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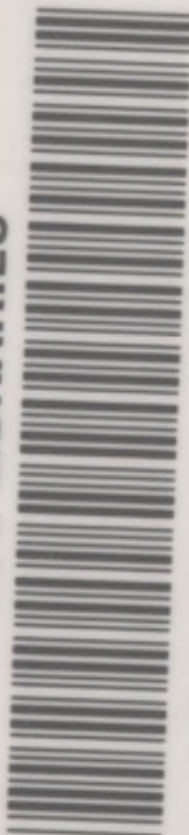
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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY
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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1969-JANUARY 2, 1971

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INTRODUCTION BY SENATOR J. W. FULBRIGHT, CHAIRMAN

With the issuance of the "Legislative History of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 91st Congress," the committee resumes publication of this series on a regular basis. Preparation of these volumes was stopped in the 88th Congress in the belief that the same purposes were served by a shorter summary being placed in the Congressional Record, the Legislative Calendar of the committee, and a committee print containing "Background Information on the Committee on Foreign Relations." While these latter publications are useful and will be continued as working and reference tools, they did not meet the need for a legislative history, particularly in the light of the committee's broadening interests. In addition, section 136(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, requires each standing committee of the Senate beginning in 1973 to submit a report on its legislative review activities, which constitute a large part of the Foreign Relations Committee's present concerns. The committee expects to issue a summary volume in the future covering the 88th-90th Congresses so that the legislative histories begun with the 81st Congress will be a complete series and continued so in the future.

In my statement of December 30, 1970, summarizing the committee's activities, I said that "the legislative history of the Committee on Foreign Relations during the 91st Congress somewhat resembles an iceberg." Much of the committee's significant work appeared in the form of amendments and resolutions rather than in treaties and legislation. The main thrust of the committee during the 2-year period was its concern with redefining the constitutional relationships between the executive and legislative branches in the field of foreign policy. This found expression in the adoption of resolutions such as those on National Commitments (see p. 57), Spanish Bases (see p. 62), and on terminating the Tonkin Gulf resolution (see p. 68), and amendments such as the Cooper-Church amendment on Cambodia (see p. 28). Also pointing in the same direction were the legislative review studies, particularly the Symington subcommittee inquiry on security agreements and commitments abroad, mentioned in part J, of this history.

In addition to treaties, which are separately summarized on page 1, the following statistics indicate the workload of the committee during the 91st Congress:

Bills and joint resolutions:

Referred to the committee	73
Passed Senate	26

Senate and concurrent resolutions:

Referred to the committee	70
Passed Senate	13

IV

91ST CONG.—MEETING TOTALS

	1st sess. (1969)	2d sess. (1970)
Full executive.....	59	53
Full public.....	48	48
Sub. executive.....	41	38
Sub. public.....	19	16
Conference.....	4	5
Total ¹	171	160

¹ Total 1st and 2d sess. 91st Cong., 331.

This legislative history has been prepared by Lois B. McHugh of the Foreign Affairs Division of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, under the supervision of Mrs. Ellen Collier and the direction of the committee staff.

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	—
Total pending during the 91st Congress-----	38
Approved by Senate -----	18
Withdrawn by President-----	1
Still pending in committee at the end of the 91st Congress-----	18
Reported favorably by the committee but not acted on by the Senate -----	1

Actions on the treaties which the committee considered during the 91st Congress are discussed below, followed by a list of the treaties on which the committee did not take action during the 91st Congress. According to a committee publication¹: "Although for various reasons treaties sometimes pend before the committee for considerable periods, the great majority are favorably disposed of. In this connection, it has become the committee's practice to require a treaty to be pending for a reasonable period of time so that the public will have time to study the treaty and let the committee know its views, if any, or desire to be heard on the treaty."

1. TREATY ON THE NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (EX. H, 90-2)

The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed on July 1, 1968, and transmitted by the President to the Senate on July 9, 1968. Much of the consideration by the committee occurred during the 90th Congress although the advice and consent of the Senate was not given until March 13, 1969, in the 91st Congress.

Negotiations concerning a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons had been going on for many years. The committee was informed of these from time to time through hearings and briefings by executive officials. A broad consensus of support within the Senate for negotiation of a nonproliferation treaty was reached in 1966 when Senate Resolution 179, supporting the President's efforts to negotiate an international agreement to limit the spread of nuclear weapons, was adopted by a vote of 84-0 after being favorably reported by both the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Foreign Relations Committee.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee began a series of public hearings on the treaty on July 10, 1968, inviting the Senate members of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee to sit in during the hearings phase of consideration, and reported it favorably on September 17, 1968.

Testimony was received from a large number of officials and private witnesses. The official witness including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, all

¹ Background Information on the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate (2nd Revised Edition), July 1971, p. 32.

supported the treaty. Representative Craig Hosmer recommended that the Senate reserve its consent "pending establishment of IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] safeguards procedures in which treaty signatories may have reasonable confidence and the establishment of a sound system for financing same on a continuing basis." Robert Strausz-Hupe, Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania, testified against the treaty, arguing that it would be destructive to NATO. Edward Teller of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory favored approval of the treaty with Senate language to insure it did not preclude the development and deployment of defensive antiballistic missile systems. The majority of private citizens testifying supported the treaty. It should be noted that between the time of the public hearings on the treaty, and the final consideration of it by the committee, the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by troops of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact nations occurred, and this resulted in a careful examination of the treaty in this new light.

The committee report pointed out that Secretary of State Rusk had stressed the interpretation that the prohibitions in the treaty would not inhibit the United States from meeting its responsibilities under the existing nuclear weapons arrangements within the Western alliance, from deploying its nuclear forces around the world, or from transferring them in a war situation. The committee report also noted that one of the most important aspects was not included in the text of the treaty itself. On June 19, 1968, a United Nations Security Council resolution was approved giving security assurances to the non-nuclear-weapon signatories of the Nonproliferation Treaty. At the same time the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom made declarations affirming their intention to seek Security Council action in the event of a nuclear threat or attack against a non-nuclear party to the treaty, and recognizing the right of collective self defense under Article 51. These assurances and declarations led to considerable discussion within the committee, and the following statement was made in the report:

The committee wishes to make it unmistakably clear that it considers the Security Council resolution and the U.S. declaration as separate and distinct from the Nonproliferation Treaty. This resolution and the accompanying declaration are solely executive measures. However, because these actions are linked politically to the treaty, the connection could convey the impression that approval of the treaty by the Senate also means approval of the Security Council resolution. For this reason, the committee wishes to make the record clear that support of the Nonproliferation Treaty is in no way to be construed as approval of the security guarantee measures embodied in the United Nations resolution or the supporting U.S. declaration. . . . The committee is constrained to point out that, in its view, this United Nations resolution and its accompanying declaration in no way involve a ratification of prior commitments or establish new commitments. In the event that action is contemplated by the United States, by reason of its declarations in the Security Council, such action can only be taken with due regard to proper constitutional processes.

The committee reported its conclusion that the present treaty was the best which could be negotiated at that time, formalizing the mutual concern of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons. The treaty could be regarded, the committee declared, as a commitment to pursue in good

faith and with urgency new arms limitation agreements. The committee reported that Article V, to ensure that potential benefits from any peaceful applications be made available to non-nuclear-weapon signatories, was potentially a problem area because it appeared open ended and might even be interpreted as a commitment of the U.S. to share with non-nuclear nations the benefits of the peaceful application of nuclear explosive devices, with the costs borne by the United States. The committee also pointed out that the success of the treaty depended on its wide acceptance, particularly by those countries with the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons, and on the signatories' acceptance of the safeguards (inspection arrangements) which are to be negotiated with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The committee recommended Senate approval on September 17, 1968, by a vote of 13-3 with 3 abstentions.

Five committee members, Senators Mundt, Hickenlooper, John Williams, Dodd, and Lausche filed minority views stating that the following unresolved questions remained: first, the reliability of the safeguard provisions; second, whether the treaty could be injurious to relations with the Euratom community; third, the meaning for the United States of Article V of the treaty pledging to make available on a non-discriminatory basis to all non-nuclear-weapon signatories the benefits from the peaceful atomic energy programs; and fourth, the cost to the United States of the proposed inspection system. Although the Senators recommended that the treaty be ratified, in light of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia they believed September 1968 was a poor time for such action. A sixth Senator, Senator Aiken, attached individual views stating:

While I am sympathetic to the objectives of the treaty in trying to curtail proliferation of nuclear weapons, I feel that there are some definite understandings which should be reached with respect to the economic responsibilities of this country before the treaty is voted upon.

On October 11, 1968, Senator Mansfield announced that, because of the climate of the Senate, he would not bring up the Nonproliferation Treaty for a vote. Thus the treaty was again before the Foreign Relations Committee at the beginning of the 91st Congress.

On February 5, 1969, President Nixon endorsed the treaty and asked the Senate to act promptly on it. The committee heard testimony on February 18 and 20, 1969, from the new administration.

On February 25, 1969, the committee voted to report the treaty favorably by a vote of 14 to 0 with 1 member (Senator Dodd) voting present. In the 1969 committee report, issued March 6, only a few points were added to the 1968 report. One of these was that as a result of the February 1969 hearings, the committee felt satisfied with assurances from the administration and the Atomic Energy Commission that Article V on making available the benefits of nuclear explosives for peaceful purposes would not result in an open ended commitment to subsidize foreign atomic energy commercial interests. Senator Dodd inserted a short supplemental statement saying that, although he favored the principle of the Treaty, some of the doubts in his mind had not as yet been assuaged.

The floor debate on the treaty lasted from March 10 through March 13, 1969. Several reservations to the treaty were introduced and de-

feated on the floor. Senator Ervin introduced on March 10 a reservation which stated that the treaty did not obligate the U.S. to use its armed forces in defense of any non-nuclear nation, or any member of the U.N. even when threatened from outside with the use of nuclear weapons. On March 11 Senator Pastore successfully moved to table the Ervin resolution (61-30). Senator Tower had introduced a reservation on March 12 to exempt regional organizations under article 52 of the United Nations Charter from the prohibition against providing materials for the establishment of nuclear defenses. This was defeated after debate, 75-17. On March 13, two reservations introduced by Senator Dodd were defeated. The first stated that any military attack by a nuclear weapons country against another country would be grounds for immediate termination of the treaty. This was defeated 81-15. Also rejected (79-15) was an understanding that the United States and the Soviet Union deposit their instruments of ratification simultaneously at an agreed upon time. The same day an understanding introduced by Senator Thurmond was rejected 77-17. This would have provided that the treaty be construed in accordance with answers given by the U.S. to certain questions by other members of NATO concerning (1) transfer of nuclear delivery systems (not including bombs or warheads), (2) consultations and planning on nuclear defense, (3) deployment of nuclear weapons by the United States within the territory of non-nuclear NATO members, and (4) unification of Europe if a nuclear weapon state were one of the constituent states. Finally, a restatement by Senator Ervin of his earlier reservation was defeated 69-25. The Senate then adopted the resolution approving ratification, 83 to 15.

Legislative chronology—Ex. H, 90-2

July 9, 1968: Treaty submitted to the Senate.

July 10, 11, 12, 17, 1968: Public hearings. Printed.

July 30, September 3, 1968: Considered in executive session.

September 17, 1968: Ordered reported. 13-3 with 3 passing.

September 23, 1968: Considered in executive session.

September 26, 1968: Reported. Ex. Rept. 9, 90-2.

January 3, 1969: Rereferred.

January 7, 1969: Considered in executive session.

February 7, 1969: Message from the President received.

February 18 and 20, 1969: Public hearings. Printed.

February 25, 1969: Ordered reported. 14-0.

March 6, 1969: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-1.

March 10, 11, 12, 13, 1969: General debate. Approved. 83-15.

2. CONVENTION ON OFFENSES AND CERTAIN OTHER ACTS COMMITTED
ON BOARD AIRCRAFT (EX. L, 90-2)

The Convention on Offenses Committed on Board Aircraft was signed at Tokyo on September 14, 1963, but was not transmitted to the Senate until September 25, 1968. According to the letter of transmittal from the President, the convention was the culmination of 13 years of study and negotiation in the Legal Committee of the International Civil Aviation Organization. The executive branch stated that the delay in submitting the convention was "because of the need to as-

sure that implementing legislation could be drafted which is fully consistent with the national interest."

The major purpose of the Tokyo Convention was to establish international rules to provide for continuous jurisdiction over crimes and other offenses committed on board aircraft engaged in international aviation. It did not provide for the punishment or extradition of the hijacker.

The Foreign Relations Committee held a public hearing on April 29, 1969, receiving testimony in favor of the convention from Murray Belman, Deputy Legal Adviser, Department of State, and Charles Ruby, president of the Air Line Pilots Association. The committee stated in its report that it was not aware of any opposition to the convention.

The committee met in executive session and reported the convention favorably to the Senate on May 8, 1969. In the committee's view "the convention is a significant step in the development of international aviation law." The convention was considered by the Senate on May 12 and 13, 1969 and approved by a vote of 93 to 1.

Legislative chronology—Ex. L, 90-2

September 25, 1968: Treaty submitted to the Senate.

April 29, 1969. Public hearing. Printed in report.

May 6, 1969: Considered in executive session and ordered reported.

May 8, 1969: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-3.

May 12, 13, 1969: General debate in the Senate. Approved 93-1.

3. CONVENTION ESTABLISHING THE WORLD INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY ORGANIZATION AND PARIS CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY, AS REVISED (EX. A, 91-1)

These two conventions, which referred to patents and copyrights, were signed by the United States on July 14, 1967, and submitted to the Senate for approval on March 12, 1969. They were signed at the conclusion of a conference held in Stockholm from June 12 through July 14, 1967, for the purpose of revising the administrative provisions of the Industrial Property Convention of 1884.

According to the committee report, the main purpose of the conventions was to bring the finances and structure of the Industrial Property Convention and its Secretariat into line with more modern principles of international organization by giving the countries party to the convention the powers of policy making and control which they normally exercised in most international organizations.

The committee held a public hearing on the Intellectual and Industrial Property Conventions on February 9, 1970, receiving testimony supporting the convention from Eugene M. Braderman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Commercial Affairs and Business Activities. The committee reported it knew of no opposition to the conventions and recommended that the Senate approve the ratification of both conventions. The committee noted that implementing legislation would be required to amend the U.S. Patent Law. The Department of State assured the committee that the U.S. instrument of ratification would not be deposited until the necessary implementing legislation was enacted.

The resolution approving ratification passed the Senate without debate on February 28, 1970 by a vote of 70 to 0.

Legislative chronology—Ex. A, 91-1

March 12, 1969: Submitted to the Senate.

February 9, 1970: Public hearing. Printed in report.

February 10, 1970: Ordered reported.

February 13, 1970: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-13.

February 28, 1970: Approved. 70-0.

4. BROADCASTING AGREEMENTS WITH MEXICO (EX. B, 91-1)

Two separate, but related, agreements between the United States and the United Mexican States were signed at Mexico City on December 11, 1968, concerning the use of the standard broadcast band by the United States and Mexico. The first dealt with procedures and standards designed to minimize interference problems between the two countries and the second concerned use by daytime stations of certain pre-sunrise and post-sunset hours under regulations set forth in the agreement.

The two agreements replaced an earlier agreement which was signed on January 29, 1957, and expired on December 31, 1966. The new agreement, signed in 1968, had been under negotiation for two years. Both countries, in the interim period without agreement, attempted to follow the provisions of the 1957 agreement. The committee report pointed out that the 1957 agreement took nearly three years to gain Senate approval due to the provisions it contained prohibiting pre-sunrise and post-sunset operations by American stations. The new agreements relaxed this position.

A public hearing was held on May 27, 1969, by the committee at which time representatives of the Department of State and the Federal Communications Commission presented statements supporting the agreements. Several other communications, all supporting the agreements, were received by the committee.

On June 10, the committee ordered the agreements reported to the Senate. The agreements were approved by the Senate with no debate on June 19, 1969, by a vote of 89 to 0.

Legislative chronology—Ex. B, 91-1

March 26, 1969: Submitted to the Senate.

May 27, 1969: Public hearing. Printed in report.

June 10, 1969: Ordered reported.

June 16, 1969: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-7.

June 19, 1969: Approved 89-0.

5. AGREEMENT WITH CANADA PROVIDING FOR ADDITIONAL TEMPORARY DIVERSIONS FROM THE NIAGARA RIVER FOR POWER PRODUCTION PURPOSES (EX. C, 91-1)

An agreement between the United States and Canada transmitted to the Senate on April 14, 1969, provided for temporary diversions of water for power production purposes. This was to take advantage of a temporary dam being constructed across the Niagara River in order to study the American side of the falls. The treaty was deemed necessary

because use of the waters for power would have the effect of lowering the water levels below that prescribed in the Treaty Relating to Uses of Waters of the Niagara River between the United States and Canada, signed in 1950. It authorized the use for power purposes of the water diverted by the cofferdam by lowering temporarily the minimum flows over the combined walls. The treaty was conditional upon the agreement by both sides to contribute in cash or services to the cost of the cofferdam and study, the value of one half the estimated net power benefits, as well as to assume responsibility for any damage claims arising out of the temporary lowering of the water levels.

The agreement was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee on April 14, 1969, and a public hearing was held on May 5, 1969, at which time testimony was received from the Department of State and from the Army Corps of Engineers. The committee considered the agreement in executive session on May 6, 1969, and ordered it reported favorably, stating:

This agreement would provide a means by which the Federal Government can recoup approximately one-half the cost of the cofferdam needed to permit inspection of the problem at the American Falls. Without this agreement, the diverted water would be channeled over the Canadian Horseshoe Falls, benefitting no one, and perhaps impairing the esthetic appearance of the Horseshoe Falls by the increased flow.

The committee received assurances that the approval of this agreement would not mean a commitment by the Senate to support the recommendations of the investigating committee, or any subsequent agreements relating to the problem.

The bill was reported favorably on May 8, 1969, and passed the Senate by a unanimous vote (94 to 0) on May 13, 1969.

Legislative chronology—Ex. C, 91-1

April 14, 1969: Submitted to Senate.

May 5, 1969: Public hearing. Printed in report.

May 6, 1969: Ordered reported.

May 8, 1969: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-4.

May 12, 13, 1969: General debate. Approved 94-0.

6. CONVENTION ON THE CONDUCT OF FISHING OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC (EX. D, 91-1)

The purpose of this convention was to attempt to overcome some of the disorders and disturbances which had arisen from increasing congestion on the fishing grounds of the North Atlantic. It established a uniform set of rules and regulations to govern the conduct of the fishermen of the various nations using the area, defined in the convention as the area north of a line drawn between Gibraltar and Cape Hatteras (35° N).

Historically, the convention grew out of a resolution adopted at the end of the European Fisheries Conference of January 1964, which requested the United Kingdom to invite all countries participating in the Northeast Atlantic fisheries, plus Canada and the U.S., to a conference which would update the rules and regulations of the 1882 Convention for Regulating the Police of the North Seas Fisheries. Consequently, the Government of the United Kingdom hosted four

conference sessions during the period of April 1965 to March 1967. The convention was adopted on March 17, 1967, and signed June 1, 1967, by seventeen nations including the United States.

The convention was submitted to the Senate on April 18, 1969. The committee held a public hearing on October 7, 1969, at which time testimony urging adoption was received from Donald L. McKernan, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Fisheries and Wildlife. The committee met in executive session immediately after the hearing and ordered that the convention be favorably reported to the Senate without reservation.

The convention was read and approved by the Senate on October 22, 1969, by a vote of 80 to 0 without discussion.

Legislative chronology—Ex. D, 91-1

April 18, 1969: Submitted to the Senate.

October 7, 1969: Public hearing. Printed in report. Ordered reported.

October 21, 1969: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-8.

October 22, 1969: Approved. 80-0.

7. VIENNA CONVENTION ON CONSULAR RELATIONS WITH OPTIONAL
PROTOCOL (EX. E, 91-1)

The Vienna Convention, signed in 1963, was the result of eight years of work by the International Law Commission of the United Nations. An earlier result of the effort of the International Law Commission was the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations which was signed in 1961 and approved by the Senate in 1965.

The purpose of the convention was to clarify and codify provisions of rules and customs of consular relations, where these rules existed, and to set minimum new standards where there were no previous provisions.

In deciding to support approval of the convention, the committee reported, it weighed the following factors:

- (1) The Convention does not change or affect present laws or practice.
- (2) The Convention does not prohibit the United States from seeking higher standards of protection for its consular offices through future negotiation of bilateral consular treaties. . . .
- (3) As a receiving state, the United States will be able to safeguard fully its national security interest in various ways. . . .
- (4) As a sending state, it is important that the United States obtain for its consular service the prerogatives necessary for it to function effectively abroad. . . .
- (5) Neither the Department of State nor the Committee has received any indications of any opposition to the Convention.

The additional Optional Protocol concerning the compulsory settlement of disputes was identical to that which accompanied the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and like that eliminated the application of the Connally Amendment to cases which might arise in the International Court of Justice over the application of the consular convention.

The Senate received the convention on May 8, 1969, and the Foreign Relations Committee held a public hearing on October 7, 1969. Supporting testimony was given by J. Edward Lysterly, Deputy Legal Adviser for Administration of the State Department.

The committee approved the treaty without reservation on the same day, stating:

The Committee on Foreign Relations concurs with the judgment of the Executive Branch that the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations will further friendly relations between nations through the orderly development of uniform standards of consular practice.

The convention was read and approved by the Senate on October 22, 1969, by a vote of 81 to 0. There was no debate.

Legislative chronology—Ex. E. 91-1

May 8, 1969: Submitted to the Senate.

October 7, 1969: Public hearing. Printed in report. Ordered reported.

October 21, 1969: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-9.

October 22, 1969: Approved. 81-0.

S. CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH BELGIUM (EX. F. 91-1)

This convention with Belgium replaced one signed in 1880, and represented a step in the effort of the United States to expand and upgrade its consular treaties. As stated in the committee report: "It also illustrates the policy of the United States to seek bilaterally standards of consular privileges and immunities that are higher than those in the recently approved Vienna Convention, to which Belgium is not a party." It set forth the functions, privileges, and immunities of consular officers, covering such things as free communication between a citizen and his consul, notification of detention of nationals, issuance of visas and passports, the performance of notarial services, the inviolability of consular communications, documents and archives, and protection of consular premises. Basically, it was similar to the other postwar consular conventions of the United States.

The convention was signed on September 2, 1969, and transmitted to the Senate on October 8, 1969. The committee held a public hearing on November 4, 1969, receiving favorable testimony from the Legal Adviser of the Department of State, John R. Stevenson. The committee ordered the treaty reported favorably without objection the next day, stating that it knew of no opposition to the treaty. The committee "has continuously supported consular conventions as being in the interests of the United States, and does so again in this instance."

The treaty was approved by the Senate without debate on November 10, 1969, by a vote of 71 to 0.

Legislative chronology—Ex. F, 91-1

October 8, 1969: Submitted to the Senate.

November 4, 1969: Public hearing. Printed in part in the report.

November 5, 1969: Ordered reported.

November 6, 1969: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-10.

November 10, 1969: Approved. 71-0.

9. TAX CONVENTIONS WITH BELGIUM, FINLAND, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, AND ESTATE TAX CONVENTION WITH THE NETHERLANDS (EX. I, E, AND D, 91-2 AND EX. G, 91-1)

The tax convention with Belgium (Ex. I, 91-2) for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion of income taxes

was signed on July 9, 1970, at Brussels to replace the basic convention between the two countries of October 28, 1948, and the modifications signed afterwards. According to the State Department's letter of transmittal, quoted in the committee report, the negotiations of the convention involved a thorough review of the basic convention and its modifications. Each provision was modified "to reflect changes in the internal tax laws of the two countries and to take into account other recent tax treaties concluded by the two countries." It was patterned after the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development's model draft convention published in 1963.

The tax convention with Finland (Ex. E, 91-2), for the same purpose, was signed in Washington on March 6, 1970. The State Department's letter of transmittal, as quoted in the committee report, stated: "Developments in United States-Finnish relations and changes in the tax laws of both countries and in tax treaty policy since 1952 have made it desirable to revise the existing convention," and this treaty "conforms generally to the tax treaty policies established in recent revisions" of tax conventions. The new convention replaced one of March 3, 1952.

The tax convention with Trinidad and Tobago (Ex. D, 91-2) concerning double taxation was signed at Port-of-Spain on January 9, 1970. The original income tax convention of 1945 which concerned Trinidad and Tobago was signed with Great Britain. In 1965, after gaining status as an independent nation. Trinidad and Tobago notified the United States that the convention would be terminated. Subsequently, discussions between the two countries were held and a new convention was signed on December 22, 1966. This convention ceased to be in force on December 31, 1969. On January 9, 1970, the new convention was signed.

The 1970 treaty included reference to continental shelf exploitation, and the committee showed concern for the lack of precise definition of the geographical scope of the convention. Nevertheless, the committee agreed with the Department of State "that a bilateral tax convention is not the appropriate instrument for dealing with a major international law-of-the-sea issue, such as the outer continental shelf boundary. . ."

The committee ordered the tax convention with Trinidad and Tobago reported favorably with the reservation that the United States did not accept Article Seven of the convention relating to tax deferral for technical assistance. "In the committee's view, our many domestic problems, including the current balance of payments deficit, are important considerations which must be borne in mind when determining whether to approve measures in tax treaties which are designed to defer taxes of United States corporations for the purpose of encouraging investment in less developed countries . . . this reservation will not preclude further consideration by the committee and the Senate of the concept of providing investment tax incentives in bilateral agreements. It does, however, have the effect of putting the Administration on notice that such a concept will not be approved until our domestic and international economic and political situations show a marked improvement."

The estate tax convention between the United States and the Netherlands (Ex. G., 91-1) was signed in Washington on July 15, 1969. The

convention concerned double taxation and fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on estates and inheritances. This convention is patterned on the Convention on Estates and Inheritances published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 1966.

The Foreign Relations Committee held public hearings on all of these tax conventions on October 6 and November 19, 1970, receiving testimony from Edwin S. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Tax Policy, and Lawrence N. Woodworth, Chief of Staff, Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. Both testified in favor of the conventions. Following the second hearing, the committee reported the tax conventions favorably subject to the one reservation described earlier concerning the treaty with Trinidad and Tobago. The conventions were approved on November 25, 1970 by a vote of 76 to 0.

Legislative chronology—Ex. I, E, and D, 91-2 and Ex. G, 91-1

October 13, 1969: Convention between the United States and the Netherlands submitted to the Senate (Ex. G, 91-1).

March 5, 1970: Convention between the United States and Trinidad and Tobago submitted to the Senate (Ex. D, 91-2).

May 13, 1970: Convention between the United States and Finland submitted to the Senate (Ex. E, 91-2).

August 13, 1970: Convention between the United States and Belgium submitted to the Senate (Ex. I, 91-2).

October 6 and November 19, 1970: Public hearings. Printed. Ordered reported.

November 23, 1970: Reported Ex. Rept. 91-24.

November 24 and 25, 1970: General debate. Approved. 76-0.

10. AGREEMENT WITH CANADA ON ADJUSTMENTS IN FLOOD CONTROL PAYMENTS (EX. H, 91-1)

The purpose of this agreement with Canada was to provide payment for additional flood control benefits provided by Canada to the United States because of the early completion of two dams constructed pursuant to the Columbia River Treaty. The latter treaty provided for payment by the U.S. to Canada for the flood control benefits to be derived from the Duncan and Arrow Dams in British Columbia. While it provided for late completion, no provision was made for early completion, and both dams were completed well before the deadline. Subsequently, the two countries agreed that \$82,000 for the two extra years of benefits from Duncan Dam and \$196,000 for one extra year of Arrow Dam benefits would be appropriate. Notes to this effect were exchanged on August 18 and 20, 1969, and referred to the committee on October 14, 1969.

A public hearing was held on November 4, 1969, and at that hearing John R. Stevenson, Legal Adviser to the Department of State, Fred L. Thrall, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and William Johnson, Jr., Office of Canadian Affairs, all testified in favor of the agreement. On November 5, 1969, the committee considered the agreement in executive session and ordered it reported favorably stating: "The committee believes that the payment provided for in the agreement is fair and reasonable compensation for the additional flood protection the United States has received as a result of the early completion by Canada of Arrow Dam and Duncan Dam. It would not be in keeping

with the cooperative spirit underlying the Columbia River Treaty for the United States to fail to compensate Canada for these extra benefits."

The two notes constituting the agreement were approved by the Senate on November 10, 1968 by a vote of 67 to 3 with no debate.

Legislative chronology—Ex. H. 91-1

October 14, 1969: Submitted to the Senate.

November 4, 1969: Public hearing.

November 5, 1969: Ordered reported.

November 6, 1969: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-11.

November 10, 1969: Approved. 67-3.

11. PROTOCOL TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE
NORTHWEST ATLANTIC FISHERIES (EX. I, 91-1)

The purpose of this protocol to the 1949 Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Convention was to provide for the removal of restrictions on the number of commissioners on each of the special panels established by the convention and on the types of measures which the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries could propose to conserve and use efficiently the fish stocks in the convention area.

According to the committee report, the 1949 Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Convention was concluded "to investigate, protect, and conserve the fisheries of the Northwest Atlantic Ocean (39°N, 42°W) so that the maximum sustained catch from those fisheries is maintained." The parties to the convention were Canada, Denmark, West Germany, France, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the U.S.

Under the 1949 convention, membership on the various panels was restricted to those countries who fished for those fish specifically mentioned in the convention. Those fishing in the same area for a different type of fish were thus barred from a voice in regulatory proposals. Second, the International Commission was limited in its protection of the fisheries to five methods of control. This did not allow the commission to recommend whatever methods it deemed appropriate in a given situation. The protocol, dated October 1, 1969, provided for removal of both restrictions from the convention.

The protocol was submitted to the Senate and referred to the committee on December 12, 1969. A public hearing was held on March 11, 1970, with testimony received from Donald McKernan, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Fisheries and Wildlife, in favor of the protocol. "Mr. McKernan testified that the United States is anxious to have a quota arrangement for the area covered by the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Convention and that acceptance of this protocol would permit the International Commission to recommend such an arrangement to the contracting parties."

The committee met in executive session on March 12, 1970, and ordered the protocol reported favorably without reservation stating that the protocol, "by providing for greater flexibility in terms of both panel membership and regulatory/conservation measures, should help to achieve the convention's objective of maintaining the maximum sustained catch from the fisheries in the convention area."

The protocol was approved by the Senate on March 19, 1970, without debate by a vote of 78 to 0.

Legislative chronology—Ex. I, 91-1

December 12, 1969: Submitted to the Senate.

March 11, 1970: Public hearing. Printed in report.

March 12, 1970: Ordered reported.

March 17, 1970: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-16.

March 19, 1970: Approved 78-0.

12. CONVENTION ON THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF THE
UNITED NATIONS (EX. J, 91-1)

The purpose of this convention was to give representatives of members of the U.N. the same rights and privileges as representatives of foreign governments, and to extend to officials of the United Nations, experts on missions, and temporary representatives certain privileges and immunities. According to the committee report, "For the most part, these privileges and immunities have already been conferred upon the United Nations through the International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945 and the [United Nations] Headquarters Agreement of 1947." The convention was adopted on February 13, 1946, by the General Assembly to implement articles 104 and 105 of the U.N. Charter. One hundred and one members of the United Nations were parties to the convention including all the major powers.

Originally, on May 12, 1947, a draft joint resolution approving U.S. acceptance of the convention was submitted to both the Senate and the House in conjunction with several other U.N. matters. The measure passed the Senate but was not acted on by the House. Legislation for this purpose was presented again on January 3, 1949, but no action was taken in either House. It was not submitted again until December 19, 1969, when President Nixon submitted the convention to the Senate as a treaty for its advice and consent. According to the committee report, "the United States, as host country, has been increasingly subjected to criticism for its failure to accede. The Committee on Foreign Relations had a taste of this itself when it visited with Secretary General U Thant at the United Nations Headquarters on March 22, 1967. As a result of his representations the chairman inquired of the Department of State about the status of the convention and was subsequently informed that this was under review. In time, this review led to the present recommendation that the United States become a party to the convention." The committee further felt that the twenty year delay in resubmitting the convention was due to executive contentment with operating under the provisions of the International Organizations Immunities Act and the Headquarters Agreement.

The State Department recommended, and the committee agreed, that the U.S. should accede to the convention with the reservation that the immunity of United Nations personnel should not include immunity from taxation or military draft for U.S. citizens and aliens admitted for permanent residence. Secondly, a reservation was proposed by the executive branch and endorsed by the committee which stated that nothing in the convention should be construed to grant any person who had

abused his privileges of residence by activities outside his official capacity exemption from the laws and regulations of the U.S. concerning continued residence of aliens, provided that:

(a) No proceeding shall be instituted under such laws or regulations to require any such person to leave the United States except with the prior approval of the Secretary of State of the United States . . . ;

(b) A representative of the Member concerned or the Secretary-General, as the case may be, shall have the right to appear in any such proceedings on behalf of the person against whom they are instituted;

(c) Persons who are entitled to diplomatic privileges and immunities under the Convention shall not be required to leave the United States otherwise than in accordance with the customary procedure applicable to members of diplomatic missions accredited or notified to the United States.

The convention was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee which held a public hearing on March 9, 1970. U.S. Permanent Ambassador to the United Nations, Charles Yost, and John R. Stevenson, Legal Adviser of the Department of State, testified in support of the convention. On March 12, the committee voted to report the treaty favorably with the above reservations. The committee report stated:

The committee agrees that U.S. security is adequately safeguarded by present law and the reservations. It further agrees that as host to the principal organs of the United Nations U.S. accession is overdue. . . . For 25 years the United Nations has been working in New York. The Committee on Foreign Relations believes that this fact should be noted and honored by accession to the convention now that the executive branch has laid it before the Senate.

The convention with reservations was read and approved on March 19, 1971 by the Senate by a vote of 78 to 0 with no debate.

Legislative chronology—Ex. J, 91-1

December 19, 1969: Submitted to the Senate.

March 9, 1970: Public hearing. Printed in report.

March 12, 1970: Ordered reported.

March 17, 1970: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-17.

March 19, 1970: Approved. 78-0.

13. AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA REGARDING
RADIOTELEPHONE STATIONS (EX. A, 91-2)

Under the terms of this agreement, the U.S. and Canada could issue permits to licensed private operators of radiotelephone stations of one country for temporary periods during which they were under the jurisdiction of the other country. Since Canada had already granted this privilege to American short-range, two-way radio equipment, this agreement involved U.S. reciprocity.

According to the State Department spokesman who testified in favor of the agreement, discussion of the subject between the two countries began in 1962, but there were certain administrative and technical problems that needed to be clarified. Despite these problems, the Canadian Government unilaterally passed regulations in July of 1964 which allowed U.S. tourists to operate their class D stations in Canada. The agreement between the two countries was signed on November 19, 1969 and transmitted to the Senate on January 27, 1970.

The State Department gave as its reason for this particular agreement the fact that the U.S. Communications Act of 1934, as amended, prohibited the licensing of aliens, and rather than extending to all

aliens by law the right to be licensed, the U.S. decided to negotiate this agreement specifically with Canada.

A hearing was held by the committee on May 18, 1970, with testimony from Thomas Nelson of the Department of State, Office of Telecommunications, Bureau of Economic Affairs. On May 22, the committee ordered the agreement reported favorably to the Senate, stating: "It appears to the committee to be a matter of simple equity to extend to Canadian citizens the privilege of operating their radio-telephones while visiting the United States which Canada has been according U.S. citizens touring Canada."

The agreement was approved on May 27, 1970, by unanimous vote of 79 to 0 without debate.

Legislative chronology—Ex. A, 91-2

January 27, 1970: Submitted to the Senate.

May 18, 1970: Public hearing. Printed in part in the report.

May 22, 1970: Ordered reported.

May 25, 1970: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-19.

May 27, 1970: Approved. 79-0.

14. EXTRADITION TREATY WITH NEW ZEALAND (EX. C, 91-2)

The extradition treaty with New Zealand was signed in Washington on January 12, 1970, and transmitted to the Senate on March 5, 1970. Among its other extraditable offenses, the treaty included aircraft hijacking and offenses related to drugs. The State Department said in its letter of transmittal that the treaty "follows generally the form and content of extradition agreements recently concluded by this government."

The committee held a public hearing on May 18, 1970, receiving favorable testimony from John R. Stevenson, Legal Adviser of the Department of State. It was considered in executive session on May 22 and ordered reported favorably.

The treaty was approved by the Senate on May 27, 1970, by a unanimous vote of 79 to 0 with no debate.

Legislative chronology—Ex. C, 91-2

March 5, 1970: Submitted to the Senate.

May 18, 1970: Public hearing.

May 22, 1970: Ordered reported.

May 25, 1970: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-20.

May 27, 1970: Approved 79-0.

15. SUPPLEMENTARY EXTRADITION CONVENTION WITH FRANCE
(EX. F, 91-2)

The purpose of the supplementary convention with France was to add to the 1909 convention list of extraditable offenses that of hijacking and to clarify and expand the offenses relating to narcotics. The convention was signed in Paris on February 12, 1970, and transmitted to the Senate on May 13, 1970.

The committee held a public hearing on the convention on August 27, 1970, receiving favorable testimony from Knute E. Malmberg, Assistant Legal Adviser, Department of State. On August 28, 1970, the

committee met in executive session and ordered the convention favorably reported. It was approved by the Senate on September 21, 1970, by a unanimous vote of 66 to 0 with no debate.

Legislative chronology—Ex. F, 91-2

May 13, 1970: Submitted to the Senate.

August 27, 1970: Public hearing. Printed in part in the report.

August 28, 1970: Ordered reported.

September 4, 1970: Reported. Ex. Rept. 91-23.

September 16, 1970: Exchange of notes submitted. (Notes of June 2, and 11, 1970, between France and the United States correcting an error in the French text.)

September 21, 1970: Approved. 66-0.

16. INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE (EX. O, 81-1 AND EX. B, 91-2)

The purpose of negotiating the convention was to make genocide an international crime, whether committed during peace or war. Genocide was defined as any of the following five acts, if accompanied by the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Other articles of the convention dealt with trial and extradition of persons accused of genocide, implementing legislation, the role of the United Nations, and settlement of disputes over interpretation of the meaning of the convention.

This convention was originally adopted largely in response to the persecution of the Jews under Hitler. Drafted under the auspices of the United Nations, the convention was adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 55-0 on December 9, 1948, and entered into force in 1951. Seventy-five nations were a party to it by December 1970.

The convention, signed by the United States on December 11, 1948, was originally submitted to the Senate by President Truman on June 16, 1949 (Ex. O, 81-1). Hearings were held by a subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee in 1950 and the convention was reported favorably to the full committee with recommended understandings and a declaration, but no further action was taken by the committee. On February 19, 1970, President Nixon requested the Senate to consider the convention again and grant its advice and consent to ratification. The President's request was considered at several committee meetings, and the committee decided to refer the convention to a subcommittee for new hearings. On April 24 and 27, 1970, the subcommittee (Senators Church, Symington, Pell, Cooper, and Javits) held hearings on the constitutional and legal implications of the Genocide

Convention. A subsequent hearing was held on May 22 to receive the views of Senator Ervin. Most of the testimony received favored the convention. The subcommittee considered the convention in executive session and recommended it favorably on May 12, 1970.

On July 28, the full committee ordered the convention reported favorably by a vote of 6 to 5, but subsequently reconsidered this vote by a vote of 7 to 5. The American Bar Association asked to be heard on the subject in a letter dated September 17 and this was considered at a meeting on November 23, 1970. The committee noted that the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association in February rejected, by a vote of 130 to 126, a move to reverse its stand of 1949 opposing ratification of the Genocide Convention. The committee then voted to report the convention favorably by a vote of 10 to 2 with the following understandings and declaration:

(1) That the U.S. Government understands and construes the words "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such" appearing in article II, to mean the intent to destroy a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group by the acts specified in article II in such manner as to affect a substantial part of the group concerned.

(2) That the U.S. Government understands and construes the words "mental harm" appearing in article III (b) of this convention to mean permanent impairment of mental faculties.

(3) That the U.S. Government understands and construes article VI of the convention in accordance with the language of the report of the Legal Committee of the United Nations General Assembly that nothing in article VI shall affect the right of any state to bring to trial before its own tribunals any of its nationals for acts committed outside the State.

(4) That the U.S. Government declares that it will not deposit its instrument of ratification until after the implementing legislation referred to in article V has been enacted.

In reporting the convention, the committee stated:

Genocide has become a word in altogether too common usage. The committee therefore has been careful in this report to narrow down its meaning and not to overstate the significance of the convention. We have been concerned largely with describing what it does not do. We find no substantial merit in the arguments against the convention. . . . The fact that no legal indictment for genocide has been made by any of the convention's 75 parties leaves doubts as to its meaningfulness. . . . The rhetoric of both proponents and opponents has tended to obscure the dimensions of this modest step.

Senator Javits appended individual views to the committee report stating as his reason for doing so: "Because of its preoccupation with answering the arguments that have been offered in the past to such ratification, however, the report takes on a defensive character. In these individual views, I wish to stress the positive case for ratification." Senator Javits held that the ratification of the convention was a significant and beneficial step forward for mankind as a whole.

No further action by the Senate was taken on the convention during the 91st Congress.

Legislative chronology—Ex. O, 81-1

June 16, 1949: Submitted to the Senate.

July 29, 1949: Subcommittee appointed: Senators McMahon, Thomas, Pepper, Hickenlooper and Lodge.

January 23, 24, 25, and February 9, 1950: Public hearings. Printed.

April 12, 1950: Ordered reported to committee.

August 30, 1966: Discussed in executive session.

- February 19, 1970: Request received from President for reconsideration and advice and consent of the Senate. Ex. B, 91-1.
- March 5 and 12, 1970: Considered in executive session.
- March 20, 1970: Subcommittee appointed: Senators Church, Symington, Pell, Cooper and Javits.
- April 24 and 27, 1970: Public hearings. Printed.
- May 12, 1970: Executive session.
- May 22, 1970: Public hearing. Printed.
- July 28, 1970: Ordered reported. 6-5. Motion to reconsider agreed to. 7-5.
- November 23, 1970: Ordered reported with understandings and a declaration, 10-2.
- December 8, 1970: Reported with understandings and declaration. Ex. Rept. 91-25.
- January 3, 1971: Rereferred.

17. TREATIES ON WHICH NO ACTION WAS TAKEN

The following treaties on which the Committee did not take action were still pending at the end of the 91st Congress:

- Inter-American convention on the granting of political rights to women, submitted January 13, 1949. (Ex. D, 81-1)
- A convention No. 87 concerning freedom of association and protection of the right to organize, adopted by the International Labor Conference, submitted August 27, 1949. (Ex. S, 81-1)
- International plant protection convention, submitted January 12, 1956. (Ex. D, 84-2)
- Optional protocol of signature concerning the compulsory settlement of disputes arising under the Law of the Sea Conventions, submitted September 9, 1959. (Ex. N, 86-1)
- Convention No. 116 concerning the partial revision of the conventions adopted by the General Conference of the International Labor Organization at its first 32 sessions for the purpose of standardizing the provisions regarding the preparation of reports by the governing body of the International Labor Office on the working of conventions, submitted June 1, 1962. (Ex. C, 87-2)
- Convention on the political rights of women, submitted July 22, 1963. (Ex. J, 88-1)
- Convention No. 105 concerning the abolition of forced labor, submitted July 22, 1963. (Ex. K, 88-1)
- Convention between the United States of America and Thailand for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income, submitted July 29, 1965. (Ex. E, 89-1)
- Convention between the United States of America and Israel for the avoidance of double taxation of income and for the encouragement of international trade and investment, submitted July 29, 1965. (Ex. F, 89-1)
- Convention No. 122 concerning employment policy, adopted by the International Labor Conference, submitted June 2, 1966. (Ex. G, 89-2)
- International convention relating to intervention on the high seas in cases of oil pollution casualties, international convention on civil

liability for oil pollution damage, and amendments to the international convention for the prevention of pollution of the sea by oil, submitted May 20, 1970. (Ex. G, 91-2)

Additional protocol II to the treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America, submitted August 13, 1970. (Ex. H, 91-2)

Protocol for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of bacteriological methods of warfare, submitted August 19, 1970. (Ex. J, 91-2)

Treaty of cooperation between the United States and Mexico providing for the recovery and return of stolen archaeological, historical, and cultural properties, submitted September 23, 1970. (Ex. K, 91-2)

Convention signed at Managua on July 14, 1970 between the United States of America and the Republic of Nicaragua for the termination of the convention respecting a Nicaraguan canal route, submitted September 23, 1970. (Ex. L, 91-2)

The Nice agreement concerning the international classification of goods and services to which trademarks are applied, submitted September 24, 1970. (Ex. M, 91-2)

Treaty on extradition between the United States and Spain, submitted November 25, 1970. (Ex. N, 91-2)

Protocol to the convention between the United States of America and the French Republic with respect to taxes on income and property, submitted December 15, 1970. (Ex. O, 91-2)

B. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND PEACE CORPS

1. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969

On May 28, 1969, the Congress received a message from the President outlining proposals to redirect United States foreign aid efforts. The primary recommendations of the President were:

(1) To establish an Overseas Private Investment Corporation to stimulate additional investment by private enterprise;

(2) To expand technical assistance and raise the quality of advisory, training, and research services;

(3) To channel more assistance in ways that encourage other advanced nations to share fairly in providing development assistance; and

(4) To further food production and family planning in order to meet the problems of population growth.

The foreign assistance bill transmitted by the Acting Secretary of State on June 2, 1969, called for major substantive changes in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, reflective of the priorities and directions proposed by the President.

The administration bill was introduced as S. 2347 by Senator Fulbright (by request) on June 9, 1969, and in the House as H.R. 11792 by Representative Thomas E. Morgan on June 2, 1969. In the House H.R. 11792 was considered at length and amended by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which finally substituted for it a clean bill, H.R. 14580. H.R. 14580 passed the House on November 20, 1969, after considerable debate and amendment and was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee on November 24, 1969.

The Committee on Foreign Relations held hearings on S. 2347 on July 14, 15, 18, and August 6. Testimony was received from the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, and Agency for International Development officials, and representatives of private organizations. Following the House passage of H.R. 14580, the bills were considered in executive session on November 21, and December 1, 2, 5, and 8.

On December 10 the committee reported H.R. 14580 with amendment in the nature of a substitute. The bill reported by the committee authorized extension of the foreign assistance program through June 30, 1970, authorized appropriations totaling \$1,967,650,000, and made minor substantive changes in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as amended. The committee reported that its focus in looking over the aid authorization had been "not on the size or makeup of an aid bill, but whether there should be an aid bill at all." In light of the fact that a Presidential commission on the entire foreign assistance program was scheduled to report its findings no later than March 30, 1970, the committee said it was extending the foreign aid authorization as a stop gap measure with plans to study carefully the recommendations of the Presidential commission. It was felt that some form of foreign assistance was essential to national security and that the best course was to extend the present program at a minimal level until a better program could be worked out.

In addition to authorizing funds for foreign assistance, the bill provided for the following changes:

(1) Economic aid funds for population programs to be doubled from \$50 million to \$100 million;

(2) Additional restrictive language to insure that all possible steps were taken to prevent U.S. contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency from being used to furnish assistance to refugees who were receiving military training from guerilla-type organizations in the Middle East or engaging in acts of terrorism.

(3) The obligation of additional military assistance funds for Greece without further congressional action to be prohibited;

(4) Costs of U.S. participation in international military headquarters and related agencies programs, such as NATO, SEATO, and CENTO, to be required to be paid with foreign assistance funds;

(5) The number of military men trained in the United States under the military assistance program to be limited to one half the number of civilians trained here under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act.

The chairman stated on the floor that the foreign assistance bill was recommended not with enthusiasm, but with reluctance. He pointed out that four years before the Senate had decided that the best plan for the foreign assistance program was to eliminate it in its present form and start afresh, hopefully learning from the mistakes of the past. However, he said, the House had not agreed with the Senate, and the program had stumbled along for four more years and currently approached a state in which authorizations and appropriations were made on a country by country basis, seriously endangering the legislative process itself. Therefore, he said, it was the sincere hope of the

committee in reporting this legislation that the next authorizing legislation would be for an entirely new program.

The Senate accepted the committee amendment by voice vote, and during the debate on the bill on December 11 and 12, 1969, several amendments were offered. Senator Javits and others offered an amendment to create an Overseas Private Investment Corporation and to authorize that \$20 million be appropriated in fiscal 1970 and 1971 for its operations. This amendment passed by a vote of 53 to 34. (The House bill had authorized creation of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, but this provision had been deleted in the Senate committee bill.)

Senator Dodd introduced an amendment to delete the language in the Senate bill which restricted aid to Greece. This was passed by a vote of 45 to 38.

Senator Muskie and others offered an amendment to encourage Vietnamese land reform by authorizing the President to make certain grants provided an acceptable land reform program was carried out in the Republic of Vietnam. This amendment was defeated 33 to 51. An amendment offered by Senator Church to reduce the foreign aid authorization to the level authorized in 1969, or \$1,760,700,000, was defeated 41 to 43. Two amendments by Senator Goodell were withdrawn. The first was to prohibit development loan assistance to Nigeria unless the President reported a finding that it was in the national interest. The second was to prohibit funds for the improvement of the Calabar-Ikom Road in Nigeria. The amended bill was passed by the Senate, 52 to 31, on December 12, 1969.

The Conference Report

The conference committee met on December 15, 16 and 17, 1969, to resolve the differences between H.R. 14580 as passed by the House and the amendment passed by the Senate. The conferees were: from the Senate, Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Church, Aiken, and Case; from the House, Representatives Morgan, Zablocki, Hays, Fascell, Adair, Mailliard, and Frelinghuysen.

The conferees made the following adjustments in the two versions of the bill:

(1) A new bill was substituted for the House bill and the Senate amendment. It retained the organization of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, as in the Senate bill.

(2) The Senate bill had authorized a total foreign aid program of \$1,970,650,000 for fiscal year 1970. The House authorized \$2,193,900,000. The conference agreed on \$1,972,525,000.

(3) The conference bill authorized appropriations for both fiscal years 1970 and 1971 instead of a one-year authorization as in the Senate bill. Identical sums were authorized for fiscal year 1971 for all programs except American schools and hospitals abroad, local currency, and the desalting plant for Israel, making the authorization for fiscal year 1971 \$1,936,525,000.

(4) The conference bill established an Inter-American Social Development Institute, called for in the House bill, to stimulate social and economic development in Latin America. Fifty million dollars of economic assistance funds was authorized for the Institute in fiscal years 1970 and 1971.

Other differences between the conference bill and the bill as passed by the Senate included:

(1) \$20,000,000 was authorized for the construction of a desalinization plant in Israel, provided the President determined the plant feasible, instead of \$40 million for development loans for assistance in a water treatment and desalting prototype plant in the Middle East.

(2) The amount authorized for military assistance was increased from \$325,000,000 to \$350,000,000.

(3) Concerning the use of foreign assistance funds to maintain U.S. participation in international military headquarters, the conference committee added a provision that other funds provided for such maintenance might also be used.

(4) The limitation on the number of military trainees brought to the United States was set equal to the number of students who came under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 during the previous year rather than at one-half that number.

(5) A provision was included which prohibited assistance to countries which diverted their own resources to military purposes or purchased sophisticated weapons systems.

The conference report was accepted by the Senate without debate and by voice vote on December 19, 1969. On the same day the House also agreed to the conference report by a vote of 208 to 166.

The following table shows funds requested by the administration and authorized by the Congress for fiscal year 1970.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969

[In thousands of dollars]

	Administration request	Foreign Affairs Committee authorization	House authorization	Foreign Relations Committee authorization	Senate authorization	Conference report and final authorization
Economic assistance.....	\$2, 205, 400	\$1, 789, 400	\$1, 739, 400	\$1, 642, 650	\$1, 654, 650	\$1, 622, 525
Military assistance.....	425, 000	400, 000	454, 500	325, 000	325, 000	350, 000
Total.....	2, 630, 400	2, 189, 400	2, 193, 900	1, 967, 650	1, 970, 650	1, 972, 525

Legislative chronology—Foreign Assistance Act of 1969

May 28, 1969: Message from the President. H. Doc. 91-122.

June 2, 1969: Letter from the Acting Secretary of State transmitting proposed legislation. H.R. 11792 introduced in the House by Representative Morgan.

June 9, 1969: S. 2347 introduced in the Senate by Senator Fulbright (by request).

June 9, 12, 16, 17, 19, 23, 26, 30, July 1, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 25, 28, 31, and August 1, 1969: Hearings held in House. Printed.

July 14, 15, 18, and August 6, 1969: Hearings held in Senate. Printed.

August 7, October 28, 1969: Considered in executive session by House Foreign Affairs Committee.

October 29, 1969: Motion to have clean bill introduced adopted by House Foreign Affairs Committee by vote of 27-8, with 2 voting present. Clean bill introduced by Representative Morgan. H.R. 14580.

October 30, 1969: H.R. 14580 considered in executive session and ordered favorably reported by a vote of 28-8 with 2 voting present.

November 6, 1969: H.R. 14580 reported to House. H. Rept. 91-611.

November 19, 20, 1969: H.R. 14580 debated and amended and passed House, 176-163.

November 24, 1969: H.R. 14580 referred to Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

December 1, 2, 5, 8, 1969: H.R. 14580 considered in executive session by Foreign Relations Committee. Ordered reported with an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

December 10, 1969: Reported. S. Rept. 91-603.

December 11, 12, 1969: Debated in Senate, amended, and passed, 52-31.

Conference requested. Conferees appointed: Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Church, Aiken, and Case. Conference agreed to by House. Conferees appointed: Messrs. Morgan, Zablocki, Hays, Fassel, Adair, Mailliard and Frelinghuysen.

December 18, 1969: Conference report filed in House. H. Rept. 91-767.

December 19, 1969: Conference report agreed to by House, 208-166; agreed to by Senate, voice vote.

December 30, 1969: Approved. P.L. 91-175.

2. SPECIAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1971

Supplemental foreign assistance funds for fiscal 1971 were requested by the President in a special message to Congress on November 18, 1970. On November 19, the Secretary of State submitted draft legislation to authorize the funds by amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. The appropriation request totaled \$1,035 million in additional foreign aid, was \$340 million for military assistance to Cambodia, Korea, Jordan, and Lebanon, \$195 million for supporting assistance in Vietnam and Cambodia, and \$500 million for military credit sales to Israel. The item for Israel was authorized earlier by the Defense authorization bill. The Administration's authorization request for the other countries was introduced in the Senate by Senator Fulbright (by request) on November 25 as S. 4542. He also introduced S. 4543, a bill authorizing the same amounts but on a line item basis.

Action by the Foreign Relations Committee

The committee heard testimony from Secretary of State Rogers on December 10, 1970, and from Secretary of Defense Laird on December 11. On December 14 the committee considered the bills in executive session, along with H.R. 19911, which had passed the House on December 9, 1970. The draft legislation requested by the administration had been introduced in the House on November 21, 1970 by Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Thomas Morgan as H.R. 19845 but, after adopting amendments on December 7, the House Foreign Affairs Committee had voted to report a clean bill introduced by Mr. Morgan as H.R. 19911.

H.R. 19911 was reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on December 14, by a vote of 8 to 4, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute. The committee report stated that the principal purpose of the bill was to authorize additional appropriations for foreign economic and military aid requested by the President. The

amounts to be authorized were the same as requested by the President except for the addition of \$15 million of contingency funds for disaster assistance to Pakistan needed as a result of a cyclone and tidal wave. Of the \$550 million authorization approved by the committee, \$195 million was for supporting assistance for Cambodia and Vietnam and \$350 million for military assistance principally for Cambodia and Korea but also for Lebanon, Jordan, and Indonesia (see chart below for authorized distribution). The authorization would permit, the committee report stated, the restoration of funds transferred from other country programs to meet emergency needs in Cambodia resulting from the war there.

The committee report emphasized that a further purpose of the bill was to avoid deeper U.S. involvement in Cambodia. It had unanimously adopted an amendment offered by Senators Cooper, Church, Javits, Case, and Mansfield stating that in line with the expressed intention of the President, no funds authorized in this or any other act could be used to finance the introduction of American ground troops or advisers into Cambodia. Another amendment added a policy statement that aid furnished to Cambodia under this or any other act should not be construed as a commitment to defend that country. The committee report said that the restrictions reflected:

the deep concern of members of the Foreign Relations Committee over the possibility that an aid program of the size and scope proposed for Cambodia may, without effective safeguards, lead to a repeat of Vietnam. . . .

Yet another restriction required that the President give Congress specified notice prior to giving Cambodia additional aid through the use of emergency authority in the Foreign Assistance Act. The committee report pointed out that through the use of emergency provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act, the President had already given Cambodia almost \$100 million in military aid without specific authorization by, in effect, borrowing funds from other aid programs which had previously been justified to Congress. The committee report said that the situation in Cambodia was so perilous that special precautions were needed to temper the broad discretion which the Foreign Assistance Act permitted the President.

The committee referred to the concern that it had expressed in April over possible American involvement in Cambodia, and said that increased American aid heightened the pressure for expanded participation. The committee said that its amendments would have the effect of legally reinforcing the announced policy of the Administration not to use American ground troops in Cambodia. It noted that similar provisions had been included by the Senate as amendments to the foreign military sales bill and the defense appropriations bill, both of which were then in conference. The committee was also concerned that it be made "crystal clear to Cambodia and the world" that the furnishing of military and economic aid to Cambodia would not be considered a commitment to defend that country.

In conclusion, the report stated that although the committee did not have time to review all the items in the aid request as thoroughly as it would have preferred, it felt that, "A good case has been made for the urgent need for additional aid to Cambodia." The members supported the Administration's use of a new aid authorization over

continued reliance on borrowing from existing programs under the Foreign Assistance Act. While the full amount of aid requested by the President for Cambodia was approved, the committee felt that by requiring the President to give Congress 30 days notice, or ten days in an emergency, of his intention to provide additional aid, Congress would be given a more effective voice in determining future aid levels for Cambodia.

The military aid program for Cambodia, which included \$85 million in new authorizations, was to be used primarily for operational items, about 70 percent of it going for ammunition. The \$70 million in economic aid recommended for Cambodia was to be used to finance the import of commodities and other essentials. The committee urged the executive branch to make every effort to internationalize the aid effort. In addition the committee authorized \$100 million requested to replace transfer funds from other programs diverted to Cambodia on an emergency basis.

The other elements in the authorization included a \$150 million addition to the regular military aid program for Korea. This was to be used as the first increment of a five-year modernization plan to enable Korea to assume greater responsibility for its own defense, reducing the number of American forces in that country. The committee said, however, that its authorization should not be interpreted as endorsement of a long-range military assistance plan for Korea, as it had not had time to adequately study the plan. The transfer to the Korean government of defense articles used by American forces in Korea was also authorized.

The committee also approved the President's request for \$65 million for additional supporting assistance for Vietnam to relieve budgetary strains caused by the assumption of greater combat responsibility. Of this \$50 million was for support of the commodity import program, with the other \$15 million to go to the land reform program.

Other provisions included \$30 million in military aid for Jordan. This was authorized to replace equipment destroyed in the September 1970 fighting between the government and the Fedayeen guerrillas. The committee's view was that a moderate and stable government in Jordan was important to a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Five million dollars was also authorized for Lebanon for purposes of maintaining internal security and \$15 million for disaster relief in Pakistan, following the tidal wave there, as well as the appropriation of excess currency in Pakistan for the same purpose. Authorization was also made for an additional \$13 million for military aid for Indonesia, although in its report the committee pointed out that it had not had time to examine the funds for Indonesia as closely as it would have liked, and that the members did not want the authorization interpreted as support for a change from a "low profile" status by the United States in that country.

The committee eliminated a House amendment which would have required the President to suspend economic and military aid to countries not preventing the illegal export of narcotics to the United States. Since the bill was written on a line item basis instead of as an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, an amendment was added requiring that military and economic assistance furnished under the bill be subject to the safeguards of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

Action in the Senate

After two days of debate in the Senate, H.R. 19911 as amended by the committee was passed with an amendment on December 16, 1970, by a vote of 72 to 22. Accepted by a voice vote was an amendment by Senator Stevens reducing by \$5.8 million the aid to Korea and barring use of Korean aid funds for small attack vessels. An amendment by Senator Gravel to strike out the \$85 million for military assistance and \$70 million for economic assistance for Cambodia was rejected by a vote of 33 yeas and 61 nays. The committee amendments relating to American commitments to Cambodia were not contested in the Senate. During debate, Senator Church read a letter from the Secretary of State which said that the Administration did not object to the amendments relating to Cambodia.

The Senate requested a conference, to which the House agreed. In the conference report, filed on December 21, the House agreed to five of the principal Senate amendments to H.R. 19911, including the three Senate restrictions relating to aid to Cambodia. The House receded on the form of the legislation and instead of an amendment of the Foreign Assistance Act the bill became the "Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1971," with a line item authorization for specific amounts for specific purposes and with a specification that the provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 would apply. The total authorization came to \$550 million, the same amount as that originally approved by the House and the Foreign Relations Committee, with the full amount of aid for Korea restored by the conference committee. The conference report was adopted by both Houses of Congress on December 22 and cleared for the President. It was signed on January 5, 1971, becoming Public Law 91-652.

COMPOSITION OF SUPPLEMENTAL AUTHORIZATION BILL

	Military assistance grants	Supporting assistance
Restoration of funds used for initial military aid requirements in Cambodia.....	\$40,000,000	¹ \$60,000,000
Cambodia future requirements.....	85,000,000	70,000,000
Vietnam.....		65,000,000
(Commercial import program).....		(50,000,000)
(Land reform).....		(15,000,000)
Korea.....	150,000,000	
Jordan.....	30,000,000	
Indonesia.....	13,000,000	
Lebanon.....	5,000,000	
Military assistance program recoupment shortfall.....	17,000,000	
Total.....	340,000,000	195,000,000
Total in the President's authorization request.....	535,000,000	
Contingency fund—Disaster aid for Pakistan.....	15,000,000	
Total authorization approved by committee.....	550,000,000	

¹ Includes \$50,000 transferred to the military assistance program by presidential determination on Oct. 23, 1970, and an additional \$10,000,000 likely to be transferred for part of Cambodian military aid requirements.

Source: Committee on Foreign Relations. S. Report 91-1437.

Legislative chronology—Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1971

November 18, 1970: Requested by President. H. Doc. 91-418.

November 19, 1970: Draft legislation submitted by Dept. of State.

- November 21, 1970: H.R. 19845 introduced by Mr. Morgan.
- November 25, 1970: S. 4542 introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).
- November 25, 1970: S. 4543 introduced by Senator Fulbright.
- November 25, 30, December 1 and 2, 1970: Public hearings by House Foreign Affairs Committee. Printed.
- December 7, 1970: H.R. 19911 reported by House Foreign Affairs Committee. H. Rept. 91-1678.
- December 9, 1970: H.R. 19911 amended and passed House. 249-102.
- December 10, 1970: H.R. 19911 referred to Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Printed.
- December 10 and 11, 1970: Public hearings by Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- December 14, 1970: H.R. 19911 reported to Senate with amendment in the nature of a substitute, 8-4. S. Rept. 91-1437.
- December 15 and 16, 1970: General debate. Amended and passed, 72-22. Conference requested. Conferees appointed: Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Mansfield, Gore, Church, Aiken, Case, Cooper, and Williams of Delaware.
- December 17, 1970: House agreed to conference. Conferees appointed: Messrs. Morgan, Zablocki, Hays, Fountain, Adair, Mailliard, and Frelinghuysen.
- December 21, 1970: Conference report filed. H. Rept. 91-1791.
- December 22, 1970: Conference report agreed to by Senate. 41-20. Agreed to by House. Voice vote.
- January 5, 1971: Approved. Public Law 91-652.

3. AMENDMENT OF FOREIGN MILITARY SALES ACT

Legislation to amend the Foreign Military Sales Act was submitted by the Secretary of State on July 2, 1969, and introduced as S. 2640 by Senator Fulbright (by request) on July 16. The committee later reported that since the foreign aid bill, which contained the authorization for the related military grant aid program, did not pass until the end of the year, it did not take action on the bill during the first session. The executive branch again submitted legislation on February 4, 1970. This was introduced by the chairman (by request) as S. 3429 on February 10, 1970.

In the House, the administration bill to amend the Foreign Military Sales Act was introduced as H.R. 12853 and referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee on July 7, 1969. No action was taken that year, although hearings were held, and on January 29, 1970, the virtually identical bill, H.R. 15628, was introduced. H.R. 15628, was favorably reported by the Foreign Affairs Committee on March 4 after additional public and executive hearings, and on March 24, 1970, it was considered and passed in the House by a vote of 351 to 26. The same day the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held public hearings on S. 2640 and S. 3429. On March 25, 1970, H.R. 15628 was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

On May 11, the committee held hearings on proposed amendments to H.R. 15628 and agreed to report the bill with amendments by a vote of 11 to 2.

Church-Cooper-Mansfield-Aiken amendment on Cambodia

The committee reported that although the substance of the bill dealt with military sales and grant programs, its significance was outweighed by the committee's addition of provisions relating to U.S. involvement in Cambodia. These included an amendment proposed by Senators Church, Cooper, Mansfield, and Aiken to prohibit the use of any appropriated funds for (1) retaining U.S. forces in Cambodia, (2) supporting any U.S. personnel in Cambodia who furnish military instruction to or engage in combat activity in support of Cambodian forces; (3) entering or carrying out any agreement to provide military instruction in Cambodia; or (4) conducting any combat in the air above Cambodia in support of Cambodian forces. The purpose of the amendment, the committee report stated, was to prevent U.S. involvement in a wider war in Southeast Asia and to hasten the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam.

The report pointed out that on April 2 and 27, 1970, in meetings with the Secretary of State in executive session, committee members were virtually unanimous in urging that the United States not get militarily involved in Cambodia. In addition, the committee had been "assured by the Secretary that the committee would be consulted to the fullest extent possible concerning the situation." Following the disclosure that American military advisers along with South Vietnamese military units had crossed into Cambodia, the committee members on April 30, 1970 issued a statement which expressed concern for the "grave development" of deepening American involvement in Cambodia.

On the same day, the committee sent a letter to Secretary Rogers seeking information about the Cambodian action and the administration's plans in Cambodia and in regard to the consultation of Congress. The committee stated in its report that no reply was received and that although it had hoped to have the benefit of thorough dialogue with responsible officials in the executive branch through the regular hearing process prior to acting on amendments relating to the U.S. role in Cambodia, it was not able to obtain such testimony. The witnesses who came to a hearing scheduled for that purpose on May 11 were not prepared to discuss the Church-Cooper-Mansfield-Aiken amendment or other proposals or developments concerning U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. The committee decided to act on the amendment anyway. Its report stated, "Although the committee did not succeed in obtaining testimony on the subject, it believes that it would be an abdication of its responsibilities to delay action further on the issue, in view of the rapidly moving situation in Southeast Asia." The amendment was adopted by a vote of 9 to 5. The committee report contained a letter of May 11, 1970, from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, David M. Abshire, containing the Department of State's comments on a slightly different version of the amendment on Cambodia approved by the committee in which revision of the amendment was urged "to make it clear that the President is entitled to take action to protect the lives of American troops remaining with the Republic of Vietnam." The letter also stated that "the Department of State believes that the general thrust of the amendment is in consonance with the President's expressed intentions concerning the limited role of U.S.

forces in Cambodia," and that "as a general principle we do not consider it desirable that actions of the Commander in Chief should be subject to statutory restrictions."

The committee said that the adoption of the amendment reflected its concern over events in Southeast Asia and its feeling that the time had come for Congress to reassert its constitutional powers to avoid expansion of the war. It was pointed out that the amendment would not actually end the war, but might help to prevent a wider war. The committee said that it felt that the amendment was a small step in the important direction of exerting the constitutional authority of Congress to assist in bringing the war to an end.

Military Sales and Credits

The first six sections of the reported bill were adopted by the committee in the same form as they had passed the House, with the exception of two committee amendments reducing the financial ceilings. The committee voted to reduce to \$250 million the obligational authority for fiscal 1970 and 1971 from the executive requests of \$275 million and \$272.5 million respectively. The committee also voted to reduce the credit ceiling from the \$350 million requested by the executive to \$300 million.

Included in the House version of the bill adopted by the Senate committee without change were: (1) regional ceilings on military sales to Latin America and Africa; (2) a House Foreign Affairs Committee amendment broadening the statement of policy against sales to military governments who are denying social progress to their own people to include also the denial of fundamental rights; (3) a refinement of the language of section 3(b) of the act prohibiting the sale of defense articles and services to countries who seize American fishing vessels in international waters, in order to perfect the intent; and (4) a statement of the sense of the Congress, added by the House committee, that (a) the President continue with efforts to negotiate with the Soviet Union and other powers a limitation on arms shipments to the Middle East, (b) that he be supported in his position that arms and credits be made available to Israel and other friendly states, and (c) if the authorization for military sales be insufficient to meet this purpose, the President should promptly submit requests for appropriate supplementary funds. In addition, a review of military aid and sales programs that had been called for was endorsed by the committee in the hope that a genuine reexamination of such programs would lead to improvements long urged by the committee.

The committee report stated that many members continued to view the military credit sales program with skepticism, pointing out that the program applied primarily to sales of arms to underdeveloped countries, not to rich nations whose purchases accounted for about three-fourths of the dollar value of all U.S. military export sales. The committee cited its report of three years earlier when it recommended repeal of the Defense Department's broad authority to finance sales of weapons to less developed countries, with the purpose of getting the Defense Department to stop providing liberal credit terms to finance sales of sophisticated weapons to countries which needed their resources for economic development. The committee reported that although the credit authority subsequently approved in the Foreign

Military Sales Act was an improvement, "it is still questionable if a Government-sponsored sales program, to poor countries, of this magnitude serves the national interest." The committee expressed its intention to study the subject during its review of U.S. foreign aid policy the next year.

Committee Amendments

In addition to changing the amounts provided in the bill as passed by the House, the committee approved several new amendments regulating military aid and sales.

(1) It added a section requiring that sales or grants of the "International Fighter" type aircraft, an aircraft for which the United States did not have a military need but was to be developed solely for the purpose of selling or giving to foreign countries, to any country other than South Vietnam be made under the military grant aid or sales program or through commercial channels rather than under the Defense Department authorization, as had been done the previous year.

(2) Another amendment dealt with grants of surplus defense articles. The committee noted that there were no restrictions at present on the Defense Department's authority to use excess equipment to aid foreign countries, rendering ineffective Congress' efforts to cut back on military assistance. As an example the committee report cited that following the congressional refusal the previous year to authorize an additional \$54.5 million to provide the Republic of China with a squadron on F-4 fighter aircraft, the Department of Defense announced that it was providing Taiwan with F-100's and F-104's from the Department's excess stocks.

(3) The committee also added a section requiring recipients of military aid to pay in their local currencies at least 50 percent of the value of the materials given them, the local currency received to be used for meeting U.S. obligations in the country and financing the educational and cultural exchange program. The committee pointed out that in none of the countries which were major military assistance recipients did the United States own an excess of the local currency and that having additional foreign currencies available would ease the balance-of-payments problem. In addition, the report stated, the requirement of 50 percent payment would act as a brake on requests by foreign governments for military assistance which cost the recipients nothing and encourage foreign leaders to weigh the cost of military aid in balance with other national priorities.

(4) Another amendment added language preventing the transfer of aid materials to third countries without the permission of the President of the United States in cases in which the United States would not supply such assistance directly. The committee report referred to news reports that Turkey planned to send to Pakistan tanks which had originally been supplied under the U.S. military assistance program, although military aid to Pakistan and India had been suspended following hostilities between the two countries in 1969. The amendment was intended to reinforce U.S. policy so that it did not supply arms indirectly to any country which it would not supply directly. A subsection of the amendment would give the President explicit control over any succession of transfers of military equipment provided under programs financed by the government.

(5) An amendment was added that no money appropriated for foreign assistance would be available for expenditure unless previously authorized by law or in an amount in excess of that authorized by law. The committee reported that this was a product of Senate debate the previous year over an attempt to appropriate \$54.5 million above the authorization for military aid to provide F-4 fighter aircraft to Turkey.

(6) Definitions were added for the terms "defense article," "excess defense articles" and "foreign country."

Action in the Senate

Some 38 other amendments were proposed in the Senate after the bill was reported. Of these, 20 were not called up or acted on, 8 were accepted, 9 rejected, and one tabled.

Several of the amendments discussed related to the Church-Cooper-Mansfield-Aiken amendment and an attempt to establish legal definitions concerning the respective powers of Congress and the President to commit the United States to military action.

Amendments that were accepted were:

(1) An amendment offered by Senators Church, Cooper, Mansfield and Aiken to their amendment previously accepted by the Senate to prohibit the use of funds for American involvement in Cambodia after July 1, 1970, unless specifically authorized by law (May 26, by a vote of 82 to 11);

(2) An amendment offered by Senator Gravel and others to prohibit the use of funds to transport chemical munitions from Okinawa to the United States and authorizing funds for their detoxification and destruction outside the United States (June 29, by a vote of 51 to 40);

(3) An amendment offered by Senators Mansfield, Cooper, Church, and Aiken and others stating that nothing in the Church-Cooper amendment impugned the constitutional powers of the President as Commander in Chief (June 11, by a vote of 91 to 0);

(4) An amendment by Senator Byrd of West Virginia and others to provide that nothing should preclude the President from exercising his constitutional power when necessary to protect U.S. armed forces (June 22, by a vote of 79 to 5);

(5) An amendment by Senator Dole and others to repeal the Tonkin Gulf Resolution (June 24, by a vote of 81 to 10);

(6) An amendment by Senator Stevens and others to prohibit assistance to Korea pending a determination of the eastern limit of their salmon fishing (June 30, by a voice vote);

(7) An amendment by Senator Javits that nothing should be deemed to impugn the constitutional powers of the Congress, including the power to declare war (June 26, by a vote of 73 to 0); and

(8) An amendment by Senator Jackson and others clarifying the language in the Church-Cooper amendment so as to prohibit U.S. air activities in direct support (instead of in support) of Cambodian forces (June 30, by a vote of 69 to 27).

Of those rejected, the most controversial were two amendments which sought to limit the effects of the Church-Cooper amendment by allowing exceptions to protect American forces in Vietnam or facilitate their withdrawal (Byrd amendment, rejected June 11, by a vote of 47 to 52), or as long as it was determined that Americans were

being held prisoners in Cambodia (Dole amendment, rejected June 3, by a vote of 36 to 54). An attempt to limit the prohibition of assistance to Cambodia to United States personnel was also rejected (June 30, 45 to 50).

Other amendments rejected were to prohibit the furnishing of defense articles and services to Greece (Hartke, 42 to 50, June 29, 1970); to strike the President's authority for military sales (Williams of Delaware, 6 to 56 and 1 to 59, June 12, 1970); to increase from \$35 million to \$150 million the annual ceiling for excess defense articles given to allies under the military assistance program (Dominick, 38 to 43, June 18, 1970); to enable the United States to provide the "International Fighter" aircraft to Thailand in addition to South Vietnam (Thurmond, 35 to 45, June 17, 1970); to strike out restrictions on excess defense articles and grant military assistance (Miller, 36 to 52, June 24, 1970); and to provide that excess defense articles be valued at not less than 25 percent of acquisition cost instead of 50 percent (Dominick, 40 to 48, June 25, 1970).

On June 30, H.R. 15628 passed the Senate with floor amendments, including the modification of the Church-Cooper amendment that had been adopted in committee. The Senate asked for a conference, and on July 9 the House agreed. Disagreement over the Cooper-Church amendment prevented reaching agreement on the bill in the conference for nearly six months.

The conference report was brought to the floor of both Houses on December 31, 1970, and agreed to by voice votes. The conference report established an aggregate ceiling of \$340 million of credit military sales for each of the fiscal years 1970 and 1971. The House agreed to the Senate authorization of \$250 million for appropriations to finance military sales for each of the two years. The ceiling on grants of excess defense articles was raised to \$100 million, valued at one-third of the original cost, and a provision was adopted requiring the President to keep Congress informed on the furnishing of excess defense articles on a grant basis to foreign countries.

The Senate receded on the Church-Cooper amendment and its related sections concerning the respective constitutional powers of the President and Congress since similar language had been adopted in the Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1971. The Senate also receded on the amendment requiring partial payment in foreign currency for defense articles. The House agreed to the repeal of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution (P.L. 88-408), the prohibition of expenditure of unauthorized appropriations for foreign aid or foreign military sales, and the amendment relating to the "International Fighter" aircraft. Compromise language was agreed on for the amendments concerning the transfer of weapons from Okinawa to the United States. H.R. 15628 was approved on January 12, 1971 (P.L. 91-672).

[In millions of dollars]

	New obligational authority		Aggregate foreign military sales credit ceiling	
	1970	1971	1970	1971
Administration request.....	\$275	\$272.5	\$350	\$385
House Foreign Affairs/House authorization.....	275	272.5	350	385
Senate Foreign Relations/Senate authorization.....	250	250	300	300
Conference report/Public Law.....	250	250	340	340

Legislative chronology—Amendment of Foreign Military Sales Act

July 2, 1969: Draft legislation to amend Foreign Military Sales Act submitted by Secretary of State.

July 7, 1969: H.R. 12853 introduced by Mr. Morgan.

July 16, 1969: S. 2640 introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

January 29, 1969: H.R. 15628 introduced by Mr. Morgan.

February 4, 1970: Draft legislation to authorize a ceiling and appropriations for the military sales program submitted by Secretary of State.

February 10, 1970: S. 3429 introduced by Mr. Fulbright (by request).

February 5 and 17, 1970: Hearings by Foreign Affairs Committee.

March 5, 1970: H.R. 15628 reported with amendments by House Foreign Affairs Committee. H. Rept. 91-869.

March 24, 1970: H.R. 15628 amended and passed House. 351-26.

March 25, 1970: H.R. 15628 referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

May 11, 1970: Public hearing by Foreign Relations Committee. Printed. Ordered reported.

May 12, 1970: H.R. 15628 reported to Senate with amendments. S. Rept. 91-865.

May 13-19, 20, 27, 28, June 1-5, 8-12, 15-19, 22-25, 26, 29, and 30, 1970: General debate in Senate.

May 14, 1970: Committee amendment 1 (authorizing \$250 million for foreign military sales for each of the fiscal years 1970 and 1971, instead of \$275 million in fiscal 1970 and \$272.5 million in fiscal 1971, as provided in the House-passed bill) agreed to. 70-3.

Committee amendment 2 (setting a credit ceiling on foreign military sales of \$300 million for each of the fiscal years 1970 and 1971, instead of \$350 million as provided in the bill) agreed to. 64-7.

June 30, 1970: Committee amendment 3 (including Church-Cooper) agreed to, as amended. 58-37. H.R. 15628 passed. 75-20. Conference requested. Conferees appointed: Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Mansfield, Church, Aiken, Case, and Cooper.

July 9, 1970: Motion to instruct conferees tabled by House. 237-153. Conferees appointed: Messrs. Morgan, Zablocki, Hays, Adair, and Mailliard.

July 15, 22, 29: August 11, 1970: Meeting of conferees.

December 31, 1970: Conference report filed. H. Rept. 91-1805. Agreed to by House and Senate. Voice votes.

January 12, 1971: Approved. Public Law 91-672.

4. NAVAL VESSEL LOANS

Prior to 1951, U.S. naval vessels could be transferred to friendly nations under provisions of the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, as amended. In 1951 P.L. 82-3 provided that any ship in specified categories that had not been struck from the Naval Register could not be sold, transferred, or otherwise disposed of without express congressional approval. Since then 15 bills have been enacted authorizing ship loans. The justification for the ship loan program has been that these ships were not presently needed by the U.S. and could be used by the recipient country to discharge some of the responsibility of the U.S. in such tasks as antisubmarine patrol, and thus enhance the total defense capability of the free world.

The draft of proposed legislation recommended by the Department of the Navy called for the extension of loans of one submarine to Greece and one to Pakistan and new loans of two destroyer escorts to the Republic of Vietnam and two destroyers and two submarines to the Government of Turkey. It also authorized an additional 5-year extension of the loans at the discretion of the President. The House Armed Services Committee added authorization for a new loan of three submarines to the Republic of China. During the floor debate in the House amendments attempting to strike the loan of ships to the Republic of China and to terminate the loan of the ship to Greece were defeated. After debate, H.R. 15728 was passed as reported from the House Armed Services Committee by a vote of 281 to 66.

H.R. 15728 was referred to the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 24, 1970, and then by unanimous consent to the Foreign Relations Committee when the Armed Services Committee reported it on November 19, 1970. This consecutive referral was identical to the procedure which had been followed in connection with a prior ship loan bill three years earlier.

The Senate Armed Services Committee amended the bill by deleting the authorization for three ships to the Republic of China. In explanation, the committee report stated that the authorization had been added by the House committee, was not requested by the administration, and the Defense Department had no plans to effectuate the loan to the Republic of China.

The bill was then referred to the Foreign Relations Committee with the requirement that it be reported back to the Senate within two weeks. The committee reported that its concern with the bill was principally in terms of the foreign policy issues and the relationship of the ship loan program to the military assistance and sales program which were under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Relations Committee. Testimony was received during the public hearing on November 30 from Thomas Pickering, Deputy Director, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State, and Capt. G. M. Hagerman, Director, Foreign Military Assistance and Sales Division, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy. The committee reported the bill to the Senate without further amendment on December 2, 1970.

On the floor, Senator Inouye introduced an amendment which he had suggested during the Armed Services Committee consideration of the bill. He stated that the loan of the ship to Greece actually expired in 1966, and that therefore the Greek government retained the ship illegally. He suggested that by denying the extension of the loan to Greece, the Senate could symbolically register its displeasure with the present Greek regime. He used the term "symbolic," he stated, because there was no way, short of war, to force a country to return a ship. His amendment was rejected by voice vote. The bill was passed by voice vote in the Senate on December 4, 1970. The House, by voice vote, agreed to the Senate amendment on December 31, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Naval Vessel Loans

May 21, 1969: Draft of proposed legislation submitted by Department of the Navy.

June 2, 1969: H.R. 11794 introduced by Mr. Rivers.

November 18, 1969 and February 3 and 4, 1970: Hearings on H.R. 11794 in House Armed Services Committee. Printed.

February 5, 1970: H.R. 15728 (clean bill) introduced into the House by Mr. Rivers.

February 10, 1970: Reported by House Armed Services Committee. H. Rept. 91-838.

March 23, 1970: Debated and passed House, 281-66.

March 24, 1970: H.R. 15728 referred to Senate Armed Services Committee.

August 20, 1970: Executive hearing by Senate Armed Services Committee. Printed.

November 19, 1970: H.R. 15728 reported to Senate with an amendment by Armed Services (S. Rept. 91-1349) and referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

November 30, 1970: Public hearing by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Printed in S. Rept. 91-1391.

December 2, 1970: H.R. 15728 reported to Senate by Foreign Relations Committee. S. Rept. 91-1391.

December 4, 1970: Debated and passed Senate. Voice vote.

December 31, 1970: House agreed to Senate amendment.

January 12, 1971: Approved. P.L. 91-682.

5. AMENDMENTS TO THE PEACE CORPS ACT

The Peace Corps Act was amended in 1969 and 1970 primarily for the purpose of authorizing funds to continue the program. The amounts finally authorized were \$98,450,000 for fiscal year 1970 and \$98,800,000 for fiscal year 1971.

(a) Peace Corps Act Amendments of 1969

In the original request for authorized funds for the Peace Corps for fiscal 1970, submitted on January 21, 1969, the amount asked was \$109,800,000, but this was changed by the new administration to \$101,100,000 in its communication of April 25, 1969. This request was embodied in S. 2041 introduced on May 1, 1969, by Senator Fulbright (by request). The committee was informed that the reduced request was based on a careful review of Peace Corps programs overseas and a decision of host country and Peace Corps country officials to eliminate activities of marginal benefit in order to strengthen the overall program. Hearings were held on the measure on June 3 and 25, 1969, and it was also considered in executive session on July 2 and 29, and August 7, 1969. Subsequently, H.R. 11039 passed the House by a vote of 281 to 52 September 8, 1969, and was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on September 9, which reported it with amendments on September 10.

H.R. 11039, as passed by the House, authorized \$101,100,000 for fiscal year 1970. The act also added to the section the following sentence: "None of the funds authorized to carry out the purposes of this act shall be used to carry out the Volunteers to America Program conducted under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, as amended, or any similar program involving the service or training of foreign nationals in the United States." As requested by the Peace Corps, the act also authorized the Comptroller General, and

the Peace Corps, within prescribed limits, to waive claims arising out of erroneous payments of allowances to volunteers or volunteer leaders.

The Foreign Relations Committee reported that, in the interest of reducing government spending in general, it had voted to decrease the authorization to \$92,800,000. In its report the committee noted that once again the percentage of administrative expenses to project costs had risen and admonished the Peace Corps not to become an organization of many chiefs and few Indians. It also commented on new directions being discussed as the Peace Corps neared its tenth anniversary. On one of these, using the authority of section 6 of the Peace Corps Act, relating to volunteer leaders, to meet needs for more highly skilled manpower, the committee stated it had no objection to using section 6 authority for a pilot program but it would not look with favor on the Peace Corps' competing or duplicating the technical assistance activities of the Agency for International Development without a clear legislative mandate.

In addition, the committee struck out an amendment by the House prohibiting Peace Corps funds from being used to carry out the Volunteers to America Program conducted under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961. The committee report stated that involving the Peace Corps in a volunteer-receiving activity would seem to be logical. Finally, the committee recommended that the Peace Corps attempt to work with other countries' volunteer services on team projects in countries interested in a multinational approach. To this end it amended the bill to add as a third purpose in title III relating to the encouragement of voluntary service programs "to encourage the development of, and participation in, any international program which seeks to provide volunteers to serve in less developed countries or areas, training, or other assistance in order to help such countries or areas to meet their needs for trained manpower." Another amendment was adopted to allow the use of up to \$300,000 in fiscal year 1970 for this purpose.

On the floor the Senate originally passed H.R. 11039 on September 19, 1969 without debate by voice vote as amended by the Foreign Relations Committee, thus authorizing \$92,800,000. Senator Javits later moved to reconsider the vote and the motion was accepted October 3 by unanimous consent. He then offered an amendment to increase the authorization to \$95,800,000 which was accepted by voice vote.

In conference the difference in the House and Senate authorization was split, agreement being reached on \$98,450,000. The following table summarizes the development of the authorization.

Administration request.....	\$101, 100, 000
House Foreign Affairs Committee.....	101, 100, 000
House authorization.....	101, 100, 000
Senate Foreign Relations Committee.....	92, 800, 000
Senate authorization.....	95, 800, 000
Conference report.....	98, 450, 000

The Senate receded on its amendment authorizing the use of Peace Corps funds for the Volunteers to America so the final act as passed stipulated that none of the funds could be used to fund the Volunteers

to America Program, or any similar program involving the service or training of foreign nationals in the United States.

In lieu of the Senate amendment on international volunteer programs, the conference committee agreed to a provision limiting any contribution to an international program to financing an international register of volunteers which would provide information to interested organizations or governments as to the availability of volunteers.

The conference report was adopted by the Senate and House on October 16, 1969, and the measure was approved October 29, 1969 (P.L. 91-99).

Legislative chronology—Peace Corps Act Amendments of 1969

January 21, 1969: Requested by Peace Corps.

April 25, 1969: Revised request submitted.

May 1, 1969: S. 2041 introduced in Senate by Senator Fulbright (by request).

May 7, 1969: H.R. 11039 introduced in the House by Mr. Morgan.

June 3 and 25, 1969: Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on S. 2041. Printed.

July 24, 1969: Public hearings on H.R. 11039 by House Foreign Affairs Committee. Printed.

August 7, 1969: H.R. 11039 reported by House Foreign Affairs Committee. H. Rept. 91-456.

September 8, 1969: H.R. 11039 amended and passed House. 281-52.

September 9, 1969: H.R. 11039 referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

September 10, 1969: H.R. 11039 reported by Foreign Relations Committee with amendments. S. Rept. 91-414.

September 19, 1969: Amended and passed by Senate. Voice vote. Motion to reconsider agreed to by unanimous consent.

October 3, 1969: Amended further and passed Senate. Voice vote.

October 14, 1969: Conference report filed in House. H. Rept. 564.

October 16, 1969: Conference report adopted by House and Senate. Voice vote.

October 29, 1969: Approved. P.L. 91-99.

(b) Peace Corps Act Amendments of 1970

The 1970 amendments authorized \$98.8 million for fiscal 1971 to finance the operation of the Peace Corps. The following table shows the amounts requested by the administration and the authorizations at various stages in the Congress.

Administration request.....	\$98, 800, 000
House Foreign Affairs Committee.....	98, 800, 000
House authorization.....	98, 800, 000
Senate Foreign Relations Committee.....	90, 000, 000
Senate authorization.....	90, 000, 000
Final action.....	98, 800, 000

On February 3, 1970, the Acting Director of the Peace Corps submitted draft legislation proposing an authorization of \$98.8 million. Senator Fulbright (by request) introduced S. 3430 containing this amount on February 10, 1970. At a hearing on March 10, 1970, the committee heard testimony from Joseph H. Blatchford, Director of

the Peace Corps. On April 7, 1970, the committee reported S. 3430 with an amendment reducing the authorization to \$90 million.

Regarding the decrease in funds for the Peace Corps, the committee reported that it was difficult to accept that the Peace Corps should require that nearly one-third of its budget go for administrative overhead, including such items as \$4 million for complete background investigations which in the committee's view were of no value to the Peace Corps. The committee reported that it had received the assurances of the Director that Peace Corps research, which reached \$653,000 in fiscal 1969, would not exceed \$500,000 during the current and upcoming fiscal years.

The committee also reported that since it had last considered the Peace Corps program there had been no great changes and the "so-called 'new directions'" discussed last year were still largely talk. This included principally the attempt to recruit more highly skilled volunteers and to involve the Peace Corps in multinational or international pilot projects. It stated: "The committee believes that the time is near when the assumptions and concepts on which the Peace Corps was founded need complete reexamination. It is, however, willing this year to give the Peace Corps time to test the 'new directions.'"

The bill also added several provisions to make it easier for families with dependent children to serve in the Peace Corps, abolished a \$75.00 per day ceiling paid to consultants by the Peace Corps, enabling it to pay up to \$128.00 per day, broadened a provision encouraging international voluntary service programs, and authorized the use of up to \$200,000 for this purpose in fiscal 1971. It deleted the language prohibiting funds for the Volunteers to America program on the grounds that it might conflict with the Peace Corps authority to work with foreign nations.

The committee bill was passed by the Senate on April 10, 1970, without amendment or debate.

In the House, the Foreign Affairs Committee reported H.R. 16327 with amendments on June 4, 1967, and on July 7 the House passed H.R. 16327. It then amended and passed the Senate bill, S. 3430, by substituting the language of H.R. 16327, which contained the full amount requested by the administration, \$98.8 million.

The other amendments made by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and adopted by the House restored the language in existing law which prohibited the use of Peace Corps funds to finance the Volunteers to America program or any similar program for bringing volunteers from foreign countries and authorized the Peace Corps Director to "prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to assure that no individual performing service for the Peace Corps . . . shall engage in any activity determined by the Director to be detrimental to the best interests of the United States." The Senate agreed to the House amendment without debate by voice vote on July 9, 1970 and the measure was signed on July 29, 1970 (P.L. 91-352).

Legislative chronology—Peace Corps Act Amendments of 1970

February 3, 1970: Requested by the Peace Corps.

February 10, 1970: S. 3430 introduced in Senate by Senator Fulbright (by request).

March 5, 1970: H.R. 16327 introduced in House by Mr. Morgan.
 March 10, 1970: Public hearing in Senate on S. 3430. Printed.
 April 3, 1970: Ordered reported by Foreign Relations Committee with an amendment in the nature of a substitute.
 April 7, 1970: S. 3430 reported with an amendment. S. Rept. 91-759.
 April 7, 1970: Public hearing by House Foreign Affairs Committee on H.R. 16327. Printed.
 April 10, 1970: S. 3430 passed Senate. Voice vote.
 April 13, 1970: S. 3430 referred to House Foreign Affairs Committee.
 June 4, 1970: H.R. 16327 reported with amendments. H. Rept. 91-1156.
 July 7, 1970: Motion to recommit with instructions to report authorization of \$70 million rejected. 118-244. H.R. 16327 passed House. 316-46. S. 3430 amended in House by substituting language of H.R. 16327 and passed in House. Voice vote.
 July 9, 1970: Senate agreed to House amendments. Voice vote.
 July 29, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-352.

C. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND LAW

1. INCREASING PARTICIPATION BY THE UNITED STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

A bill (S. 3378) to authorize the U.S. to support the second replenishment of the International Development Association had been introduced and reported by the Foreign Relations Committee in 1968 but not voted on by the Senate during the 90th Congress. The IDA had been created in 1960 to help meet the needs of developing countries for external capital beyond what they were able to borrow at commercial or World Bank rates. Largely a result of a resolution by former Senator Monroney of Oklahoma, the IDA was set up as an affiliate of the World Bank. Originally subscriptions to the IDA totaled \$743 million of which the U.S. contributed 43 percent. The first replenishment of resources was agreed to in 1964. Of the \$750 million increase in funds given by the developed countries of the world in the first replenishment, the U.S. contribution was 41.6 percent. In addition to these funds, the IDA resources have increased through supplementary earnings, special contributions, earnings from investments, and transfers from the World Bank.

The President of the World Bank made a preliminary proposal for a second replenishment in 1966, but negotiations between contributing governments did not begin until 1967. The final agreement of the IDA Executive Directors, informally accepted by the Board of Governors but requiring affirmative legislative approval from the member countries, provided for a second supplemental replenishment of funds of \$1.2 billion over a period of 3 years (fiscal 1969-1971), of which the U.S. contribution to this would total \$480 million or \$160 million per year.

H.R. 33 was introduced January 3, 1969, to authorize the U.S. Governor of the International Development Association to vote in favor of a resolution to increase convertible currency funds by \$1.2 billion over a three-year period and also authorize him to agree to contribute the U.S. share of \$480 million over the three-year period. These funds

would be made available to the IDA in the form of non-interest-bearing letters of credit to be drawn on only when the Association calls upon members for cash to meet current disbursement needs. Public hearings were held by the House Banking and Currency Committee on March 4, 1969. The bill was reported out of committee favorably without amendment and passed the House on March 19, 1969, by a vote of 247 to 150. In the Senate, it was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on H.R. 33 on April 16, 1969, receiving testimony from Secretary of the Treasury Kennedy and other executive branch officials. The administration supported the bill as passed by the House. On April 24, 1969, the bill was ordered favorably reported without amendment by a vote of 10 to 2.

In its report, the committee stated that the majority of its members felt that multilateral assistance with flexible terms was the best means of helping the less developed countries, and that the need for an organization such as the IDA was increasing. It pointed out that the 1968 bill had been amended by the Foreign Relations Committee to require that all U.S. contributions be contingent upon matching funds from the World Bank. The committee stated in the report that while the members still felt such support from the World Bank was essential, in view of the current lack of funds available to the IDA and the widespread support for the current agreement, this tying requirement had been dropped.

Senator Symington presented supplementary views in opposition to H.R. 33. He held that the IDA lending terms were too easy and did not encourage the adoption of sound financial methods by developing countries. He criticized the IDA for concentrating so much of its aid in two countries, India and Pakistan. Finally, he felt that the tying amendment to the 1968 bill, which he had proposed, was essential, and that all funds given by the U.S. should be matched by an equal investment in the IDA from its parent organization, the World Bank.

On the floor, debate included references to Senator Symington's amendment of the previous year, the need for more funds by the IDA, the jurisdiction of the Foreign Relations Committee over the bill, and the advisability of foreign assistance in a time of financial problems in the United States. The bill passed the Senate on May 14, 1969 by a vote of 49 to 34.

*Legislative chronology—Increasing Participation by the United States
In the International Development Association*

April 23, 1968: Requested by Treasury.

April 24, 1968: S. 3378 introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

October 11, 1968: S. 3378 reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee with amendment. S. Rept. 1670.

January 3, 1969: H.R. 33 introduced in the House.

January 21, 1969: Requested by Treasury.

March 4, 1969: Public hearing by House Banking and Currency Committee.

March 7, 1969: Reported by House Banking and Currency Committee with supplementary views. H. Rept. 91-31.

March 12, 1969: Passed House. 247-150.

March 13, 1969: H.R. 33 referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

April 16, 1969: Public hearing. Printed.

April 24, 1969: Ordered reported.

May 8, 1969: Favorably reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee, with supplementary views. S. Rept. 91-166.

May 14, 1969: Passed Senate, 49-34.

May 23, 1969: Approved. P.L. 91-14.

2. INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

In the first six months of 1970 the Administration presented to Congress legislative proposals for increasing the United States subscription or contributions to the Asian Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Inter-American Development Bank. These were introduced on request by Senator Fulbright as S. 3543, S. 3628, and S. 3934, respectively. The House Banking and Currency Committee combined the administration bills dealing with the four multilateral financial institutions in one bill, H.R. 18306. The new commitments contained in H.R. 18306 as reported by the House Committee were as follows:

(1) International Monetary Fund. An increase in the U.S. quota in the I.M.F. of \$1540 million, corresponding with increases in quotas voted by many other I.M.F. members.

(2) World Bank. An increase of \$246.1 million in the United States capital subscription, bringing it in line with the special increase in the I.M.F. authorized quotas.

(3) Asian Development Bank. An additional contribution of \$100 million to the Asian Development Bank Special Funds to involve appropriations of \$25 million in Fiscal 1970, \$35 million in fiscal 1971, and \$40 million in fiscal 1972.

(4) Inter-American Development Bank. An authorization for the U.S. Governor of the Bank to support an increase in the capital stock of the Bank with a callable capital obligation of the United States of \$673.5 million involving no budgetary expenditure and U.S. subscription of \$150 million of paid-in capital stock, payable in a letter of credit in three installments over a period of three years. Authorization was also given to increased U.S. contributions of \$1 billion to the IADB Fund for Special Operations, payable in one installment of \$100 million and two annual installments of \$450 million in the fiscal years 1971 through 1973, respectively.

In addition, the bill provided for an audit of the Exchange Stabilization Fund by the Secretary of the Treasury annually. Another section of the bill contained a provision requiring the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies to include in its annual report to the Congress a list of all loans approved by the World Bank, the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Asian Development Bank, and some information on the conditions of the loans.

The bill passed the House on September 14, 1970, with one amendment by a vote of 177 to 140. The amendment, offered by Representative Reuss, gave appointed U.S. directors of the four international

institutions U.S. banks Civil Service retirement and health insurance benefits.

H.R. 18306 was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee on September 15, 1970. As noted in the committee report, H.R. 18306 included the contents and language of three bills which had been pending before the committee for several months, S. 3543, S. 3628, and S. 3934. Hearings were held on the first two of these on May 6, 1970, at which time David Kennedy, Secretary of the Treasury, was the main witness. On July 9, 1970, the committee held a hearing on the third bill, again with David Kennedy as witness. Shortly later, when H.R. 18306 was introduced in the House, the committee decided informally to postpone consideration of the bills pending the outcome of the vote on H.R. 18306.

On September 17, after House approval of the combined bill, the committee met in executive session to consider H.R. 18306. At that time a letter from Secretary of State Rogers, strongly supporting the measure, was received. At this session, the committee approved an amendment which eliminated chapters 4, 5, and 6 of the House bill dealing with an audit of the Exchange Stabilization Fund, new reporting requirements for the National Advisory Council on International and Financial Policies, and benefits for the U.S. directors. This was done without prejudice to the merits of the measures, the committee reported, because little or no testimony had been received on the subjects covered in these chapters, and the committee did not wish to stifle further discussion. H.R. 18306 was reported favorably by a vote of 8 to 3, but the committee waited a week to publish the report to allow time for minority and individual views to be filed.

Senator Albert Gore filed a minority view in which he contended that the various international banks should be scrutinized and funds authorized on an individual basis since they were organizations over which the U.S. had only limited control and oversight. Senator Gore stated that the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank would never pass Senate scrutiny alone, and decried lumping increases for them in the same bill as authorizations for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Senator Jacob Javits submitted individual views on H.R. 18306 in which he praised the combining of the three bills as a further sign of multilateralizing of U.S. foreign assistance and looking at the needs of developing countries in terms of a balanced package. He also praised the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank as dynamic forces in the development of their areas of the world.

On the floor, the debate lasted through several legislative days. Two amendments were offered and accepted. The first, by Senator Miller, reinstated a House provision which had been deleted by the committee requiring an annual report by the National Advisory Council which included information on all loans made by the institutions involved. This was adopted by voice vote.

The second amendment was offered by Senator Gore. This amendment deleted the \$100 million for soft loans for the Asian Development Bank, and also authorized only a one year appropriation for the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank instead of the three year authorization contained in the House bill. This amendment also passed by voice vote.

About midway in the debate on the bill, on December 11, the Senate rejected a motion offered by the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee to recommit the bill to the committee. The chairman offered this motion, he said, so that the Senate could give the President some indication of how its members felt concerning the bill. The vote was 47 to 20 against recommitting the bill. The final bill was passed as amended by voice vote on December 21, 1970.

In conference, the bill as passed by the Senate was amended in the following ways:

(1) To the one year authorization for the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank statements were added to clarify that it was not the intent of the Congress to change in any way the past procedure of allowing the U.S. Governor of the I.D.B. to commit the U.S. to the full three year amount of its proposed contributions subject to future authorizations and appropriations.

(2) The Senate accepted the House language providing for an audit of the Exchange Stabilization Fund by the General Accounting Office.

(3) The Senate agreed to adopt the House provision granting discretionary authority to the Secretary of the Treasury to make certain benefits accorded to civil service employees of the U.S. available also to the U.S. employees of these four banks.

The conference report was accepted by both houses by voice vote on December 22, 1970.

Legislative chronology—International Financial Institutions

February 25, 1970: Message from the President transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for a U.S. contribution to the special funds of the Asian Development Bank, H. Doc. 91-260.

February 26, 1970: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting the special report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies on the proposed U.S. contribution to the Consolidated Special Funds of the Asian Development Bank. H. Doc. 91-261.

March 4, 1970: S. 3543 to provide for a U.S. contribution to the special funds of the Asian Development Bank introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

March 17, 1970: Draft legislation submitted to authorize an increase in the resources of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. H. Doc. 91-281.

March 24, 1970: S. 3628 to authorize an increase in the resources of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

April 16, 17, 1970: Public hearings on H.R. 16891 by House Committee on Banking and Currency.

May 6, 1970: H.R. 16891 reported by House Committee on Banking and Currency with amendments. H. Rept. 91-1057.

June 2, 1970: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the U.S. to participate in increases in the authorized capital stock and resources of the fund for special operations of the Inter-American Development Bank and a letter

- transmitting a report on proposed U.S. participation in a replenishment of the resources of this bank. H. Doc. 91-344.
- June 8, 1970: S. 3934 to amend Inter-American Development Bank Act introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).
- June 9, 1970: Public hearing on S. 3934. Printed.
- June 25, 1970: Executive session on S. 3543 and S. 3628.
- June 30, 1970 and July 1, 1970: Public hearings on H.R. 18236.
- July 6, 1970: H.R. 18306 introduced in House by Mr. Patman for himself and Mr. Reuss.
- July 14, 1970: H.R. 18306 reported by House Banking and Currency Committee with amendments. H. Rept. 91-1300.
- September 14, 1970: Additional message received from President. H. Doc. 91-383.
- September 15, 1970: H.R. 18306 amended and passed House. 177-140.
- September 17, 1970: H.R. 18306 referred to Foreign Relations Committee. H.R. 18306 ordered reported with amendments by Foreign Relations Committee. 8-3.
- September 24, 1970: Reported with amendments. S. Rept. 91-1241.
- November 24, and December 4, 9, 1970: General debate in Senate.
- December 11, 1970: Motion to table motion to recommit agreed to 47-20.
- December 21, 1970: Amended and passed Senate. Voice vote. Conference requested by House. Conference report filed in House. H. Rept. 91-1792.
- December 22, 1970: Conference report agreed to by Senate and House. Voice vote.
- December 30, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-599.

3. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITIONS

S. 856, requested by the Secretary of Commerce on January 15, 1969, was introduced by Senator Fulbright on February 4, and endorsed again by the Department of Commerce in a letter dated April 18, 1969.

The major purpose of the legislation was to establish an orderly procedure for official U.S. endorsement and participation in international expositions held within the United States. It dealt with criteria to be considered by the President in recognizing officially a domestically proposed international exposition, and after such recognition, the procedure for submitting to Congress such proposals as may be considered appropriate for federal participation.

On June 10, 1969, the committee ordered S. 856 reported favorably to the Senate. The need to develop a uniform approach to international expositions held in the United States, the committee report stated, developed in the late 1950's when a number of communities—frequently on a competitive basis—proposed such events and the demands for Federal recognition and participation multiplied. Because of the frequency and costs of major international undertakings such as the New York World's Fair in 1963-64 and Century 21 in Seattle in 1962, the committee chairman in 1965 began a correspondence with the Bureau of the Budget concerning the desirability of laying ground rules for U.S. participation in, and endorsement of, such ventures. S. 856 was largely a result of this correspondence. In connection with the Con-

vention on International Expositions in 1968, similar draft legislation was introduced (S. 3737), but there was no opportunity for action. On June 18, 1969, the Senate passed S. 856 by voice vote.

In 1970 the House passed the bill with an amendment, which was approved by the Senate on May 13, 1970.

The act as finally passed called on the President, in making a decision to recognize an international exposition as in the national interest, to consider a report made on the exposition by the Secretary of Commerce. The report was to include an evaluation of purposes and a determination that adequate financial and other support had been secured. A report by the Secretary of State that such expositions qualified for registration with the Bureau of International Expositions was also called for. The legislation restated the requirement of congressional approval for United States participation in such expositions and specified information which must be provided to the Congress by the President to gain approval for participation. The amendment added by the House authorized not to exceed \$200,000 in any fiscal year, instead of "such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes" of the act.

Legislative chronology—The Federal Government's Participation in International Expositions

January 15, 1969: Requested by Commerce.

February 4, 1969: S. 856 introduced by Senator Fulbright.

May 5, 1969: Public hearings in Senate. Printed in part in report.

May 6, 1969: Considered in executive session.

June 10, 1969: Ordered reported.

June 16, 1969: Reported. S. Rept. 91-234.

June 18, 1969: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

June 19, 1969: Referred to Foreign Affairs Committee.

July 29, 1969: H.R. 13171 introduced by Mr. Gallagher.

July 30, 1969: Public hearing by House Foreign Affairs Committee.

April 6, 1970: Reported with an amendment. H. Rept. 91-979.

May 4, 1970: Passed House under suspension of rules. Voice votes.

May 13, 1970: Senate agreed to the House amendment. Voice vote.

May 27, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-269.

4. INCREASING CEILING ON U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE PAN AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

On January 21, 1969, the administration requested legislation amending the authorization to participate in the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. The Institute was created in 1928 and became one of the specialized organizations of the Organization of American States in 1949. Its purpose was to serve as a forum for the international exchange of scientific information and as a planning body for cooperative research. In 1965 the eighth General Assembly of the Institute made two major changes in the organization, in light of a previous decision to make the Institute a more dynamic, active organization within its member states. The first of these was to increase the annual budget of the Institute from \$145,000 to \$250,000. The second change was to assess the member states on the OAS scale, based on ability to pay with modifications, rather than on a straight

population basis. These changes became effective for fiscal year 1965 and raised the U.S. assessment from \$50,000 to \$151,550 per year. In 1966, instead of an open-ended authorization requested by the administration, Congress raised the authorization for its contribution from \$50,000, which it had been since 1954, to \$90,300 per year.

On March 24, 1969, the legislation was introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request) as S. J. Res. 83 and, on May 27, 1969, by Mr. Fascell and Mr. Mailliard as H. J. Res. 746 in the House. It called for amending the public resolution of August 2, 1935, to raise the ceiling on the annual authorization to \$200,000 to permit the United States to contribute its assessed share of the Institute's expenses, and also authorized \$386,050 to pay for U.S. arrearages accumulated since 1965.

The joint resolution passed the House by voice vote on June 2, 1970, after a minor technical amendment by the Foreign Affairs Committee. The Foreign Relations Committee held a public hearing on June 11, 1970, and favorably reported H. J. Res. 746 on June 29, after which it was passed by the Senate on July 1, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Increasing Ceiling on U.S. Contribution to the Pan American Institute of Geography and History

January 21, 1969: Requested by State Department.

March 24, 1969: S. J. Res. 83 introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

May 15, 1969: Public hearings by House Foreign Affairs Committee.

May 27, 1969: H. J. Res. 746 introduced in House by Mr. Fascell and Mr. Mailliard.

September 15, 1969: Reported by House Foreign Affairs Committee. H. Rept. 91-489.

June 2, 1970: Passed House. Voice vote.

June 3, 1970: Referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

June 11, 1970: Public hearing. Printed in part in report.

June 25, 1970: H. J. Res. 746 ordered reported.

June 29, 1970: Reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. S. Rept. 91-986.

July 1, 1970: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

July 17, 1970: Approved. P. L. 91-340.

5. INCREASING CEILING ON U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE PAN AMERICAN RAILWAYS CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

On December 18, 1969, the State Department requested legislation to approve an increase in U.S. payments to the Pan American Railways Congress Association, an inter-American organization of governments and railroads which endeavored to promote the development and progress of railways in the Western Hemisphere. S.J. Res. 171 was introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request) on January 26, 1970, and H.J. Res. 1077 was introduced on February 5, 1970, to approve an increase in U.S. payments to the Association from \$5,000 to \$15,000 annually. In 1968 the organization voted to increase the assessment, based on the number of kilometers of railroad lines each country had, from \$.05 per kilometer to \$.15 per kilometer.

Public hearings were held by both the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Joseph J. Jova,

U.S. Representative to the OAS, expressed the administration's support of the proposal. He stated that the increase was the first in 22 years and that U.S. business, especially the railway equipment business, supported this legislation in the belief that membership in the Association promoted sales of U.S. equipment in Latin America. In addition, Mr. Jova stated that the overall percentage of payment by the United States would remain at 42 percent.

H.J. Res. 1077 passed the House by voice vote without debate on November 16, 1970. The Foreign Relations Committee, which held hearings on the Senate version, S.J. Res. 171, reported H.J. Res. 1077 favorably on December 1, 1970, and the latter passed the Senate by voice vote on December 3, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Increasing Ceiling on U.S. Contribution to the Pan American Railways Congress Association

December 18, 1969: Requested by State Department.

January 26, 1970: S.J. Res. 171 introduced in the Senate.

February 5, 1970: H.J. Res. 1077 introduced in the House.

May 18, 1970: Public hearings on S.J. Res. 171 in Senate. Printed in part in report.

May 22, 1970: Considered in executive session.

June 11, 1970: Public hearing on H.J. Res. 1077 by House Foreign Affairs Committee.

September 28, 1970: Reported H. Rept. 91-1477.

November 16, 1970: Passed House. Voice vote.

November 17, 1970: Referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

November 23, 1970: Ordered reported.

December 1, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-1386.

December 3, 1970: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

December 16, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-553.

6. INCREASING CEILING ON U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

On April 6, 1970, the Department of State requested an increase in the amount authorized for participation in the South Pacific Commission. The South Pacific Commission was created in 1948 by the six countries then having administrative responsibilities for areas in the South Pacific. Consisting of five of the original members (Australia, France, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and United States) plus two newly independent nations, Western Samoa and Nauru, it has been a consultative and advisory body to supplement the programs of its member states and to promote the development and progress of the people of the South Pacific. The measure was introduced as H.J. Res. 1162 on April 9, 1970, and passed the House on October 5, 1970.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held executive hearings on H.J. Res. 1162 on October 7, 1970, and on December 7 reported it favorably with an amendment that the increase be to \$250,000 in lieu of \$325,000. The committee report stated that the principal question which had been raised at the hearing was not about the work of or general justification for the commission. The question was whether the assessment of the United States of 20 percent of the expenses, designated in 1948, remained in line currently when U.S. interests in the area ac-

counted for only five and one half percent of the people of the area. In its report the committee stated that it expected this matter to receive careful scrutiny from the State Department. The bill passed the Senate with the committee amendment by voice vote on December 19, 1970. The House voted to accept the Senate amendment without debate on December 30, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Increasing Ceiling on U.S. Contribution to the South Pacific Commission

April 6, 1970: Requested by Department of State.

April 9, 1970: H.J. Res. 1162 introduced by Mr. Gallagher.

April 29, 1970: Public hearing by House Foreign Affairs Committee. Printed.

September 29, 1970: Reported by House Foreign Affairs. H. Rept. 91-1523.

October 5, 1970: Passed House. Voice vote.

October 6, 1970: Referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

October 7, 1970: Executive hearing. Printed in part in report.

November 23, 1970: Considered in executive session.

December 14, 1970: Ordered reported with an amendment.

December 17, 1970: Reported with an amendment. S. Rept. 91-1477.

December 19, 1970: Passed Senate as amended. Voice vote.

December 21, 1970: Amendment agreed to by House. Voice vote.

December 31, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-632.

7. UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS EXPANSION

S.J. Res. 173 was introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request) on February 19, 1970, to authorize the Secretary of State to grant \$20 million to defray a portion of the cost of expanding the United Nations headquarters in New York City.

The question of expanding United Nations facilities in New York had been under consideration for more than 10 years. Since the present facilities were completed, U.N. membership and staff had more than doubled. Under the authorization of the General Assembly, Harrison and Abramovitz, the architectural firm for the original buildings, submitted a plan for expansion costing \$80 million. The General Assembly approved the plan subject to a \$25 million limitation on the amount to be paid from the regular U.N. budget. According to a plan worked out by the Secretary-General, \$20 million of the additional funds needed was to be provided by the United States Government, \$20 million by New York City, and \$15 million by the United Nations Development Program and the United Nations Children's fund which would move into the new building.

The Foreign Relations Committee considered the joint resolution in executive session after a public hearing in which United States Ambassador to the U.N. Charles W. Yost testified in support of the resolution. After several days of discussion, the committee voted to report the joint resolution favorably by a vote of six to five.

On the floor, arguments against the \$20 million grant included that the U.S. would pay more than its share of the expansion funds anyway because of its larger assessment by the U.N. The joint resolution,

considered under a rule limiting debate, was passed by a roll call vote of 39 to 21 on July 10, 1970.

An identical joint resolution, H.J. Res. 1146, was introduced in the House on March 24, 1970, and referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee. On September 24, 1970, the committee reported it favorably by a vote of 19 to 8 with one member voting present. The committee report cited many instances in which a host city or host country had made special donations to the U.N. facilities located there. However, the separate views of Representatives Rosenthal and Wolff strongly opposed the joint resolution because they believed that it created an unfair situation by forcing New York City to bear an inordinate amount of the burden of expansion and represented bad financial management for the world organization. If the cost were to be borne, they argued, it should be borne entirely by the Federal Government, and not add to the burdens of the city of New York.

The debate in the House was lengthy. Representative Gallagher, who guided the debate through the House, stated that the choice before the U.N. involved fragmentation of the U.N. functions handled in New York, or a continuation of payment of rents on facilities in New York. He emphasized that almost all of the money would be spent in New York, the increased facilities would increase job opportunities for New Yorkers, and that the country in general, and New York in particular, benefitted from the location of U.N. headquarters in New York.

Representative Rosenthal offered an amendment, in the nature of a substitute, to delete the payment by New York, and double the payment of the federal government, changing it, however, from a grant to an interest free loan. This amendment was rejected. He then offered an amendment not to make the agreement to pay by the city of New York a condition for the federal donation of \$20 million. This too was rejected. Representative Bow offered an amendment to restrict any appropriation for U.N. expansion until that time when all U.N. members paid their delinquent dues and assessments. This was rejected 34 to 61.

The joint resolution was passed by 152 to 134. A motion to recommit the joint resolution offered by Mr. Gross was rejected 124 to 163. By voice vote, the Senate joint resolution was substituted for the House joint resolution. The bill became public law on December 31, 1970.

Legislative chronology—United Nations Headquarters Expansion

February 10, 1970: Requested by State Department.

February 19, 1970: S.J. Res. 173 introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

March 9, 1970: Public hearing by Foreign Relations Committee. Printed.

March 20, April 3, 1970: Considered in executive session by Foreign Relations Committee.

March 24, 1970: H.J. Res. 1146 introduced by Mr. Gallagher.

April 23, 1970: Hearing on H.J. Res. 1146 by House Foreign Affairs Committee. Printed.

May 11, 1970: S.J. Res. 173 ordered reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. 6-5.

May 12, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-864.

July 10, 1970: Passed Senate. 39-21.

July 13, 1970: S.J. Res. 173 referred to Foreign Affairs Committee.

September 29, 1970: H.J. Res. 1146 reported to House. H. Rept. 91-1525.

December 21, 1970: H.J. Res. 1146 passed House. 152-134. S.J. Res. 173 substituted for House resolution by voice vote.

December 31, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-622.

8. INTERNATIONAL CLAIMS SETTLEMENT ACT AMENDMENT

On April 14, 1968, at the request of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, Senator Fulbright introduced S. 1796 to amend the International Claims Settlement Act to extend the time for the commission to complete its affairs in settling claims against Cuba until July 6, 1972. A companion bill, H.R. 11711, passed the House on October 6, 1969, and was then referred to the Foreign Relations Committee.

The Foreign Relations Committee considered the bill in executive session on December 12, 1969, and ordered it reported favorably to the Senate. The committee report noted that according to the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, insufficient funds had been appropriated for its administrative expenses in fiscal 1969, and therefore the commission would not be able to complete its work by May 1, 1970, as originally required.

H.R. 11711 passed the Senate by voice vote on December 15, and was signed by the President on December 24, 1969 (P.L. 91-157).

Legislative chronology—International Claims Settlement Act Amendment

January 21, 1969: Requested by the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission.

April 14, 1969: S. 1796 introduced by Mr. Fulbright (by request).

May 15, 1969: Public hearing by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs. Printed. Motion adopted to have measure introduced and ordered favorably reported to full committee.

May 27, 1969: H.R. 11711 introduced by Mr. Fascell and Mr. Mailliard.

September 11, 1969: Considered by Foreign Affairs Committee in executive session and ordered favorably reported.

September 15, 1969: Favorably reported by House Foreign Affairs Committee. H. Rept. 91-488.

October 6, 1969: Passed House. Consent calendar proceedings. Voice vote.

October 7, 1969: Referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

December 12, 1969: Favorably reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. S. Rept. 91-606.

December 15, 1969: H.R. 11711 passed Senate. Voice vote.

December 24, 1969: Approved. P.L. 91-157.

9. FOREIGN ARBITRAL AWARDS

S. 3274 was introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request) on December 19, 1969. The bill was to implement the Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards by cre-

ating a new chapter under Title 9 of the U.S. Code (the Federal Arbitration Act) which would deal exclusively with the recognition and enforcement of awards in accord with the provisions of the convention. The Senate had approved this convention on October 4, 1968, by a vote of 57 to 0 (Ex. Rept. No. 10, 90-2).

The Convention on Foreign Arbitral Awards was the result of a United Nations conference held in New York from May 20 through June 10, 1958. It entered into force on June 7, 1959, and, when the implementing legislation was reported, was in effect in 34 countries. The United States participated in the conference, but did not sign the convention because the American delegation felt that certain provisions might be in conflict with certain domestic laws. According to the administration, as a result of increasing governmental and private support for the convention, the United States decided in favor of accession. The President transmitted the convention to the Senate on April 24, 1968, which subsequently approved it in October 1968. The instrument of accession was to be deposited when S. 3274 became law.

The bill was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a public hearing was held by that committee on February 9, 1969, with testimony from Richard K. Kearney, Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State. The committee reported it also received a number of communications from lawyers and businessmen supporting the legislation and encountered no opposition to the bill. S. 3274 was reported favorably by the committee without amendment. The report said that it would "serve the best interests of Americans doing business abroad by encouraging them to submit their commercial disputes to impartial arbitration for awards which can be enforced in both U.S. and foreign courts."

The Senate passed the bill as reported without debate. The House Judiciary Committee in its report recommended a change of prepositions in the title of Chapter 2 and the House agreed to the change when it passed the bill on July 6, 1970. The Senate agreed to the House amendment on July 16, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Foreign Arbitral Awards

December 5, 1969: Requested by State Department.

December 19, 1969: S. 3274 introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

February 9, 1970: Public hearing by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Printed in report.

February 10, 1970: Ordered reported.

February 13, 1970: Reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. S. Rept. 91-702.

February 17, 1970: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

February 18, 1970: S. 3274 referred to House Judiciary Committee.

June 11, 1970: S. 3274 reported by House Judiciary Committee. H. Rept. 91-1181.

July 6, 1970: Amended and passed House. Voice vote.

July 16, 1970: Senate agreed to House amendment.

July 31, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-368.

10. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON A PATENT COOPERATION TREATY

In 1966, as a result of U.S. initiatives, an international study to simplify the international issuance of patents was undertaken, and

the drafting of a treaty began shortly thereafter. This effort evolved to the point where the executive branch considered it feasible to plan an international conference in 1970 for the purpose of concluding a final treaty. Consequently, on January 16, 1969, the Department of State proposed legislation (S.J. Res. 90, introduced by Senator Fulbright by request on April 3, 1969) authorizing the United States to organize and hold a diplomatic conference in the U.S. in 1970, and authorizing the appropriation of \$175,000 for this purpose. The executive branch felt that this conference should be hosted by the United States because a U.S. initiative started the process, U.S. nationals filed more patent applications abroad than those of any other country, and the U.S. had not hosted an industrial property conference since 1911. The Department of State, for budgetary reasons, had adopted the practice of requesting special legislation in cases where major diplomatic conferences were to be held in the U.S. and there were several precedents for the present action, including the Water for Peace Conference of 1967.

The Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on May 27, 1969, receiving favorable testimony from witnesses representing the Departments of State and Commerce. Leonard Robbins, speaking as a private citizen, appeared in opposition to the treaty and therefore to the conference. Favorable communications from the Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights of the Judiciary Committee and from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce were also received.

On June 10, the committee ordered the joint resolution reported favorably to the Senate, stressing that the Senate was in no way passing on the treaty at that time. The committee reported it had been told that the conference would take place whether or not it was hosted by the United States, and, finding the reasons advanced by the administration for sponsoring the conference valid, recommended that the Senate pass the joint resolution. The Senate passed S.J. Res. 90 without debate or amendment.

The House Foreign Affairs committee held hearings on S.J. Res. 90 on October 29, 1969, and reported it unanimously to the House, where on December 15 it passed under suspension of the rules, by voice vote.

Legislative chronology—International Conference on a Patent Cooperation Treaty

January 21, 1969: Requested by State Department.

April 3, 1969: S.J. Res. 90 introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

May 27, 1969: Public hearing by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Printed in report.

June 10, 1969: Ordered reported.

June 16, 1969: Reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee, S. Rept. 91-233.

June 18, 1969: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

June 19, 1969: S.J. Res. 90 referred to House Foreign Affairs Committee.

October 29, 1969: Public hearing by Foreign Affairs Committee.

December 8, 1969: Reported. H. Rept. 91-702.

December 15, 1969: Passed House. Voice vote.

December 24, 1969: Approved. P.L. 91-160.

D. DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND FOREIGN SERVICE

1. ADJUSTMENTS IN FOREIGN SERVICE RETIREMENT SYSTEM

H.R. 14789 passed the House of Representatives without amendment on December 15, 1969, and was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee the following day. The purpose of the bill was to amend title VIII of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, relating to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System, to conform more closely with changes made in the Civil Service Retirement System which became effective on October 20, 1969. Its major provisions were to (1) increase the rate of contribution to the retirement fund for both employees and the Federal Government from 6.5 percent to 7 percent; (2) base the new annuity computation formula on the highest average salary paid an employee during three consecutive years instead of a five year period; (3) increase survivor annuities for children by 50 percent and reduce the eligibility requirement from 5 years to 18 months; and (4) provide that retired Foreign Service Personnel receive the same cost-of-living adjustments as Civil Service retirees.

The committee heard testimony from William B. Macomber, Jr., Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, on December 19, 1969. The bill was considered in executive session on January 21 and ordered reported favorably to the Senate on February 10, 1970. The bill passed the Senate without debate on February 17, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Adjustments in Foreign Service Retirement System

November 13, 1969: H.R. 14789 introduced in House by Mr. Hays.

December 4, 1969: Considered in executive session and unanimously ordered favorably reported by House Foreign Affairs Committee.

December 9, 1969: Reported. H. Rept. 91-716.

December 15, 1969: Passed House by voice vote, under suspension of rules.

December 16, 1969: Referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

December 19, 1969: Executive hearing. Printed in part in report.

January 21, 1970: Considered in executive session.

February 10, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-701.

February 17, 1970: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

February 28, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-201.

2. AMENDING THE FOREIGN SERVICE BUILDINGS ACT

On May 13, 1970, the Department of State transmitted a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Foreign Service Buildings Act of 1926 so as to authorize such funds as might be necessary in the future to carry out the purposes of the act. The purposes of the act were to pay for the expenses of operating and maintaining Foreign Service Buildings overseas. Instead of the open-ended authorization, the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported H.R. 18012, which authorized funds for fiscal 1972 and 1973 only. The amounts authorized by the

bill, which was passed by the House without debate or amendment, were \$15 million and \$15.9 million for fiscal 1972 and 1973 respectively.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on the measure on October 7, 1970, receiving testimony from State Department witnesses. At that time it voted to report H.R. 18012 favorably when it was received from the House. The House passed the bill on December 7, 1970, and it was referred to and reported by the Foreign Relations Committee the next day. The Senate accepted the bill as reported without debate, and the measure was approved on December 24, 1970 (P.L. 91-568).

Legislative chronology—Amending the Foreign Service Buildings Act

May 15, 1970: Requested by State Department.

June 10, 1970: H.R. 18012 introduced in the House by Mr. Hays.

June 16, 1970: Public hearing by Foreign Affairs Committee. Not printed.

September 24, 1970: Reported by House Foreign Affairs Committee. H. Rept. 91-1468.

October 7, 1970: Hearings by Foreign Relations Committee. Ordered reported.

December 7, 1970: Passed House. Voice vote.

December 8, 1970: Referred to Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Reported. S. Rept. 91-1420.

December 10, 1970: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

December 24, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-568.

E. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ACT AMENDMENTS, 1970

On February 24, 1970, the Congress received a communication from the President transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to extend the authorization of appropriations for the two fiscal years 1971 and 1972, and to provide for the uniform compensation of Assistant Directors of the Agency. The bill contained an authorization of \$17,500,000 for the two fiscal years 1971 and 1972. The administration also requested the authority to pay an Assistant Director who was on active military duty the difference between his military pay, including allowances, etc. and that received by other Assistant Directors.

S. 3544 was introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request) on March 4, 1970. A public hearing was held on March 23, 1970, with Gerard C. Smith, Director of ACDA, speaking in favor of the legislation.

The committee approved the amount requested and reported the bill favorably to the Senate. The provision authorizing equalization of pay for the military and civilian Assistant Directors was rejected by the committee as unnecessary and undesirable.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives had passed an identical bill (H.R. 16200) and the Foreign Affairs Committee had also deleted the pay equalization authority requested by the administration. Both the House and Senate adopted the bills as amended by the committees by voice votes. The House tabled H.R. 16200 after passing it and passed S. 3544 by voice vote.

Legislative chronology—Arms Control and Disarmament Act Amendments, 1970

February 25, 1970: Requested by the President.

February 26, 1970: H.R. 16200 introduced by Mr. Morgan. Public hearing by House Foreign Affairs Committee. Printed.

March 4, 1970: S. 3544 introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

March 23, 1970: Public hearing by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Printed.

March 27, 1970: H.R. 16200 reported with amendments. H. Rept. 91-973.

April 14, 1970: S. 3544 reported with an amendment. S. Rept. 91-766.

April 16, 1970: Committee amendments agreed to in Senate. Voice vote. S. 3544 passed. 79-0.

April 28, 1970: Motion to recommit H.R. 16200 rejected. 87-280.

Amendments of committee accepted and H.R. 16200 passed. Voice vote. H.R. 16200 laid on table and S. 3544 passed. Voice vote.

May 14, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-246.

F. MISCELLANEOUS LEGISLATION

1. BRIDGES ACROSS THE RAINY RIVER AND THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

H.R. 6240, which passed the House on October 5, 1970, authorized an amendment to an act of 1951 authorizing Baudette, Minnesota, to construct and operate a toll bridge across the Rainy River. The bridge authorities had found that not enough revenue was available to pay for the bridge within the 30-year time limitation and asked to be allowed to continue charging a toll beyond the 30-year cutoff.

H.R. 15069, which also passed the House on October 5, 1970, authorized the Thousand Islands Bridge Authority, a political subdivision of the State of New York, to construct, maintain, and operate an additional toll bridge (actually an additional span) across the St. Lawrence River at or near Cape Vincent, New York.

Senators McCarthy and Mondale introduced S. 1534, relating to the Baudette-Rainy River Bridge, on March 12, 1969. Senators Javits and Goodell introduced S. 3197, pertaining to the Thousand Island Bridge Authority, on December 3, 1969. The companion bills, H.R. 6240 and H.R. 15069, were referred to the committee on October 6, 1970. On October 7, 1970, the committee considered the House bills together and voted to report them favorably to the Senate. In reporting the bills, the committee stressed that the exceptional nature of their action was due to the fact that in both of these cases, the bridges concerned had already been built. In each of the last three Congresses the Senate had passed an omnibus international bridge bill, and the committee reported it continued to believe that this omnibus approach was a more orderly procedure for dealing with the problems of authorizing bridges across international waters.

Both bills passed the Senate by voice vote on October 14, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Rainy River Bridge

February 5, 1969: H.R. 6240 introduced by Mr. Langen.

March 12, 1969: S. 1534 introduced by Senators McCarthy and Mondale.

March 5, 1970: Letter received from the Department of Transportation.

September 23, 1970: H.R. 6240 considered in executive session by House Foreign Affairs Committee. Ordered reported favorably.

September 28, 1970: Reported. H. Rept. 91-1478.

October 5, 1970: Passed House. Voice vote. Consent Calendar proceedings.

October 6, 1970: H.R. 6240 referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

October 7, 1970: H.R. 6240 ordered reported.

October 14, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-1342. Passed. Voice vote.

October 22, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-493.

Legislative chronology—St. Lawrence River Bridge

December 3, 1969: S. 3197 introduced by Senators Javits and Goodell and referred to Public Works. H.R. 15069 introduced by Mr. McEwan.

December 20, 1969: Public Works discharged and S. 3197 referred to Foreign Relations Committee.

September 24, 1970: Considered in executive session by Foreign Affairs Committee and ordered favorably reported.

September 28, 1970: Reported. H. Rept. 91-1479.

October 5, 1970: Passed House. Consent Calendar proceedings. Voice vote.

October 6, 1970: H.R. 15069 referred to Foreign Relations.

October 7, 1970: H.R. 15069 ordered reported.

October 14, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-1342. Passed. Voice vote.

November 2, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-520.

2. 1976 OLYMPIC GAMES

Senators Murphy, Allott, Cranston and Dominick introduced S.J. Res. 131 on July 7, 1969, to authorize the President to extend an official welcome to all Olympic delegations, ask them to participate in the 1976 Olympic Games if held in Los Angeles or Denver, and pledge that the United States would provide efficient entry procedures to assure convenient arrivals and departures.

The last principal Olympic games in the United States were held in Los Angeles in 1932. The last Winter Games were held in Squaw Valley in 1960. Because 1976 would be the American bicentennial, and because the International Olympic Committee was to meet in October 1969 and May 1970 to make a final decision on the location for the 1976 Olympic games, S.J. Res. 131 was offered to assist Denver and Los Angeles to "sell" their attractiveness to the International Olympic Committee.

When consulted, the Department of State offered an amendment to the resolution which was adopted by the committee. This amendment suggested that the title be amended to read: "To Welcome to the United States Olympic Delegations Authorized by the International Olympic Committee."

On November 5, 1968, the committee voted to recommend favorably S.J. Res. 131, as amended, agreeing with the sponsors that it would be appropriate to make a strong effort to have the United States chosen as one site for the 1976 Olympic Games.

The resolution passed the Senate, without debate, by voice vote on November 10, 1969. It passed the House by voice vote on January 29, 1970, and was approved by the President on February 3, 1970 (P.L. 91-191).

Legislative chronology—1976 Olympic Games

July 7, 1969: S.J. Res. 131 introduced by Senators Murphy, Cranston, Allott, and Dominick.

November 5, 1969: Ordered reported with amendment.

November 6, 1969: Reported with amendment. S. Rept. 91-523.

November 10, 1969: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

November 12, 1969: Referred to House Foreign Affairs Committee.

January 29, 1970: Reported. H. Rept. 91-810. Passed House. Voice vote.

February 3, 1970: Approved. P.L. 91-191.

G. SENATE RESOLUTIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY

1. NATIONAL COMMITMENTS RESOLUTION

The Senate resolution concerning the making of national commitments was first introduced as S. Res. 151 by Senator Fulbright in the 90th Congress. After holding extensive hearings on the resolution during 1967, and receiving testimony from legal experts, the State Department, and members of the Congress, the committee revised S. Res. 151 extensively and reported it as S. Res. 187 in November, 1967. It then read as follows:

Whereas the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government have joint responsibility and authority to formulate the foreign policy of the United States; and

Whereas the authority to initiate war is vested in Congress by the Constitution: Now therefore, be it

Resolved, that a commitment for purposes of this resolution means the use of, or promise to a foreign state or people to use, the armed forces of the United States either immediately or upon the happening of certain events, and

That it is the sense of the Senate that, under any circumstances which may arise in the future pertaining to situations in which the United States is not already involved, the commitment of the armed forces of the United States to hostilities on foreign territory for any purpose other than to repel an attack on the United States or to protect United States citizens or property properly will result from a decision made in accordance with constitutional processes, which in addition to appropriate executive action, require affirmative action by Congress specifically intended to give rise to such commitment.

This resolution was reported unanimously by the committee but no further action was taken on it in the 90th Congress. The committee later reported that it was withheld from debate on the Senate floor because the Senate did not wish to obstruct in any way the movement toward peace in Vietnam which was initiated by President Johnson's speech of March 31, 1968.

In 1969 the committee again looked into the subject of commitments, and after lengthy consideration of the several resolutions presented to it, decided to report the original resolution offered by Senator Fulbright in 1967, reintroduced by him on February 4, 1969, as S. Res. 85. This resolution, shorter and simpler than the one reported by the committee in 1967, read as follows:

Whereas accurate definition of the term "national commitment" in recent years has become obscured: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that a national commitment by the United States to a foreign power necessarily and exclusively results from affirmative action taken by the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government through means of a treaty, convention, or other legislative instrumentality specifically intended to give effect to such a commitment.

The committee reported that it chose this resolution over the 1967 resolution because it seemed more accurately to represent the views of the committee, and, in addition, it seemed to be in line with the feelings of the Senate as a whole. The committee felt that the 1967 hearings on the commitments resolution had been extensive, balanced, and informative, so that further hearings in 1969 were not held. However, the committee did invite the new administration to submit its views on the resolution. These views were basically unchanged from those submitted by the State Department in 1967, i.e., that the resolution was unnecessary, unclear, and that the President had, under the Constitution, and must have, the power to make many commitments alone. The committee voted to recommend S. Res. 85 on March 12, 1969, by a vote of 11 to 1 emphasizing its belief in the importance of this resolution as an assertion of basic constitutional principle. As stated in the committee report, the primary purpose of S. Res. 85 was understood to be an assertion of congressional responsibility in any future decision to commit U.S. troops to hostilities abroad.

Senator Gale McGee, who cast the dissenting vote, expressed his objection in minority views. He found it ambiguous and believed it would lend itself to misinterpretation and misunderstanding. He felt the Senate would be better advised to refrain from words as to their responsibilities and to begin taking action by upgrading its procedures and sense of responsibility in the field of foreign policy, addressing itself in advance to the broad outlines and directions of American foreign policy before they reached the crisis stage.

The floor debate, extending over a period of five days, pointed out the controversial nature of the resolution. Several amendments were offered in attempts to clarify or change the committee resolution. On June 24, 1969, Senators Mundt and Dodd offered a substitute resolution which defined a national commitment as the use or promise of use of American troops in hostilities, either immediately or upon the happening of certain events. It stated that in no future instance would troops be committed without affirmative legislative action except to repel an attack on the U.S., meet a direct or immediate threat to the national security, or protect U.S. citizens and property. This amendment was rejected by a vote of 36 to 50.

Prior to the rejection of this amendment, Senator Cooper offered a modification of the resolution in behalf of the Foreign Relations Committee, which was adopted by unanimous consent. The modified resolution read as follows:

Resolved, That (1) a national commitment for the purpose of this resolution means the use of the armed forces of the United States on foreign territory, or a promise to assist a foreign country, government, or people by the use of the armed forces or financial resources of the United States, whether immediately or upon the happening of certain events, and (2) it is the sense of the Senate that a national commitment results only from affirmative action taken by the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government by means of a treaty, statute, or concurrent resolution of both Houses of Congress specifically providing for such commitment.

The final resolution, as modified, was agreed to on the same day, June 25, 1969, by a vote of 70 to 16.

Legislative chronology—National Commitments Resolution

July 31, 1967: S. Res. 151 introduced by Senator Fulbright.

August 16, 17, 23, and September 19, 1967: Public hearing. Printed.

November 20, 1967: S. Res. 187 reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. S. Rept. 90-797.

February 4, 1969: S. Res. 85 introduced by Senator Fulbright.

February 25, 1969: Considered in executive session.

March 12, 1969: Ordered reported. 11-1.

April 16, 1969: Reported. S. Rept. 91-129.

June 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 1969: General debate. Modified and agreed to. 70-16.

2. UNITED STATES RECOGNITION OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

Senators Cranston and Aiken introduced Senate Resolution 205 on May 27, 1969. It stated the sense of the Senate that the extension of recognition to a foreign government and the exchange of diplomatic representatives with that government did not necessarily imply that the United States approved of the form, ideology, or policy of that government.

During the public hearing on the resolution on June 17, 1969, Senator Case proposed an amendment which would substitute the phrase "of itself" for the word "necessarily." Senator Cranston, the other witnesses, and the committee agreed and the resolution was amended. Testimony in support of the resolution was received at this same hearing from Senator Cranston, George Aldrich, Acting Legal Adviser, Department of State, and Adrian Fisher, Dean, Georgetown University Law Center. Stephen Pan, representing the Chinese Consolidated and Benevolent Association of New York, testified in opposition to the resolution.

The amended resolution was reported favorably by the committee with statements that the resolution did not prescribe any criteria or standards for recognition, but merely attempted to clarify current U.S. policy. According to the committee report, because of statements made over the years by various Secretaries of State, there was confusion over the recognition policy of the United States and many people believed that the act of recognizing a government meant that the United States approved of that government. The committee further stated its belief that the resolution would strengthen the hand of the Executive in establishing closer communications with all foreign governments and thus was in the national interest. The committee cited testimony by Senator Cranston that the resolution was not intended to bring about the recognition of Communist China or to condone the incorporation into the Soviet Union of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Senator Dodd opposed the resolution and appended his individual views to the report, stating his belief that the resolution was superfluous and might create confusion or restrict the flexible recognition policy which had been followed.

S. Res. 205 was agreed to by the Senate on September 25, 1969.

Legislative chronology—S. Res. 205 on Recognition of Foreign Governments

May 27, 1969: S. Res. 205 introduced by Senators Cranston and Aiken.

June 17, 1969: Hearing held by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Printed.

July 2, 1969: Ordered reported with amendment.

July 29, 1969: Reported. S. Rept. 91-338.

September 25, 1969: Agreed to by Senate with committee amendment. 77-3.

3. RESOLUTION REGARDING THE SUSPENSION OF DEPLOYMENT OF OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE NUCLEAR STRATEGIC WEAPONS SYSTEMS

S. Res. 211 was introduced by Senator Brooke and 39 cosponsors on July 17, 1969. As originally worded, the resolution had three clauses; first, that the U.S. Government should attempt to begin prompt negotiations with the U.S.S.R. to reach an agreement limiting both offensive and defensive strategic weapons; second, that the President should urge the Soviet Union to join the United States in an immediate suspension of flight testing Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs); and third, that the U.S. Government should declare its intention to refrain from additional flight tests of MIRVs as long as the Soviet Union also refrained from such tests. In this form, the resolution was referred to the State Department for comments. The reply of the State Department stated that the executive branch was in accord with the desirability of starting talks on the limitation of strategic weapons and pointed out that preparations for arms limitation talks were at that time taking place. However, it called attention to President Nixon's statement of June 19, 1969, that he did not believe a unilateral stopping of tests would be in the U.S. interest.

Hearings on the resolution and on S. Res. 210 by Senator Case, calling on the President to suspend certain weapons tests, were held on July 16, 1969, by the Subcommittee on International Organization and Disarmament, at which time testimony was received from three scientists, Jack Ruina, Gordon MacDonald, and Herbert York. All three witnesses, and a fourth, Freeman Dyson, who sent a statement by mail, supported the resolution.

On October 7, 1969, S. Res. 211 was discussed in executive session by the full committee. Senator Brooke presented a revised text at this meeting which deleted the clause that the U.S. Government declare its intention to stop test flights of MIRVs as long as the Soviet Union did the same. At this same meeting several members of the committee stated that they would prefer hearing additional testimony before acting, and some members expressed a desire to hear Secretary Rogers report on his recent meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister.

Secretary Rogers met with the committee in executive session on October 29, 1969, at which time he told the committee that the Department of State supported the spirit of the resolution but felt that it would not be helpful to the upcoming Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

At the next executive meeting on the resolution on February 10, 1970, the consensus of the committee members present was that further consideration of the resolution should be related to plans for the Safeguard antiballistic missile system and the relationship between Safeguard, MIRV, and the SALT talks. The three subjects were discussed at executive sessions on February 2, 1970, with Gerard Smith, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and on March 2, 1970, with Richard Helms, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Another public hearing was held, specifically dealing with MIRV and S. Res. 211, on March 16, 1970, by the Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization (formerly the Subcommittee on International Organization and Disarmament). At this hearing, Senator Brooke and Marshall Shulman, Director of the Russian Institute of Columbia University, testified. Senator Brooke asked that the second resolving clause be amended to include an immediate suspension of both flight tests and deployment of MIRVs, rather than just flight tests.

At an executive meeting on March 20, 1970, this proposed amendment was discussed. Some members felt that suspension of both test flights and deployment might present risks to the United States, while other members felt that suspension of test flights only was not a reasonable point of bargaining because the U.S. was capable or nearly capable of deploying without further tests, while the Soviet Union was not. As amended by Senator Cooper, and finally adopted by the committee (10-0), the second clause urged the President to propose a mutual moratorium on deployment of MIRVs. The committee decided that their report should note specifically that they felt deployment of MIRVs could best be suspended by halting any further flight testing which could be verified by national means.

The committee pointed out in its comments that suspension of MIRV testing and deployment was an essential element of a wider suspension of further deployment of all offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons, but at the same time that a suspension on MIRVs alone could not be sustained for long if development and deployment of other new strategic systems continued.

Finally, the committee recognized, the report stated, that S. Res. 211 was in the nature of advice to the President, which he was under no obligation either to accept or reject. However, it pointed out that the resolution expressed the growing awareness of the American people that no effort should be spared to end the escalating cycle of nuclear weapons deployment. The committee also pointed to the obligations imposed upon the President by Article VI of the treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons to bring an end to the arms race. The resolution expressed at the outset of the SALT talks the Senate's wish to urge the President to freeze escalation of nuclear weapons, and to show the Senate support for such actions.

The debate in the Senate covered a period of two days, April 3 and April 9, 1970. During this time opponents argued that the resolution was unnecessary since the SALT talks, with the same purpose, were about to begin. Supporters argued that it would strengthen the negotiator's hand. With no amendments offered, the resolution was agreed

to, 72 to 6. In line with comments on the floor, the preamble was amended to begin as follows:

Expressing the sense of the Senate on mutual suspension of further deployment of offensive and defensive nuclear weapons systems by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by the United States.

Legislative chronology—S. Res. 211 on Suspension of Deployment of Nuclear Weapons

June 17, 1969: S. Res. 211 introduced by Senator Brooke and others.

July 16, 1969: Public hearing by the Subcommittee on International Organization and Disarmament. Printed.

October 7, 29, 1969, and February 10, 1970: Considered in executive session by Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

March 16, 1970: Public hearing. Printed.

March 20, 1970: Ordered reported with amendments.

March 24, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-749.

April 3 and 9, 1970: General debate. Agreed to. 72-6.

4. RESOLUTION ON AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN

S. Res. 469 was introduced by Senator Church on September 22, 1970, to make it clear that the executive agreement with Spain signed August 6, 1970, on the use of bases in that country should not be construed as a national commitment by the United States. The original executive agreement with Spain concerning U.S. use of certain military facilities in Spain was signed in 1953 and covered a 10 year period. It was extended for another five years in 1963. Beginning in 1968, when new negotiations were progressing to extend the agreement again, briefings on the negotiations were requested by the committee and received during the spring of 1969 (executive sessions on March 11, April 2 and 14, and June 5). The committee was especially concerned with the role of the Defense Department in the negotiations.

According to the committee report on S. Res. 469, partly as a result of this increased congressional interest, and partly because of inherent problems, the two governments on June 20, 1969, decided to extend the expired agreement until September 26, 1970, so that a new agreement could be worked out. During the new period of negotiations, the committee continued to receive briefings in closed session (April 22 and July 24, 1970). The committee chairman requested the State Department to consider submitting the agreement to the Senate as a treaty. On August 6, 1970, however, the new "Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation Between the United States and Spain" was signed as an executive agreement and made public.

According to Senator Church's remarks when the resolution was introduced, the Foreign Relations Committee felt that the terms of the agreement needed further public clarification beyond that given in the public announcement, and the State Department agreed to public hearings which were held on August 26, 1970. While he felt that the administration spokesman made it clear that no commitment was involved, and that the previously passed resolution on national commitments required affirmative action on the part of the Congress to make the agreement a commitment, Senator Church suggested that the "Senate should act now to settle any doubt and to avoid any erosion by time or prac-

tice of this significant testimony. The constitutional responsibilities of the Senate, the role of the Congress as a co-equal branch of this Government, and the need to fix clearly and strongly in the mind of the Executive and in the records of this Agreement, all require that the Senate state without equivocation that this Agreement does not constitute a national commitment by the United States to the defense of Spain."

The Committee on Foreign Relations considered the resolution on October 6 and November 19, 1970. The State Department, in commenting on the resolution, wrote that while they agreed with the principle stated in S. Res. 469, passage was unnecessary since it merely reiterated the administration's public statements on the subject. On November 23, the committee modified the resolution to change the resolving clause from: "Nothing in the said agreement shall be construed as a national commitment by the United States to the defense of Spain" to "Nothing in the said Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation between the United States and Spain shall be deemed to be a national commitment by the United States." In this form S. Res. 469 was reported favorably to the Senate by a vote of 10 to 0.

The committee commented in its report that it felt the resolution necessary and valuable for the future and that it served as an important symbol of the effort to reassert the constitutional role of Congress in the formulation of foreign policy. The committee emphasized repeatedly that the agreement with Spain did not meet the criteria for a national commitment outlined in S. Res. 85 and would not at any time in the future. This formal finding was desirable, the committee further stated, because of the "deliberately ambiguous form" of the agreement with Spain. The committee further hoped that this precise definition of the limited character of the agreement would eliminate the future possibility of a condition where "circumstances alter cases" as in the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. The report stated that the majority of committee members adhered to the belief that the agreement should have been submitted to the Senate as a treaty, and in that way both branches would have functioned in their proper constitutional roles in shaping United States foreign policy.

The resolution was passed by the Senate, by voice vote, with no debate on December 11, 1970.

Legislative chronology—S. Res. 469 on Agreement Between United States and Spain

September 22, 1970: Introduced by Senator Church.

October 6, and November 19, 1970: Considered in executive session.

November 23, 1970: Ordered reported with an amendment.

December 9, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-1425.

December 11, 1970: Agreed to by Senate. Voice vote.

5. PRISONERS OF WAR RESOLUTION

During the fall of 1969, numerous resolutions relating to the treatment of American prisoners of war in Southeast Asia were introduced in the House and Senate. House resolutions in support of the prisoners were sponsored by more than 275 members of the House of Representatives and after hearings on them, the House Foreign Affairs Com-

mittee drafted a new resolution, H. Con. Res. 454, with the assistance of the Departments of State and Defense. H. Con. Res. 454, with a technical amendment, passed the House 405 to 0 on December 15, 1969.

The House-passed resolution and five related Senate resolutions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The committee began consideration of the resolutions in executive session on January 21, 1970, and approved H. Con. Res. 454 on February 16, without holding hearings. Acting Secretary of State Elliot Richardson expressed his approval of the committee's action in a letter to the committee dated February 12.

H. Con. Res. 454 protested the treatment of the United States servicemen held prisoner by North Vietnam and called on the North Vietnamese to comply with the requirements of the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war. The committee report emphasized that the resolution reaffirmed the concern of Congress for the missing men and their families and expressed congressional support for efforts on behalf of the men by the United States Government and international organizations. The resolution was unanimously approved without controversy in the Senate on February 18, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Prisoners of War Resolution

August 13, 1969: S. Res. 243 introduced by Senator Bayh and others.

S. Res. 245 introduced by Senator Montoya and others.

September 17, 1969: S. Con. Res. 37 introduced by Senator Scott.

S. Res. 257 introduced by Senator Tower and others.

October 27, 1969: S. Con. Res. 45 introduced by Senator McGovern.

November 13, 14, 1969: Public hearings by House Foreign Affairs Committee on several resolutions. Printed.

November 19, 1969: H. Con. Res. 454 introduced by Mr. Zablocki.

December 10, 1969: H. Con. Res. 454 reported with an amendment.

H. Rept. 91-739.

December 15, 1969: Passed House. 405-0.

December 16, 1969: H. Con. Res. 454 referred to Foreign Relations.

January 21, 1970: Considered in executive session.

February 10, 1970: H. Con. Res. 454 ordered reported by Foreign Relations Committee.

February 16, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-705.

February 18, 1970: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

6. COMMENDATION OF EFFORT TO LIBERATE PRISONERS OF WAR

On November 21, 1970, a mission to rescue American prisoners of war from the Son Tay prison in North Vietnam was carried out by American commandos in a surprise move. No prisoners were found and the raiding party withdrew. On November 25, on behalf of himself and 33 co-sponsors, Senator Robert Dole introduced and asked for immediate consideration of a Senate resolution commending the joint Army-Air Force effort to liberate the prisoners. Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Fulbright made a procedural objection to the resolution, on the basis that proper committee consideration and discussion were necessary on a resolution with such policy implications. He said that he did not dispute the valor and courage of the

men who participated in the raid, but rather questioned the policy behind the raid and the effect of it on the Paris negotiations and on the prisoners themselves. He said that without objecting to the resolution itself, he objected to its passage by unanimous consent without proper discussion. After the chairman's objection, the resolution was ordered held over under the rules, placed on the calendar and on December 8, referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, with instructions that it be reported within ten days.

On December 14 and 15, endorsements of the resolution were received in writing from the Secretaries of State and Defense respectively. Secretary of Defense Laird had testified on the Son Tay raid before the committee in open session on November 24. In the course of a public hearing on December 11 on the supplemental foreign assistance authorization, he was questioned concerning S. Res. 486. Under Secretary of State Irwin also met with the committee in executive session concerning the Son Tay raid. In the December 11 meeting with Secretary Laird, the chairman asked that General Leroy Manor, the commander of the raid, also testify before the committee concerning the resolution, but Secretary Laird agreed only to consider the request.

The committee considered the resolution in executive session on December 14 and 17. It was favorably reported on December 17 with an amendment in the nature of a substitute. The amendment deleted references to the purpose of the mission, but commended the bravery of the men who participated, and called renewed attention to the violations of the Geneva Conventions by North Vietnam in its treatment of American prisoners.

The resolution passed the Senate by voice vote on December 19 without debate. A similar resolution, H. Res. 1282, was considered by the House Armed Services Committee and passed the House of Representatives on December 7, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Commendation of Effort to Liberate Prisoners of War

November 25, 1970: S. Res. 486 introduced by Mr. Dole for himself and 34 co-sponsors. Ordered to lie over under the rule.

November 30, 1970: Ordered to be placed on the calendar.

December 8, 1970: Referred to Foreign Relations with instructions to report within 10 days.

December 14, 1970: Considered in executive session.

December 17, 1970: Reported with an amendment in the nature of a substitute. S. Rept. 91-1493.

December 19, 1970. Agreed to. Voice vote.

7. U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE 1972 UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

In December 1968 the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution which called for convening a United Nations Conference on Human Environment in 1972. Sweden introduced the resolution and was joined by 50 other nations including the U.S. On April 3, 1969, Senator Muskie introduced S. Res. 179 stating the sense of the Senate

that the U.S. should actively support the conference and undertake necessary preparations for it.

The Departments of State and Agriculture supported the resolution. The State Department recommended one modification: that the part of the title suggesting that the U.S. offer to host the conference be deleted since the General Assembly resolution was offered by Sweden, and Sweden wished to host the conference. The letters from the two departments were printed in the Senate report, as was a joint letter from Senators John Sherman Cooper and Jacob Javits who become cosponsors of the resolution.

The resolution was considered in executive session on November 5, 1969, and passed without objection by the committee after modifying the title as the Department of State had suggested. The committee report stated that the Senate should demonstrate the weight it attached to efforts to preserve the environment for mankind by endorsing the 1972 United Nations Conference. The resolution was passed without debate on November 10, 1969. In the meantime, S.J. Res. 156, calling for the establishment of an interagency commission to make necessary plans for the United Nations Conference, was introduced by Senator Yarborough on October 6, 1969, and referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. No further action on that resolution was taken.

Legislative chronology—S. Res. 179 on U.S. Participation in the 1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment

April 3, 1969: S. Res. 179 introduced by Senator Muskie.

September 4, 1969: Senators Javits and Cooper added as co-sponsors.

September 18, 1969: Senator Randolph added as co-sponsor.

October 6, 1969: S.J. Res. 156 introduced by Senator Yarborough.

November 5, 1969: S. Res. 179 ordered reported with amendment.

November 6, 1969: Reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

S. Rept. 91-522.

November 10, 1969: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

8. CREATION OF A WORLD ENVIRONMENTAL INSTITUTE

S. Res. 399 was introduced on April 27, 1970, by Senator Magnuson and 35 co-sponsors. As amended by the committee, the resolution in five resolving clauses made it the sense of the Senate that (1) a World Environmental Institute be created to serve as a global research and information center concerning programs involving the environment; (2) that this institute, while coordinating its activities with other existing international agencies, be open to all nations upon request; (3) that the U.S. representative to the forthcoming International Conference on the Human Environment propose the idea of an institute at the Conference; (4) that the U.S. support the invitation of all nations to the Conference on the Human Environment; and (5) that it become the official policy of the U.S. Government to work for the creation of a World Environmental Institute.

The committee held a public hearing on the measure on September 1, 1970. Senator Magnuson urged that the resolution be adopted in time for an international meeting of scientists opening on September 19, 1970, which might consider creating such an institute.

In a separate communication received before the public hearing, the State Department had objected to the resolution in its original form primarily because of the political and financial problems they felt it

might create. These included an overlapping of functions with existing international agencies, resentment on the part of existing agencies, and expenditure of funds to create another agency which might not be successful and might not receive international cooperation. In response, the committee, during executive session on the resolution, amended the definition of the proposed institute as "independent and financially separate" to an institute charged with coordinating its activities with existing international organizations.

The committee reported the resolution favorably to the Senate on September 30, 1970, emphasizing that although the general concept of an International Environmental Institute was favorable, the committee felt it had insufficient evidence to recommend a name for the institute. The committee report further stated that the name, the funding, functions, and relationships of such an institute were all subjects for future international discussion, and urged that if the U.S. Government should pursue the expressions contained in the resolution, it should do so with an open mind.

The resolution was agreed to on October 9, 1970, by voice vote.

Legislative chronology—S. Res. 399 on Creation of a World Environmental Institute

April 27, 1970: S. Res. 399 introduced by Senator Magnuson and others.

September 1, 1970: Public hearing. Printed in part in report.

September 30, 1970: Ordered reported with amendments.

October 1, 1970: Reported by Senate Foreign Relations Committee. S. Rept. 91-1255.

October 9, 1970: Agreed to. Voice vote.

9. SENATE DELEGATIONS TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS OR PARLIAMENTARY BODIES AND ASSOCIATIONS

S. Res. 65 was reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations by Senator Fulbright on January 27, 1969. It authorized the President of the Senate to appoint Senate delegations in response to invitations received from foreign governments or parliamentary bodies and associations during the remainder of the 91st Congress. The resolution also authorized payment of the expenses of such delegations, up to \$25,000, out of the contingent fund of the Senate. The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee stated the resolution in no way eliminated or changed present limitations upon per diem amounts paid to such delegations, nor the detailed public record of such expenses which must be kept. The purpose of the resolution was to insure that Senate delegates would be able to attend official meetings when called upon and that their expenses would be paid.

The Committee on Rules and Administration approved the resolution without amendment and the Senate agreed to it on February 17, 1969.

Legislative chronology—S. Res. 65 on Senate Delegation to Foreign Governments or Parliamentary Bodies and Associations

January 23, 1969: S. Res. 65 ordered reported.

January 27, 1969: Reported. No written report. Introduced in the Senate. Referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

February 7, 1969: Reported by Committee on Rules and Administration.

February 17, 1969: Agreed to.

10. RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE COMMITTEE

During the 91st Congress, some resolutions concerning foreign relations were passed by the Senate without reference to the committee.

S. Res. 298 was introduced by Senator Dodd on December 12, 1969. It expressed the sense of the Senate that the U.S. Government should exert all possible effort to influence a speedy return of a constitutional government in Greece, and was passed by voice vote on the same day.

S. Res. 474 was introduced on October 8, 1970, by Senator Percy and 22 co-sponsors. It supported the October 7 statements of the President outlining a new U.S. peace initiative in Vietnam. It was agreed to on the same day by voice vote.

S. Res. 484 was introduced by Senators Scott and Mansfield on November 19, 1970. This resolution expressed the sympathy of the Senate to the President and people of Pakistan in their time of suffering due to a cyclone and tidal waves on November 13, 1970. This was passed by voice vote on the same day.

S. Res. 501 was introduced by Senator Dole on December 29, 1970, and expressed the grave concern of the Senate over the continuing injustices to which the Jews of the Soviet Union had been subjected by their government. This resolution also was passed by voice vote on the same day.

H. OTHER LEGISLATION CONSIDERED

1. TERMINATION OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIA RESOLUTION (S. CON. RES. 64, ALSO S. CON. RES. 40; S.J. RES. 166)

A repeal of the Southeast Asia resolution of August 10, 1964 (the Tonkin Gulf Resolution) passed both Houses of the Congress as a floor amendment to the Foreign Military Sales Act (Sec. 12 of P.L. 91-672). Prior to this, however, several resolutions providing for the repeal of the 1964 resolution had been considered by the committee, and one, S. Con. Res. 64, passed the Senate but not the House.

Ten resolutions relating to the establishment of peace and security in Southeast Asia and other areas were referred to the committee between October 7 and December 8, 1969. These included the Mathias-Mansfield resolution, S.J. Res. 166, to repeal the four resolutions relating to security in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Formosa, and Cuba; S. Con. Res. 40, by Senator Javits and others, to repeal the Tonkin Gulf resolution; and S. 3000, by Senators Goodell and McGovern, to provide for the withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam by December 1, 1970 (the Vietnam Disengagement Act). After considering the resolutions in public hearings on February 3, 4, 5, and March 16, 1970, and in executive session on March 20, April 3, and 10, the committee decided to recommend the two resolutions which provided for repeal by concurrent resolutions of the Tonkin Gulf and Middle East resolutions (P.L. 88-408 and P.L. 85-7, respectively). The committee decided to defer action on some parts of S.J. Res. 166, namely, repeal of the Cuban and Formosa resolutions, which would

require enactment of legislation, pending further study, and the establishment of a joint committee to study the feasibility of terminating the national emergency proclaimed December 19, 1950. The authors of S. Con. Res. 40 and S.J. Res. 166 were invited to submit a new concurrent resolution. That resolution, S. Con. Res. 64, relating to repeal only of the Southeast Asia and Middle East resolutions, was reintroduced on April 30 and was favorably reported on May 1, 1970.

In recommending passage of S. Con. Res. 64, the committee stated that its concern went beyond the issues of the Vietnam war to the central and unresolved issue of the separation of powers between the President and Congress, and whether or not the Executive was assuming powers to initiate war that were constitutionally vested in Congress. The committee report maintained that the war in Indochina had been conducted without constitutional authorization and the Gulf of Tonkin resolution had not been intended to authorize a full-scale war. Although the President had said that he did not rely on the Tonkin Gulf resolution for his authority to conduct the war, the committee reported, the removal of the resolution would clear away legal confusion on this point. Similarly, it felt that repeal of the Middle East resolution would not affect the situation there, but would serve to clear the "constitutional ledger of debris." The committee said that repeal of the resolutions would not be a definitive action, but would serve only as a significant first step in the resolution of questions of the respective powers of the President and Congress in a necessary process of constitutional adjustment.

On May 5, 1970, the committee report was recommitted to the committee by unanimous consent at the request of Chairman Fulbright and other members of the committee, in order to remove extraneous matter from the report and to change it to reflect better the committee's views. On May 15, by a vote of 13 to 1, the committee again reported S. Con. Res. 64. Confining its second report to a simple statement of committee action, the committee said it had decided to defer action on the repeal of the Middle East resolution and had amended S. Con. Res. 64 to that effect.

The resolution was adopted by the Senate on July 10, 1970, by a vote of 57 to 5. Also adopted was an amendment by Senator Mathias to make the resolution effective on approval of both Houses of Congress, rather than at the end of the session as in the original bill.

On July 13, the resolution was referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee which did not take action on it. Although S. Con. Res. 64 did not pass the House, the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was repealed in a floor amendment to the Foreign Military Sales Act, passed later in the same session.

Legislative chronology—Termination of the Southeast Asia Resolution

October 7, 1969: S. 3000 (Vietnam Disengagement Act) introduced by Senator Goodell.

October 14, 1969: S. Con. Res. 40 (to terminate Gulf of Tonkin resolution) introduced by Senators Javits, Pell, and Metcalf.

December 8, 1969: S.J. Res. 166 (to repeal legislation relating to use of armed forces outside the United States) introduced in the Senate by Senators Mathias and Mansfield.

February 3, 4, 5, 1970: Public hearings on all of the above. Printed.

March 16, 1970: Public hearing. Printed.
 April 3, 1970: S.J. Res. 166 considered in executive session.
 April 10, 1970: Ordered reported in part as a concurrent resolution.
 April 30, 1970: S. Con. Res. 64 introduced by Senators Javits, Mansfield, and Pell.
 May 1, 1970: S. Con. Res. 64 reported. S. Rept. 91-834.
 May 5, 1970: Recommitted. Voice vote.
 May 11, 1970: Ordered reported with amendment.
 July 10, 1970: Amended and passed Senate. 57-5.
 July 13, 1970: Referred to Foreign Affairs.
 (Provisions included in P.L. 91-672, Foreign Military Sales Act amendment.)

2. RECOGNITION OF THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WATER POLLUTION RESEARCH

S.J. Res. 162 was introduced by Senators Murphy, Cranston, Boggs, Fong, Inouye, and Muskie, on October 21, 1969, to urge the cooperation of all Federal departments and agencies and all interested persons and organizations to cooperate and assist in the Fifth International Conference on Water Pollution Research to be held in San Francisco and Honolulu in late July and early August 1970. The Foreign Relations Committee, to whom the bill was referred, requested the opinion of the State Department. Although the resolution did not request an authorization of funds for the Conference, the Department of State informed the Foreign Relations Committee by letter that the Department of the Interior made a donation of \$70,000 as the U.S. contribution to its expenses in the Conference. The reply also assured the committee that the State Department would be happy to do as much as possible to facilitate the attendance of visitors from abroad.

The joint resolution was approved by the committee without amendment and passed the Senate by voice vote on March 19, 1970. It was referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on March 23, 1970. No further action was taken.

Legislative chronology—S.J. Res. 162 on the Fifth International Conference on Water Pollution Research

October 21, 1969: S.J. Res. 162 introduced in Senate by Senator Murphy and others.
 March 12, 1970: Ordered reported.
 March 17, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-742.
 March 19, 1970: Passed. Voice vote.
 March 23, 1970: Referred to House Foreign Affairs Committee.

3. RETIREMENT AGE FOR CAREER MINISTERS

S. 3691 was introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request) on April 8, 1970. The primary purpose of the bill was to lower the mandatory retirement age of career ministers from age 65 to 60, the mandatory retirement age for all Foreign Service officers of lesser grade. S. 3691 retained the 65-year mandatory retirement age for career ambassadors. The bill retained existing provisions under which career ministers and ambassadors were exempt from the mandatory retirement age

while serving in positions to which they had been appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. In addition, the Secretary of State's existing authority to extend the service of a career minister or ambassador for a period of not to exceed 5 years beyond the mandatory retirement age, if he determined it to be in the public interest, was retained.

The Committee on Foreign Relations held a public hearing on S. 3691 on May 18, 1970 and heard testimony from William B. Macomber, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration. The bill was reported favorably without amendment by the committee and passed the Senate by voice vote. No further action was taken.

Legislative chronology—S. 3691 on Retirement Age for Career Ministers

March 26, 1970: Requested by State.

April 8, 1970: Introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request).

May 18, 1970: Public hearing. Printed in part in the report.

May 22, 1970: Ordered reported.

June 16, 1970: Reported. S. Rept. 91-930.

June 19, 1970: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

June 22, 1970: Referred to House Foreign Affairs Committee.

4. U.S.-U.S.S.R. POLITICAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Senator Mike Gravel introduced S. 3127 on November 9, 1969. The purpose of the bill, as stated in the committee report, was to assist governmental officials of both the United States and the Soviet Union to make better informed judgments about world affairs involving both countries by encouraging them to make visits to the other country. The bill called for authorizing the payment of travel and expenses for not more than 1000 elected U.S. officials and their spouses to the Soviet Union during a period of 5 years beginning in February 1971. At the same time efforts would also be made to facilitate comparable trips to the United States by Soviet officials.

A favorable report was received from the State Department concerning the program, and at the hearing on the bill, favorable testimony was received from Senator Gravel and two former Ambassadors to the Soviet Union, Averell Harriman, and George F. Kennan. Following the hearings and the reports from State, Senator Gravel amended his bill and the committee reported it favorably stating the opinion that there was evidence that Soviet officials were interested in some sort of reciprocity.

The bill, as reported out of the committee, called for amending the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (P.L. 87-256) by adding a new title to include an authorization for an appropriation of up to \$5 million for the five-year program. As reported, the Secretary of State would be authorized to implement the provisions of the program assisted by a five member advisory board appointed by both Houses of Congress and the President jointly. Those eligible for the program would include members of the Congress, governors of the States, the presiding officer, majority and minority leaders of each house of the State legislatures, and the mayor or head of government of the capitals and largest cities of each State. The pro-

gram would also include the spouses of the eligible officials. In addition, the Secretary of State would be authorized to pay the cost of arranging the itineraries of not more than 1000 Soviet officials and to make arrangements with the Soviet Union to provide payment of expenses on a reciprocal basis.

The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 38 to 28 on April 20, 1970, and was referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. No further House action was taken in the 91st Congress.

Legislative chronology—S. 3127 on U.S.-U.S.S.R. Political Exchange Program

November 7, 1969: S. 3127 introduced by Senator Gravel and referred to the Foreign Relations Committee.

February 6, 1970: Public hearing. Printed.

April 10, 1970: Ordered reported with an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

April 15, 1970: Reported with an amendment. S. Rept. 91-767.

April 20, 1970: Passed Senate. 38-28.

April 21, 1970: Referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

5. INTERNATIONAL PETROLEUM EXPOSITION

S.J. Res. 127 was introduced in the Senate on June 25, 1969, by Senators Harris and Bellmon of Oklahoma. It provided that the President of the United States be authorized and requested to invite, in any manner he chose, all the States of the union and foreign nations to participate in the International Petroleum Exposition in Tulsa, Oklahoma, scheduled from May 15, 1971 through May 23, 1971.

The joint resolution was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee which requested an opinion from the State Department. The State Department replied that while the United States would welcome wide international participation in such an exposition, an undesirable precedent would be set if this one joint resolution was approved, because supporters of similar expositions throughout the nation would demand similar approval. Senator Harris argued that if such a precedent were, in fact, being set, it had been set in 1966 when the Senate did pass a similar joint resolution at the request of Senator Harris, for a petroleum exposition.

The committee met in executive session on February 10, 1970, and approved the joint resolution without amendment. The report pointed out a statement in the letter from the Department of State that "wide participation in this exposition as a means of promoting international commerce and, particularly, the exports of the United States" would be welcome. The report also noted that, as in previously adopted resolutions of this type, Senate authorization did not involve any Federal expenditure for, or participation in, the exposition.

S.J. Res. 127 was reported to the Senate on February 16, 1970, and passed by voice vote on February 17, 1970. The next day it was referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. No further action was taken.

Legislative chronology—S.J. Res. 127 on International Petroleum Exposition

June 25, 1969: S.J. Res. 127 introduced in Senate by Senators Harris and Bellmon.

June 27, 1969: Referred to State.

October 17, 1969: Report received from State.

February 10, 1970: Ordered reported.

February 16, 1970: Reported S. Rept. 91-704.

February 17, 1970: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

February 18, 1970: Referred to House Foreign Affairs Committee.

6. UNDERGROUND WEAPONS TESTING

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a public hearing on underground weapons testing on September 29, 1969, in connection with S.J. Res. 155. This resolution, introduced by Senators Gravel and Fong on September 24, 1969, called for the creation of a Commission on the International Relations and Foreign Policy Effects of Weapons Testing. In opening the hearing, the chairman paraphrased the remarks of Senator Gravel when introducing the resolution which referred to the formal expressions of concern expressed by the Japanese and Canadian Governments with regard to the underground test scheduled for October 2, 1969, at Amchitka Island, Alaska. Their concern was based on the possibility of the damage from an earthquake and tidal wave damage to fish and wildlife through atomic pollution, and interruption of shipping.

The resolution was considered in executive session on September 30, and October 7, 1969.

Legislative chronology—S.J. Res. 155 on Underground Weapons Testing

September 24, 1969: S.J. Res. 155 introduced by Senators Gravel and Fong.

September 29, 1969: Public hearing. Printed.

September 30 and October 7, 1969: Considered in executive session.

7. PRINCIPLES FOR GOVERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF NATIONS IN OCEAN SPACE

On January 21, 1969, Senator Pell introduced S. Res. 33 containing a "Declaration of Legal Principles Governing Activities of States in the Exploration and Exploitation of Ocean Space" and expressing the sense of the Senate that the President should make the necessary efforts to secure United Nations consideration of the declaration. Public hearings on the resolution were held on July 24, 25, 28, and 30, 1969 by the Subcommittee on Ocean Space. Members of the subcommittee were Senators Pell (chairman), Church, and Case. According to the introductory statement of the chairman, the subcommittee was to attempt to cover, during the hearings, the military, economic, scientific, and legal aspects of the issue of ocean space.

Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs G. Warren Nutter discussed the progress which had been made on developing an international agreement on the use of the seabeds, and General Counsel of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency William Hancock outlined a U.S. proposal for prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the seabed which had been presented to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee. Also speaking for the administration were Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Fisheries and Wildlife Donald L. McKernan, Under Secretary of

State for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research and Development, Robert A. Frosch. Other witnesses appearing represented both the industrial and the academic world.

No report was issued by the full committee and no action was taken on the resolution during the 91st Congress.

Legislative chronology—S. Res. 33 on Principles Governing the Use of Ocean Space

January 21, 1969: Introduced in Senate by Senator Pell.

January 25, 1969: Referred to State.

July 24, 1969: Report received from State.

July 24, 25, 28, 30, 1969: Public hearings. Printed.

8. UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS

The Department of State, on December 22, 1969, submitted a request for the statutory establishment of the post of Under Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs. This was introduced, as S. 3347, by Senator Church on January 28, 1970 and the subject of hearings on March 18, 1970. While the committee considered the measure in several executive sessions (March 20, April 3, and 10, 1970) it came to no final resolution.

Legislative chronology—S. 3347 on strengthening the Department of State by creating the position of Under Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs

December 20, 1969: Requested by State Department.

January 28, 1970: Introduced in the Senate by Senator Church.

March 18, 1970: Public hearing. Printed.

March 20, April 3 and 10, 1970: Considered in executive session.

9. MISCELLANY

Other measures discussed by the committee but passed over were S. 3055, by Senator Fulbright, which would authorize the use of excess Government-owned foreign currencies to finance the establishment abroad of binational foundations for educations and scientific purposes; S. 3964, by Senators Javits, Dole, and Pell, to make rules respecting military hostilities in the absence of a declaration of war; Senate Joint Resolution 204 by Senators Pell and Javits, relating to withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Southeast Asia; Senate Congressional Resolution 86 and Senate Resolution 497, by Senator Nelson, on the necessity for international cooperation and United Nations consideration of the consequences, environmental and otherwise, of operation of civil supersonic aircraft in international commerce; and Senate Resolution 208 by Senator Church, printing as a Senate document a list of U.S. military personnel who have died in connection with the conflict in Vietnam, which was reported from the committee and referred to the Rules and Administration Committee where no further action was taken.

While all of the foregoing items contain elements of legislative review to a greater or lesser degree—greater, for instance, in the case of foreign assistance legislation and lesser in the case of some of the

treaties—a considerable portion of the Committee's activities was concentrated on studies and reviews not directly related to legislative or executive matters pending before it.

I. LEGISLATIVE REVIEW AND STUDIES

1. SECURITY AGREEMENTS AND COMMITMENTS ABROAD

On January 23, 1969, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee created the Subcommittee on United States Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad for the duration of the 91st Congress. The chairman of the subcommittee was Senator Stuart Symington and other members were Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Mansfield, Aiken, Cooper, and Javits. In the report of the subcommittee dated December 21, 1970, the subcommittee stated that during the prior 22 months, the two members of the staff of the subcommittee had traveled to 23 countries making on-the-scene investigations. The subcommittee held 37 days of hearings based primarily on these investigations with 48 witnesses covering United States military forces, facilities, and security programs in 13 countries and NATO. Hearings on the Philippines, Laos, Thailand, Taiwan, Japan/Okinawa, Korea, Greece/Turkey, Ethiopia, Morocco/Libya, NATO, and Spain were printed after security deletions were made by the appropriate agencies, totaling more than 2500 pages. The subcommittee report stated: "We believe that this record provides an objective starting point for discussion already underway in both the Executive and Legislative Branches with respect to many questions having to do with our foreign commitments and overseas military bases."

Using the information developed by the subcommittee, the report stated, on December 15, 1969, the Senate passed an amendment to the Defense Appropriation Act which barred the introduction of U.S. ground combat troops into Laos or Thailand. In addition, the subcommittee reported, a variety of amendments to the Military Sales, Military Procurement Authorization, and Defense Appropriations bills were introduced in 1970 to meet various situations identified during the subcommittee hearings, and the administration itself had taken a variety of corrective steps in areas questioned during the subcommittee study. The subcommittee report stated: "Much information developed during the course of this investigation was unknown to members of Congress at the time they, through various pieces of legislation, were, in effect, supporting these programs. A great deal more of the information now made public by these hearings was unknown to either legislators or voters who, directly or indirectly, have been passing judgment on policies which not only involved their tax dollars, but also the lives of their sons."

The subcommittee pointed out that, in addition to the providing of information, the purpose of the report was to emphasize that the responsibility of the Congress in its role in foreign policy was to remain both informed and active. It stated: "Any lasting impact of this report will not be made by what it says in terms of current foreign policy, but rather in the continuation of active oversight of foreign/military policy through on-the-scene inquiry and hearings by the proper committees of the Congress."

A listing of the hearings* follows:

- Part 1—The Republic of the Philippines, Sept. 30, Oct. 1, 2 and 3, 1969
- Part 2—Kingdom of Laos, Oct. 20, 21, 22, and 28, 1969
- Part 3—Kingdom of Thailand, Nov. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 17, 1969
- Part 4—Republic of China, Nov. 24, 25, 26, 1969, and May 8, 1970
- Part 5—Japan and Okinawa, Jan. 26, 27, 28, and 29, 1970
- Part 6—Republic of Korea, Feb. 24, 25, and 26, 1970
- Part 7—Greece and Turkey, June 9 and 11, 1970
- Part 8—Ethiopia, June 1, 1970
- Part 9—Morocco and Libya, July 20, 1970
- Part 10—United States Troops in Europe, May 25 and 26, June 16 and 24, and July 15, 1970
- Part 11—Spain and Portugal, Mar. 11, Apr. 14, 1969 and July 17, 1970

2. VIETNAM

Briefing on Vietnam by the Secretary of State.—On November 18 and 19, 1969, the committee met to receive a briefing on the administration's Vietnam policy and other related matters from the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense. Shortly before this briefing, the President, on November 3, spoke to the American people about Vietnam and the committee asked the Secretary of State to explore with the committee the issues raised in the President's speech. In addition, the Secretary of Defense was asked to describe the plan for bringing the war to an end which the President had announced in his November 3 speech.

(Printed hearings)

Vietnam: Policy and Prospects, 1970.—During February and March 1970 the committee held a series of hearings entitled "Vietnam: policy and prospects, 1970" which concentrated on civil operations and the rural development support program in Vietnam. According to the introduction by the chairman, the committee intended to give primary attention to American operations in Vietnam connected with pacification, the military advisory effort, the aid program, and the activities of the United States Information Agency. The objective of the hearings, to quote the chairman, was "to provide information which will assist the committee in acting on the legislative proposals that have been placed before it" and "to help inform American public opinion and to assist the President in his efforts to bring the war to an early, satisfactory conclusion." The first four days of testimony dealt with the civil operations and rural development support program in Vietnam, referred to by its initials as "CORDS." The next two meetings dealt with the military advisory program. One hearing was spent on the economic assistance program, and the final meeting was on the activities of the United States Information Agency.

The public hearings were held on February 17, 18, 19 and March 3, 14, 17, and 19, 1970. Executive hearings were held on February 20 and March 4, 1970.

(Printed hearings)

*In 1971 the hearings were reprinted in two volumes together with the subcommittee report.

Impact of the War in Southeast Asia.—On Wednesday, April 15, 1970, the committee opened a series of hearings to examine the impact of the Vietnam war on American society, with emphasis on the economy. The chairman introduced the hearings with the following statement: "Throughout the course of the war this committee has directed its attention to policy matters and to the development of factual information about the situation in Southeast Asia. Until now, it has not examined in depth the impact of the war on the everyday lives of the American people, and on the forces which shape our society. . . . The Congress has a responsibility to inform itself and the public concerning the overall cost of the war to the American people in terms of both economic and human resources. That will be the purpose of this series of hearings."

On April 15 and 16 and May 13, 1970, the impact of the war on the economy was discussed. On April 28 the committee heard testimony on the impact of the war on society, the cities, crime, and other domestic problems. On April 29 testimony was received on the effect of the war on federal programs and the budget. The testimony heard on May 19 concerned the effects of the war on education and housing. On June 2, the disillusionment of youth around the country and the world, unemployment, and inflation were discussed. On August 13, when a scheduled hearing was cancelled, written testimony on the effects of the war on labor was received. On May 7 and 12 the committee held hearings on the moral and military aspects of the war at which it received testimony from theologians.

(Printed hearings)

3. WESTERN HEMISPHERE MATTERS

United States Relations with Peru.—Beginning on April 14, 1969, the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Foreign Relations Committee held a series of three hearings on the relations between the United States and Peru. According to the subcommittee's press release, the purpose of the hearings was "to examine the roots of the recent crisis in U.S.-Peruvian relations in an effort to determine if the crisis holds any lessons for future U.S. policy, not only with respect to Peru but also with respect to Latin America generally. . . . We are looking, rather, for insights into how U.S. relations with Peru deteriorated in the hope that something may be learned about how to avoid a repetition of this situation, both in Peru and in other Latin American countries."

(Printed hearings)

United States Military Policies and Programs in Latin America.—The Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs met on June 24 and July 8, 1969, to hold hearings on U.S. military policies and programs in Latin America. According to the introduction made by the subcommittee chairman, Senator Church, the subcommittee's concern arose from its broad responsibility regarding U.S. policy toward Latin America. One of the questions the subcommittee sought to answer was the relationship between U.S. military aid and activities in Latin America and the record of coups in Latin America. The subcommittee also sought information on the Latin American market for military

equipment, the U.S. influence on that market, and on military activities in general in Latin America, and finally whether the influence in Latin America of U.S. military programs and policies was positive or negative.

(Printed hearings)

Rockefeller Report on Latin America.—Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York made a series of visits to Latin America during the spring and summer of 1969 at the request of the President. On November 20, 1969, Governor Rockefeller appeared before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs to discuss his report to the President on the trip entitled "The Quality of Life in the Americas" and the recommendations he had made.

(Printed hearings)

4. ARMS CONTROL

Chemical and Biological Warfare.—The committee met in executive session on April 30, 1969, to receive a briefing on chemical and biological warfare from Mathew S. Meselson, a consultant to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. According to the introduction of the chairman, the committee's interest in this area stemmed from several recent developments including the formation of a United Nations Special Committee to examine and report on the characteristics and security implications of chemical and biological weapons, the presentation of a working paper on biological warfare weapons by Great Britain to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee, and statements by both President Nixon and Premier Kosygin favoring discussion of controlling chemical and biological weapons. "As chemical and biological weapons may soon be the subject of serious international negotiations, the matter is thus clearly within this committee's responsibility. There are, of course, wider aspects of this problem that follow from the question of whether or not to adhere to a treaty and what part to play in the United Nations Special Committee."

(Printed hearings)

Hearings on the Antiballistic Missile System.—During the spring and summer of 1969, the Subcommittee on International Organization and Disarmament Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a series of hearings on the strategic and foreign policy implications of ABM (anti-ballistic missile) systems. In stating the purpose of the hearings, the chairman (Senator Gore) called attention to the great importance of the decision to deploy an ABM system, and the importance of maximum involvement and study by the American people. "It would appear timely and helpful, then," he said, "for this committee to examine the question to the fullest extent possible in public hearings in order to develop a body of information which can serve as a basis for judgment by the Senate and by the American people." He was especially concerned that the deployment of an ABM system be related to the issue of reaching an understanding with the Soviet Union on limitation of strategic missiles. Administration spokesmen and scientists supporting and opposing the ABM appeared as witnesses.

On June 23, 1969, Secretary of Defense Laird and Central Intelligence Director Helms appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee in executive session to discuss the justification for the anti-ballistic missile system and United States intelligence operations. Accord-

ing to the chairman's introductory remarks, the hearing was requested by the committee in order to discuss and clarify various questions and information which had been contained in the statement of the Secretary of Defense on May 22, 1969, to the Defense Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations. Also, the committee wished to "pursue as succinctly and as clearly as possible the various questions that have arisen in connection with estimates of intelligence relating to the need for the United States to deploy an ABM system, and intelligence regarding what other countries, who possess nuclear weapons and who represent potential threats to our security, are doing or are likely to do."

The material developed during the course of these hearings was most helpful during the Senate debate on the ABM in 1969 in connection with the Military procurement authorization bill.

(Printed hearings)

ABM, MIRV, SALT, and the Nuclear Arms Race.—Another series of hearings, equally helpful in the discussion of military procurement, took place in 1970, before the Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization. The hearing on S. Res. 211 (see p. 60) led off this series (March 16; April 8, 9, 13, 14; May 18, 28; June 4 and 29, 1970) during the course of which the following were heard:

A. Doak Barnett, senior fellow, The Brookings Institution
 Hon. Edward W. Brooke, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts
 McGeorge Bundy, president, the Ford Foundation
 Hon. Joseph S. Clark, president, World Federalists, U.S.A.
 Dr. Sidney D. Drell, deputy director, Stanford Linear Accelerator Center
 Adrian S. Fisher, dean, Georgetown University Law School
 Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., director of Defense Research and Engineering
 Dr. M. L. Goldberger, professor of physics, Princeton University
 Dr. Donald F. Hornig, vice president, Eastman Kodak Co., Rochester, N.Y.
 Mrs. Alice Langley Hsieh, Institute for Defense Analyses
 Dr. George B. Kistiakowsky, professor of chemistry, Harvard University
 Hon. Melvin R. Laird, Secretary of Defense
 Dr. Wolfgang K. H. Panofsky, director, Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, Stanford University
 Marshall D. Shulman, director, Russian Institute, Columbia University
 Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr., Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, provost, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
 Dr. Herbert York, dean of the graduate school, University of California at San Diego

(Printed hearings)

5. OTHER AREAS

Psychological Aspects of Foreign Policy.—On June 5, 19, and 20, 1969, the Foreign Relations Committee held a series of hearings in which it called upon three well known anthropologists and psychologists to discuss American foreign policy issues in light of their experience. The three scientists, Edward Hall, Margaret Mead, and Karl Menninger, all had spent great amounts of time studying Americans in foreign situations as well as the culture and psychology of other peoples.

According to the introductory remarks of the chairman, the proceedings were a part of "the committee's continuing effort to examine the perspectives of various fields of scholarship in the hope of gaining

new and useful insights into the problems of our foreign policy." The committee held similar hearings on the "Psychological aspects of international relations" in 1966.

(Printed hearings)

American Institute for Free Labor Development.—On August 1, 1969, George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee at his request to "clarify the role of the AFL-CIO internationally" and also "to describe the work of the American Institute for Free Labor Development in Latin America, since its effectiveness was challenged at a hearing of this committee on July 14, 1969. . . ." At the July 14 hearing, the chairman of the committee had questioned the reason for granting the A.I.F.L.D. certain amounts of money and expressed the hope that the Secretary of State (present at the hearing) would look into the justification for A.I.F.L.D. programs. Another aspect of the A.I.F.L.D. which the committee wished to study was the subcontracting done with AFL-CIO affiliated unions. The Agency for International Development provided the funds for these contracts. According to the chairman, "AID to date has provided about \$1.5 million for these subcontracts There are many reports to the effect that these union subcontractors formerly received funding through CIA-supported foundations." The purpose of the hearing, according to the introductory remarks of the chairman, was to have an explanation of this A.I.F.L.D. program, its purposes, how it operated, and how it related to the overall objectives of U.S. foreign policy.

(Printed hearings)

J. NOMINATIONS

As a result of the change in administration and the inauguration of President Nixon, the consideration of nominations formed an unusually heavy part of the committee's workload during the 91st Congress. A total of 2,754 nominations were considered by the committee and of these 2,744 were confirmed. Routine lists of Foreign Service Officers or Information Officers comprised 2,498 of the nominations considered and all of these were confirmed except one which was withdrawn. Of the 256 other nominations considered, 247 were confirmed. Six nominations were withdrawn and three were returned upon the adjournment of a session. Public hearings were held on 138 nominees, seven nominees were examined in executive session, and two were examined in both public and executive sessions.

Ambassadors

During the 91st Congress the committee considered 103 nominations for ambassadors to individual countries, seventeen nominations for career ministers or career ministers for information, and five career ambassadors. All but five of these were reported by the committee and confirmed by the Senate. The nomination of Robert Strausz-Hupe as Ambassador to Morocco, referred to the committee on August 5, 1969, was withdrawn on December 22, 1969. On January 23, 1970, the nomination of Dr. Strausz-Hupe as Ambassador to Ceylon, to serve concurrently as Ambassador to the Republic of Maldives, was referred to the committee and his nomination to this post was confirmed by the Senate on February 16, 1970. Similarly, the nomination of John G.

Hurd as Ambassador to Venezuela, referred June 18, 1969, was withdrawn on August 11, 1969. Subsequently Mr. Hurd was nominated as Ambassador to South Africa, a post for which he was confirmed on July 23, 1970. The nominations of William R. Tyler as career ambassador and of Robert W. Komer as Ambassador to Turkey, a post to which he had been given a recess appointment by President Johnson, were withdrawn. The nomination of Albert W. Sherer as Ambassador to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, to which he had been given a recess appointment, was withdrawn and his name was resubmitted and confirmed as Ambassador to the Republic of Togo to serve concurrently as Ambassador to Equatorial Guinea.

A roll-call vote was taken in the Senate on the nomination of Henry J. Tasca as Ambassador to Greece. His nomination had been referred to the committee on September 4, 1969, and a public hearing had been held on November 4, 1969. His nomination was reported to the Senate on December 8, 1969, and was confirmed by a vote of 79 to 4 on December 19, 1969.

Department of State and Other Agencies

Twenty-one officials of the Department of State were considered including William P. Rogers as Secretary of State. Although he was confirmed on January 20, 1969, without reference to the committee, the committee held an executive hearing on his nomination on January 15, 1969. Other officials of the Department of State approved by the committee included astronaut Michael Collins as an Assistant Secretary of State, Elliot Richardson as Under Secretary of State, and, upon the latter's resignation to become Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, U. Alexis Johnson as Under Secretary.

Other agency officials approved included ten for the Agency for International Development headed by John A. Hannah as Administrator, six for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency headed by Gerard C. Smith as Director, two for the United States Information Agency including Frank J. Shakespeare Jr. as Director, and two for the Peace Corps including Joseph H. Blatchford as Director. Fifteen members of the General Advisory Committee of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and six members of the U.S. Advisory Commissions on International Educational and Cultural Affairs and on Information were approved. Board members for the newly established Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the Inter-American Social Development Institute were also approved.

The major nominations confirmed in this category follow:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary: William P. Rogers.

Under Secretary:

Elliot Richardson.

John N. Irwin.

Under Secretary for Political Affairs: U. Alexis Johnson.

Deputy Under Secretary: William D. Macomber, Jr.

Deputy Under Secretary (Economics): Nathaniel Samuels.

Counselor: Richard F. Pedersen.

Inspector General, Foreign Assistance, Scott Heuer, Jr.

Deputy Inspector General, Foreign Assistance: Anthony Faunce.

Legal Adviser: John R. Stevenson.

Assistant Secretaries:

Economics: Philip H. Trezise.

Administration: Francis G. Meyer.

Public Affairs: Michael Collins.

Congressional Relations: David M. Abshire.

International Organization: Samuel De Palma.

Education and Culture: John Richardson, Jr.

American Republics: Charles A. Meyer.

Africa: David D. Newsom.

East Asia and the Pacific: Marshall Green.

Europe: Martin J. Hillenbrand.

Near East and South Asia: Joseph John Sisco.

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Administrator: John A. Hannah.

Deputy Administrator: Maurice J. Williams.

Assistant Administrators:

Administration: Lane Dwinell.

Africa: Samuel C. Adams.

East Asia: Roderic L. O'Connor.

Near East and South Asia: Donald G. MacDonald.

Vietnam: Robert Harry Nooter.

Program and Policy Coordination: Ernest Stern.

Technical Assistance: Joel Bernstein.

UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

Director: Gerard C. Smith.

Deputy Director: Philip J. Farley.

Assistant Directors:

(International Relations): James F. Leonard

(Science and Technology): Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr., John Marshall Lee, Robert H. B. Wade.

General Advisory Committee:

I. W. Abel.

Harold Brown.

William J. Casey.

Douglas Dillon.

William C. Foster.

Kermit Gordon.

James R. Killian.

John J. McCloy.

Lauris Norstad.

Peter G. Peterson.

J. P. Ruina.

Dean Rusk.

William W. Scranton.

Cyrus Roberts Vance.

John Archibald Wheeler.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

Director: Frank J. Shakespeare.
Deputy Director: Henry Loomis.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

There were 53 nominations received for persons to represent the United States in various international organizations. All but one were favorably reported and confirmed. These included Charles W. Yost to be the representative of the United States to the United Nations with the rank of ambassador, replacing James Russell Wiggins, and representatives and alternate representatives to the 24th and 25th sessions of the General Assembly. One nomination for an alternate representative to the 25th session was returned to the President upon the adjournment of the second session. Representatives to the General Conference of UNESCO were approved as was the nomination of Louise Gore to serve as the U.S. member of the Executive Board of UNESCO with the rank of ambassador. Other nominations approved by both the committee and the Senate included Dr. S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr. as U.S. representative on the Executive Board of the World Health Organization, Robert Ellsworth as the U.S. permanent representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Joseph Jova as U.S. representative on the Council of the Organization of American States, and Joseph A. Greenwald as U.S. representative to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Artemus E. Weatherbee was confirmed as Director of the Asian Development Bank on September 1, 1970, and on September 24, 1970 his nomination was resubmitted for the post to serve with the rank of ambassador. He was confirmed with that rank on October 8, 1970. The committee also considered and approved U.S. officials on the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

A roll-call vote in the Senate was taken on the nomination of Carl J. Gilbert as special representative for trade negotiations, with the rank of ambassador. The nomination was referred to the committee on April 14, 1969, and after a public hearing on May 5, 1969, was reported to the Senate on May 8, 1969. On June 9, 1969, it was referred to the Finance Committee which reported it on July 8, 1969. The nomination was confirmed by a vote of 61 to 30 on July 29, 1969.

The committee continued to adhere to its rule, adopted in 1953, that required that 6 days expire between the time a nomination was received and considered. On October 14, 1970, the chairman noted in the Senate that the President had sent the nominations of persons to represent the United States at the 17th session of the General Conference of UNESCO to the Senate on October 7, 1970, less than six days prior to the scheduled opening of the session in Paris on Monday, October 12. The nominations were confirmed on October 14, 1970. Similarly, he noted, the nominations of representatives to the General Assembly scheduled to begin on Tuesday, September 15, 1970, had been submitted on Friday, September 11.

K. COMMITTEE MATTERS

1. STUDY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICIES

S. Res. 64 was introduced to authorize the Foreign Relations Committee and its subcommittees to examine, investigate, and make complete studies of any matters pertaining to the foreign policy of the United States and its administration. For this purpose, the resolution requested an authorization of \$275,000 to cover expenses for the period of February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970.

In the Senate, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, which reported it favorably with one amendment reducing the Senate authorization from \$275,000 to \$260,000. The Senate agreed to the resolution on February 17, 1969.

Legislative chronology—S. Res. 64 Authorizing Study of U.S. Foreign Policies

January 23, 1969: S. Res. 64 ordered reported from the Foreign Relations Committee.

January 27, 1969: Reported. No written report. Introduced in Senate.

Referred to Rules and Administration Committee.

February 7, 1969: Reported with amendment. S. Rept. 91-50.

February 17, 1969: Agreed to.

2. AUTHORIZING ADDITIONAL EXPENDITURES FOR STUDY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICIES

S. Res. 318, introduced on January 22, 1970, authorized a sum of not more than \$300,000 to be spent by the Committee on Foreign Relations from February 1, 1970 through January 31, 1971 "to examine, investigate, and make complete studies of any and all matters pertaining to the foreign policies of the United States and their administration." The resolution was reported from the Foreign Relations Committee without a written report and referred to the Rules and Administration Committee. This committee reported the resolution favorably, with an amendment to the title and it passed the Senate without debate by voice vote.

Legislative chronology—S. Res. 318 Authorizing Additional Expenditures for Study of U.S. Foreign Policies

January 21, 1970: S. Res. 318 ordered reported from the Foreign Relations Committee.

January 22, 1970: Reported. No written report. Referred to Rules and Administration Committee.

February 9, 1970: Reported with amendment. S. Rept. 91-694.

February 16, 1970: Agreed to. Voice vote.

3. AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING OF A SURVEY OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS AS A SENATE DOCUMENT

S. Con. Res. 15 was introduced on April 1, 1969, to authorize printing as a Senate document an additional 3,000 copies of a compilation of studies on "Survey of the Alliance for Progress" prepared at the

request of the Foreign Relations Committee. This study had been printed as a committee print, but the public demand for the study had exhausted committee supplies. The measure passed the Senate on April 3, 1969 and the House on April 29, 1969.

Legislative chronology—Additional Copies of "Survey of the Alliance for Progress"

April 1, 1969: S. Con. Res. 15 introduced in the Senate.

April 1, 1969: Referred to Rules and Administration Committee.

April 3, 1969: Reported. S. Rept. 91-121. Passed Senate. Voice vote.

April 14, 1969: Referred to House Administration Committee.

April 29, 1969: Reported. H. Rept. 91-176. Passed House. Voice vote.

4. AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF SENATE HEARINGS ON UNITED STATES SECURITY AGREEMENTS AND COMMITMENTS ABROAD

S. Con. Res. 85, introduced by Senator Symington, requested that a compilation of hearings held by the Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad be printed as a Senate document and that 4,000 additional copies of the hearings be made available to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration which reported it favorably with an amendment deleting the provision that the hearings be reprinted in the form of a Senate document. The resolution passed the Senate on December 19, 1970, and the House on December 29, 1970.

Legislative chronology—Additional Copies of Hearings on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad

November 19, 1970: S. Con. Res. 85 introduced in the Senate. Referred to Rules and Administration.

December 17, 1970: Reported with an amendment. S. Rept. 91-1480.

December 19, 1970: Passed Senate. Voice vote.

December 21, 1970: Referred to House Administration Committee.

December 29, 1970: Reported. H. Rept. 91-1797. Passed House. Voice vote.

5. MEMBERSHIP OF THE CONSULTATIVE SUBCOMMITTEES

The Consultative Subcommittees were first organized in 1950 for the purpose of fostering "more extensive consultations between the Foreign Relations Committee members and responsible officers of the Department of State." During the 91st Congress, the Consultative Subcommittees were composed as follows:

European Affairs: Senators Sparkman (chairman), Symington, Pell, McGee, Case, Cooper, and Javits.

Far Eastern Affairs: Senators Mansfield (chairman), Sparkman, Gore, Dodd, Aiken, Mundt, and Cooper.

Arms Control, International Law and Organization: Senators Gore (chairman), Church, Pell, McGee, Case, Cooper, and Williams.

Western Hemisphere Affairs: Senators Church (chairman), Sparkman, Mansfield, Dodd, Aiken, Case, and Javits.

Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs: Senators Symington (chairman), Sparkman, Mansfield, Aiken, and Mundt.

Economic and Social Policy Affairs: Senators Dodd (chairman), Gore, McGee, Williams, and Javits.

Ocean Space: Senators Pell (chairman), Church, and Case.

African Affairs: Senators McGee (chairman), Dodd, and Mundt.

6. CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

In addition to hearings on legislation and the series of hearings covered in other sections, the subcommittees and the full committee both requested and received briefings by administration spokesmen on topics of interest or concern.

Secretary of State Rogers appeared before the committee on March 27, 1969, in a briefing on the world situation. At that time the chairman pointed out that the Secretary had not been asked to appear before the committee in public session at the time of his confirmation because the committee felt the meeting would be more useful if the Secretary was given an opportunity to familiarize himself with his job and the conditions of the world, and form some opinions of his own about American foreign policy in general. The chairman added in his introduction that a large number of members of the committee were hopeful that the new administration would reevaluate American policies and reexamine basic assumptions and attitudes which had prevailed in the last several years. And lastly, he stated: "The committee does not wish to appear presumptuous but we do believe that it is our constitutional duty to give advice as well as consent to the Executive. We believe that with all our limitations, by a frank and open discussion of important policies, we may assist in the development of wiser policies so that we may help avoid serious mistakes in the future."

Other examples of consultations were meetings with Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge on his role as chief negotiator at the Paris Vietnam Peace Talks, Richard Helms, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, on his annual world roundup, Department of State officials on the Nigerian/Biafran relief operation, Ambassador Jacob Beam on the Soviet Union, and Sean Holly, Labor Attaché, on his kidnapping in Guatemala. A full list follows:

CONSULTATIONS

(These meetings took place in executive session, and the proceedings are not printed.)

Date	Subject
Jan. 17, 1969-----	Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge on his role as chief negotiator in Paris.
Feb. 26, 1969-----	Richard C. Helms, Director, Central Intelligence Agency, on annual world roundup.
Apr. 2, 1969-----	Under Secretary of State Elliott Richardson and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson concerning current negotiations for continuation of our military installations in Spain.
Apr. 14, 1969-----	Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, on Spanish bases negotiations. (Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, full committee invited.) Printed.

Date	Subject
Apr. 17, 1969-----	Under Secretary of State Elliott Richardson on loss of reconnaissance plane off North Korea.
Apr. 28, 1969-----	Clarence C. Ferguson, Special Coordinator on Relief to Civilian Victims of the Nigerian Civil War, Department of State. (Subcommittee on Africa, full committee invited.)
May 13, 1969-----	John M. Steeves, Director General of the Foreign Service on career ministers and ambassadors.
May 22, 1969-----	Stuart Rockwell, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs; and Frank E. Cash, Country Director, Turkey, State Department, on projected Turkish base agreements.
June 5, 1969-----	Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson on the status of agreement concerning continuation of U.S. military installations in Spain.
June 6, 1969-----	Secretary of State William P. Rogers on recent trip to Vietnam and SEATO and CENTO meetings.
July 1, 1969-----	Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green on Peace Corps and the Far East.
Aug. 6, 1969-----	Ambassador Winthrop Brown, acting Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and Dennis Doolin, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia and Pacific, on military assistance to Thailand, Latin America, Greece, etc. Printed in Foreign Assistance hearings.
Aug. 12, 1969-----	Lt. Gen. Richard G. Stilwell, Deputy Chief of staff for Military Operations on Thailand.
Sept. 17, 1969-----	Ambassador Burke C. Elbrick on the situation in Brazil. (Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, full committee invited.)
Oct. 29, 1969-----	Secretary of State William P. Rogers on MIRV resolutions and related subjects.
Dec. 22, 1969-----	Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, David D. Newsom and Ambassador Clarence Ferguson, Jr., on Nigeria/Biafra. (African Affairs Subcommittee; full committee invited.)
Jan. 20, 1970-----	Ambassador Jacob D. Beam on the Soviet Union.
Jan. 28, 1970-----	Under Secretary of State Elliott L. Richardson concerning situation in Nigeria. (African Affairs Subcommittee, full committee invited.)
Feb. 2, 1970-----	Gerard C. Smith, Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency on strategic arms limitation talks. (Subcommittee on International Organization and Disarmament Affairs; full committee invited.)
Mar. 2, 1970-----	CIA Director Richard Helms on the strategic threat. (Subcommittee on Arms Control and International Law and Organizations, full committee invited.)
Mar. 3, 1970-----	Secretary of State William P. Rogers on Laos.
Mar. 13, 1970-----	CIA Director Richard Helms on the role of the aid mission in Laos.
Mar. 19, 1970-----	Sean Holly, Labor Attaché, on his kidnaping in Guatemala. (Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, full committee invited.)

Date	Subject
Apr. 2, 1970-----	Secretary of State William P. Rogers concerning the world situation.
Apr. 22, 1970-----	Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson, and Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard, on the Spanish bases negotiations.
Apr. 27, 1970-----	Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Assistant Secretary Marshall Green on current situation in Indochina.
May 7, 1970-----	Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs Joseph Sisco on the situation in the Middle East (Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs subcommittee, full committee invited.)
May 14, 1970-----	Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker on developments in Southeast Asia.
May 27, 1970-----	Ronald Spiers, Director, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State on overseas nuclear deployments.
July 1, 1970-----	Informal discussion with Robert Hurwitch and others on State Department Organization.
July 7, 1970-----	Helms, Richard, Director, Central Intelligence Agency.
July 24, 1970-----	U. Alexis Johnson, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and David Packard, Deputy Secretary of Defense, concerning the U.S. base agreement with Spain.
July 28, 1970-----	John R. Stevenson, legal adviser, Department of State, on U.S. proposed treaty implementing the administration's announced oceanographic policy. (Subcommittee on Ocean Space.)
Aug. 4, 1970-----	Philip J. Farley, Deputy Director, ACDA, on SALT.
Aug. 21, 1970-----	Marshall Green, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs on situation in Cambodia.
Sept. 16, 1970-----	Gerard C. Smith, Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, on the strategic arms limitation talks.
Sept. 16, 1970-----	Roger P. Davies, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and Talcott W. Seelye, Country Director, Lebanon, Jordan, Syrian Arab Republic, and Iraq, both of the Department of State concerning the Middle East situation. (Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, full committee invited.)
Sept. 23, 1970-----	Roger P. Davies, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs on the Middle East situation.
Sept. 30, 1970-----	Under Secretary of State John N. Irwin II and other State Department witnesses on the Middle East and Latin America.
Oct. 1, 1970-----	Intelligence briefing on the submarine base in Cuba. (Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, full committee invited.)
Nov. 25, 1970-----	Under Secretary of State John N. Irwin II on the political implications of the resumption of bombing raids into North Vietnam.
Dec. 9, 1970-----	Charles A. Meyer, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, on the current situation in Latin America. (Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, full committee invited.)

7. COMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS

EXECUTIVE REPORTS

DOCUMENT NO. AND DATE FILED	TITLE OF PUBLICATION
Ex. Rept. 91-1 (Ex. H, 90-2) Mar. 6, 1969.	Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.
Ex. Rept. 91-3 (Ex. L, 90-2) May 8, 1969.	Convention on Offenses Committed on Board Aircraft.
Ex. Rept. 91-4 (Ex. C, 91-1) May 8, 1969.	Agreement With Canada on Niagara River Diversions.
Ex. Rept. 91-7 (Ex. B, 91-1) June 16, 1969.	Broadcasting Agreements with Mexico.
Ex. Rept. 91-8 (Ex. D, 91-1) Oct. 21, 1969.	Convention on the Conduct of Fishing Operations in the North Atlantic.
Ex. Rept. 91-9 (Ex. E, 91-1) Oct. 21, 1969.	Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.
Ex. Rept. 91-10 (Ex. F, 91-1) Nov. 6, 1969.	Consular Convention with Belgium.
Ex. Rept. 91-11 (Ex. H, 91-1) Nov. 6, 1969.	Agreement with Canada on Adjustments in Flood Control Payments.
Ex. Rept. 91-13 (Ex. A, 91-1) Feb. 13, 1970.	Intellectual and Industrial Property Conventions.
Ex. Rept. 91-15 (Ex. Res. 1) Mar. 12, 1970.	Withdrawal of United States-Mexican Broadcasting Protocol.
Ex. Rept. 91-16 (Ex. I, 91-1) Mar. 17, 1970.	Protocol to the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Convention.
Ex. Rept. 91-17 (Ex. J, 91-1) Mar. 17, 1970.	Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.
Ex. Rept. 91-19 (Ex. A, 91-2) May 25, 1970.	Agreement between United States and Canada regarding radiotelephone stations.
Ex. Rept. 91-20 (Ex. C, 91-2) May 25, 1970.	Extradition Treaty with New Zealand.
Ex. Rept. 91-23 (Ex. F, 91-2) Sept. 4, 1970.	Supplementary extradition convention with France.
Ex. Rept. 91-24 (Ex. G, 91-1; Ex. D, 91-2; Ex. E, 91-2; and Ex. I, 91-2) Nov. 23, 1970.	Tax conventions with Belgium, Finland and Trinidad and Tobago, and the estate tax convention with the Netherlands.
Ex. Rept. 91-25 (Ex. D, 81-1) Dec. 8, 1970.	International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

SENATE REPORTS

S. Rept. 91-129 (S. Res. 85) Apr. 16, 1969.	National Commitments.
S. Rept. 91-166 (H.R. 33) May 8, 1969.	Increasing U.S. Participation in the International Development Association.
S. Rept. 91-233 (S.J. Res. 90) June 16, 1969.	Proposed International Conference on a Patent Cooperation Treaty.
S. Rept. 91-234 (S. 856) June 16, 1969.	Federal Government's Participation Expositions Held in the United States.
S. Rept. 91-338 (S. Res. 205) July 29, 1969.	United States Recognition of Foreign Governments.
S. Rept. 91-414 (H.R. 11039) Sept. 17, 1969.	Peace Corps Amendments.
S. Rept. 91-522 (S. Res. 179) Nov. 6, 1969.	1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment.
S. Rept. 91-523 (S.J. Res. 131) Nov. 6, 1969.	1976 Olympic Games.
S. Rept. 91-603 (H.R. 14580) Dec. 10, 1969.	Foreign Assistance Act of 1969.
S. Rept. 91-606 (H.R. 11711) Dec. 12, 1969.	Cuban Claims Program.

SENATE REPORTS—Continued

DOCUMENT NO. AND DATE FILED	TITLE OF PUBLICATION
S. Rept. 91-701 (H.R. 14789) Feb. 10, 1970.	Adjustments in Foreign Service Retirement System.
S. Rept. 91-702 (S. 3274) Feb. 13, 1970.	Foreign Arbitral Awards.
S. Rept. 91-704 (S.J. Res. 127) Feb. 16, 1970.	International Petroleum Exposition.
S. Rept. 91-705 (H. Con. Res. 454) Feb. 16, 1970.	American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia.
S. Rept. 91-742 (S.J. Res. 162) Mar. 17, 1970.	Fifth International Conference on Water Pollution Research.
S. Rept. 91-749 (S. Res. 211) Mar. 24, 1970.	Resolution regarding suspension of further deployment of offensive and defensive nuclear strategic weapons systems.
S. Rept. 91-759 (S. 3430) Apr. 7, 1970.	Peace Corps Act Amendments of 1970.
S. Rept. 91-766 (S. 3544) Apr. 14, 1970.	Arms Control and Disarmament Act Amendments.
S. Rept. 91-767 (S. 3227) Apr. 15, 1970.	U.S.-U.S.S.R. Political Exchange Program.
S. Rept. 91-834 (S. Con. Res. 64) May 1, 1970.	Termination of Middle East and Southeast Asia Resolutions.
S. Rept. 91-864 (S.J. Res. 173) May 12, 1970.	United Nations Headquarters Expansion.
S. Rept. 91-865 (H.R. 15628) May 12, 1970.	Amending the Foreign Military Sales Act.
S. Rept. 91-872 (S. Con. Res. 64) May 15, 1970.	Termination of Southeast Asia Resolution.
S. Rept. 91-930 (S. 3691) June 16, 1970.	Retirement Age for Career Ministers.
S. Rept. 91-986 (H.J. Res. 746) June 29, 1970.	Pan American Institute of Geography and History.
S. Rept. 91-1241 (H.R. 18306) Sept. 24, 1970.	International Financial Institutions.
S. Rept. 91-1255 (S. Res. 399) Oct. 1, 1970.	Creation of a World Environmental Institute.
S. Rept. 91-1342 (H.R. 6240 an H.R. 15069) Oct. 14, 1970.	Bridges across the Rainy River and the St. Lawrence.
S. Rept. 91-1386 (H.J. Res. 1077) Dec. 1, 1970.	Pan American Railways Congress Association.
S. Rept. 91-1391 (H.R. 15728) Dec. 2, 1970.	Authorizing the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence and new loans, and for other purposes.
S. Rept. 91-1420 (H.R. 18012) Dec. 8, 1970.	Foreign Service Building Operation.
S. Rept. 91-1425 (S. Res. 469) Dec. 9, 1970.	Agreement between the United States and Spain.
S. Rept. 91-1437 (H.R. 19911) Dec. 14, 1970.	Supplemental Foreign Assistance Authorization.
S. Rept. 91-1477 (H.J. Res. 1162) Dec. 17, 1970.	U.S. Participation in South Pacific Commission.
S. Rept. 91-1493 (S. Res. 486) Dec. 17, 1970.	Joint Army-Air Force effort to liberate American prisoners of war held captive by North Vietnam.

SENATE DOCUMENTS

S. Doc. 91-17, April 29, 1969--	Survey of the Alliance for Progress—Compilation of Studies and Hearings.
S. Doc. 91-35, Sept. 26, 1969--	Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group: Report on 12th Meeting.
S. Doc. 91-105, Sept. 21, 1970--	Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group: Report on 13th Meeting.

HEARINGS

DATE	TITLE OF PUBLICATION
Jan. 25, 1967 (published April 1969).	Presidential determination on countries receiving development loans and technical assistance.
Jan. 15, 1969-----	Nomination of Elliot L. Richardson to be Under Secretary of State.
Jan. 27, 1969-----	Nomination of Frank J. Shakespeare, Jr., to be Director, U.S. Information Agency.
Jan. 28 and 29, 1969-----	Nomination of U. Alexis Johnson to be Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.
Feb. 6, 1969-----	Nomination of Gerald C. Smith to be Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.
Feb. 18 and 20, 1969-----	Nonproliferation Treaty, Part 2.
Mar. 6, 11, 13, 21, 26, and 28, 1969.	Strategic and foreign implications of ABM systems. Part I.
Mar. 11, Apr. 14, 1969, and July 17, 1970.	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Spain and Portugal, Pt. 11.
Mar. 7, 1969-----	Nominations of Walter H. Annenberg, Jacob D. Beam and John S. D. Eisenhower.
Mar. 27, 1969-----	Briefing by Secretary of State William P. Rogers.
Apr. 14, 16, and 17, 1969-----	United States relations with Peru.
Apr. 15, 1969-----	Nominations (Keating et al.).
Apr. 16, 1969-----	International Development Association.
Apr. 30, 1969-----	Chemical and biological warfare.
May 5, 1969-----	Nominations of Carl J. Gilbert and Malcolm Toon.
May 14 and 21, 1969-----	Strategic and foreign policy implications of ABM systems. Pt. II.
May 16 and July 16, 1969-----	Strategic and foreign policy implications of ABM systems: Anti-submarine warfare and MIRV. Pt. III.
June 3 and 25, 1969-----	Peace Corps Act Amendments, 1969.
June 5, 19, and 20, 1969-----	Psychological aspects of foreign policy.
June 17, 1969-----	United States recognition of foreign governments.
June 23, 1969-----	Intelligence and the ABM.
June 24 and July 8, 1969-----	United States military policies and programs in Latin America.
July 14, 15, 18 and Aug. 6, 1969.	Foreign Assistance Act, 1969.
July 24, 25, 28 and 30, 1969-----	Activities of nations in ocean space.
Aug. 1, 1969-----	American Institute for Free Labor Development (Meany).
Sept. 23, 1969-----	Nominations (Macomber et al.).
Sept. 29, 1969-----	Underground weapon tests.
Sept. 30, Oct. 1, 2, and 3, 1969--	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: The Philippines, Pt. 1.
Oct. 20, 21, 22, and 28, 1969----	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Kingdom of Laos, Pt. 2.
Nov. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 17, 1969.	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Thailand, Pt. 3.
Nov. 18 and 19, 1969-----	Briefing on Vietnam.
Nov. 20, 1969-----	Rockefeller Report on Latin America.
Nov. 24, 25, and 26, 1969 and May 8, 1970-----	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: China, Pt. 4.
Jan. 22, 27, 28, and 29, 1970----	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Japan and Okinawa, Pt. 5.
Feb. 3, 4, 5, and March 16, 1970.	Vietnam policy proposals.

HEARINGS—Continued

DATE	TITLE OF PUBLICATION
Feb. 6, 1970-----	Exchange of United States-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics officials.
Feb. 17, 18, 19, and 20, and Mar. 3, 4, 17, and 19, 1970.	Vietnam: Policy and Prospects, 1970.
Feb. 24, 25, and 26, 1970----	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Republic of Korea, Pt. 6.
Mar. 9, 1970-----	United Nations Headquarters expansion.
Mar. 10, 1970-----	Peace Corps Act Amendments of 1970.
Mar. 16, Apr. 8, 9, 13, and 14, May 18 and 28, June 4, and 29, 1970.	ABM, MIRV, SALT, and the Nuclear Arms Race.
Mar. 18, 1970-----	Under Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs.
Mar. 23, 1970-----	Arms Control and Disarmament Act Amendment, 1970.
Mar. 24 and May 11, 1970----	Foreign Military Sales Act Amendments, 1970, 1971.
Apr. 15 and 16, 1970-----	Impact of the War in Southeast Asia on the U.S. economy, Pt. 1.
Apr. 24, 27, and May 22, 1970--	Genocide Convention.
Apr. 28 and 29, May 13 and 19, June 2, and Aug. 13, 1970.	Impact of the War in Southeast Asia on the U.S. Economy, Pt. 2.
May 6, 1970-----	International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Asian Development Bank Special Funds.
May 7 and 12, 1970-----	Moral and Military Aspects of the War in Southeast Asia.
May 25, 26, June 16, 24, and July 15, 1970.	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: U.S. Forces in Europe, Pt. 10.
June 1, 1970-----	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Ethiopia, Pt. 8.
June 9 and 11, 1970-----	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Greece and Turkey, Pt. 7.
July 9, 1970-----	Inter-American Development Bank Act.
July 20, 1970-----	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Morocco and Libya, Pt. 9.
Aug. 26, 1970-----	Spanish Base Agreement.
Oct. 6 and Nov. 19, 1970-----	Tax conventions with Belgium, Finland, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Netherlands.
Nov. 24, 1970-----	Bombing Operations and the Prisoner-of-War Rescue Mission in North Vietnam.
Nov. 24, 1970-----	U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Broader Aspects of U.S. Commitments. Pt. 11.
Dec. 10 and 11, 1970-----	Supplemental Foreign Assistance Authorization, 1970.
Dec. 15, 1970-----	Nominations to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation Board of Directors.
Sept. 30, 1969-Nov. 24, 1970*--	United States Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Vol. I, Parts 1-4; Vol. II, Parts 5-11, including Subcommittee Report.

COMMITTEE PRINTS

December 10, 1968-----	Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference, Nassau, Bahamas, Oct. 30-Nov. 3, 1968.
December 16, 1968-----	The Gulf of Tonkin, the 1964 Incidents, pt. II.
December 1968-----	Postscript to Reports on Czechoslovakia, NATO, and the Paris Negotiations of September 1968.

*Printed in 1971.

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DATE	TITLE OF PUBLICATION
January 1969-----	Wintry Days in Prague and Moscow November 1968: Report of Senators Gore and Pell.
January 1, 1969-----	Legislation on Foreign Relations With Explanatory Notes. Joint committee print.
February 1, 1969-----	Survey of the Alliance for Progress: Colombia—A Case History of U.S. Aid.
February 1969-----	Consultative Subcommittees.
March 1969-----	The United Nations: Report of Senator Symington.
March 1969-----	Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam. 5th revised edition.
March 28, 1969-----	Fourteenth Meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly, November 11-15, 1968.
April 22, 1969-----	Diary of a Trip to Asia: The Peace Corps and the Fulbright Program.
May 1969-----	A Select Chronology and Background Documents Relating to the Middle East (1st revised edition).
July 24, 1969-----	Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Union: Report on 9th meeting.
August 7, 1969-----	Interparliamentary Union Vienna Conference.
September 13, 1969-----	Perspective on Asia: The New U.S. Doctrine and Southeast Asia.
November 13, 1969-----	Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago: Report of Senate delegation.
January 1970-----	Background Information relating to Peace and Security in Southeast Asia and other areas.
February 2, 1970-----	Vietnam: December 1969: Staff report.
February 1970-----	Reporting Requirements in Legislation on Foreign Relations.
April 30, 1970-----	Legislation on Foreign Relations with Explanatory Notes. Joint committee print.
May 13, 1970-----	Interparliamentary Union Conference, New Delhi.
June 7, 1970-----	Cambodia: May 1970. Staff report.
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August 6, 1970-----	Interparliamentary Union, Monaco Conference.
September 1970-----	Fifteenth Meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly.
December 16, 1970-----	Cambodia: December 1970.
December 21, 1970-----	Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Report of subcommittee to full Committee.

