resulted in providing Chicago with one of the most outstanding parades in the history of our city. Special assistants to the general chairmen included Joseph Bottalla, Eugene Pullano, Ralph Massey, Ron Santo, Dominick Bufalino, Frank Marianni, and Michael Galasso.

The cochairmen of the parade were Congressman FRANK ANNUNZIO of the Seventh District of Illinois, Frank Armanetti, Fred Bartoli, Anthony Bottalla, Martin R. Buccieri, James Coli, Dominick

CHICAGO'S 1970 COLUMBUS DAY PARADE

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, October 12, 1970, marks the 478th anniversary of a memorable achievement—the discovery of America by the great Italian navigator, Christopher Columbus. In the annals of history, there is no discovery

Di Matteo, Victor J. Failla, Nello V. Ferrara, Anthony Paterno, Arthur S. Pullano, and Dr. Mario O. Rubinelli.

Also participating were Louis P. Farina and Anthony Fornelli, cochairmen of the speakers platform subcommittee; Hon. John D'Arco, Hon. Peter C. Granata and Hon. Vito Marzullo of the public officials subcommittee; Mrs. Elena Frigoletti, president of the women's division of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, and Mrs. Anthony Sorrentino, president of the west suburban chapter; Mathew J. Alagna, chairman of the finance and souvenir book subcommittee, as well as his cochairmen Frank N. Catrambone, Sr., Joseph DeLetto, Mrs. Serafina Ferrara, and Ralph Massey; Eugene Pullano, chairman of the business and professional subcommittee, and cochairman Dominick Dolci; Hon. Victor A. Arigo, chairman of the program and arrangements subcommittee, and cochairman Dominick Bufalino; Domenick Di-Frisco, chairman of the publicity and queen contest subcommittee, and cochairmen Ron Santo and Judge Philip Romiti; Joseph DeSerto, chairman of the religious program and organizations subcommittee.

John G. Rovetto, chairman of the floats subcommittee, and cochairmen Sam Canino and Joseph Rovetto, Lawrence Spallitta, chairman of the float personnel subcommittee; Dr. James F. Greco, chairman of the bands, marchers, and transportation subcommittee, and cochairmen Joseph Bottalla and Michael Galasso; James Coli, chairman of the labor subcommittee, and cochairman John Leto; Grand Marshal Marco De Stefano and assistant marshals Fred Bartolia, Sam Canino, Ettore DiVito, Louis Del Medico, Louis Rago, and Vito Scifiano.

The other members of these subcommittees were: Dominick M. Alberti, Anthony Apa, William Boschelli, Sam Canino, Louis P. Farina, Joseph Fusco, Peter Lavorata, Vincent Lucania, Fred Mazzei, Joseph Nicoletti, George Salerno, Tom Ardino, Vic Bondi, Louis Bonelli, Joseph Bottalla, Sam Cerniglia, Carl Cipolla, Rocco D'Alessandro, Charles P. De Vito, Anthony Fornelli, Robert Hicks, Albert Litterio, Vincent F. Lucchese, Michael Marianni, Arthur Monaco, Anthony Partibilo, John Paterno, Paul Paterno, Charles C. Porcelli, Louis Pullano, Gerald Sbarboro, Peter R. Scalise, Louis Seno, Horatio Tocco, Jerry Zurla, Charles Carosello, Joseph Comella, Dr. Joseph H. Di Leonarde, William Fantozzi, Rosario Lombardo, Joseph Sirchio, Amedeo Yelmini, Joseph Alagna, Louis Del Medico, Dominick Gentile, Charles Cannon Giannone, Joseph Lucania, Frank Mariana, Fred Randazzo, Vincent Saverino, Daniel A. Becco, Dominick Dolci, Carl Ferina, Michael R. Fortino, Louis Moretti, John Spatuzza, Louis Moretti, Joseph Pope, Tom Ardino, Nick Bianco, Russell Bonadonna, Stephen Fiorentino, Mrs. Lawrence Spallitta, Joseph Tolitano, Peter Barbero, Frank Bottigliero, Dr. Nicholas J. Bruno, John Epifanio, Joseph Fontana, Frank Mariana, Peter Realmuto, Edward Coco, Henry L. Coco, Bruno Filipini, Paul Laccino, and John Parise.

One of the highlights of the Columbus Day celebration is the selection of a beautiful young lady to reign as queen of the parade. This year, 20-year-old Patty Casselo, 3233 West Eastwood, Chicago, was chosen from 12 semifinalists for this honor. The prizes awarded to the queen included a free round trip ticket to Italy via Alitalia Airlines; complimentary dinners for the queen and her court at the Italian Village, at Gino's East, and at the Ivanhoe; gown and accessories from Gamble-Aldens; and free admission to various theaters in Chicago.

Members of the queen's court were Diane Benedetti, 25 West 200 Denise Avenue, Naperville, Ill.; Linda J. Polelle, 665 West Diversey Parkway, Chicago; Charlotte Luporini, 1612 South 51st Avenue, Cicero, Ill.; and Cheryl Tomaro, 710 Annabella Street, McHenry, Ill. Prizes for the queen's court included complimentary dinners at the Italian Village, at Gino's East, and at the Ivanhoe; gowns and accessories from Gamble-Aldens; and free admission to various theaters in Chicago.

The judges for the queen's contest were Judge Philip Romiti; Ron Santo, third baseman for the Chicago Cubs; Louis Del Medico, House of Igon Salon; Miss Ingrid Pesler, of Gamble-Aldens; Attorney Anthony Scottillo; and Dr. Mary Ellen Batinich, principal of the Schmidt Public School in Chicago.

The main event of the Columbus Day celebration is the Columbus Day parade, which began on State Street at 12 noon. Immediately before the parade, at 9 a.m., Solemn High Mass was celebrated at Our Lady of Pompeii Church. The Most Reverend Alfred L. Abramowicz, auxiliary bishop of Chicago, was the principal celebrant. Other celebrants included Msgr. Edward Pellicore, pastor of St. Angela; Very Rev. Peter Sordi, C.S., Scalabrini Fathers Provincial; Rev. Leonard Mattei, pastor of St. Peter Canisius; Rev. Gino Dalpiaz, C.S., pastor of Our Lady of Pompeii Church; Rev. Nicholas Carsello of Our Lady of Victory; Rev. Philip Fusco, St. Patrick Church, East Chicago, Ind.; and Rev. Paul Ascioia, C.S., assistant administrator of Villa Scalabrini and coeditor of Fra Noi.

Special wreath-laying ceremonies took place at 10:30 a.m. at the Columbus Statue in Vernon Park and at 3 p.m., following the parade, at the Columbus Monument in Grant Park.

The Columbus Day festivities were brought to a close at a reception at 4 p.m. at the Chateau Royale, 5743 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Mrs. Serafina Ferrara was the official hostess at the reception which was held in honor of all of the committee chairmen and committee members who participated in making the 1970 parade a tremendous success. Leaders of the Italo-American organizations from Illinois were present at the reception, as well as officials from the city of Chicago, from Cook County, and from the State of Illinois.

Mr. Speaker, I was certainly pleased to participate in this observance of Columbus Day, and I look forward not only to the 1971 celebration when my fellow Americans for the first time in the history of our country will observe this special day as a national legal holi-

day, but also to the quincentennial celebration of Columbus' discovery of America.

In this connection, I have introduced in the Congress House Joint Resolution 1364, which would recognize the State of Illinois as host in 1992 of the official quincentennial celebration of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. Illinois served as the official host State in 1892 for the 400th anniversary celebration of Columbus' discovery, and would be the ideal choice to serve again as host State for the 500th anniversary celebration.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I want to commend all of the officers and members of the joint civic committee of Italian Americans for sponsoring this gigantic patriotic celebration in Chicago and for demonstrating to the world that the great majority of Americans are indeed proud of our great heritage, our free institutions, and the democratic principles which form the pillars of our society. To those who participated in Chicago's outstanding civic and patriotic event, the 1970 Columbus Day parade, I extend my sincerest congratulations, for these are the people who have made a genuine contribution to our democratic way of life.

BUSINESS PROSPERITY

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, let us look forward to the seventies being our great decade of advancement, so we need a list of priorities. We need to keep business prosperous. The man with the job is a useful, taxpaying citizen, but America must have business busy and prosperous so we can have jobs with a future.

The big opportunity is to encourage business to expand its research and development programs. With reduced defense commitments, we need to channel these funds into research. Defense firms have a tremendous brainpower availability that can concentrate its efforts on our greatest national challenges.

Pollution requires immediate action. Too much academic discussion is being exercised. The talk is on education details. We already know some severe problems. Let us get action on water, pollution, and conservation. Let us get more done on gasoline exhaust. And, immediately, we must find utilization of trash, bottles, scrap metals. Let us get research into action, as the time is now.

One of the most effective incentives to business is tax stimulus. Industry will work on pollution—if we give them a 4-year period to charge it off.

When business buys new, modern equipment, let us allow them the 7-percent tax credit they did receive.

With gas declining in reserves, we need more aggressive drilling. Let us raise the depletion level, so independents will take chances and widen their exploration areas.

Capital building gets a spirited boost when depreciation schedules are more

realistic. Inflation is a foregone reality, so business prefers to charge off investment with present dollars. If you put 100-percent dollars in a deal, it is not a pleasant thought to have 50-percent dollars as a depreciation figure about 10 years from now. The answer is to accelerate depreciation.

And keep capital active. Capital gains tax should encourage capital turnover and not freeze it. Let the winner pay a 25-percent tax on his capital investment and keep it turning. Do not freeze capital. Action keeps America moving forward.

America is on the move today. Interest rates dropped from 8.5 to 7.5 percent. The stock market sees enthusiastic turnover. Remember when we reduced business taxes in the early sixties, and the increased national production brought in a greater total tax revenue with this incentive? Let us build with business encouragement. We all know that when we keep business prosperous, we keep America prosperous.

HON. JAMES V. MANGANO, PROUD
TO BE ITALIAN-AMERICAN

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, tonight at the annual dinner of the Italian-American Business and Professional Men's Association in the grand ballroom of the Hotel St. George in Brooklyn, the Honorable James V. Mangano, administrative director and general clerk of the Kings County Supreme Court and my good friend for over 30 years will be honored as the Italian-American Man of the Year.

In this connection, there was published in yesterday's New York Sunday News an item by Jack Leahy entitled "Proud To Be Italian-American" which I shall insert as part of these remarks:

PROUD TO BE ITALIAN-AMERICAN

(By Jack Leahy)

Tomorrow night, James V. Mangano, will be honored as the "Italian-American Man of the Year" at a Columbus Day dinner in Brooklyn's St. George Hotel. A son of Italian immigrants, Mangano has been a leading figure in New York political circles for more than 35 years. Since 1954, he has served as Administrative Director and General Clerk of the Kings County Supreme Court.

"We chose Mr. Mangano for this honor because as a civic leader, he is a good representative of those of Italian descent who have accomplished so much in and for the city of New York," says Jack Zangara, a prominent lawyer and the president of the Italian-American Business and Professional Men's Association, which is sponsoring the fund-raising dinner. About 1,000 people are expected to be on hand for the \$25 a plate affair, with proceeds going to the Italian Cultural Center of St. John's University and other worthwhile causes.

On the eve of the Italian equivalent of St. Patrick's Day, Mangano was asked whether or not there was any validity to recent protests against alleged anti-Italian discrimination.

"Of course there is," said the 64-year-old native of New York's "melting pot." "Some of the protests are undoubtedly misguided, but the mere existence of them is an indication that something is wrong with our society."

"When I was a boy, discrimination was practiced more overtly. Today, there are laws . . . bigots may be a bit more tactful, but that doesn't mean they have changed their stripes."

"I was brought up in South Brooklyn," he continued. "In that area, we had imaginary boundary lines . . . demilitarized zones, if you will . . . between Italian, Irish and Jewish neighborhoods. If you didn't look right, you crossed those lines at your own peril."

"To this day, I don't know the reason for the antagonism, other than the fact that there were differences in our ethnic backgrounds. As we kids got older and attended schools together and played ball together, we learned to respect each other's abilities and the antagonism tended to disappear."

"In recent years, however, a new wave of anti-Italianism seems to have reared its ugly head. In my opinion, it's due to a degree of envy on the part of a certain segment of our population which resents the achievements of the children and grandchildren of parents who happened to be from another country."

"All too often, if a man makes a name for himself in business or politics, and that name happens to end in a vowel, he is immediately suspected of being backed by organized crime. Unfortunately, when someone of Italian extraction does become involved in misconduct the media tend to magnify the case with unfair ethnic implications. Those who are already inclined to be prejudiced are quick to jump at any supposed justification for their irrationality."

Even though the actual date was Sept. 16, Mangano and his wife, Rose, will also celebrate their 42d wedding anniversary tomorrow night. The couple have one son, Guy, a New York State Supreme Court Justice, and five grandchildren. All will be on hand to hear the acceptance speech of the family's senior member.

"I'm still not sure what I'm going to say," revealed Mangano. "But I know what message I would like to get across."

"It's my belief that people have a basic instinct to be helpful toward one another. Unfortunately, they allow artificial ethnic, racial and religious barriers to block that instinct. Legislation won't lower those barriers. What we need is love and understanding and those things come from within."

"If all of us opened our hearts to our fellow men, hate and discrimination would disappear from the face of the earth."

MAYOR RICHARD G. LUGAR IN
NATIONAL SPOTLIGHT

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, under the adept leadership of Mayor Richard G. Lugar, Indianapolis, now the 10th largest city in the United States—surpassing Cleveland, San Francisco, Boston, and recognition.

President Nixon selected Mayor Lugar to be the representative to NATO's meeting of its Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society and he is consulted regularly by the President about urban

policy matters. Since his election in 1967, Mayor Lugar has exhibited outstanding leadership in meeting the needs of the Indianapolis community.

I am pleased to insert Business Week's fine article from October 3, 1970, about Mayor Richard G. Lugar:

A BRASH MAYOR STIRS INDIANAPOLIS

CONSERVATIVE MAYOR LUGAR SHOWS THE WAY
WITH A NEW METRO CONCEPT

Recently, on one of those hot and humid mornings that seem to bleach central Indiana in late July and August, Indianapolis Mayor Richard G. Lugar talked frankly to 35 college students working for his city during the summer. Between sips of coffee, he spoke, as usual, without notes or pauses on one of his favorite subjects: local government and the people who try to make it work. With uncharacteristic emphasis, he stressed one point: "Local government should not be a repository for people who cannot make it any other way."

If any elected local official lives up to that conviction, it is 38-year-old Lugar himself. His career already sparkles with a string of academic, business, and governmental successes unequalled by any big-city mayor today. In two months, he will add another credit to his list if delegates to the National League of Cities annual conference elect Lugar, now vice-president, their president. But perhaps his most important triumph, and the one that has helped gain him national attention, was his masterful campaign for the consolidation of the Indianapolis and Marion County governments.

Now 18 months old, "Unigov," the Orwellian shorthand local officials use to describe the metropolitan area-wide government, makes Indianapolis the 10th largest city in the U.S., with a population of 742,613—larger than Cleveland, San Francisco, Boston, and St. Louis. "Lugar and Unigov have city in the last couple of years," says J. Kurt Mahrdt, vice-chairman of the Indiana National Bank.

A friend, Lugar and Indianapolis have not gone unnoticed in Washington, either. Campaigning in Indianapolis in 1968, candidate Richard Nixon praised the mayor more than the mayor praised him. Now President Nixon consults him regularly on urban policy matters and includes him in almost every White House meeting of mayors. And when the President decided to take his Urban Affairs Council on the road last February, he brought it to Lugar and eight other mayors gathered in Indianapolis. Two months later, Lugar—at Nixon's behest—represented the cities of the U.S. at a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society. Says Lugar, whose city also is one of the 10 participating in the Nixon Administration's Operation Breakthrough housing program: "The President has been extraordinarily generous. Indianapolis is receiving attention in each of the new programs where there is innovation."

Local acceptance of this recognition and the very existence of a metropolitan government are surprising in light of the city's historic conservatism. Indianapolis' past is scarred by a brand of right-wing politics Lugar would like to forget. The John Birch Society was born in Marion County and the Ku Klux Klan thrived there during the 1920s. As late as 1965, the city refused federal aid in a stance that fused fear of big government with a "we-can-do-it-ourselves" attitude.

Today, while it has moderated, mid-western conservatism still flourishes. "This part of Indiana is Middle America in every sense," notes John T. Liell, director of metropolitan studies at Indiana University-Purdue University-Indianapolis (IUPUI). The city is the

national headquarters of the American Legion, and its numerous war memorials are revered—and not used as sites for Vietnam War protests. Recently, a group of citizens even petitioned Lugar to ban a local performance of the Broadway rock musical *Hair*. And "Nixon's the One" bumper stickers still abound, reminders of the President's 1968 victory in the state. Says Lugar: "There is a considerable appreciation of prudence here, even in the use of words. We don't emphasize rhetoric or action to the brink of despair."

Honors. Elected mayor in 1967, when he defeated a Democratic incumbent, Lugar reflects those conservative qualities in many ways. He believes that big-city mayors look too frequently to Washington for solutions to their problems and, unlike most of his counterparts elsewhere, he staunchly defends Nixon's urban policy. "Lugar is the prototype Jaycee," chuckles one Washington-based urban lobbyist.

Indeed, Indianapolis' Jaycees did name him their outstanding young man of the year in 1966. Lugar is a fourth-generation Hoosier who graduated first in his 600-student high school class, then duplicated the feat at Denison University in Ohio where he served as co-president of the student body. (He later married the other co-president.) After that he became Denison's first undergraduate to receive a Rhodes Scholarship. At Oxford, he received two degrees, served as president of the 250-man American Students Assn., and although he was the only American enrolled, was elected president of the student body at Pembroke College. In 1957, he attended U.S. Navy Officers' Candidate School and, during most of his three years of active duty, served as intelligence briefer for Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, then Chief of Naval Operations.

Lugar returned to Indianapolis in 1960 to rebuild two family enterprises, one a 604-acre livestock and grain farm, the other a producer of automated food machinery. "Re-vamping those businesses was the *sine qua non* for what I am doing now," he claims. "My campaign for mayor was built on the city's potential, on miraculous business management, on a general theme of excellence. We got a lot of mileage out of my business background and the fact that I had been extraordinary in a wide variety of activities."

Elected with 53.1% of the vote and substantial support from Indianapolis' conservative business community, Lugar wasted little time in capitalizing on the enthusiasm built up for him during the campaign. In October 1968, he named a citizens' committee to draft Unigov legislation for the next session of the Indiana State legislature. Then, in a flurry of activity that included private lunches with 10 or 12 legislators at a time he began to campaign for his program and collect political IOU's that had accrued during the 1968 election year? "There were the obvious arguments against Unigov," he recalls. "Blacks feared dilution of their political power, and the Democrats figured I was consolidating both the city and county and my own power base." But a more fundamental argument, he says, was rooted in the anti-urban feelings of many suburbanites. "People had spent thousands of dollars to divorce themselves from the problems of the city. It's difficult to convince them that one big, happy city is to their benefit."

Compromise. The resulting legislation contained a host of compromises designed to deflate such opposition and draw the widest possible support. On the one hand, it expands the city's boundaries from 82 sq. mi. to 402 sq. mi., consolidates four dozen or so city and county departments under six agencies, and will create a new 29-member city council in the 1971 local election. On the other hand, it does not affect several ele-

ments, including school corporations, the county courts, and the assessor's office. Police and fire departments were not consolidated initially, although the legislation provides a mechanism for city annexation of suburban districts in both. And he pledged to suburbanites that their taxes would not be increased, a promise he has been able to keep, mainly because of the city's expanded tax base and increases in such levies as taxicab licenses and parking meter violations.

Unigov, of course, has not been the panacea for all that ails Indianapolis. Unemployment among inner-city black youth often runs as high as 60%, and the city's school system has been cited by the Justice Dept. as highly segregated. Liell of IUPUI figures that about 156,000 poor people—45% of them white—live in the metropolitan area. And Indianapolis' downtown, despite a new Hilton hotel, usually is deserted after 6 p.m., although a convention center, now under construction, will stimulate traffic.

Lugar leans on the Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee, a five-year-old, business-backed group, to help provide solutions to such problems. Shortly after taking office, he officially embraced the committee by moving its offices from the 21st floor of the City-County Building to the 25th, within a few yards of his own. The PC's task forces have produced, among other things, the draft of Unigov legislation, a comprehensive manpower program, and a drug abuse control project. Says Daniel F. Evans, president of L. S. Ayres & Co., Indiana's leading retailer: "The needs of this community have been obvious. We seem to have a mayor now who knows how to utilize leadership to meet those needs."

CITIZENS OF GRAZ: WELCOME TO MONTCLAIR

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, this past week marked the 20th anniversary of the founding of a sister-cities program between Graz, Austria, and Montclair, N.J.

The purpose of the program as described by Montclair Mayor Matthew Carter is to engender international understanding and the deepening of friendships between the citizens of the two communities.

The occasion was celebrated by week-long festivities in Montclair and the delegation of Graz citizens was led by Graz Mayor Gustav Scherbaum. The beautiful harmony of the Styrian singers was a special attraction for the residents of Montclair.

The tribute of entertainment and sightseeing brought the Graz citizens to New York City as well as to Washington, D.C., under the leadership of Dr. Allan B. Crunden, Jr., head of the committee which planned the festivities and Mr. and Mrs. Vincent P. Thomas of Montclair. Graz week climaxed in Montclair with an evening of Austrian art and entertainment which began at a reception given by Dr. and Mrs. Crunden and Montclair State College President and Mrs. Richardson.

Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to have met with this unique delegation of ambassadors from Graz and to have participated in a number of the festivities in my district.

Montclair's tribute to her sister city was indeed worthy of the warmth and friendship which stem the tides of the Atlantic. And, I commend to my colleagues a recent editorial from the Montclair Times which so aptly characterizes the spirit shared by the citizens of Graz and Montclair.

The editorial follows:

CITIZENS OF GRAZ: WELCOME TO MONTCLAIR

A very welcome addition, even though only temporary, to the Autumnal scene in Montclair this week is the presence of 41 visitors from Graz, Austria, headed by the distinguished Mayor of the second largest city in Austria, Gustav Scherbaum.

For the past 20 years Montclair and Graz have enjoyed a sister-city relationship which has served as the model for many other ties between American cities and municipalities in other countries.

Through the years, those on both sides of the ocean separating Montclair and Graz have emphasized that international friendships are dependent upon mutual understanding and trust.

The presence of the 41 visitors from Graz in Montclair under the auspices of Overseas Neighbors and its Austrian counterpart should remind everyone of the validity of the message brought 10 years ago to Montclair by Mayor Scherbaum:

Mutual understanding between peoples of different languages, mores, philosophies and forms of government is the single most vital factor in the promotion of a lasting and effective world peace.

A CHANCE TO DEAL FIRMLY WITH DRUG ABUSE

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 could well be the most important piece of legislation before the 91st Congress.

This bill squarely faces up to the monumental threat which increasing drug abuse poses to the youth of our Nation. Anyone who doubts the enormity of the threat which drug abuse poses for the health and moral fiber of our country has been conveniently burying his head in the sand for the past few years.

Let me cite a few unpleasant, but very real statistics. There are over 67,000 known narcotics addicts who have not only ruined their own lives but have also undermined the society around them by committing crimes to support their habit.

In 1968, 162,177 persons were arrested by State and local authorities for drug violations, which means a 322-percent increase over the number of drug arrests made in 1960. Of those arrested, 43,200 were under the age of 18 and 6,243 were under the age of 15.

There are strong indications that a leading cause of death among teenagers in the United States in many major metropolitan areas today is overdosage of heroin.

It is estimated that between 8 and 10 million persons have tried marihuana. Some studies indicate that as many as 50 percent or more of college students have abused drugs at one time or another. Substantial numbers of high school students and in some cases grammar school students are involved in the abuse of drugs.

Instances of marihuana violations have risen 200 percent between 1967 and 1969.

It is estimated that almost 50 percent of the 9 billion amphetamines and barbiturates produced legitimately in this county were diverted into illicit channels.

And then there is organized crime. We cannot be certain but it is safe to assume that organized crime annually reaps at least \$300 million in profits from the illicit drug trade.

We have reached the point where 8 to 10 million persons have illegally used drugs and young people all over the country are being encouraged to take drugs that may so injure their chromosomes that they can never have their own family, drugs that can make them into physical and mental cripples. It is long past time that we took action and very strong action to put an end to the national mania for self-destruction.

It is time that we stopped treating the use and sale of deadly drugs tolerantly as a passing fad that will go away if we ignore it long enough. The illegal traffic in drugs should be attacked with the full power of the Federal Government. The price for participation in this traffic should be prohibitive. It should be made too dangerous to be attractive.

The Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 will do this. This bill revises the entire system of classification of dangerous drugs on a rational basis. It revises the present penalty system and provides stiff sentences for illegal sales, manufacture, and distribution of illicit drugs. It strengthens existing law-enforcement authority in the field of drug abuse, increases research into and prevention of drug abuse and drug dependence, and provides for treatment and rehabilitation.

This bill is long overdue and I give it my wholehearted support.

AMERICAN HARD HATS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, it is altogether fitting and proper that the constructive activities of one of the productive segments of our society—the Ameri-

can builders, the producers, the hard hats—would eventually become the basis for inspirational poetry. These men who work long and arduous, while being exposed to many dangers, have truly earned the right to be eulogized.

I include the poem, "American Hard Hats," by E. Merrill Root, as it appeared in the American Opinion magazine for October 1970, as follows:

AMERICAN HARD HATS

(By E. Merrill Root)

They are the men who build into the sky
Thin mountain-nets of steel where the winds
cry

Like vain invisible wolves. At work, they walk
Girders so high that clouds, like misty chalk,
Are almost neighbors. Firm and nonchalant,
They tread the dangerous heights, cohabitant
With sun and wind—and death at the foot's
end.

In their stern world they do not condescend
To dizziness or fear: If so, they plunge
Downward, to lie a shattered bloody sponge.
They do and build. Erected toward the stars,
Their handiwork, set in earth's granite scars
Blossoms in steel and stone, cement and glass,
Superb and steadfast though the years
harass.

So they say *Yes* to life and set man's will
Strong, where the sprawling earth was void
and nil.

They know that life makes war on chaos, so
Their faith is clear and steadfast. And they
know

The earth they build on is their native land,
The firm foundation on which life must stand
And where life's roots go down for sustenance.
They know that evil is to thrust a lance
Of doubt into the center of the world:
Then suns go out, then nullity is hurled
On forests, prairies, cities: Sullen, then,
Chaos and ancient night descend on men.
They build and they believe; so they mis-
trust

All dilettantes, who palter and who rust
The passion and the pulse of life; their souls
Are full of the white fire of the sun that rolls
Central in heaven. And many of them are
Mohawks, whose fathers knew a distant star—
The splendid heritage Amerindian,
Courage that is the glory-will of Man.

But in the streets below their heady danger,
A new breed comes—the alien and the
stranger

And the betrayer. There the American flag
Torn from its staff, a scorned and dirtied rag,
Is passed from hand to hand and rent to bits.
"Tear it up, kill it!" a young girl screams,
"See, it's

Dead! The flag's dead!" And in another mob,
A Yippee strikes a match and lets flame
throb

Up the brave folds. And one sets muddy feet
On the prone banner trampled in the street.
Mass-produced Robinson Crusoes on a binge,
Shaggy and rank as Crusoe's goats, life's
fringe

Of impotence, they froth and seethe and
shriek

Obscenities that fairly drip and reek.
A mob, dishevelled and recalcitrant,
Usurps the streets, to bicker and to slant
The high flag downward to half-mast, to
mourn
"The Kent State Four." They vent indecent
scorn

On all the Hard Hats love. They tear and spit
On the innocent flag that's our land's sym-
bol: it

Is like a fair girl fouled by jackals. So
America (they think) finds overthrow.

But on this day, rising in anger, see
The Hard Hats in their thousands, mili-
tantly.

Through New York's streets—spontaneous,
passionate—

At last a *Yes* to love, a *No* to hate.
They part the noisy brawlers. High and
proud,
They bear the Flag safe from the bawdy
crowd.

They carry, too, their tools—and brawn.
They cleave

The screaming mob, who only half-believe—
Many are dupes, with whom a few conspire.
The mob, foul-armed with stones and sleep-
ing fire

Encased in glass, too used to cowardly
Tolerance, are amazed at what they see—
Men, *men* at last, the resolute Hard Hats
come

Like Charlemagne's Paladins of Millennium.
Deep in their hearts they know: "This Flag
is mine—

And should be yours. It is an outward sign
Of all our inward love. We set it there—
Beautiful rainbow in the stormy air.
It means our children. It's our life. It is
Symbol and sacrament of our loyalties.
You threaten our lives, insult our souls,
when you

Defile the red, the white, the lovely blue,
You desecrate the graves of those who died
To keep our land indeed the Pilgrim's pride.
Sick petulant children, whimpering in your
whim.

You stamp, and scream, and fill the world's
sour brim

With your 'I want!' and 'Give me!' We have
rights

As well as you! Ours the star-spangled
nights,

The sun-crowned days . . . the love by which
we say

'The U.S.A.—our country—all the way . . .
In peace, or war.' And we are quite fed up
With all your 'protests.' In the bitter cup,
The grapes of wrath are seething. We've
enough

Of your brash roughness—we too can be
rough!

We too are 'rising angry,' we the people.
Waken the bells in every silenced steeple
Be jubilant our feet! Now hear us sing
'God bless America' . . . Let the word ring:
'My Country 'tis of thee . . . Thus be it ever
. . .'

You choose your way. And if you must
dissever

America from Americans, on *your* heads
Be all the warfare that the country dreads—
The wounded and the dead. On *you* war lies.
God helping us, we can do no otherwise."

Joe Kelly marches. And he proudly bears
Aloft the gold-fringed flag—and no one tears
The flag Joe carries. For two hours, he
Bears the great standard. "If I live to be,"
He says, "one hundred, I shall never know
Anything like that hour." The thousands flow
In epic rhythm through the new-cleansed
street.

The very air, it seems, at last is sweet.
Like rivers from high mountains, cold and
pure,

They cleanse the street of human caricature,
Filth and pollution. From the heights, a
flood

And spate of Nature rolls in hardihood.
The sidewalks of New York, in glory, are
Once more a portion of America.

And on and on the Hard Hats surge. They
roar

"Good-bye to Lindsay!" And as white birds
soar,

The ticker-tape is brilliant in the air.
From every building over the thoroughfare.
Clerks, office-workers, Mr. Everyman,
Join with the men who walk the airy span.
Now City Hall, where flags at half-mast fly,
As if dispirited. "Up, up!" they cry—

And up the flags go, "Listen, I never saw Anything like this ever! I felt an awe," Joe Kelly says, "You had to blink your eyes Twice, and three times, or more, or other- wise

You'd not believe. Incredible and true, Here history was being made, and you— You, Joe and Mac and Tommy—were a part Of a new rhythm in our Country's heart!" And when a stubborn few "protesters" chant "We will not go!" and seek again to slant Flags downward, and—O folly!—charge The Hard Hats they discover it's too large A thing to try. These men work every day With iron and steel; they do not idly play With words and ideologies. "You make, Childish and dumb and silly, a mistake! But if you wish a test of strength, come on— And we'll oblige you! Do not hope to con Men such as we." They give them blow for blow;

Like straws in surf, they hustle them to and fro.

"You bid the people 'rise in anger'—well, You have your wish. And, if you still can spell,

Then read the warning on the wall, Beware Of men who work with iron and steel, who dare

The girders seventy stories up, for we Do not play games called 'ideology.' We do and build, and our deep wells affirm America. That word's no minding term; It is the outward and the visible sign Of all our love for her—the high, benign Country we serve . . . Country we love . . . And so,

If you dissent, at least we know you know There are Americans who dare to say: 'We are Number One . . . And we are U.S.A.!' "

HEW'S RICHARDSON: COOL, TOUGH, DEFT

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 12, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal in its October 9, 1970 issue, carried an excellent feature article on the tough minded and highly effective Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Elliot Richardson. For the benefit of my colleagues and readers of the RECORD, I include the article with my remarks:

HEW'S RICHARDSON: COOL TOUGH, DEFT (By Jonathan Spivak)

WASHINGTON—After nearly four months of avoiding publicity, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot Richardson has begun publicly displaying the qualities that serve him well in his strife-tossed department: Political deftness, diligence and drive.

So far, Mr. Richardson has not sought to make major changes in the policies or programs he inherited or even to set priorities; thus his big tests are yet to come. But he is off to a surprisingly successful start because of something more subtle—a winning administrative style.

The style combines:

A coolness under criticism and an ability to turn aside, articulately, tough and embarrassing questions from the press;

A willingness to do his homework, and a remarkably detailed grasp of the department's array of programs;

A lawyer's ability to cleave to the Administration's conservative line on domestic issues, coupled with a social concern that manages to suggest far more liberal sentiments;

And, most important, an intellectual toughness and political shrewdness that have helped him avoid so far the crippling controversies that made life miserable for many of his predecessors.

"The guy is impressive as hell, not only in his analytic mind and decision-making, but his ability to communicate the points he wants to make," exclaims one veteran HEW staffer who now works closely with Mr. Richardson.

Much of this became apparent during a spate of recent sessions with the press, the Secretary's first full-scale public exposure since taking office last June. Characteristically, Mr. Richardson prepared meticulously beforehand; and characteristically, he disposed of the questions—mostly from reporters who could hardly be classed as ardent Administration admirers—with dispatch and seeming directness.

A SMOOTH PERFORMANCE

There was no stumbling, no misstatement and no need for aides to rescue him when obscure questions wafted his way, such as one on his reaction to an intramural feud between officials in HEW's air pollution agency. Mr. Richardson stuck closely to the President's position on school desegregation, which some critics have termed overly legalistic and stand-pat. But he coupled that policy with support for quality education for all children, and somehow it all sounded progressive and productive of social good.

He promised to rely on professionals to reform and revitalize HEW's education programs—an attitude sure to endear him to the powerful education lobbies in town—yet he avoided any specifics. He opposed a crash and potentially costly German measles vaccination campaign advocated by the Democrats, but in an oblique way that did not challenge their humanitarian objectives.

Obviously, Mr. Richardson is scrupulously avoiding public commitments he can't carry out—realistic strategy in an Administration that has little enthusiasm for most HEW programs and scant willingness to solve the departments desperate need for dollars. Robert Finch, his predecessor, never realized the need for such self-restraint, and frequently promised new programs and policies he was then unable to sell to the White House, much to his public mortification.

Clearly, Mr. Richardson doesn't like to take on a fight unless he's reasonably sure of winning. He's fond of pointing out, for example, that as under secretary of state every one of his selections for ambassadorial posts was approved. His first major test at HEW probably will arise over his choice of Sidney Marland Jr. for commissioner of education.

Indeed, one reason for the Secretary's rash of recent meetings with the press is to publicize the case for Mr. Marland, who is bitterly opposed by organized labor. The AFL-CIO contends that as superintendent of schools in Pittsburgh, Mr. Marland opposed collective bargaining, and it vows to pull out all the stops to block his Senate approval.

But one suspects that Mr. Richardson already has calculated the odds and believes the logic of his argument for Mr. Marland will prevail. He notes that the commissioner of education, though the nation's highest school official, has no influence over labor matters that determine teachers' salaries and working conditions. "These are the legal concern of state and local governments," he insists. And to make things clearer for the AFL-CIO Mr. Richardson emphasizes his own support for collective bargaining. "The Federal Government respects the right of govern-

ment employees to organize and bargain collectively," he declares.

Whatever the outcome of the Marland fight, Mr. Richardson already may have come out ahead. Many officials assumed the White House would insist on installing a suitably conservative school official after its unhappy experience with James Allen, who was summarily dismissed for his liberal views. Mr. Richardson's ability to persuade Mr. Nixon to support Mr. Marland, a liberal, helps establish him as master within his own department—a message that carries considerable weight throughout Washington.

To avoid missteps on Capitol Hill, Mr. Richardson has mastered details of the Administration's complex and confusing family assistance program. Though the proposed program is still in deep trouble, politicians in both parties praise the Secretary's grasp of its technicalities and his ready response to their queries. Even if welfare reform founders, Mr. Richardson will have gained the confidence of key Congressmen on the Senate Finance Committee, a valuable asset in future fights.

The Secretary also has shored up the morale of the anguished civil servants at HEW. Many had become increasingly embittered by what they felt was unnecessary interferences by Republican politicians in HEW affairs. From the beginning Mr. Richardson went out of his way to convince the bureaucrats that he believed in them and would depend on their expertise.

PRAISE FROM STAFF

One staffer was amazed and delighted recently to find a position paper he had written on drug procurement policies had not only been read by the Secretary but was returned the next morning with copious notations for follow-up on the margins—along with corrections of typographical errors. "He's not just obsessed with details; he really cares intellectually," the bureaucrat remarked. Old HEW hands are also buoyed by the Secretary's staff sessions. He sticks to the substance of the issues, which he knows surprisingly well, and ignores the politics, they say.

There are, however, some signs of potential trouble ahead for Mr. Richardson. In public he displays an aloof reserve and a tendency to over-intellectualize that can easily lose his listeners. He prefers to cautiously approach and exhaustively analyze issues, probably at the cost of dampening the enthusiasm of some subordinates. HEW's organizational difficulties are far from disposed of; so far Mr. Richardson has attacked only those problems within his immediate office; tough problems remain unsolved.

Vacancies remain to be filled, while some holdovers from the Finch period may have to be eased out, a painful process at best. The young, angry activists in HEW are still withholding judgment, but they won't hesitate to resume protests if they think Mr. Richardson is soft on civil rights or the other social issues that concern them.

So while Mr. Richardson is off to an auspicious start, he's hardly assured of success. He has built a good base of support within the bureaucracy, but the public's ultimate judgment will hinge on his ability to effectively handle the problems that perplex them.

Reforming the present bankrupt welfare system; controlling inflationary health care costs; providing higher quality, more convenient medical care; and solving the deepening financial crises of American schools and colleges.

Any one of these tasks would test a HEW secretary severely. Mr. Richardson's greatest problem is that he must confront all of them at the same time.