

Y4  
.J 89/2  
V 94/3

1042

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

V 94/3  
e/88  
90V4

# LOWERING THE VOTING AGE TO 18

GOVERNMENT  
Storage



## HEARINGS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE NINETIETH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

### S.J. Res. 8, S.J. Res. 14, and S.J. Res. 78

RELATING TO LOWERING THE VOTING AGE TO 18

MAY 14, 15, AND 16, 1968



Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1968

AY  
2882  
1943

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

JAMES O. EASTLAND, Mississippi, *Chairman*

JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Arkansas	EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, Illinois
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., North Carolina	ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Nebraska
THOMAS J. DODD, Connecticut	HIRAM L. FONG, Hawaii
PHILIP A. HART, Michigan	HUGH SCOTT, Pennsylvania
EDWARD V. LONG, Missouri	STROM THURMOND, South Carolina
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, Massachusetts	
BIRCH BAYH, Indiana	
QUENTIN N. BURDICK, North Dakota	
JOSEPH D. TYDINGS, Maryland	
GEORGE A. SMATHERS, Florida	

---

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

BIRCH BAYH, Indiana, *Chairman*

JAMES O. EASTLAND, Mississippi	EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, Illinois
THOMAS J. DODD, Connecticut	ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Nebraska
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., North Carolina	HIRAM L. FONG, Hawaii
JOSEPH D. TYDINGS, Maryland	
GEORGE A. SMATHERS, Florida	

LARRY A. CONRAD, *Chief Counsel*  
CLYDE FLYNN, *Minority Counsel*

# CONTENTS

	Page
Senate Joint Resolution 8.....	1
Senate Joint Resolution 14.....	1
Senate Joint Resolution 78.....	2

## STATEMENTS

Boucher, Hon. Henry A., Mayor, Fairbanks, Alaska; accompanied by Edward A. Merdes, City Attorney; Harry J. Porter, Councilman; and Conrad Frank, Engineer.....	52
Brinkmeyer, Dennis, Chairman, the State of Conference of Committees to Lower Indiana's Voting Age.....	88
Elson, Roy L., Administrative Assistant to Senator Hayden.....	71
Hartke, Hon. Vance, a U.S. Senator from the State of Indiana.....	40
Hechler, Hon. Ken, a U.S. Representative from the Fourth District of the State of West Virginia.....	73
Holland, Hon. Spessard L., a U.S. Senator from the State of Florida.....	29
Javits, Hon. Jacob K., a U.S. Senator from the State of New York.....	11
Lass, Donald P., Chairman, National and State Committee for the 18-Year-Old Vote.....	83
McDonald, Jack, Chairman, The Young Republican National Federation.....	43
McMillan, Paul, Jacksonville, Fla.....	77
Mansfield, Hon. Michael J., a U.S. Senator from the State of Montana.....	4
Miller, Hon. Jack, a U.S. Senator from the State of Iowa.....	15
Moses, Sibyl, Legislative Representative, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.....	99
Oliver, R. Spencer, President, Young Democratic Clubs of America.....	19
Owen, P. John, President of the Philodemic Debating Society; accompanied by Eugene Payne, Editor-in-Chief of the Hoya; and John H. Pinto, Jr., WGTB-FM Public Affairs Director, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.....	92
Pearson, Hon. James B., a U.S. Senator from the State of Kansas.....	35
Randolph, Hon. Jennings, a U.S. Senator from the State of West Virginia.....	61
Schwartz, Edward, President, United States National Student Association.....	45
Tydings, Hon. Joseph D., a U.S. Senator from the State of Maryland.....	9
Yarborough, Hon. Ralph W., a U.S. Senator from the State of Texas.....	67

## STATEMENTS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

Bible, Hon. Alan, a U.S. Senator from the State of Nevada.....	24
Cannon, Hon. Howard W., a U.S. Senator from the State of Nevada.....	39
Cargo, Hon. David F., Governor of the State of New Mexico.....	100
Clark, Hon. Joseph S., a U.S. Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.....	101
Curtis, Hon. Kenneth M., Governor of the State of Maine.....	101
Dempsey, Hon. John, Governor of the State of Connecticut.....	102
Dominick, Hon. Peter, a U.S. Senator from the State of Colorado.....	102
Ellington, Hon. Buford, Governor of the State of Tennessee.....	103
Godwin, Hon. Mills E., Jr., Governor of the State of Virginia.....	104
Goodall, Don A., Legislative Action General Manager, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.....	104
Guy, Hon. William L., Governor of the State of North Dakota.....	104
Hansen, Hon. Clifford P., a U.S. Senator from the State of Wyoming.....	25
Harris, Hon. Fred R., a U.S. Senator from the State of Oklahoma.....	24
Hatfield, Hon. Mark O., a U.S. Senator from the State of Oregon.....	105
Hughes, Hon. Harold E., Governor of the State of Iowa.....	105
Hughes, Hon. Richard J., Governor of the State of New Jersey.....	106
Humphrey, Hon. Hubert H., Vice President of the United States.....	106
Inouye, Hon. Daniel K., a U.S. Senator from the State of Hawaii.....	106

IV

	Page
McGee, Hon. Gale, a U.S. Senator from the State of Wyoming-----	107
Moss, Hon. Frank, a U.S. Senator from the State of Utah-----	98
Nixon, Hon. Richard M., former Vice President of the United States, Attorney at Law, New York City-----	107
Proxmire, Hon. William, a U.S. Senator from the State of Wisconsin-----	38
Rampton, Hon. Calvin L., Governor of the State of Utah-----	108
St. Onge, Hon. William L., a U.S. Representative from the Second District of the State of Connecticut-----	108
Symington, Hon. Stuart, A U.S. Senator from the State of Missouri-----	110
Terry, Hon. Charles L., Jr., Governor of the State of Delaware-----	111
Tiemann, Hon. Norbert T., Governor of the State of Nebraska-----	111
Ury, Claude M., Educational Consultant, Vallejo, Calif-----	112
Volpe, Hon. John A., Governor of the State of Massachusetts-----	113

# AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION TO REDUCE THE VOTING AGE TO 18

TUESDAY, MAY 14, 1968

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:05 a.m., in room G-308, New Senate Office Building, Senator Birch Bayh presiding.

Present: Senators Bayh (presiding), and Tydings.

Also present: Larry A. Conrad, chief counsel; Clyde Flynn, minority counsel; and Joan Waples.

Senator BAYH. The subcommittee will please come to order. I shall ask that the resolutions under consideration be printed at this point. (The resolutions follow:)

[S.J. Res. 8, 90th Cong., first sess.]

JOINT RESOLUTION Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right to vote to citizens eighteen years of age or older

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein),* That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

“ARTICLE —

“SECTION 1. The right of any citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age if such a citizen is eighteen years of age or older. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

“SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.”

[S.J. Res. 14, 90th Cong., first sess.]

JOINT RESOLUTION Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right to vote to citizens eighteen years of age or older

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein),* That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

“ARTICLE —

“SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

[S.J. Res. 78, 90th Cong., first sess.]

JOINT RESOLUTION Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right to vote to citizens eighteen years of age or older

Whereas citizens of the United States upon attaining the age of eighteen years are called upon by their Government to bear the burdens and responsibilities of national defense; and

Whereas most Americans, by the time they become eighteen years of age, have completed secondary education and are pursuing education or training beyond the secondary level, or are responsibly employed, taxpaying citizens; and

Whereas in most States citizens who are eighteen years of age but less than twenty-one years of age are ineligible to exercise the single most important right of a citizen, the right to vote: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein),* That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. The right of any citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age if such a citizen is eighteen years of age or older. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

Senator BAYH. I thought that at the beginning of the hearings it might be interesting to state that there probably have been few previous times in our history when Congress has turned more frequently and more comprehensively toward efforts to amend the Constitution of the United States. Since assuming the chairmanship of this subcommittee in 1964, I personally have presided over six major efforts to amend our basic law. One of these, on Presidential inability and filling vacancies in the Office of the Vice President, has become the 25th amendment to the Constitution. Two on school prayer and legislative reapportionment were subjects of exhaustive study and debate, but did not win acceptance. Two others—to reform and improve our system of electing Presidents and to provide representation in Congress for the District of Columbia—are currently being studied, and appear to have considerable chance for success.

Today, we begin the sixth effort to extend the franchise to American citizens 18 years of age or over.

I mention this activity of the subcommittee because I believe it is part of the fabric of our time. In almost every aspect of American life today, there is discontent with the status quo. Americans in all walks of life are searching vigorously and vocally for a realization of the American dream. Indeed, we are made painfully aware of the necessity of making certain changes for the better in our country. If America is to continue to grow and to prosper and to improve, we must recognize the need for positive change.

All of the members of this subcommittee, and I am sure all of the Members of Congress, are aware that despite this need for change, constitutional change is a serious step. It has been the practice of

this subcommittee and it will continue to be the practice of this subcommittee that such changes in the bedrock law of our land will be made only after careful study and consideration, but it seems to me that nothing is more fundamental or more directly related to the temper of our times than the effort upon which we embark today.

Only this week, in the New York Times magazine, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas points out that he was among many Americans who despaired at the docile, passive, and uninvolved attitude of the college generation of the 1950's. Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, in his new book, "Decisions for a Decade," makes the same point.

The generation of young Americans in the 1960's, this generation, is no longer docile, passive, and uninvolved. They are deeply involved in the issues of our time, the issues of war and peace, freedom and equality for all Americans, and uncompromising fulfillment of the promise of our Nation. Like any involved and active group in the United States, the young people of today have among their number a few extremists, whether they be the flower children dropouts or the ultramilitant anarchists. It is unfortunate that these few attract the bulk of headlines and national attention when, in fact, the vast majority of young people today are working incessantly, if less obtrusively, toward making our Nation an even better place in which to live. They are working actively for political candidates of both parties. They are working for civil rights and equal opportunity movements; they are working for peace, whether as members of the Armed Forces of the United States or as civilian commentators in debating the merits of American foreign policy. They are students, husbands, wives, workers—anyone who has observed the young people in the Peace Corps and VISTA must be convinced of this.

A few of our States already have recognized the value of permitting these young Americans to become involved with the traditional system of change in America, change through the democratic process of election and legislation, rather than be left on the periphery of the system.

In Georgia and Kentucky, 18-year-old citizens have been given the franchise so that they may participate directly in working for progress, for change, for improvement. In Alaska, 19-year-olds may vote. In Hawaii, the voting age is 20. The State of Maryland has proposed a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 19.

No longer are young Americans content to sit idly by and watch the passing scene from the grandstand. They want to be down on the field. They have made it abundantly clear that they intend to participate in the game. No longer should older Americans be content to leave this vigorous and exciting force on the sidelines. This force, this energy, is going to continue to build and grow. The only question is whether we should ignore it, perhaps leaving this energy to dam up and burst and follow less-than-wholesome channels, or whether we should let this force be utilized by society through the pressure valve of the franchise.

There is no magic to the age of 21 as the age at which someone is permitted to vote. As I mentioned earlier, four of our States have already lowered the age and one other has placed the question before the voters on the referendum. It is simply a traditional number, and with the vast changes that have occurred in America in education

and communication over the last few years, there is every indication that this tradition no longer has application. Today, there are 10.8 million Americans who are 18, 19, and 20 years of age. They comprise 5.5 percent of our total population.

I asked the Bureau of the Census only yesterday for some figures on that age group, figures that might well indicate their readiness to participate fully in our elective process. Of the 7 million 18- and 19-year-olds in America, 3.1 million are high school graduates; another 2.4 million are enrolled in colleges, universities, and institutions of advanced education. This means that an almost incredible 78.5 percent are high school graduates, or better. More than a million of these young people are married and are fulfilling their responsibilities for family life. More than 3 million of these 18- and 19-year-olds are employed, according to last February's labor statistics. Another 359,000 men in the 18- to 20-year-age bracket are serving in the Armed Forces.

An examination of the figures indicates that the overwhelming majority of young people today are either high school graduates, college students, vocational students, full-time employees, husbands and wives, or members of the Armed Forces of our Nation. As mentioned in a colloquy between my distinguished colleague from Maryland and the majority leader, compared to previous generations, they are extremely well qualified to exercise the franchise. I fail to see what better equipment they could have than to help make the decisions of government. Our history as a nation, in large measure, is a history of the continued expansion of the franchise and the concomitant freedoms it represents.

The religious and property requirements for voting were removed in colonial America. Racial barriers to voting have been coming down for a century. Women were given the right to vote in 1920. It seems to me to be in keeping with the tradition of expansion of the franchise, as well as recognition of the greater role played by American youth in our lives today, that we should now allow the Constitution to reflect what has already become a fact of life in our land: that our young people today are well bred, well educated, and extremely well aware of the positions and needs of our Nation, and that they should now be permitted to participate in the building of our Nation through the most valued American right, the right to vote.

I would now like to call on our distinguished majority leader, Senator Mansfield.

Senator Mansfield has been one of the leading congressional advocates of constitutional reform in the area of voting age for a number of years, and I think it is extremely appropriate that he be our leadoff witness.

Mr. Leader, we appreciate the effort you have made and are making in this area.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD, A U.S. SENATOR  
FROM THE STATE OF MONTANA**

Senator MANSFIELD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

May I say that I believe devoutly that the right to extend the franchise is the right of the States, but unfortunately, the States, including my own, have considered this question but never faced up to it, nor

taken any definitive action to achieve what we are trying to achieve through a joint resolution.

I appreciate having this opportunity to voice my support for Senate Joint Resolution 8, which would lower the voting age to 18 by amending the Constitution. I am happy to note for the record that a total of 43 of my colleagues in the Senate have joined me in sponsoring Senate Joint Resolution 8. I am sure they would agree with me that the issue is more pertinent today than at any other time in our history.

Approaching the 1970's, Mr. Chairman, the United States and the world face extremely complex issues—issues wrought by international tensions both new and old and by domestic unrest tragically witnessed already in the smoldering wake of urban disorders. One of the most difficult challenges we face is the growing barrier of misunderstanding that gulfs the young people of today from the older generation who were the youth of yesterday. As our living standards and educational opportunities have improved so have our youth become more experienced, more aware, perhaps more restless, but better equipped than ever to exercise responsibility.

The fact that some have flaunted their disdain for certain of the institutions that we long ago accepted as a way of life in no way should reflect upon the great majority of our young people. Their probing intelligence, deep interest, and eagerness to participate in the elective process exemplify the best qualities of responsible citizenship. The future, to repeat a truism, is in their hands. If it is to be a better nation and a better world—and I am confident that it will be—the youth of today will make it so. I think the time is long overdue when they should be given more in the way of recognition, more in the way of public responsibility.

The very first step should be to open to 18-year-olds the constitutional right to vote.

Kentucky, Georgia, Alaska, and Hawaii have already moved in that direction. For that reason, I am delighted that the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments has scheduled consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 8. It is my sincere hope that these hearings will prompt favorable consideration of a constitutional amendment lowering the voting age. Only in this way will the youth of today be able to participate fully in the elective process. We need their participation in the important events of these days; they need to know that their participation and counsel is sought and valued. I am sure the contribution will be significant.

To cling to the belief that 18-year-olds are not responsible or sufficiently mature to exercise the right to vote is to fail to face the issue squarely or fairly. Even as we watch the elective process today—in New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Indiana, Nebraska, Oregon, California, South Dakota, and elsewhere—young people are in the forefront—working, listening, talking, participating. The age of 21 is not simply the automatic chronological door to the sound judgment and wisdom that is needed to exercise the franchise of the ballot, or, for that matter, to assume any other responsibility. Indeed, it is the age of 18 that has long been regarded as the age when young people “try it on their own” and become responsible for themselves and for others. In fact, at this age the citizen has fresher knowledge and a more enthusiastic interest in government processes.

Moreover, 18 is the age when young men are told to fight our wars even though they themselves may have no right to choose the officials who make the policies that may lead to war.

Some people derogate this argument, but it also is a truism. At 18, they become young adults and are treated so by our courts. They are deemed legally responsible for their actions—both civil and criminal—and must suffer the full penalties of the law. Eighteen-year-old men and women marry and need not obtain the consent of parents or guardians to do so. Young adults of 18 hold down full-time jobs. They pay taxes at the same level as everyone else; yet they have no voice in the imposition of those taxes. If we say they can assume the economical and social responsibilities of adults, of marriage and family, why not the vote?

This young generation is interested. It is concerned. It should be allowed to exercise that most basic of all rights in our democracy—the right to vote.

The colleges and universities are filled with alert minds, eager, willing, and able to participate. Permitting them to do so would be a large step forward, not only in bridging the unwarranted gap between 18- and 21-year-olds but in providing a basis for better understanding between the youth of today and the youth of yesterday.

Mr. Chairman, when Senate Joint Resolution 8, the proposed constitutional amendment, was introduced, it was joined by you, by the distinguished Senator from Maryland, Mr. Tydings, who sits on this committee, by the able and distinguished minority leader, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen—who is the ranking minority member of this subcommittee—and by a substantial number of my colleagues on both sides of the Senate aisle.

This indicates to me that there is wide bipartisan interest and support for the measure.

I think the time for action is long overdue. The issue is of the utmost importance and I hope will soon receive the favorable consideration of the Committee on the Judiciary and ultimately of the Senate.

The issue is perhaps more pertinent in 1968 than at any time in the past. The problems of today may well become the crises our young people must face tomorrow, as the leaders of this Nation. The idealism and enthusiasm they bring to the ballot box cannot but have a beneficial influence on the conduct of government.

Let me just say in conclusion that age is not the critical influence on a citizen's maturity, experience, and judgment. Our young people have been saddled already with enormous responsibilities which they have assumed with great competence. Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, there are compelling reasons to lower the voting age, and when the 90th Congress adjourns this year, I sincerely hope that we will have started the machinery that will result in a constitutional amendment that extends the franchise to men and women 18 years and older.

Thank you.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Senator Mansfield.

Would you remain long enough for one or two questions, please?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would be delighted.

Senator BAYH. I was wondering if you had given any consideration to the relationship between the State legislatures' reluctance to act and

their requirement of ratification. Would we be in a better position, do you suppose, to get this ratified if you went the convention route, rather than the legislative route?

Senator MANSFIELD. That is always a legitimate possibility. Frankly, I would have no preference either way if the ultimate result would be to give the vote to 18-year-olds. However, the time-tried process is through approval by two-thirds of the Members of the House and Senate and the ratification by three-quarters of the legislatures of the various States.

Senator BAYH. One other question, if you please.

We have had some comment directed at the committee making a significant distinction, at least in the minds of those who have expressed an opinion, between the ages of 18 and 19, inasmuch as at 19, almost everyone is out of high school, and at 18, many are not.

Do you feel strongly about this difference of 1 year?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Frankly, I would prefer 18, but if I thought the age could be lowered to 19 and it was achievable, I would be satisfied to that extent. I think that there are too many of our people and our press and other communications media who place too much stress on the minority, which it either writes about, takes pictures of, or discusses, and lose sight of the fact that the great majority of the younger people of this country are competent, and are showing that they can participate by example and by act in constructive areas in which their views can be expressed, and in this year of our Lord, at least, given consideration to.

Senator BAYH. I want to thank you very much for a reasoned presentation of your statement as a precedent of the leadership you have given to this particular effort.

I hope you will be successful.

The Senator from Maryland?

Senator TYDINGS. I have one question for our leader, Mr. Chairman.

I wonder, Senator Mansfield, if you would comment on the educational attainment of a graduate of public high school today compared with the educational attainment of a graduate of public high school a century ago, basically when the 18-year limit was put in.

Senator MANSFIELD. You are asking that of a man who never completed the eighth grade and never attended high school. But I think I can give you an educated guess as to what the comparison would be.

In my opinion, without going back a century ago, because the differences are too obvious, but going back two decades ago, I would say that the differences in education are of such a nature that the high school graduate of today would be far superior to the high school graduate of even two or three decades ago. They have access to more information, they are able to travel more. The courses and the curricula have changed considerably for the better. They have the time to study, to consider, and to cogitate.

I would guess that a high school graduate of today would be at least the equivalent of a freshman in college two or three decades ago, and very likely the equal of a sophomore in college at that time.

Senator TYDINGS. Thank you.

Senator BAYH. I think that that question and the answer are perhaps the most relevant. I think there is something in addition to the academic comparison, because I do not think we have ever had a gen-

eration that has been so socially aware or so socially conscious of what is going on around them. I would hazard a guess—how we weigh this, I do not know—that the academic comparison made by the leader could add a couple of years or more so far as the social or civic awareness of the average high school graduates goes.

Senator MANSFIELD. That might be true. I do not want to be too modest.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much. We appreciate your assistance in this program. We shall look forward to having a chance to pursue it on the floor.

Senator MANSFIELD. Thank you, gentlemen.

Senator BAYH. My colleague from Maryland.

Senator TYDINGS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that my statement may be incorporated in the record of the hearing at this point.

I wish to make one point in my statement which is not repetitive of the testimony already given by you and the majority leader. That point concerns the opposition to the arguments aimed at extending the right of suffrage or extending the franchise. We right now are voting today in Maryland on the new constitution, which hopefully will be ratified, which lowers the voting age to 19. I personally advocated before the constitutional convention lowering it to 18. The convention in their wisdom decided to limit it to 19.

However, all of the arguments made against giving young adults the vote have been made against every expansion of the franchise. All of them were made against the 19th amendment, which gave them the right to vote two generations ago. These are the arguments which were used against extending the right of franchise to women in the United States. It was said that the tradition of nearly every State was against giving the women the right to vote. They said that other State laws were against it and that women had been legally deprived of certain rights, such as the right to make contracts for centuries. It was argued then that the same legal inferiority should be continued in the case of the vote.

It was argued that giving the vote to women would add to the population many persons whose idealism had not been tempered by practical experience. It was argued that women would be influenced by their parents and schools, by handsome rogues, by demagogues. Women, it was said, would affect elections even though they had little knowledge of or interest in local affairs.

Fifty years have passed since these prophesies of doom, and our Republic still stands, Mr. Chairman.

I believe that the view here, particularly in the U.S. Senate, would argue against the point that our political system is much richer and wiser because of the participation of women in the electoral process. I know myself and I think you know yourself that in all probability, our election would have been difficult had it not been for the women who took an active interest in elections, not only in voting but in taking leadership roles in our campaigns and campaigns of others of our colleagues.

I think the fears expressed against extending the vote to persons under 21 are just as specious, just as invalid today as they were half

a century ago when they were applied against the right of the franchise to women.

I hope this committee will recommend a lowering of the voting age, if not to 18, at least to some more realistic level than 21.

(The prepared statement of Senator Tydings follows:)

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOSEPH D. TYDINGS IN FAVOR OF REDUCING THE VOTING AGE IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS TO 18

Mr. Chairman, as a member of this subcommittee, I am particularly pleased to endorse the proposal to amend the Constitution to provide for voting in Federal elections by all citizens over the age of 18. I am a co-sponsor of the Mansfield-Dirksen bill to lower the voting age. I also testified in favor of reducing the voting age before the Maryland State Constitutional Convention. Ratification of the new Constitution that Convention produced is being voted on today in Maryland. I am optimistic that the new charter, containing a provision reducing the voting age to 19, will be overwhelmingly approved.

I believe the minimum voting age should be that age level at which the average person of that age group has attained the maturity required to make an intelligent choice from among the various candidates for the leadership of his government.

Although the twenty-one year minimum is traditional in this country, it is not sacred or immutable. Two states, Georgia and Kentucky, long ago reduced the voting age to eighteen; Alaska allows voting at nineteen; and Hawaii at twenty.

I believe that the age of eighteen—the age of high school graduation—is a reasonable minimum voting age. This Committee may choose a higher age. But I urge reducing the twenty-one year requirement, because no argument can justify it.

Any decision as to voting age must be arbitrary. But some ages are more arbitrary than others. I believe an examination of the primary arguments for retaining twenty-one as the voting age will show that none of them offer valid reasons against lowering the voting age.

TRADITION

Twenty-one is the traditional voting age in forty-six of the states.

Whatever justification existed for imposing twenty-one as the minimum age a century ago, however, the fact is that today's American young people are achieving physical, emotional and mental maturity at an earlier age than ever before. While the traditional twenty-one year old voting age has remained unchanged, the character of our population has changed dramatically, especially with regard to the education, maturity, and responsibilities assumed by our young people.

Indeed, tradition itself is no reason at all for maintaining the voting age. If tradition were a good reason to maintain a constitutional provision, we would not need this Constitutional Amendments subcommittee to review our traditional, but not unchanged or unchangeable national Constitution.

We should deal with the facts as they are today. The fact is that most eighteen year olds are as personally qualified to vote as most of their elders. Indeed, in some instances they are more qualified.

OTHER TWENTY-ONE YEAR REQUIREMENTS

Some argue that since the common age for legal majority is twenty-one, the minimum age for voting should be twenty-one. There is no compelling connection between the age set as the minimum for voting and the age set as the minimum for other state-regulated activities, such as the purchase of alcohol or the administration of an estate. The law in each case should be shaped to the subject matter involved.

In the case of voting, the question is whether eighteen, nineteen, or twenty year olds are mature enough to make an intelligent choice in the voting booth for the government leaders who tax them, regulate their lives, and can send them to war. I think the answer is clearly that these young people are as qualified to make such political judgments as most of their elders.

## TOO MUCH IDEALISM

Some people argue that lowering the voting age would add to the voting population many whose idealism has not been tempered by practical experience in adult society.

I do not think that we should fear a little idealism in politics. I think we should welcome it.

Moreover, although precise figures are unavailable, the Census Bureau has given me statistics which indicate in my own state of Maryland at best, that more than one of every five citizens between eighteen and twenty-one is a full-time wage earner. Many others work part-time while putting themselves through college. Thousands of Maryland boys between eighteen and twenty-one are not only getting practical experience in "adult society," they are getting it in a very hard school—in the jungles and on the battlefields of Vietnam.

## OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

The argument is made that reducing the voting age would add to the voting population persons highly influenced by their parents, schools, television, and special interests.

I reject the notion that young Americans are any more susceptible than their elders to parental political influence, political pitchmen, or special interests. My experience, as a Senator speaking to high school and college groups and answering their questions in every corner of the nation, has been that these young people—as a group and as individuals—are as acutely aware of the world as anyone in society. They know their history and current events; they are earnest and informed; they are skeptical and searching; they are no more likely to be taken in by demagogues than anyone else. As a matter of fact, they are less likely. As for undue parental influence, if eighteen to twenty-one year olds take the advice of their parents on whom to vote for, it will be, if the testimony of many parents is to be believed, the only aspect of life on which parent's advice is the prevailing factor at that age.

If a perfect test could be devised for determining who should be able to vote, so that arbitrary age limits could be eliminated, surely some eighteen to twenty-one year olds would fail it. But, I submit that a far greater percentage of present voters over twenty-one would fail it. Because no such perfect test can be devised, we will have to continue to have an arbitrary minimum age limit. But that age limit should be based on today's realities, not those of a century ago or legalistic concepts developed during the Middle Ages.

## HISTORIC EXTENSIONS OF THE SUFFRAGE

All the arguments made against giving young adults the vote have been made against every expansion of the franchise. All of them were made, for example, against the 19th Amendment, which gave women the right to vote.

The tradition of nearly every state was against it.

Other state laws were against it. Women had been legally deprived of certain rights—such as the right to make contracts—for centuries, and, it was argued, this same legal inferiority should be continued in the case of the vote.

Giving the vote to women, it was said, would add to the voting population many persons whose idealism has not been tempered by practical experience. Women would be highly influenced by their parents, schools, and handsome rogues and demagogues.

Women, it was said, would affect elections even though they had little knowledge of, or interest in, local affairs.

Fifty years have now passed since these prophesies of doom, but the Republic still stands. I believe few would argue against the point that our political system is much richer and wiser because of the participation of women in the electoral process.

I think the fears expressed against extending the vote to persons under twenty-one are just as invalid today as these same arguments were a half century ago when they were used against the universal suffrage.

I hope this Committee will recommend a lowering of the voting age, if not to eighteen, at least to some more realistic level than twenty-one.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Senator Tydings. That certainly is a compelling comparison that strikes home, that we traditionally hear those same tired arguments used on every effort to change

and update not only our Constitution, but the statutes which we deal with daily.

Our next witness is the distinguished senior Senator from New York, Senator Jacob Javits, who has given us the benefit of his testimony before this subcommittee several times in the past.

We are looking forward to your wisdom this morning, Senator Javits. Thank you for joining us.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK**

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, it is an honor for me to testify before the committee of which I was a former member. The majority leader, Senator Randolph, and many other members of the Senate have given us over the years such great leadership in the effort to lower the voting age, I am sure that all aspects of this issue will be before the committee in the course of these hearings.

We all realize, too, that in addition to the work of many of our colleagues on this issue, we have reached the stage in consideration of lowering the voting age because of the painstaking research and promotion efforts of many organizations of young people. I refer specifically to the National Student Association, the young Republican and young Democratic organizations, the organization based in Connecticut but with national impact called VOTES, and many others.

Testimony and material from all these organizations will help the subcommittee examine the many practical reasons for lowering the voting age to 18. I would like to specify that this is what I am for, lowering it to 18.

But I would like to concentrate on what, for me, is the most compelling reason for lowering the voting age at this point in our national history. It is this: As a group, today's 18- to 21-year-olds—those of college age—are more highly motivated toward political action and more of them are better educated than their fathers or grandfathers ever thought possible. I feel that in facing the enormous crises before the Nation today, we must provide an effective role within our established system of politics for the idealism, the activism, and the energy of youth and that the effectiveness of that role is enhanced by giving these young Americans the vote.

Two recent but very different occurrences underline this need, in my judgment. The first is the demonstration of the dedication and zeal of young people in the current primary campaign of our colleague, Senator McCarthy. It may seem strange that I should use this illustration, since Senator McCarthy is a Democrat and I am a Republican. I do so because I am absolutely convinced that this is not a phenomenon peculiar to Senator McCarthy's campaign, and that candidates in my party—be they in fact conservatives, moderates or liberals—could benefit from similar infusions of youthful talent and dedication to their own cause.

I am running for reelection myself in New York and I hope very much to have just this kind of youthful enthusiasm. I have had it before and I hope to have it again.

Almost all news analysts agree, however, that the legions of college-aged youth attracted to Senator McCarthy's campaign are in great part responsible for his successes in New Hampshire and elsewhere. It must

also be noted that scores of these new breed activists—given an effective role within the campaign—were part of the “Keep Clean for Gene” campaign. Many who were considered campus “hippies,” I do not use that word invidiously; it is just people who dress a little oddly and have what they consider to be a certain nonconformist philosophy of life, and who were interested only in dropping out of anything with any connection with responsibility, became models of purpose because they were made to feel they had a personal role in a cause. I would like to point out that the name of the game is politics and many of these people who are in it now, who do not have the vote, should have the satisfaction of a vote, too. I think it would attract many more if they did, notwithstanding the fact that Senator McCarthy has been a very attractive magnet in this cause. I think that is a very constructive object lesson of how to turn boundless energy, great ideals and the burning resentments which young people have about many things that go on—war, poverty, discrimination—into action channels which are entirely in line with our system. If they can overturn things using the system, I am all for it. I see no reason why anything is sacred that can be changed within the system which guarantees the individual freedom of all of us.

The second situation underlines the same theme, but in negative form: The campus demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience that have made front-page news around the Nation in recent weeks. We all realize that only a tiny minority of college students on these campuses engaged in unlawful acts. But these deplorable incidents make a point. There is really no excuse for such acts of civil disobedience at any time in a nation that guarantees the right of orderly protest and redress of grievances through the ballot box. I am convinced that self-styled student leaders who urge such acts of civil disobedience would find themselves with little or no support if students were given a more meaningful role in the electoral process.

In short, the political activism of our college-aged youth today—whether it be demonstrations or work on behalf of candidates—like Senator McCarthy, is all happening outside the existing political framework. Passage of the resolution before this committee would give us the means, sort of the famous carrot and the stick concept, to channel this energy into our major political parties on all levels, national, State and local.

Today’s 18 year old is generally better educated than his father and grandfather, especially in the workings of his government, and this observation is not really disputed by anyone. The U.S. Office of Education reports that 53 percent of our 18 to 19 year olds graduate from high school today and 8.8 graduate from college as compared to 14.1 percent who completed high school and 4.6 percent who completed college in 1940. In one case, the figure now is almost four times as high; in the other case, it is twice as high.

In addition, most high schools today require their students to attain passing grades in civics and government as well as American history. In the past, indeed, when I went to school, history sufficed. In the early days of our Nation, when 21 became the age of voting, and it has come down to us now throughout the history of the Republic, the average 18-year-old had completed only 5 years of formal schooling and his knowledge of government and politics came principally from local

newspaper accounts, many of them second- and third-hand accounts, grossly inaccurate and almost all of them outdated.

Today, radio and television reporting keeps the young up to date. We can only guess at the broadening effects of the media on our youth. Millions of young people today pay as close attention to the national political conventions and campaigns as most adults. They see and hear and absorb detailed reports on legislative, political, and governmental matters. Many political scientists claim that television has given all of us a feeling of immediacy and involvement concerning international and domestic social problems never before experienced in this country. TV and radio have been major catalysts in the student movements of the sixties. For the most part, the 18- and 19-year-old today has grown up in a world of impressions formed by actually witnessing the historic events of our era—the demonstrations on behalf of civil rights, congressional hearings on Vietnam, the funeral of President John F. Kennedy and of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Such experiences—and enhanced with what is learned in school and college—create a desire—a need—in our young people to be part of national movements, to have a real voice in decisions affecting them.

The Senators on this committee and subcommittee and I have all spoken on college campuses. Have we not all been amazed at the range of information already derived by teenagers, even those in high school?

The combination of improved education—at least as far as government and politics are concerned—and the feeling of identification with the important social and political currents of our time, have made college-aged youth a potent force in this country. If they are a potent force, they should have an opportunity to express it.

In addition, where would the Peace Corps and VISTA be if it weren't for the great service of tens of thousands of college age men and women volunteers. These are jobs which, for the most part, demand the highest measure of personal responsibility. These men and women, as likely as not, are many times resourceful when they have been left on their own and able to do a very fine job.

Now, there has been a lot of talk about responsibility and whether to give the vote to the 18- and 21-year-olds. But the whole idea is not nearly as novel as many would suppose.

I was very interested that Senator Tydings spoke of the women's vote. That occurred to me, too, as a very important analogy. The great fears which were aroused about the fact that these young people will be irresponsible—these same things were said about women, that they would be lightheaded. They are now a vital force in politics, certainly as far as voting occurs. What about all those things about the anti-discrimination laws that the Senator from Indiana and I have heard before? Each time they have been put forward, they have proved to be groundless. The fact is that Georgia has permitted voting at 18 since 1943, and reaffirmed this decision by voting to incorporate it in a new State constitution in 1945. Kentucky has allowed 18-year-old voting since 1955, and Alaska and Hawaii entered the Union in 1959, allowing 19- and 20-year-old voting, respectively. Nothing in the recent political history of these States indicates that the college-age vote is irresponsible, or "radical." Georgia has consistently sent Richard Russell to the Senate, who has won universal respect among us all as one of the foremost upholders of the conservative traditions of the Senate.

Kentucky, including the 18-year-old voter, has supported Senators Thruston Morton and John Sherman Cooper, two of the most respected members of this body. The same is true of our colleagues from Alaska and Hawaii, including, of course, my good friend, Senator Fong, a very distinguished man of Chinese lineage, a member of this subcommittee.

Mr. Chairman, it has always been difficult to enlarge the voting franchise in this country. The colonists who wanted to remove ownership of property as a requirement for voting faced similar arguments about a deluge of irresponsible people entering the voting roles. So did those who fought to grant the vote to women, and those who joined in the struggle to assure the vote to Negroes. But in each case the eventual expansion of the electorate brought new ideas and new vigor to our national political life. So it is here. This is a great reform. Its time is now. Indeed, perhaps it is even later than what should have been the time.

We have 12 million young people between 18 and 21. They deserve a place of responsibility in our political structure. The first movement in that regard is the report of this subcommittee, Mr. Chairman. I hope very much the subcommittee will report the resolution and I shall certainly, as a Senator, do everything I humanly can do to support it.

I might tell the committee that, in my pending campaign, I intend to make a big thing of the 18-year-old vote. I think the people of my State should know how I stand on it, unequivocally. If I am reelected, I am going to be fighting for it.

Finally, I like the idea of a national standard. It is the kind of thing which is acceptable as a national standard. There should not be a feeling by young people in one State that they can look across the border and they are really adults there and they are not here. I do think that this question is a question for the Nation across the board. We have a constitutional power to do it, and I would; with a constitutional amendment, you can do anything.

I had hoped we could work together on this matter of established principles of law which we have carried out in voting by Negroes through law, not amendment. But it is the same argument that it was on the poll tax. If it is easier to resolve the argument by an amendment, then I would go that route. But I certainly would start the process and start it now.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much for that clear analysis. It is characteristic of the type of work our colleague from New York does.

Just for the record, has New York made an effort in this area?

Senator JAVITS. They have made an effort, but it has come to naught. But I really think the sentiment is rising. Interestingly enough, notwithstanding the disorders on the Columbia campus and other problems we have had in the State, I see a rising respect for youth in our State. After all, it is 10 percent of the country in terms of population, in terms of commercial and other activity. But it is very interesting. I see a new respect, because young people are involved. They are spirited, they are lively, they have deep convictions. They are willing to sacrifice for them.

The idea that we are no longer a pioneer people, that we have gone soft, that our young people will not fight—this is really simplicity.

The Vietnam war has had a lot to do with that. The Vietnam war has been just as much a cause of dissension with people of my age and that of the chairman as it is with young people. But that is not true. I think they are just as spirited, just as dedicated as the young men of World War II, as you and I were in our day. I was a soldier in World War II and I think the time has come to add to this spirited interest the factor of giving them the right, too, to vote yea or nay.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much.

The next witness this morning is our distinguished colleague from Iowa, Senator Jack Miller.

Senator Miller, we appreciate your taking time from a busy schedule to be with us.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. JACK MILLER, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

Senator MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to testify before this subcommittee.

I would like to present my views on the three resolutions pending before you: Senate Joint Resolutions 8, 14, and 78. Each of these resolutions proposes an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would lower the voting age of citizens of the United States to 18.

I am opposed to these Federal attempts to invade this field. The arguments for and against lowering the minimum voting age to 18 have been presented time and again throughout the recent history of our Republic and I shall not burden you with a recapitulation of those arguments. I merely wish to stress two points.

Some minimum age, of course, must be established if we are not to give the vote to all persons, including children. The question arises at what level a person reaches sufficient maturity, physically, intellectually, emotionally, and politically to participate in the election process.

As Abraham Lincoln pointed out so forcefully, our democracy is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Government for the people implies that the well-being of the people is the sole object of government. Only a government that is prudent and responsive can accomplish this objective. If we wish to fulfill our purpose of government, we must have prudent and responsive voters. The cumulative experience of nearly all of the representative democracies which have a minimum age requirement of voting of at least 21 years has shown the need for political, economic, and social maturity on the part of their voters. Some of the most vital elements of this maturity are consideration for the views of others and a willingness to make responsible compromise. A good number of teenagers possess such maturity. Unfortunately, some of their elders do not, as witness the cynical tactics of many rival candidates to try to out-promise each other in winning the votes of the people for whose intelligence and maturity they have contempt. But many teenagers, lacking the experience and maturity, are prone to take an extreme point of view and to push their ideas to the exclusion of all others. One need only look at what has happened and is happening on the campuses of some of our great universities to see the results of this lack of maturity.

The other point I wish to make is that in the overwhelming majority of the States, persons under 21 years of age are generally not considered to be sufficiently mature to be fully responsible legally for their actions. To bestow political rights and responsibilities on such persons would seem most premature unless the States also lower their age of legal consent for various activities.

To illustrate this point, I would like to list a number of activities or situations in which the age of 21 has been generally set by law as a minimum age.

In most States, one cannot enter into a legally binding contract until reaching the age of 21. This usually applies to employment as well as other types of contracts. In 43 of the 50 States, a male may not marry without parental consent until he reaches the age of 21. Forty-seven of the States prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages, except beer and wine in some instances, to persons under 21. In the great majority of States, a person under 21 cannot institute a legal action in court without the assistance of a guardian and may not settle a lawsuit or claim without the approval of the court.

In about half the States, the minimum age for the execution of a will is 21 years. Almost no State permits a person under the age of 21 to receive by inheritance either real or personal property in his name. Instead, there is a requirement that the property be administered by a guardian under the supervision of the court.

The point of these examples, Mr. Chairman, is that most States protect persons under the age of 21 with regard to important decisions calling for mature judgment. Certainly, the responsibility for judgment in voting, for participating in decisions which determine whether our Government will be prudent and responsive for the people, does not require any less maturity than the situation set forth in the examples. If anything, it requires more.

While it is true that some people are mature in many ways at 14 and others never achieve real maturity, certainly it is also true that more Americans have arrived at maturity at age 21 and have had more education and experience than they have at age 18 or earlier.

The question of minimum age for voting was wisely reserved by the Constitution to the people of the individual States to determine, along with other questions involving legal age of consent. That is where these questions should continue to rest for decision.

Would Congress seek to invade the thicket of minimum age of consent for contracting, purchasing alcoholic beverages, executing wills or initiating legal actions just for the sake of standardization? I would hope not. As time goes on, the people of some or all of the States may conclude that the legal age of consent and for voting should be lowered. Congress should not be the one to force this issue.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Senator Miller. You bring out some interesting points concerning the credence in the importance of age 21 that is in many of the States and their laws. What we hope to be able to discover in this committee and perhaps even in debate on the floor is the relative behavior in the way these same matters have been treated in those States where the voting age has been lowered to see—we could probably have some positive experience to see—how many people have responded to this responsibility, plus throwing open

the way in which age 21 was arrived at as the mature age long, long ago.

I appreciate your taking the time to give us the benefit of your thoughts. I am sure the committee is happy to share them.

Senator MILLER. If I may make the comment, Mr. Chairman, I am sure everybody understands very well that drawing a line can be a most difficult task and that if you start looking at individual cases, you are going to get lost in a thicket in trying to determine whether a person of 20 or 21 or 18 or 25 is more mature than another particular person. The point I want to make is that if Congress is going to start getting into this minimum voting age, I think a fortiori, they ought to get into the minimum age for initiating legal actions, executing a will, purchasing alcoholic beverages, entering into a legally binding contract. I cannot believe that this subcommittee would regard the exercise of the voting franchise as requiring any less maturity than these other actions and to be consistent, perhaps for the sake of uniformity, the Congress should decide that there ought to be a minimum age of 18 for voting, a minimum age of 18 for purchasing alcoholic beverages, a minimum age of 18 for executing a will and all this. I suggest that this was wisely left to the decision of the people of various States.

There are good arguments for lowering the voting age from 21 to 18. I submit that those arguments might even be better in the case of entering into a legally binding contract or inheriting property. But these are arguments that should be made to the State legislature, not to the Congress. And if the people of the State decide that these arguments are well founded, then let them decide instead of this matter of the Congress getting into what I submit will be a thicket not unlike the thicket the Supreme Court got into in the famous reapportionment cases.

Senator BAYH. Of course, in the only comparable franchise expansion that we have witnessed, the granting of the voting franchise to women, Congress did not do what you suggested. It did not get into the area of when women could hold property and this sort of thing. In fact, it took the States a long time and some of them still have antiquated laws as far as women's rights are concerned. I do not know whether this is a precedent for what Congress might do if they get into the voting age for young people, but at least, that is how the situation was handled when women were given the vote. It is a comparable situation, is it not?

Senator MILLER. Mr. Chairman, it would seem to me that the matter of voting rights of women came up quite apart from the constitutional amendment that exists and that today, probably the Supreme Court would decide that regardless of the constitutional amendment, women had the right to vote.

But be that as it may, that is something that I would think the Congress could look into with respect to whether or not there is discrimination on the basis of sex. We certainly, in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, saw fit to invade that area.

Senator BAYH. What I was trying to say is I agree with you wholeheartedly, that I see no reason for Congress to get into this whole thicket which you described. But when we gave women the right to vote, we did not plunge into this thicket. We left to the States the

right to determine things like property rights, marital relationships, and this domestic area involving women. So I do not see why we would have to get into the thicket at the same time we are exploring lowering the voting age for all young citizens.

Senator MILLER. My point would be, Mr. Chairman, that if the Congress sees fit to get into the subject of uniformity, standardization of maturity as far as age for voting is concerned, they ought to, a fortiori, get into the same area with respect to these other areas, with respect to these other actions involving the minimum age of legal consent. Because I submit that any of these actions—the executing of a will, the entering into a binding contract, and so on—would require less maturity than the prudent and responsible exercise of voting privilege.

Now, perhaps uniformity in the matter of the age of consent for marriage might be, and probably is of interest to some Members of Congress. There has long been an advocacy for uniform laws relating to divorce and one can make a pretty good argument on those points. But so far, we have seen fit not to invade that area and I do not see why we should see fit to invade this other area. I think that it was wisely left to the people of the States. The arguments for, the arguments against, are much more properly placed at the local level of government, the State level, where they were originally left.

I am not at all persuaded by this matter of standardization and efficiency, all of that, which was never the concept of this form of government of ours in the first place. That has never been an objective of our Government at all. Now, in a matter affecting the national interest, for example in the matter of interstate commerce—well, certainly standardization is vital. I think it would be horrible if our interstate highway program was conducted under 50 different series of specifications determined by each of the States. But I do not think that that is relevant to the proposition of the exercise of the right to vote.

Senator BAYH. I think there is room for gentlemanly disagreement on that point. Those of us who have been exploring the opportunity or the wisdom of lowering the voting age feel that it is very much in the national interest to evolve in an active, constructive, positive manner the youthful energy of our younger citizens. They are interested, they are aware, and it would be a benefit to the Nation to have them involved as active participants in the electoral process. I think that is one of the reasons we are interested in this, not uniformity.

Senator MILLER. I am sure that that would motivate the sponsors of this legislation, but Mr. Chairman, it is not in the same ball park as the national interest involving uniform specifications for the interstate highway program, because there people from one State are driving on the highway of another State and for the purpose of being protected, they need uniform specifications to construct those highways.

But just because the people of Georgia, for example, may see fit to grant the voting privilege to their 18-year-old citizens is no reason why the people from Iowa or Indiana or any other State when they go through Georgia are going to be adversely affected. I do not think it has any particular bearing on the people of the other States, except insofar as we make sure that there is not irresponsible action taken.

But there again, that is up to the local State governments. If the day comes when we are so fearful that local State governments in connection with the voting franchise are going to jeopardize the national interest, then I think that probably the Republic will be ended and I hope and pray it never will be.

Senator BAYH. I trust it will not.

Senator MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Senator Miller. We appreciate it.

The next witness is Mr. R. Spencer Oliver, president of the Young Democratic Clubs of America.

I might say for the record that it has been this Senator's good fortune, as part of this great democratic experiment in national elections back in 1964, to work very closely with Mr. Oliver and make an evaluation of his experience and interest in what young people do and how interested they are in the positive contribution that they make and have been making in the electoral process of the two political parties.

So, Mr. President, we are glad to have you with us.

#### STATEMENT OF R. SPENCER OLIVER, PRESIDENT, YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA

Mr. OLIVER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

It has been my pleasure and the pleasure of our young people to know you and work with you in your many endeavors.

At the outset, I would like to express my appreciation to Senator Bayh and to the members of the subcommittee for the opportunity to express the support of the Young Democratic Clubs of America for the 18-year-old vote. The organization which I represent is the official youth organization of the Democratic Party, composed of local units in all 50 States, with a membership of over 300,000 young Americans. We have long been in support of the 18-year-old vote and we are hopeful that the fulfillment of our efforts will be realized through the leadership and efforts of Senator Bayh and the members of the subcommittee.

My statement contains facts and figures which I am sure will be reiterated before this committee in various forms many times. Generally, they illustrate the arguments in favor of the 18-year-old vote. I firmly believe, however, that the most vivid illustration and the greatest argument for lowering the voting age can be found on the front pages of every newspaper in America—indeed, every newspaper in the free world. Young people, on college campuses and in city streets; on picket lines and barricades; through underground newspapers; in their music; in political primaries in New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Oregon, and California, and indeed throughout the world; are demonstrating—in many cases forcibly—their desire to participate in the decisionmaking councils of society at all levels. They are better educated and more highly motivated than any generation of Americans in history. They are idealistic and, in many cases, quite intellectual. In short, they are prepared to play a decisive role in shaping the future of this Nation and the world. And it is quite obvious that they have every intention of doing so.

The right to vote is the fundamental and basic requirement for citizen participation in a democratic society. It is the main channel through which opinions are expressed in a meaningful way in the electoral process. When this channel is closed, young people will turn, and are turning, to other methods to make their voices heard and their opinions felt.

Some of these methods seem, at times, to be extreme and highly objectionable. Yet, what else can they do? Their feelings are strong, deep, emotional. They see things in a different light than many, or most, of their elders. Yet who can deny that they—the student generation—idealistic, well informed, courageous, and intense—have much to say, and a right to be heard.

I do not for one moment believe that the right to vote will immediately cause every young American to abandon the picket lines or the barricades, or prevent demonstrations and protests. Young people have a fire burning inside them—to change a world which they think is not good enough—to do better, and they have the courage, the imagination, and idealistic fervor to utilize every possible method to bring about those changes that they deeply believe are necessary. But I do believe that it will ease the frustrations of a generation obviously intent upon having a voice in the determination of their own destinies and that it will open up a legitimate and desirable avenue of participation in the democratic process to them. I firmly believe this is a necessary and long overdue reform.

Under the Constitution, it is the prerogative of the States, within certain limitations, to establish qualifications for voting, including the minimum voting age.

Particularly since World War I, there have been a number of attempts to secure a reduction of the minimum age to 18, in many instances through a Federal constitutional amendment, and in others through amendments to State constitutions or election codes by action of State legislatures. During wartime, Americans become more aware and appreciative of their voting franchise. However, in only two States, Georgia and Kentucky, has the reduction been accomplished. Georgia had lowered the minimum age qualification for voting to 18 in 1943 during World War II. Kentucky lowered her qualification for voting to 18 in the aftermath of the Korean war. Alaska has a minimum age of 19; in Hawaii it is 20.

The people of Maryland are voting today on a new constitution which, if passed, would lower the voting age to 19. Many State legislatures are presently considering similar proposals to lower the voting age. The question might well be asked, would it not be better to have the Congress act swiftly toward establishment of a national standard rather than have a hodgepodge of State statutes varying the voting age.

In point of fact, the American people generally favor extending the franchise to 18-year-olds. The April 1967 Gallup Poll on the question showed a record 64 percent favoring 18 as the minimum age requirement for voting. The previous high was 63 percent during the Korean war. Before World War II in 1939, only 17 percent of the population was estimated to favor lowering the required age for voting. Apparently it takes war to open the eyes of America to the injustice she imparts to her young men. For it is surely unjust and discriminating to

command men to sacrifice their lives for a decision which they had no part in making.

Before presenting an argument in favor of the 18-year-old's right to vote, let us investigate the components of this constituency. As of September 1966, there were 12 million Americans who are 18, 19 or 20 years of age. Of these, 47 percent were degree candidates enrolled in colleges across our Nation; 6 percent of this number were serving in the armed services. The majority, 60 percent, with some overlap in the colleges, were working full-time and 12 percent were unemployed according to the U.S. Department of Labor. Amazing as it may seem, less than 4 percent of these American citizens had the right to vote—those residing in Kentucky, Georgia, Alaska, and Hawaii.

These people are American citizens. They are old enough to be tried in criminal courts of law and sentenced to a Federal or State prison. They are old enough to work under civil service. They are old enough to be denied compulsory education. They are required to pay taxes. In many States the 18-year-old can marry and in most States he can operate an automobile and carry firemans. In many places, 18-year-olds can make wills and be sued, and often can enter into legally binding contracts. Finally, all 18-year-old males can be drafted into the armed services.

I would now like to present a series of arguments based on the belief held by the Young Democratic Clubs of America—that 18- 19- 20-year-olds are disenfranchised and that they most deservingly merit the right to vote in this country. Today's youth are informed, and they are interested. One needs only to observe what the young people of this Nation are contributing to the political scene today. Presidential candidates rely heavily on youth activities for their support. The college campus has become the most favored political platform in America today.

An essential part of the academic curriculum in high school is American history. Such a course illustrates our Republic's growth from colonial to modern times; it is required in all schools in the United States. In addition, most all secondary schools offer a variety of courses in civics and government. When the student goes home, television continues to help him keep informed with a schedule of specials and regular news broadcasts.

More people than ever before are receiving their basic political education in high school. In 1966, approximately 70 percent of the persons who entered fifth grade in 1958 were graduated from high school. This contrasts with 62 percent who graduated in 1960, 58 percent in 1950, and 48 percent in 1940. In the age group 25 years of age and up, the number of high school graduates has doubled in the last 25 years to 30 percent.

While these statistics indicate that far more young people today are receiving a broader education, they also point up the fact that nearly 70 percent of the high school graduates of today do not go on to higher education. Most of these join the national labor force. In 1964 alone there were nearly 3½ million young people aged 18 and 19 in the labor force. These young people who contribute so greatly to our national product and economy should have the opportunity to partici-

pate in the decisionmaking processes which influence their own futures and that of the Nation.

More young people than ever before are going to college. Over 30 percent of those graduating from high school go on to college. College students now number 5 million compared with 1.5 million in 1940. All of these figures prove that our young people are better equipped to make mature decisions at the polls. Why then, it is asked, do our young people who are eligible to vote have such a poor voting record? The answer is obvious.

The 18-year-old is prepared to vote in high school. He is taught the importance of voting and he is enthusiastic about his first trip to the polls. Then he graduates from high school and either finds a job, goes to college, or finds his way into the armed services. A minimum of 3 years must pass before he is eligible to vote and maybe 6 years will lapse before a presidential election occurs.

Young men and women of this country are thus prohibited from voting at the age when they are best prepared to begin participation in the electoral process.

Almost everyone would agree that such participation is desirable on the part of every citizen in order that our democratic system may continue to be healthy and vigorous. Lowering the voting age to 18 would greatly facilitate and enhance the voter registration process at the local level. A large number of students reach the age of 18 while they are still in high school and could be easily registered at that time. Or, for those who are in college, the college campus affords easy access to new voters.

In 1960 a study of voting habits of students was conducted at the University of Kentucky (18-year-olds may vote in Kentucky). The results were encouraging.

Eighty percent of the students voted in the 1960 general election, compared with 59 percent of the voters statewide. In the previous general election (1956), 84 percent of the students voted, compared with 57 percent of the statewide eligibles. Recently, Time-Life, Inc., conducted a national collegiate presidential preference primary. Over 90 percent of the students eligible to vote participated.

Permitting those citizens between the ages of 18 and 21 to vote would add new blood to our political system. What young people learn in school in their civics, government, and history courses would take on real significance as the vital and important issues, both local and national, become matters of immediate and personal concern.

Of all adult responsibilities placed upon the 18-year-old, none compares with his obligation to military service. This country is governed by her people at the polls. How can we send men off to die without allowing them to express their opinions through the due process of a ballot? You say we train our men before sending them into combat. But you forget that for 12 years prior to that we have been training our men to assume a role in society only to deny that role to them at the very time when they are asked to share the burdens of that society. It is said that there is a difference between mental and physical maturity. Surely one does not necessarily coincide with the other but I hope this is not an admission that the United States is sending mentally immature men overseas to sacrifice their lives.

Of the American fighting forces in Vietnam, about 25 percent are under the age of 21. Of those who died there, 29 percent were under 21.

Recent Department of Defense statistics on casualties in Vietnam and contiguous areas showed that between January 1, 1960 and March 1, 1967, over 2,200 Americans under 21 had been killed in action. The greatest mortality rate was among 20-year-olds.

One of those who died there was Pfc. Milton L. Olive III, a Chicago Negro. Olive was only 18 when he fell on an enemy handgrenade to save the lives of four comrades. For his courage, Private Olive, in a sense a "triple volunteer"—he volunteered for the Army, then for the paratroops, and then Vietnam—was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor by President Johnson. And Milt Olive was too young to vote?

The Nation has always entrusted to her younger citizens the fight for peace, and with few exceptions has excluded them from any participation in the electoral process.

Granting the voting franchise to 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds can only strengthen our country. If the United States is going to spend a substantial part of her budget on her young citizens, shouldn't they be consulted? How long can the U.S. Congress leave the initiative to individual States while the individual States wait on the U.S. Congress? Consider the ridiculous opposition raised, to allowing suffrage to the American female and how long it took to allow her to vote. And it took another 50 years for Congress to open its eyes, and override individual States in order to guarantee the American Negro the right to vote. Now is the accepted time to guarantee another minority group their deserved right to vote.

In conclusion, I would simply state that the generation of Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 have—in every way—demonstrated their ability and their desire to become fully participating citizens in this democracy. Any interpretation of the events taking place among that generation can only point to the fact that they want a voice—they have something to say and something to contribute—they will be heard. Now is the time—the most propitious moment—to insure that they have open to them the most effective, most desirable, and most legitimate channel for that voice—the right to vote.

Thank you very much.

Senator BAYH. Thank you, Mr. Oliver. That was a very compelling argument in support of lowering the voting age. I can think of many questions we can explore, but as you probably ascertained by the buzzers, the Senate has now gone into session. I think it best to adjourn the hearings for the day but I do appreciate the contribution you have made and we will be calling on you again, either formally or informally, to share your personal sentiments with us.

Mr. OLIVER. Thank you very much, Senator.

Senator BAYH. We have three of your colleagues who, because of the press of congressional business, were unable to be with us this morning. Therefore, I would like to ask that the statements of Senator Bible, Senator Harris and Senator Hansen be included in the record at this point.

(The statements of Senator Bible, Senator Harris and Senator Hansen follow:)

## STATEMENT OF SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS, DEMOCRAT, OKLAHOMA

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to submit testimony in support of S. J. Res. 8 relating to the lowering of the voting age requirement to 18. Mr. Chairman, I am in support of the lowering of the voting age requirement because it appears to me that it is incongruous that when young men and women become 18 they can sign job contracts on their own, pay taxes on property or income and become subject to adult courts should they break the civil or criminal law, but they can't vote. Furthermore, they may volunteer to serve in the armed forces without parental consent and the men may be drafted. But, they can't vote to elect the public officials who establish national selective service and other policies.

Mr. Chairman, it is obvious today that young people at age 18 are well prepared to become good voters. Better schools, improved mass communications and increased opportunities for travel and discussion lead them to study early the modern problems of our day. The increased level of educational achievement attained by our young people combined with the necessity, in my thinking, of getting young people more actively involved in the political process are among the principal reasons that behoove us to adopt legislation paving the way to a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age requirements.

I am hopeful that this Committee will report the legislation under consideration favorably and that the Senate will adopt this legislation by the required two-thirds majority in order that the states may begin the process of ratification of a constitutional amendment to reduce the voting age requirements. Once again, let me say that I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today in support of this legislation, and I hope that it can be acted upon expeditiously. Thank you.

## STATEMENT OF SENATOR ALAN BIBLE

Mr. Chairman, I considered it a privilege more than a year ago to join Senator Mansfield in sponsoring Senate Joint Resolution 8, and I consider it a privilege now to testify in support of the proposed constitutional amendment to establish a lower and uniform voting age minimum. Lowering the voting age to 18 is overdue, in my opinion, and it is a change I have supported throughout my Senate service.

As the Committee may know, I actively sought to lower the voting age to 18 in 1961 and 1965, once with an amendment to a District of Columbia bill and again in the 1965 Home Rule bill that failed to pass the House.

I appreciate the opportunity to present my reasons for taking this position. I will be brief, for I know the Committee has many witnesses scheduled.

To me there has never been any sound argument offered in opposition to a lower voting age for Americans. There is no magic wisdom suddenly acquired at the age of 21. And yet responsibilities come to young Americans long before that mystic age is reached.

For our young men, one responsibility is military service. They may find themselves in combat facing death for their country nearly three years before they are permitted the right to vote.

But support for the 18-year-old vote goes beyond the "old enough to fight, old enough to vote" argument.

Americans today are better educated, better informed and better able to make the considerations and decisions necessary for intelligent participation in our democratic form of government. The average person of 18 today undoubtedly knows more about politics and government, about issues and events and about the world in general than the person of 28 or 38 a century ago.

There is the question of maturity. When does a person become mature enough to cast a wise and intelligent vote? Well, an American becomes mature enough to enter into contracts, earn his living, pay taxes, start a family, become a soldier, and take on many other responsibilities when he or she becomes 18. Why not mature enough to vote?

It is time for us to recognize in our nation's constitution that our people are growing younger and more responsible. In September of 1966 there were about 12 million Americans who were 18, 19 or 20 years old. Almost half were enrolled in colleges. More than half were working full time. Eighteen percent of the men were serving in the armed forces. And yet, less than four percent had the right to vote.

I realize that events in recent weeks might seem to work against the 18-year-old vote position. We have seen and heard and read of the irresponsible demon-

strations on our college campuses by militant youngsters who seem to feel they are somehow entitled to determine higher education policy and college administration needs. In many instances these were not orderly demonstrations but rowdy hoodlumism. They were not the type of performances that would inspire confidence in maturity and responsibility.

However, we must remember these renegades are but a tiny minority. They make up far less than one percent of the 18 to 21 age group across our nation. For every rowdy demonstrator there are thousands of serious, responsible and hard working youngsters. We don't hear about them very often because responsible conduct doesn't attract the headlines that are always available to the noisy protesters.

Thus, disgraceful as these recent campus exhibitions have been, they cannot be used as a valid argument against lowering the voting age. And as we well know, rowdyism does not magically disappear at age 21.

Meanwhile, the over-21 electorate aren't doing so hot. Although I don't have the exact figures with me, I know that 30 percent or more of the registered voters on the average don't show up at the polls on election day. And there are plenty more of the oldsters who don't even register.

I think the injection of a younger voting element would serve to spark more interest among the older element. Certainly the 18-year-old vote would give a larger and better rounded voice in government affairs.

I hope the Committee will give this resolution early approval, and that this latest effort in Congress will bear fruit. In my opinion, the 18-year-old voting minimum is indeed long overdue.

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,  
Washington, D.C., May 14, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Committee on the  
Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.*  
(Attention of Larry A. Conrad, Chief Counsel).

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: I appreciate your letter of April 25, inviting me to appear before your subcommittee on behalf of Senate Joint Resolution 8, which it is my pleasure to cosponsor.

Because it is impossible for me personally to present my views to the subcommittee, I am pleased to enclose a statement which I hope may be incorporated in the hearings record on Senate Joint Resolution 8.

Kind regards,  
Sincerely,

CLIFFORD P. HANSEN,  
*U.S. Senator.*

STATEMENT OF SENATOR CLIFFORD P. HANSEN

I am pleased to have the opportunity to present a statement to this Subcommittee in favor of legislation which I have actively supported for a number of years. One of the first pieces of legislation which I was privileged to co-sponsor in the Senate was Senator Mansfield's Senate Joint Resolution 8 relating to the lowering of voting age requirements.

I hope that this Subcommittee will act favorably on this legislation. The contribution that can be made by young people to the American political process will be significantly enhanced by lowering of the voting age.

There has always been a great deal of attention focused upon the relatively small number of individuals who register and vote in American elections. Despite the strength of the American political structure, or perhaps because of it, the United States has a smaller voter turnout than most other free countries.

In 1966, 48% of all Americans eligible to vote went to the polls. In 1964, a Presidential election year, 63% voted. Yet in other democratic countries the percentage turnout is much greater. In elections held in 1956, 74.3% voted in Canada; 84.3% in France 86.8% in West Germany; 83% in Israel; and in 1966, 75.9% in elections held in Great Britain.

According to the Report of the Commission on Registration and Voting Participation, less than two-thirds of all Americans of voting age vote in Presidential elections. In Congressional races, less than fifty per cent of Americans twenty-one years and older go to the polls.

Even more astounding than the relatively low proportion of those who vote in the United States is the fantastically small number of those who actively partici-

pate in the American political process in other ways—such as contributing to a political party, wearing a campaign button or working for a candidate.

If our government is to be truly representative and if it is to be responsive to the needs of the American people, more individuals must participate in the political process. There is a real need to increase the number of Americans who actively participate and vote in our elections. I'm convinced that citizen participation is the fountainhead of our system of government.

One of the recommendations of the Commission on Registration and Voting is that eighteen-year-olds be given the right to vote. If such a recommendation were put into effect, participation rates would unquestionably increase. And this would help to account for a significant amount of progress.

In Gallup polls taken in 1954, seventy-seven per cent of those between the ages of 18 and 21 stated that they would vote if given the chance. In Kentucky, where the right to vote was granted to 18-year-olds in 1965, 80% of the nearly 200,000 between 18 and 21 went to the polls the following year. I am sure that the participation rates in this age group would be even greater if such a change were put into effect today. For the young men and women between the ages of 18 and 21 are, by and large, a very concerned, very active segment of our population. One need only note the role of young people in the several state Presidential primaries held so far this year to recognize the importance of their commitment and activity.

An increase in the number of Americans voting is not all that is necessary for an improvement in the political process. As Clinton Rossiter writes, in "Goals for Americans",

"The American future rests rather on the quality of our votes . . . and of our participation of every kind . . . than it does on the quantity. What America needs is not more voters, but more good voters, men and women who are informed, understanding and reasonable. To produce such men and women in even larger numbers should be a major goal of all labors to preserve American democracy."

There is no question about the quality of America's young men and women. Today, America's young people are more aware, more informed and more concerned than at any other time in our country's history. The mandatory teaching in our nation's high schools of United States and world history, of civics and government, has substantially increased the knowledge of young Americans, while the technological advances in the field of mass communication have added to their realization of the world about them.

So, a reduction in the voting age will not only add to the number and proportion of Americans who would vote, but it will also add to the quality of the votes cast.

There are some who would say that young people are not mature enough and not as responsible as people who are over twenty-one. A *Christian Science Monitor* article of July 23, 1965, sheds real light on this allegation. The *Monitor* noted:

"Insurance companies state an adult is 18 years and older. Penal codes affect the 18 year old just as the twenty-one year old. Pension and welfare cases are treated equally regardless of whether the person is 18 or 21. Eighteen is also the age when a young man can be drafted to fight for his country. One can enter the Civil Service at 18, one is taxed at 18 without representation, and one can marry at 18."

Harvard Professor H. Stuart Hughes, noted European historian, writes: "Physically, socially, and intellectually, youth are maturing faster and earlier than a generation ago. In our society, the standard of what constitutes 'coming-of-age' should be lowered to 18."

Some might say, looking to the college campus and the recent disorders that have taken place there, that young Americans have little respect for the governmental process and little regard for what most Americans consider to be the proper course of action in seeking to achieve a goal.

I would contend, however, that the picture painted by the nation's news media of the typical college student as a violent agitator or a "hippie" is indeed incorrect.

Professor Garff B. Wilson of the University of California at Berkeley states that,

"The representative student is not a beatnik or a wierdie or a rebel. He is a clean-cut, serious, intelligent, idealistic student, deeply involved in his studies, proud of his university, and keenly aware of his responsibilities as a citizen."

It is to this type of individual that we would be extending the suffrage. I believe that such an extension is essential.

America is faced with a multitude of critical issues on a number of fronts. Today more than ever before, we need the youth, the vitality, the idealism, and the drive and determination of our young people. And today, more than ever before, they are ready—physically, emotionally and, most important, intellectually, to help solve the problems that face us as a nation.

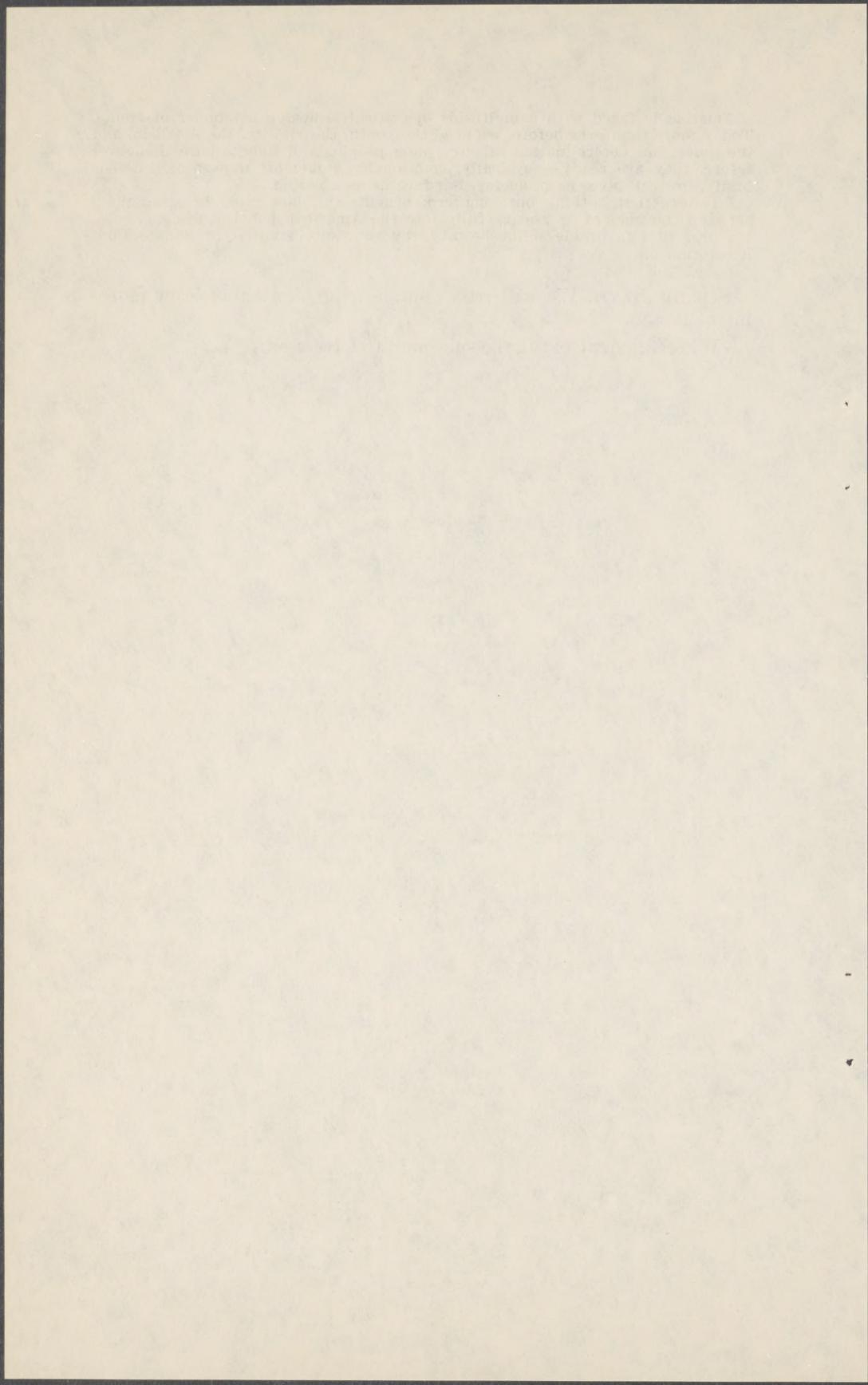
I believe that nothing but long-term benefits can flow from bringing those between the ages of 18 and 21 fully into the American political system.

I urge that favorable action be taken by your subcommittee on Senate Joint Resolution 8.

Thank you.

Senator BAYH. We will recess our hearings until tomorrow morning at 10 a.m.

(Whereupon, at 11:30, the subcommittee recessed.)



# AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION TO REDUCE THE VOTING AGE TO 18

WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1968

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:10 a.m., in room G-308, New Senate Office Building, Senator Birch Bayh presiding.

Present: Senators Bayh (presiding), and Thurmond.

Also present: Larry A. Conrad, chief counsel; Clyde Flynn, minority counsel; and Joan Waples.

Senator BAYH. We reconvene our committee meeting this morning.

We are privileged to have with us the distinguished senior Senator from Florida. He has testified before this subcommittee previously on other subjects, and his judgment we always like to consider when we are dealing with proposals to make basic changes in the bedrock law of the land.

Senator Holland, thank you for taking the time to be with us this morning. We are looking forward to hearing your thoughts.

## STATEMENT OF HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Senator HOLLAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I appear before your subcommittee in opposition to any proposal to lower the voting age requirement by Federal constitutional amendment or, for that matter, any such proposal to take over this field by the Federal Government, thus taking from the States their right to determine this question for themselves.

As we all know, there is a provision of the 14th amendment which empowers Congress to cut down the number of representatives a State has in Congress in proportion to the number of male citizens over 21 which it disfranchises for any reason, "except for participation in rebellion or other crime." While it is conceivable to let Congress proceed under this authorization against any State that raised the voting age above 21 the Constitution is entirely silent in regard to lowering of the voting age, leaving each State free to fix what age it chooses. The States were in agreement from 1787 until 1943 in fixing the age at 21, at which time Georgia departed from it by fixing the minimum age at 18. Apparently, at the time of the adoption of the 14th amendment it was inconceivable that any State would reduce the voting age below 21. Other than Georgia there have been few exceptions to the minimum age of 21 years as being standard practice

in the Nation since colonial times. I add that the State of Florida that I have the honor to represent in part requires a person to be 21 years of age to be eligible to vote.

As I mentioned, Mr. Chairman, other than Georgia there have been few exceptions to the age 21 as a voting requirement. The other exceptions are the States of Kentucky, Alaska, and Hawaii. The second of the few States that have reduced the voting age requirement is the State of Kentucky. Kentucky's constitution was amended by a referendum at the November election in 1955 reducing the voting age to 18. The third State was Alaska which adopted the voting age of 19 when the voters ratified the constitution in April 1956, which became operative as to the 49th State when Alaska became a State in January 1959. The fourth State was the State of Hawaii when the voters ratified the State's constitution establishing the voting age at 20 in November 1950, which became operative as to the 50th State when Hawaii became a State in August 1959. I understand that legislative proposals to lower the voting age from 20 years have been introduced in Hawaii since at least the 1961 session of the legislature. No action was taken on these proposals. However, in 1967, the legislature approved the convening of a constitutional convention in a referendum last year, having previously expressed such approval in 1966. The convention will convene in July of this year and in all probability the voting age may be debated at that time.

As you no doubt know, four States have rejected, by referendum, the lowering of the voting age—and one State has rejected it twice. Oklahoma put the proposal to a referendum in November 1952, and it was overwhelmingly defeated by 639,224 to 233,094. South Dakota twice put the proposal to the voters, once in 1952 when it was barely defeated by 128,916 to 128,231, but the second time the question was put to the voters in 1958 it was soundly defeated 137,942 to 71,033. Idaho put the proposal to a referendum in November 1960, when it was defeated 155,548 to 113,594. The last State to put the question to a referendum was Michigan in 1966 when the voters defeated the proposals by 1,267,872 to 703,076.

The Connecticut constitutional convention rejected an 18-year-old voting age proposal in 1965.

The issue of lowering the voting age in New York was considered during the 1967 constitutional convention. The constitutional delegates defeated the proposed voting age of 19 by a vote of 165 to 8 and a proposed voting age of 20 by a voice vote. They then voted 102 to 76 to maintain the voting age at 21. Later the delegates gave approval to a provision in the constitution stipulating 21 as the voting age but authorizing the legislature to lower that to as low as 18 but once the age was lowered it could not later be increased. The delegates approved this provision by 139 to 30 votes after defeating an attempt to lower the voting age to 20. The voters of New York, however, rejected the proposed constitution at the November 1967 elections by a 3-to-1 margin.

In the 1967 session of the Nebraska State Legislature the proposal to reduce the voting age to 18 was approved and the amendment will be submitted to the voters in a referendum in November of this year. Also, the North Dakota State Legislature approved a 19-year-old voting age amendment which will go to the voters in a referendum on

September 3 of this year. And as you know, Maryland included in the constitution submitted this year for approval of the voters a provision reducing the age to 19 and older. The vote yesterday on the constitution was 283,048 to 366,574.

Of the remaining States, from the latest information I have available to me from the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, seven States have taken no action whatsoever to lower the voting age from 21 years, leaving some 30 States, including the State of Indiana from which your distinguished chairman comes, which have considered legislative proposals within their respective State legislatures; however, to date no further proposals insofar as we can determine have been approved by the State legislatures. My statements are based upon statements to me from the Legislative Reference Service, Mr. Chairman, which I understand has researched this matter carefully.

It might interest the committee to know that, with regard to the general age of majority, 25 States have no laws governing this matter, 16 States have fixed the age of 21 as being the age of majority, seven States have fixed 21 years for a male and 18 years for a female, one State considers the age of 19 as the majority age and one State considers the age of 20 as the age of majority.

With regard to the carrying of firearms five States have no laws, five States require a person to be 21 years of age to carry firearms, two States will permit a person under 21 to carry firearms if he has parental consent, three States prohibit the carrying of firearms by minors (21 at common law) and five States require a person to be 21 to carry a pistol or revolver.

Senator BAYH. Would the Senator yield for just a moment?

Senator HOLLAND. I should be glad to.

Senator BAYH. This is a very penetrating analysis of the way the States have dealt with the problem of age, but perhaps it does not—well, I believe it does have some significance. In the seven States that have fixed 21 years for male and 18 years for female, did you ascertain whether those States make the voting age the same as the majority, or—

Senator HOLLAND. They do not. This is simply for the purpose of making contracts and generally, marriage.

Senator BAYH. Thank you. I wanted to bring that in right here. I appreciate it.

Senator HOLLAND. With reference to the sale of alcoholic beverages, 37 States require a person to be 21 years or over to purchase alcoholic beverages, four States will permit the sale of 3.2 beer to persons over 18 years of age, one State will permit the sale of light wine and beer to persons between the ages of 18 and 21, one State will permit the sale of beer to persons over 20, one State will permit the sale of beer less than 4 percent to persons over 18 years of age, one State will permit the sale of beer and wine to persons over 18 years of age, one State will permit the sale of 3.2 beer to persons over 19 years of age, and one State will permit the sale of beer to persons over 18 years of age. Only two States will permit the sale of alcoholic beverages to persons over 18 years of age and one State will permit the sale of alcoholic beverages to persons over 20 years of age.

We have had to make all these breakdowns, Mr. Chairman, because the various State laws deal with the matter in the way that the statement gives the facts.

It is also interesting to note that in order to enter into contracts a person must be 21 years of age or over in 38 States. In nine States a male must be 21 years of age and a female 18 years of age. In one State a person must be 20 years of age. In another State a person must be 19 years of age and finally in one State a person must be 18 years of age.

Further, in order to marry without parental consent a person must be 21 years of age in 46 States.

Mr. Chairman, a great deal has been made of the argument that those old enough to fight are old enough to vote. I do not subscribe to that theory for the draft age and the voting age are as different as night and day. For soldiers are called upon to be obedient to command and to follow the strictest of military rules and orders. They are not in a position to determine matters of policy for themselves. For this reason to draw a parallel between the draft age and the voting age is utterly fallacious for no such parallel exists. The voter must have the ability to separate promise from performance and to evaluate the candidates on the basis of fact which is a prerequisite to good voting. Furthermore, citizens of the female sex are not subject to be drafted to fight but do have a right to vote, just as citizens of the male sex do.

Senator Fulbright read into the Congressional Record on January 27, 1954, a statement from a constituent, W. C. B. Lambert, which I should like to quote.

... that they (the 18-year-olds) can fight is a credit to their physical maturity and their realization of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship to protect, as their older brothers, fathers, and ancestors have protected, their country . . . Intellectual maturity is a more important basis for democratic citizenship than physical maturity is. The catalytic action of physical maturity and duty and responsibility to defend the country physically does not bring about that intellectual maturity nor the "feeling of responsibility not to commit crimes, nor the political maturity to vote."

Incidentally, I might say, we have heard the argument that if you are old enough to fight you are old enough to vote; however, we have never heard it argued that if you are too old to fight, you are too old to vote.

Mr. Chairman, lowering the voting age would confer political rights and responsibilities upon minor persons not generally considered to be sufficiently mature to be held fully responsible legally for their actions. This is indicated by the information I previously discussed with regard to the carrying of firearms, the purchase of alcoholic beverages, marrying without parental consent, and the entering into contracts and general State rule as to the attaining of majority. I might also add that a parent is permitted to take a tax deduction for his offspring until they reach 21 if he is supporting them.

Mr. Chairman, we all know that leaders of radical movements understand that patience is not a particular virtue of the young and that radicalism has had its greatest appeal to the youth between the ages of 18 and 21. The most intense and concentrated action of the Communist movement throughout the world has been in the universities where concentration is upon the youth between the ages of 18 and 21. So it was with Hitler and Mussolini. They advocated and accom-

plished the granting of the vote of the 18-year-olds. Today we have witnessed the troubles on the Berkeley campus, we have witnessed the sit-in at Howard University, here in Washington, prior to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. The militants effectively achieved the closing down of the university by taking over the administration building and the university switchboard. Such action which stemmed from a few leaders rapidly spread to the more young and less mature teenagers who followed the leaders. Later we heard of the Columbia University in New York City where the few militants, apparently desiring the accomplishment of their purposes, led to a shutdown of that university and such action was effected by the young and less mature students following leaders of a more militant sort. Today no issue is too cosmic or too peripheral to launch a student power demonstration.

Newsweek magazine of May 6, 1968, states:

A survey of campus protests conducted by the National Student Association and covering the first 2 months of the current academic year reveals that there were 71 demonstrations in all, including 24 demonstrations aimed at the campus representatives of the Dow Chemical Co. and three demonstrations each aimed at compulsory ROTC and at campus cafeterias.

It is my very strong feeling that the greater number of students are followers of those few radicals within the school structure who feel that they have been put on campus for the sole purpose of leading the teenager down the glory path to what they regard as the rightful end.

Mr. Chairman, one reason in particular that should make us want to move slowly in lowering age requirements for voting is the thought of political organizations moving into our college campuses, which they would do with a vengeance if the students were voters. This would be a most dangerous situation since the years 18 to 21 are now, as they have been in previous years, formative years where youth is reaching maturity during which time his attitude shifts from place to place and are the years of great uncertainties, which are a fertile ground for demagogues, for youth attaches itself to promises rather than to performance. Those years are the years of rebellion, as had been indicated on the college campus today, rather than reflection.

Today's society is much more complex than that of previous generations, consequently the period for fully responsible citizenship has tended to become longer. Children remain in school longer than did their parents and grandparents. In our complex society of today there are many uncertainties requiring intellectual maturity and a firm grasp of responsibility.

Mr. Chairman, if anything, the maintaining of age 21 for the privilege of voting is more important today than it has ever been. The right to vote implies full citizenship and entails certain duties and responsibilities of citizenship. One of these duties is the serving on juries in both civil and criminal cases and I doubt if there are many teenagers that would possess the judgment, sound reasoning, and emotional stability to make jury service a practical course.

Mr. Chairman, I have taken up a great deal of the committee's time but I feel very strongly in regard to maintaining the voting age at 21.

It seems clear to me that all developments in recent years have clearly shown that a majority of our people do not want to reduce the

voting age below 21, and that a submission of the proposed amendment which is being considered at this hearing would be a complete exercise in futility. No amendment reducing the voting age has been adopted by the people of any State since 1955—the date of the adoption of the Kentucky amendment, though proposals to reduce the voting age have been separately submitted to the voters five times in that period of 13 years and rejected every time; namely, once each by the voters of Oklahoma, Idaho, and Michigan; and twice by the voters of South Dakota—much more heavily the second time than the first.

No reduction of the voting age has been made as a part of a proposed new constitution in any State since 1956—the date of the adoption of the Alaska constitution, though such proposals have been submitted since that date as part of proposed new constitutions in New York and Maryland, in both of which cases the new constitutions were rejected by the voters. I do not have the complete data but we know that State constitutional conventions have refused to incorporate proposals to reduce the voting age in proposed new State constitutions, notably in Connecticut. I hope that this committee does not recommend the submission of this proposed amendment by Congress, since it seems clear to me that such submission would be a completely futile act and would clearly oppose the trend of the thinking of the majority of our people as shown in every case where the matter has been considered in recent years.

Mr. Chairman, if I may add just one more thing. In addition to running upstream against the popular disapproval, as shown in every case since 1955, this amendment would have an additional troublesome time because there are many people, I think, who, like myself, would greatly oppose the taking over by the Federal Government of control in this matter which has been traditionally left to the States.

I thank the chairman and the committee for their patience, and I hope that the committee will act to report this proposed amendment unfavorably.

Senator BAYH. We appreciate your taking time to be with us, Senator Holland.

Senator Thurmond, do you have any questions to ask?

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Chairman, I do not have any questions. I just want to say it is a great pleasure to have one of the ablest members of the Senate here and one of the soundest. I think he made a magnificent statement on this subject. It is a matter to which I expect to give a great deal of attention.

For some years, I have thought that possibly with the better educational opportunities of young people between 18 and 21, they possibly ought to be allowed to vote. But within the past year, so many things have happened that have caused me now to desire to study this question further and to ponder it, because I am very much concerned about many things that are taking place in the Nation today.

I wish to thank the distinguished Senator.

Senator BAYH. If you just give us one more minute, one of the thoughts that have been expressed by those supporting the lowering of the voting age has been that part of the frustration which has been expressed by the demonstrations, and particularly the unlawful type where efforts are made to seize administration and to destroy parts of universities. The thought has been expressed that these frustrations

are the result of no legal means by which young people can express themselves through the democratic process. In other words, they are denied the right to express their opinion through the ballot box, and thus they resort to the open violation of the law in some cases.

Senator HOLLAND. Well, Mr. Chairman, my comment on that would be that the two matters are very different. There is no provision that I know about on any campus of any institution of higher learning which fixes a limit to the voting age, 21 or any other age. The students from 18 to 21 have just as much right to express themselves in actions of the student body as those above 21. So far as I know, there is no exception to that rule. So I would think that the frustrations that they express with reference to things that they would like to have done in the governing of their schools is based upon a very different fact.

Certainly, the younger students have exactly the same rights that the older students do to participate in student body activities and to participate in voting of student body actions which are within the jurisdiction of the student body.

Apparently, the frustration carefully encouraged by a few radicals on each campus is based upon something very different from this.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Senator Holland. I appreciate very much your taking the time. I know how busy you are and we are grateful that you expressed your thoughts, particularly the care that was taken to document the legal age and its impact on the laws of our country will be most helpful to the committee.

Senator HOLLAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You are very kind.

Senator BAYH. Our next witness is our distinguished colleague, Senator Pearson, who also has testified previously on other matters. We are grateful that he would take the time and trouble to join with us.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES B. PEARSON, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS

Senator PEARSON. Mr. Chairman, as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 8, one of the bills under consideration today, it is a privilege to be here this morning and have the opportunity to discuss the advisability of lowering the minimum voting age in this country to 18.

The right of 18-, 19- and 20-year-olds to vote has been debated literally for centuries in this country, with some attempts to lower the voting age being made as far back as 1770. But the question still remains—why should 18-year-olds be permitted to vote? A number of answers can be given. I believe it can be properly argued that our young men and women have an eminent claim to the full rights of citizenship because they already bear their share of the burdens of citizenship. They fight in wars.

Parenthetically, I may say here that I was with one of the great national political leaders of our country in the last 4 or 5 days, speaking on a university campus. We put the question to the students: If they are old enough to fight, are they old enough to vote? I think it is much broader than that. The logical extension of that argument would be that all those who are too old to fight are too old to vote. I think it only one of a whole bundle of responsibilities that young people

have today. They are responsible in adult, not juvenile, courts of law. They are allowed to operate motor vehicles and thus are given the responsibility for not only their own safety, but also for the safety of their passengers and all the other users of the road. If they are wage earners, they pay taxes.

Mr. Chairman, the 18-, 19- and 20-years-olds of this country may also enter our civil service. They may choose their own professions and thus take responsibility for their own future. They are often wives, husbands, and parents. If they are involved in pension or welfare cases, they are treated as adults.

These facts suggest they have earned the right to vote. But as an added question, are they equipped to exercise this right responsibly? I think the answer is yes. The American youth of today has usually received a better education by the time he reaches 18 than the youth of the previous generation had obtained by age 21. While our educational system can still stand considerable improvement, of course, the fact is that more young men and women are being better trained for responsible citizenship than any time in our past. To deny them the right of full involvement in our democratic process for 3 years after their graduation from high school when their interest is often at a peak is to invite first, disillusionment, and later, apathy.

Meaningful involvement in public affairs at an earlier age would have the advantage of giving our youths a greater sense of civic responsibility. It would also provide further training and encouragement for active citizenship throughout the rest of their lives. In addition, the country would benefit by the infusion of idealism and vigor sure to enter the public arena as a result of their full participation.

Many arguments have been made against lowering the minimum voting age, most taking the position that youths of 18, 19 or 20 lack the maturity and judgment responsible citizenship demands. In addition, it is often noted that our campuses are in enough turmoil already without the additional problem of trying to cope with political activities on a full scale, the proponents of the status quo urge caution.

While physical maturity and emotional maturity are certainly quite different commodities, and while some of our campuses may be torn by dissent, the fact remains that the great, indeed, the overwhelming majority of our youths are responsible, hardworking, dedicated citizens with faith in our democratic process. They want to vote. They want to participate. They want to help make our country a better place to live.

Many of them join demonstrations simply because they feel it is the only way they can be heard. This is not to excuse the violence and complete disrespect for authority that some demonstrators employ. But the fact remains that many of the participants are involved because of their inability to find meaningful political outlets elsewhere to express their concern. For them, certainly, the right to vote is an opportunity for rewarding involvement in public affairs.

The limited experience with 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old voting that we have gained in Georgia, Kentucky, Hawaii, and Alaska demonstrates that it can work satisfactorily in the United States. The fact that other countries often have higher minimum voting ages is, to a de-

gree, irrelevant, because their histories are quite different from ours. In any event, the 21-year-old figure, which is the most commonly used as the standard minimum voting age is an outdated concept dating from medieval English common law which established 21 as the minimum age for knighthood.

Mr. Chairman, I am fully convinced that we need not fear a lowering of the voting age. The addition of these 12 million new voters will not result in any revolutionary change in our political values, or frankly, even in our political fortunes. Indeed, I believe the addition of these young voters will have a healthy and beneficial effect.

By 1970 it is estimated that one-half of our entire population will be under 27, and 7 percent will be between the ages of 18 and 21. Let us act now to give these young men and women rights equal to their responsibilities for they are trained and anxious to exercise them maturely.

Mr. Chairman, caution is always required when contemplating any change as important as the one under consideration here today. That is why these hearings are being held. I am confident, however, that a full examination of the issues will lead to a recommendation for a vote of confidence in our youth in the passage of one of these bills providing for constitutional amendment.

Senator BAYH. Senator Pearson, we are grateful to you that you would take the time to give us the benefit of your thoughts. I take it that you would disagree with some of the expressions that have been conveyed to this committee that the demonstrations are evidence of immaturity throughout the young population and, I trust you take the other position that perhaps we need to provide a channel in which legitimate expression can be directed toward governmental decision by young people.

Senator PEARSON. Well, Mr. Chairman, I think that a motivating force of much of the unrest in this country, whether it be in the racial sphere or whether it be the young people exercised by a tiny minority—I take the case of the situation at Columbia University, where, as near as I know from the press reports, 170 students seized five buildings and demolished the president's office and closed down one of the great educational institutions of this country, where there were 22,000 students there.

Now, that is a classic case of the irresponsibility of youth today. I think the evidence is clear that they are a minority, that they are frustrated people.

One of the great things that causes so much unrest in this country today, it seems to me, is some sort of a feeling on the part of so many people that they no longer can express themselves, they no longer have any way to participate in the public business. That is a long way around a low wall, Mr. Chairman, but it does answer your question in the affirmative, so far as I know.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much. I shall not delay you further. I do want to thank you again for taking the time to express yourself and for lending your support to the efforts being made here.

Senator PEARSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BAYH. I shall ask to be appropriately placed in the record the statements of our distinguished colleagues, Senator Howard Cannon and Senator William Proxmire.

(The statements referred to follow :)

U.S. SENATE,  
Washington, D.C., May 13, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Senate Judiciary Committee, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR BIRCH: Enclosed is a statement I would like submitted for inclusion in the hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 8, relating to the lowering of voting age requirements.

I appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM PROXMIRE,  
*U.S. Senator.*

STATEMENT OF SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE

As a co-sponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 8, I am pleased to submit my remarks in support of extending the franchise to 18 year olds.

A look into the history of suffrage substantiates the fact that there are no clear-cut criteria for establishing voting qualifications. The advanced civilizations of Greece and Rome employed the franchise but in a very restricted sense. The Greeks limited voting to every male eighteen years of age or more who was a property-holding citizen. In Rome every male citizen twenty-five years of age was eligible to cast a ballot. Through the ensuing centuries, Europe and the Western World expanded the idea that the individual had a right to a voice in government. The setting of the age twenty-one years for voting in the Western World apparently stemmed from the English heritage in requiring that age for knighthood.

Clearly, the criteria for setting an age limit have traditionally been tenuous and, in many instances, based on expediency. To generalize that at age 21 a person is ready to accept all his family, personal and social responsibilities is false. To generalize that at 18 a person is not ready to accept *any* of these responsibilities is also false.

There are legal arguments against allowing 18-year olds the franchise. In most cases a person is not responsible for his contracts until he is twenty-one. And they cannot serve on juries.

On the other hand, they stand responsible in adult, not juvenile, courts of law. They bear the burden of the future of their families for we allow them to marry, to make wills and to purchase insurance. They bear the burden of the financial consequences of their own actions, for we allow them to be sued. Those that argue against extending the vote to 18-year-olds argue that they are not sufficiently mature to be held fully responsible for their actions. Yet he who cannot make a valid legal contract at 18 can bind himself—and must—to the service of his country in the Armed Forces.

Secondly, it has been argued that in general, youths of 18 lack the maturity of judgment and experience that the exercise of the ballot demands in a free society. Yet at no other time are the young so keenly interested and informed on political issues and political candidates. Educational psychologists have urged that the ability to grasp new ideas reaches its peak at the age of 18, and then it proceeds on a plateau. This, of course, does not mean that wisdom does not increase throughout life—it does. But the capacity to grasp new ideas and developments readily in this so rapidly changing world was never more essential.

I imagine that the arguments which are now offered against extending the vote to 18 year olds are similar to those once offered against woman suffrage. I am sure it was once fashionable to argue that women had no place in public affairs; that they did not know enough about political issues; and that, therefore, the franchise should not be accorded to this group incapable of making intelligent choices and decisions. The young people of this generation are better prepared educationally for political responsibility at the age of 18 than were the Americans of previous generations. In addition, the idealism and enthusiasm of youthful voters would have a beneficial influence on the conduct of the government and lead toward future good citizenship. As the government needs the steady sureness and stability of our older population so too it needs the enthusiasm and direction of its youth. As new problems and new challenges arise, new thoughts and ideas are needed. I think all would agree that the traditional

student liberalism is a necessary and healthy element in our society—always has been and, I hope, always will be. The situations on many of our college campuses today, alarming as they are, raise this question: Why not allow students the right to make a positive choice as an alternative to a negative protest?

Lastly, there are those who say that the voting booth should not be considered a training ground for citizenship. They say that suffrage should be restricted to those who are mature enough to assume the full responsibility of citizenship—that the classical argument that “those old enough to fight are old enough to vote” is specious. Physical maturity is quite different from political and social maturity. I believe that we have a moral obligation to let those who fight vote. It is the height of unfairness to tax a young man, to say on the one hand that a young man is capable of defending his country at the risk of his life, and yet not to allow him his individual right as a citizen of his country to vote. Where are our sense of priorities when we have long placed our faith for fighting our wars in this age group, and yet cannot trust them at the ballot box. We have successfully entrusted to these young citizens the waging of war. But we have excluded them from the process of electing those to whom we entrust the peace.

This problem can be argued ad infinitum, but the central issue is how much confidence we have in our youth. I have the utmost confidence in our young citizens' ability to think, to weigh issues, and to make judicious decisions on matters closely affecting their futures. I think most people do. An eighteen year old is not a child. This whole matter has been over-dramatized. To give him the vote is not giving him a free ticket to rule the world. It is just giving him his fair say in his Nation's future. We must put trust in our youth. Without the wisdom of age, government would be chaotic and without the vision of youth, government would be stagnant. Not as a gesture but as a right, I urge the passage of Senate Joint Resolution 8.

#### STATEMENT OF SENATOR HOWARD W. CANNON

Mr. Chairman, the Senate may soon be given an opportunity to take an important step to bridge the generation gap. I am hopeful that the Senate Judiciary Committee will report favorably the Joint Resolution proposing an Amendment to the Constitution lowering the voting age to eighteen. I want at this time to join others who have recommended this action.

There have been increasing signs that the young people of this nation are not “tuned in” to the political process in this country. Day after day we read that the most talented—and articulate—of our young people harbor deep suspicion that those in positions of political authority are unresponsive to the needs and the values of this democratic republic. While I do not agree fully with this sentiment, I am deeply concerned that our young adults should feel alienated from their parents' and grandparents' generations.

Unlike some others I do not think that the criticisms expressed by our youthful citizens are either all hogwash or all destructive. We have moved forward in our Nation because succeeding generations have felt they could—and should—do more to improve the quality of our society. Maintenance of this link between idealism and action is imperative if advancement is to be made toward the ultimate goals of our democratic society—equality, justice, freedom, opportunity.

What is disturbing in the present context is a feeling among many young persons that the traditional mode of politics no longer holds the promise of change for the better in this country. That is, I think, mistaken. Nevertheless, it is important, indeed crucial, that young adults—especially the concerned and active young person—be convinced that improvement can still occur through the established processes.

Lowering the voting age to eighteen would give to this articulate and compassionate segment of our population both a stake and a role in the political process which they do not have now.

Any member of the Senate who has spoken before a college audience knows how informed our youngsters are today. Surveys indicate they are much better informed than their parents were—and it is no exaggeration to note that at eighteen these young adults are more competent to exercise the franchise than were their parents at twenty-one.

It is sometimes argued that 18- to 21-year-olds lack the maturity and wisdom to cast an intelligent vote. That allegation is difficult to prove or to disprove. But I would recommend this to any who hold that view: Subject yourself to the incisive questioning of young adults; acquaint yourself first hand with their obvious command of facts; witness their concern and their caring about the future of their

country. Then, attempt to maintain the position that they are not equipped to vote intelligently.

The last three presidents of the United States have endorsed lowering the voting age to eighteen. No candidate for the nomination of either major party this year is opposed to the idea. In fact, most of them have specifically advocated it. All feel that the involvement of these young adults—some 12 million Americans—would be healthy for our politics. They would be a breath of fresh air, endowed as they are with idealism, compassion, and the desire to move this country forward.

It is significant that, for the past 15 years, the political leaders of our country have favored lowering the voting age. It indicates a developing consensus on this question and an understanding that because of their attitudes and attainments these young adults merit the voting privilege.

I would further remind my colleagues that there are signs at the state and local level of government of activity leading to involvement of our young adults in the voting process.

In view of the developing consensus, in view of our concern over the apparent alienation of some of our young people, it is both appropriate and intelligent for the Congress to initiate an amendment to the Constitution, which, when ratified, would set the voting age at eighteen. Two states now have a voting age of 18, Georgia and Kentucky; in Hawaii the voting age is 20, and in Alaska, 19. In other states, notably Maryland, extension of the suffrage to young adults is likely in the near future.

Thus, in the interests of due process and equal protection of the law, it behooves the Congress to act now on this amendment for a uniform voting age in the nation.

A recent Presidential Commission on voter participation and registration recommended that consideration be given to lowering the voting age. The report noted that the three years between 18 and 21 are a critical lapse in the involvement of young adults in the democratic processes. This lapse too often discourages young persons and diminishes their enthusiasm for subsequent involvement in these processes. In other words, it aggravates this generation gap we hear so much about these days.

Permitting our 18- to 21-year-olds to vote would be an important bridge between generations. Millions of young persons leave high school every year to assume the burdens of adult life: marriage, employment, parenthood, tax-paying. They are not permitted, however, to vote: the single most important act of all the people of a democracy.

The evidence clearly suggests that it is high time that this privilege be extended to them. The evidence indicates that they will be a vigorous addition to the electorate, an intelligent addition, a responsible addition. There is no good reason to exclude them and excellent reasons to include them. Let this Congress be the one to take the necessary step toward bringing to our young adults the full rights and privileges of participatory democracy.

Senator BAYH. Our next witness this morning is my distinguished colleague from Indiana, Senator Hartke. He has given this matter considerable thought and is the sponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 78, which is presently one of the resolutions which we have before our committee for study. I appreciate his taking the time to be with us and letting us have his thoughts.

Please proceed, Senator.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. VANCE HARTKE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF INDIANA

Senator HARTKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is a great pleasure for me to appear before my Hoosier colleague and the members of this committee who were instrumental in securing the adoption of the 25th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

I want to pay special tribute to my colleague from the State of Indiana for his foresight and his determination and wisdom and his ultimate success in having that amendment made a part of the Con-

stitution. I hope that the people of the State of Indiana recognize that in the forthcoming process which is going to occur in November.

I strongly urge you and your committee to play a similar role in seeking a constitutional amendment to lower the minimum voting age to 18.

We should abolish the archaic age requirement of 21 that prevails in all but four of our States today. The 21-age requirement represents no particularly rational demarcation in the lives of today's citizens. It is generally believed to be a historical holdover from the medieval English tradition that set 21 as a qualification for knighthood. It has little or no relation to maturity, responsibility, or capability of the modern American citizen.

By the time an individual reaches the age of 18 today, he is expected in many significant ways to act the role of adult citizen, yet in every State but Kentucky and Georgia, he is deprived of the most fundamental privilege of full citizenship in a democracy—the voting privilege.

By the time most Americans are 18, they have completed their secondary education. They have embarked upon careers or further education. Some have taken up the responsibilities of marriage and rearing a family.

In the eyes of the law most Americans at 18 are held responsible as adults; they can sue and be sued; they may enter into contracts—marriage and otherwise; they are held accountable to the law, not before a juvenile court but before a court of their adult peers. They drive on our highways having adult responsibility for the lives and safety of their fellow citizen.

The tragedy in Vietnam has again made us painfully aware of the burden we place on the shoulders of our young people and the sacrifice we require of them.

These examples should be ample expression of the confidence that our society for some years has had in the maturity, responsibility, and capability of our young people. Yet there are still a few persons who would argue that somehow the act of voting embodies another kind of responsibility which requires special knowledge and special maturity. While I would not want to underestimate the qualities required of the good democratic citizen, I do not subscribe to the belief that our 18-year-olds, any more than any other age group, fail to meet such high standards. Indeed, various surveys have shown that 18-year-olds are at least as politically aware, and oftentimes more so, than a cross section of adults over the age of 21. I think none of us would doubt that today's high school graduates—and the vast majority of young Americans today finish high school—are on the whole better informed about governmental affairs than our own generations at that age. In most of our high schools, students receive intensive civic training, particularly in their senior year; yet for many it is another 3 years before they may coordinate this training with the civic responsibility of voting.

Lowering the voting age to 18 would significantly increase the number of eligible voters in the United States. As of July 1967, the Census Bureau estimates that there are more than 10 million citizens who are aged 18, 19, or 20. As we all know well, the amending process allows public debate and public participation, ample to guarantee that any constitutional alteration is truly a popular choice. It is our responsi-

bility to Congress to take the initial steps that will allow the people to decide this issue.

If scientific opinion samplings are any guide, we can expect substantial public support for the proposed change. Gallup polls published in many American newspapers April 2, 1967, indicated that at least since the early 1950's, a solid majority of Americans have favored lowering the voting age to 18. In 1953, 63 percent; 1954, 58 percent; 1965, 57 percent, and in 1967, 64 percent.

Certainly, there is no profound belief among the American people in the sanctity of 21. The failure of Congress and the various State governments to act in this matter over the years has not been related so much to the merits of the case as to the press of other business, procrastination, and the procedural difficulties facing attempted change in many States.

I hope this committee—this Senate—this Congress—will see fit to provide the American people the opportunity to make clear the popular choice in this matter.

I urge your subcommittee, Mr. Chairman, to adopt Senate Joint Resolution 78, which I introduced April 26, 1967, or one of the similar resolutions introduced by the majority leader, Mr. Mansfield, and our colleague from West Virginia, Mr. Randolph.

Mr. Chairman, I think that there is one characteristic which is noticeable throughout the world today. That is the fact that there is a confrontation between generations which is occurring. That is that the young people, not alone of the United States, as evidenced in the universities and other places of political life, demonstrate that they want to be a part of the political process. In fact, frankly, they say that they are going to be a part of the political process or there is a possibility that the political process as we know it will be destroyed. I point out very vigorously that in New Hampshire, in that primary when Senator McCarthy entered that campaign, and Senator Kennedy since that time, the young people have really come to active participation, even though they themselves, in many cases, are not able to vote. They are ringing the doorbells, they are taking the literature, they are making the campuses aware.

In addition to that, they have said, "We will shave our beards, if that is necessary, though Abraham Lincoln did not shave his. We will do those things you say we must do in order to conform, but we want to be a part of the political process."

More than that, I think that this worldwide movement of youth is now evident in all sectors. Here we have used the military power to contain communism in Vietnam, very unsuccessfully—not alone to our economic difficulty, but also with regard to the death of some 23,000 Americans and the wounding of many others, and a complete neglect of the American business here at home. In the attempt so far in Vietnam, we say we are fighting against communism and not succeeding in containing it. Yet we are witnessing in Czechoslovakia the overthrow of a communistic government for the basic return of the rights to individuals, and a new type of society, done primarily by the young people. These young people, in other words, can turn a whole society, and they intend to do so.

I think they are for something better.

The same thing is now being witnessed in France, in which these young people are determined that they are going to have a part in determining the future course of social arrangements, and that they are going to insist now that the social rearrangements of what is now on the scene takes place. That social rearrangement, basically, is going to take emphasis from what has been in the history of man, from the quantity of life to the quality of life. I think that is good. I think it is high time we started putting an emphasis on the quality of life—to help people, not whether or not they are going to have food and a job, but whether they are going to have a life which demonstrates itself in a fashion which is well worth living.

This is a great change which confronts all America. I am hopeful that this step, recognizing the voting privilege, would be just one step in recognizing that this confrontation is not bad, but something which could be very worth while, very good.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much. I really appreciate your support of this effort, as well as your taking time from an extremely busy schedule to come forward and share your thoughts with us for the record.

Senator HARTKE. Thank you, sir.

Senator BAYH. Our next witness is Jack McDonald, chairman of the Young Republican National Federation.

We are glad to have you with us, Mr. McDonald. Your counterpart, the president of the National Young Democrats, was here yesterday.

We are interested to see what both of the younger arms of our two major political parties have to say on this subject.

#### STATEMENT OF JACK McDONALD, CHAIRMAN, THE YOUNG REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FEDERATION

Mr. McDONALD. Chairman Bayh, and members of the committee, may I begin by thanking you for granting to the Young Republican National Federation an opportunity to have our views heard on this vital question of lowering the voting age to 18. To provide you with background information on the organization for which I speak, within our ranks are approximately 110,000 teenage Republicans known as the TAR's, 130,000 college Republicans, and 280,000 regular young Republicans whose age bracket is concentrated among 22- to 32-year-olds. In the last year, I have had the privilege of visiting personally in 47 States of our Nation—primarily with young Republicans, but also with other youth groups, including many in the 18- to 21-year-old age bracket.

For me to say to this committee that there is a unanimity of opinion among young Republicans, or even among those within the 18- to 21-year-old age group, on this issue, would be plainly incorrect. From time to time, we have conducted polls at our teenage Republican camps, at our college young Republican conventions, and at regular young Republican gatherings, and we have found a significant divergence of opinion on this issue.

However, among young Republicans and among young people across the Nation, there is a very strong opinion that, if fairness is to be our guide in extending the right to vote, we should extend that right to those between the ages of 18 and 21.

Certainly if America is to demand the time and sometimes the life blood of our 18-year-olds in the military service, fairness dictates that they be granted the right to vote for or against those whose policies may involve them in a war.

Certainly if we are to demand that 18-year-olds pay the same taxes as do their elders, fairness dictates that they should be allowed the right to vote on the question of who will spend their earnings.

Certainly if we are to pile deficit upon deficit in our Federal spending, fairness dictates that these young Americans, who will either have to repay or service this debt for a longer time than we will, should have the right to vote on those who create that burden for them.

Certainly if we are seeking a better-informed and more educated electorate, fairness dictates that the 18-year-old American be given the right to vote because there is little, if any correlation between grey hair and grey matter.

Certainly if we are to correct the inequity which precludes a 20-year-old university student in Tennessee from voting for President while it allows an 18-year-old "dropout" in neighboring Georgia or Kentucky to cast a ballot, we should extend the right to vote to all 18-year-olds regardless of on which side of a State line they happen to live.

Certainly if our Nation is to fully benefit from the desire on the part of this generation of Americans to become involved in solving the problems of our country, the 18-year-olds should be allowed to vote.

Those who outrightly oppose or seriously question permitting a person of this age to vote base their sentiments on two factors. First, they lack confidence that the 18-year-old is sufficiently well-educated or well-informed to be capable of judicious use of their franchise. When I heard my 9- and 10-year old children knowingly discuss the Paleozoic era, gamma radiation, and the Japanese current, I sense, as I reach for my copy of Webster's dictionary that their education is far beyond mine at that age. However, if this amendment is passed, I would hope that all State school systems would require high school seniors to take a special short course concerning government and politics to prepare them to accept the responsibility of voting, thereby giving them knowledge on this subject that would not only equal but would surpass that of today's average voter.

The second and far greater concern of those who hesitate to allow the 18-year-old to vote is directly related to the grossly misleading image that exists of young America; and this is a record that should be set straight. It is true that almost every newspaper that we pick up and every report that we hear or see on radio or television tells the story of the young rioters, the young looters, and the young burners in America; but is it right that this tiny and irresponsible minority of our youth have created an image which has been carried over to all young Americans? I would say to you that true spirit of our generation is not to be found in the Haight-Asbury district of San Francisco or in the mobs in the April riots or in the barricaded students at Columbia University. The real voice of young America is to be heard in the homes of our young families, in the libraries and examination rooms of our colleges and universities, and in the churches and synagogues of our centers of religion. If we were to put it in terms of slogans, we would find that the vast majority of young Americans

speak with a voice that says "Make a strong America" rather than "Make love not war." Young America's is a voice that says, "Work a solid day" far more often than it says "Take an LSD trip." It is a voice that urges us to "Build man build" rather than "Burn baby burn."

Members of the committee, the time has come to correct this inequity in our electoral process. I would urge your support of this resolution with confidence that its enactment as a constitutional amendment would result in our Nation having a more concerned, better-educated and more involved electorate than we have today.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Mr. McDonald. I appreciate your statement. I particularly appreciate your description of the average young American, which is much more in conformity with my own than some which have been presented before the committee and elsewhere.

Do you feel that in opening the ballot box and the voting booths to young Americans, we would lessen the less acceptable practices being followed by some of our students and others today, or do you feel that there is no relationship between the two?

Mr. McDONALD. I think there is a relationship, sir. When you give people responsibility and ask them to act as mature adults with responsibility, you receive from them an acceptance of that responsibility. I think it would do a lot to make young people realize that they are involved rather than alienated from today's society in America.

Senator BAYH. Very good. Very good. Thank you very much. I appreciate your coming before us today.

The next witness this morning is Mr. Edward Schwartz, the president of the United States National Student Association.

Mr. Schwartz, we appreciate your taking the time to share your thoughts and perhaps those of the NSA as well with us.

#### STATEMENT OF EDWARD SCHWARTZ, PRESIDENT, UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Thank you very much. It is my pleasure to be here. I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify.

I think perhaps I should just briefly give some background of the National Student Association as well, and say that we are a confederation of elected student governments from over 350 campuses around the country and the total number of students represented by these student governments is about 1.7 million, which makes us, I think, the largest, and we are also the oldest student organization presently existing in the United States.

I want to thank you for the opportunity to testify this morning on behalf of the constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18. That a Senate subcommittee would consider a constitutional amendment such as this would be important at any time. That the subcommittee is considering the 18-year-old vote amendment this time—a time of unprecedented student political action and protest—makes these hearings doubly important.

We have reached a critical point in the relations between students and their Government, students and their society, and students and their university. If our institutions respond sensitively and sensibly to student demands, then what appears to be a major crisis will trans-

late itself into a period of enormous constructive youth activity. If, on the other hand, public indignation at the forms which student protest has taken yields attempts at political and educational repression, in the belief that students can be frightened out of protest, then the riots of this spring will only grow in size, scope, and intensity next fall and throughout the year.

The Senate itself faces this choice presently. Your hearings on the 18-year-old vote represent a constructive response to growing student political interest—a response which, if implemented, will open new avenues for student pressure and student power. The bill which passed the House last week by over a 5-to-1 margin, purporting to deny Federal scholarship funds to anyone who—

willfully refuses to obey a lawful regulation or order of the university or college which he is attending \* \* \* when such willful refusal is certified \* \* \* to have been of a serious nature and contributed to the disruption of university or college administration—

a bill which the Senate will consider shortly—represents a destructive response, a response which only will contribute to the polarization of campus political life. Indeed, it already is a source of disappointment to many of us that the House bill can be introduced and passed overnight, when the proposal to lower the voting age must linger in committee for several years.

Students want power. We want power to govern our private lives, power to contribute to the formulation of policy in our universities, power to aid in the reconstruction of our cities and in the building of healthy societies overseas, and power to influence the political processes of our country. This demand for youth power, or student power, reflects a variety of concerns, but in general, it stems from a growing sophistication among youth in evaluating our world, a growing realization that politics has an enormous impact on our lives, and a growing desire to assume “adult” responsibilities at an earlier age. My central case for the 18-year-old vote, as well as for student power in universities, rests not simply on the notion that he who is old enough to fight should be old enough to vote. It rests on the changing characteristics of the current youth community. I will elaborate.

Young people have developed considerable sophistication in evaluating the contemporary world. Even if every high school in the country tried to shield their students from controversial political, social, and educational issues, the impact of mass media would render such efforts futile. Prime viewing time on TV now is filled with documentary specials on the war in Vietnam, the crisis in the cities, the problems of drugs, the issues of war and peace, morality in the society, and the quality of our schools. A 14-year-old can view these programs as well as a 40-year-old, and he does. Even if he does not read a newspaper regularly, radio and television expose him to a range of problems which would have been hidden from earlier generations of young people. What he does not understand, he tries to understand—and, in many cases, his parents and his schools help him.

One need only to visit the contemporary high school to become aware of this. I am just 25, but when I returned to my own high school last year, I was amazed at the transformation of the curriculum to bring today's students into contact with current questions. Race issues—highly controversial only 8 years ago—have become part of the normal

classroom discussion. The draft, and draft resistance, is debated hotly. Vietnam has become topic on the current events syllabus, and drug use has become a question for the student council. Already, many of the students had been involved in a protest, or in a political campaign, or in a community action project. Such endeavors were only beginning when I graduated in 1960. Now, they are part of the everyday educational program—at my own alma mater, and at high schools around the country.

Further, young people have become aware that political questions are not simply abstract intellectual issues for a classroom—we realize that these issues affect our lives and our world, their resolution will determine both our present and our future. Eighteen-year-olds may not feel the immediate pressure of the draft, but they feel some pressure, and this pressure leads them to consider selective service, as well as the war in Vietnam which drafts them. The racial controversies surrounding high schools in both city and suburb brings the questions of racism and poverty directly into their lives. Many high school students already have experimented with drugs. More and more travel, volunteer for tutorial projects, learn to question their teachers and their schools, respond to political candidates who make direct appeals to youth. Their understanding is equalled by their involvement—their desire to decide, to act, particularly on questions which seem to determine their plans, their behavior, their actions.

Consequently, the phrase “young adult”—formerly just a euphemism for “adolescent”—has become an accurate phrase to describe those in this age group. Young people are adult in concern and activities. They read as widely as do our parents, they receive the same information from the mass media, they debate questions in our schools, they serve as administrators in nascent student institutions and as social workers in projects of community welfare, they participate in political affairs. Even without the vote, they see themselves becoming a major political force. Norman Vincent Peale may view all of this with dismay, condemning parents for “permissiveness,” but some of us welcome the new opportunities, the new respect which young people are accorded, the new possibilities for developing unique capacities and skills. And, if I have focused upon high school students to demonstrate that such growth begins long before 18, what I have said applies doubly to the mass of college students between 18 and 21.

Yet if the opportunities accorded to us have given us the skills to understand our world and to participate in its affairs, these same opportunities also have made us realize how limited our power remains. In our high schools and colleges, we develop certain kinds of understanding, we are encouraged to act responsibly. Yet these same high schools and colleges limit the freedom of students to govern their lives, limit the ways in which students can participate in the decisions of their educational institutions. In the society, political leaders of both parties urge students to become involved. Yet when such involvement might mean youth power to vote for candidates, the society draws a line. We are given the skills of adults, and the powers of children. We become increasingly more impatient with the contradictions, with the tension between what we are, and what we are allowed to do.

This tension has created a revolution of rising expectations among young people every bit as profound as that being experienced by our

Negro citizens, or by citizens in the underdeveloped world. The pattern is exactly the same—the society creates challenges to a group of people, provides skills to a group of people, but fails to take the final step in according power to that group of people. Then the society wonders why black people riot, peasants revolt, and students protest. It is the contradiction between the Nation's promise and its performance which creates the frustrations and the actions which follow from them.

Furthermore, the pattern of public response to students, and student protests, has shown little greater sophistication than its response to the other revolutions of raising expectations which America faces. The cries of "law and order" to obscure the problems of our cities, or of "victory" to obscure our diplomatic failures in the underdeveloped world, are now being echoed by cries of "expel them" and "call the police" in relation to students. I fear—indeed, I am certain—that such tactics will be no more successful with students than they have been with other people. I was present at Columbia when police swarmed into the campus, and I can attest to the fact that the administration's move merely galvanized the students and faculty behind the radicals. I suspect that Senate passage of the recent House amendments will have a similar impact, only on a nationwide scale.

There is only one sensible answer to the revolution of rising expectations among young people—the accordance of institutional power to us, both in universities, and in the Nation as a whole. Our educational institutions have succeeded too well in opening student aspirations and sophistication to attempt now to suppress campus student power. Our political leaders have succeeded too well in arousing social concern among young people to deny now the expression of this concern through the electoral process. You cannot erase the impact of communications, of new educational techniques, of the freedom which affluence creates for youth. You must accept these changes, welcome them, and adjust social policy to reflect them.

I must emphasize, therefore, that your consideration of the amendment to lower the voting age to 18 cannot be viewed in a vacuum. It must be weighed in the context of current student unrest, and, as a possible response to student unrest. It cannot coexist with proposals to deny Federal scholarships to student demonstrators. It is an alternative to such proposals, reflecting a different philosophy about the nature of social change, of revolutions of rising expectations, and of contemporary youth. Students could develop little confidence in a Congress which professed to sympathize with student desires for institutional and electoral power, at the same time that it was ignoring all of the frustrations of powerlessness through the passage of repressive legislation against them.

We have shown ourselves capable of grappling intensely with critical social and political issues, of developing new experimental colleges on our campuses, of administering community action programs, of working in underdeveloped societies, and of spearheading a major presidential campaign. Yet we have functioned as citizens without the advantages of the citizenry—on our campuses, and in the country. All that we ask now is that our power be made equal to our potential, and that our voice be accorded the vote. I am confident that young

people will use their power responsibly, if the Nation can bring itself to grant this new responsibility. This is the choice you must make.

Thank you.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Mr. Schwartz. I am glad to have your thinking and to know of your support for this legislation.

I must say I find a little difficulty in relating the seeming *quid pro quo* involved between the passage of this and the undesirability of the effort made in the House as far as the scholarship legislation is concerned—I mean relating the two. I have not studied the House bill, but I must say I find it a little bit difficult to fault my colleagues if they are concerned about the expenditure of Federal funds to support someone who is going to move into a college administration building and tear up its president's office. Is that what you call repressive, to say if you are going to participate in this kind of activity, we are not going to pay your way in the institution?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I think in specific reference to the bill, I think the wording there is so vague, it may apply not only to persons who tear up offices but to others.

Senator BAYH. I say I have not studied the bill, but the part you quote says, "willfully refuses to obey a lawful regulation or order of the university or college which he is attending \* \* \* when such willful refusal is certified," and here you have indicated some omissions so I cannot judge the language omitted "to have been of a serious nature and contributed to the disruption of university or college administration."

This seems to me to be more than to speak out against university policy or to carry a sign saying president so-and-so should be hanged at dawn because of certain repressive policies that the university follows. This encompasses, at least I would interpret it to encompass, something of a serious nature which contributes to the disruption of a university or college.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I understand that and I think many college administrators have found that in dealing with this on their own campuses, when they respond by opening channels of communication, by opening new avenues of student communication, then the impact with students who advocate disruption is lessened. But when they respond by failing to accord new responsibilities and rely on, let us say, increased stringency in campus rules or more extensive use of the police on campus, and use this almost as a threat—this is usually the way it comes in, as a threat—they discover they have not solved the basic problems to which the frustrations address themselves and they face more serious difficulties.

It is the same pattern as, I think, some of the bills relating to riots in the ghettos which have been passed. I think they have not stopped the riots and, in some cases, may have contributed to a feeling on the part of ghetto residents that the Senate and Congress are interested only in passing bills to deal with riots but not with the problems which create the riots.

Let me give you one point related to this that Senator Holland raised. I was flattered that he cited our survey on campus protests in the course of his testimony. I think he misread some of that survey, however. He stated that there was no connection at all between what happens on the campus and what happens in society. I think if he had

looked at our survey, he would have noticed that most of the protests took place on the campus and had little to do with university issues themselves; they had very much to do with political issues. Most of them were against Dow recruiters, which was in direct protest against the war in Vietnam. Many of the protests this spring have been protests on the racial policies of the university, reflecting in general—

Senator BAYH. It is one thing to protest the policy of Vietnam and the presence of a recruiter on campus, or the racial policy followed by universities. It is another thing to utilize this protest to disrupt and try to close down the institution.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I understand that.

Senator BAYH. This is the very type of immaturity which would tend to argue against passing this legislation.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I understand, and nobody here is justifying disruption on campus. The question is what is the best solution to the problem of disruption on campus? What is the best approach in trying to insure that disruptions on campus do not take place? Is the approach simply to stand up and say, well, we are going to deny Federal scholarships against those who do this and that is the only approach, or is the approach rather to try to ask what are the causes for this kind of disruption? Why do certain groups of students feel it is important to try to galvanize people around disruption policies?

Senator BAYH. I agree with you. But you see, your statement is read as it is written. Of course, I do not criticize you for not taking this into consideration, because your statement is directed to one point. But Congress has been acting. It has over the past few years, belatedly, I will admit, but it has acted to try to wipe away some of the vestiges of discrimination. We are trying to wipe away all of them and I am hoping we will move into these areas of trying to provide better opportunity for the ghettos. But the only authority we have over the recipient of a Federal scholarship is if you are going to participate in this type of activity, I am not going to pay your bills.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I would suggest that yesterday, Grayson Kirk, whose office was the office in question being disrupted, spoke out against this bill as being the wrong way to handle this problem.

Senator BAYH. I have not read the bill, but I must say I am not in favor of paying someone's scholarship if he is going to go in and tear up the president's office. What else is contained in that bill, I do not know.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. You will have to read the bill. The other question raised in the bill is its discriminatory nature in dealing with the protesters themselves. Obviously, those who are most affluent who are protesting will be able to do so without the fear of Federal sanction and you are discriminating against the poorer students on campus who involve themselves in these activities. So there is a differential standard involved in this question as well.

I suggest that you look at the bill, because I think its wording is so ambiguous that it could apply not simply to people who tear up office buildings, but to almost any kind of protest on the campus and if an administrator chose to make it apply to that and if the public did, I think this is a source of grave concern to many of us.

I state as a fact, I do not go around the country encouraging students to tear up buildings. We try to run programs for the campus

which encourage peaceful institutional change. But it makes it much more difficult for us to function who are trying to encourage what you call student responsibility on the campus when we do not always get the reinforcement from the public or from our universities in doing so. We are put on the spot.

When I go to a campus and I say, we can achieve change through peaceful means, which I do say, many students say, yes, but look at this bill which the Senate and the House passed. Look at this bill. They did not pass anything on the 18-year-old vote and universities did not give us any institutional power. But when it comes down to denying scholarships because we feel we should have these kinds of things, more people are ready to pass it. Then I am put in a very difficult position. That is how protests really begin to build and become galvanized around disruption.

Senator BAYH. I realize your position and I sympathize with it. But let me just suggest to you that as someone who is in strong support of this legislation, the chances of getting it passed diminish every time this kind of demonstration takes place. This kind of thing is not unique in getting things passed. We continue to have cited the small percentage of students who participated in such demonstrations as occurred at Columbia.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I understand that fully and I suggest that there is a need to understand why they take place and I tried to indicate in my testimony some of the reasons, just as there is a need to understand why ghetto riots take place. Then there is a need to move effectively to create conditions on campuses where riots will not take place.

Now, there are many campuses in this country where the university administrations have moved, I think quite sensibly, in trying to involve students in institutional policy formation and have moved in positions of leadership on public questions, giving a sense to the students that they care about public questions.

Yale University is one such example, where Kingman Brewster involves students in decisionmaking and speaks out himself on public issues. You will notice that there has been no—I do not even think there has been a peaceful protest at Yale against the university in the past 2 or 3 years. There is an example of a sensible approach.

McCarthy declares his candidacy for the presidency and all kinds of students converge on New Hampshire, students who, I know, because I know many of them, 2 to 3 months ago were talking seriously about turning in their draft cards or participating in student demonstrations. But a challenge was opened for them and they moved to it. That is the solution to the problem.

Senator BAYH. Well, I have said that same thing myself. Perhaps it is a "which came first, the chicken or the egg," situation whether student activity is making Congress' position more untenable or Congress' activities make the students' positions untenable. But to the students, in the face of the fact that Congress is the one that passes the laws, I would heartily recommend that you encourage all your membership to lean over backwards as far as their responsible activity and responsible protest are concerned, because to do otherwise is going to defeat the purposes of many people who are trying to open the channel so there can be a legally recognized means of making your voice heard in the Government.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. We do the best we can to encourage constructive action.

Senator BAYH. I encourage you to go that extra mile. I know you will.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Thank you, Senator.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much for being with us. I appreciate it.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator BAYH. We have some gentlemen who are in the city on other business from Alaska who have consented to discuss this with us. One is the mayor, one is a city councilman, one a city attorney, the fourth gentleman being the most important of all, a concerned citizen.

I would appreciate it if you would identify yourselves for the record.

**STATEMENTS OF HON. HENRY A. BOUCHER, MAYOR, FAIRBANKS, ALASKA; EDWARD A. MERDES, CITY ATTORNEY; HARRY J. PORTER, COUNCILMAN; AND CONRAD FRANK, ENGINEER**

Mr. BOUCHER. I am Mayor Henry A. Boucher, mayor of the city of Fairbanks, Alaska.

Mr. PORTER. Harry J. Porter, city councilman and businessman, Fairbanks, Alaska.

Mr. FRANK. Conrad Frank, engineering contractor, chairman of the utilities board.

Mr. MERDES. I am Ed Merdes, city attorney, city of Fairbanks, private practitioner and past international president of the Jaycees.

Senator BAYH. Gentlemen, I appreciate your taking the time here on a rather spontaneous notice. But inasmuch as Alaska is one of those States that has extended the franchise, I would be extremely grateful if you could give us your thinking concerning what the ramification or impact of lowering this voting age has been as far as the general citizenry is concerned in Alaska.

Have you noticed any lessening of the quality of the constituency or lessening of the quality of the government therefrom? Has it increased your problem, Mr. Mayor?

Let me pose these questions and then you may answer:

Have you noticed additional activity among the young people as a result of this?

Have you noticed an increase in the responsibility of the citizens?

How would you describe the contribution which the younger voters are making to the community?

I think this is the final question, the ultimate question that we are all seeking an answer to.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. BOUCHER. In answer to the Senator's question, I would say that the matter of the 18-year-old voting age in the State of Alaska is something that we are proud of. If anything, the ability of young people to be able to be involved in a young, in a pioneering State like this has stimulated their interest. There are many areas in which the

young people are very active within the community, both at our university and in various civic programs.

To me, it is a little difficult to sell something that we take so much for granted. I could say in working with young people over my years as manager of probably what has come to be known as one of the Nation's top amateur baseball teams, the Alaska Goldpanners at Fairbanks—each year, we have 18- and 19-year-old youngsters come in from all over the United States who are associated with our young people there. The knowledge of these young people, the maturity of them in this day and age, is what a 23- or 24-year-old person would have been 10 or 15 years ago.

I think that one of the great mistakes that we make as a nation is the blocking out of our young people in areas that create an unequal and opposite reaction. I feel that their involvement in our city, in our State, is vital to the future of Alaska as a pioneering State. I am sure that greater involvement by the young people in this bracket would certainly be of great benefit to those States that are not privileged to have the opportunity of having young people involved in the future of it.

As to the Senator's question, adverse effects, I have seen no indication of it. Youth are going to express themselves in many and varying ways. I think as long as we as adults attempt to keep a constant communication and break down this communication gap, I feel that the whole country will be better off for it.

Mr. MERDES. I would just like to take a few minutes to reply. Mr. Porter was here before, but Mr. Boucher and I have to catch a plane.

I am Ed Merdes. I want to say one thing. I was associated in the Governor's office during the territorial days with the constitutional convention of Alaska. When the hearings came up on the question of whether or not Alaska will afford voting privileges to 19-year-olds or 18-year-olds, there was extensive testimony given in Alaska. Congressman Rivers refreshed my recollection since I have been in town, because he was on the judiciary committee of the constitutional convention. The matter came up whether or not you should give it to 18-year-olds or 19-year-olds. It was generally debated and the conclusion came that it should be 19-year-olds. One of the main thrusts of the testimony was that 18-year-old kids were still in high school and one man testified that you would have politicians going up and down the halls of the high schools soliciting votes and you would disrupt education. That was actually part of the testimony.

But the feeling there was that most people felt that at 19, they are out of high school, usually, they are in the labor market, some are actually married and they are qualified to vote.

And people felt that, having participated in student activity in high school, many of the youngsters were actually qualified to vote, many of them actually read campaign literature, they actually studied politicians.

But it was felt in Alaska, being especially a young State, that these 19-year-old young adults, not kids, would contribute a lot because with the gap between high school and age 21, there would be a hiatus there. So if they could not vote from the time they get out of high school until they are 21, a lot of them lose interest and lose momentum

and they are indifferent by the time they are old enough to vote 3 years later.

We have found out especially in the last couple of years, more so than it was in the first year of statehood, that the young people at the university, who are under 21, who incidentally are quite responsible and do not riot and are in a sit-in at the University of Alaska, participate in the political processes of the community, participate in the Democratic and Republican divisional units in the city, 19-year-olds, 20-year-olds, who would never normally do this.

So this is my point of view, being associated with young people quite a bit. I think it is a far-reaching progressive move for the Congress to consider recommending an amendment to the Constitution to provide the right to vote, certainly to 19-year-olds.

Finally, the State legislative has implemented our constitutional provision by including that in a firm answer of contracts by anybody 19 years old—understand it is normally 21—and all the responsibilities of being an adult are given before 21, except drinking. We must still be 21 years old to drink alcoholic beverages in Alaska. But now they are adults in all respects except that and there is a big move on now in certain communities to give them the privilege of drinking alcoholic beverages at age 19. So far, it is not a fact.

I want to thank the committee for the time you have given us. There are two other members here probably more qualified than we are, but we do have to leave. If there are any questions, I will try to answer them.

Mr. FLYNN. You people who selected 19 years old as an age limit, what do you think the reaction of the legislature would be to ratifying an amendment for 18-year-olds?

Mr. MERDES. I cannot speak for legislature. I would think, frankly, they would not be too enthusiastic about it, at least the ones I know. I think the reasons given at the constitutional convention by some of those witnesses are still valid, that they do want to keep politics out of high school.

Honestly, there are so many 18-year-olds in high schools now that they would be a sizable vote and I think there would be some unsavory activity in the high school auditoriums. I am running for the legislature, and if I am elected, I would be opposed to it. But I am in favor of 19-year-olds.

Mr. CONRAD. Do you recollect what stimulated the people in the convention to consider an age below 21? Was there a special makeup of Alaska at that time of young people? I just wondered why the— the standard, except for your State and three others, is 21 years.

Mr. MERDES. Probably Mr. Porter and Mr. Frank would be better than I at answering that. What stimulated it, as far as I know, is that the average age of Alaskans is around 21, according to statistics. Also, Georgia, as you may know, had it. Alaska is a young State, so it was a perfectly natural thing to do, to consider this fact. I understand it was virtually unanimous.

Mr. PORTER. The average age is 22 right now.

Mr. MERDES. But Mr. Porter and Mr. Frank have been up there a lot longer than I have. I have only been up there 18 years. They have been up, maybe Mr. Frank 25 or 30. But my recollection is that at that time, it was that reason.

Mr. CONRAD. Just one further question. We had some testimony here yesterday—that if the 18-year-old voting age were to go into effect, they should also consider other things that would bring some sort of uniformity to all these various areas of legal difficulties, let us say, like obtaining driver's license and executing wills and so on. That was not covered by the Alaska legislation, to bring it all into line so as to provide a uniform standard across the board, with the exception of the alcohol laws, was it?

Mr. MERDES. That is correct.

Mr. CONRAD. Thank you very much.

Mr. BOUCHER. Would you excuse us?

Mr. CONRAD. Thank you, Mayor.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Conrad, it did not come out exactly. Perhaps we should review the fact that Alaska has now been living under this situation for 10 years. I would like at this point to lower the key a little bit. We have heard quite a little of the testimony here this morning and have talked to some of the gentlemen previously. I would like at say at this point that frankly, I do not think you are going to notice much change, period. You will find as we have found after living under this circumstance for 10 years that though we can be, as young people or as adults, we can become quite incensed over a certain issue and often times, the feeling that is engendered while you are trying to create this change dissipates and disappears and things fall back to a normal level of feeling and really, you do not see any great difference.

I actually do not think that our student problems are any better or any worse than they are anywhere else in the Nation. I do think that we have more involvement of young people in Alaska in all walks of life, but here again, this is because of its very nature, an average age of 22. I do think we would have many responsible young people.

We are in favor of what we have done. We would not, after 10 years retrospect, change it. But I think you will find that giving the vote to an 18-year-old or a 19-year-old is not going to substantially change anything. It just is not quite as hot an issue as it would appear to be, even to the students who are so taken up with this cause right at the moment.

They are going to find that, as we all learn as we get a little older, actually, power does not come from legislation; power comes only with assumed responsibilities or proven achievements. There does not seem to be any way to accrue or attribute power to an individual or even a structure except that there is something more concrete, such as achievement or responsibility, assumed behind it.

This is true even in our daily walk of life as far as earning a living. Responsibility is not handed to them. A person takes responsibility and then more responsibility accrues to him and finally, any power or authority that goes with that position.

Mr. CONRAD. Let me ask you this before you go any further: Can 19-year-olds hold office in Alaska?

Mr. PORTER. Some offices. This is one thing that we have not clarified. We have different criteria for holding almost every office in the State and different age requirements. You could be in the House of Representatives at one age, but you could not be in the Senate at that same age. This became an issue one time. We had a young man who was

in the House of Representatives who I believe had tremendous potential; and a vacancy occurred and he accepted an appointment to the Senate, knowing he actually was not of an age to sit in the Senate, and failed to reveal it.

I believe he spoiled what could have been a wonderful career. He apparently had the potential, but did not have the maturity to see what this was going to do to his future.

It is a very difficult situation to give people a chance for responsibility and at the same time, try to impart the maturity that is going to be necessary to discharge this responsibility. I do not think we heard here this morning that there is a magic demarcation line at which a man becomes an adult. It does not necessarily occur at 21. I submit that it does not necessarily occur at 18 or 26, either. Therefore, we must pick an arbitrary age that seems to work the best and use it. In Alaska, we picked this age as 19 for reasons already set forth.

It is very interesting. Knowing that Senator Bayh had asked us to appear here, I quizzed my own employees—I should say I rather baited my own employees to see what their feelings were. I have one teenage employee and two college-age employees—they are actually part-time university students and full-time employees, even at this moment—besides some older employees. It was a real paradox. I thought that the university students would be the ones who would uphold the 19-year-old or 18-year-old voting age and that the older employees would probably feel that it was not mature enough. It was converse. I think I have a little insight as to why.

The one college-age employee—we had some rather trying times because, as he was growing up, he managed to accumulate five driving offenses and my insurance company was not too happy with my hiring him. He managed to get into some financial credit difficulties before he was old enough or mature enough to handle his financial responsibilities. He is now 25 years old and now feels very strongly that probably 21 would have been better than 19. Yet I do not believe that he exercised his franchise when he was 19 anyway. He was too busy driving cars and doing other things to really have it amount to very much at that time.

The older employees felt that 19 was a good age; and there again, for the reason that young people are better informed, young people are not set in their ways; young people do come up against political scenes in their schools. In Fairbanks, it is quite common for them to hold elections simultaneously with any city election or any State election. Surprisingly, the results are very often similar to the actual results and they do keep well informed, quite well informed, on the issues.

However, I watched my own teenagers' reading habits as they grew up. When they first started reading the newspaper at all, it naturally was the comic section, which I turn to myself, even today, quite readily. In time, they get to Ann Landers and finally, in time, even to read the front page. But it takes until they are about 19 before they start reading much of that front page, at least as far as my own three teenagers were concerned.

I actually do not believe that you are going to find that it is going to make a great deal of difference when you change the voting age, which I hope will happen. The only thing that I would ask is that

the motives for changing it are genuinely honest motives, that it would not be because some political figure feels that he could influence this vote more easily than he could an older vote, but because it is a genuine desire to give an expression of responsibility and opinion to younger people, which make up a large segment of our community. There would be as much wisdom and as much sense in saying that a 65-year-old was too old to vote any more or a 75-year-old, because it can be proven that their responsibilities oftentimes are not up to par also, that they cease to take an interest in national events, that they cease to think constructively and they cease to function in a manner that a younger person does. We would not dare suggest, especially in the august halls of the Senate, that any time you reach a certain age, you should be disenfranchised. It is entirely possible that you could remove any age restriction on voting and not change things very greatly.

Mr. CONRAD. Let me ask you this question. It is not really fair, I guess, because you always have in hand the 19-year-old voting standard. But there has been some testimony here, and questions raised here and other places, that, if there were a governmental and institutional method for channeling the energies or feelings or beliefs politically that might draw off the protests, riot situations that young people seem to be engaging in, when you add a block of people to a constituency, I would presume that the person who was the leader of that constituency would adjust in some way to their interest. I think this is the argument that is being made.

So, not knowing whether in your district, Councilman, you have young people in great numbers or few numbers—let me put it this way: Is it your belief that you would respond or do respond to issues that might be oriented toward 19- or 21-year age groups more readily than if the voting age were 21 in Alaska?

Mr. PORTER. I do not think many situations have occurred where this is a problem. We get some pressure occasionally from student groups younger than 19 in the matter of council affairs where they want to create some neighborhood center, perhaps, where residents are objecting to it and so on. But as far as the real vital issues go at election time, you will find that in our State and in our experience, at least, the teenagers themselves are just as divided as the adult population is, that there are just as many divergent opinions.

In other words, they do act then as individuals and therefore, it is not a solid block of votes by any means, but must be appealed to the same as the electorate in general, that one has very strong feelings in one direction and one will have very strong feelings in another direction.

One will feel, for instance, in questioning even on this issue—the issue came up as to what about, should not a man or a young adult who is going to be expected to fight have a vote: Some felt there was a correlation and some did not feel there is a correlation. This is hopeful and encouraging to us, that they do think as individuals and not as a group. This may not always be true in manner of dress or high school activities per se, or youth centers, but when it comes to the issues that are before a city or a State, then they definitely think as individuals.

Mr. CONRAD. Do you have a mandatory school age in Alaska?

Mr. PORTER. I think—I am floundering here, but I believe the only requirement we have is that they stay in school until they are 16.

Mr. FRANK. I think that is correct.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. Frank, do you care to add anything to what has been said?

Mr. FRANK. Gentlemen, there is little that I can add to the testimony you have heard. Personally, I feel from my experience with my own sons and daughters and from the young people who are working for our company that this has worked successfully, that some number of young people are ready to vote and should be given the right to vote. The others who are not ready are probably not interested in going to the polls anyway. I know of no instance where this has created a problem for the State.

While I agree with Mr. Porter that no great changes are to be expected, I think there will be some general good that will come from it.

Mr. CONRAD. Let me ask you this: Would you say that the comparison between over 21-year-old voters who do not go to the polls and show an interest in political affairs would be likely in comparison with those who are under 21?

In other words, you just say that some of these people are not responsive to the right to vote, so would it be higher in your judgment than those people who are qualified to vote at 21 but do not go to vote?

Mr. FRANK. I would say if the voting age is 19, you avoid this vacuum effect that Mr. Merdes mentioned. From the time they leave high school until they are 21, there is a chance for their interest to be lost during that period, whereas at 19, a lot of them are almost 19 when they graduate from high school. They have had, usually, quite a lot of interest in government up to that time. They step right into it. So probably, I think I would be safe in saying that there would be greater voter interest at the age of 19 than there is at age 21.

Mr. PORTER. I would like to add one thing, that we have come to feel in Alaska that we will carry you a step beyond this amendment to lower the voting age; that is that very serious thought should be given to change in antiquated child labor laws and also some union restrictions on employment of young people, gainful employment, so that they can actually learn to accept responsibility. We have found there, and it has been done at the expense of actually having to flaunt some of the laws ourselves, child labor laws, that those young adults, those children who are given a chance to work—I might add in Mr. Frank's construction concern, they went to no little expense and no little trouble to work very young teenagers on equipment to teach them. They have grown into responsible adults far beyond their contemporaries. It has been demonstrated time and time again that there is a direct relationship between their ability to accept responsibility even in a manner of voting or being interested in affairs of the community and the age at which they are able to go to work in some gainful manner. It is ridiculous to think that you can hold a person, a human being, in limbo, so to speak, and only allow him to be subjected to the educational processes in a formal manner and then in 2 years, magically have a mature adult ready to accept all responsibilities in a mature manner.

Certainly, an indication of this is the manner in which they have tried to create change. It does not take very long for those of us who are older to realize that we effect change by sometimes conforming to the form for creating change much faster than we do by bucking the

form for creating change. I am not suggesting that conformity is a desirable situation, but if the machinery is there to create change in a legal and peaceable manner, conforming to the machinery will create the change often much faster than rebellion will.

I might add that my own teenager finds that he is able to get the car much faster when he proves his ability to keep his foot off that foot feed than he does by getting mad when he does not get the car.

Mr. CONRAD. Well, gentlemen, in behalf of Senator Bayh, Mr. Flynn and myself are very appreciative for your taking the time out. I know this was an imposition on your time, because your reason for coming here was for another purpose, but we are all delighted that you found time to come over and give us your personal observations.

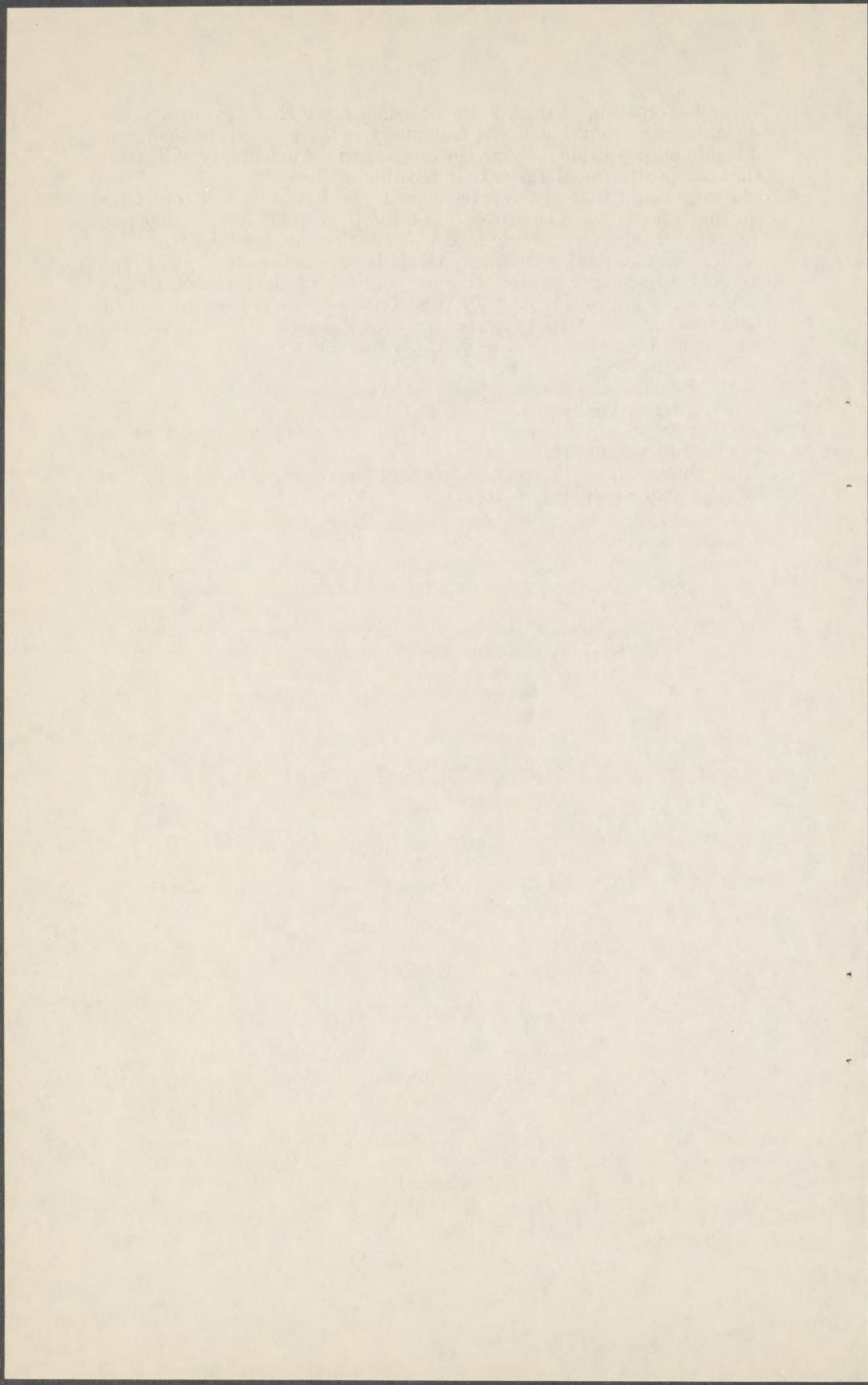
We thank you.

Mr. PORTER. The pleasure is ours, if you considered it effective.

Mr. FRANK. Thank you.

Mr. CONRAD. By order of the chairman, we are recessed until tomorrow morning at 10 a.m.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, May 16, 1968.)



# AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION TO REDUCE THE VOTING AGE TO 18

THURSDAY, MAY 16, 1968

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS,  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:20 a.m., in room G-308, New Senate Office Building, Senator Birch Bayh presiding.

Present: Senator Bayh (presiding).

Also present: Larry A. Conrad, chief counsel; Clyde Flynn, minority counsel; and Joan Waples.

Senator BAYH. We are privileged this morning to have one of our very illustrious Senate colleagues who has been on the firing line in the problem area which we are studying for a long, long time, having been what I think you can say most respectfully is almost a founding father of this movement. I think it is most appropriate that we have his testimony and as busy as he is with chairing another committee and the other duties which he assumes, I want to thank him personally for taking the time to be with us.

Senator Jennings Randolph, of West Virginia.

## STATEMENT OF HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Senator RANDOLPH. Mr. Chairman, it is gratifying to appear this morning and to have this testimony which I am to give come before the members of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, a subcommittee headed, Mr. Chairman, by yourself, who has given such close attention to the proposals to lower the voting age to 18.

I am grateful for your comment about my continuing interest in this subject. As a Member of the House of Representatives, I did introduce the first resolution on this subject. That was in 1942. I sought to amend the Constitution and extend voting rights to young people, 18 years of age.

Mr. Chairman, my interest in this subject has not abated. I had then, as I have now, the utmost confidence in the ability of our young citizens to think clearly, to weigh the issues, and to make judicious decisions on matters closely affecting their futures. That this opinion is shared by many official and quasi-official groups within the Government as well as in the private sector of our Nation is made abundantly clear by an analysis, Mr. Chairman, of the responsibility which our 18-year-old citizens now share with the rest of society.

They share the burden of fighting our wars and carrying out our national policies, but they have no real voice in making those policies. They share the burden of paying our taxes. They stand responsible and adult, not juvenile, before courts of law. They stand responsible for the welfare and the lives of their own wives and children. They stand responsible for the lives of their fellow citizens, traveling on our streets and highways, for, Mr. Chairman, they are allowed to operate motor vehicles. They bear the burden of the future of their families, for we allow them to make wills and to purchase insurance.

They bear the burden of financial consequences of their own actions, for we allow them to be sued in court. They are responsible for their own ultimate social future, for we allow them to choose their professions.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure these responsibilities have been thoroughly discussed and evaluated in hearings, and I do not plan this morning to go into these matters more in detail. However, there are additional pertinent areas for evaluation which I believe bear significantly on the present and future involvement of our young citizenry in the democratic process.

Our youth are the promise, the hope, the dream of Americans. This we all recognize as we emphasize education, family, health, and vocational preparation. We endeavor to enhance the potential of our young people through the massive Federal-aid programs for education, including elementary, secondary, and higher education. We do it through the Job Corps. We begin it with Headstart. We follow it with school lunch and health programs. We encourage our young people—and I underline this this morning—to still realize that there is no substitute for work, digging in, doing jobs; making plans, of course, but carrying out those plans with the thought that by their own endeavors they must become full participants in our society.

Now, our young people are active in our American society. They have been, Mr. Chairman, our Peace Corps volunteers. They have been, in West Virginia and throughout other States, our workers in the VISTA program. We have seen them, of course, in the campaigns, in the primaries that are now in force in many States. There they are seldom the paid workers; they are the volunteers and they have been doing, I think, a constructive job.

They serve as the aides in our hospitals. They do important tasks as recreation assistants.

I have watched many of these young people who are camping counselors—not just the camps that are the ones operated for profit, where the parents have the funds with which to send their boys and girls to camp, but I have seen them in the camps for the retarded children, for the children from the poor families—that is dollarwise I am speaking of. And I have frankly participated in some leadership responsibilities with these young people as counselors. They are, I think, the active defenders of what we call the American system. I am not speaking of the establishment; I am speaking of the system under which our country was born, continues to grow, and I think will prosper in the future as in the past.

I think they are the vital elements that are in close touch with the realities of our present-day jobs. I think they recognize that we are in a changing society. I think they are creative; I think they are re-

sourceful. I think also they are responsive when we counsel with them on problems which are affecting our well-being.

Now, at the age of 18 the majority of our young people are being graduated from high school. They are completing studies in preparation for responsibilities—responsibilities in the processes of higher education, responsibilities in earning livings, responsibilities in rearing families. And they begin in a very real way to crystallize their thinking—that is, to crystallize their thinking in reference to making their way in life, in accepting the responsibility of employment, and often the responsibility of marriage, as I have indicated, in the rearing of families. So what they are doing then is not to influence their decisions just at that hour, but they are making decisions which, in degree, will influence their later lives.

There will be those who will be in technical school, those who will be in college and university. But there are many, many of these young people who are entering the armed services, and there are many, many of them who are going into employment, and I have said there are many of them who will accept the responsibilities of the beginning of a life with a helpmate at their side.

During this period of time, this year of 18, we will say, they have become active participants in life, in our society. But we have not recognized their full partnership in our society. Though the educational process is one that we believe in and they become knowledgeable in that process—it is one that covers American history, it is one that covers the principles of government, it is one that covers forces in political science—that process, the educational process, is one that they become very closely associated with during those forming years, those crystallization years of their very lives.

They have, I hope and I believe, learned the principles on which the democratic process, to use that expression, is based.

I think that they know the history of this country, what the country has been standing for in the past, and, frankly, what they can do in their contributions to make it a viable and worthwhile future.

I know that we stand before these students on commencement day. I am sure the Senator from Indiana has done this, and he has placed their achievements. That is natural that he do so. He has welcomed them as Members of Congress welcome them. My own colleague of the House, Ken Hechler, who is interested in this subject, who is here today—he among others in the Congress has welcomed these young people into society. Well, we welcome them into society in a limited, a modified degree. But I think we leave them frustrated, at least in part, because we have not really given to them their opportunity for realistic and responsible outlets of expression through the use of this American ballot.

Now, I call the American ballot not just a piece of paper on which we write. I think it is a franchise of freedom and the use of this ballot, I think, is the exercise of the process of individual decision in freedom in our country. I hope that I am not wrong. I think, however, I am not overstating the case when I say that really we fail our young people just at the time when we should not fail them. That is by recognizing that they have reached a maturity, a maturity of nature, the physical body, a maturity of the mind which, through the

processes of application of study and the subjects of learning have brought them to a place where they can make the decisions in reference to public issues and to persons who are candidates for public office.

I believe that we are the losers, the older people, when we do not bring this great body of younger people into this process, the voting process, the use of the franchise.

Now, their interest and involvement through the study of our history, current activities, has perhaps a lesser goal than it would have if they had this right and responsibility to vote. I think in a sense, Mr. Chairman, we cut off this educational process. We cut it off abruptly when we fail to give to our 18-year olds the opportunity to vote. I think they need this direct association with responsibility. I think they would gladly and I think they would effectively use this association.

Now, we know that our democratic process is predicated at least in part upon compromise, compromise which is not giving up what you believe in, but a compromise in which what you believe in and what someone else believes in often bring a result which is the values of both rather than one as against the other.

So with this group of young people, we will fuse—I use that expression—fuse into our older society those individuals who have been studying history, who have through their current activities in the process of education understood that there are differing viewpoints. These young people understand that there are differing plans, there are differing interests, and therefore differing backgrounds. I think young people realize this.

I find sometimes that people say, "Well, a young person does not really have any set thinking, it has not jelled." Well, I think if there is an indictment about the thinking of those sometimes who are older, it is that we become immune, as it were, sometimes to these fresh and new and helpful ideas. And we are likely to indulge in a polarization of our thinking. We are likely to come to believe that we are over here or we are over there. And I think we cannot do that. I think we have to keep flexible, not just for flexibility's sake, but I think we have to be able to work within the framework, as it were, of these many, many ideas and differing viewpoints.

I have often said and I repeat today that I am not worried when people differ, Mr. Chairman. Differences do not alarm me. It is only when people are indifferent that I have great concern. I think you share that. I think the Members of the Congress share it. I think parents who have studied this problem share it.

And here we have the opportunity to give these young people a definite participation. They will not be indifferent to this challenge. I think they will accept the opportunity, they will bring this, let us say, different and new outlook. They will bring these new, different ideas. They will bring these new, so necessarily needed, enthusiasms which I sense are valuable.

Now, I think we have to realize that we can have a better balance. If we have the combination of the idealism of youth, I think it is a practical idealism these days, but it exists, and contrary to that which we see and read so very much, I think that there is a responsibility among our young people.

I wish to call attention, Mr. Chairman, to something that happened in your State only a few months ago. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, was speaking at Indiana University in Bloomington. His speech, which had, of course, the Vietnamese subject—at least that was the principal thrust of his address—he was interrupted during that speech. He had difficulty in continuing. I am not sure whether he actually had to stop the speech more quickly than he had anticipated, but it was a situation which I frankly abhor. I think we with propriety and good taste should listen, as young people and older people, to the presentation of viewpoints. We should do that in a way to reflect credit on ourselves and the institutions of which we are a part.

Now, I was not sure, Mr. Chairman, how many young people of the many thousands who were present had been a part of this what I call lack of responsibility. So you will recall that I discussed this problem with you. And we determined, Mr. Chairman, that we were going to look into it. And we did look into it. And we found that whereas the first difficulty had been headlined and that most people had heard about it, something that took place not many days later received very little notice. This was the communication on which there were more than 14,000 names, names of students of Indiana University who had written their names, either in pen or pencil, on a letter addressed to the Secretary of State, in which they had apologized, to use that expression—not agreeing with what he had said, all of those who had signed; some agreeing in part with what he had indicated was the policy he sounded. But those young people by the thousands—I believe it was over 14,000—well over 13,000—I think they exhibited responsibility, a responsibility which I would like to have people generally understand.

But we have not had the publicity to that action of those students in the way that we had to the action of—I am not sure; it was 10 percent, I believe, who were involved in the disturbance that caused the Secretary difficulty.

I mention this because I think that sometimes we are inclined to believe that our young people are not responsible young people. Well, they are, and they are creative. I know a young man in Washington, D.C., who, not through a Government-sponsored project, but a young man who gathered other young people about him and planted more than 12,500 tulips in a certain section of the District of Columbia to add to the beauty of this city in which our National Capital is located.

We used to just talk about a patriotism that was of the flag, perhaps, or the ruffle of drums. But there is a patriotism which takes the form of a young person who attempts to enhance the beauty of the community, the young person who joins his signature with thousands of other signatures as a responsible young person. I think that over and over again there are indications of the responsibility of young people.

We hear very little, Mr. Chairman, about the Fellowship of Christian Athletes in the United States of America. We hear about the indiscretions of young people. We hear about the problems of young people. But here is a story that should be told over and over.

Young people in their teens, athletes in our high schools and colleges and universities—

Senator BAYH. I know of no other Member of the Senate who can claim greater credit than you for putting this record straight, having

had a chance to see firsthand, Jennings Randolph, this action at his alma mater, and knowing your interest in making this type of activity possible for people of the student force. We hear more about what is going on in the less responsible areas, and, unfortunately, this gets more of the two-lines-in-the-obituary-page treatment, whereas LSD rates the headlines.

Senator RANDOLPH. We do have that problem of an overexposure, perhaps, of that which seems to be, well, a majority where it is a very, very minute minority.

I know the story of some 1,100 boys here in the greater metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., who are active members of the Key Clubs of Kiwanis International, boys who are working on projects; not just writing papers, but doing jobs to improve the communities in which they live, cleanup campaigns organized by young people to, very frankly, take from our streets and our roads the beer cans which defile our thoroughfares, beer cans thrown by persons who oftentimes are 30, 40, 50, 60 years of age. I have seen that happen, rather than just by the so-called younger people.

I do appreciate, Mr. Chairman, the opportunity to really turn aside from my prepared testimony to speak this morning about the responsibility of young people, the contributions of young people, the attention to good citizenship of young people. I visit these institutions of learning in my State of West Virginia. I find there young people who are—I use the word, not namby-pamby, but they are good young people, they are responsible young people. I speak of them this morning in the highest terms.

I do not come here, Mr. Chairman, to sell young America short. I believe that young America is ready to take its responsibility to a fuller degree. And I think by the use of the American ballot that can be done.

I remember when I invited the then Governor of Georgia to come here, Ellis Arnall. Someone might have said at that time of the young Governor of Georgia that he was a flaming liberal, he was a new person in the South. I am not going to discuss his thinking at that time, but he was a believer in voting by young people. It had been brought into being in Georgia, and Georgians today think in terms of the value and the validity of the younger people voting.

I remember the eloquent plea that he made before the hearing that I held at that time, back in the yesteryears in the House of Representatives. There might be parts, Mr. Chairman, of that hearing and even the testimony of Governor Arnall which I might ask, without designating the specifics, I would like to ask unanimous consent to include certain excerpts from that hearing if it is felt desirable.

Senator BAYH. We will ask our counsel to seek out any parts that are appropriate inasmuch as he would speak with firsthand authority.

Senator RANDOLPH. I talk about the 18 or over, between 18 and 21. I feel that those of us who are older, we have a very real commitment, some of us who believe in this subject. I think we need to foster in America a climate of political participation—I call it that—where the 18-year-olds and the 19-year-olds and the 20-year-olds may join the 21-year-olds. These young people who are being graduated from high schools—I think we need to generate this great force, a force that will be, I think, a dynamic force. They have energy, certainly.

I think maybe in a sense we bottle it up, we compress it, we hedge it in when we do not give this opportunity, because they have their thoughts, their ideas, and they wish to express them. Let us let them express these thoughts with the responsibility or the X's in front of the issues and the candidates.

So I repeat, let us take their energies, let us funnel them into this so-called mainstream of American life, because we are a nation in which people participate, in which people join with the voting process. Their enthusiasms are valuable. I think they will contribute to the building of a better America.

I think they have earned this, really. Someone might say, "Well, I doubt that they have earned it." But I think they have. I think it is something that we can rightfully give to them. I would like to make them, Mr. Chairman, full partners—full partners, not junior or senior partners, just full partners in this legal responsibility, this voice in America, in an America which, today perhaps more than in other eras, needs the constructive impact of our youth.

Thank you very much.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Senator Randolph. It has been a privilege to me to have a chance to hear you express your thoughts on this. It certainly makes powerful medicine in our record.

Senator RANDOLPH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like it if the record may reflect your visits to West Virginia campuses speaking to our college students. These were extra chores for you, but I do not think you looked upon them as chores. You came into our hills and you talked and counseled with our young people. You gave time. I have a feeling that under your leadership here in this subcommittee we may at long last do what we should have done many, many years ago. That was to have the Congress of the United States pass this legislation amending the Constitution and giving the opportunity through the States for us to really bring this into reality.

Thank you.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much.

The next witness is our distinguished colleague from Texas, Senator Ralph Yarborough. I know that Senator Yarborough had rearranged his schedule to be with us this morning and I am extremely grateful for the fact that he would do it and personally take the time to express his interest.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS

Senator YARBOROUGH. Chairman Bayh, I am grateful to this committee for giving me this opportunity to appear here when the Senate is in session and debating on very sharply contested amendments in which I know the distinguished Senator from Indiana has a great interest. I think this subject before us, though, is important enough that we both left the floor, you to chair this and hear the testimony of the distinguished Senator from West Virginia who has just preceded me and the other witnesses to follow.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to testify in support of Senate Joint Resolution No. 8, a proposal for a constitutional amendment, which I have cosponsored with the distinguished majority and minor-

ity leaders of the Senate, to lower the voting age to 18. I have personally advocated lowering the voting age to 18 in my home State of Texas since my first campaign for the governorship of Texas in 1952 and in that and succeeding years I have advocated this enlargement of the electorate to include the 18-year-olds and above in hundreds of speeches on courthouse squares and other places in my home State.

It seems especially fitting to me that we are giving consideration to this proposal in a presidential election year, at a time when we can witness the active participation of thousands of our young people in the political campaigns of the various candidates, despite the fact that many of them cannot even vote for the man of their choice. In fact, as some reporters reported, in New Hampshire there were more young people under 21 working in the presidential primary than there were over 21.

It is time for us to put an end to this anomaly. The current voting age of 21 had its origins in the ancient English common law, which designated the age 21 as the minimum age for knighthood. It goes back to the days of knighthood. This has no relevance whatsoever to the 20th century American youth who is better educated, more widely traveled, and more knowledgeable about public affairs than any of his predecessors. Knowledge has replaced knighthood and the 18-year-old of today is wiser than the 21-year-old of past generations.

Ever since the abolition of property qualifications as a prerequisite to voting, the electorate of the United States has been expanded continually to embrace more and more citizen adults so that every American could have a real voice in the governing of his country. It has not been an easy task, for there have always been those who feared the effects of the enlargement of the electorate. In every generation they have feared adding more people to the voting rolls. We saw this with the burgeoning immigrant population of the early part of the 20th century; we saw it in the suffragette movement, we saw it in the struggle over the passage of the Voting Rights Act just 3 years ago.

But these fears have not been justified. The infusion of new segments of population into the electorate has brought with it new ideas, new energies, and in the final analysis the Nation and all its citizens have been made richer by it.

The campaign to lower the voting age to 18 began in earnest in 1942 and it has traditionally met with the most support during times of war when scores—when hundreds of thousands of young Americans were defending their homeland overseas. The cry we heard in World War II "If we are old enough to fight, we are old enough to vote," has a good deal of emotional appeal. But there are many other and sounder reasons why the voting age should be lowered to age 18.

For most intents and purposes, the 18-year-old is assumed to be an adult. In most States he can marry without the consent of his parents, he can serve in the Peace Corps or work with the Federal Government and he is obliged to pay taxes on his earnings. The age of compulsory education does not exceed 18 years of age in any State. The District of Columbia and almost every State require persons 18 years and over to stand trial in criminal courts; they are no longer considered juveniles. Life insurance companies recognize anyone 18 years of age and older as an adult. The child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act do not apply to anyone who is 18 years of age or older.

Many other examples might be cited. Logically and legally, the age of responsibility in today's society is 18. This in itself is a compelling argument for change in the constitutional voting age.

But perhaps even more significant is the fact that our political system can benefit from the ideals and hopes of our young people. It is they who have been in the forefront of many of these social movements of our times, from civil rights to action on behalf of the Nation's poor. They are not content with the way things are. They are not complacent about the conditions of our society and they will not accept yesterday's answers to tomorrow's problems. This is the kind of energy that gave life to the Nation in the 1770's, and this is the kind of spirit that can propel our country forward in this latter part of the 20th century.

As a matter of fact, the average age of Americans is swinging back toward the lower 20's, making it as young again in its makeup as it was during the years of the American Revolution.

By 1970 half of the population will be under 27 and about 7 percent will be between 18 and 21 years of age.

Increasingly the lives of our young people are being affected by Government programs, from the Selective Service System to Federal educational assistance to job retraining, and it is time we granted them some voice in determining the shape these programs should take.

Today's young adult has learned about American history and civics in high school and a 1962 study indicated that 78 percent of our young people read the newspaper every day. Television has brought the events of the day into his living room and has given him a better understanding of and a deeper sense of involvement in public affairs and governmental decisions than ever before possible.

The late, beloved Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn, once said, "It makes me tired to hear all this talk about the young generation going to hell in a hack. They are a lot smarter than I was at their age." This is becoming truer every year.

Some persons may object to what amounts to "Federal action" to reduce the voting age, through an amendment to the Constitution. Although four States have succeeded in lowering their voting ages, efforts in other States have been doomed to failure. We came close in my own State of Texas in 1963, but fell just eight votes short in the house. Past attempts to enlarge the electorate indicate that the only effective route is by means of a constitutional amendment.

Public opinion, too, supports a change in the voting age. A Gallup poll survey taken in April 1967 showed that a larger percentage of the population favored lowering the voting age than ever before. A similar poll conducted in January 1943 indicated that 39 percent supported such a change; last year the proportion had risen to 64 percent.

I cosponsored Senate Joint Resolution 8 because I feel that there is overwhelming justification for lowering the voting age to 18. Our young people are educated, they are politically aware, they are articulate, and they are enthusiastic. It has been said that "the real value of education comes not from its acquisition but from its association with responsibility." We have helped these young people to acquire the best education we can give them; let us now give them a chance to put that education to work by giving them the responsibility of helping to choose the officials who will govern them. There is no rea-

son why they should have to wait for 3 or 4 years after they have graduated from high school to exercise the privilege of voting. They understand the workings of their government. Let us also give them the opportunity to have an effective voice in how it is to be run.

Mr. Chairman, I am hopeful that your committee will take favorable action on Senate Joint Resolution 8, which I feel can have only a beneficial effect on the Government of this Nation.

My own State of Texas in the legislature voted on this in 1963 and a 150-member house fell short only eight votes of extending the voting age to 18 at that time. As I said, public opinion has changed. A Gallup Poll in 1943 indicated 39 percent of the adults favored lowering the voting age. By last year, 64 percent of the adult population of the country favored that lowering.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, these young people understand the workings of their Government. They are wise beyond their years, as one man has said, and it is time that they be given an opportunity to help run the Government.

Recently, as a member of the Education Subcommittee, in talking with some distinguished educators, I said my generation—looking back, the average high school graduate today has a better education than the average graduate of junior college. Talking to two or three presidents of universities, they said yes, the average high school graduate of today is better educated than the graduates of many of the weaker universities of America 40 years ago.

So they are better educated. They have the judgment, knowledge, and wisdom because we start them to school younger. We give them experience. They are experienced in many affairs of life before 18 that a generation ago a person would not think of touching until they were 18 to 21 or maybe past 21. The committee knows this out of their experience.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for your patience, your courtesy, and your wisdom. I know that with your leadership, as with your leadership generally with constitutional amendments, we will be able to push forward with this needed extension of the franchise.

Some say it should be left to the States. Over a hundred years ago the voting rights were expanded to everybody regardless of race by a constitutional amendment. Immediately after World War I the voting right was extended to women and the bar of sex was removed. For over a hundred years we have had the precedents of a constitutional amendment to extend the electorate and it is time for a move now, a very great move in that manner.

Senator BAYH. I want to thank you, Senator Yarborough. This has been a worthy contribution to our record and we are grateful you would take this time from a very hectic day.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator BAYH. We will have a brief recess to catch this vote.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken, after which the hearing was resumed.)

Senator BAYH. Come to order, please.

Our next witness is Mr. Roy Elson, representing our distinguished President pro tempore, Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona. I would like to observe for the record that hopefully, inasmuch as our distin-

guished President pro tempore has decided to retire—we are going to miss him—but hopefully we will be able to share the company of our next witness in that same capacity as Senator from Arizona.

**STATEMENT OF ROY L. ELSON, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO  
SENATOR HAYDEN**

Mr. ELSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

After listening to Senator Randolph and Senator Yarborough, I am sure that many other witnesses will recognize that the statement I am prepared to give in behalf of Senator Hayden is quite repetitious and to save the time of the subcommittee, I would request that my statement be made a part of the record, and then I would like to make some brief comments on it.

Senator BAYH. It will appear in the record.

Mr. ELSON. Of course, it is for me a distinct honor to appear before you in this committee representing the man oldest in age and in service in the U.S. Congress. When he was younger, he was in the forefront of the move to broaden the suffrage right when it was extended to women following World War I, and I think my presence here representing him indicates, as he has told me, his strong feeling on broadening again the suffrage right by lowering the voting age to 18.

I might also say that as the oldest Member, all through his career, he has surrounded himself with young people on his permanent staff and the other committee staffs that he has been responsible for. I came in and joined his staff right out of the University of Arizona when I was 21. I am the oldest member on his permanent staff now, and I am 37. So I think it is indicative of what he thinks of young people and their responsibility.

Now, in Arizona, we have approximately 80,000 young people between the ages of 18 and 20. The average age, unlike what a lot of people think of Arizona—we are a great retirement community—the average age as of today in Arizona is 25.7 years. I think this is a very significant group of responsible people to whom the franchise should be extended.

Now, it was my privilege within the last 2 weeks to appear on two campuses, one in my own State, Arizona State University, which Carl Hayden's father founded, which is a school now of some 23,000 students. Then just earlier this week, I spent 2 days on the campus at Stanford University. Stanford had a student body election going on there as you may have noticed in the press, and some unusual campaign practices that I hope will not be distorted and reflect adversely on the importance of student government at Stanford University.

At Stanford, for instance, where they have had some sit-ins, some activity there, I found it would not take much investigation to discover that very few individuals—I would say probably less than a dozen—were responsible for the incidents there. And I think it is well to keep in mind that those who were the activists, the leaders, most of those were over 21. And I found in talking to these students on the campus at Arizona State University that without question, these individuals are much better educated than I was just a short time ago, are much better prepared, have more knowledge of the issues in many

groups that I have had to face, that they showed great interest and great responsibility and great concern.

I hope the opponents to this amendment will not exploit the activities that represent such a small minority on our campuses as a way of blocking something that is very important, I think, to our democratic processes. I can only say from my personal experience and association with these young people that they are deserving of full participation in our democratic processes.

Thank you.

(The prepared statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT BY ROY ELSON, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO SENATOR CARL HAYDEN

Mr. Chairman, Thank you for this opportunity to stand in for Senator Hayden and support Senate Joint Resolution 8.

Senator Hayden is a co-sponsor of this Joint Resolution and presented a statement in support of it at the time it was introduced last year.

Much of what I have to say is probably repetitious and has already been said by others who have testified, so I will make this brief.

United States Census Bureau figures indicate that there are approximately 80,000 young people in Arizona aged 18 through 20. Hence, lowering the voting age is of no small significance in our state.

We have had limited experience with a lower voting age in this country. Georgia lowered the voting age from 21 to 18 in 1943. Kentucky has found the same age limit to be successful since 1955. Alaska has an age limit at 19 years old and in Hawaii the limit is 20.

The experience in these four states demonstrates I believe, that young people today, in part because of the rising level of education, are equipped with the information and knowledge necessary to intelligently exercise the suffrage right.

The news media today also make these young adults more aware of current events.

There are other arguments in favor of lowering the voting age to 18 years. Many young people serve responsibly in the Armed Forces, in the Peace Corps and in the ranks of VISTA.

Of course many of them now carry out their responsibilities of citizenship by earning incomes and paying taxes. In addition, they operate automobiles, purchase insurance, are bound by commercial sales contracts of various kinds and in some states 18 year olds are considered to be adults in courts of law.

Now I suppose there is some criticism of lowering the voting age based upon the antics of draft card burners, demonstrators of one kind or another, hippies, and the college take-over crews. But these extremists are definitely a minority of the 18 to 21 year olds in our society.

Earlier this week I had the privilege of addressing several groups of students and faculty members on campus at Stanford University. Stanford, too has its rabble-rousers and they've been exercising their tactics during the past several days. But it didn't take close investigation to see that only 10 to 20 of these noxious miscreants were really involved. Unfortunately, the destruction and havoc they cause is wholly out of proportion to their numbers.

So my point is, these incidents of student insurrection should not be entirely relied upon by the opponents of this legislation before us today. The rebel element constitutes a fractional minority of 18 to 21 years olds.

In general, I believe the idealism, discipline, enthusiasm and principles of the vast majority of young voters would have a beneficial influence on the conduct of government and politics.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, Mr. Elson. I appreciate your taking the time to present Senator Hayden's views. I think your remarks are right on target.

Thank you very much.

Our next witness is a member of the other body of Congress, Ken Hechler of West Virginia, who represents the Fourth Congressional District there and serves as chairman of the Subcommittee on Ad-

vanced Research and Technology of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics.

I know from firsthand experience that Congressman Hechler is a Member of the House who has taken the lead in making governmental experience a meaningful thing to hundreds of his constituents, bringing them to Washington and letting them learn firsthand not only what his duties are, but getting a better look at the Government process.

I salute you for that, sir. I think this is an admirable habit or practice which you have followed for a number of years.

**STATEMENT OF HON. KEN HECHLER, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE  
FROM THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA**

MR. HECHLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is with some trepidation that I appear before this committee after hearing the excellent testimony of my colleagues, particularly the superb testimony of the senior Senator from West Virginia, which was so eloquently delivered earlier this morning.

Before beginning with my prepared testimony, I have noted there have been several references to the Maryland constitution which was defeated the day before yesterday. I talked to Senator Brewster and Senator Tydings and the Maryland delegation, all of whom indicated that the fact that the lowering of the voting age was included in that constitution had absolutely nothing to do with the defeat of the Maryland constitution by the voters.

I hope that this committee will go into that fact, also.

Mr. Chairman, on Sunday, 2 days before our hard-fought primary election in West Virginia, I drove to the major coal-mining center of Logan where close to 5,000 people turned out for a political rally. A sizable percentage of that audience was young people who had come to Logan not just to get their eardrums split by amplified electric guitars, but they were there to listen to the candidates.

When a meeting is finished, I always try to circulate to get ideas and reactions. For some reason, young high school and college students always seem to approach me after a meeting with questions, ideas, suggestions, and observations. "Why is it, Congressman," asked a young girl about 19, "that my husband who is in the Marines and under fire at Khesanh can't vote in the 1968 election because his 21st birthday doesn't come until the end of next year?"

I was glad to be able to tell that young lady that I would be testifying on this very subject today, Mr. Chairman. We have often heard the argument "Old enough to fight—old enough to vote" in connection with the 18-year-old vote. As a matter of fact, the experience of young GI's in World War II first spurred the drive by Georgia—the first State to lower the voting age to 18. To be in the Armed Forces today is a much more sobering and aging process than it was in either World War II or the Korean conflict. But I submit that the young wives, sweethearts, sisters, and classmates of our younger members of the Armed Forces fighting in Vietnam have a far more mature outlook on civic developments as a result of the unsettled international situation. At the meeting on Sunday in Logan to which I referred, I was struck

by both the interest and the genuine awareness of issues revealed by the comments of the young women as well as the young men.

In 1937, over 30 years ago, in courses in political science which I was teaching at Columbia University, I began to advocate that the voting age be lowered to 18 throughout the Nation. At that time, and since in political science classes at Princeton and Marshall Universities, I have required all students to use their home communities as political laboratories, either campaigning for candidates or polling the people on issues. I have tried to encourage similar activity while serving in Congress, and have also since my first year in the House of Representatives in 1959 introduced joint resolutions for a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age.

Since associating closely with young people as a teacher and public official over the past 30 years, I have observed a marked difference in their developing attitudes. In addition, there are different reasons today why the 18-year-old vote deserves our support.

Many people who reflect on the disgraceful episodes on our college campuses, with the ransacking of the offices of college officials, the defiance of authority, the outbreaks of violence, the use of drugs, and the draft-card burnings—many people conclude that America's youth are irresponsible iconoclasts. Many older people yearn for the good old days of the 1950's when gray-flanneled youth declined to be identified with civic issues lest the corporate recruiters would regard overactive participation as a blemish on student records. I favored the 18-year-old vote then in order to blast some students out of their indifference. Today, the 18-year-old vote is needed to harness the energy of young people and direct it into useful and constructive channels, not simply for their benefit, but for the benefit of the entire Nation.

A week or so ago I was up in Weirton, W. Va., where the Senator from Indiana, Hon. Vance Hartke, delivered the guest address, the Senator who testified yesterday in behalf of this resolution. While there, I ran into a former Columbia University student of mine who is now editor of Good Housekeeping magazine. He remarked that his teenaged children have developed an almost instant grasp of the most sophisticated aspects of political analysis, canvassing, precinct politics, and campaign issues. He marveled at the fact that "yesterday they were playing in the yard, riding bicycles and glued to apparently senseless TV programs, but suddenly the political primary campaigns have ignited a burning flame of civic activity within each of them."

Senator BAYH. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HECHLER. The same remarkable development is occurring all over the Nation. Many of those young people who have been alienated, who have become frustrated and disturbed, who are stirring up trouble, are beginning to see and appreciate that change may be obtained through the existing political structure. At this crucial point, if we deny the right to vote to those young people between the ages of 18 and 20, it is entirely possible that they will join the more militant minority of their fellow students and engage in destructive activities of a dangerous nature.

Mr. Chairman, I concur with the remarks you made yesterday to the witness for the National Student Association and urge responsible activity. I think nothing would do more to harm this effort to obtain

the 18-year-old vote than for students to engage in irresponsible activity.

I believe that when a young person first gets interested in public issues, and the enthusiasm of that interest is beginning to manifest itself, it is damaging to deny the followthrough which comes with having the right to vote. Without the opportunity to vote, the 18- and 19-year-olds begin to turn to other interests, and they frequently lose interest in public issues by the time they are legally eligible to vote at 21.

In 1960, the State of West Virginia had a total of 74,729 young men and women between the ages of 18 and 20, inclusive. This represented 6.4 percent of the total population of the State. Since that time, the percentage of young people aged 18, 19, and 20 has risen. As of July 1, 1967, there were 103,000 young people between the ages of 18 and 20, inclusive, which constitutes 8.8 percent of the total population of our State, as contrasted with only 6.4 percent in 1960.

I think these figures are significant, because they show that West Virginia is above the national average in 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds. Mr. Chairman, you presented statistics at the opening of these hearings to indicate that nationwide only 5.5 percent of our total population fell into this category.

West Virginia is interested in this legislation not alone because of this higher percentage of young men and women in the 18-to-20 age group. Our State has suffered from an outmigration of many young people in their productive years after 21 just as they are developing the leadership potential for the future which our State sorely needs. In terms of absolute figures, West Virginia's population has declined in recent national censuses. When I first came to the House of Representatives in 1959, West Virginia was entitled to six Members in the House. We now have been reduced to five, and the prospects are almost certain that, after the 1970 census, West Virginia's declining population will entitle her to only four Members of the House of Representatives. One critical problem in our State is that the younger people in their twenties and thirties have left the State to seek greener pastures elsewhere. Perhaps the most dramatic example of this was illustrated in the fact that, when West Virginia passed a Korean war bonus, it was discovered that 43.32 percent of the bonus payments for West Virginia's Korean war veterans had to be mailed to out-of-state addresses. The cream of our productive and leadership potential was leaving.

I feel that the lowering of the voting age would give our young people between the ages of 18 and 21 a definite stake in the future of West Virginia. If they had a voice in the future of our State, I am convinced it would be easier to reverse this trend toward leaving West Virginia, and would encourage these young people to help build a stronger economic future at home.

It is easy to point out that there are some glaring examples of stupid people who are 18, 19, and 20 years of age. But all of us know some examples of equally or perhaps even more stupid people at age 21, 35, 50, and above. There are young fogies as well as old fogies. It would be impossible in a democracy to devise a test which would effectively weed out those at any age who may not deserve to vote. I believe it is dangerous to generalize, and to make such statements as: "Those who squeal and jump up and down at political rallies are ob-

viciously too young and impressionable to be trusted with the ballot."

We all know that there have been tremendous improvements in our educational system since the days when the voting age was set at 21. There are far richer opportunities for learning through the medium of electronic communications than there ever were before. Many more young people are completing high school and college than in prior years. In West Virginia, only 14.2 percent of those over 25 had completed 4 years of high school in 1940, whereas this figure had risen to 30.5 percent in 1960. Today, 61.9 percent of those in the fifth grade in West Virginia will complete high school, and 19.1 percent of those in the first grade in West Virginia will go on to college.

Medical science is increasing the life expectancy of all Americans. This means that the average age of the electorate over 21 is increasing. If we are to avoid a gerontocracy, perhaps it would be healthy to balance out the average age of American voters by lowering the eligibility age to 18.

Earlier in my testimony, I warned about generalizations which are thrown around about young people. But I wish to ignore my warning and make one generalization which is that every individual who has an established profession or occupation necessarily develops a stake in certain economic interests. This is not to say such an entrenched economic interest or its expression is unhealthy, because our Nation and its politics are based largely on those various and competing economic interests so brilliantly described by James Madison in Number Ten of the Federalist papers. I do believe, however, that it is very beneficial for the general welfare of our Nation to have an additional body of voters who tend to think more broadly, perhaps more idealistically, in terms of the general good without reference to one or more economic interests. I submit that the general mass of voters between the ages of 18 to 20, inclusive, might fit into this category. These people tend to think for themselves, have fewer hardened prejudices, and may think more in terms of the common good than those with established economic interests. At least they can supply somewhat of a balance.

Finally, if I may be permitted another generalization, it has been my observation that some of the greatest drive toward cleaning up corruption in government comes from younger people. They tend to be less cynical about forms of corruption, and more eager and optimistic about cleaning it up. As we get older, we tend too often to accept certain ways of doing business as impossible to correct. That is another reason why I support lowering the voting age to bring more fresh idealism into the operation of our Government.

You have heard some excellent testimony before this committee in the presentation of other witnesses. I congratulate you on your work, and hope that 1968 will be the year when your efforts, Mr. Chairman, will be crowned with success.

Senator ВАН. Thank you very much, Congressman Hechler. I know how busy you are over in that other great body. I appreciate your taking the time to come and share your thoughts with us. You have been very helpful. I am glad to know your thoughts have been expressed before. They are helpful.

Our next witness is Mr. Paul McMillan, a teacher, of Jacksonville, Fla.

Mr. McMillan, you have prepared a master's degree thesis studying the 18-year-old vote in the United States, which we thought would be helpful in compiling our record.

We appreciate your taking the time to make use of this opportunity to express your views.

**STATEMENT OF PAUL McMILLAN, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.**

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Chairman, it is a privilege to be afforded an opportunity to appear before this committee to speak in support of this resolution favoring an amendment to lower the voting age.

For approximately the past 12 years, I have been connected with the activities of young democratic clubs. In 1965, I was elected to the Young Democratic State Executive Committee of Florida. Since 1962, I have served on the Duval County Democratic Executive Committee in Florida. In these official capacities, I have long fought for 18, or in any minimum, preferably 19-year-old suffrage. However, my remarks today are intended to be in an objective vein.

There appears to be a generation gap in this country. It is explosive. College campuses from the Atlantic to the Pacific are under siege.

Why?

One reason: that young people can hope for redress of grievances only through demonstrations and violence. They are excluded from the political processes.

One way to deescalate their fury and resentment is to give them a voice in government. This means to give them the right to vote. I think I do not dramatize when I suggest that adoption of the lower age amendment would do more to bring the generation gap than any public act conceivably.

An emotional argument used by advocates of the lower suffrage age is that it is an age at which young men and women are called to heroism and sacrifice at war, age enough to qualify them to vote. This argument is dismissed as moral pap. But is it?

The truth is it is not. But, rather, it is good history. In Anglo-Saxon tradition, going back to the Middle Ages, the age of 21 was picked as the age of adulthood or being knighted. This was the age a young man was deemed old enough and strong enough to wear armor and to go to war. Today, he is called by his country to put on armor and to go to war at age 18. He is then a man in every sense of the word; he is ready to vote.

Students in my own American history class learn that one of the causes of the American Revolution was taxation without representation. Well, of course, you know the story. The colonies revolted and the youth of America could possibly do the same.

Furthermore, many of these students, when they are 18, 19, 20 years old, become taxpayers without any representation. I wrote my master's thesis on the subject of lower voting age, and it is actually 200 pages long. I have it here with me. It documents the history of the movement, gives an exposition of all the arguments for and against a lower suffrage age.

It mentions the conflict of States rights and constitutional amendments. It includes every State attempt I could find, including some of yours in the State of Indiana, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to file a copy with this committee. I cannot do so, because I do not have the money, but I will be happy to leave it here with the committee if I am assured of its return.

In the meantime, I cannot tell you how honored I am to be able to appear.

I am a schoolteacher. I am anonymous. That I got here today and was allowed to speak on this matter is an example of American democracy at its best.

I thank you most profoundly. I will be most flattered and honored more if the committee would question me on anything I have said or anything that might be in my thesis.

Senator BAYH. I appreciate your willingness to let us have the opportunity to peruse the copy of the thesis that you brought along with you. I understand the financial restrictions, not only on you, but perhaps even better on ourselves as far as purchasing a copy.

We will promise to keep it under lock and key so nothing will happen to it. I know how much work you spent on it and we will not let anything happen to it. We shall look into it. We could probably ask you questions more intelligently after we have had a chance to read it.

Mr. McMILLAN. I have some points here—do I have time?

Senator BAYH. I am watching the clock. We have 2 or 3 more minutes—you may go ahead and we will continue when we get back.

Mr. McMILLAN. First, my introduction goes into the whole history of the movement, going back to how they established 21. Of course, you can find 18 in Greece and 24 in Rome. Twenty-one goes back to knighthood. I have mentioned that in my introductory remarks.

Then a chapter on the constitutional amendments. It began in 1942, with Senator Vandenberg and Representative Randolph. In 1954, the only time it ever came to a vote, and it was unfortunate, there was a party issue in that year or we might have had 18 year olds voting today.

It came up again in 1961 proceedings on home rule for Washington, D.C.

I have concluded in here that the reason it has not done any better than it has is because some of the committee heads do not appear too favorable in behalf of the measure.

In the last couple of years, this issue has been very intense, and, of course, people like yourself and Representative Hechler have done a tremendous amount in behalf of getting this before the people.

I predict—I am no Drew Pearson, but I predict that within a few years, that there will probably be some compromise. I believe that ultimately, a 19-year figure will be agreed upon and it will be enacted.

That, of course, leads us to the question of the States. The States have the machinery, but many States do not—

Senator BAYH. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McMILLAN. On the States, the States have the machinery but they have their hands tied behind their backs. For instance in New Mexico, they are so tied up on their voting clause in the Constitution that they cannot even have absentee voting.

Vermont only discusses it every 10 years.

You have heard many of these through the duration of this meeting the last 3 days.

Then I analyze completely all the States, plus the territory of Guam, that have ever had 18-, 19-, 20-year-old voting, their problems, what they have concluded with them. It has all been reasonably good.

I have pretty well concluded also that the fight for women's suffrage was a long and involved one and the fight for 18-year-old voting may be equally difficult.

Just a few quick remarks.

The Gallup poll has consistently shown that 60 percent of the people are for 18-year-old voting and the States do not enact it. That is because of the difficulty of the State legislative process.

Most State legislatures meet only 60 days every 2 years and the States have taxation and education problems and they hardly ever get to the lower age question.

That pretty well concludes my remarks.

I certainly appreciate the opportunity of presenting them.

Thank you.

I have a few written remarks here which I shall not go into more fully, but I would like to have them appear in the record.

Senator BAYH. Without objection.

(The document referred to follows:)

#### STATEMENT OF PAUL McMILLAN

Mr. Chairman, it is a privilege to be afforded an opportunity to appear before this committee to speak in support of this resolution favoring an amendment to the Constitution to lower the voting age. For approximately the past twelve years, I have been connected with the activities of Young Democratic Clubs. In 1965, I was elected to the Young Democratic State Executive Committee of Florida. Since 1962, I have served on the Duval County Democratic Executive Committee, in Jacksonville. While working on my master's degree, I chose the subject of a lowered voting age as the theme of my thesis. However, my remarks today are intended to be in an objective vein.

There appears to be a serious generation gap in America today. A contributing factor for this situation could be that young men are excluded from politics—but not excluded from war. In fact, the question of the lower voting age always comes up during time of war.

Congress first seriously considered proposals to reduce the minimum voting age in 1942. On October 17, House Joint Resolution 352 was introduced by Oklahoma Representative Victor Wickersham. He submitted his resolution after it became evident that Congress was going to adopt a bill allowing the draft age to be lowered to include eighteen and nineteen year olds. The late Senator Arthur Vandenberg offered Senate Joint Resolution 166 the following Monday, October 19. His only comment was, "If young men are to be drafted at 18 years of age to fight for their Government, they ought to be entitled to vote at 18 years of age for the kind of government for which they are best satisfied to fight."<sup>1</sup> Since then the emotion-charged argument, "If they are old enough to fight, they are old enough to vote," has been repeated so often as to become trite; however, it is a difficult one to refute.

However, my favorite argument for extending the voting right to 18 year olds was given by West Virginia Senator Jennings Randolph speaking before a subcommittee hearing in 1961. He used as his theme broadening the base of democracy. He acknowledged that there were few factual grounds on which to base his plea. Therefore, he relied on historical and philosophic foundations. Briefly outlining the history of voting, he maintained that with the growth of Anglo-American democracy there has been a steady departure from the idea of voting as a privilege of property. This idea has been replaced with one which

<sup>1</sup> U.S. *Congressional Record*, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, 1942, p. 8316.

recognizes voting as the privilege of all persons on whom we impose the responsibilities of citizenship.<sup>2</sup>

The Gallup Poll consistently shows that about sixty per cent of all Americans approve a lower voting age. Why, then, are there so few states with enactments which reflect this opinion? The truth is most states do have the machinery to pass such legislation. However, many state legislatures meet bi-annually, for short periods of time. Serious state problems arising in such areas as taxation and education invariably dominate almost all the legislature's time. Pressure to enact certain legislation is brought to bear by lobbyists representing insurance, the liquor industry, food chain stores and the like. Lack of organizations and time prevent the youth from serving as a strong pressure group or an effective lobby. It should also be pointed out that sometimes one or two people who are against proposed legislation can prevent its passage by unfavorable and/or multi-committee assignments.

Another fact for consideration is that the amending process is very involved and difficult in some states. For instance, in New Mexico, to amend the section of the state constitution dealing with voting requires a three-fourths vote in the entire state along with a two-thirds vote in each county of the state. Ten attempts to amend this section to provide for absentee voting have failed.<sup>3</sup> Another example is Vermont, the only state never having considered a constitutional amendment regarding the lower voting age. Proposals for amending the Vermont Constitution may be introduced in the Senate only in those sessions held during the years ending with the digit "one."<sup>4</sup> Certain other states such as Iowa, Indiana, New York, and Pennsylvania require that a constitutional amendment be approved by two consecutive legislative sessions. The necessary support present during one session may have dwindled by the next one.

One other development on the state level affects the possibility and probability of lowering the voting age at the state level. That is the effect the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" decision has had on the make-up of state legislatures. Some time ago, State Senator Terry Carpenter of Nebraska introduced an amendment calling for a lower voting age. He indicated his bill was killed on the floor of the Senate, "mainly because we had so many Senators over the age of 65 who thought that no one knew much until they had arrived at that age."<sup>5</sup> Former state representative, now Governor David F. Cargo of New Mexico introduced legislation at the 1963 and 1965 sessions of the legislature, but each time the proposal was decisively killed in a committee. Mr. Cargo indicated that he was a liberal Republican and in an extremely conservative legislature dominated by rural conservatives, his bills never had a chance of passing.<sup>6</sup> No longer, however, is the urban majority controlled by the rural minority.

I personally appealed to a committee considering the lower voting age in Florida during 1965—without success. However, in the 1967 session of the legislature—after reapportionment had greatly changed the composition of the group—a more positive, progressive approach was evident. The legislature approved a new state constitution which contains a provision allowing nineteen year olds to vote. Referendums scheduled to be submitted to the voters in November in half a dozen states further bear out this point.

In spite of this last statement, it is my contention that there is a definite need for action at the federal level because of the difficult amending process in many of the states. Presently, there is much public support for enfranchising the youth. This is evidenced by the various polls, statements of lawmakers, and the active support of certain groups. Many of our contemporary statesmen have noted the same: Presidents Johnson, Kennedy, and Eisenhower; Vice-Presidents Humphrey and Nixon; and presidential candidates Estes Kefauver, Barry Goldwater and Adlai E. Stevenson.

In conclusion, my studies noted that the lowest percentage of voters in the United States occurs in the 21-30 age bracket. The report of the President's

<sup>2</sup> United States Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Constitutional Amendments Relating to Nomination and Election of President and Vice President and Qualifications for Voting*, Hearings before Subcommittee, 87th Congress, 1st Session, on S.J. Res. 71, June 8, 1961 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Philip T. Manly, Attorney, New Mexico Legislative Council, Santa Fe, New Mex., July 27, 1965.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Mrs. Florence Berry, Secretary, Government Research Center, The University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt., Oct. 21, 1965.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Hon. Terry Carpenter, Nebraska State Senate, Lincoln, Neb., Sept. 1, 1965.

<sup>6</sup> Letter from Hon. David F. Cargo, New Mexico House of Representatives, Santa Fe, New Mex., Sept. 10, 1965.

Commission on Registration and Voting Participation hoped each state would "carefully consider reducing the minimum voting age to 18."<sup>7</sup> They asked, as I ask, why do so many Americans not vote on Election Day? This country stands to gain by encouraging the lower-aged youth to become interested in politics.

Senator BAYH. I have to run over to vote. Excuse me a moment.

(Brief recess.)

Senator BAYH. Mr. McMillan, I notice in your statement, you mention—in fact, I think it is in the conclusion—the unfortunate fact that the lowest percentage of voting takes place in the youngest age category. Have you been able to compare this with the voting participation of young people in the States of Kentucky and Georgia, in Alaska and Hawaii, where the voting age has been lowered?

Mr. McMILLAN. One study that was done by our most distinguished professor of political science at the University of Kentucky, Malcolm Jewell, indicated that there was some evidence of more participation. But I personally did not find a great deal of evidence that 18- to 21-year olds just flocked to the polls any more, after the first few elections. The novelty of the thing may have worn off a little bit. After the smoke had cleared, there was a definitely marked increase, but not up to expectations.

I teach in a college preparatory school in Jacksonville, and I have a lot of students from Georgia. I have never seen any more enthusiasm about voting than this five or six students that I have. That is not very much of a random survey, but I have taught a great number of students over my years from Georgia and I have never seen such enthusiasm about voting. That is certainly just a small random survey and of no real value over the long haul.

Senator BAYH. What specifically do the Kentucky studies show?

Mr. McMILLAN. Of course, Kentucky has problems, because they lowered the whole legal age to 18. They did not just lower the voting age, as Georgia did. They lowered the whole legal age. They have had problems in these other areas. But as far as voting, there has been an 18- to 20-percent increase. I have all the story of Professor Jewell's analyses of this matter. It very definitely shows about a 15- to 20-percent increase, after about the third or fourth year. This was passed in the year 1956, more or less as a result of President Eisenhower's appeal at that time. It was mentioned in his state of the Union address, I believe in 1954 or 1955.

Senator BAYH. Do they have any problems which you uncovered there which might not be specifically related to age itself but to the habits and environs that many young people find themselves in to a greater degree than older people; namely, they are more mobile, some of them still have families that are in less senior positions in the companies for which they work and they do not have the strong roots to keep them in place, therefore they might not be eligible to vote because of residency requirements. Have you given any thought to that?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, I have. One of the problems of this emotional appeal is that if they are old enough to die, they are old enough to vote, and if you go in the service and go to Vietnam, try voting. It certainly entails great complications. This would be one angle that would be unfortunate, because they probably would not be able to vote, as a matter of fact.

<sup>7</sup> *Report of President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 44.

Senator BAYH. How about the young men that are in Vietnam? Are there young men that are not in Vietnam who are moving around because of education and other reasons and have problems of residency?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, there are. An 18-year-old can do one of two or three things—go in the service, go to college, or get a job. If he gets a job, suddenly he is a taxpayer and eligible for civil service jobs and things of that sort. If he goes to college, certainly he should become interested in the political processes, taking courses in political science. I teach political science. What I would like to see would be more people interested in politics at an earlier age who become more or less professional in that respect.

In the south, in Florida where I live, politicians are not looked upon—a lot of people who are ignorant of this whole process say all politicians are crooks or they have bad connotations, which is unfortunate. I think that a lower voting age certainly would get the youth interested, majoring in law, public administration, political science, government, and foreign service and things of that sort. If we could just capture a few or a small percentage of these students, it would be worth, well worth the cause.

Senator BAYH. I notice that the main thrust of your prepared statement directs itself to the reason that the States have not dealt with this problem themselves; namely, the difficulty of securing constitutional amendments. I have had some experience in this difficulty, because we have to have the identical measure passed by two consecutive sessions and then referred and accepted by the majority of the people voting on the issue in the next general election.

Now, the question I would like to throw you for your consideration, and I know of no way you could have scientific data, but perhaps you can give us your judgment on this: Inasmuch as we are going to need to get three-fourths of these States to ratify anything that we pass, we are going to confront the same legislators that you described with some degree of particularity in your prepared remarks. Do you have any magic formula as to how we can convince those people to accept a national standard, a national constitution, when they will not do it for their individual States?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, let me say this first: As far as the States go, most States hold biennial sessions of the legislature for approximately 60 days, let us say. By the time they get into 2 years accumulation of problems in education and taxes—I am from Florida, and believe me, we have serious problems in both—the legislature is completely involved in handling these problems for a great portion of its time.

Then, of course, I personally have been involved in this. I have campaigned for this cause for years and appeared before committee hearings before in Florida. I find with the time remaining, legislators are more or less being escorted by maybe a food chainstore lobby and—

Senator BAYH. Let me define the question a little more specifically, perhaps. These same conditions are going to exist—you just got through describing what you describe in your paper here—for those legislators when they are called upon to ratify a constitutional amendment if it is ever passed by the Senate or the House, either that or we will have to require that a constitutional convention be called or a convention called to ratify a constitutional amendment.

I just wonder, you still have to get a legislative process enacted, you see, and energized by three-fourths of the States favorably. Inasmuch as you have given us some thought that you are aware of the conditions that exist in some of the legislatures, I thought you might have some suggestions as to how we could make an appeal on a national basis that has failed so far in many of the States on a more local basis.

Mr. McMILLAN. You are more or less talking about the problem of States rights versus a constitutional amendment now. Is that what you are talking about? You mean rationalizing to these people who are for the States handling their own affairs why they should do such?

Senator BAYH. Well, you see, we have had several amendments that have been passed by the Congress. The Bill of Rights originally contained 12 amendments. Two of them are still floating around in limbo some place because they were not ratified, as you well know.

Now, you make a very strong case for the reason the States do not address themselves to this in your criticism of State legislatures. I am not criticizing that at all. It could well be accurate. But if it is accurate, we have that same problem confronting us. The only difference would be that instead of having to act on it twice, they would only have to act on it once.

Now, perhaps there is no answer. I just thought maybe you might have one.

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, actually, this whole question is going to be never resolved until the committee has developed a more favorable attitude toward it, I suppose. That is one thing I definitely concluded in my thesis.

It has certainly run into difficulties in certain areas in the House of Representatives and also in the Senate.

A lot of the committees—for instance, Senator Kefauver, during his era, was 100 percent for it. But he could not make any headway because of various reasons and the same with various committees in the House of Representatives.

But I do not know if I could go any further.

Senator BAYH. Well, I thank you very much, Mr. McMillan. I apologize again for having to play like an orange bouncing ball back and forth here.

Mr. McMILLAN. I appreciated the opportunity to answer any questions.

Senator BAYH. We would like to have a chance to go through this thesis of yours, which I know will be helpful to us in exploring the scope of the problem.

Thank you very much.

Mr. McMILLAN. Thank you.

Senator BAYH. I shall ask that at this point in the record the statement of Mr. Donald P. Lass, chairman of the National and State Committee for the 18-Year-Old Vote, be inserted as if it had been read.

**STATEMENT OF DONALD P. LASS, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL AND STATE COMMITTEE BACKING UP A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO ALLOW 18-YEAR-OLDS TO VOTE**

The 18-year-old vote issue has received widespread support from organizations and high-ranking public leaders. The curious part of it

is that legislative action on this matter has not progressed as far as one would expect, considering the popularity of the issue. Veterans' groups, such as the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, at one time urged the extension of suffrage with the slogan "Old enough to fight, old enough to vote." Both the Democratic and Republican national chairmen endorsed the idea in 1952. President Eisenhower recommended it in his 1954 state of the Union address. President Kennedy supported the principle, as do presidential candidates Nixon, Governor Rockefeller, Senator McCarthy, Governor Wallace, and Vice President Hubert Humphrey. And just lately, on May 29, 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson, at Texas Christian University commencement exercises, stated, "Now I believe we should extend the range of young people's participation in public life. I believe we should move forward—now—to grant the vote to 18-year-olds." A New York Times poll of 1952 revealed that 29 Governors favored the measurement, seven opposed it, and 12 had not reached a decision. Our committee's poll of 1967-68 revealed that 35 Governors favored the measurement, nine opposed it, and six had not reached a decision.

Also, our committee took a poll in September of 1967 of the Members of the U.S. Senate and the Members of the House of Representatives. The results are as follows:

	Senate	House of Representatives
In favor.....	57	128
Against.....	18	18
Undecided.....	30	12
Unanswered.....	3	250

The Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives have all been individually contacted by letter in regard to our committee poll. The following bills which have been introduced in the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives have been sent to our committee:

Bill	Date introduced	Sponsor
S.J. Res. 8.....	Jan. 12, 1967.....	Senator Mansfield.
H.J. Res. 50.....	Jan. 10, 1967.....	Mr. Gallagher.
H.J. Res. 56.....	do.....	Mr. Hechler of West Virginia.
H.J. Res. 85.....	do.....	Mr. O'Hara of Michigan.
H.J. Res. 86.....	do.....	Mr. Patman.
H.J. Res. 130.....	Jan. 12, 1967.....	Mr. Helstoski.
H.J. Res. 188.....	Jan. 19, 1967.....	Mr. Rodino.
H.J. Res. 205.....	Jan. 24, 1967.....	Mr. Jacobs.
H.J. Res. 211.....	Jan. 25, 1967.....	Mr. Edmondson.
H.J. Res. 260.....	Feb. 2, 1967.....	Mr. Walker.
H.J. Res. 288.....	Feb. 9, 1967.....	Mr. Saylor.
H.J. Res. 322.....	Feb. 20, 1967.....	Mr. Rosenthal.
H.J. Res. 326.....	Feb. 21, 1967.....	Mr. Adams.
H.J. Res. 330.....	do.....	Mr. Button.
H.J. Res. 331.....	do.....	Do.
H.J. Res. 337.....	do.....	Mr. Meeds.
H.J. Res. 344.....	do.....	Mr. Winn.
H.J. Res. 346.....	do.....	Mr. Brasco.
H.J. Res. 348.....	do.....	Mr. Moorhead.
H.J. Res. 353.....	Feb. 23, 1967.....	Mr. Pepper.
H.J. Res. 375.....	Mar. 1, 1967.....	Mr. Stratton.
H.J. Res. 386.....	Mar. 2, 1967.....	Mr. Eilberg.
H.J. Res. 479.....	Mar. 22, 1967.....	Mr. Wolff.
H.J. Res. 632.....	June 15, 1967.....	Mr. Diggs.
H.J. Res. 775.....	Aug. 8, 1967.....	Mr. Teague of Texas.
H.J. Res. 842.....	Sept. 25, 1967.....	Mr. Fascal.
H.J. Res. 977.....	Jan. 16, 1968.....	Mr. Thompson of Georgia.
H.J. Res. 1078.....	Feb. 8, 1968.....	Mr. Tiernan.

So our committee is informed that Senate Joint Resolution 8 is in committee and to our knowledge 27 resolutions are pending in the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee of which Congressman Emanuel Celler is chairman.

Among those countries with an 18-year-old minimum for voting are some Latin American countries, Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala, Paraguay, and Peru. Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Russia also use the 18-year-old standard. South Vietnam allows 18-year-olds to vote.

Since World War I there have been a number of attempts to secure a reduction of the minimum voting age to 18, in some instances through a Federal constitutional amendment, and in others through amendments to State election codes, by action of the State legislatures. In only two States, Georgia and Kentucky, has the reduction been accomplished. Georgia lowered the minimum age qualification for voting to 18 in 1943, Kentucky in 1955. In Alaska the minimum age is 19, in Hawaii it is 20.

#### OLD ENOUGH TO FIGHT, OLD ENOUGH TO VOTE

We have seen boys and girls at the age of 18 years of age going into the Armed Forces, to serve voluntarily. On the other hand, we have seen 18- and 19-year-olds being drafted into our Armed Forces. This has happened in two World Wars, the Korean conflict, and now the Vietnam crisis. The boys are asked to make sacrifices knowing that they may never return to their families if they are sent to a troubled country such as Vietnam. These boys are asked to be sacrificial lambs by the Government, for whom they have never had the right to vote. Technically, these boys are fighting for their rights and ours, but they, at the age of 18, do not have the right to vote as you and I do.

The war in Vietnam has claimed thousands of lives of boys under the age of 21 years, who have never voted for their representatives in Washington and in their own States. The United States calls on the young men to protect their country, but does not permit them to share any political responsibility. That is even more unfair than taxation without representation. It may be called sacrifice without representation. We should not ask our 18- to 21-year-olds to fight a major conflict, to assume positions of leadership in that conflict and to be men in every sense of the word, if we are not prepared to regard them as adult enough to vote.

#### IN MANY RESPECTS PERSONS OF 18 ARE LEGALLY CONSIDERED TO BE OF AGE, AND ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS

In many of our States, persons in this same age bracket may enter contracts, may marry, may purchase life insurance, or may draw up a will. They are judged mature enough, intelligent enough, and responsible enough to engage in these activities, but they cannot vote because, it is argued, they are not mature enough, intelligent enough, and responsible enough to exercise the franchise. Does this make good sense? The minimum age for employment under our civil service laws is 18 years of age. Under our penal code, the Federal courts, at the discretion of the Attorney General, may and do commit 18-year-olds to

a Federal prison. Under the penal code of our various States the same is true, and 18-year-olds are committed to State penitentiaries. I am not in conflict with either of the above laws, they are fair and just. However, it convinces me that at 18 a young man or woman is emancipated.

PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS THROUGH THE EXERCISE OF THE VOTE IS AN  
IMPORTANT ASPECT FOR TRAINING YOUTH FOR CITIZENSHIP

Many of the traditional arguments for the vote at 18 have been put into a new perspective by the rapidly changing world.

Certainly the 18-year-old of today is much better educated and has been exposed to a far larger segment of the world than his counterpart at the time the minimum age was established. The communications explosion has placed the events occurring in any part of the world into living rooms in all parts of our country. Television and radio have radically changed the world. For example, Lani Bird, the communications satellite recently put over the Pacific, is being considered to give live coverage of the war in Vietnam.

Where a man formerly had to rely on a local newspaper or cracker-barrel discussion for his information about the world he now has two or three newspapers at his disposal. Many papers have correspondents in every corner of the globe, and wire services report detailed and factual information from every nation on earth.

The American education system has produced a youth of particular sensitivity to the great events of our times. Increased political activity is just one of the manifestations. Youth is more concerned about the structure and value of our society than they have been in the past. Certainly they would and should be able to translate this concern into an intelligent and informed vote.

I would hope that prompt action can be taken on the issue of lowering the minimum voting age to 18. Our youth have demonstrated to us that they are ready—we have an obligation to allow them to enter the mainstream of American political life.

SUMMARY

The idea of the 21-year age minimum for voting is based only on tradition, and an outmoded tradition at that. The young men and women of today have demonstrated their desire to serve their Nation in valuable and laudatory ways as members of the Armed Forces, Peace Corps, and VISTA. It seems to me a grave injustice that they should be deprived of the right to vote until they reach the age of 21, while at the same time they are being urged to serve and represent their Nation in foreign lands, to carry out vital programs in depressed areas of their own, and conscripted to defend our country under fire of an enemy.

These young people have a great stake in the destiny of our Nation. They are bound by its laws, serve in its wars, are enriched by its triumphs, and impoverished by its failures.

They are entitled to a voice in their government's affairs. They are entitled to a voice in selecting their political leaders. They are entitled to share the responsibility for enacting and repealing laws. They are entitled to a vote.

A lowering of the voting age is dictated by justice and common-sense alike. The young men and women on whose behalf I speak today are fully qualified and clearly entitled to the right to vote. To continue to deny that right would be sheer nonsense and blind folly, for they have much to contribute in interest, zeal, idealism, and a fresh point of view which can only serve to enrich our great democracy.

Let us act to enfranchise these young Americans. Let us permit them to make the contribution to good government which I know they can. Let us extend to our young people the privileges and burdens of full citizenship which they are eager and able to assume.

The vast majority of young people in this Nation demonstrate the maturity and responsibility to exercise the franchise. Notwithstanding a few beatniks and delinquents to the contrary, I will stand behind that statement. I know how we adults hate to admit it, but our age groups are not immune to irresponsibility, apathy, and immaturity. This kind of minority wall will always be with us whether 18 or 80. That there are an irresponsible few should not be held against 18- and 19-year-olds any more than against 35- or 50-year-olds. I think it can be fairly argued that 45 percent of our Nation's young people—are increasingly well-educated, affluent, and influential young people—are being denied at a critical stage in their lives the privilege and responsibility of voting.

The 1963 report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation emphasized that by lowering the voting age, we would be extending the right to vote to those who are immediately interested in public affairs as a result of the educational phase which they are completing.

If 18 is adopted as a minimum age, we also recommend programs under which registration of students could be facilitated through voter registration days at high schools themselves. This proposal will also have the dual effect of strengthening academic freedom and bringing to the electorate a group of young people who are energetic and idealistic in their view of the public service.

Another factor to be considered in support of such a constitutional amendment is that by granting the right to vote to persons in the 18- to 21-age bracket, we will be placing added responsibility on that group entering upon a new phase of community responsibilities.

Perhaps by encouraging our young people we can begin an effective "citizenship involvement" program. Our young people have lived through periods of hot wars, cold wars, and propaganda wars. They can appreciate the real horrors of war. They have experienced educational advances far beyond expectations of 20 years ago. They are better equipped to meet the responsibilities of the franchise than prior generations, and they are more aware of the domestic and international problems which face our Nation. They are Democrats, Republicans, and Independents—they do not appear to be any more "liberal" or more "conservative" than a cross section of the adult voting population. Most importantly, they do have minds of their own.

A national poll taken within the past 18 months indicates that there is substantial acceptance for lowering the voting age to 18. Fifty-seven percent favor such action, 39 percent oppose it, and 4 percent are undecided. Other polls taken during the last 12 years show almost identical results. The issue is whether the voting age shall be lowered to

18. I most emphatically assert that it should. I sincerely believe that a constitutional amendment granting all our citizens who have reached the age of 18 the right to vote, would prove itself of great value not only to our young people, but to the Nation as a whole. I very strongly urge that this franchise be given to them. I know the time has come to extend voting rights in America's Government to all those of us who support it, and defend it and have a full stake in its future.

Thank you.

Senator BAYH. The next witness is Mr. Dennis Brinkmeyer, the chairman of the State Conference of Committees To Lower Indiana's Voting Age.

I am anxious to have his thoughts for the record, inasmuch as our State legislature at the last session confronted this particular problem and dealt with it, in my judgment, unfavorably. It would be nice to see what is going on in at least one of our States to try to reverse this direction today.

#### STATEMENT OF DENNIS BRINKMEYER, CHAIRMAN, THE STATE CONFERENCE OF COMMITTEES TO LOWER INDIANA'S VOTING AGE

Mr. BRINKMEYER. First of all, allow me to say what a great pleasure and honor it is for me to appear before you today as the spokesman of the State Conference of Committees to Lower Indiana's Voting Age. I come here to discuss a topic that is outstanding in the minds of today's youth and I think has been receiving some very careful consideration by adults in recent years.

The time is at hand to allow persons under 21 to vote. The time has come to allow the young men of our Nation who die fighting for the United States in countries thousands of miles from home a chance to voice their opinions on the efforts being made by their leaders toward bringing peace to the world. I do not wish to imply that the only reason young people beginning at age 18 should be allowed to vote is because of the war; there are many other valid reasons and the fact that young men at age 18 die defending their country is only one of them.

Another reason for young people being allowed to vote in their country's elections has to do with the amount of preparation they have had for this privilege by the time they are seniors in high school. Today the young citizens attending high school are kept up to date on current events and happenings in the world around them by current events classes and current events magazines that are delivered to their classrooms on a weekly basis. The problems of today's society are openly discussed and opinions on these problems are freely given by both teacher and pupil. The modern communications such as TV and radio play an important part in keeping today's young citizens informed. Special TV news programs and, to a lesser extent, special radio news programs all assist in making today's young people the best informed citizens the world has ever seen. Ask an adult of 45 or 50 about a world leader and then ask a senior in high school about the same world leader in this country and then compare notes as to who is the best informed and the most interested. I think you will agree that the young people of America are deserving of the rights

enjoyed by the older adults in reference to voting for governmental leaders.

It is also time that some sort of distinction be made between the two periods of one's life when a person becomes an adult and when one becomes of age to own property and apply for credit. Young people who are high school seniors should be treated as adults and the results would be surprising to those who are inclined to consider anyone under 21 a child who is to be treated as such and granted no rights or privileges that would compare with those he or she is to receive upon reaching age 21.

There are those who say, "I had to wait until I was 21 to vote and they—today's youth—aren't any better than I was at that age; so let them wait like I did." This is a poor excuse, but in Indiana, we ran into this when we were gathering 50,000 names on a petition we later sent to Indianapolis by our State legislature.

I might point out that most adults approached were happy to sign our petition and gave us encouragement to continue our drive to lower Indiana's voting age. The excuse that they had to wait until 21 to vote is not even worth consideration in light of what the situation is in today's United States. Today's youth are active and interested in politics. Their parents do not rule that children are to be heard only by other children or young adults are to keep their opinions to themselves. This same adult who says he had to wait until he was age 21 to vote does not take into consideration the fact that when he was a child, penicillin was not available. But would he tell a doctor treating his child or grandchild, don't use that penicillin; when I was a child I had the same thing wrong with me and I did not have penicillin to take so he does not get it either. No. He would not tell the doctor such a thing. So, why deny his son or grandson the right to vote if he has been prepared and is willing to take on the responsibility? There can be no good excuse.

America should take advantage of the training her young citizens have taken under their teachers and parents. She should tap this great source of sound judgment and put it to use for the future of this Nation. There should be no doubt of the interest on the part of today's youth. We had a primary election in Indiana last week in which one Member of the U.S. Senate was running for his party's nomination for President. He fielded an organization that was made up almost entirely of young, interested, dedicated college students, most of them under the age required to vote. These young people believed in their candidate's cause, they considered him the best man in the running, and be this true or not, the fact still remains that this man received 27 percent of the total vote in Indiana, and this vote was delivered to this candidate by young, energetic people not even considered old enough to take part in elections according to the obsolete voting age laws of our State of Indiana. Laws that should be changed as quickly as possible. I hope there is not one member of this committee who considers the hippie movement a part of that which makes up today's youth in America. True, they are in most cases under the age of 35 but then again there are older hippies and those hippies who do fall in the age bracket we have been discussing here today are most certainly in the minority among today's young citizens and their activi-

ties should not be compared with those of the more responsible young people in our country for there are and have always been renegades in every type of society since the beginning of man. The majority of today's youth are ready, willing, and able to take on the responsibility of voting for our leaders.

They will not be as easily misled by fast-talking and fast-thinking politicians as many of their parents and grandparents were for they will ask for proof of what a candidate says—they will not believe "pie in the sky" promises and they will not be inclined to tolerate elections where "ward flunkies" go into slum voting areas and buy the election for any candidate or party. They will insist that everything be on the "up and up" and they will complain loudly when infractions are allowed but they will be good Americans and they will be dedicated Americans—and they will respect their country and her place in the world. They want to begin now to serve their country and their fellow citizens—they do not want to have to wait for 3 years between the time when they leave high school and the time when they can cast their first ballot. They die in the fields of Vietnam in defense of their country but they are denied their country's most sacred right: the right to vote for the men who lead the country's population toward their destiny in the world.

We hear much about civil rights and this is all well and good but let's begin to hear something about the rights of youth—about the rights of the young men and women of our Nation whether they be black, white, yellow, or red. Allow the young people—your sons and daughters—your grandsons and granddaughters—to take an active part in the governmental process and you will not be sorry, they have been taught well—by you—their teachers and to some extent each other. They are ready to accept their rights and they are ready to accept them now.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much. I note from your biographical material, which the committee has, which I will ask the counsel to include in the appropriate place in the record, that you have, as you say, put your money where your mouth is. You are actively participating in precinct work in the political structure and will be a delegate to one of our State conventions in Indiana this year.

How many young people do you think in the State, either those at college or around your home, really ever take an interest? There has been a lot of talk about Senator McCarthy bringing a large percentage of people in from other areas. Do you think a significant number of your contemporaries are concerned?

Mr. BRINKMEYER. At the University of Evansville, when the primary came about, there were a large number of young people who were active in the McCarthy campaign on campus.

Is that what you want to know in part?

Senator BAYH. Yes.

In other words, you think that in your area, McCarthy's campaign had a significant number of natives, as well as those from other areas?

Mr. BRINKMEYER. They had quite a few.

Senator BAYH. How about this business of the Indiana Legislature inasmuch as you had a petition and were involved in that? How do we get them to change their minds as far as ratification when they refused in the last session to lower the State standard?

Mr. BRINKMEYER. Well, it looked very favorable last year and was passed in the Senate in Indiana and then went to the House and was heard. It was in the paper quite a bit that it was a political hassle and some Democrats favored 18, some Democrats favored 19, some Republicans favored 18, some Republicans favored 19. There was no action taken on it, but it does look favorable. Our committee, State conference of committees, still organized about 15 campuses and we are organizing more now and we are going to go ahead with our committee. We hope to lobby at the next legislature and we are asking the candidates who are up for State legislative offices to ask for their stand on the voting age and to see how they favor it, whether they favor it or not.

Senator BAYH. These committees to lower the voting age, those committees are campus-oriented?

Mr. BRINKMEYER. Campus-oriented and we also have some in the smaller cities we were able to contact, people who are interested.

Senator BAYH. I hope you are successful on one level or the other.

Somebody in the legislature, when I was in high school some more years back than I like to remember, introduced a constitutional amendment to provide this at State level and we were not successful, although you received more votes this last time in defeat than we did in defeat before. So perhaps the trend is moving in the right direction. I hope so.

(The biographical sketch of Mr. Brinkmeyer follows:)

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DENNIS L. BRINKMEYER

Born: April 27, 1947.

Education: Attended Central High School, Evansville, Ind.; attended and now a junior, University of Evansville where he is a prelaw student.

Dennis is president of the junior class at University of Evansville. He is a former officer of Lambda Chi Alpha Fraternity. He has been active in campus politics and served in the student senate and on various boards, committees and commissions. He is chairman of the State conference of committees to lower Indiana's voting age with organizations located on almost all of Indiana's college and university campuses. He is eighth district chairman of the voting age conference of committees and also heads the Vanderburgh County group and is now working to organize the Midwestern States conference of committees to lower the voting age. Under Mr. Brinkmeyer's leadership the Indiana organization produced a total of fifty thousand signatures on petitions asking that the voting age be lowered during a meeting of the Indiana senate's subcommittee on the lowering of the voting age in Indiana. The signatures were of adults over the age of twenty-one and many of them fifty years of age and older.

Dennis is an officer of the Kentucky Colonels Club of Vanderburgh County, Ind. He is chairman of the Young Citizens Democratic Council of the eighth district—a recently formed organization that has as its main purpose the introduction into politics of young people between eighteen and twenty-five. He was chairman of the Young Citizens for McDonald organization in 1967, a club of young people interested in politics who backed the successful efforts of Mayor McDonald of Evansville to win a third term in office. This year Dennis will attend the Indiana State Democratic Convention following his election earlier this month as a delegate from the fifth ward of Evansville. He is treasurer of Hoosierland Catering Co. of Evansville. He is an officer and the youngest member of the Evansville Booster Club and is a member of the Vanderburgh County Young Democrats and the Fifth Ward Democratic Club. He also holds membership in Future Investments Inc. of Indiana—an investment organization made up of businessmen and civic leaders.

Senator BAYH. I shall not bother you further. I appreciate your coming all the way to Washington to let us have your thoughts and I would like very much to work with you before you go home.

Mr. BRINKMEYER. Again I want to express my thanks.

Senator BAYH. Our next witnesses are a body of witnesses. We have three students from Georgetown University: Mr. John Owen, Mr. Eugene Payne, and Mr. John H. Pinto, Jr.

Gentlemen, we appreciate your patience. You were here when we started this morning and witnessed this frustrating series of trips back and forth to the Senate.

We are glad to have your thoughts.

Please proceed.

(The biographical material on the three witnesses follow:)

P. John Owen is a junior in the College of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University. He is currently President of the Philodemic Debating Society and a member of the student council. He formerly served as Vice-President of the Philodemic Society and Vice-President of the Gaston-White Freshman Debating Society and is an intercollegiate debator. An honors history major, Mr. Owen, 21, is from Sedalia, Missouri.

Eugene C. Payne, is a junior in the College of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University. He has served as Editor-in-Chief of *The Hoya*, the campus weekly newspaper, and previous to that as its News Editor. A government major, Mr. Payne is from San Francisco, California, and is 21 years old.

John H. Pinto, Jr. is a sophomore in the College of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University. He is often heard in Washington as the commentator of WGTB-FM "Impact" and is one of six Georgetown students who will spend the summer abroad on an international management traineeship with AIESEC (Association International des etudiantes en Sciences et Economiques.) Mr. Pinto, 19, is from Greenwich, Connecticut.

**STATEMENT OF P. JOHN OWEN, PRESIDENT OF THE PHILODEMIC DEBATING SOCIETY; EUGENE PAYNE, EDITOR IN CHIEF OF THE HOYA; AND JOHN H. PINTO, JR., WGTB-FM PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIRECTOR, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Mr. OWEN. I thank you. It is a pleasure for us to be here this morning.

I am John Owen. To my right is Eugene Payne, and to my left, John Pinto.

I thank you again. Our prepared statement, we hope, illustrates that 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds deserve the right to vote just as much as the 21- to 24-year-olds. Like that group, we are informed, concerned, and responsible. What is true we think of this older group that can vote is now true of our group. Let me illustrate.

The fulfillment of American democracy depends upon our ability to make our political practice conform to our ideals. We have long held the belief that the foundation of our democracy is an extensive, enlightened electorate. Historically, America has moved toward greater political achievement on those occasions when the franchise has been extended to greater and greater numbers of our citizens. We have seen universal male suffrage replace the landed aristocracy. The 15th amendment guaranteed the right to vote regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The 19th amendment recognized the competency of women to participate in the political process.

The time has arrived we consider for a new class to be enfranchised. Those from the age of 18 should be allowed to vote; they have earned the right. When history judges our era, it should not be found that we failed to respond.

We do not believe that the right to vote is only a privilege. Certainly it encompasses responsibility and duty. America's young people have demonstrated they possess both the ability and the responsibility to exercise this right.

The ability to vote has many facets. Obviously, education has been made available to an unprecedented number of people. Young and old alike, our masses are educated; literacy is advancing. By the time a person reaches age 18 he holds the knowledge entitling him to vote. His high school history and civics courses have taught that much.

But knowledge means more than formal education when participation in the political process is discussed. To be enlightened, the citizen must be informed as well as educated. He must have actively confronted the issues of the day. Today's youth meet this requirement. There is heightened awareness of what is vital to the world—the issue of war and peace, of poverty and plenty, of economic stagnation and prosperity. This is truly a new generation. Communication has revolutionized our lives. Marshall McLuhan tells us that the medium is the message. That message is conveyed through television, through radio, and in the newspaper. Turn to any college campus and you will see a vast body of students carrying copies of *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News*.

The ability to make a rational choice is presumed of the voter. Can the young American weigh alternatives? At an early age the high school student is forced to choose realistically between business or pleasure; he learns that success depends on hard work. As a class, young people spend billions of dollars annually; they are becoming sovereign consumers. The lesson is learned that enjoyment of life's rewards requires sacrifice. By the time he reaches 18, the young American has the experience of making rational choices.

Is the 18 year old responsible enough to vote? The answer can only be "Yes." Having graduated from high school, he faces three alternatives: work, college, or the armed services. All three require a person to measure up, to be mature. Independence is thrust on him. And independence characteristically means more than liberty; it includes responsibility. The three of us can testify that college teaches habits of independence and responsibility. Without a doubt, the same is true of the other two categories. The 18 year old becomes a contributing member of society. At that age society expects a dividend on its investment.

It is becoming increasingly clear that youth today are responding to their place in society. The political involvement of these citizens is undeniable. On campuses of every university, in offices of every major city, students are working in the political campaigns of every major presidential candidate. This work done in the primary elections will be continued after the conventions through the November elections. Students will contribute with their work what they were unable to give with their vote.

Yet the political involvement of students extends beyond the presidential elections. It is carried through in every election and even seen when these elections are over. Many of you can testify to the work that students do in the offices of our legislators.

Even more than with political involvement, students are responding to their place in society with social commitments. Witness the success of community action projects sponsored on college campuses and in

the heart of our cities. Programs such as VISTA and the Peace Corps demonstrate that youth is willing to respond and to respond favorably to the demands of our contemporary problems.

Do not both the political involvement and social commitment of today's youth reflect their sense of participation? And should not this sense of participation be encouraged and fostered? These people are willing to commit themselves to the American ideal, they are willing to involve themselves in the American way of life. Should not these same people be granted a voice in American society? By the time an individual is 18, he is contributing to it substantially.

Times have changed. Not only are those persons between the ages of 18 and 21 greatly affected by the decisions of elected officials, but they play an important role in those decisions. In one sense, youth is a substantial minority, in another, it is a vital force. In any sense, youth must be recognized and respected. What better way than to grant them the right to vote?

During the course of these hearings many arguments coming from varied groups have been presented. They have pointed out that youth has been excluded from the ballot box while being elected to meet its responsibilities in other areas.

Since the three of us are involved in varying aspects of communication at Georgetown, it is easy to see how our fellow students talk, write, and act. They talk about the political scene, the candidates, the peace talks in Paris; they talk about the Poor People's Campaign. They write about what is important, about problems of personal and social significance. Youth acts because it is involved; it acts because it wants to become more involved, to be an important part of the political process. College graduates often enter government service today, devoting their energy to the American system. All youth should have the opportunity to bring its freshness, vitality, and maturity to government.

What we have described is the typical Georgetown student, whom we think is representative of all college students.

We would like to comment briefly about the current wave of student protest. It is our belief that disturbances such as at Columbia University, would not occur so frequently nor so intensely if those who protest were active, fully participating members of the political community. If their votes could be counted, their discordant voices probably would not be raised. Certainly there are other factors involved. A determined minority—definitely not representative of college students—is striving militantly for unwise ends. They are only able, however, to seize the attention of others when these others are disfranchised, when their opinions count for little. Obviously this contention cannot be proven scientifically, yet it seems reasonable to assume its validity. After all, upper age brackets long accustomed to participation in the political community are not seen in violent protest. Experience with the ballot has taught them its effectiveness. The same lesson can be learned by others.

We urge the extension of the franchise through passage of a constitutional amendment.

If I could make just a brief comment about why we feel it is important to appear before this committee of the Congress, we think the Federal Congress is the most logical and the most effective place

to begin this campaign, where there are experienced legislators. Dealing with State legislatures is much more difficult. It is a much more complex process. It involves all 50 States. Ratification, we think, can come more easily after the Federal Congress has initiated a constitutional amendment. Our experience in the States we come from—Connecticut, Missouri, and California—indicate to us that there are many pressing local problems: taxation, reapportionment, health, education, all sorts of welfare problems. Many State legislatures require limited sessions for the State legislatures, many of them only 6 months of every 2 years. Many of them are hampered with the types of bills being introduced, as you described some in Indiana today. With these limitations, States have to assign priorities. With the Federal Government seizing the opportunity, making the initial thrust, the priority can be shifted upward in these State legislatures.

I would like to thank you again for the opportunity, Senator, of appearing this afternoon.

Senator BAYH. I would like to thank you three for your patience, your interest, and your contribution. I must say the matter that concerns me most of all is this ratification business. Take, for example, the Indiana Legislature. It has not been that the legislature has not assigned it sufficient priority to consider. It has been assigned a place on the agenda and it has been defeated. Now, if we are going to be successful in this effort, we have to find out whether it is through the establishment of committees such as Dennis Brinkmeyer was talking about, or within individual States. There has to be some way, because just looking at the challenge we have had in this committee, to offer it the past couple of years to the States seemed simple. The States had never considered this. We did not have to worry about some of the decisions in these States. Now, we have several States who have considered it and turned it down and we have to do something to overcome the fears that I can just feel are going to exist in the State legislatures. Here again is the Federal Government coming in and telling us what to do.

Now, I just raise this problem. I have no magic solution to it. Realistically, I think it is going to be our problem, but frankly it is not one we are going to have to consider if we cannot pass it through this body. So I may be putting the cart before the horse.

Does either of you other two gentlemen have anything you wish to say?

Mr. PINTO. I notice on the statement, it tends to justify the 18-year-old rather than justifying the 18- and 20-year-old, maybe we ought to ask what are the qualifications of a good voter. Instead of being on the defensive, possibly it is better to go on the attack. Now possibly we can ask people who do vote now, do they have more responsibility, are they better qualified than we are? Our thesis is from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It just shows here that people in our age bracket, from 18 to 21, have as much education as those who are 21 to 24. It is 12.5 versus 12.6.

In other words, we have 12.6 years of education. So at least we are not deficient in our education.

If I can ask the question of you, Senator—I do not know whether it is proper or not—Do you have a few reflections on what are the proper qualifications for a good voter?

Senator BAYH. I judge one of them is not necessarily age, and certainly above a reasonable termination point, 18 or 19 I happen to think would be reasonable. I have taken issue with some who talk about being old enough to fight and that makes them automatically old enough to vote. I think this is one of the bits and pieces of the picture we put together to try to support the case and it is the most emotional. But the voting process is a totally mental one, whereas what makes one a good private, pfc. or corporal is not necessarily pointed to that same degree.

I think the surety, the ability to determine right from wrong, is probably the greatest requirement. The most compelling argument in my mind is the fact that if you say to an 18-year-old, as many of our States say to 17- and 16-year-olds, that you are no longer treated as a juvenile in our court system, where you can be put away for life—in other words, in your day-to-day conduct along the street, you are being held accountable by the same standard that an adult is held accountable—then indeed that process of deciding what one does from day to day is similar to the process that one must utilize in determining how he is going to vote. Some judges do take into consideration a person's tender age, they would not perhaps sock him with the same sentence they would give to a 35- or 40-year-old fogey like myself.

I think it is the right versus wrong, the value judgment on voting that is more important—most important.

Mr. PINTO. One of the problems you mentioned is passing it in your own home State of Indiana. I am going to ask Governor Dempsey to do something about it in Connecticut, too.

Gene and John were talking about it before and their ideas were really that the only thing we can do in the States is just go back home and try to tell them we think we are ready, justify it to them first just by going to speak to them and maybe afterward asking for their own qualifications on what a voter should be, should do. Maybe when they start to tell us that, they might look up and say, "Hey, join the old fogies—come on in and vote with us."

Senator BAYH. I think we have two things happening right now. One is a strong plus and the other is a strong minus. The strong plus is the political participation which young people have, to a greater degree than ever before, in the presidential elective process. The second, of course, is some of the activities on our campus, which, of course, are a minority, but it gives, as I told the president of the National Student Association yesterday, just enough evidence or enough form or at least gives a topic, by inference gives credence to the thought that some of our older colleagues have that you are not mature enough to vote. Of course, maturity is what we are looking for; not chronological maturity but intellectual maturity.

Mr. Payne, do you have any comment here?

Mr. PAYNE. Maybe I might add from what you have said that the numbers of student demonstrators are extremely small if you just compare them perhaps with the number of students who are going into the hearts of the cities, even here in Washington, and working, who are socially committed. It is very small when you compare it to those who are involved politically in the various processes of government. I think it is especially true here in Washington, where many students

are involved in work with the Government and in working in the various political campaigns and are involved in working in the cities.

Senator BAYH. Anything else you gentlemen care to say?

Mr. OWEN. No.

Senator BAYH. I appreciate your contribution. This is something that affects all of our young people.

I am firmly convinced that you are—if we are going to involve young people in the legally recognized political process, in the legally recognized modes of expression as far as changes and so on, we would have much less of the other type of expression. To a great degree, I think at least parts of the frustration are as a result of a few of the students who are not going to be changed by lowering the age.

Mr. OWEN. If I might just comment on that, the big student complaints are that students are not consulted in decisionmaking. I know at Georgetown, I am sure at Columbia, approximately \$3,500 a year is invested by either ourselves or our parents or some combination. When changes are being made in dorm policy, or in academic requirements, we at least expect to be consulted in advance and our opinions asked on how this will affect our immediate future and perhaps in the long range. This sort of thing has just snowballed to the point where the mind of the young people age 18 to 21, many people who feel themselves excluded from the political process or just any decisionmaking process, they feel the exclusion and their idealism turns to some form of cynicism. Their cynicism then turns into some sort of violence, which they feel is the last way they have of communicating with the older generation. I think this may be a good deal of the difficulty.

Senator BAYH. But I think we should be very careful, as I told the NSA president, that in view of the many extreme protests that do happen in the expression of people, that expression is not a legitimate expression and the way to correct grievances which they might have. That is the opinion of the few. If I thought the majority of the young people thought they could go into the president's office and tear it up because they did not like the dorm hours posted—but they do not. If they did, I would feel much differently than I feel right now, because this would be the same type of lack of maturity that would cause a group of citizens of the State to take arms and march on the State capitol and perhaps do bodily harm to the Governor because he vetoed a bill dealing with alcoholic beverages. We just do not do things this way in this country. I know you agree with that.

Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Mr. PINTO. As you know, we are all in communications in Georgetown and we would very much like to extend an invitation to the distinguished Senator from Indiana to come to Georgetown and talk to the students there on your ideas on voting and maybe explain some concept of how possibly this can be passed. We would be glad to have you.

Senator BAYH. You are very kind to extend the invitation. I hope sometime I can accept it.

Thank you.

We have a statement here from our distinguished colleague from Utah, Senator Frank Moss, I would like to put in the record at this time.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF FRANK E. MOSS, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF UTAH

Subject: Resolutions relating to the lowering of voting age requirements.

Mr. Chairman: for some time, I have advocated lowering the voting age in the United States from twenty-one to eighteen. I appreciate this opportunity to present my views during the hearings which the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments is holding on various resolutions before it which would amend the Constitution for this purpose.

In one of its songs, the musical comedy "Bye-Bye Birdie," which was popular a few years ago, asks the question: "What's The Matter With Kids Today?" In one form or another, every generation since Adam has, no doubt, asked the same question. Part of the answer, of course, is simply the differing points of view of youth and middle age.

Yet today we find ourselves irritated and alarmed by a new phenomenon—the demonstrations and even physically obstructive tactics engaged in by some Americans. College students are prominent among them. Those who engage in such tactics are in a small minority, and I do not want to make the mistake of exaggerating their importance. Nevertheless, when students seize administrative offices and shut down university operations, we should seek to enlighten ourselves as to the reasons as well as punish the offenders.

Many young people today, I am convinced, seek more than an opportunity to assert themselves. Many seek involvement. They want to participate in work or in a form of civic activity which they feel is worthy of their best efforts. When my generation was young, we sought principally an opportunity to prepare ourselves to make a living. For those days, that was involvement enough. But for many young people today it is not enough.

Part of the explosion on the college campus, I believe, results from the desire of students to find themselves—to influence the events and the forces that are shaping the society in which they will live. Surely, one way that they can be given an opportunity to help shape those forces is by being permitted to vote. Voting is a form of responsibility. Most citizens take it quite seriously. I believe most of our young people would take it seriously also.

We have had an instructive lesson in this need for involvement in the presidential political campaign. Thousands of young people moved into active participation in the campaign, large numbers of them in support of Senator McCarthy, since he was the first to challenge President Johnson. Whether we agree with their choice of candidates or not, this is the kind of constructive activity we should encourage our dissenters to take.

There can be no question but that eighteen to twenty-one year olds are much better qualified to vote today than they were twenty years ago. Between 1940 and 1950, the number of Americans graduated from college increased almost fifty percent. Since then, this increase has been accelerating rapidly, and it is sure to do so for many years to come.

So I contend the time has come when age as a voting requirement should be placed at eighteen.

I am aware of the arguments against this change, arguments which really amount to one point—the immaturity of younger Americans. We are told that many young people have neither the education nor the experience to make them qualified voters, that they have not gone far enough along life's journey to wisely judge governmental alternatives. There is fear that elections may be greatly influenced by a large number of poorly prepared voters.

But it must be realized that we are talking about a comparatively small addition to the voting population. All the eighteen to twenty-one year olds add up to only about ten percent of those who actually voted for President in 1964. This figure should allay our fears. This is a substantial number, yet certainly not enough to exercise any degree of control, even if they all voted. Moreover, we should realize that those who are not interested and not informed will not take part. But those who are can begin to exercise the responsibilities of citizenship at an earlier age.

Senator BAYH. We have issued invitations to all of the Governors of the 50 States. Some have responded with statements. I request that counsel put them in the appropriate place in the record.

We will hold the record open for 2 weeks for any further statements that we may receive from some of those who have been invited or from anybody else.

**STATEMENT OF MISS SIBYL MOSES, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.**

Miss MOSES. I was told in one committee hearing that a person who might have something to say that had not previously indicated he would like to say something could come up and make that statement. I would like to know if that is true at this time. I am Sibyl Moses. I am from Alabama.

Senator BAYH. If you will go ahead, I am going to excuse myself and ask counsel to sit and take your testimony while I go over to vote. I apologize, but I will look with a great deal of interest at what we have in the record tomorrow.

Miss MOSES. Thank you very much.

It is my observation and experience that this whole problem gets back to the attitude of adults to young people. I think we do not respect their intelligence to the extent that we should. Unless we do, we do not get to know the thinking and the viewpoint of young people in time before they get into action along various lines that draw forth a great deal of criticism from adult people. I think that that is the cause of much that we have that is showing in the various different types of groups that show rebellion.

As a teacher, I did not realize what it meant to respect a child's intelligence, even, until I taught in New Orleans. In New Orleans, I found that—I do not know whether it was the French and the Spanish element that has gotten into the thinking of children who were considered colored—not so colored in appearance nor in blood lines; but they considered themselves more on the level with brown people to the extent that they tell you themselves what they thought.

I remember once a child said to me, "Do not holler at the children in the chapel." She said, "It is a secret."

The next morning—I had asked the president of the college—the name of the college is Strait College. Strait College and New Orleans University were merged into what is now Dillard University. I got up and told the children, "Listen, it does something to the spirit of worship of a little friend of mine for me to scold in chapel. I am not going to do it anymore, I promise you. But if I look at you hard and make a little gesture like this, it means to get out quickly and quietly, and I will see you after school."

Well, it did not lessen the respect that the whole school had for me. In fact, it increased it. Getting on up into the upper brackets, I found that is true.

It is true even in civilian life because we do not know what a child thinks, we do not know what a young high schooler thinks unless we can set up rapport and do set up rapport with that person.

Well, the older people are very traditional and they tell their stories over and over again and they somehow talk down to young people, think down to them, across at them. That is not right, from my point of view.

I heard this poet, George—I forget her name. She took a masculine name. She brought out the thought some years ago that the young people have the trends in their thinking of what is going to be tomorrow. Well, then, the older people need it. If you know that we could not have passed a single civil rights bill if it had not been for the Federal Government. Actually, a lot of the people in the various States are apathetic and they do not care, particularly. They do not even know. They are sitting up at their desks or they are just running things and they do not know how people think until they burst out.

But I think the truly smart people are the people who get so acquainted and make these younger people feel at home so much with them that they actually know how they think and what they think.

The gentlemen who have spoken about the different theses and compositions and things they have to do in English, you know, they are almost all along modern lines and current events now are history.

I had a course in Chicago University, the technique of teaching history and how they emphasized current events. The man was from the University of Indiana, by the way, and he gave 25 ways of teaching current events. Well, it had been a stale subject to me until I had that course and I went back to New Orleans and did some teaching of history, because it was a live subject.

These young people are going to be the leaders, so we might as well include them and not exclude them and use whatever methods are possible to get the States to wake up to what the gentlemen are talking about, ratification.

Thank you very much.

Mr. CONRAD. Thank you.

By order of the chairman, the hearings are closed.

(Whereupon, at 12:55 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.)

(The following statements were submitted for the record:)

STATE OF NEW MEXICO,  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,  
Santa Fe, May 8, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
Chairman,  
Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: Thank you for your May 3 invitation to appear at your May 14-15 hearings. Unfortunately, your hearing dates fall at the time I shall be attending the Western Governor's Conference.

Please do note for the record, however, my strong support for the proposal to grant voting privileges to 18-year olds. I believe that these young Americans are informed and serious students of current politics. Certainly, if we can ask them to serve in our Nation's armed services, we can accord them the right to participate in the selection of their leaders.

Sincerely,

DAVID F. CARGO, Governor.

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,  
Washington, D.C., May 14, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
Chairman,  
Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR BIRCH: Thank you for your invitation to testify on S.J. Res. 8. While I shall not be able to appear in person, I would appreciate it very much if the subcommittee would accept the enclosed statement for the record.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH S. CLARK.

Enclosure.

TESTIMONY OF SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have an opportunity to testify on behalf of the resolutions before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments today. I am a cosponsor of S.J. Res. 8, introduced by Senator Mansfield, which would provide that citizens of the United States who are eighteen years old and older will not be denied or abridge the right to vote by the United States or by any state. It is my understanding that the other resolution before you, S.J. Res. 14, introduced by Senator Randolph, is of the same intent.

Amending the Constitution is never a step that is taken lightly or without good reason. But it is a puzzle to me why, with all the sound arguments for an 18 year old vote, the disenfranchisement of young Americans has not aroused a general cry of indignation.

We have all heard the argument that those who are old enough to die in the service of their country are old enough to vote for the leaders who will send them into battle. I concur.

The complaint of our forefathers, "taxation without representation," is surely and legitimately echoed by the hundreds of thousands of young taxpayers between 18 and 21 who are engaged in full-time vocations.

There is no reason to believe that a housewife, a soldier, or a college student at 18 or 19 is less capable of making responsible decisions at the polls than a housewife, soldier or any other citizen of 21, 50 or 80. Indeed, there is evidence that the advancement of mass communication systems, coupled with comprehensive social studies and government courses conducted in many of our school systems, has made most young people more aware of the responsibilities, problems and pitfalls inherent in political systems than were our Founding Fathers, who engaged in what we today consider a highly successful experiment in government.

Aside from these pleas, I would argue that inclusion of younger citizens into the American political system will lend a more democratic balance to our vote. About half our population today is under age 25, which is, incidentally, also the minimum age for service in Congress. Those between ages 21 and 25 have at least the option of voting for the men and women who will represent them; but millions of mature young adults between ages 18 and 21 live with the frustration of being part of a society and citizens of a government which sets policies for them, but in which they have no voice.

I am hopeful that this Subcommittee will see fit to report S.J. Res. 8, or its equivalent, soon.

STATE OF MAINE,  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,  
Augusta, Maine, May 6, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: Thank you very much for your letter of May 3, in which you advise me that the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments is inviting a number of state and national political leaders to appear before it on May 14, 15 and 16, relative to proposed Constitutional Amendments to lower the voting age.

I regret very much to inform you that due to previous commitments in the State of Maine, it will be impossible for me to be in attendance and to testify before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments on the above-mentioned dates.

Please be advised, however, that I support and endorse this proposal and have submitted legislation in the State of Maine to this effect. It did not receive favorable consideration by the 103rd Legislature, but I intend to introduce it until it is enacted.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

KENNETH M. CURTIS, *Governor.*

STATE OF CONNECTICUT,  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBERS,  
Hartford, May 14, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
*U.S. Senate,*  
*Committee on the Judiciary,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: While I am unable personally to attend the hearing of your honorable Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments opening on this date, I would appreciate it if you can arrange for me to be recorded as strongly in favor of amending our Federal Constitution in such a way as to extend the privilege of voting in state and national elections to all citizens at the age of 18.

Personal correspondence I have received, testimony presented to committees of the Connecticut General Assembly, and testimony at hearings currently being held by a special Connecticut Committee to Study the Qualifications of Electors, all indicate much support for this proposal among students and other younger citizens of this State.

It has long been my own personal view that the average American man or woman attains sufficient maturity upon reaching the age of 18 to form intelligent opinions about the issues at stake in an election and about the candidates contesting for office.

I see no reason for prohibiting these persons from expressing their opinions at the polls.

Sincerely,

JOHN DEMPSEY, *Governor.*

STATEMENT BY PETER DOMINICK, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO

Mr. Chairman: I appreciate this opportunity of presenting a statement to your Subcommittee. As a co-sponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 8, I have indicated my support for lowering the voting age to 18 through a Constitutional amendment to be considered by the states. In supporting this move, I am honoring a commitment made more than a decade ago, when as a member of the Colorado State Legislature I tried unsuccessfully to lower Colorado's voting age requirements from 21 to 18. Then, as now, it seemed clear to me that an inconsistency exists in our treatment of our 18, 19 and 20 year olds:

We assume they are old enough to be taxed on any incomes they may earn;

We assume they are old enough to drive an automobile in most states; get married in most states; and drink alcoholic beverages such as wine and beer;

Especially we assume that our young men and women 18 years old and older are mature enough to act responsibly and courageously in battlefield combat and in battlefield hospitals.

We have, Mr. Chairman, given to our 18-year olds a good many of the rights and responsibilities assumed by our citizens over 21 years of age.

At the same time, however, we have continued to deny to them the right to vote in our elections, to assist in determining the policies which affect them at least as much as those of us who hold elective office. Our denial of this basic right is the inconsistency in our recognition of the maturity and intelligence of the vast majority of our 18-year olds.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, we are withholding a privilege and a right which, in light of today's conditions, should be granted.

The test of whether 18, 19 and 20-year olds should vote should stand alone. It must be measured not on the exception—the unusual youth—but on the performance and ability of the average 18-year old. In my mind, our great majority of young people pass the test with flying colors.

No generation in our history has been more exposed to the problems of our society and the world. Mass communication media has made our young people aware, and even more important, has made them vitally interested in the course of their nation's policies.

Recent news stories indicate that our 18-year olds throughout the country have been conditioned by constant exposure to the events of our day. They are not just interested in the end results of our policies, but they are also motivated to participate actively in the formulation of those policies. For every student protester acting beyond the law, there are numerous young people who diligently and intelligently pursue the goals of our nation, and these same young people actively participate in the political processes of our country. They have not been waiting passively for us to give a go-ahead signal. Instead, they've turned their enormous vitality and motivation toward learning about and working for those same people for whom we do not allow them to vote.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the approval of Senate Joint Resolution 8 so that we may take the lead in recognizing the solid contributions of 18-year-olds to the course of our nation and in extending the franchise accordingly.

Historically, Congressional action has led to an extension of the franchise; when our Constitution was formulated, strict property ownership and background requirements determined a small percentage of our populace which could vote. Gradually we have expanded that percentage by recognizing expanded privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. The time has come for Congress to take the initiative by providing to the elected representatives of each state legislature an opportunity to voice the sentiments of their constituents in voting for or against the proposed constitutional amendment.

With our consistent recognition of their intelligence and motivation, we will encourage even greater participation in our political processes by the youth of this country. They now understand how our system should work; let us take the lead to insure them the chance to express their understanding.

---

TENNESSEE EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,  
Nashville, May 15, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. BAYH: AS per our recent correspondence, I am pleased to forward to you a copy of Governor Ellington's remarks for the hearing record relative to proposed Constitutional Amendments which would lower voting age for state and national elections to 18 years.

Please accept the Governor's regrets for being unable to attend.

Yours very truly,

S. H. ROBERTS.

Enclosure.

STATEMENT OF GOV. BUFORD ELLINGTON

I am definitely in favor of proposed Constitutional Amendments to lower the voting age for state and national elections to 18 years.

I have recommended, and the 85th General Assembly of Tennessee has included in its call for a State Constitutional Convention, the question of lowering the voting age in Tennessee to 18.

I support these amendments with the belief that today's youth have exhibited an awareness, a perceptiveness and a knowledge of current problems. Mass education, with its emphasis on quality of learning, combined with a vastly improved communication network, have served to enable today's youth to understand and to perceive the issues of the day. It is, therefore, only natural that today's youth should be expected to apply these perceptions, this new knowledge, through active participation in the political process. I feel that it is unfair for us to continue to prepare today's youth for participation, while at the same time asking youth to defer the product of such preparation for two or three years following graduation.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA,  
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,  
Richmond, May 6, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: I will not be able to appear before your Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments because of other scheduled commitments I have in Virginia.

I feel I should say, however, that I have not advocated, and do not now advocate, lowering the voting age for state and national elections to eighteen years. I think the present minimum requirements in Virginia and in the nation of twenty-one years of age works reasonably well. There is no strong feeling in Virginia for any change.

Very truly yours,

MILLS E. GODWIN, JR.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Washington, D.C., May 21, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Senate Judiciary Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: The Chamber of Commerce of the United States takes this opportunity to present its position on S.J. Res. 8 and other legislation pending before your Subcommittee calling for an amendment to the Constitution extending the right to vote to citizens eighteen years of age or older.

The National Chamber supports the right of each state, pursuant to the Constitution, to determine and fix the age and other qualifications of its voters in all elections.

The Chamber is not taking a position for or against lowering the voting age. It is our position, however, that raising or lowering the voting age within a state, or in otherwise fixing voter qualifications, is a decision best left to the people of each individual state, pursuant to the Constitution and free of legislative interference from the Federal Government.

Each of our 50 states now has the authority to lower the age of its voters below 21. The people in only four states (Georgia, Kentucky, Alaska and Hawaii), however, have approved reducing the voting age below the present 46-state minimum age of 21.

Hence, the National Chamber urges the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments to reject S.J. Res. 8 and similar legislation and to retain the present Constitutional requirements that leave to the people of the individual states the determination of age and other voter qualifications. This position is supported by the report of the President's 1963 Commission on Registration and Voting Participation and by action of the United States Senate in 1954.

Sincerely,

DON A. GOODALL,  
General Manager, Legislative Action.

STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA,  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,  
Bismarck, May 7, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: Thank you for notifying me of the committee hearing on May 14, 15 and 16, concerning a proposed Constitutional Amendment for lowering the voting age for state and national elections for 18 years. I cannot be present to testify.

I do, however, believe that in this day and age of improved education and the constant awareness of current events through television and other news media, the voting age could be lowered. I see no magic in age 21. I would support lowering the voting age to 18.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM L. GUY, Governor.

STATEMENT BY MARK O. HATFIELD, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OREGON

The right of Americans to vote is granted and protected by our Constitution. The Constitution provides, however, that the states have authority to set the qualifications for voting by their citizens. Most states have set the minimum age for voting at 21 years. This age is unreasonably high and should be changed to 18 years by Constitutional Amendment.

When a person has reached the age of 18 years, he has concluded his secondary education and has just finished a study of our government in detail. This in-depth study of our government prepares the student for his decision-making role as a voter and probably makes the 18 year old as familiar and knowledgeable about the functioning of our government as he will be at any time in his young adult life.

Individuals entering their early adult years must be encouraged to assume civic responsibilities. Participation by formal ballot in choosing local, state and national officials will augment and give meaning to the person's studies of his governments and encourage him to assume the civic responsibilities vital to the life of our country.

Furthermore, the present voting age requirements are unrealistic in light of our present social structure and the heavy burden placed upon the members of the 18 to 21 year age group by our government. These persons are required to pay taxes, serve in the armed forces and answer to most of the other requirements society places on their brothers who have attained majority. Despite these burdens, they are permitted no effective voice in the choice of our governments and their operations.

Since the voting age varies from state to state, it is necessary to amend our Federal Constitution to establish a uniform age for voting. S.J. Res. 8 meets this challenge by unequivocally establishing the voting age throughout the United States at 18 years.

I support this proposed Amendment to the Constitution and urge others to support it to remove this inequity from our political system.

STATE OF IOWA,  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,  
*Des Moines, June 4, 1968.*

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: I write to make known to you my unqualified support for an appropriate Constitutional Amendment that would lower the voting age for state and national elections to 18 years.

The arguments for and against such a national policy have changed little since the first proposed Constitutional Amendment was introduced in Congress in 1942. What has changed is the youth of America.

On the whole, these young people are possessed by a deep and abiding desire to be able to contribute constructively to building the future. They have a better understanding than many adults of the prerequisites for justice and equality. More than any previous generation, they have involved themselves as something of an associate member of adult society as evidenced by their presence in the vanguard of the civil rights movement, their serious and dedicated work in politics, their tutoring of disadvantaged children and youth, and their productive endeavors among the poor of this country and of the world.

If there is a telling new argument in favor of lowering the voting age, it emerges from the growing and disturbing estrangement of youth from adult society.

The pursuit of our national goals demands that we heal the divisions in our society and prevent the entrenchment of new alienations, and it persuades us to act now to bring the youth of America into our confidence and into sharing with us the responsibilities for shaping the world that will one day be theirs to preserve, revise or destroy.

I would be grateful if you would convey my sentiments to the members of your subcommittee, of the Committee on the Judiciary and of the Senate.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD E. HUGHES.

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,  
Trenton, May 10, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I regret that my schedule does not permit me to appear before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments on any of the dates indicated in your letter. I wish the Subcommittee to know, however, my position on the question of lowering the voting age for state and national election to 18.

My personal position can be summed up in the following plank contained in the 1967 Democratic Party Platform:

"The Democratic Party of New Jersey strongly endorses a constitutional amendment lowering the age requirement for voting from twenty-one (21) years to eighteen (18) years."

At a time when our country is asking young men to serve in the military and calling upon them for great personal sacrifice, it is illogical that they be denied the franchise. Despite the over-publicized activities of a small segment of our college population, I am convinced that the great majority of persons between the ages of 18 and 21 have the maturity to vote in an intelligent and responsible manner.

Sincerely,

RICHARD J. HUGHES, Governor.

THE VICE PRESIDENT,  
Washington, May 13, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Committee on the  
Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR BIRCH: I understand you will be holding hearings this week on proposals for a Constitutional Amendment to lower the voting age to 18.

As you know, I have long supported this. It is important that we get started on it, and I hope you can make some progress this year.

Sincerely,

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

STATEMENT BY DANIEL K. INOUE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF HAWAII

Dear Mr. Chairman: As a young man in 1943 I volunteered for military service. I did not believe then, nor do I now, that I, acted rashly or without appreciation of the significance and responsibilities of my decision.

I have even greater confidence in the maturity of the youth of today for they have been exposed to a vastly improved educational system. They have been subjected to an endless torrent of information from the communications media and television has bridged a great communications gap in their lifetime.

Although the pace of the world has perceptibly quickened, young Americans have kept abreast in an increasingly complex society. Their determination to shape their own world of tomorrow has been evidenced in recent years by the personal commitment of many thousands of young men and women to political action programs, civil rights, the Peace Corps, VISTA, and related projects.

I see no debilitating weakness in the moral fiber of our younger generation. They recognize, as we must, that many of our contemporary local, national and international problems require rethinking and new approaches.

For many years now, Hawaii has permitted 20-year olds to vote. This age limit represents a compromise which was affected at our last Constitutional Convention in 1950. We have never regretted that decision and I am confident that our forthcoming Constitutional Convention will vote to lower the voting age to 18.

We must remember that an 18-year old citizen is old enough to—

- (a) Bear the burdens and responsibilities of matrimony and parenthood;
- (b) Bear arms for his country, and, if necessary, to make the supreme sacrifice for his nation;
- (c) Hold a job;
- (d) Be treated as an adult in the criminal courts of our states and be executed for the commission of a capital crime;

(e) Pay taxes; and,

(f) Sign binding contracts and be liable for debts.

We have delayed long enough. It is time to extend the voting franchise to those young men and women who are 18 years of age or older.

---

STATEMENT OF GALE MCGEE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WYOMING

Mr. Chairman, as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 8, it may be superfluous for me to state my support of that legislation. None the less, I do so out of a conviction that the time has come for this Nation to further extend the franchise to incorporate the young adults of America in the voting population on a uniform basis.

My conviction that our young people should be admitted to full citizenship stems, Mr. Chairman, from the belief I hold that today's 18-year-olds are as fully prepared for the exercise of a citizen's duty as were the 21-year-olds of my day, or even of a decade ago. They are better educated. They are more informed. They are interested. The vast majority of them prove these observations daily.

Many young Americans have found recently that they can, through our traditional political processes, make their voices heard and have their own ideas examined. They have turned to, or returned to, perhaps, our political process in droves, involving themselves in the very stuff of which our democracy is made. Others, of course, are shouldering democracy's burdens in quite another way—in the armed forces of the United States. Yet, in most cases, they cannot vote for the leaders of this Nation.

It is not just because 18-year-olds are fighting and dying or because others are political activists that we should allow them to participate in balloting for our leaders. It is more because they are the products of an explosion in information and education which has caused this generation to become the best informed in mankind's history. Nor will this trend reverse itself. Man's knowledge is ever expanding, Mr. Chairman, and it is the young who, more than their elders, confront this ever expanding store of knowledge and adjust to it, for it is they who must always look to the future.

I think we should look to the future with them, giving our young adults a full share in the American system of government.

---

*New York, May 6, 1968.*

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Committee on the  
Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: I appreciated receiving your invitation to appear before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments to present my views on the resolutions before it pertaining to the lowering of voting age requirements.

Unfortunately, previous commitments in Oregon and Illinois make it impossible for me to take advantage of this opportunity to present my views on what I consider to be a most important issue.

If it is appropriate, I would like to send a statement of my views which might be presented to the Subcommittee members. In this connection, I will have a member of my staff get in touch with Mr. Larry Conrad, as you have suggested in your letter.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD M. NIXON

For many years I have strongly favored extension of the franchise to 18-year-olds in this country. It is not because they are old enough to fight but because they are intelligent enough to cast an informed ballot. The new generation is far more educated and knowledgeable than its predecessor, and should in my view be given the right to participate actively in the process of choosing their political leaders. I have also believed that this decision is one that remains the proper province of the individual States of the Union.

STATE OF UTAH,  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,  
Salt Lake City, May 9, 1968.

Senator BIRCH BAYH,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: I regret that I will be unable to appear before the Senate Committee in support of the proposed Constitutional Amendment to lower the voting age to 18 years.

You might be interested, however, in the enclosed excerpt from my address to the 37th Legislature of the State of Utah.

Sincerely,

CALVIN L. RAMPTON, *Governor.*

VOTING AGE

It is my recommendation that this Legislature adopt a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Utah which would lower the voting age from 21 years to 18 years of age for those individuals who have been graduated from an accredited high school. I do this not only on the oft-repeated argument that if you are old enough to fight, you are old enough to vote, although certainly this reason is one which cannot be totally ignored.

In many fields where as much maturity is required as is needed to cast an intelligent ballot, our young people are carrying a full load of responsibility. These responsibilities have been thrust upon them in recognition of the fact that today's generation receives a more well-rounded education and more opportunity to exercise mature judgment than the young people of generations ago.

Marriages of persons under 21 years of age are now the rule rather than the exception. Courts of criminal law treat 18 year olds as adults before the law. The church of which many residents of the State of Utah are members entrusts young people 19 years of age with the responsibility of going into other states and nations to carry the church message. These young people succeed in making converts of persons, many of whom are years older than themselves.

We expect our young people to be responsible, just as we expect those older than 21 years of age to be responsible, and a vast majority of both groups are good citizens. I feel that there should not be a three year hiatus between the time when they accept the responsibility of citizenship and the time when they are granted the full rights of citizenship.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., May 29, 1968.

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH,  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Committee on the  
Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Enclosed is a statement dealing with the extension of the vote to people over the age of 18. I am submitting this in view of the recent hearings held by your Subcommittee.

I am a co-sponsor of a similar resolution in the House and would appreciate it if you would bring this statement to the attention of the members of your Subcommittee and to also enter it into the Record of your Subcommittee's hearings.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE,  
*Member of Congress.*

Enclosure.

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE  
OF CONNECTICUT, SENATE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMEND-  
MENTS

EXTENDING THE VOTE TO 18 YEAR OLDS

Mr. Chairman, we are entering a great period of a youthful America, one in which over half of our citizens are under twenty-five years of age. This young generation is well educated, and deeply concerned with national and interna-

tional events. The vital issues facing our nation today have a profound influence upon their future, perhaps even more than those which any other generation has had to face. These problems are frustratingly complex, and yet cry out for some form of action.

I believe a symptom of this is seen in the widespread campus demonstrations, sit-ins, picketing, speech-making, and all the other activities in which our young people are engaging. I do not, however, condone their rioting and destructive tactics. To their parents and the older generations such behavior is looked upon with something akin to horror, or as proof that today's youth has gone wild. Others may see it as a manifestation of real and perhaps justified frustration which an informed youth population feels when confronted with today's problems without any specific means of effectively expressing themselves. I do not agree with the latter viewpoint.

One excellent way to give young people a means of participating in the great issues of our times is to extend to our 18, 19, and 20 year old citizens the right to vote in Federal elections. While this would allow practically all of our college age youths to exercise their right to vote, it would not automatically mean the end of student demonstrations. It will enable, however, this segment of our population to become better infused into the body of our democracy. Instead of having to stand by the sidelines and vent their frustrations by carrying picket signs, they will have the opportunity to participate directly in the orderly processes of democratic government.

I believe that extending the vote to our youth will also have a very salutary effect upon our legislative and executive bodies. It will become necessary for them to be much more aware of, and responsive to, a new group of voters with fresh ideas and new approaches to our problems. In like manner, this vast reservoir of young people would be more inclined to offer the fruits of their intellectual labors once given the opportunity to participate directly in national elections. As Adlai Stevenson remarked some years ago: "The 18 year old of today is more aware of national and world events than ever before." I believe that this is an increasing trend, and that our youths of 18, 19, and 20 are no less informed on the average than those between 21 and 25 years of age.

Carl E. Sanders, former Governor of Georgia, where 18 year olds have been allowed to vote since 1943 has stated that, "during more than 20 years, these younger voters have repeatedly shown mature responsibility." The Governor further remarked: "I think that now, perhaps more than ever before, political life needs an infusion of idealism, and the largest single source of that idealism is our young people. It has often been said that our nation's youth are our greatest asset; if this is true, as I believe, then extending the franchise to them insures the maximum utilization of that asset. Besides, courts cease to recognize men as juveniles after their 18th birthday; federal relief for dependent children is suspended upon reaching the age of 18, and, of course, the minimum draft age is 18."

The Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the Honorable John M. Bailey, has said that many of our young people have "become involved in politics and are happy to perform any task from ringing doorbells to running campaigns. They are knowledgeable on issues, articulate in debate, and committed to our way of life. We should do everything we can to promote ratification of the Constitutional amendment that would grant all people over the age of 18 the right to vote."

It seems obvious to me that if we are willing to ask our young men to give up their lives on a foreign battlefield, the very least we can offer them in return is the opportunity to participate through enfranchisement in the selection of those who will make the crucial decisions for the nation. This is not to imply that the right to vote is to be considered a reward for military service. Rather, it should be recognized that in a democracy such as ours, where we consider that a citizen is mature enough to be given the responsibility to operate sophisticated modern weapons and he is called upon to risk his very life, then he should also be considered mature enough to participate directly in the processes of representative government. Modern communications are so rapid that even the serviceman far from home is kept well-informed and abreast of the criteria necessary for intelligent and responsible decisions as a voter. Indeed, because of his personal stake in the quality of his representatives in the Federal Government, the military man is probably able to make a more dispassionate decision than many citizens at home.

To tax our 18, 19, and 20 year old citizens without giving them the right to vote ignores the great rallying cry of our War of Independence that there be "no taxation without representation." At the very least we should allow these young people a role in selecting those who will have the responsibility of determining how their tax dollars are to be spent.

Unfortunately, too large a portion of our young people still leave school at about the age of 18, just when their knowledge and interest in national affairs is at its highest. By the time they reach 21, most of them are preoccupied with family and work, their enthusiasm for public affairs has greatly diminished, and thereafter they usually follow a course of indifference toward their voting rights. Allowing this group to participate in national elections at the point when their political knowledge and enthusiasm is highest, would offer the best possible training in citizenship and would develop the habits necessary for a life-time of civic responsibility.

Prior Congresses have seen the introduction of legislation to lower the voting age to 18, and yet no final action was ever taken. I believe this to be an issue of major importance, an idea that has ripened in our day, and one behind which both political parties can unite. Its adoption would add very real distinction to the achievements of the 90th Congress.

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., May 14, 1968.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments,  
 Senate Judiciary Committee,  
 Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments begins hearings today on resolutions to lower the voting age requirements, I regret that it will not be possible for me to appear personally to present my views during the course of the hearings.

It would be appreciated if you will take the necessary action to have the enclosed statement in support of S.J. Res. 8 incorporated into the record at the proper place.

Sincerely,

STUART SYMINGTON.

Enclosure.

STATEMENT OF STUART SYMINGTON, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Mr. Chairman, only a few Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 are permitted to vote and yet it is at the age of 18 that America's young men become obligated to serve in the military forces. To remedy that anomaly is the principal reason that I have co-sponsored and support Senate Joint Resolution 8, which, through the amendatory procedures of the Constitution, would establish the voting age at 18.

In a democracy such as ours it appears desirable that the obligations of citizenship be accompanied by rights to participate in the election of political representatives who establish policies that impose those obligations.

In addition there is the important consideration that a greater proportion of young men and women now complete their high school education than in any other previous period. These well informed young men and women have demonstrated their interest in participating in the decision making processes of their government and their energy, enthusiasm and idealism could bring a healthy balance in the election of public representatives.

Ever since World War I there have been efforts to lower the voting age. I believe the time has now come for the Congress to recommend a Constitutional amendment to achieve that purpose in a uniform manner throughout the country. The views of the legislatures of the 50 states must then be sought for, as so wisely prescribed by the founding fathers, approval by three-fourths of the state legislatures would be required for the resolution to become a part of the Constitution.

I fully support S.J. Res. 8 and believe the time is appropriate for the initiation of an amendment to the Constitution on this fundamental question of the age of enfranchisement.

STATE OF DELAWARE,  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
Dover, May 15, 1968.

Hon. BIRCH BAYH,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: For a long time now I have believed that the lowering of the voting age of state and national elections from 21 to 18 is in order.

To that end, I have supported a Constitutional Amendment within the State of Delaware to carry out such a change. I support the Constitutional Amendment now before your Subcommittee, and I hope that you will convey my views to your fellow citizens.

Not only the right, but the competency of 18 year olds to vote in our day of immediate and intensive dissemination of information is apparent. I do hope the Amendment will receive favorable action from the Congress and that it will be promptly ratified by the States.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES L. TERRY, Jr.,  
Governor.

STATE OF NEBRASKA,  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,  
Lincoln, May 8, 1968.

Hon. BIRCH BAYH,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: I will be unable to accept the invitation to appear before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments on any of the days of May 14th, 15th, or 16th.

I would, however, like the Committee to know my views on this matter. Nebraskans will vote on a proposed constitutional amendment this fall which would permit the voting age to be lowered to 19 years of age from its current 21 years. This 19 year figure was arrived at as a compromise on a bill which was introduced permitting the voting age to be lowered to 18.

I strongly support this legislation and am widely publicizing such support throughout the state. I am convinced that people of this age group are quite capable of making political decisions based on greater knowledge perhaps than some of the older citizens who currently are able to make such political decisions by voting. It is essential, in my opinion, that the interest of our citizens be sustained following their heaviest indoctrination of civic government information—that is in their high school curriculum. The hiatus that exists between the termination of high school education and the coming of voting age tends to diminish the interest and awareness of our citizens as to their duties and responsibilities in the political sphere. I strongly believe that this hiatus should be abolished.

For your information I am enclosing a copy of the bill which passed which puts on the ballot for November in Nebraska the question of 19 year old and 20 year old voting.

Very truly yours,

NORBERT T. TIEMANN,  
Governor.

Enclosure.

LEGISLATIVE BILL 132 INTRODUCED BY EUGENE T. MAHONEY, 5TH DISTRICT; MARVIN E. STROMER, 27TH DISTRICT; ROLAND A. LUEDTKE, 28TH DISTRICT; TERRY CARPENTER, 48TH DISTRICT; RICHARD F. PROUD, 12TH DISTRICT; GEORGE H. FLEMING, 47TH DISTRICT; RICHARD D. MARVEL, 33RD DISTRICT; W. H. HASEBROOK, 18TH DISTRICT

An act for submission to the electors of an amendment to Article VI, section 1, of the Constitution of Nebraska, relating to suffrage; to reduce the age of electors to nineteen years; to provide for the submission of the proposed amendment to the electors at the general election in November, 1968; to provide for the manner of submission and form of ballot; and to provide the effective date thereof.

*Be it enacted by the people of the State of Nebraska,*

Section 1. That at the general election in November, 1968, there shall be submitted to the electors of the State of Nebraska for approval the following amendment to Article VI, section 1, of the Constitution of Nebraska, which is hereby proposed by the Legislature:

"Sec. 1. Every citizen of the United States, who has attained the age of nineteen years, and has resided within the state for six months and within the county and voting precinct for the terms provided by law, shall be an elector."

Sec. 2. The proposed amendment shall be submitted to the electors in the manner prescribed by Article XVI, section 1, of the Constitution of Nebraska. The proposition for the submission of the proposed amendment shall be placed upon the ballot in the following form:

"Constitutional amendment reducing the age of electors to nineteen years.

For

Against".

Sec. 3. That the proposed amendment, if adopted, shall be in force and take effect immediately upon the completion of the canvass of the votes, at which time it shall be the duty of the Governor to proclaim it as a part of the Constitution of Nebraska.

Approved February 24, 1967.

MAY 23, 1968.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: I should like very much to share certain ideas with you and your subcommittee in support of S. J. Res. 8 proposing amendments to the constitution reducing the voting age from 21 to 18 years.

Since the last decade great strides have taken place in our school curriculum enabling I believe young people to become more aware of their responsibilities as citizens.

Through our High School social science courses students are becoming acquainted in developing an understanding and awareness of our history and heritage and in interpreting them intelligently in light of modern affairs. Students in classes in American government and in student government are taught the principle of parliamentary procedure which is essential in understanding the legislative process.

Driver education teaches young people to obey the law which like voting is a civic duty. Students are taught there is first of all the right to help decide what the laws are. Second, there is the right to be safe and secure in one's home, free from arrest or search of the home unless the police have obtained a court order. Third there is the right to be considered innocent until proven guilty. Fourth, there is the right to a trial by jury. The duty to obey the law is such a serious matter that democratic government protects the rights of citizens with great care.

Economics teaches young people that paying taxes promptly is a civic duty and provides the money for governments to buy things which we as individuals cannot buy. Taxes, a student is told, pay for schools, highways, and for military defense. Payment of taxes is necessary if the government is to function. If taxes are too high or too low, the citizen has the duty to understand what the needs are and how much money is needed to meet them.

The majority of high school social science teachers would tell their students that voting should become a habit. Voting should be informed voting. Any responsible citizen, a student is told, listens to and reads about political candidates and issues. He takes time before an election to learn about the questions to be decided and about the candidates. When he votes, he votes with the best understanding that he can develop.

In conclusion one might say that the school is an important agency in the development of future citizens of this country. If one is shy and quiet, the school gives you a chance to learn gradually to speak up in classes and feel more at ease with companions. If a student talks too much or is too boastful, the school puts a steady pressure on the student to give others a chance and forces one to provide evidence for one's statements.

Schools help students become better informed. Not everyone can acquire the same amount of knowledge, but all students can learn something about the democratic process of government. Students can learn to find information when

they need it; whether it be in libraries, in books, by interviewing people or by listening.

In view of the above stated facts and the changing sociological trends of youth, namely earlier marriages, parents and wage earners before the age of 21, I sincerely believe that the young people of today are more mature and able to accept the responsibilities of voting at 18.

CLAUDE M. URY,  
*Educational Consultant.*

---

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
*Boston, May 10, 1968.*

HON. BIRCH BAYH,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: Thank you for your recent letter inviting me to appear before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. Although my schedule precludes such an appearance, I would like to record my views on this vital subject.

Basically, I support a reduction in the voting age to 19, as opposed to the age of 18. It is important that as many as possible of our young men and women have the opportunity to graduate from high school before being permitted to vote. There are too many people of 18 years still in high school who deserve the opportunity to graduate before being given the responsibility of voting in our electoral process.

Lowering the voting age from 21 to 19 would reduce the period during which younger citizens, understandably, become frustrated politically because they are not allowed to cast ballots. During this two-year period, it would be possible for them to obtain further civic knowledge and political experience at the very time when their civic concern is most actively seeking constructive expression.

Reduction of the voting age to 19 would, I believe, make our young people more willing to contribute to the betterment of our society through participation in civic affairs. They would have a more direct voice in the future course of our nation and any feelings of alienation would be greatly diminished. In addition, the gap existing between the so-called adult world and the younger generation would be appreciably lessened.

These are a few of my thoughts on this subject, and I appreciate the opportunity to record them with the Senate Subcommittee.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. VOLPE, *Governor.*

○

It is noted that the... in the... of the...  
The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

The... of the... is...  
The... of the... is...

