The Senate met at 11:30 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. MANSFIELD).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid, be with Thy servants in this place to inform their minds, to guide their judgments, and to unite their energies for the welfare of this Nation. Work in and through them the mission and destiny Thou hast ordained for this Nation. By their steadfast devotion to truth and justice may they be led to decisions that shall enlarge the borders of good will and help heal the wounds of these embittered days. May all that is said and done in this historic Chamber hasten the day when peace and brotherhood shall prevail in Thy kingdom, the law of which is love and the ruler of which is God, in whose holy name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, March 8, 1971, be approved.

The President pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The President pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RESCISSION OF ORDER TO RECOGNIZE SENATOR CHURCH TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the distinguished Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) to speak tomorrow be negated.

The President pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR HARTKE TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE) be recognized in place of the distinguished Senator from Idaho.

The President pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR SYMINGTON TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that tomorrow, following the disposition of the Journal and the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, the senior Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON) be recognized for 30 minutes for the purpose of a speech and colloquy.

The President pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR TALMADGE ON THURSDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday, March 11, following the disposition of the Journal and the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE) be recognized for not to exceed 10 minutes.

The President pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR HARTKE TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished Senator from Georgia will be followed by the distinguished Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH), for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The President pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCOTT) is recognized.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield back my time.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The President pro tempore. Under the order previously entered, the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIRE) is recognized for 15 minutes.

THE WELL-HEELED SST LOBBY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, in the past days and weeks, Congress has been getting hit with a blitz by the pro-SST lobby. If we have been hit by a blitz so far, this is just the beginning. As they say in that song, "Baby, you ain't seen nothin' yet." And the American public may be footing the bill for it.

To appreciate why the SST lobby is so powerful, and where it gets its money, it is essential to know what the SST lobby consists of. What groups and individuals comprise the pro-SST team?

First, it consists of aerospace contractors. This is not just Boeing and General Electric, who stand to receive $680 million and $325 million, respectively, on the SST prototype program, but the thousands of subcontractors who have been promised a share of the spoils from the SST production program.

Second, it consists of organized labor—which supports the SST because of the illusory and exaggerated promise of hundreds of thousands of jobs.

Third, it consists of Senators from the State of Washington. These are two of the most powerful and popular Members of this body, who occupy commanding positions on committees and subcommittees on which 51 Senators serve.

And fourth, it consists of the administration. From the President on down, the administration is prepared to commit the vast resources at its disposal to get the SST appropriations through.

Incidentally, the Department of Transportation has a section on the supersonic transport consisting of some 140 employees, who have been working night and day on Members of the House and on Members of the Senate in trying to persuade them to vote for this legislation.

Mr. President, this is a classic case of David against Goliath. Opponents of the SST program are outgunned, outfaced, outnumbered. It will take a David-aling-shot surprise to stop the SST this March. A revealing use of the Goliath power occurred just recently in Washington. A
group calling itself American Industry and Labor for the SST announced its formation on February 22, 1971. Chief sponsors of the committee are the International Association of Machinists, and Fairchild-Hiller, Inc. Fairchild-Hiller is the single subcontractor for the SST prototype program, with a $16 million contract to build the SST's fuselage.

The committee announced plans to spend $350,000 to lobby the Congress to pass the SST funding. That's a nice, round figure of $10,000 per day. In other words, the pro-SST lobby is spending more on a daily basis to get the SST approved than the average citizen who opposes the SST earns in a week.

Full-page newspaper advertisements are a key part of this well-heeled campaign. Also radio and TV spots—all costing vast sums of money. Such enormous expenditures in large measure by the aerospace industry, suggest that SST contractors and subcontractors may be using taxpayers' money to lobby Congress in support of the SST.

The first of these full-page advertisements ran the week before last in the Washington Post and other large city newspapers. The ads attempt to divert attention from the legitimate concerns of environmental pollution and economics by appealing to patriotism and national pride. An example:

The advertisements repeat many of the misleading and downright fallacious arguments I spoke of earlier—such as the totally specious statement that "one SST carrying 300 passengers at 1,780 miles per hour will emit no more polluting mule than three compact automobiles traveling at 60 miles per hour."

I shall, later this week, specify these arguments and show they are fallacious. I have made a whole series of counter arguments, but the proponents, all of which I think we can show are plainly wrong. What concerns distinguished scientists and environmentalists such as Chairman Russell Train and Dr. Gordon MacDonald of the President's Environmental Quality Council is the effect the SST's water vapor will have on the upper atmosphere. At the surface or at low altitudes, water vapor is not a "pollutant." It is at 65,000 feet.

The fact is that automobiles do not travel at 65,000 feet. They travel at or near sea level. But SST's do fly at 65,000 feet. And their water vapor emissions will deplete the layer of ozone at that altitude. Depletion of the ozone reduces the atmosphere's ability to shield out the sun's ultraviolet radiation. The resulting increase in radiant reaching the earth's surface.

In short, any comparison of automobiles' exhaust emissions with the SST committee's advertisements, is extremely misleading and 100 percent specious.


The advertisement concludes:

If you believe that American dollars can compete with Soviet rubles, write or wire your Congressman today. Urge support for America's SST.

Again this is simply a blatant effort to divert attention from the real concerns about the plane's economic and its environmental impact by an outright jingoistic appeal.

The same tack has been taken on the radio spots which urge listeners to write Congressmen and Senators on behalf of the SST. The one I heard on the radio this morning concluded with:

"Don't let the myth-makers sink America's progress!"

Mr. President, a concerted effort is also underway by the companies themselves to have employees of aircraft and aerospace firms to write their Congressmen and Senators urging them to vote for the SST. As a matter of fact, I think this is where most of the $350,000 will be spent. Anyone who has served in the House or Senate knows how very effective those wires, letters, cards, and communications to Members of Congress are. After all, we would not be in this body if we were not sensitive to the feelings and concerns of our constituents. That is a part of being a good representative. We are going to be swamped, in the next week or two before we vote on the SST, with such communications.

These efforts have ranged from bulletin board notices posted for employees to somewhat more coercive methods. For example, a letter sent from Boeing's Supersonic Transport Division to "Suppliers and Subcontractors to the Aerospace Industry"—incidentally, they sent copies to my State of Wisconsin, as I have found out—urged a "Massive, letter writing campaign on behalf of the SST to Members of Congress. This is what it says:

You and your people are encouraged to join with us in working for continuation of the U.S./SST prototype airplanes . . . Employees should write their Congressmen—then contact their own good friends and employees with encouragement for them in turn to join this effort.

The memo urges aerospace management to "stimulate" this action and asks employers to use "their personal efforts to stimulate this action and your personal efforts in this area." The letter remarks: "Company management assistance is vital to stimulate this action and your personal efforts in this area are requested."

Sample form letters are attached to the memorandum to prod employees still further.

This is the type of thing all Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives can expect to get, by the thousands. Indeed, I read which Boeing is asking thousands of its employees and its subcontractors' employees to write to Members of this body:

We have read a lot lately about how something called "technology" has gotten out of hand. We ought to stop it before horrible things happen to us. This is rather childish, but a lot of people seem to take it seriously. Sure we've got to get a handle on the environment. We've got to make sure our river water is not fouled and our cities are quieter places to live in. Why this time, when it is only our means of solving the problems?

Take the SST for example. We know that aircraft engines are getting cleaner and cleaner. The time is now that the less time an airplane is in the air, the less it will pollute. It seems to me, then, that the SST is one good answer to our concern about the environment. As one who has followed the supersonic race with France and England, and Russia, I happen to think the American SST will be a far superior plane. We certainly shouldn't cut off the orderly development now that we are so close to flying the prototype. I hope when the vote comes up, you will back the project.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire memorandum from Boeing and the form letters be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PROXMIRE. I also have a letter from an aerospace employee who specifically requested that arm twisting practices be brought to the attention of Congress. The letter, in part, reads as follows:

I would think it appropriate for you to bring some of these massive campaign efforts for the SST to the attention of Congress. I would sign my name if I could afford to lose my job, which I cannot. But I would rather lose it through Congress' squashing the SST than losing it through company pressure to indicate a dishonest choice for the SST.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full letter be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, these intensive efforts designed to push the SST appropriations through Congress raise a number of questions. Where is the money coming from? Can it be traced, directly or indirectly, to Federal money—taxpayers' money—received by these firms under Government contracts? Is one Federal subsidy being used to lobby for another one? To what extent are employees of aerospace firms being coerced, and pressured into lobbying Members of Congress against their will?

Mr. President, if employees of defense contractors were to begin flooding Congress with letters urging a higher defense budget, I think most of us would be surprised, possibly suspicious. And if defense contractors themselves spend hundreds of dollars in behalf of more money for the Pentagon, it would be a national scandal.

I suggest, Mr. President, that the Committee for an American SST and its sub-committee, the Senate Labor, be called to account for the
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source of every dollar they spend. I also suggest that firms such as Boeing and other aerospace contractors that have urged employees to write letters to Congressmen and Senators on behalf of the SST may wish to consider the fact that, in my opinion, their companies are being written wholly free of influence or coercion.

Mr. President, the SST is the clearest example of private power and capital versus the public interest. I have spent a short time. Undoubtedly it will have been spent by the time we vote, of course, will prevail. That is why a whole lot of money to throw into a campaign in a short time. Undoubtedly it will have great influence, and the pressures that are being brought to bear right now on Members of Congress by people in the aerospace industry, by the administration, and by the labor unions undoubtedly may have their effect.

On the other hand, we have the representatives of the conservation organizations, with no ax to grind, no money to gain from their efforts, just an absolute dedication to trying to keep this planet as clean as we can, and I think we consider the cost to the environment as well as the cost to the taxpayer of proceeding with this project at this time.

Mr. President, as I say, the SST is the clearest example of private power and capital versus the public interest that I have seen in my 13 years in the U.S. Senate. No one wants or needs the SST except big labor, big industry, and big political power. The public interest is the decided underdog. Whether it can prevail against such overwhelming odds remains to be seen.

EXHIBIT 1

BOEING,
SUPersonic TRANSPORT DIVISION,
Seattle, Wash.

To: Suppliers and Subcontractors to the Aerospace Industry

The question of further funding for America's Supersonic Transport Program will be taken up soon by Congress. If funding is denied for this next vital step in technology we may anticipate a conclusion of the project. It is important to suppress the very means by which social, environmental and economic progress is fostered. Everyone knows a living by "making something" should be deeply concerned about this problem.

Being a supplier to the aerospace and allied industries, you are exposed to a great deal more fact than the average individual about America's SST Program. After studying the pros and cons I am sure that you will be convinced that an excellent airplane will be produced for the U.S. market and will make our river water is not fouled and our cities are quiet places to live in. But why blame technology, when it is only our means of solving the problem?

Take the SST for example. We know that aircraft engines are getting cleaner and cleaner all the time. It stands to reason that the less time an airplane is in the air, the less fuel it will burn. Our conclusion is that the SST is one good answer to our concern about the environment. As one who has had an examination, an investigation, and a determination to find out whether or not they are using taxpayers' money in this fashion to secure more taxpayers' money for the SST.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Is the Senator suggesting that that is illegal?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I am suggesting it might very well be. I am not sure. I have not had an opportunity to examine the statutes thoroughly on that point. I think they are perfectly free to do anything they want to—but all kinds of ads, have any kind of mail campaign they wish, that is perfectly legal as long as they spend their own money, and not the taxpayers'.

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

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, on my point.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to the previous order, the Chair now recognizes the Senator from Washington for a period not to exceed 10 minutes.

Mr. JACKSON. I should like to ask the Senator from Wisconsin this question: What would the Senator's opinion be if people who are employed by nonprofit foundations are, for example, actively engaged in lobbying purposes or to publicize a position they wish to take on specific issues on which our defense posture should be?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I think that any group, whether it is a nonprofit foundation or any group, that wants to investigate and publicize their opinion should not only have every right to do so but should be encouraged to do so as well. This is part of the public debate. But when they organize a letter writing campaign, when they coerce employees—I have a letter from an employee who was coerced, and there are many others—I think that is somewhat different.

Mr. JACKSON. What are the rules?

Mr. PROXMIRE. As I understand it, they cannot come before a congressional committee without being invited and urged to come by the chairman of the committee. Then they are free to do it. Mr. JACKSON. The Sierra Club lost their nonprofit status because they took a political position. Is it not then clear that any employee of any nonprofit organization cannot become involved, directly or indirectly, in political matters that are before Congress, under existing law and regulations of the Internal Revenue Service?

Mr. PROXMIRE. It is my understanding that if an employee of the Brookings Institution or the Ford Foundation is invited by the chairman of a congressional committee to testify on a matter, for or against the supersonic transport, he could do so without the organization losing its status or adversely affecting its status under the Internal Revenue Service Code. I could be wrong about that; and if I am wrong, I would like to be corrected.

Mr. JACKSON. I submit that the Senator has not answered my question. It is a very simple question. Can an employee of a nonprofit organization engage in overt or covert political activity when he is being paid by a nonprofit organization?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I presume the answer is that he cannot.

Mr. JACKSON. The Senator is saying that an employee of a foundation or other nonprofit organization can aid, support, and abet individuals who are involved or themselves take direct positions on political matters pending before Congress?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I am saying that if they do that kind of thing, they have to do it very carefully and do it in accordance with Internal Revenue Service rules.

Mr. JACKSON. The Senator means carefully in what they can do overtly or surreptitiously?

Mr. PROXMIRE. No, not surreptitiously at all. They should do it with full disclosure, but carefully, to make sure they abide by the rules.

Mr. JACKSON. What are the rules?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Pursuant to the previous order, there will be a transaction of routine morning business, not to extend beyond 10 a.m.
PROPOSED LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR THE
FINIALITY OF SETTLEMENT EFFECTED
UPON CERTAIN SECTIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED
STATES CODE

A letter from the Secretary of the Air Force transmitting proposed legislation entitled "Fair Warranty Disclosure Act of 1971, to the Committee on Armed Services.


A letter from the Secretary of the Interior transmitting pursuant to law, the 1970 Annual Report of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior (with an accompanying report and papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUDICIAL CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON, D.C., OCTOBER 29, 30, 1970

A letter from the Chief Justice of the United States transmitting a copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the Judicial Conference in Washington, D.C., on October 29, 30, 1970 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION ENACTED "CONSUMER
FRAUD PREVENTION ACT OF 1971"

A letter from the Attorney General transmitting proposed legislation entitled "Consumer Fraud Prevention Act of 1971 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT ON EXEMPTIONS FROM THE REQUIREMENTS OF SECTION 118 OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT

A letter from the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency transmitting a copy of a report pursuant to law, regarding exemptions from the requirements of section 118 of the Clean Air Act (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Public Works.

THE 1971 ANNUAL REPORT ON HIGHWAY
RELOCATION ASSISTANCE

A letter from the Secretary of Transportation transmitting, pursuant to law, the 1971 Annual Report on Highway Relocation Assistance (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Public Works.

PETITIONS

Petitions were laid before the Senate and referred as indicated:

BY THE PRESIDENT pro tempore:
A resolution of the Legislature of the State of Washington; to the Committee on Appropriations:

"SENATE RESOLUTION 1971-17"

"Whereas, the Army Corps of Engineers reports that current funding allocated for the Lower Granite Dam, on the Snake River, in Washington State will be exhausted within thirty days, and further, that an additional nine to ten million dollars would be required to continue the construction program until appropriated funds become available after July 1, 1971; and

"Whereas, the Army Corps of Engineers has already given notice of discontinuance to the contractor; and

"Whereas, a discontinuance of work on the Lower Granite Dam at this time would result in the loss of twelve hundred jobs, which would aggravate an already depressed Washington State economy; and

"Whereas, a discontinuance of construction until July 1, 1971, would cause a delay of one year in bringing on line the power generated by the dam, thus aggravating the existing power shortage in the Pacific Northwest;

"Now, therefore, be it resolved, By the Senate in legislative session assembled, that the President propose and support and the Congress enact legislation appropriating the necessary nine to ten million dollars to fund the Lower Granite Dam project until the fiscal 1973 funds become available: Be it further resolved, That copies of this resolution be immediately transmitted by the Secretary of the Senate to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Chairman of the Committee of Conference from the State of Washington." A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Finance:

"FILE NUMBER 55

"Senate Joint Resolution—Memorialising the Governor of the United States to allow a credit against the federal tax for slot machine taxes imposed by the states, for educational support.

"Whereas, The State of Nevada, the fastest growing state in the nation, finds it increasingly difficult to compete due to its citizens, especially in the field of education, because of an increasingly tight fiscal condition; and

"Whereas, Nevada's ability to meet its needs is lessened materially because 87 percent of its land is owned, thus leaving the state a firm tax base of only 13 percent for real property levies; and

"Whereas, The State of Nevada has found that a Federal tax on slot machines is unjustly controlling casino-type gaming, a much-needed source of state revenue has been made available, which is unique to the State of Nevada; and

"Whereas, The State's ability to provide adequate educational facilities is now seriously hampered by lack of funds and a low bonding ceiling, with no apparent way to turn for relief; and

"Whereas, The federal tax on slot machines in a state where such machines are legally taxed, regulated and rigidly controlled, may well be termed double taxation; and

"Whereas, The Nevada legislature in 1967 enacted a statute imposing a tax equal to a one percent tax on slot machines operated by the state; and

"Whereas, There is a double taxation on slot machines, which statute is to become effective when the Congress passes legislation providing a credit against the federal tax for slot machine taxes imposed by the states; and

"Whereas, None of the tax credit allowed by the Congress will inure to the benefit of the licensed gaming establishments in Nevada, but will instead be set aside for the support of education (see NRS 462.386); and

"Whereas, Other federal support for the schools in this state under Public Law 874 of the 91st Congress has been reduced; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of Nevada: That this legislature enacts legislation for the State of Nevada respect fully memorialises the Congress of the United States to enact legislation providing a credit of 80 percent against the tax imposed by 26 U.S.C. § 4461 upon slot machines for the amount of any tax paid upon such machines to a state, for educational support; and be it further

"Resolved, That this legislature urgently requests that each member of the United States Congress consider the matter of federal support for the states and pass legislation to meet the matters of this resolution; and

"Petition to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, asking for a congressional vote of approval for the medical treatment of prisoners of war;" Wherein, In 1957 the government of North Vietnam signed the appropriate documents of the Geneva Convention, thereby having agreed to humane treatment of prisoners of war; and

"Whereas, Article 2 of the Geneva Convention specifically provides that the Conven-
A resolution of the House of the State of Kansas; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"House Resolution No. 1096

A resolution condemning the illegal and inhuman acts of the government of North Vietnam, National Liberation Front and Lao Patriotic Front with respect to American prisoners of war/missing in action; calling on other governments and the United Nations to provide neutral inspection of prisoners of war; and calling on the governments of North Vietnam and the Lao Patriotic Front to insure immediate, full and complete compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

"Be it further resolved: That the government of North Vietnam has been recognized or declared; and that the governments of North Vietnam and the Lao Patriotic Front to insure immediate, full and complete compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

"Be it further resolved: That the chief clerk of the house transmit duly attested copies of this resolution to the secretary of the Senate of the United States, to each member of the congress from this state, to the governor of the state of Kansas, and to the Secretary General of the United Nations to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam.

"Be it further resolved: That the government of North Vietnam has been recognized or declared; and that the governments of North Vietnam and the Lao Patriotic Front to insure immediate, full and complete compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

"Be it further resolved: That the chief clerk of the house transmit duly attested copies of this resolution to the secretary of the Senate of the United States, to each member of the congress from this state, to the governor of the state of Kansas, and to the Secretary General of the United Nations to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam.

"Be it further resolved: That the chief clerk of the house transmit duly attested copies of this resolution to the secretary of the Senate of the United States, to each member of the congress from this state, to the governor of the state of Kansas, and to the Secretary General of the United Nations to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam.

"Be it further resolved: That the chief clerk of the house transmit duly attested copies of this resolution to the secretary of the Senate of the United States, to each member of the congress from this state, to the governor of the state of Kansas, and to the Secretary General of the United Nations to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam.
of the State of Nevada, jointly. That the legislature of the State of Nevada memorializes the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States, the United States Department of the Interior, the Bureau of the Budget, the Federal Reserve System, the General Accounting Office, and all agencies of the United States Government to accelerate the funding, design and construction of the Marble Bluff Dam and Fishway, and to furnish such funds as are required to that end. That the copies of this resolution be prepared and transmitted by the legislative counsel to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of the Representatives, to all members of the Nevada congressional delegation, to the chairman and members of the Committees in the Congress which deal with the subject of this resolution, to the Secretary of the United States Department of the Interior, and to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget."

Resolutions of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committees on the Judiciary:

"RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING CONGRESS TO ENACT A FEDERAL-STATE TAX SHARING PROGRAM"

"Whereas, The states have inadequate revenue sources to finance the burdens imposed upon them by mounting welfare, education and health costs; and

"Whereas, The federal government has greater ability to impose taxes without the problem of competing with other jurisdictions; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation providing for the sharing of a fixed percentage of revenues from the individual federal income tax with state governments; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to the members thereof from this Commonwealth."

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

Mr. MITCHELL, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, without amendment:

S. 871. A bill to provide for division and for the disposition of the funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Blackfeet Tribe of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Montana, for the destruction of the Belknap Reservation, Mont., in Indian Claims Commission docket numbered 279-A, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. LONG, from the Committee on Finance, without amendment:

H.R. 4690. An act to increase the public debt limit set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MONToya, from the Committee on Public Works, together with individual views:

S. 375. A bill to authorize funds to carry out the purposes of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, as amended (Rept. No. 92-29).

Mr. MONToya, from the Committee on Public Works:

S. 819. A bill to amend the Federal Crop Insurance Act, as amended, so as to permit certain persons under 21 years of age to obtain insurance coverage under such act. Referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. ALLOYT (for himself and Mr. DOMINICK):

S. 1140. A bill to authorize the sale of certain lands of the Southern Ute Indian Tribe, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself and Mr. METCALF):

S. 1141. A bill to set aside certain lands in Montana to establish the Flathead Indian Reservation, Mont., and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SPARKMAN:

S. 1142. A bill for the relief of Harold Donald Kora, Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EAGLETON (for himself and Mr. MUSKIE):

S. 1143. A bill to provide a national commitment for financing of expanded programs under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, to assure better coordination in development of clean water programs, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 1144. A bill to authorize and direct the acquisition of funds within the boundaries of the Wasatch National Forest in the State of Utah by the Secretary of Agriculture, for the purpose of establishing, maintaining and providing for the disposal of the funds appropriated to the General Land Office for the acquisition of certain lands within the boundaries of the Wasatch National Forest in the State of Utah by the Secretary of Agriculture, for the purpose of establishing, maintaining and providing for the disposal of the funds appropriated to the General Land Office for the acquisition of certain lands of the Southern Ute Indian Tribe, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 1145. A bill to amend section 9333 of title 5, United States Code, to provide for the inclusion in the computation of accrued services of certain periods of service rendered States or instrumentalities of States, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. INOUYE:


By Mr. BURDICK (for himself and Mr. TYSON):

S. 1147. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in a feasibility investigation of the Dickinson reclamation project in North Dakota, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MATHIAS:

S. 1148. A bill to provide for the continued operation of the Public Health Service general hospitals, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. PONG:

S. 1149. A bill for the relief of Corazon F. Meina, Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATHIAS:

S. 1150. A bill for the relief of Allis Ramaiti, Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TOWER (for himself and Mr. BEHNSEN):

S. 1151. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to revise the repayment contract with the San Angelo Water Supply Corp., San Angelo project, Tex., and for other purposes, Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HANCOCK:

S. 1152. A bill to facilitate the preservation of historic monuments, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. POHJOLA:

S. 1153. A bill to amend section 204 (b) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act, 1961, as amended, Referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. POHJOLA:

S. 1154. A bill for the relief of Ulrich Paul Kruegel; and

S. 1155. A bill for the relief of Luanne Gaja,

STATMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. EAGLETON (for himself and Mr. MUSKIE):

S. 1143. A bill to provide a national commitment for financing of expanded programs under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, to assure better coordination in development of clean water programs, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Public Works.

MAJOR CHANGES SUGGESTED FOR WATER QUALITY PROGRAM

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator Muskie and myself, I offer for introduction today, at the request of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors, a bill that would authorize three major changes in the Federal water pollution control program.

These amendments are based upon a study begun by the two organizations in the summer of 1970. The study surveyed the water pollution control needs of more than 1,100 local governments, and special districts responsible for water pollution control.

From their survey, the two organizations estimate the needs for water pollution control over the next 5 years to be between $33 billion and $37
billion. They believe a Federal program of $3 to $4 billion a year is required to meet these needs.

The League of Cities and Conference of Mayors believe the Federal share of the construction cost for sewage treatment plants should be increased to 75 percent and a long-term commitment of Federal funds to be available for construction grants over a reasonable period of time, should be approved by the Congress. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill, a background paper on these amendments, and a summary of the League of Cities-Conference of Mayors study be printed in the Record, as follows:

There being no objection, the bill and material ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1145

A bill to provide a national commitment for financing or expanded programs under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, to assure better coordination in development of clean water programs, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act may be cited as the "Clean Water Commitment Act of 1971".

Sec. 2. The Congress hereby finds and declares—
(1) that continued population growth and economic expansion require high-quality water supplies;
(2) that the Nation's waterways are currently in serious danger of becoming polluted to the health and welfare of the Nation; and
(3) that the urgency of this problem requires deduction of substantial public and private resources to control and abate water pollution, including a firm commitment of at least $15,000,000,000 in Federal expenditures during the next five years.

Sec. 3. (a) Subsection (a) of Section 7 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act is amended to read as follows:

"(a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, $25,000,000 for grants to States for each succeeding fiscal year and for all years thereafter to the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1976, $25,000,000 for grants to States for each year thereafter to the end of fiscal year 1980, and $2,000,000,000 for grants to States for each fiscal year thereafter, to be used to assist States to meet the costs of pollution control programs and to assist the States in developing and maintaining adequate measures for the prevention and control of water pollution, including the training of personnel of public agencies."

(b) Paragraph (6) of Subsection 7 (f) of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act is amended to read as follows:

"(6) It sets forth the criteria used by the State in determining priority of projects as provided in Section 6(b) of the Act, and such criteria may consider financial need and other factors deemed relevant by the State in assessing those projects in abating water pollution and improving water quality, but they must place primary emphasis on effectiveness to meet objectives in abating water pollution and improving water quality."
The amount of money spent in construction of municipal waste treatment plants to control pollution has increased tremendously in past years. The average annual investment in waste treatment facilities has increased from $760 million in 1960–1961 to $4.1 billion in 1965–1966 and to between $1.8 and $2 billion today.

This greatly increased local commitment has come at a time when limited local revenue sources have been severely taxed to meet the rapidly growing demands imposed by many responsibilities while cities must fill in local contributions. Total general expenditures for the nation's 43 largest cities jumped from $6.6 billion in 1967 to $13 billion in last year.

In spite of rapid growth in local commitments to pollution control, there are still great needs which must be met before those elements of the water pollution problem which are a public responsibility can be adequately controlled. Based on a survey of over 1200 individual municipalities, the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors estimate that between $83 and $88 billion in local expenditures will be required in the next five years. Considering these needs, and the necessary increased contribution of local revenues caused by the national share of costs, the need for a change in the distribution of costs is immediately evident. The March 1969 report on the Cost of Clean Water and its Economic Impact, also indicates that operating and maintenance costs will increase, perhaps substantially, in the near future. These heavy expenditures will require the increased contributions of local revenue sources in order to meet those demands in the future.

Most of the Federal assistance will be used to construct facilities currently eligible for support under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. However, an expansion in the definition of eligible facilities will be needed to allow funding of some projects necessary to provide long-term solutions to the problems caused by treatment facilities for storm water waste from combined sewers or otherwise. A larger share of local contributions will be required to pay for these kinds of projects.

In addition to higher levels of total financing, and an increase in the basic share of Federal support provided for local programs is necessary for effective utilization of this program by many local governments. As of February 1971, local governments in 28 states were required to pay at least 70% of project costs. Most local governments finance their share of costs through local bonds which are paid from the interest rates and the actual local input and result in an effective local contribution, above the 50% Federal share, of 70% to 80%. The current financial difficulties facing cities make local participation in this program very difficult. But even with a high local contribution is required. The factors which affect the change in matching ratio and reduce the local share relate to state contributions to local programs and are entirely beyond the control of local governments.

The basic 50% Federal share also creates serious questions as to the priority assigned this program in Federal policy. Most Federal programs pay at least 50% of project costs, and many also have built-in maturities. The 50% Federal support provided for the Interstate Highway Program. Following is a list of representative Federal aid programs for which aid is required for the next several years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interstate Highway</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other routes</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law enforcement assistance</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban renewal</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass transit</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid waste disposal</td>
<td>60%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multi-jurisdictional projects</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airport construction</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water pollution control</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With 50% Federal share</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With no State aid</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There has been some suggestion that the waste treatment program may differ from other Federal aid programs because municipalities cannot be forced to pay increased sewage costs. However, it is unrealistic to assume that sewage charges can support any significant increased costs over the construction costs. Rapidly increasing costs for operation and maintenance of sewage facilities are likely to be offset partially in sewage charges. The requirement of the Federal assistance programs may impose. Cities alone paid $818 million to operate and maintain sewers and sewage treatment facilities in 1969. Independent sewage agencies paid many millions more. The $818 million figure represented an 11% increase from 1968 and perhaps as much as a 20% increase for the future. The need for more rapid increases in operating and maintenance costs are expected as greater pressure is exerted by the Federal Government to upgrade the quality of treatment, plant operators and improve the efficiency of plant operations. The 1969 report on the Cost of Clean Water and its Economic Impact, also indicates that operating and maintenance costs will increase, perhaps substantially, in the near future. These heavy expenditures will require the increased contributions of local revenue sources in order to meet those demands in the future.

The urgent need to place a higher priority on pollution control, and the difficulties already encountered in the lowering of sewage charges to the levels of local municipalities, make a major increase in the Federal share of program costs an absolute necessity. We urge that the Federal share of costs of all grants aiding local sewage treatment programs be increased to 75% regardless of state participation.

A system of incentives needs to be maintained for states to aid in financing local programs. Presently almost 50% of Federal funds are allocated to States for allocation to localities. Under the appropriations process money must be appropriated in advance of the time when these funds actually become available for expenditures. This would be possible because each state would have a pool of Federal water pollution control funds and accurately estimate the amount of Federal assistance required for its programs in any given year. Allocations would be based on the needs of each state. If a state did not identify sufficient needs to use the full amount of their Federal assistance in any given year, it could draw on funds that will actually become available for expenditures, and still be eligible to receive the funds and accurately estimate the amount of Federal assistance required for its programs in any given year. Allocations would be based on the needs of each state. If a state did not identify sufficient needs to use the full amount of their Federal assistance in any given year, it could draw on funds that will actually become available for expenditures, and still be eligible to receive the funds and accurately estimate the amount of Federal assistance required for its programs in any given year. Allocations would be based on the needs of each state. If a state did not identify sufficient needs to use the full amount of their Federal assistance in any given year, it could draw on funds that will actually become available for expenditures, and still be eligible to receive the funds and accurately estimate the amount of Federal assistance required for its programs in any given year. Allocations would be based on the needs of each state. If a state did not identify sufficient needs to use the full amount of their Federal assistance in any given year, it could draw on funds that will actually become available for expenditures, and still be eligible to receive the funds and accurately estimate the amount of Federal assistance required for its programs in any given year. Allocations would be based on the needs of each state. If a state did not identify sufficient needs to use the full amount of their Federal assistance in any given year, it could draw on funds that will actually become available for expenditures, and still be eligible to receive the funds and accurately estimate the amount of Federal assistance required for its programs in any given year. Allocations would be based on the needs of each state. If a state did not identify sufficient needs to use the full amount of their Federal assistance in any given year, it could draw on funds that will actually become available for expenditures, and still be eligible to receive the funds and accurately estimate the amount of Federal assistance required for its programs in any given year. Allocations would be based on the needs of each state. If a state did not identify sufficient needs to use the full amount of their Federal assistance in any given year, it could draw on funds that will actually become available for expenditures, and still be eligible to receive the funds and accurately estimate the amount of Federal assistance required for its programs in any given year.
projects within the state shall receive funding. Under the present program in which assignment or priorities is managed entirely by the states, there is no relation between priorities assigned and the areas with the greatest pollution problems or with projects which could be most effective in controlling pollution. To avoid these difficulties, two changes are suggested: First, the Act should be amended to provide for mandatory assignment of priorities. Second, instead of allocating all funds among states on a formula basis as at present, non-fiscal assistance should provide for extra assistance to local communities with particularly great needs and assure that cities have received adequate assistance before any standards enforcement actions are considered. This discretionary fund would also be used to provide the extra incentive grants for state contributions to local programs as suggested earlier.

A STUDY OF LOCAL NEEDS FOR WATER POLLUTION CONTROL FACILITIES IN FISCAL YEARS 1971-76

STUDY BACKGROUND

On April 28, 1970, during testimony of Mayor Robert W. Knecht of Boulder, Colo­rado, to the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution of the Senate Public Works Committee, Senator Muskie requested NLC and USCM to provide his Committee with such specific information as they could on the extent of local needs for water pollution control facilities in the last six years. To obtain this data, NLC and USCM undertook an extensive survey, sending questionnaires to all state leagues of municipalities and direct member cities of NLC and USCM. In addition, NLC and USCM staff studied local needs data developed by some states and by the Association of Metropolitan Sewage Agencies, which also prepared a needs report at Senator Muskie's request.

As a result of the returns of questionnaires and secondary treatment facility costs. The questionnaire did not request any data on sanitary sewer needs, and such data as was supplied was not used.

In addition to the nearly 48 million people covered by the USCM survey, there are between 95 and 55 million persons living in the United States who are served by sewage treatment works and related facilities or should be so served by 1976. Based on this projection, and recognizing that needs in reporting jurisdictions averaging approximately $250 per capita, we estimate total national needs for state and local water pollution control facilities to be between $60 and $83 billion today. Adding a five percent inflation factor, the total costs to provide these facilities over the next six year period will figure from $90 to $120 billion.

There follows a compilation of local pollution control needs by state. Following this is a listing of the national jurisdictional allocations. These needs figures followed by (M) are needs figures where the city reporting indicated that it was reporting needs for an area greater than its city limits, those needs figures followed by (AMSA) are gained from the survey prepared in 1970 by the Association of Metropolitan Sewage Agencies; those needs figures followed by (S) are from surveys prepared in 1970 by state governments. Wyoming is the last state for total program costs.

The land is located in Mill Creek Canyon above the diversion point for the proposed Little Dell Reservoir, and in Little Cottonwood and Big Cottonwood Canyons.

The area in which Mill Creek is located is one of the most scenic and mountainous areas in the Wasatch National Forest. The area contains extensive alpine meadows and a diverse array of wildlife species, including mule deer, elk, and mountain goat. The area is also home to many local Native American tribes, who have a strong connection to the land and its resources.

In 1967, because of my growing concern that proposed private development in the areas in question would create serious sanitary and stream pollution problems and would prevent the use of the land for public recreation purposes. My concern was and is shared by the Salt Lake City Commission, which originally asked me to introduce this bill, and by Utah conservationists anxious to act before the land is damaged beyond repair. No action was taken and the bill died.

Now, however, plans for residential subdivisions or other developments on the lands have been expanded. All of the developments are close by the major sources of water supply and with storm water overflow. Some of the developments are already eligible for aid.

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 1144. A bill to authorize and direct the acquisition of certain lands within the boundaries of the Wasatch National Forest in the State of Utah by the Secretary of Agriculture. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

ADDITIONS TO WASCATCH NATIONAL FOREST

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the U.S. Forest Service to purchase up to 3,000 acres of private land to be added to the Wasatch National Forest in Utah.
March 9, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 1145. A bill to amend section 8332 of title 5, United States Code, to provide for the inclusion in the computation of accumulated earnings rendered of service rendered States or instrumentalities of States, and for other purposes.

Be referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MOSS, Mr. President, I am today introducing a bill to bring employees of Federal-State cooperative programs under the Civil Service Retirement system. Although hearings have been held on legislation of this type in the past, no action has been taken.

Let us hope that the 92d Congress will be one which brings to an end this long-standing injustice.

As everyone knows, retirement privileges have been extended to State and county agricultural extension workers, but most of the local employees who are now working or have worked in the past on programs financed by the Federal Government, conducted under the auspices of a Federal law, and pursued in the national interest, are treated like second-class citizens when it comes time to retire.

Aside from the importance of establishing a uniform Federal retirement system, passage of this bill would be most helpful in assuring to the Federal Government the experience and expertise of many men and women who now hesitate to take positions offered simply on the basis of their expertise.

Some of these employees, we fear, might disappear if a potential employee could be sure that his years of service would be credited toward retirement. Moreover, mobility and interaction between the States and the Federal Government is vital if national agencies are to continue to act in an effective and innovative fashion. As cooperation among Federal, State, and local agricultural extension workers increases, it becomes increasingly clear that the Federal-State Extension System is, indeed, our national agricultural service.

The proposal to extend retirement benefits to extension workers in the South is similar to the extension of benefits to college teachers. The basic difference is that college teachers have a somewhat longer life expectancy, whereas extension workers often have a short life expectancy and thus are not eligible for Social Security benefits. This is, of course, the pattern of the future, and at this point, we simply do not know how many people will be covered by the law. Even if we had an up-to-date and accurate estimate of the number, we could not know how many people would elect to take advantage of the provisions of the bill or for how long annuity payments would be made. Some employees who are already retired may have a short life expectancy and thus may decide that the advantages of entering the retirement fund are limited.

The knowledge that we must face, however, is that none of these people is asking for a Federal handout. In order to participate, the employee would have to pay into the Federal Civil Service Retirement System an amount equal to the aggregate of what he would have paid into the fund during his period of service plus interest. This lump sum should more than offset the initial costs of the bill.

S. 1148. A bill to provide for the continued operation of the Public Health Service hospitals and facilities.

Be referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I introduce today a bill to appropriate the $21 million needed by the Public Health Service, during fiscal year 1972, to fully maintain the present operations of the Nation's Public Health Service hospitals.

Many Congressmen share with me the sense of urgency over the disposition of this important bill. Almost one-third of the Senate joined in co-sponsoring a resolution urging the administration to continue operating these hospitals.

In my own State of Maryland, concern about the PHS facilities in Baltimore has been so great that the State House of Delegates recently approved a resolution calling on Federal officials not to close any of the PHS hospitals. That resolution was co-sponsored by the entire 43-member house delegation from Baltimore City.

A fairly obscure passage in the proposed budget for 1972, however, indicates that the administration is to consider whether the services offered by the PHS hospitals might be offered elsewhere at a saving to the taxpayers. This seems a perfectly reasonable question to ask regarding any Government program. Indeed, all of us want the Government to operate as efficiently and economically as possible.

I am today asking the Congress to continue providing the services in HWE medical facilities. This includes funds to insure that beneficiaries currently served by the eight PHS hospitals and facilities in Baltimore will receive the care to which they are entitled, including care in community facilities or other federal hospitals. This policy includes consideration of the potential converting the PHS direct care facilities to community use.

Since then, we have been assured by the President that, if no such alternative arrangements are reached, he will request a supplemental appropriation to continue the operation of the PHS hospitals. I am told that this assurance was repeated as recently as last Friday in testimony given by HEW to this subcommittee's counterpart in the other body.

Increasingly, I think, it has become evident that no realistic prospect for making alternate arrangements. The chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Representative Olin E. Tatum, has said he doubts the VA hospitals could handle the patient load from the PHS hospitals. And I agree, since VA hospitals themselves need all the help they can get. Indeed, the VA hospital system is already overburdened in many places. It is turning away patients whose disabilities are unrelated to their military service. According to the executive vice president of the Maryland Hospital Association, many of the hospitals in the Baltimore area could not absorb the Wyman Park PHS hospital's load, which numbers over 115,000 patients annually.

Another alternative under considera-
tion by the administration. I understand, would be to transfer of PHS hospitals and clinics to community organizations or groups for use as community health facilities. For a number of reasons, this arrangement would be almost as unsatisfactory as closing down the hospitals altogether.

Abolition of PHS control would undoubtedly raise the prospect of a sharp reduction in the hospitals' vitally important public service programs. At present, $5 of the National Cancer Institute's 120 million dollars is devoted to research located in the Baltimore PHS hospital. Continuation of this noted program would be seriously jeopardized by any transfer of hospital control.

Essential teaching, training, and other manpower programs would also be called into question. In Baltimore alone, the PHS is involved in a very extensive array of manpower programs, including internships, residencies, and nurse training.

N.R. is the education of doctors and nurses the only manpower issue at stake. An analysis of those areas where an immediate effect is on salary, the PHS hospitals are a good deal less hampered by departmental rivalries than private institutions, and this has an immediate advantage: the small categories of health personnel, such as paramedics for which there is an ever-growing realization of need.

Direct service to the community by the Baltimore PHS hospital is effective. In many programs, such as the provision of physicians to city schools and the development and administration of the Maryland Eye Bank, which will never arise as a result from loss of PHS control would be immediate dislocation of many of the hospital and clinical staff. Not only career civil servants, doctors, and other specialists, but large numbers of minority group staff would be subject to displacement. In Baltimore alone, $3 million of the hospital's $7.3 million annual payroll goes to black and other minority group employees.

What makes the fate of the PHS hospitals all the more critical, I think, is the recent enactment of the Emergency Health Personnel Act, which calls upon the Public Health Service, through its director, Dr. Edward J. Hinman. This plan, which has the enthusiastic approval of the Baltimore City Health Department, would provide ambulatory care to a black neighborhood which now has only one doctor and no dentists or drug stores.

There has of course been a great deal of talk about the modernization of PHS facilities. Further use of them would undoubtedly require extensive modernization. But the cost-factor, whether channelled through local authorities, would be essentially the same. The only question about modernization, then, is just how much longer we must wait.

A very significant question, relating to cost, is that of per diem expense. The average cost per day in PHS hospitals is $55 to $70 per day, which includes everything from doctors' salaries and laboratory tests to X-rays and drugs. The average daily charge in other hospitals, however, is something on the order of $65 to $115 for room and board alone. Transfer of control over these hospitals, taking them out of the hands of the PHS, might thus cost the taxpayers more, rather than less.

For all these reasons, and indeed many more, the time has come for action. I think, would be to retain PHS operational management over all their hospitals and clinics. Not only would this accord with the 5-year-old recommendation of the National Science Advisory Committee, it would maintain an essential basis for extending, through the Emergency Health Personnel Act, critically needed health services to our nation's ailing poor.

For this reason I am introducing a bill which would provide the Public Health Service, through fiscal year 1973, with the $111 million needed to maintain the full operations of all these vitally needed hospitals. I would urge my Senate colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

By Mr. TOWERS (for himself and Mr. BENTSEN):
S. 1151. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to amend, to provide for a Great Lakes Basin conservation program. Referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the Great Lakes are truly a national resource. Combined, the Great Lakes total 95,000 square miles, forming a waterway stretching 2,300 miles from the Atlantic Ocean to Duluth, Minn. The Great Lakes Basin comprises 15 percent of the nation's population, 50 percent of its steel manufacturing, and 60 percent of its industrial manufacturing. A total of 246,000,000 tons of cargo moved on the Great Lakes representing 40 percent of all traffic on U.S. waterways in terms of ton miles. The locks between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan are the busiest in the world. Recreational opportunities abound as well for water-based recreation increases. Demands on the Great Lakes for industrial and municipal water supplies reaches over 15 billion gallons per day. Thus, the Great Lakes are truly the lifeblood of the industrial midwest and a resource of the utmost national interest.

But the Great Lakes are dying. Many have said Lake Erie is already dead with Lakes Michigan and Ontario soon to follow. The demands on the Great Lakes is taking its toll. Water quality has declined rapidly and perpetual dredging must take place to remove the pollution-laden sediment load from rivers and harbors.

It is to the problem of sediment control that I address myself in the legislation we propose today. Soil erosion is one of the major contributors to the declining quality of the Great Lakes. An indication of the magnitude of the problem is the Corps of Engineer's estimate that maintenance dredging...
alone in the Great Lakes requires the removal of approximately 11 million cubic yards of sediment annually from the various harbors at a cost of some $18 million. The same portion of an expenditure could be saved with an intensive program of soil erosion control. Likewise, one of the major problems associated with sediment buildup is the pollution of our fresh water by the carryover of dredged silt. Many of the chemicals applied to agricultural and other land to serve a beneficial purpose become polluted and carried off the land into our rivers and lakes. In fact, research has shown that many pollutants, including phosphorus, iron, and the pesticides DDT and dieldrin, move downstream attached primarily to soil particles. Ultimately, these pollutants become deposited in our rivers and lakes and subsequently are removed by dredging. The disposal of these polluted dredge spoils is a critical problem in the Great Lakes as elsewhere.

Thus, the need for an intensive program of soil erosion prevention in the Great Lakes region has never been greater. With this spirit that I introduce today proposed legislation entitled the Great Lakes Basin Conservation Act. Under this program, the Secretary of Agriculture would be authorized to enter into 10-year contracts with any landowner or operator in the Great Lakes Basin to establish changes in land use or cropping systems to conserve soil and water. It is important to note that all landowners or operators would be eligible. Thus, the program would reach such diverse problem areas as farmland, streambanks, lakeshore, and other areas contributing to soil erosion in the Great Lakes Basin. The programs required under the bill would incorporate, to the extent practicable, practices and measures to enhance fish and wildlife, and recreation, to enhance the economic use of land, and to reduce or control agricultural related pollution.

The bill is patterned after the Great Plains conservation program which has been in existence for some 15 years. In doing so, this proposal contains the features of the Great Plains program which simplify the administration of the contracts and make them attractive to the landowners or operators. First, the contracts are between the Secretary of Agriculture and the landowner or operator rather than eliminating much of the red tape involved with intermediary appointments. Second, the fund would be available for far more than 1 year, thus allowing the Secretary to obligate funds for the life of the contract from yearly appropriations. This provision will assure the contractor of a continuing source of money.

The National Association of Conservation Districts—NACD—conducted their 25th annual meeting in Chicago on February 22. At that meeting the NACD adopted a resolution bearing directly on the soil erosion problems of the Great Lakes. That resolution is as follows:

**Great Lakes Conservation Program**

The Great Lakes Basin contains a single major fresh water source on the face of the globe and contain one-quarter of the world’s supply of fresh water.

The Great Lakes Basin constitutes the industrial heartland of this nation, and is one of the major social and economic complexes of the world. The basin has about 15 percent of the nation’s surface area, 25 percent of the nation’s population, 25 percent of its industrial manufacturing, and 25 percent of its industrial production. The basin is blessed with an abundance of coastal, fresh water, and outdoor recreation, and can provide recreation for 80 million or more people living within a day’s drive of the Lakes and their surrounding basins.

This recognition of the Great Lakes erosion problem is the indication that swift action is warranted.

The Great Plains conservation program was started out of an urgent need to control erosion during the dust-bowl day of the nation. The current state of the Great Lakes argues strongly for a similar program to deal with a similar urgent need.

I trust that the bill for appropriate reference and ask that it be printed in full in the Record.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1156

A bill to amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, to provide for a Great Lakes Basin conservation program.

**Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Great Lakes Basin Conservation Act.**

Sec. 2. The Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, is amended by adding after section 16A a new section as follows:

"Sec. 16B. Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

"(1) the Secretary is authorized, within the amounts of such appropriations as may be provided therefor, to enter into contracts of not to exceed ten years with landowners and operators in the Great Lakes Basin area determined by him to have control for the contract period of the farms, ranches, or other lands covered thereby. Such contracts shall be designed to assist farm, ranch, or other land owners or operators to make, in orderly progression over a period of years, changes in their crop systems and land uses which are needed to conserve the soil and water resources of their farms, ranches, and other lands and to bring all the soils and water conservation measures needed under such changed systems and uses. Such contracts shall be entered into at any time after the enactment of this Act, and shall remain in effect for a period of not less than four years unless terminated at the option of the Secretary or the transferee of the contract. Such contracts may be modified in the Secretary’s discretion.

"(2) the rights of the Secretary under a contract shall include the power to enter into subcontracts with other persons or entities to the extent the Secretary determines to be practicable for the carrying-out of the purposes of the contract;

"(3) the Secretary may terminate any contract—

"(A) at the request of the Secretary, when such contract fails to meet the requirements of this Act or the Secretary determines that such contract is not consistent with the purposes of this Act or the Administration of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise; and

"(B) after the expiration of the contract term, where the Secretary determines that such contract is not consistent with the purposes of this Act or the Administration of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(4) if the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program are not being accomplished, the Secretary may require such changes in the program as the Secretary determines to be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(5) if the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program are not being accomplished, the Secretary may require such changes in the program as the Secretary determines to be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(6) if the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program are not being accomplished, the Secretary may require such changes in the program as the Secretary determines to be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(B) the Secretary may terminate any contract—

"(A) at the request of the Secretary, when such contract fails to meet the requirements of this Act or the Secretary determines that such contract is not consistent with the purposes of this Act or the Administration of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise; and

"(B) after the expiration of the contract term, where the Secretary determines that such contract is not consistent with the purposes of this Act or the Administration of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(C) if the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program are not being accomplished, the Secretary may require such changes in the program as the Secretary determines to be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(D) if the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program are not being accomplished, the Secretary may require such changes in the program as the Secretary determines to be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(E) if the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program are not being accomplished, the Secretary may require such changes in the program as the Secretary determines to be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(F) if the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program are not being accomplished, the Secretary may require such changes in the program as the Secretary determines to be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(G) if the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program are not being accomplished, the Secretary may require such changes in the program as the Secretary determines to be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

"(H) if the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program are not being accomplished, the Secretary may require such changes in the program as the Secretary determines to be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the program or to facilitate the practical administration of the program or to any other legal interests which may arise.

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this subsection shall be regarded as wheat acreage;

“(4) the Secretary shall utilize the technical and scientific services of the Department of Agriculture in determining the scope and provisions of any plan and the acceptability of the area for the purposes of the program. The Secretary shall also, in accordance with existing law, make those technical and scientific services available to the land owner or operator to assist in developing plans under this Section. In addition, the Secretary shall take such demonstration programs under his direction and control for the States and local agencies, including soil conservation districts, having for their purposes the objectives of maximum soil and water conservation;

“(5) there is hereby authorized to be appropriated without fiscal year limitations, such sums as may be necessary to carry out this section, except that the total cost of the program (excluding administrative costs) shall not exceed $150,000,000, and for any program year payments shall not exceed $25,000,000. The funds made available for the program under this section may be expended without regard to the maximum payment limitation and small payment increases required under section 15 of this Act. The proportioned amounts under this section shall be in addition to, and not in substitution of, other programs in such area authorized by this or any other Act.”

By Mr. BELLMON:

S. 1159. A bill to amend the act entitled “An act to establish and develop the feasibility and desirability of establishing a unit of the national park system to commemorate the opening of the Cherokee Strip to homesteading, and for other purposes” (84 Stat. 986). Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. BELLMON. Mr. President, in 1970, Congress authorized a study of the feasibility and desirability of establishing a unit of the national park system to commemorate the opening of the Cherokee Strip to homesteading, and for other purposes. The act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to begin a demonstration project on the Strip and surface mining and processing of coal and other minerals.

Similar legislation to aid in the rehabilitation of areas damaged by deleterious mining practices has been enacted with regard to the Appalachian area of our Nation. The Appalachian area has experienced subsidence problems resulting from the collapse of abandoned mines, and the Congress has recognized the disastrous effect this can have on the quality of human life and the economic growth of a particular area. However, Appalachia is not the only section of the country which experiences these problems. My own State of Wyoming has experienced subsidence problems. Other States such as Washington, Montana, and others have the same experience. However, Federal assistance has been limited to the Appalachian area.

Recently, in terms of the demonstration grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Dowell Division of Dow Chemical Co. backfilled an abandoned coal mine area under the City of Rock Springs, Wyo., using a new technique it had developed. The demonstration project was conducted last October and every indication shows that this technique has proven extremely successful. Official reports will be coming from the Bureau of Mines and the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the next several months. Of prime importance is the fact that the Dowell technique for back filling abandoned mines provides greater surface support in potential subsidence areas and is much less expensive than previous techniques which have been used in the Appalachian area.

Because the Dowell technique is a much more efficient and economically feasible method of tackling the subsidence problem, it is important that all cities and towns in this Nation which face potential subsidence be given an opportunity to solve the problem. Justice and equity require that Federal assistance which was given to the Appalachian area to solve subsidence problems in populated areas be extended to the entire Nation.

Since the Dowell technique offers a much less expensive method of treating these areas, it is certainly within the means of the Federal Government to offer its assistance to all areas of the Nation which face similar problems. Mr. President, I respectfully request that this legislation be referred to the appropriate committee and that the Senate swiftly enact the legislation.

By Mr. MONDALE:

S. 1161. A bill to assist in removing the financial barriers to the acquisition of a postsecondary education by all those capable of benefiting from it. Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, it will come as no surprise to students, parents, and educators to hear that the cost of college education continues to skyrocket. Our country has increasingly recognized the benefits which come to this Nation and its citizens where higher education is broadly based. We have not been content to let postsecondary education remain the privilege of the wealthy few. We have sought to make college education available to young Americans willing and able to gain from the experience, but we have failed.

Mr. President, it is for that reason that I today introduce the Student Assistant Act of 1971.

Clark Kerr, who headed the Carnegie Foundation’s Inquiry into higher education, has said:

Today a young man or woman whose family’s income is in the top half of the national income range has three times the chance of getting into college compared to one whose family is in the bottom half.

It is more than mere coincidence that students coming from families with a high socioeconomic status are far more likely to attend college than students from families of low socioeconomic status. The tragedy is that this is true regardless of the student’s ability.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record several tables to illustrate this situation.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Income</th>
<th>Attended college</th>
<th>Did not attend</th>
<th>Total enrollment rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$3,000</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,000</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$6,000</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$7,000</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$8,000</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$9,000</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total enrollment rate: 46.9 53.1
This table indicates the differences in entrance rates between students coming from low- and high-income families. Assuming that entrance rates are to be equated between students coming from families with incomes below $10,000 and students with family incomes in the $10,000 to $15,000 range, the following table in entrance rates would have to be closed:

**TABLE II.—GAP IN COLLEGE ENTRANCE RATES—Degree-credit students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family income</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $3,000</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,000 to $3,999</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,000 to $5,999</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$6,000 to $7,999</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$7,000 to $9,999</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 to $14,999</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Equals base.


It should be noted that this study includes only those students attending degree-credit programs in institutions of higher education.

If the students attending vocational programs in colleges and universities were included, the rates shown would be higher (approximately 6%).

**COLLEGE ENTRANCE RATES**

The following table shows the college entrance rates for degree-credit students and ability halves for full- and part-time students in 2- and 4-year institutions offering degree credit programs. It should be noted that vocational programs are also offered by such institutions and that students taking vocational programs in degree credit institutions are reflected in these rates.

**TABLE III.—ENTRANCE RATES, BY ABILITY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS TO 2-YEAR AND 4-YEAR INSTITUTIONS—FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME STUDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SES quartiles</th>
<th>Total enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>Low 1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top half</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom half</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total entrance rates</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the information in these tables simply puts numbers on what most of us know intuitively, that high school seniors coming from families with a low income are far less likely to go to college than those coming from families with middle to high income. The tables show that the factor which is most likely to determine whether or not an individual attends college is not his or her ability, but rather his or her family's economic status.

Once again those at the bottom of the scale suffer the most. They are the people described as disadvantaged because they have so little going for them. An inordinate number of them are members of minority groups—Negroes, Indians, Mexican Americans, Asians, and Puerto Ricans. Many come from rural areas or pockets of poverty in remote areas and urban ghettos. The chance to go to college is no more than a pipedream without the necessary support from their family, friends, and educational system.

By allowing these disadvantages to continue; by allowing the cycle of poverty to repeat itself without interruption; by allowing talent to go unused, we are squandering our Nation's most precious resource. Even more tragic is the fact that young people are being turned away by colleges and universities that are supposed to be the haven for the rising young generation. The problem is not one of money. It is one of attitude. It is time for the Nation's colleges and universities to face the problem head on and not allow any student with the potential to attend college to be denied the opportunity to do so.

The meager savings they manage to set aside are quickly eaten up by health and dental fees. Pay in these schools increases generally just keep them abreast of the rapidly rising cost of living. Keeping this in mind, we can understand their plight when we see that the cost of college education has risen even more rapidly than the cost of living.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a table illustrating this point.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**TABLE IV.—INCREASE IN THE COST OF ATTENDING PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC 4-YEAR UNIVERSITIES FOR 1 YEAR COMPARED WITH THE INCREASE IN THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX, 1960-70**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Consumer Price Index (1967 = 100)</th>
<th>Public university</th>
<th>Private university</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the fact is that more and more Americans are not able to pay these prices. It is estimated that over a million young people must forgo college today not because they lack ability or desire, but simply because they cannot afford to go. Unless we do something new to eliminate these inequities and end this waste of manpower, higher education may once again become the privilege of the wealthy few.

If a growing number of students and parents cannot stand the rising costs of education, who can? The findings of the recently published Carnegie Commission report, ‘The New Depression in Higher Education,’ make it clear that the schools are unable to avoid the pinch of increasing costs and decreasing aids.

After visiting a substantial mix of 41 different colleges and universities across the Nation, the study concluded that 71 percent more than the inflation rate. This is a frightening problem to be sure. The author is understandably loath to make the sweeping generalization that this 71-percent figure would hold true for all 2,738 institutions of higher education in the country. Nonetheless, it is sobering to find listed among those headed for financial trouble such distinguished schools as the University of Minnesota, the University of Michigan, the University of Chicago, and Harvard University. Among those determined already to be in financial trouble are Stanford University and the University of California at Berkeley. Our Nation's colleges and universities are clearly up against a financial wall.

A large part of the problem is that tuition covers only a part of the total cost of higher education. For private institutions, tuition and fees covered 64 percent of the cost of education, while in public institutions it came to only 10 percent.

The problem will not be solved simply by giving needy students the money they require for tuition and sending them off to school, because the schools cannot afford to take them if there is no other money coming in to meet the additional expenses. In short, the schools need money and much more student aid to meet the crush of rising costs. Clearly, we cannot expect the colleges to solve the problem unassisted.

Nor can we reasonably expect the States will step into the breach. Many observers have noted a decline in State support of higher education in the wake of student unrest during the past few years. However, a longer perspective shows that this is just part of a continuing trend. In 1957-58, State and local government support of higher education amounted to 33 percent of costs. By 1967-68, before a number of critical disturbances, the figure had dropped to 23 percent.

There are many reasons for declining support from State and local government, but one of the most important is simple financial capacity. The demands on State and local resources are constantly expanding in both scope and magnitude. As a result, even where there is willingness to increase, or at least to maintain the existing level of support, other requirements often make that impossible.

A further point is worth noting. Individuals with college training are among the most mobile elements of our society. Investing money in the education of a person who then moves to another State, may be viewed from the perspective of an Individual State as a bad investment and a loss to the State economy. Certainly such a view is unreasonable narrow, but it does affect the national manpower pool and individual lives.

What I am discussing is a problem with national dimensions and national importance. The State and local governments cannot provide the solution, nor can the colleges or individuals involved. Therefore, I am proposing legislation that will provide: First, grants to undergraduate and graduate students based solely on need, up to the national average cost of attendance for the type school they are attending, either public or private; second, some assistance in situations where these students enroll, to help offset the cost of education beyond tuition and fees; third, fellowships for graduate and professional students in their
third and fourth years of graduate study; fourth, a private nonprofit bank to increase the flexibility and assure the availability of student loans; fifth, outreach to identify and encourage high school students who otherwise might not seek further education; and sixth, and interagency coordinating committee to improve the administration of the various student aid programs.

I am not asking any of those who co-sponsor this proposal to support all of its specific and detailed provisions. My purpose is to find the best possible legislation that will solve, or at least cope with, the problems of providing assistance to college students and institutions of higher education.

Before explaining the particular provisions of this legislation, I think it is appropriate to discuss the wisdom of this type of investment. The most important gain is also the most difficult to measure. How can we calculate what it means to a student, in years of productive life, for him to develop a broad horizon and when frustration is replaced with fulfillment? However, that might be measured, we know we can multiply it a million times just to get close to the impact of this program on tax revenue is replaced with fulfillment? How.

In economic terms, this legislation is a major finding of the Federal Department of Education, and Welfare reports that in a lifetime of working, a college graduate will make $213,000 more than a high school graduate. What that means to a family is buying power, and how it affects the next generation's capacity to go to college is obvious.

For the economy as a whole, additional skills are put to use. More money is pumped into the economy, acting to spur the growth of still more goods and services.

With regard to the Government's economic interest, according to the Internal Revenue Service, approximately two-thirds of all taxpayers pay 15 percent or more of their income in Federal personal income taxes. At this rate the minimum tax return on the additional income taxes alone on the $19 billion cost of the program would be $2,914.50.

Another way of predicting the likely impact of this program on tax revenue is to look at the GI bill, one of the most successful education programs ever undertaken by the Federal Government. The educational benefits available through this law made it possible for millions to return from war duty and complete their education; 7,800,000 World War II veterans and 2,391,000 Korean conflict veterans participated in the first two years. In a program that requires long than 4 academic years for the baccalaureate degree. The length of period of eligibility is 5 academic years or its part-time equivalent.

Graduate and professional students will also be eligible for these grants for a period not exceeding 4 academic years or its part-time equivalent enrollment beyond the baccalaureate degree.

The only requirement for eligibility in applying is that the student have a vocational or higher education institution. Students will attend the school of his or her choice, with the grant being dispensed through the institution.

Students will be able to apply for a grant as early as the 11th grade of high school. Although grants made at that time will be reviewed when the student graduates from high school, it is necessary that the student have an early indication of the amount available for postsecondary schooling. In a report to the President entitled, "Toward a Long-Range Plan for Federal Financial Support for Higher Education," the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare suggests that:

There is some evidence that changes in the cost of college have a greater impact on college attendance if these changes are made known to students early in their high school careers. If there were a fundamental improvement in the selection of education, the longer range impact of this would be to remove some of the barriers to college attendance, which will be identified in the next study run.

The provision for part-time study is included to increase the flexibility of this program as it responds to the needs of students. There are some students whose families require them to take heavy part-time work loads in order to attend school. With part-time work, the aid available through this program, a student who otherwise could not, will be able to attend college.

The reason for giving money to the individual student is to provide the most assistance where it is most needed. An equivalent amount of money spent on providing promises for education programs will prove the administration of the various student aid programs.

WHAT THE BILL WILL DO

First, student opportunity grants will be provided solely on the basis of need, directly to students who are pursuing postsecondary education at least half time, for at least 2 years—or its part-time equivalent—of postsecondary vocational or undergraduate study, unless the student is enrolled in a program that requires longer than 4 academic years for the baccalaureate degree. The longest period of eligibility is 5 academic years or its part-time equivalent.

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March 9, 1971

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These grants will be a giant step toward making higher education a right not a privilege.

Second, a cost of education allowance will improve the financial aid under the present system. Many students will need to educate the students assisted to grants. I have already noted that student charges do not nearly cover the cost of providing a student's education, and, I am afraid, nowhere near solving the total problem unless we provide assistance to the schools as well as the students. Categorical grant programs offer some relief, but unfortunately they also alter the criteria set by individual institutions. The schools are encouraged to engage in activities which do not coincide with their greatest needs.

Therefore, institutions attended by recipients of student opportunity grants will be paid a direct cost of education allowance for each grant recipient, based on a fixed scale. For an undergraduate freshman, it would be 50 percent of the first $200 of the student's grant and 25 percent of everything over that. Because it costs more to educate students as they progress toward their degree, the allowance increases to 30 percent for sophomores, 35 percent for juniors, 40 percent for seniors, and 50 percent for graduate students. The result of providing these individual and institutional grants will be to give students the money they need to go to school, and give schools the money they need to maintain high standards of instruction.

Third, a Federal Fellowship program will provide awards to assist graduate students of exceptional ability, who also demonstrate financial need, to complete their final two years of study toward the Doctor of Philosophy, or equivalent degree. These fellowships, 15,000 the first year, will be awarded directly to the student to study in the institution of his choice.

The amount of the stipend will be determined by the Commissioner of Education and will be paid under comparable federally supported programs, except that the stipend will not be less than $2,800 nor more than $3,500 for each academic year of study, not to exceed 2 years. The amount of the loan will not exceed $3,500 per dependent, not to exceed $1,500, will be paid to the student if he has dependents.

A cost-of-education allowance will be paid to the institution in which the student is pursuing his study. This amount will be one and one-half times the grant to the student—not including the allowance to dependents—less any amount charged the student for tuition.

They will be based solely on ability and need rather than on the student's field of study.

The purpose for extending eligibility for the student opportunity grants to graduate and professional degree students is the same for making this aid available to postsecondary vocational and undergraduate students: to remove the financial barrier to higher education.

The cost of attending graduate or professional school is often higher than that of attending undergraduate school. The student, moreover, often cannot count upon family support for graduate school.

Students from high-income families are more likely than students of equal ability from low-income families to attend graduate school. This bill will seek to remove this inequality.

The new fellowships are provided for several reasons. First, graduate enrollments peak earlier than undergraduate enrollments. This is putting an increasing strain upon present sources of graduate support, many of which are based on Federal Government, private endowments, and foundations. We must assure that the flow of this highly trained talent will continue.

Second, most of the present aid provided by the Federal Government for graduate education is tied to the field of study or the type of research a given graduate student undertakes. The effect of this has been to encourage graduate students in the areas while discouraging it in others.

Third, many of the present federally aided graduate benefits are available only through specific universities which have established these programs. These programs isolate the student from the federal market to some extent. The Federal guarantee of the securities sold by the bank and the Federal guarantee of the loan itself will reduce the costs of these loans. The use of the Internal Revenue Service to collect these debts will substantially reduce collection costs.

Fourth, a higher education loan bank will be chartered as a private, nonprofit corporation. Its purpose will be to provide loans to postsecondary vocational and professional students for a period of up to 5 years of graduate or professional study. The amount of the loan will not exceed 50 percent of the cost of attendance less any other Federal aid received.

Loans will be guaranteed against default, death, and disability by the Federal Government. Interest payments and repayments of the principal will be deferred until a student has completed his schooling and for a period of time up to 3 years after that time for such services as the Peace Corps, VISTA, or the armed services. There will be no forgiveness features similar to those of the national defense student loan program.

The bank, however, will be eligible to establish for each year a low earnings repayment program which will allow for partial cancellation, in whole or in part, or annual payment in any year in which repayment constitutes a hardship. This will encourage many students who are reluctant to undertake these loans, because of their fear of failure in college work, or because of their hesitation to undertake the obligation of large sums, to do so. Thus, any authority to grant low, part of their loan will be canceled.

This bank would be an improvement on the present system in several ways. A student can now go to a local bank for a guaranteed loan. However, there is often no money available for such loans. Even when there is money, the student is usually considered in relation to his or her own credit rating with local lending institutions. Consequently some students with academic promise fail to receive these loans because of their family's credit rating. Another common cause is that loans are denied because the students' family has not had a long established account with the bank. The result, however, is the same, the student does not get the loan.

This bank will be able to tap larger pools of money than does the present guaranteed loan program. Pension funds, insurance investment funds, and other large pools of money may be available to a higher education loan bank. The managers of these funds, however, are unwilling to make this money available on a loan-by-loan basis to students in their area of investment. This bank will provide a structure whereby these funds may be channeled to students.

Finally, loans made by this bank should be somewhat cheaper than present loans. The bank is registered to isolate its loans from the private market to some extent. The Federal guarantee of the securities sold by the bank and the Federal guarantee of the loan itself will reduce the costs of these loans. The use of the Internal Revenue Service to collect these debts will substantially reduce collection costs.

Fifth, a student outreach program will supplement existing programs. The present student outreach programs, Upward Bound and Talent Search, have identified and helped to motivate thousands of students during the last few years. Without the effort of these programs, thousands of students who are now in postsecondary education programs would not be there.

Nevertheless, I believe that additional efforts are needed. The number of able students who are not yet in postsecondary education programs indicates a large field that has yet to be tapped. In addition, the massive Federal efforts envisaged by this bill must make the full impact felt by providing new efforts to identify and motivate students to attend college. I think that this can be done by striking out in several new directions.

We can involve high school teachers and students in these efforts more than we do now. We can do this by providing Federal training courses for high school teachers and counselors and for members of student councils. These courses can provide new ways that these trained personnel can help students up to date on postsecondary financial aid, study programs, and career possibilities. Many students need assistance in making their own educational plans. We must make certain that they have adequate information on which to base these plans.

We must also provide aid to the colleges for their recruitment efforts. Many sensitive educators have long remarked that if the colleges of this country would emphasize academic recruitment of students from low-income families as...
much as they emphasize the recruitment of athletes, the opportunity disparities between rich and poor students would be much less today. We should take advantage of the skill and know-how of universities in recruitment efforts. This will provide Federal assistance for making postsecondary educational plans they need ready access to information about financial aid, career, and college possibilities. This bill will establish higher education opportunities for farmers through out the country for this purpose. Most can use roving recruiters. All can make printed information available at all times. For example, they can use existing Federal facilities. With the advice of this Council the Commissioner of Education would first fun research projects—either institutional or individual—designed to develop better ways to identify and motivate students who might potentially benefit from postsecondary education and, second, develop measures designed to monitor the change in the postsecondary and higher education opportunity structure. This structure should be defined broadly, but it should include measures of the improvement we are making in assuring a college education for all who can benefit from it. We know, for example, that the percentage of high school graduates who attend college each year is increasing. But we do not know whether it is increasing as fast for our rural youth as for our city youth, and others.

Sixth. An interagency coordinating committee consisting of representatives from agencies administering student aid programs will be established.

We need a structure through which these agencies can regularly exchange information. I think they should have the opportunity to develop policies that are appropriate to them.

Mr. President, we have come a long way from higher education which was a privilege that could only be afforded by the few to higher education for all the talented who need and want it. Unfortunately, however, we still have a long way to go.

And unless we act soon, much of the progress we have made will be lost to rapidly increasing costs. Both the students and their parents are making postsecondary educational plans and negotiating the costs of higher education. This bill will make those costs much less today. We should take those steps now to reduce costs.

In short, the legislation I am introducing is a comprehensive attack on both the problems and inequities in our system of higher education. We can afford to wait no longer, and I urge the Congress to act now.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

S. 23
At the request of Mr. SCHWEIKER, the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GAVEL) and the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) were added as cosponsors of S. 23, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1971.

S 423
At the request of Mr. MCINTYRE, the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIRE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 423, a bill to limit Federal payments to individual farm producers to $10,000 per crop per farm.

S. 424
At the request of Mr. MCINTYRE, the Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD) was added as a cosponsor of S. 424, a bill to require that certain articles of wearing apparel be permanently labeled with laundering and drying instructions.

S. 649
At the request of Mr. MANSEFIELD, the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL) was added as a cosponsor of S. 649, a bill to abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission at a future date and to establish a commission to make recommendations with respect to carrying out the functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission after such date.

S. 1030
At the request of Mr. RANDOLPH, the Senator from Alabama (Mr. SPARKMAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1030, a bill to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act in order to assure rehabilitation services to older blind persons, and for other purposes.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. President, at the request of my senior colleague (Mr. RABURN), I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the name of the junior Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL) be added as a cosponsor of S. 1030, a bill to amend the Educational Rehabilitation Act in order to assure rehabilitation services to older blind persons, and for other purposes.

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

S. 1062
At the request of Mr. JAVITS, the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1062, a bill to establish a National State际 Higher Education, and for other purposes.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 9—SUBMISSION OF A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF CERTAIN SENATE HEARINGS

Mr. STENNIS submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 9) which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. CON. RES. 9
Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there shall be printed five thousand copies of the hearings before the Electronic Battlefield Subcommittee of the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee during the Ninety-first Congress, second session, entitled "Investigation Into Electronic Battlefield Program".

SENATE RESOLUTION 69—SUBMISSION OF A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING OF A SENATE DOCUMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Mr. MCCLELLAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 69) which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES. 69
Resolved, That there shall be printed, with illustrations, as a Senate document a compilation of materials relating to the history of the Senate Committee on Government Operations in connection with its fiftieth anniversary (1921-1971).

Sec. 2. In addition to the usual number, there shall be printed five thousand copies of such document for the use of the Committee on Government Operations.

Sec. 3. One hundred copies shall be bound with a buckram cover and gold lettering for the use of the Committee on Government Operations.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON THE TRUST TERRITORY

Mr. BURDICK, Mr. President, for the information of the Senate and others who may be interested in the matter, I wish to announce that the Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will hold a hearing on Tuesday, March 30, to take testimony from certain residents of Micronesia, who will be in the city at that time, on two pending measures.

The first bill is Senate Joint Resolution 35, to authorize an ex gratia contribution to certain inhabitants of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands who suffered damages arising out of the hostilities of the Second World War, to provide for the payment of noncombat claims occurring prior to July 1, 1951, and to establish a Micronesian Claims Commission. The second bill is S. 830, relating to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which also embraces, among other things, the establishment of a claims commission to settle the outstanding claims of noncombat World War II claims of Micronesians.
The hearing will be held in room 3110, New Senate Office Building, beginning at 10 a.m.

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I share with all Americans the relief that the four American airmen have been released by their kidnappers in Turkey—that a senseless tragedy has been avoided, and that these men have been returned to their families, their friends, and when now working 12 months third requirement when a majority of both parties is not achieved.

On December 14, 1787, in the Federalist Number 22 Alexander Hamilton wrote: "Will the opinions of the minority, and the sense of the smaller number will overrule that of the greater, and give a tone to the national policy? . . . compromises of the public good. And yet, in such a system, it is easy happy when such compromises can take place: for upon some occasions things will not admit of accommodation; and then the measures of government must be in jury suspended or fatally defeated. It is often, by the impracticability of obtaining the concurrence of the necessary number of votes in a state of our circumstances, must always save of weakness.

Mr. President, if these words were true almost 200 years ago—when our country was young, the Central Government had almost no authority, the population was 2 percent of what it is now, and life was relatively uncomplicated—how much truer they are in today's complex society. Alexander Hamilton was speaking of a government whose principal duties were to protect the States against foreign governments, guard against domestic insurrections, and promote commerce. Today the Federal Government involves itself in virtually every facet of our lives—from the education of our children to the quality of the food we eat.

The proposal we are trying to take up today would not completely answer Hamilton's arguments against minority control. It would permit a minority of two-fifths plus one of those present and voting—normally an even smaller minority of the full Senate—by invoking the cloture rule to block legislation from coming to a vote. And if a majority of both parties did not vote to shut off debate a minority of one vote, or two votes, could keep the Senate in a state of animated suspension—again an even smaller minority of the full Senate.

It is difficult at the present time to foresee what emergencies will require expedient Senate action in the months and years ahead. We can only be sure that there will be emergencies. We can be equally sure that if we fail to change the cloture rule in the smaller number of our "impracticability" in Hamilton's words "will overrule that of the greater and give a tone to the national proceedings." The result in "the smaller number of our little good." And public disillusionment with the legislative branch, a disillusionment currently attested to by opinion polls, will continue to mount.

It is especially important now, when we have so much we can accomplish, when the country is so much larger and more complicated, and when government is so important, of our deliberations. The amendment also provides that a two-thirds cloture vote is necessary to shut off debate on rule changes. It retains the current two-thirds requirement when a majority of both parties is not achieved.

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There was a time when certain parts of the Nation felt that the only way in which their interests could be protected against the whim of the majority was through the cloture rule. We are trying to change that. But there is little room for this approach toward the affairs of the country in the 1970's. Our problems are not limited to the North or South—the East and the West. We should recognize the decline of this sectionalism as well as the need for a Senate that can respond quickly to national demands by voting this afternoon to halt fruitless debate on this extremely modest change in the cloture rule.

Let us then take this opportunity to make a step toward a more equitable and representative cloture rule. Let us help the public business to go forward by expediting our own way of conducting business.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Eagleton). Who yields time?

Mr. MAN SIMFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask unanimous consent that the time to be adjourned be considered as the time at which the Senate will proceed to the consideration of that resolution. The distinguished Senator from Wisconsin says that a compromise has been worked out between some Members of the Senate to result in the adoption of this resolution.

I submit, Mr. President, that if cloture is invoked, we will not proceed to a vote on the resolution itself. We will merely take it up for consideration. And if a compromise has been worked out among some Senators, that is not binding on the Senate itself. This whole question will be opened up in such a way that if a vote is taken now, it will not be binding on the Senate itself. It will be opened up in such a way that if a vote is taken now, it will not be binding on the Senate itself.

So there is a compromise that can be agreed upon that will bind the Senate. The whole matter will be open for discussion. Any number of amendments can come before the Senate.

Mr. President. The best way to end this debate, of course, is to vote against the cloture motion today. As the junior Senator from Alabama understands it, this is the last attempt that is going to be made to open up this question at this session of the Senate. Unless the junior Senator misunderstood the distinguished majority leader, he said that the vote today, unless it was successful, would be the last vote on the application for cloture.

So the best way to bring the debate to a close is to vote against the application of cloture. That will end it.

Mr. President, what is the alternative to that? If we vote to invoke cloture, then the matter continues to be debated. Each Senator is given 1 hour in which to discuss the matter. Finally a vote will be taken, not on the resolution itself, but on the motion to proceed to the consideration of the rules change.

Mr. President, when the resolution for the rules change comes up for consideration, it will be subject to any number of amendments that may be offered, and extended debate could take place with respect to each one of those amendments and the main question itself. So, if we had extended discussion for 40 days on this question, we could have a like amount in all likelihood on the point on the motion to proceed to the consideration of the rules change.

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized for an additional 2 minutes.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, any number of Senators have amendments they wish to offer. Today, if we vote down the attempt to apply cloture that will end the discussion. We can go on and proceed to the transaction of other business; dispose of the three items on the calendar and then any other matters that might come before the Senate.

I hope that Senators who have been voting against the cloture motion will stand firm and vote this last time in favor of cloture and end the discussion for this session of the Senate.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Idaho yield to me?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, several days ago I expressed my views with relation to this subject matter. I had not made up my mind to rise again on the same subject. I would not want to be a party to anything that would prevent extended debate. I do not think that is the position of the Democratic Party.

The question here is: Are the rules of the Senate as presently constituted so rigid that they actually thwart the welfare of our people? I must say that in my experience in the Senate I have noticed that the so-called liberals have indulged in the so-called filibuster more than the so-called conservatives. That may be an anomaly, but I think it is a fact of life.

Mr. President, it will be recalled that at the end of the last Congress, because of the rigidity of the rules of the Senate, we had thousands upon thousands of poor people in this country who are on social security who would have had an increase in benefits in the last session if it were not for the filibuster.

Mr. President, in the Senate the man in the Senate can rise and say, "Put your turkey in the oven for Thanksgiving and you can also put your turkey in the oven for Christmas because hell will freeze over before we allow a vote." I am afraid that we are not talking about extended debate. We are actually talking about thwarting the will of the American people.

Here it is almost mid-March and the people of this country who are on social security have been waiting endlessly in order to get a measly 5- or 10-percent increase on the miserable amount that is being given to them now.

I will say to my southern friends that there may be more advantage in this for them than they think, if they allow this liberalization of the rule. As I have already pointed out, we are not talking about limitation of debate; I favor extended debate. But when we have important legislation on the calendar such cases may have to be considered and we could not bring it up for consideration and vote, to the detriment of the welfare of many of our people, I say that something needs to be done.

I do not think there is any magic about two-thirds or three-fifths; both of those figures have precedent in our Constitution. There is no question about it.
I think when a good cause is involved, cloture will not be invoked with three-fifths any more than it would be with two-thirds. But something needs to be done to correct this situation. We have handcuffed ourselves; we have put ourselves into shackles, and I say we have unwarrantably so done.

I hope today will be the end of it. I hope we can invoke a little cloture here in order that we can make some sense out of the sensibility of the greatest deliberative body in the world.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields the floor?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I yield 6 minutes to the distinguished Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 6 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I would like to join my colleague in arms, and I mean that literally, in saying, "Let us unshackle ourselves to our full freedom."

The reason I say that, without repeating the very fine argument the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PASTORE) has made, is that we must invoke cloture not only in respect of the ability to act—and the Constitution requires us to act and not debate alone—but also because we are really now tangled up in our own feet in a procedure that is unbelievable and one out of which the Senate cannot work its way except by action of the Vice President.

Very unhappily for all of us the Vice President is not here today, which I regret, because he is the only man who can rule to get us out of the mess we are in.

I hear rumors that if this vote does not invoke cloture the majority leader intends to take down this question entirely, if he can, and it is always very difficult for us to vote against him. None of us wants to resist his control over the calendar.

But I feel that in the absence of the Vice President of the United States this would be most improper, and I hope Senator Thurmond will decide to use this opportunity to us if we do not get cloture. We should have the opportunity for a ruling by the Vice President when he is here.

The procedural snarl is as follows. There is no question the Senate can amend its rules by debate alone—but also because we are trying to do so. The Vice President is the only one who can break that constitutional shackles, unless we are to have a real demarche in the Senate, which would shake the Senate to its foundations by having Senators so dissatisfied with the way Congress is permitted to perform that they could not go forward and would block everything. In so trying a time none of us would dream of doing what I have just mentioned. We face this today and the only man who can resolve this matter—short of two-thirds of the Senate, which is an unconstitutional exercise of power—is the Vice President of the United States.

The Vice President is not here today, which I regret, because he is the only man who can rule to get us out of the mess we are in. Nevertheless, he is not here and no presiding officer other than the Vice President is going to act in such a critical way, respect of the Constitution and the procedures of the Senate.

Therefore, I deeply believe this matter should not be terminated today, whatever may be the results of this vote; that it should not be taken down; and that the Vice President at the proper time—I gave him notice that I would raise this point today—should rule whether or not this constitutionally elected officer of all the people, elected with the President, will use his authority. He is the Presiding Officer of the Senate. That is one authority the Constitution gives him which is unqualified and untouched.

Whatever else the President may give or not give him—and Presidents have both built up and cut down vice Presidents—that is his authority. I think he owes a solemn duty to the country to rule one way or the other on this question.

In answer to a question by the Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN), the Vice President, for practical purposes, has left the issue open. This is what he said:

"In response to any point of order as to the constitutionality of the procedures or as to whether or not the Senate is a continuing body which involves a constitutional question, the chair, under the uniform precedents of the Senate, will submit the same to the Senate for decision."

That is not the question that bothers us. Of course the Senate will decide. But the question that bothers us is, will there be a filibuster in the Senate can never decide until one-third lets us decide, or will the question be decided without debate? And on that question only will this matter be determined.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 1 minute?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Michigan.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the senior Senator from New York has stated effectively, I think, all that needs to be said. We are not supporting the idea that the President can act in such a critical way, respect of the Constitution and the procedures of the Senate.

While I doubt few votes will be changed at this point, it is important for the record and for the American public's understanding of what we have been trying to accomplish to sum up the essentials of this protracted debate—to try to provide some perspective.

Mr. President, proponents of reform ultimately rest our case on the constitutional right of the majority of the Senate to adopt new rules at the beginning of each Congress. Our reasoning was set forth clearly and succinctly by President Nixon in 1959, when as Vice President he presided over this body:

"The Constitution gives the Senate the power to take its rules. That means that the Members of the Senate have the right to determine the rules under which the Senate will meet. That is, in the opinion of the Chair, in order to be operative also implies the constitutional right that the majority has the power to cut off debate in order to exercise the right of changing or determining its rules."

We have heard, really, three main lines of argument against any modification of rule XXII. First, opponents of change have again attempted to divert attention from this basic constitutional principle by citing at length the Founding Fathers' view of the Senate as a body designed carefully to debate and filter pressures for hasty ill-conceived action.

We have also heard the perennial invocation of the Founding Fathers' desire to protect minorities. Both points are, of course, accurate. But neither offers any convincing rationale for sustaining rule XXII in its present form. Those who framed our Constitution sought to insure legislative deliberation and protect minorities by instituting a system of checks and balances. The Vice President, the two Houses of Congress. The bicameral...
Congress, Supreme Court review of legislation, and the Presidential veto all provide safeguards against impulsive action and protection of minority interests. Minority interests are also protected by the Bill of Rights, and by the smaller Senate, except for certain special expeditions such as constitutional amendments and ratification of treaties.

Indeed the Constitutional Convention repeatedly rejected requiring a two-thirds vote for general categories of legislation such as interstate commerce.

Finally, for the first several decades of our country, the Senate rules permitted closure of debate by a majority motion to put the previous question.

The second main argument is an exercise in semantics, which is more appealing than persuasive. Our opponents again stress the “continuing body” and that, therefore, the rules carry over from the last Congress. Obviously in some sense the Senate is a continuing body, designed to retain continuity by having only a discontinuing body; because for general categories of legislation such as interstate commerce.

Because two-thirds of the Senators carry over, the Senate is a continuous body, the rules carry over. Striking the conclusory words “continuing body” from the formula reveals the underlying proposition: Since two-thirds of the Senators carry over, the rules carry over. This is a non sequitur. It assumes that the carryover of two-thirds of the Senate always carries over to the next Congress, favoring the rules. The infusion of one-third newly elected Senators—both by their numbers and their power of persuasion—may very well change the majority view that is determinative under our constitutional democracy, not who carries over. So much for the “continuing body” argument.

The third basic argument against reform rule XXII has been that it would prevent adequate deliberation, which is particularly important during times of national conflict. Indeed, deliberate careful action is always preferable to undue haste. But I suggest that one of the reasons for the stress and turmoil in America today is precisely that the Senate and other institutions have been incapacitated by devices for delay or dilution of serious attack on our Nation’s problems. The apparent inability of those who talk on this bill not to hit our domestic ills when the needs are so painfully clear is a basic cause of unrest and disaffection. Opponents of reform have argued that no significant legislation has been changed by the present rule, particularly pointing out the civil rights statutes which eventually were passed during the past decade. Yet last year the effort to avert a political crisis and reform our presidential electoral system required even though it would have required a two-thirds vote to pass the proposed constitutional amendment. And those of us who fought for the civil rights legislation now stand behind those who opposed us well remember the many long years of delay, measures diluted and those not even offered because of the present rule which qualitatively change the act.

The majority, or even a substantial majority, of the Senators may not be omniscient or infallible, but certainly neither is a small minority. If the present rule is necessary to protect minority interests, why not let 10 Senators prevent action—or three?

If the true basis for opposition to reform the rule XXII were a desire to assure adequate debate, that goal could be met by proposals which have been offered and rejected many times. The real aim can only be to retain a small minority or a small committee of what laws shall be passed by Congress. I remain convinced this position is unfair, unwise and unconstitutional.

I, myself, find it very difficult to justify appealing to the President, or the Vice President, to step into the breach—in a sense it departs from the rules of the Senate. In order to force upon us a change in the rules which I think would substantially lessen the effectiveness of the Senate.

I think it goes a little far to refer to this majority view on rules and it has accepted as a rule by the Senate. It was simply an aberration by a former Senator who had been committed to the civil rights cause. There was no man who had been more active or had done more in his advocacy of the civil rights cause, going back, in the most dramatic fashion, to the convention of 1948, in Philadelphia, wherein he almost disrupted that convention by his advocacy of immediate civil rights action at that time.

I respect his judgment. Those bills have been passed. As far as his judgment went as to what the Congress and the Senate and the Supreme Court would finally do, he was correct. Whether or not it was the best solution to the problem is a judgment we must all determine. In any case, it is not a rule, and I would say that there is no Humphrey rule today which we are under any compulsion to respect at all.

A moment ago to the hearing which was held this morning. Two of the most distinguished historians in the country are testifying upon the Javits bill, which has several co-sponsors, including the Senator from Virginia (Mr. STOKES), the Senator from Maryland (Mr. MATIUS), and I think one or two others. The whole thrust of that bill is to reestablish the role of the Senate—or of the Congress. I should say, but we are particularly interested in the Senate—in our governmental structure. Dr. Commager yesterday agreed, and in fact, both witnesses agreed. I know of very little dissent from the proposition that in the last 25 years the influence of Congress upon the course of our country’s activities, foreign and domestic, has been overshadowed by the Executive. The enormous power of the Executive is indispensable in the interests of war, in which we have been for much of the last 25 years. Everybody agreed to that. There was no dissent. All are disturbed.
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my judgment, the case for adjusting the rule has long since been made.

What I fear, more than ever, is that barring some accommodation on this issue at this time will only strengthen the hand of those who seek a majority cloture procedure. Such a change goes beyond the mere question of debate limits. A change to majority cloture would alter the constitutional role of the Senate in our frame of government. In short, it would be a mistake with far-reaching implications. But the threat of that mistake occurring is increased should the Senate refuse now to impose a three-fifths rule and thereby end these biennial efforts to alleviate the unfair burden of two-thirds cloture.

Two-thirds cloture has proved unreasonable mainly because some Senators' attitude on invoking cloture is unyielding. But that fact is plain. Majority cloture would be a destructive standard and would deny us the proper role of the Senate in our government.

The Members of this body referred to this resolution, Mr. PEARSON.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, will the Senate yield me 1 minute?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, how much time remains to the proponents?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Nine minutes.

Mr. CHURCH. I yield 1 minute to the distinguished cosponsor of the resolution, Senator from Kansas.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to thank the leadership for permitting the Senate to come together this year on these matters. We feel Senate Resolution 9 is a reasonable and a balanced approach to amending the rules of the Senate to meet the issues that face us in the last third of this century—a proposal of balance between the right of full debate and the right to vote at some time, of balance between protecting the rights of the minority and permitting the majority to govern.

I would be less than candid with the Senate and with the record.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. PEARSON. One additional minute. If I did not recognize that a great deal of the crusade has gone out of this effort. It is said that some of the great issues that have come before the Senate were at the time unable to be enacted into law because of the present filibuster rules. I think that is a narrow view which does not consider the very important issues of the future.

I want also, Mr. President, to commend the distinguished Senator from Iowa (Mr. MILLER) for his attempts to make a reasonable proposal and some compromise, as well as others who have worked very hard to bring reason and some sense of balance to the rules of the Senate and to this effort.

I thank my colleagues.

Mr. CHURCH. I thank the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. President, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished cosponsor of the resolution, Mr. MANSFIELD.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I take second place to no one in upholding the institution of the Senate, especially in relation to the executive branch; and I feel that that argument has been carried out to an extreme in this debate.

I believe in a great deal of flexibility for the Senate. I believe, to a degree, in the effectiveness of the legislative process in our governmental function or governmental structure—that is, the basic belief that discussion of important public matters is essential. The discussion will usually take place in the House, this body—is important to reaching wise decisions. I think it is a fundamental assumption of our constitutional system that there is something to be gained from having a Senate which will deliberate upon and will consider the significance especially of the very controversial and very deeply important matters.

The Senator from Rhode Island very eloquently—and he is a most eloquent Member of this body—referred to this body as the greatest deliberative body in the world, or something to that effect. I do not think I misquote him. I submit to him that the only reason we have any reputation as a great deliberative body is because of the rules by which we reach decisions. The rules and procedures are of the Senate. They have usually been able to control it. The executive branch, when it is contemplating legislation, knows that it has to face the possibility of a three-fifths cloture, and I think it has a great effect upon the formulation of the legislation for the Senate.

What the distinguished Senator from Idaho (Mr. MILLER) has been introduced.

I am quite confident that the executive branch, when it is contemplating legislation in the Senate, takes into consideration the fact that the Senate of the United States will have something to say about it. They do not have to bother too much about the House of Representatives; they have usually been able to control it. The attitude of many people in the House of Representatives, particularly the leadership, and they make no bones about it, is that they are there to carry out the President's policy.

That has often been the attitude of many Members of the Senate. But the institution itself is all I am interested in—the institution of the Senate in making important decisions involving the security and the life of this country. I think it would be a grave mistake if we forgo that influence and turn our country completely over to the Executive.

I realize that in many areas, many people think the Executive is more efficient, but I believe that it is more responsive to the popular demands of the moment. In many cases, it may well be. In many cases the Senate is stubborn. But I hope this will be the last vote, and that we can go on to something else.

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I believe in a great deal of flexibility for the Senate. I believe, to a degree, in an orderly organization, and facing up to legislative matters which come before this body.

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I realize that in many areas, many people think the Executive is more efficient, but I believe that it is more responsive to the popular demands of the moment. In many cases, it may well be. In many cases the Senate is stubborn. But I hope this will be the
its place in demanding reflection and hope-
fully wisdom prior to governmental action. Imponderable, it is only under the condi-
tion of success in future efforts to gain a
majority cloture rule. That step would not
only mean a change in the rules, but would
relegate the Senate itself to an inferior posi-
tion in our scheme of government.
I urge each of you to consider again the
purposes upon which your past actions on
changing Rule XXII have been based, I be-
lieve the bases for many of our attitudes have
departed. The issues that will confront
the Senate will be far different from those
that have molded our opinions on Rule XXII.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of
my time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Who
yields time?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I yield 1
minute to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MILLER. I thank the Senator
from Idaho.

Mr. President, as Members of the Sena-
tate know, a number of us have been try-
ing to work out a reasonable compromise
on the proposed rules change. That com-
promise is presently at the desk; and if
cloture could be invoked, we would reach
it. However, it is difficult to get the num-
ber of votes to invoke cloture, and even at this
moment attempts are being made to get the one or two extra
votes that are needed.

I commend the distinguished majority
leader, the distinguished minority leader,
and the two chief sponsors of Senate
Resolution 9—the Senator from Idaho
(Mr. Carasco) and the Senator from
Kansas (Mr. Pearson)—for uncertainties
to do the best they can, along with me,
to work out a compromise. This has been
a very fine effort; and if it does not
succeed, it will not be because a great deal
of time and trouble has not been put
into it.

I want to underscore the fact that cer-
tain absentee Senators have made this
negotiation very difficult. Unfortunately,
some Members of the Senate are not
here; and if the Senators were here, I
think we could have got the job done.

I thank the Senator from Idaho.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The
time of the Senator has expired.

Who yields time?

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, how much
time is reserved to the Senator from
Alabama?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The
Senator from Alabama has 5 minutes, and
the Senator from Idaho has 1 min-
ute.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I yield
the 1 remaining minute to the distin-
guished Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the
purpose of the U.S. Senate is to legislate.
Correspondingly, our constituents elected
us in an anticipation that they were
sending us to a legislative assembly
wherein votes were recorded after a rea-
sensible time for discussion. Instead, this
desirable procedure does not obtain. We
are deadlocked on many major matters—

vital bills held hostage to the obstruction
of a few individuals. Meanwhile, the sup-
sorting majority has a choice between
abandoning the legislation or enfeebling
it by constraining amendments.

The right to debate quite broadly
has been narrowed since this body first
met 182 years ago. But when the rules of
the Senate, intended to provide a delib-
erate method for legislating, are used—or
misused—to raise an all but impossible
barrier to the enactment of legislation,
then these rules should be eliminated.

Words of Thomas Jefferson, spoken in
the early 19th century, apply well to the
challenge we face today:

As new discoveries are made, new truths
discovered, and men's views on change
with the change of circumstances, institu-
tions must advance also and keep pace with
the times.

In the specific instance to which I ad-
dress myself today, the situation is even
more alarming. On January 25 of this
year, Senate Resolution 9 was introduced. It was cosponsored by 51 Senators from
Republican and Democratic ranks. Fifty-
one is a significant number because it
stands for a constitutional majority of
the U.S. Senate.

An observer would have every reason
to assume that a resolution with such
support would be reached promptly and
prematurely with approval.

But what are the facts? Seven weeks
have passed since Senate Resolution 9
was introduced. And what has trans-
pired? During this time we have been
engaged in a filibuster or talk-a-thon, or
what have you, to prevent the resolution
from being taken from the calendar and
being considered directly. If this cloture
effort succeeds this afternoon—and I
hope it does—that only ends the debate
on the motion to consider. Another per-
day of debate of undetermined length
will be endured, a fortnight of cloture
efforts could be launched in order
to obtain a vote on Senate Resolution 9.
I suggest that such a condition within
this great legislative assembly is mis-
chief, at the least, and obstructionist
at best.

A recent Harris poll, to which the
diligent Senator from Idaho (Mr. Carasco)
had alluded, indicates a loss of con-
fidence by the public in Congress. Surely,
the Senate has suffered a loss of confidence in many segments of
our society because of the legislative
processes that flow from the well-known
filibuster, or from the misuse of cloture
clauses—perhaps even more damagingly
simply by the threat of the filibuster.

These are difficult and troubled times,
Mr. President. Our legislative agenda
demands a more efficient and more
prompt consideration of vital matters
than is permitted by rule XXII as it
now is written. Our legislative procedure
is deteriorating. The legislative disarray
that prevailed in the closing days of the
91st Congress should be a warning that
business-as-usual will not suffice.

Recognition that the times call for
major revision of our ways is at the
highest levels. Democratic and Republi-
can Vice Presidents have expressed a
view in this very Chamber that the clo-
ture rule needs to be modified. Turn-of-
the-century working rules may explain
why we are lagging, but it is not a good
reason.

We could face a time when rule XXII,
as now written, could render the Senate
vulnerable to legislative paralysis at
some future time of national crisis.
Mr. President, we all would agree that man should dominate the machines he creates. So with our rules—they should not be permitted to reign over us.

Indefiniteness, or shortsightedness, in the face of legitimate evidence that change is needed, is a foe, not a friend, of the U.S. Senate.

I will, as I have on past occasions, vote for cloture.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Who yields time?

Mr. ALLEN. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. President, this will be the fourth vote by the Senate on this question. There has been no change of position by a single Senator in the same 40 days that this debate has lasted, unless there has been some change in the last day or so, as indicated by the distinguished Senator from Iowa (Mr. MILLER). There has been no switching of position. Nor has the question of cloture been a wedge to move eventually to majority cloture, and that is apparently the effort of those who are now seeking this change.

Mr. President, I submit that if cloture is invoked in this matter, it will not end the debate. We then go to an extended discussion of the resolution itself, including the amendment to be offered by the distinguished Senator from Iowa and any other amendments—including, I assume, the amendment of the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. Javits), to provide for 51 votes for cloture. Since cloture is invoked, the bars are down. Any amendment can be adopted that the Senate sees fit to adopt.

So, Mr. President, I hope that those who want cloture to be cut off do not want cloture to be extended, and would agree that cloture in the U.S. Senate will hold firm, and that this will be, as assurances were given by the distinguished majority leader, the last vote on cloture on this question during this session of Congress.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Since all time has been yielded, 1 minute remains.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

[No. 14 Leg.]

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, I announce that the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL) and the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that the Senator from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN) is absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. JORDAN) is absent because of illness.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. On this question the yeas are 55, the nays are 39. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting, not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected.
Mr. JAVITS and Mr. MANSFIELD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New York is recognized.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I appeal from the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I would like to discuss this matter.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is debatable.

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

The Speaker asked for the yeas and nays. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second. The yeas and nays are ordered.

The recording Clerk reported the result of the yeas and nays as follows:

YEAS-55

Aiken
Allen
Alliot
Baker
Bellm on
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Borah
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. V. a.
Cannon
Chiles
Church
Cook
Cooper
Cotton
Dole
Ellender
Fong
Gambrell
Griffi n
Hollings
Hu ska
Inouye
Jordan
Jordan, Idaho

NAYS-37

Anderson
Bays
Barlow
Buckley
Byrd of West Virginia
Case
Corston
Eagleton
Eldridge
Friddle
Humphrey
Jackson

NOT VOTING-8

Bentsen
Hatfield
Goldwater
Gravel

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I appreciate the explanation made by the distinguished Senator from New York. It has broadened my views and I shall proceed in such a way that there can be no misunderstanding. I have said time and time again that I am against a mere majority vote to bring about a change in the rules because I think it would change the position of the Senate in our scheme of Government.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I move to table the appeal of the Senator from New York. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana to lay on the table the appeal by the Senator from New York from the ruling of the Chair.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the clerk will call the roll. The legislative clerk called the roll.

The majority leader moved that the appeal be indicated on the table.
Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Idaho (Mr. Church).

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the vote just announced on the cloture motion showed that 59 percent of the Senators voting favored the limitation of debate. This 55 to 39 vote represents the high water mark of the effort to date. Four years ago, 53 votes were obtained for cloture, which was a minority of the total vote cast. This represents the high point in the vote since 1963, the message written plain: We are moving toward a cause that will ultimately fall.

I should like to add the name of the distinguished Senator from Michigan (Mr. Hart), who joined me in this effort.

Mr. President, I am convinced that the Senate will not be allowed to do what it ought to do, which is to undo its own shackles. I did not argue with the majority leader, because we are all fairly sophisticated here, and there was no point in doing so at that point.

There is no effort here to make major cloture the rule. The only question is: Shall a majority of the Senate, at the beginning of a new Senate or at the beginning of a new Congress, be in charge of writing its own rules? Can we ever undo this, unless we have what Calhoun described as concurrent majorities? My answer is "no."

So I would say that the Senate will be unable to work any meaningful reform. The one thing it got done was the temporary powers of the then majority leader, former President Lyndon Johnson. It was able to get a minor change—two-thirds present and voting instead of two-thirds of the Senate. But that took the power of Lyndon Johnson in the Senate, which was enormous, and it was a very little change.

So until we bite this bullet, until we cut the Gordonian knot and make the constitutional decision that we have the power to disentangle or, as Lincoln said, to disenthrall ourselves, there will be no meaningful change in rule XXII, and one-third of the Senate can continually frustrate it.

One day, perhaps when I am long dead and gone, we will face some super-awesomeness that will shake this Nation to its foundations, and a third of the Senate will stand in the way of acting on it; and the Senate will rule the day we made this legal decision, which we made once before and which we made today.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. PEA RSON. Mr. President, I just want to make a simple statement, and thank the leadership and thank the Senate. We took a great deal of time, but I think it was worth the fight.

I should like to concur in all that the distinguished Senator from Idaho said, in that we are gaining ground. The day will come, and I think the Senate will be a better body and a greater body at that time.

I thank the leadership. They did all we asked them to do, made every reasonable effort to help us in the final days of a compromise, and I shall always be grateful.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I have the Senator's remark.

I should like to express the condolences of those who participated in this debate, to include the leading members of the opposition. Let me do so now. Throughout the debate, I appreciated the courtesy extended to me by the distinguished Senator from Idaho, and I wish to acknowledge the worthy contributions made by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator Mankus, the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services; by Senator Ervyn, who carried a major part of the load; by Senators Cooper, Hollins; and all the others who participated on the other side of this debate.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. PEA RSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
of 39 Senators voting against the invoking of cloture, which also was a high water mark for the opposition to invoking cloture at this session of the Senate. So it was clear that the opposition to the invoking of cloture and cutting off debate on the rules change continues to mount, and the opposition to this move was at its height on the final vote today. With 39 votes against cloture it is hard to see how the extended debate can be called a filibuster of southern Senators.

Also, I should like to express my appreciation to the distinguished majority leader, who has stated time and time again his opposition to seeking to amend the rules by majority vote; and certainly the moral leadership he exhibited when he moved to table the appeal of the distinguished Senator from New York showed him to be the great statesman he always has been. I pay tribute to the distinguished majority leader.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, pursuant to the provisions of section 5, Public Law 420, 83d Congress, as amended, the Speaker had appointed Mr. Carey of New York and Mr. Ruth as members of the board of directors of Gallaudet College, on the part of the House. The message also informed the Senate that, pursuant to the provisions of section 123(a), Public Law 91-605, the Speaker had appointed Mr. Wixtort, Mr. Emonsson, Mr. Don H. Clausen, and Mr. Schwegel, as members of the Commission on Highway Beautification, on the part of the House.

COMMITTEE SERVICE

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield to the distinguished minority leader for the purpose of revising the resolution on behalf of the joint leadership.

Mr. SCOTT. I thank the distinguished majority leader for yielding.

Mr. President, this unanimous-consent request which I have cleared with the distinguished majority leader, with the distinguished junior Senator from Montana (Mr. Mercutie), and with the distinguished senior Senator from Delaware (Mr. Boggs).

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that in addition to the committee memberships to which a Senator may be entitled under paragraph 6 of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, a Senator may serve as a member of any joint committee, if the Senate members of that committee may be selected only from among members of one of the standing committees named in paragraph 2 or 3 and specified in the provision of law relating to the selection of members of that joint committee. If this consent agreement shall be effective for the 92d Congress only.

Mr. President, that is the end of the request, but by way of clarification, let me say that we are having some difficulty working out committee memberships in the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and, I believe, in the Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures.

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

EXTENSION OF RIGHT TO VOTE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 93, Senate Joint Resolution 7, and that it be laid before the Senate and made the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GAMBRILL). The joint resolution will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. Senate Joint Resolution 7, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider the joint resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with amendments, on page 2, line 2, after the word "is," strike out "thereby"; in line 4, after the word "Constitution," strike out "only if" and insert "when"; at the beginning of line 7, strike out "to the States"; at the beginning of line 9, insert "Section 1"; and, at the beginning of line 13, insert "Sec. 2." so as to make the joint resolution read:

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

"ARTICLE —

"SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who at any time of the year of eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, hopefully, we may be able to dispose of this constitutional amendment resolution today, although I would not guarantee it. If we do finish it, it is then anticipated that on tomorrow we will take up the debt limit ceiling bill, provided the Senate gives its unanimous consent. When that is disposed of, it is anticipated that some time next week, perhaps on Monday or Tuesday, we will take up the bill dealing with Appalachia.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the suspension of the rules be continued.

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

RAISING OF PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT—PROGRAM

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I would like to say to the distinguished majority leader, in regard to the reports I am filing on H.R. 4690, the bill to increase the public debt limit, that I have made plans that will take me out of town on Thursday and I would hope to be here when the bill is considered. This is a rather urgent matter. It is not urgent at the moment of course, but I will make it more so. I would hope that it could be scheduled for consideration sometime in the early days ahead.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I had just announced that the distinguished Senator from Louisiana came into the Chamber, that, hopefully, it might be possible to finish the pending business today and then it was the intention of the joint leadership, with the unanimous consent of the Senate being granted, to take up the debt limit tomorrow.

Mr. LONG. I thank the distinguished Senator from Montana.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I wonder whether I might inquire of the majority leader whether unanimous consent to take up the debt limit ceiling bill was granted or was ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. No, no. It will be asked. I said contingent on that.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I thank the Senator. Mr. SCOTT. What about Appalachia? Mr. MANSFIELD. That will not be ready until next week.

Mr. SCOTT. I thank the distinguished majority leader.

EXTENSION OF RIGHT TO VOTE

The Senate continued with the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 7) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, does the Senator from Indiana have the floor at this time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GAMBRILL). The Senator from Indiana is correct.

Mr. BAYH. I certainly appreciate the courtesy of the distinguished Presiding Officer.

Mr. President, today we begin an important—and historic—debate on Senate Joint Resolution 7, the proposed amendment to the Constitution which would lower the voting age to 18 for all elections, Federal, State, and local. I look forward to a thorough and spirited debate. I hope that the Senate—and the House—will pass this measure.
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and send it to the States—because it is the right thing to do. I do not make such a recommendation casually. After spending more than 8 years as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, and as a result of our efforts to secure passage of the 25th amendment, Mr. President, I am acutely aware that amending the Constitution is an awesome responsibility, and I do not take lightly. I think our Founding Fathers were correct in requiring two-thirds of both Houses and three-fourths of the States legislatures to join in concurrence before a major change could be made in the bedrock constitutional law of the land.

No constitutional change should be proposed by this body until there has been thorough study and thought, both in the Congress and in the rest of the country. I firmly believe that there has been such study and thought, and that we have indeed found the consensus favoring such a change in the voting age.

Last week the subcommittee ordered Senate Resolution 7 reported to the full committee. The vote was unanimous. Last Thursday, the full committee met and ordered this measure reported to the full Senate for consideration on the floor. Thursday, the vote was unanimous. Now it is time for each of us to consider this issue and decide how to vote. I plan to support this joint resolution because I believe that there is a solid series of arguments supporting an extension of the franchise to younger voters.

First, these younger citizens are fully mature enough to vote. There is no age to the age of 21. The 21-year age of maturity is derived only from historical accident. In the 11th century 21 was the age at which most males were physically capable of carrying armor. But the physical ability to carry armor in the 11th century clearly has no relation to the intellectual and emotional qualification to become an American citizen even if physical maturity were the crucial determinant of the right to vote, 18-year-olds would deserve that right: Dr. Margaret Mead and others have shown that the age of full maturity of American youth has dropped more than 3 years since the 18th century. As Vice President Agnew said recently in endorsing a lowered voting age:

Young people today are better educated and they mature physically much sooner than they did even 50 years ago.

The simple fact is that our younger citizens today are mentally and emotionally capable of participating in a democratic form of Government. Today more than half of the 18- to 21-year-olds are receiving some type of higher education. Today nearly 80 percent of these young people go to school after graduation. It is interesting to compare these recent statistics with some from 1920, when less than 10 percent went on to college and less than 5 percent of our students actually graduated from high school.

Second, our 18-year-olds have earned the right to vote because they bear all or most of an adult citizen's responsibilities. Of the nearly 11 million 18- to 21-year-olds today, about half are married and more than 1 million of them are responsible for raising families. Another 1,400,000 are serving their country—serving all of us. And tens of thousands of young people have paid the supreme sacrifice in the Indochina War over the past 5 years. Today more than 3 million young people, ages 18 to 21, are full-time employees and taxpayers. As former Attorney General Ramsey Clark has pointed out:

We subject the young, who are more than 8 years old, to the pollitical process. even deeper cleavages. The student generation is not only the most educationally advanced generation in American history, but the most politically active generation as well. The young have a special responsibility to our country to vote and to vote wisely.

That commission called the present generation "the most intelligent," the "most idealistic," the "most sensitive to public issues," and with a "higher level of social conscience than preceding generations." Sorensen described the question of...
whether to lower the voting age as raising a "moral issue." He said:

For the very essence of democracy requires that its electoral base be as broad as the standards of fairness and logic permit.

Dr. W. Walter Menninger testified in support of lowering the voting age as a representative of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. He pointed out that the commission in its final report had recommended a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18.

Dr. Menninger also reminded us about the statement Senator Kennedy had made during the subcommittee's 1968 hearings:

The age of 21 is not simply the automatic chronological door to the sound judgment and wisdom that is needed to exercise the franchise of the ballot.

He went on to point out that it is at 18 that young people traditionally "try it on their own," and "become responsible for themselves." It is at 18 that "the citizen has fresher knowledge and more enthusiasm in government processes."

Dr. Menninger explored the experiences of all nations have had with lowering the voting age. He said that:

Nothing in the recent history of states which allow those under 21 to vote has indicated that the college-age vote is irresponsible or "radical."

And he pointed out that, according to the studies of the 1963 Commission on Voting, "where 18-year-olds were allowed to vote, they voted in larger proportions than the rest of the population."

He believed that this evidence supported his thesis that lowering the voting age would allow the younger voters to take an active part in the system when they are still subject to the "stimulation" of courses in citizenship and American history and reverse the presently poor turn-out of voters in the 21- to 30- category.

Dr. Goldwater appeared and told us that as a result of his repeated travels to universities in every part of the country over the past few years, he is convinced that "this generation of young people is the finest generation that has ever come along."

To give a direct answer, I see no reason, from the point of judgment, why our young people should not be allowed to vote, and I think they have the right to vote.

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Senator Edward M. Kennedy said in his testimony that:

I believe the time has come to lower the voting age in the United States, and thereby to bring American youth into the mainstream of our political process. To me, this is one of the things this country must do in order to foster to the young people who will make up our nation to succeed in bringing our youth into full and lasting participation in our institutions of democratic government.

Dr. Margaret Mead, the noted anthropologist, appeared before the subcommittee and particularly emphasized the fact that today's young people:

Are not only the best educated generation that we have in the segment of the population that is better educated than any other group, but also they are more mature than young people in the past.

Testimony was heard and statements were received from individuals representing countless organizations, including: Youth Franchise Coalition; National Education Association; American Federation of Teachers; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; American Civil Liberties Union; the American Jewish Committee; and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

Oregon against Mitchell

On March 13, 1970, 3 days after the hearings were concluded, the Senate passed the Voting Rights Act of 1970, which contained a provision lowering the voting age to 18. On June 29, 1970, the subcommittee reported the 18-year-old vote constitutional proposals to the full Judiciary Committee, with the understanding that it would pass in the full committee pending the outcome of the Supreme Court test.

Although the constitutionality of lowering the voting age by statute had been explored at length in hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments and on the floor of both Houses, some substantial doubt remained, and the amendment was provided for a rapid determination by the Supreme Court. On December 21, 1970, the Supreme Court ruled in Oregon against Mitchell that title III of the Voting Rights Act of 1970 is not applicable to Federal elections, but that the Congress lacks power under the Constitution to lower the voting age by Federal statute in State and local elections. The Supreme Court, therefore, directed the Congress to act by either House before the end of the session.

The results of the Court's decision were immediate. Because election officials and others, not merely because of the apparent inconsistency, but because it would require a dual-age system of registration and voting said to be expensive, confusing, and subject to other serious problems.

In response to these comments, I started preparing a report which would explore the scope and magnitude of these problems. I collected the background material on the effort to lower the voting age, and survey the problems arising across the country as a result of Oregon against Mitchell. I sent telegrams to the chief election officials of each of the 50 States and election officials from some 35 major cities, and counties, asking them to estimate the cost, confusion, and problems they anticipated as a result of the dual-age voting. Newspaper reports of responses to the Court's decision were surveyed from across the country. The possibility of prompt State action to lower the voting age was analyzed for every State, and compared to the possibility of prompt ratification of a Federal constitutional amendment.

In preparing that report I found that as a result of the decision in Oregon against Mitchell, 47 States face the possibility of having to administer the 1972 election under a dual-age voting—voting at age 18 in Federal elections and at a greater age in State and local elections. It is my belief that such a system of dual-age voting is morally indefensible and patently illogical; however, we can deny younger voters a voice in local affairs when we allow them the right to participate in the selection of the Nation's highest officials? Moreover, according to the election officials I corresponded with, dual-age voting may also be dangerously complicated and inordinately expensive as well. These officials estimated the cost amounting to at least $10 million to $20 million. Last year Congress declared that every American over the age of 18 should be entitled to vote in all elections. It is my hope that the Federal Supreme Court was devoid of principle, and the fear that it may be unknowable in practice, will encourage the Congress to reaffirm that fundamental policy judgment by providing for the passage of a Federal constitutional amendment for ratification by the States.

There is no basis whatsoever, in logic, in policy or in practice, for denying 18-
year-olds the right to vote in State and local elections when they may vote in Federal elections. All of the arguments advanced in favor of lowering the voting age apply with equal force to State and local elections and to Federal elections. Indeed, the very existence of a group in which young people have expressed the greatest interest—for example, the quality of education and the State of the environment—will be particularly affected by most of the arguments.

In a time of increasing interest in the decentralization of Government programs and resources, there is simply no justification whatsoever for excluding young people from participation in State and local elective politics when we permit them full participation on the Federal level.

The administrative problems of creating and maintaining a system of dual-age voting have led election officials to raise the danger of profound confusion and delay in the election process. In the 47 States that have not yet extended the franchise to 18-year-olds, separate systems of registration and voting must be established for nearly 10 percent of the previous voting-age population—more than twice the number of all other voters.

The administrative problems of the voting of the young are impossible to exaggerate. The Oregon Department of Elections, for example, has reported that 10-year-olds are the people most concerned about the possible solutions. In jurisdictions contemplating the use of separate voting machines, at a cost of approximately $2,000 apiece, the initial cost would be staggering $1.3 million in Connecticut, $3.5 million in New York City. In jurisdictions choosing to use voting machine "lock-out" where possible, or paper ballots, the costs are harder to estimate and fully could constitute a use of the additional personnel, but election officials are nevertheless concerned about the magnitude of the expense required. A few examples of responses from election officials follow:

Paul Maraton, Recorder of Maricopa County—"including Phoenix—Arizona, predicted a possible expense on the order of $500,000 resulting from dual-age voting.

California State Assemblyman John Briggs reported that, according to the California Secretary of State, it would cost more than $1.5 million dollars to implement dual-age voting in California. The Registrar-Recorder of Los Angeles confirmed that "dual-age voting will cost approximately $400,000 to $500,000 additional" in the county.

Mrs. Gloria Schafer, the Secretary of State of Connecticut, has estimated that the State may have to spend $1,300,000 on voting machines alone to implement dual-age voting.

In Illinois, Secretary of State John W. Lewis estimated that there would be a 40 to 50 percent increase in election costs because of the need to keep two sets of registration books, two sets of ballots, and the like. The chairman of the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners estimated that $500,000 for this purpose would be needed alone at between $150,000 and $200,000.

The Indiana State Election Board has predicted that it would cost $300,000 for registration facilities, and for the printing and casting of paper ballots.

In Iowa, the Secretary of State estimated that it would cost $125,000 to $150,000, but Secretary of State Melvin D. Synhorst added that if voting machines had to be purchased, this figure could rise considerably higher.

According to Allen J. Beerman, the Secretary of State of Nebraska, the implementation of dual-age voting in Nebraska would cost more than $25,000.

New Mexico Secretary Betty Florina expects the cost of implementing dual-age voting to total approximately $200,000.

 Maurice J. O'ourke, the President of the New York City Board of Elections has stated that the procedure would cost the city $5,000,000 minimally. We would need 1,500 new voting machines, which cost $2,000 each, and we would have to hire an average of two additional permanent personnel to set up and maintain the two sets of registration books necessary for the two groups.

Ward Fowler, of Oklahoma's State Election Board, has predicted extra costs arising from dual-age voting of $50,000 and $150,000 per election year.

Rhode Island relies heavily on voting machines, and as a result Secretary of State August P. LaFrance expects that additional costs could total nearly "two million dollars."

Director of Elections Jack M. Perry of Shelby County Tennessee, which includes Memphis, has said that the extra expenses of dual-age voting would amount to "around $800,000."

A. Ludden, Kramer of Washington's Secretary of State, gave a careful estimate of all the expenses that dual-age voting would entail and concluded that it would cost the State $600,000, a figure even lower in New York, especially when his State is "desperately struggling to avoid bankruptcy."

The difficulty of determining just what constitutes a Federal election may lead to substantial disruption of State political party organization and prolonged confusion and delay in the courts. Oregon against Mitchell grants the right to vote in all Federal primary elections to all 18-year-old voters. However, in many States the selection of nominees for Federal office is not performed in a primary but by delegates elected to State conventions. In many of the States for these delegates, they will have no voice in the selection of the Federal nominees who will represent their party. However, many of these elected delegates are State and local party officials and perform other State functions, and 18-year-olds are precluded by law in 47 of the 50 States from voting for State officials. If excluded from party elections which affect—directly or indirectly—the choice of Federal officials, 18-year-old voters are certain to challenge their exclusion in court, and very substantial disruption and delay may result before the numerous separate and differing problems across the country are resolved.

A Federal constitutional amendment offers the only realistic hope in most States for lowering the voting age before the 1972 elections. Of the 47 States having voting age in excess of 18, only eight have reported that it would be possible to lower their voting age by State action before the 1972 general election without resorting to some extraordinary procedure, such as a special statewide election. Most of the remaining States face delays that would preclude final action on their part before the November 1972 date. Ratification of a Federal constitutional amendment, on the other hand, appears to be a realistic possibility by 1972. At the present time it seems likely that at least 40 State legislatures will be meeting in 1972 alone, in the absence of any special sessions, and the reapportionment required by the 1970 census is likely to continue the fall of 1972 an active period for special sessions. The three amendments proposed by Congress in the 1960's—the 23d, 24th, and 25th Amendments—were ratified in an average time of approximately 2 years, and an amendment lowering the voting age to 18 would stand an excellent chance of ratification within a similar period.

CONCLUSION

I have long been concerned with the need to extend the franchise to include our younger citizens. After chaired two sets of subcommittee hearings on this issue and after preparing this report, I...
am now convinced—more firmly than ever before—that the time has come to lower the voting age to 18 in every election across the land—because it is right.

And if the many problems of dual-age voting force us to confront the question more promptly, and should the better voting age be sound principle, sound policy, and sound practice. The Congress should complete its action at the earliest possible date, and send the amendment for final ratification.

Mr. President, I consider it a privilege to open the debate which I hope will lead to final ratification of one of the most important constitutional amendments ever to be presented to this body.

I refer, of course, to the matter which is the pending order of business, Senate Joint Resolution 7, the proposed constitutional amendment which would lower the voting age for all elections to 18.

The principal sponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 7 is the distinguished Senator from West Virginia (Mr. Randolph), who has been a friend of voting law reform since 1942. Senate Joint Resolution 7 is also cosponsored by 88 other Members of the Senate. This matter has been of great concern to the Senator from Indiana since his first days in the Indiana State Legislature back in 1955.

I think it is critical today that young Americans who are asked to bear the responsibilities of citizenship have some voice in determining what national policy shall be.

The inequity existing in the disenfranchisement of 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds can be documented at length. But it seems to me that the most glaring inequity is manifest in the casualty lists.

Mr. President, of those who died on the tragic circumstance that half the young people who sent them there.

It is my judgment of the Supreme Court that 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds should be given the franchise. It is my judgment that 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds have a piece of the action.

How devastating it would be to the main rallying cry of those groups if the very system they say is sterile and unresponsive to change proves to be a travesty. But, Mr. President, the great majority of young Americans who are asked to bear the responsibilities of citizenship have some voice in determining what national policy shall be. It is the judgment of the Senator from Indiana that the country will benefit by the active inclusion in the body politic of those now kept without.

Having had the opportunity of conversing at length on our campuses, in our cities and in our factories with young people of all ages, I believe that our younger citizens are today more qualified to vote as they have never been before.

There are a few young people who, by their acts and deeds, have shown they are not qualified to vote. But is there anyone who can show that a 16-year-old is not true of some of those who are older?

Young people have their weaknesses and their strengths, just as older people do.

One other aspect of this problem that I think the Senate should contain came to light at the hearings which were held by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments.

Interestingly enough some of the most radical youth organizations refused to testify in support of the 18-year-old vote.

At first it was difficult for me to understand that. However, on closer examination, it became obvious why these organizations would not want to see the voting age lowered.

The main rallying cry of these groups is that we should destroy our democratic system. I say democratic system with a small "d" out of deference to the distinguished Presiding Officer, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Schweiker). They say that we should destroy our system, because there is no place in it for young people today. They use this as a rallying cry on the campuses and in youth clubs. They say:

"We will destroy the system, tear it down, and build a new and better utopia, one, and young people have a piece of the action."

All of us are aware that title III of the 1970 Voting Rights Act contained a provision similar to that which is now before the Senate. The Senator from Montana, the Senator from Massachusetts, and other Senators joined in introducing the amendment to the Voting Rights Act which, by statute, said that 18-year-olds should be given the franchise.

On December 21, 1970, in Oregon against naming of three Senators, the Supreme Court ruled that Congress had the authority to establish the voting age for Federal elections only. Thus, the result of the Supreme Court decision was to enfranchise the 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds to vote for the President, Vice President, Senators, and Congressmen.

I think it would be rather kind of us to convince the younger people that there is a place for them in our system, just as older people do. Nothing else can do more to give them an opportunity to work their will within the system than the measure which is now before the Senate.

Mr. President, perhaps a brief note on the reasons that confront us now, and those which confront us in the future.

If there is any level of participation by young people to develop and participate in the governmental processes, "Have faith, because this system is going to make itself available to you."

And, I think it will act quickly.

We just barely have time to refer to the States legislatures so that we can get the necessary 39 legislatures to ratify and make it effective before the 1972 election.

I would just like to finish with one last thought, if I may, Mr. President. As I have said, there is a great deal of travel around the country, I have been deeply disturbed at the number of people who have begun to lose faith in their country and in our democratic processes. I fear that many of them are losing faith in themselves.

Faith can be very strong medicine for some of the problems that confront us today. I do not hold it out as a panacea for all ills that confront us. However, if democracy means anything, it means the capacity, the ability, and the opportunity for people to determine their own destiny.

By acting favorably on this constitutional amendment, we will be saying to the some 11.5 million young Americans who are not being treated as second-class citizens and required to bear the burdens of citizenship but not given the opportunity to develop and participate in the governmental processes, "Have faith, because this system is going to make itself available to you."

Then, Mr. President, it will be up to them to use it justly and wisely. I believe that these younger voters will help us meet many of the problems that confront us now, and those which will confront yet unborn generations.

I think it is important for us to put our house in order. A comprehensive and thorough report prepared by my subcommittee on constitutional amendments—for which Mr. Peter W. Coogan and Mr. P. J. Mode did an excellent job of research—contains data from the subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. That report carefully documents the difficulties and confusion which will result if we are not successful with this constitutional amendment.

Each election official in the country will have to compile two sets of lists—one set for those who are qualified to vote for President, Vice President, Senators, and Congressmen—including the 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds—and another list of those who are qualified to vote for all other officers. Of course this latter list will exclude the 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds.

When all is said and done, as a rallying cry the sangaria is estimated to cost between $10 and $20 million. Election officials have predicted untold confusion on election day in almost every precinct in America. I hope that the House will soon follow suit. We just barely have time to refer this to the States legislatures so that we can get the necessary 39 legislatures to ratify and make it effective before the 1972 election.

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Then, Mr. President, it will be up to them to use it justly and wisely. I believe that these younger voters will help us meet many of the problems that confront us now, and those which will confront yet unborn generations.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to extend for the record a report prepared by the subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments.
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

A. Action by the States

Nine States now have voting ages under 21 allowing only three of these have reduced the voting age to 18. Georgia was the first to act; in 1943 its voters ratified an 18-year-old voting amendment by a margin of over one third. In 1955 the voters of Kentucky approved a referendum—by almost a two to one margin—which lowered State's voting age to 18. Hawaii in 1959 and carried with it its 1850 constitution, which allowed its residents to vote once they became 19. West Virginia, Virginia, and Wyoming have added to the Union, its constitution—which was overwhelmingly approved by its voters on April 5, 1966—contained a 18-year-old voting age. In 1969 the State legislature proposed lowering the age to 18. This amendment was approved by the State's voters in the 1970 elections and has now taken effect.

Several other changes in State constitutions relating to voting ages were approved by the voters in the 1970 elections. Maine voters agreed to enfranchise their 20-year-olds. Massachusetts voters extended the vote to 19-year-olds, and over forty Montana did the same thing. Nebraska lowered its voting age to 20.

In at least three other States there has been unsuccessful legislative action to lay the groundwork for a State constitutional amendment, but in these States the voting age has been lowered by the legislative process has not yet been completed. In Delaware the State legislature has approved a 18-year-old voting statute which requires the approval of a subsequent State legislature. The New York State Assembly has twice approved a 18-year-old vote amendment, but this process has not been completed.

Lowering the voting age to 18 in all State governments is as intolerable to them as was the limitation of voting to males. Youth turned to pragmatism to the setting of specific manageable tasks and getting them done. But that has proved altogether insufficient, because the rest of the world has seen that a new vision, a new set of ideals to supplant the discredited ideologies.
Nevada legislators gave approval to an 18-year-old voting amendment in 1969. If the legislature again approves this same measure, it could be approved by voters in referenda.

The California constitutional commission has recommended lowering the voting age to 19, but the legislature has yet to take action.

In a similar action, there have been popular referenda and legislative action on the issue of lowering the voting age in the following 16 states: Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Illinois, Oregon, Washington, Florida, Wyoming, Connecticut, and Hawaii.

### B. Action by the Congress

The idea of amending the Federal Constitution to lower the voting age to 19 for both Federal and State elections is not new. In modern times the first Joint Resolutions proposing such a change in the Constitution were introduced as well as from representatives of a great variety of organizations.

Senator Randolph was the first witness at the hearings in the 91st Congress. He described in 1948 the American youth of the 19th century as "wasting their time by giving to the young people not only the opportunity, but I repeat again and again, the responsibility for voting for all the elections that are taking place in the United States."

In the 1940s, several states held referenda and local elections in which the voting age was 19. These included Idaho, Montana, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, South Carolina, Oregon, and Florida.

In 1970, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the 26th Amendment. The case, Department of Justice v. Esh raft, was heard in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The ACLU argued that the 26th Amendment was unconstitutional because it only applied to elections for Federal office, and did not apply to elections for State office. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the ACLU, declaring that the 26th Amendment was unconstitutional.

The case was later appealed to the Supreme Court, which upheld the constitutionality of the 26th Amendment.

### C. The 1970 hearings

By far the most comprehensive hearings were those held by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments in the 91st Congress, on February 16 and 17 and March 9 and 10 of 1970, in the 91st Congress. At both sets of hearings support was heard from witnesses representing all parts of the political spectrum and from representatives of a great variety of organizations.

Senior Senator from Ohio, John Glenn, was the first witness to testify at the hearings. He said that the 26th Amendment was a "trivial" amendment and that it was unnecessary.

However, the majority view at the hearings was that the 26th Amendment was constitutional and should be upheld.

The hearings were conducted by the Senate Committee on Constitutional Amendments, which was chaired by Senator Jacob Javits.

### D. The Voting Rights Act of 1970

After the 1970 hearings, the Senate passed the Voting Rights Act of 1970, which extended the 26th Amendment to all elections for Federal office, and also prohibited discrimination in voting practices in those states that had a history of discrimination.

The Act was signed into law by President Nixon on August 6, 1970.

The Voting Rights Act of 1970 was a landmark piece of legislation that helped to ensure the voting rights of all Americans, regardless of race or ethnicity.
Cox of the Harvard Law School, a former Solicitor General of the United States, took the position that: "Since January 1, 1971, the voting age is twenty-one, those who are 18, 19, and 20 in a separate class from those who have reached their twenty-first birthdays. Under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment the question is whether the classification is reasonable or arbitrary and without a substantial basis. If the Court in the past has had to sustain a State in the absence of federal legislation, the Court would sustain such a State rule in the absence of federal legislation. Under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment, however, the Congress has the power to make its own determination.

"If Congress upon reviewing these and related problems in the classification invalid under contemporary conditions, the Court, if it adhered to Katzenbach v. Morgan, should sustain the legislation." Professor Cox and his Harvard Law School colleague, Professor Paul Freund, later pointed out:

Katzenbach v. Morgan recognizes that under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress has the power—and we think the responsibility—to make its own investigation and findings on the constitutionality of state voting classifications, which is conclusive if the Court can "perceive a basis upon which the Congress might resolve the controversy.""

"To limit Katzenbach v. Morgan to allowing state restrictions on ethnic minorities is to ignore the fact that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment requires the power to enforce, condemns in the words of Black's law the classification of voters into two classes...for if the Court can "perceive a basis upon which the Congress might resolve the controversy," it is necessary to go through the separate lists and check off each vote. A few areas of the country do not require registration, and in such areas it will be necessary to verify not only the identity and residence of each voter, but also his status..."

Once the voter's age is determined, the poll workers will have to give out the proper ballot or direct the voter to the proper voting machine. Poll workers generally do not receive much training and are expected to have difficulties adapting to overly complicated voting procedures. The Voting Rights Committee, prepared for the Secretary of State of Minnesota, noted that "election judges...are not expected to...understand the new and complicated regulations that will result," and concluded that giving intelligent instruction at the polls "will be a nightmare at best.

Voting machines are used today in more than half of all polling places, and are used exclusively in many areas of the country. Some election officials have reported that their voting machines simply cannot be adapted to service both types of electors simultaneously. Amata Tora, the Election Attorney of the Connecticut Secretary of State, has predicted that it would not be "feasible" to permit both younger and older voters to use the same machines. In making such a declaration, he cited the impossibility of lowering the voting age by statute. He gave his support for lowering the voting age by amending the Federal Constitution, concluding that: "The time has come to give 18 year olds the vote, as I have long urged. The way to do this is by amending the Constitution..." The Constitutional amendment now pending before the Congress is one step forward to the states for ratification now.

THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION IN OREGON v. MITCHELL

After passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1970, the Oregon legislature enacted a statute which provided that the Act was constitutional and an order forcing the States to enforce the Act. The Court heard oral argument on October 19, 1970, and handed down its decision on December 22, 1970. Here is the majority of the Court's opinion, as a summary of the decision in the case follow:

"The best capulation of the Court's resolution of the constitutional issues is that the titles which are wholly constitutional and four which are wholly unconstitutional. Justice Harlan Black's resolution of the issue caused him to side with the former group insofar as the education article is concerned, while the latter group insofar as State and local elections were concerned."

THE PROBLEMS OF DUAL-AGE VOTING

A. Illogical and morally indefensible

As a result of the Supreme Court's decision in Oregon v. Mitchell, our 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old citizens have the right to participate in the choice of Federal officers—President, Vice President, Senator and Congressman—but they are precluded from taking any meaningful part in the selection of State and local officials. While as a matter of constitutional law the Court's decision may have been correct, the result is morally indefensible, even in policy or in logic for denying these citizens the right to vote in State and local elections when they cannot be moved by the power of the State to make such a classification.

All of the arguments in favor of lowering the voting age are equally applicable to State and local elections as to Federal elections even though young people vote, they are no less mature on State and local issues. If young people have earned the right to vote by bearing the responsibilities of citizenship, they have borne no less of State and local responsibilities. If we need the energy and idealism of the young channelled into elective politics, we need it no less at the State and local level.

Moreover, many of the problems that most concern our younger citizens are largely matters of local and State policy: the quality of education at all levels; the state of the environment; planning and community development. In these areas, participation of the young in local and State elections is particularly appropriate and necessary, and their point of view especially valuable in devising responsible programs.

Finally, in view of the time of increasing interest in decentralization, revenue sharing, and the merits of additional responsibility at the local level, we should not deny young people the right to vote by bearing the responsibilities of citizenship, they have borne no less of State and local responsibilities. If we need the energy and idealism of the young channelled into elective politics, we need it no less at the State and local level.

B. Confusion, delay, and the danger of fraud

As a result of the Supreme Court's decision in Oregon v. Mitchell, special, separate facilities and procedures will have to be developed for persons capable only to vote in Federal elections. This is not a small or isolated difficulty. Only three States—Georgia, Alaska and Alabama—have now allow their 18-year-olds to vote in State and local elections. The other 47 States will have to develop at least ten million potential voters. In most States the number of younger voters is close to 10 per cent. of the State's previous voting age population.

This separation of voters into two classes will have to be done in at least two different ways: first, to disenfranchise the young, and each time the voters come to the polls. When a registrant appears at the local election office, the clerks must determine, initially which class of voters the registrant belongs to and put him in the proper file. In many instances the clerks have at least two complete registration lists. Many
C. Added costs to the States

The views of most State election officials are summed up in a comment by Oregon Attorney General M. J. Whitney, who characterized dual-age voting as an "intolerable administrative burden on the States," a burden that "will result in considerable cost to the taxpayers." The dual-age voting expenses which will be involved, initial expenses for new physical equipment required to have two different machines, and the old going expenses of sustaining and maintaining two sets of registration books, election supervision and the like—will have to be handled and accounted for in each jurisdiction.

The estimates of actual cost resulting from dual-age voting vary widely among States. Many State and local officials are just beginning to begin to realize the true extent of the problem and to canvass the possible solutions. But the information and estimates now available from election officials suggest that the nationwide cost involved is no less than 10 million to 20 million dollars—and may in fact amount to substantially more.

The largest costs will stem from the need to purchase new voting equipment. A majority of States, at least in the example of the Michigan City, Illinois, voting system, will have to finance the purchases out of the local funds for new physical equipment required, it will well take more time to accomplish that.

One almost certain result of the dual-age voting controversy will be increased delay on election day. It will take more time because the two classes of voters must be separated in some jurisdictions by the time to administer two separate means of voting—whether by machine or paper ballots. In some instances, the time required for this may be reduced by the use of a separate machine for the younger voters only in each voting place.

Even where paper ballots are now used, a special stamp must be placed on each ballot and handed out to the right voters, thus adding even more confusion to the proliferation of such ballots. Some jurisdictions have found the system to be practical and cost effective in areas which rely heavily on machines, because the elaborate vote counting and fraud prevention procedures and safeguards were largely abandoned when the switch to machines took place. It will be necessary to reinstate these costly procedures and hire people to count the correct paper ballots whenever they are used.

For example, in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Shelby County, Tennessee—are considering the use of a separate machine for the younger voters only in each voting place.

It has been suggested that it might be necessary to rely on paper ballots for 18-year olds in many jurisdictions—including the States of Alabama, Montana, and Wisconsin, and the City of Chicago. Paper ballots, of course, have been abandoned in many jurisdictions because they increased the likelihood of ease and cost of fraud. And the usual problems associated with any paper ballot system are more serious in these areas which rely heavily on machines, because the elaborate vote counting and fraud prevention procedures and safeguards were largely abandoned when the switch to machines took place. It will be necessary to reinstate these costly procedures and hire people to count the correct paper ballots whenever they are used.

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Many of the most important questions are resolved, and the framework for the whole election is set, by the choice of each party's nominee.

Passing an amendment to the Federal Constitution would end all these difficulties for every State. However, if—for want of a constitutional amendment—the Voting Rights Act is declared unconstitutional, the only way those between 18 and 21 could participate in our electoral system—would be to force the young citizens, even if—for the time being—they are not allowed to vote in State elections, to vote in Federal elections. For these voters would not be participating in elections which so vitally affect the outcome of Federal elections might well mean the difference of votes for a major party or those for a minor party.

Some States, of course, do not have the same type of State-wide primary to choose delegates to the State convention as Indiana, and therefore do not have precisely the same type of problems. But, using the Democratic Party as an example, only 13 States and the District of Columbia choose their delegates to the national party convention in a direct primary. In the other 37 States, delegates are chosen by party conventions, or by party caucuses in the States, as the Indiana Supreme Court has pointed out in the case of State v. Mitchell. The majority of information was gathered from the States which have a Presidential preference primary at which voters of both parties participate in the selection of nominees for Federal offices, and has a Presidential preference primary, it is generally agreed that the 18-year-olds, who cannot vote for party candidates, are only left to participate in the party conventions. These are chosen, for the most part, by statute—rather than by constitutional amendment—in each of these States it is likely that the selection of these candidates would lead to a serious disruption in the State conventions, in party decision-making, and in the courts is now, and the only way to prevent this disruption is to lower the voting age in all the elections before confusion sets in.

The Possibility of Prompt Action

In almost all the States, it would take a State constitutional amendment to lower the voting age. In a few States, including Indiana, Vermont, and Utah, there is some doubt about whether the State constitution prescribes the minimum voting age or merely establishes a State law. It is clear that 18-year-old voters prevented from participating in these elections by party conventions or by caucuses which may result from dual-age voting, there is a strong role for logical and unjustifiable gesture.

The right to vote in the final election is of course, do not have the same type of State-wide primary to choose delegates to the State convention as Indiana, and therefore do not have precisely the same type of problems. But, using the Democratic Party as an example, only 13 States and the District of Columbia choose their delegates to the national party convention in a direct primary. In the other 37 States, delegates are chosen by party conventions, or by party caucuses in the States, as the Indiana Supreme Court has pointed out in the case of State v. Mitchell. The majority of information was gathered from the States which have a Presidential preference primary at which voters of both parties participate in the selection of nominees for Federal offices, and has a Presidential preference primary, it is generally agreed that the 18-year-olds, who cannot vote for party candidates, are only left to participate in the party conventions. These are chosen, for the most part, by statute—rather than by constitutional amendment—in each of these States it is likely that the selection of these candidates would lead to a serious disruption in the State conventions, in party decision-making, and in the courts is now, and the only way to prevent this disruption is to lower the voting age in all the elections before confusion sets in.

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A. By the terms, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, every State now limited to participating in Federal elections, and just what constitutes a Federal election remains unclear. In many States the selection of Federal officials is performed by elected delegates who are also State party members. This is the case in the States—induding the city and county units of the party—plays a strong role in the choice of delegates to the national convention. In Indiana, for instance, there is a State primary at which voters of both parties choose delegates to the national convention. While Indiana has a Presidential preference primary, it binds only on the first ballot, so that the State delegates may in fact select the Presidential nominee.

If the State convention were concerned solely with the selection of nominees for Federal office and delegates to the national convention, the choice of the party's nominee for President—there would be little doubt that 18-year-olds should be allowed to vote in the State primary election. However, the delegates elected to the Indiana State party conventions do far more than choose delegates to the national convention. They also choose the party's candidate for Governor and other State offices. The question will surely be raised whether 18-year-olds, who cannot vote for State officials, should be able to vote in this primary and select the delegtes to the State convention.

In the absence of a drastic change in State party procedures, there are alternatives. Those between 18 and 21 could well be allowed to participate in the selection of State delegates who would then choose both Federal and State nominees. This would preserve their right to affect the choice of national candidates at all stages in the nomination of State candidates, even though it would defeat their chances to be elected as State legislators. The best solution, however, is to provide for quick enactment of a constitutional amendment, which would allow 18-year-olds to vote in all elections. Since time is of the essence in this matter, I would appreciate it if you could possible provide me with your reply by February 1. The questions follow:

1. What extra expenses do you estimate will be involved? What are the major factors in the estimates?

2. What other possible problems do you envision as a result of the dual-age voting?
Costs and problems of dual-age voting

According to the Secretary of State, "Nobody has been willing to hazard a guess so far" as to the extent of the expenses that would be involved with such a dual-age voting change. However, he has predicted that the Supreme Court's decision will force the use of "special ballots," but that the costs, which will have to be paid by the States, would be "negligible." (Arkansas Democrat, December 22, 1970.)

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

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Lowering the voting age by State action

The Secretary of State has indicated that "remedial legislation will be passed during this session." (Arkansas Journal, December 23, 1970.)

The Arizona House majority leader, Burton Barr (R, Phoenix), commented on this situation: "To say that an 18 year old can vote for President but must be 21 to vote for President is ridiculous." (The Arizona Republic, December 22, 1970.)

Arizona currently has a voting age population of State, City, and County elections of about 1,142,000. Between 90,000 and 100,000 additional citizens are currently eligible to vote only in Federal elections.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

The Arizona House majority leader, Burton Barr (R, Phoenix), has stated that "extra expense will be involved in printing two ballots and two poll books for registering and using voting machines." He also said that another "possible problem will be the counting of the two ballots." (The Arizona Republic, January 15, 1971.)

While the Secretary of State was unable to make an exact cost estimate without more information, Richard B. Marston, the Maricopa County Recorder, has predicted a dual-ballot system might well entail the use of 400 extra voting machines at $150 each, an expense of $60,000 for Maricopa County alone.

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Florida

Number of voters affected

Florida presently has a state voting population of almost 4 million. It will now have to take steps to register separately over 300,000 18-to-19 year olds. The state estimated that it will cost about $400,000 to purchase sufficient additional voting machines to allow the 18–21-year-olds to vote together with the rest of the voting population at all elections.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

The Director of the Division of Elections of the State of Florida, Dorothy W. Gilson, has submitted the following detailed memorandum as to the actions his department will have to take to meet this problem, as well as the costs of administering the plans which he had formulated. He reported:

"1. There have been two theories advanced to implement the procedures for voting of 18 year olds:

"a. The procedure that has been advanced from this agency would create 18 year old voting districts throughout the State, consisting of one or more complete Representative Districts.

"b. The other theory which has been advanced by some members of the Legislature would be to create 18 year old voting districts throughout the 27 Representative Districts within New Castle County, one Primary District for Kent County and one Primary District for Sussex County. Each of these two counties has six Representative Districts. By comparing the cost per person place in the General Election, I anticipate that the Primary Districts will cost approximately $300.00 each or a total of $2,100.00 throughout the State.

"2. The possibility of confusion as a result of the new complications in voting procedures was also mentioned. Mr. Braterman said that the "problems involved in setting up the voting machines ... should be given serious consideration." Mrs. Gilson thought that the Supreme Court's decision would result in "more work for Florida's voting supervisors." (Miami Herald, December 22, 1970.)

"3. The present voting age in our State is 21, set by Section 2, Article V of our State Constitution; however, there has been an amendment that passed the 126th General Assembly to lower the voting age to 18. We anticipate that the 126th General Assembly will pass the secondconsideration of this amendment in the early part of its Session. Therefore it will only be the 18 to 19 year old group who would be inconvenienced and therefore be kept from voting. This expense is figured within the above anticipated costs.

"4. The present voting age in our State is 21, set by Section 2, Article V of our State Constitution; however, there has been an amendment that passed the 126th General Assembly to lower the voting age to 18. We anticipate that the 126th General Assembly will pass the second consideration of this amendment in the early part of its Session. Therefore it will only be the 18 to 19 year old group who would be inconvenienced and therefore be kept from voting. This expense is figured within the above anticipated costs.

Lowering the voting age by State action

As in most States, the voting age is set by the Constitution. The proposed amendment which would have lowered the voting age to 18 years in State elections was defeated on November 3, 1970. Mr. Braterman could not "venture a guess as to when this question may again be placed on the ballot" and predicted that the election in the State of Florida." (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 18, 1971.)

Iowa

Number of voters affected

Iowa presently has more than 400,000 voters qualified for the State elections. Nearly 45,000 others would be qualified if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

R. L. Stephans, the Assistant Secretary of State, reports that "substantial extra expense will be involved" because of duplication of registration and administration procedures. (Letter to Birch Bayh, February 3, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The voting age is set by the Iowa Constitution. There has been an "earliest date that such an amendment could be considered" would be November 1972. (Stephans letter to Birch Bayh, February 3, 1971.)

Illinois

Number of voters affected

Illinois has more than 6½ million people eligible to vote in State elections. More than 600,000 others would become qualified if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

John W. Lewis, the Illinois Secretary of State, expects that "to pass a law to allow all 18-year-olds to vote even though such a proposal has been turned

LOWA

Number of voters affected

Hawaii's 20 year old voting age is set by the State constitution. A proposal to lower that age to 19 was defeated in the 1970 elections. No constitutional amendment "as early as practical after the next Presidential election."

Lowering the voting age by State action

The voting age is set by the Hawaii Constitution. There has been an admittance that the State constitution will now have to take steps to register separately over 300,000 18-to-19 year olds. The State estimated that it will cost about $400,000 to purchase sufficient additional voting machines to allow the 18–21-year-olds to vote together with the rest of the voting population at all elections.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

The Director of the Division of Elections of the State of Hawaii, Mr. Braterman, has submitted the following detailed memorandum as to the actions his department will have to take to meet this problem, as well as the costs of administering the plans which he had formulated. He reported:

"1. There have been two theories advanced to implement the procedures for voting of 18 year olds:

"a. The procedure that has been advanced from this agency would create 18 year old voting districts throughout the State, consisting of one or more complete Representative Districts.

"b. The other theory which has been advanced by some members of the Legislature would be to create 18 year old voting districts throughout the 27 Representative Districts within New Castle County, one Primary District for Kent County and one Primary District for Sussex County. Each of these two counties has six Representative Districts. By comparing the cost per person place in the General Election, I anticipate that the Primary Districts will cost approximately $300.00 each or a total of $2,100.00 throughout the State.

"2. The possibility of confusion as a result of the new complications in voting procedures was also mentioned. Mr. Braterman said that the "problems involved in setting up the voting machines ... should be given serious consideration." Mrs. Gilson thought that the Supreme Court's decision would result in "more work for Florida's voting supervisors." (Miami Herald, December 22, 1970.)

"3. The present voting age in our State is 21, set by Section 2, Article V of our State Constitution; however, there has been an amendment that passed the 126th General Assembly to lower the voting age to 18. We anticipate that the 126th General Assembly will pass the second consideration of this amendment in the early part of its Session. Therefore it will only be the 18 to 19 year old group who would be inconvenienced and therefore be kept from voting. This expense is figured within the above anticipated costs.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE
March 9, 1971

Kansas

Number of voters affected

Kansas has a population of about 1,400,000, and about a quarter of a million new voters would be eligible to take part in the State and local elections if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

A member of the elections division of the Kansas Secretary of State’s office, Lavina M. Ridenour, said that additional employees and in all cases will increase the cost for supplies. A conservative estimate is that the increased cost in this area alone will exceed fifty thousand dollars. Second, every precinct in Kansas must now have the casting of paper ballots. Such preparations will cost at least one hundred thousand dollars. Finally, there will be increased costs in the printing of separate ballots. Approximately cost, twenty thousand dollars." (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 27, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The Indiana constitution, in Article Two, Section Two, grants to those 21 years and over the right to vote. It is not yet clear whether this provision would preclude the State legislature from lowering the age by statute. However, if a constitutional amendment is required, it could not be as a practical matter ratified before the general election of 1972. (Davis letter to Birch Bayh, January 27, 1971.)

Iowa

Number of voters affected

Iowa has about 1,700,000 people eligible to vote, and the State presently has enfranchised under an 18-year-old vote provision.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Based on a report from the Polk County Auditor’s Office, the Secretary of the State of Iowa, the Honorable Melvin D. Shanahan, has estimated that the State-wide cost of implementing the dual-age voting in the next Federal election would be somewhere near the “$125,000 to $150,000 mark.” He added, “This figure could rise considerably higher” if additional voting machines had to be purchased. He thought that a “serious problem will be encountered in maintaining proper registration records for this new group of voters in those counties or cities where registration is required in Iowa.” He said he could not estimate the cost factor for this separate registration system but that it would be “substantial.” (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 19, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

Because of the peculiarities of Iowa law, in the absence of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, it would be impossible to approve the Iowa Constitution before the November 5, 1974 general election. Thus, the lowering of the voting age could not be effective before the 1976 regular general election. (Synhorst letter to Birch Bayh, January 19, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The New Mexico constitution sets a voting age of 21 years. Secretary Lewis felt that no constitutional amendment could likely be ratified before the 1972 general election. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 15, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

Indiana

Number of voters affected

Indiana has about 3 million people eligible to vote under present State law and would enfranchise an additional $50,000 if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

The law clerk to the Indiana State Election Board, O. Wayne Davis, has estimated that the dual-age voting will cost about $1,700,000 for Indiana. He wrote:

"** every county in the State of Indiana has separate registration fil­

es. In some cases this will necessitate additional employees and in all cases will produce additional expenses. A conser­

vative estimate is that the increased cost in this area alone will exceed fifty thousand dollars. Second, every precinct in Indiana must now have the casting of paper bal­

lots. Such preparations will cost at least one hundred thousand dollars. Finally, there will be increased costs in the printing of separate ballots. Approximate cost, twenty thousand dollars." (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 27, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The Indiana constitution, in Article Two, Section Two, grants to those 21 years and over the right to vote. It is not yet clear whether this provision would preclude the State legislature from lowering the age by statute. However, if a constitutional amendment is required, it could not be as a practical matter ratified before the general election of 1972. (Davis letter to Birch Bayh, January 27, 1971.)

LOWERING THE VOTING AGE BY STATE ACTION

NORTH CAROLINA

Number of voters affected

North Carolina has a population of about 6,000,000, and about a million new voters would be eligible to take part in the State and local elections if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

The North Carolina constitution provides that a constitutional amendment could only be pre­sented to the voters at a general election, and the next such election is in November of 1972. A constitutional amendment which would change this requirement, is presently being tested in the courts. (McDon­

ald letter to Birch Bayh, January 18, 1971.)

The absence of an amendment to the Federal Constitu­tion, North Carolina is very likely to have to deal separately with voters under 21, at least in the 1972 elections.

KENTUCKY

Kentucky has allowed 18-year-olds to vote in State elections since 1965.

LOUISIANA

Number of voters affected

More than 200,000 additional Louisiana res­

idents would be enfranchised if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Louisiana’s Secretary of State, Wade O. Martin, Jr., said of the Supreme Court’s de­

cision: “It poses some difficult problems,” but he said that the proposition “could work­

out.” Jack Gremlinn, the State At­

orney General, predicted that the ruling would cause complications in the next general election. Secretary of State Martin concluded that he expected difficulty be­

cause, “The more complications you have, the more likely it is that the whole machinery of elections will break down.” (New Orleans Times-Picayune, December 22, 1970.)

On February 3, 1971, Secretary Martin re­

ported to Senator Allen Ellender his present con­

clusions about the feasibility of adapting the State’s voting machines to the new re­

quirements. He wrote:

“Specifically, my conclusion at the present time is that the new machines, in which Louisiana has invested millions of dollars to secure what I consider the nation’s best voting facilities, could be used without minimum of fraud, could be adjusted so as to accommodate the numerous ‘classes’ of voters created by the so-called Voting Rights Acts, but it would be—

1. Most difficult and time consuming.

2. ‘Tremendously expensive both for parts and labor.

3. ‘Such multiple adjustments as ‘lock­

outs’ and exclusions, along with some of the mechanical adjustments, that we have at least three kinds of absentee ballots for voting in combined state and federal elections, must inevitably increase the chance of error and thus to public fraud because of confusion and delays.”

Mr. A. E. Papale, the Registrar of Voters in Louisiana, added that in the initial year of dual-age voting there would probably be about a 50% increase in annual registration costs, with about a 6% increase in succeeding years. He said that in the other possible problems he envisioned was “confusion in the public mind” because different voters would be voting for different combinations of candidates. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 25, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

Secretary of State Martin said that “If any amendment to our State constitution is con­
templated, it appears that the earliest date at which it could be submitted to the elec­torate would be the general election for State and local officers to be held February 1, 1971.” (Letter to Birch Bayh, February 1, 1971.)

MAINE

Number of voters affected

Maine presently has a voting age of 20 as a result of ratification of a proposed constitu­tional amendment at the November 1970 elec­tion. Rose to be in Federal elections, are still allowed to vote in Federal but not State contests.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Eden H. Shute, Jr., the Deputy Secretary of State of Maine, said of the proposition with some real problems.” (Portland Press Herald, December 22, 1970.) According to Peter M. Damborg, the Deputy Secretary of State, it would cost approximately “$10,000” for the additional ballots, instructions to voters, etc. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 19, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The Maine Constitution presently sets the voting age and could not be altered before November 1971. (Damborg letter to Birch Bayh, January 19, 1971.) Several bills to lower the voting age to 18 have been introduced in the State legislature this session. The Deputy Secretary of State has reported that he believes one of these bills is “certain to pass,” and therefore he is urging the town clerks to “ withhold setting up separate voting lists” pending the outcome of this legislation and a referendum. A referendum would cost the state approximately $2,000, from Peter M. Damborg, Deputy Secretary, Maine Department of State.)

MARYLAND

Number of voters affected

Lowering the voting age to 18 would enfranchise more than 200,000 additional Maryland voters.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

The Administrator of the State Administrative Board of Election Laws felt that as a direct result of the Supreme Court’s decision, there would be an additional expense involved in “keeping a separate book or regis­

tery” and in “printing separate absentee bal­

lots for those persons between the ages of 18 and 21.” “The cost of voting machines by machine, "additional mechanical adjust­

ments must be made" in order to adapt the machines, etc. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 19, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The Maryland State constitution sets the voting age. Although legislation is already before the General Assembly, the constitution, according to Mr. Morris, “the ear­

liest possible date it could be done would be November 1970.” Therefore, in the absence of a Federal constitutional amendment, Maryland would be forced to use dual-age voting in the next Presidential election.
March 9, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - SENATE

MASSACHUSETTS

Number of voters affected

Even though Massachusetts has recently lowered its voting age to 19, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, reports that the new ballot for younger voters would cost more than $60,000. Massachusetts has yet to decide whether to require the younger voters to vote by absentee ballot, or in some other special manner. Davenport explained that the 1969-70 Massachusetts Legislature voted "will be resolved in plenty of time." (Letter to Birch Bayh, February 4, 1971.)

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

John F. X. Davoren, Secretary of the Common Party of Massachusetts, reports that the new ballot for younger voters should not cost more than $60,000. Massachusetts has yet to decide whether to require the younger voters to vote by absentee ballot, or in some other special manner. Davoren explained that "It would be possible to..." (Letter from John F. X. Davoren to Birch Bayh, January 22, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The Massachusetts constitution requires a majority of the legislators elected, sitting in joint session, in two different legislatures to appoint the any proposed constitutional amendment, before it can be sent to the voters for ratification. An 18-year-old vote proposal was defeated when it was moved. The question could be put on the 1972 ballot. (Boston Herald Traveler, December 22, 1970.)

Therefore, as a practical matter it would be impossible to amend the Massachusetts constitution before 1973 without an amendment to the Federal Constitution. (Davenon letter to Birch Bayh, February 4, 1971.)

MICHIGAN

Number of voters affected

More than 400,000 additional voters would be eligible in Michigan State elections if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Richard H. Austin, the Michigan Secretary of State, reports that it was not possible to give an exact cost figure for the new voting procedures. He did say that since 85% of Michigan's voters use voting machines, the cities and townships would have to incur "large, significant" costs for the purchase of new machines unless the machines could be adapted easily. It might also be necessary to separate the younger voters and the older voters to decide against voting rather than be "voting very close." (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 29, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

Michigan's voting age for State and local elections is set by Article 12 of the State constitution. If the legislature passed a proposed amendment in time, it would be possible to put the question on the 1972 ballot. (Austin letter to Birch Bayh, Jan., 29, 1971.)

Attempts to amend the State constitution in 1971 were never brought to a vote because a proposal was turned down in 1970 by the voters. (Detroit Free Press, Dec. 22, 1970.)

MINNESOTA

Number of voters affected

As a result of a referendum last fall, Minnesota has lowered the voting age to 18. However, more than 60,000 voters who are able to participate in Federal elections are still disenfranchised. (Letter from John F. X. Davoren to Birch Bayh, January 29, 1971.)

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

A memorandum prepared for the Secretary of State indicated that additional expenses could be expected from the need to train election judges and county officials about the constitutional amendment. However, the amendment was also an issue. "Without a doubt the most serious problem will be confusion. With two ages and both state and federal residency requirements, there can have five classes of voters. . . . Election judges are usually people who have nothing else to do on election day. Thus it will be the people who will most readily understand the new and complicated regulations which will result." The memorandum concluded that instructing everyone as to who may vote for what "will be a nightmare at best." (Letter from John F. X. Davoren to Birch Bayh, January 22, 1971.)

MISSISSIPPI

Number of voters affected

More than 130,000 Mississippians could vote for the first time in State elections if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

The Mississippi Secretary of State Heber Ladner predicted that the Supreme Court's ruling will bring about quite a revision in election procedures—both in registration and casting of ballots. (The Clarion-Ledger, December 22, 1970.)

Nevertheless, the thought that the expenses involved in the new procedures would be "negligible" and he did not envision "any tremendous problems." (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 12, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The voting age is set by Article 12 of the Mississippi State Constitution. It appears that the residency requirement as well as the voting age could be amended in special or primary elections, no change in the State voting age could be made, in the absence of a federal constitutional amendment, which could go into effect in time for the next scheduled elections. Secretary Ladner indicated in a letter that he believes the Mississippi legislature to submit a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18. However, he concluded, "there would be an amendment to the Federal Constitution permitting 18 year olds to vote in all elections." (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 22, 1971.)

MONTANA

Number of voters affected

During the 1970 elections, some voters of Montana approved a constitutional amendment which lowered the voting age for State elections to 18. Over 10,000 additional voters were disfranchised if the voting age were to be further lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Frank Murray, Montana Secretary of State, reported that costs, which he estimated to be about $8,500 statewide, would not be the greatest problem. He did think that the "lockout" mechanisms on the State's voting machines would probably be inadequate, and that paper ballots, resulting in slower counting, would be "impossible to preserve the secrecy of the ballot in small precincts, which may be only one 18-year-old voter. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 26, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

It would not be possible to amend the State constitution before the November 1972 Presidential election. (Murray Letter, January 29, 1971.)

Nebraska

Number of voters affected

Nebraska has approximately 870,000 residents of voting age for State elections under current law. An additional 50,000-60,000 would be able to vote in State elections if the voting age were lowered from the current 20 to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Allen J. Beermann, the Nebraska Secretary of State, predicted that his State would have to face about a 30 percent increase (about 250,000) in the cost resulting from dual sets of ballots, registration forms, poll books, and abstracts, and the printing and bookkeeping cost related to them. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 15 and 26, 1971.) Beermann also thought that it would be necessary to devise methods to "separate the younger voters and to include them upon their reaching the State's voting age, 20." Another problem might arise involving "voting right cost"—
used in determining the number of signatures necessary under State law for certain petitions, since there would be a different number of total votes cast for President and Governor.

Walter H. Loomser, Clerk of Hall County, Nebraska, estimated that the additional operations files and poll books, together with the extra cost of paper ballots, cost would be about $3,000. He added that although the costs involved in blocking out the voting machines to provide separate facilities for those ineligible to vote might be a prohibitive cost.

Lowering the voting age by State action

A bill has been introduced by the Nebraska Legislature to amend the State constitution by reducing the minimum voting age from 20 to 18. If passed, that bill would submit the issue to the electorate in 1972. (Lincoln Star, January 14, 1971) The Secretary of State predicted that it would be possible, in theory at least, to provide additional facilities for the election within the time for the 1972 election, but that it would require the calling of a special election. He added that the cost of such a special election would be prohibitive. He also predicted that the additional cost of providing separate facilities for those ineligible to vote would be prohibitive. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 15, 1971.) Therefore, Nebraska is another State which will most likely face the dual-voting procedure of a referendum on an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

NEW JERSEY

Number of voters affected

More than 26,000 additional voters would be eligible to participate in Federal elections if Nebraska were to lower its voting age to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

The Research Director of Nevada's Legislative Council Bureau reported that the exact dollar cost could not be computed at this time because his office had not been able to contact the 17 different jurisdictions that conduct elections in Nevada. But he did feel that there would be difficulties because of the demonstration of feasibility of the dual-voting procedures. It would be necessary to establish a paper ballot system for those eligible to vote in only one part of the election. The costs of printing separate ballots, sample ballots, and related election supplies, together with the cost of some new voting machines, would be about $200,000. Prediction of exact costs is difficult, partially because the cost would not be borne by the State but by the local election authorities. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 19, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

A bill has been introduced in the New Jersey State legislature to amend the State constitution to lower the voting age. If passed by the legislature, it could be ratified at the State's general elections in 1971 and therefore become law in the general election involving Federal officials. (Sherwin, Letter, January 10, 1971.)

NEW MEXICO

Number of voters affected

More than 62,000 New Mexico residents can now partake in Federal but not State elections.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

According to an official estimate, the additional facilities for separate voting machines, sample ballots, and related election supplies, together with the cost of some new voting machines, would be about $200,000. Prediction of exact costs is difficult, partly because the cost would not be borne by the State but by the local election authorities. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 19, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The New Mexico constitution now deals with the 21 year old voting age. Some legislators are now proposing legislation to lower the voting age. (Albuquerque Tribune, December 21, 1970.) And the Secretary of State has expressed support of moves to lower the voting age for all elections in New Mexico. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 20, 1971.) The constitution provides that any change in the voting age must be ratified by three-fourths of the electors voting in the State. Therefore, ratification would not be successful in New Mexico, as compared with other States.

NEW YORK

Number of voters affected

New York will be able to make special provisions for more than 850,000 potential voters in the event a Federal election takes place on a Statewide basis before the voting age can be lowered.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

There have been varying estimates of the potential costs involved in these new procedures. Maurice J. O'Rourke, the President of the New York City Board of Elections, has stated that such a dual age election procedure would cost $5,000,000 minimally. We would need 1,500 new voting machines, which cost $3,000 each, for an additional permanent personnel to set up and maintain the two sets of registration books. (New York Times, December 23, 1970.) While some jurisdictions have considered requiring young voters to take the Federal election separately—to avoid absentee ballot for instance—O'Rourke refused to exclude the new voters from the polling place. This would be their first exposure to the democratic system. "It shocks me. I would resign my job before I'd agree to a system of two classes of voters."

Lowering the voting age by State action

In New York it is necessary for the State legislature to pass a proposed amendment to the State constitution before it can be referred to the voters for ratification. In January of this year a proposed constitutional amendment to lower the voting age was introduced in the Legislature for the second time—by a vote of 51 to 3 in the Senate and 137 to 8 in the House—and it will go before the voters in November. The Legislators reportedly acted quickly in order to avoid what many of them considered to be a potentially "catastrophic" situation throughout the State. Others felt that lowering the voting age would convince the young to take a constructive part in the system instead of resorting to riots or violence. State Assemblyman Peter R. Biondo (R-Westchester) called upon his fellow legislators to enact legislation—one that would provide for Governor Rockefeller and allows them to vote for the same man should he choose to run for President next year. (New York Times, January 12, 1971.)

If approved by the State's voters the new lowered voting age would be effective on January 1, 1972, and there would be no need to establish dual-age voting procedures. The Secretary of State of New York, John P. Carrigan, stated that the "strong possibility that a system of dual voting will not be necessary." (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 19, 1971.) New Yorkers are worried that the referendum might be defeated by voter apathy, as has been the case in the other States. New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller recently announced the formation of the Citizens Committee to Lower the Voting Age, which hopes to raise $500,000 to make sure that the voters are not defeated by a "false belief that a proposal like this is sure to carry." (New York Times, January 21, 1971.)

NORTH CAROLINA

Number of voters affected

Approximately 300,000 voters in North Carolina, eligible to participate in Federal elections but precluded from taking a role in State and local affairs.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Alex E. Brock, Executive Secretary for the State Board of Elections estimates that on the State level there would be very little administrative expense at the State level in separating the elections by between the classes of voters. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 26, 1971.) William B. A. Culp, Jr., Executive Secretary for the Surry County Board of Elections, provided an analysis of the estimated cost to the county of implementing the separating the voting voters. Assuming there are 10,000 younger voters in his county, he estimated that it
would cost $300 to program the voting ma­chine, another $500 for the extra clerks required to activate the "lockout" de­vices on the voting machines, and almost $1,800 for a machine that can be presented to the voters in the next general or special election. (Brown Letter, January 20, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The voting age in Ohio is set by the State constitution and could not, as a practical matter, be altered before the next Federal election. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 19, 1971.)

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Attorney General Lee Johnson, who had argued in opposition to the Voting Rights Act's age provision in the Supreme Court, said:

"Congress has an obligation to rectify the imposition of an intolerable administrative burden upon the States. As a result of the Court's decision, the States will now have to hold separate elections for national officials and state and local officials. This will be administratively difficult and expensive.

"The cost of such a separate election may be considerable cost to the taxpayers." (Ohio Gazette, December 22, 1970)

Oregon

Number of voters affected

Over 100,000 voters in the State of Oregon are now eligible to vote in Fed­eral but not in State elections.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Assistant Secretary of State Peeples, who is in charge of elections for the State of Oregon, has called to meet for up to 20 days after the November election to program the voting ma­chines. (Letter from Maurice J. Allen, Deputy Di­rector, Hamilton County Board of Elections, to Birch Bayh, January 20, 1971.)

The complexity of the new procedure is lli­kely to cause trouble. Secretary Brown thought that it was possible for the precinct elec­tions officials to get a "vote and confusion at the polling place for the precinct elections official." In Hamilton County, for example, in that the dual pro­cedure would cause "confusion for the voters" and the "administrative problems and delay in error will greatly increase." (Allen Letter, Hamilton County Board of Elections, to Birch Bayh, January 30, 1971.) Brown added an additional point. He felt that there would be "disatisfaction on the part of the members of both the State and the local elections boards." (Allen Letter, January 30, 1971.)

Pennsylvania

Number of voters affected

Pennsylvania voting officials will be forced to devise procedures for separately regis­tering and dealing with over 500,000 potential voters.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Edward Friedman, Pennsylvania State Counsel General, was quoted as saying that the Supreme Court decision could create an "incredible logistics problem for the 1972 elec­tion. (Philadelphia Inquirer, December 22, 1970.)

Various estimates of the possible costs of dual-age voting has been made and they range from $250,000 to more than one million dol­lars. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 29, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The voting age in Pennsylvania is set by the constitution and would require the approval of both the House and the Senate and then a vote of the people. (Letter from Donald A. Bailey to Birch Bayh, January 29, 1971.)

Rhode Island

Number of voters affected

Rhode Island has over 50,000 potential vot­ers in State elections who would be en­franchised if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

State officials have estimated that there will be "considerable extra expense" as a result of the Supreme Court's decision. They will need separate registration forms as well as separate voting machines for each voting precinct. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 30, 1971.)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Number of voters affected

South Carolina has over 165,000 potential voters in the State elections who would be enfranchised if the voting age were lowered to 18.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

States Attorney General Daniel R. McLeod said that his State had been presented with an "illlogical situation. (Charleston Evening Post, December 22, 1970.)

The Executive Di­rector of the State Election Commission, James B. Ellisor, has calculated that the cost of the dual voting procedure will amount to between $253,000 and $300,000 in each cal­endar year. He also felt that there would be a "special problems" in all the South Carolina counties which used voting ma­chines, in adapting the machines to block under-21 voters, to all voters in that county alone the extra cost will amount to about $3,000. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 29, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

It is possible that the State constitution could be amended during 1971, but only if a proposed amendment was approved by the State legislature and submitted to and approved by the general voting population at the next election.
they have recently turned 21, their voting certificates still qualify them for voting in Federal elections only. These voters will be unable to vote in State and local elections, however, unless the state legislature acts otherwise. This problem might arise because under present law, voting certificates cannot be changed for the purpose of extending voting rights for the 18 year vote. (The News and Courier, December 22, 1970.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

It is impossible to change the State constitution in order to lower the voting age to 18 before 1973 at the earliest. The State General Assembly first has to enact a proposed amendment which could then be voted on by the people at the next statewide general election. This will be held in November 1972. If ratified by the people, the proposed amendment must then be forwarded to the Federal Assembly for a further vote—which could not possibly come before 1973. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 18, 1971; Peeples Letter to Birch Bayh, January 18, 1971.)

It is possible that any effort to put an 18 year old vote measure through the State legislature will be difficult. House Speaker Solomon Blatt is said to "bitterly oppose" this idea. (The News and Courier, December 22, 1970.)

SOUTH DAKOTA
Number of voters affected
38,000 South Dakota residents are presently eligible to vote in general elections but cannot vote in State contests.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting
The Secretary of State, Miss Alma Larson, reported that, "This will make each election like two elections at the same time," Miss Larson added that it would be likely to slow down the counting process. (Rapid City Journal, January 23, 1971.) The Secretary of State's Office has estimated an additional cost of $40,000 to implement the eighteen year old voting in the next Federal election. (Letter to Senator Pack, January 23, 1971.)

TENNESSEE
Number of voters affected
More than 215,000 potential voters will require special treatment in the next Federal election, unless the Tennessee State Constitution can be changed to lower the voting age before that time.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting
The State Attorney General, David Pack, said the decision will "certainly" involve the mailing of a general election in Tennessee. (Nashville Banner, December 31, 1970.) The Director of Elections of the Shelby County Election Commission, who supervises elections in Memphis, has estimated that in his county alone dual-age voting may cost around $600,000, but he said he did not point out that this was "a rough estimate." The Commission will have to maintain separate records and registration and will have to decide whether or not to pay the money to insure the greatest accuracy by installing a separate voting machine in each polling place for those who are only eligible to participate in Federal elections. (Letter to the Hon. John M. Perry to Birch Bayh, January 18, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The Tennessee Secretary of State has stated that he believes "an amendment to the Constitution will be necessary." (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 13, 1971.)

TEXAS
Number of voters affected
Over 600,000 potential voters in Texas may find that their franchise is limited to Federal questions.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting
The Office of the Secretary of State of Texas is still in the process of determining what major alterations in voter registration forms will be necessary to accommodate the dual-age voting system. They have concluded, however, that some costs will be subject to some additional expenses and that these expenses could be "considerable." Some "extra confusion at the polls" might result. (Letter from Randall P. Wood, Texas Director of Elections, to Birch Bayh, January 21, 1971.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The voting age is set by the State constitution and the legislature is now considering whether to submit a State constitutional amendment to the people. If submitted, such an amendment could be ratified within a reasonable time, if a special election was called. (Letter from Randall P. Wood, Texas Director of Elections, to Birch Bayh, January 21, 1971.)

UTAH
Number of voters affected
About 60,000 voters in Utah would have to be registered for Federal elections and then moved over to the regular State voting rolls once they became 21.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting
Several State officials greeted the Supreme Court's decision with some dismay. They said that the decision would cause confusion and that there would be mechanical problems in its implementation. (Salt Lake Tribune, Dec. 22, 1970.) Clyde L. Miller, the Utah Secretary of State, said there will be an increase of about 15 to 20 percent in election costs. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 14, 1971.)

The Assistant Director of the Utah State Office of Motor Vehicles reported that on the basis of computations made in one county there will have to be an increased expenditure of about $2,000 in order to carry out the Court decision. (Letter from Lowell W. Crandall to Birch Bayh, January 25, 1971.)

VIRGINIA
Number of voters affected
About 290,000 residents of Virginia are between 18 and 20 years old.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting
Governor Holton has announced that as a result of the Court's decision he is going to suggest that the Virginia General Assembly take steps to lower the voting age to 18 in all elections. (Richmond News Leader, December 22, 1970.)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The voting age in Virginia is set by the State Constitution. If a proposed amendment were to pass the General Assembly this year, it could be presented to the people for ratification in the November 1972 election. (Letter to Birch Bayh from L. Stanley Hardaway, Executive Secretary of the Virginia State Board of Elections, January 13, 1971.)

WASHINGTON
Number of voters affected
About 170,000 potential voters in Washington could go to the polls this year to vote in Federal elections and find themselves barred from voting in the State contests.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting
Governor Dan Evans is reported to have said that it was "highly illogical" to allow the
younger voters to participate in Federal but not State and local elections. (New Haven (Conn.) Journal-Courier, December 22, 1970) A. Lincoln Brereton, the Secretary of State of Washington, reported that dual-age voting could cost $420,000 each year. He said:

"The idea of dual-age voting created by the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision could cost the taxpayers of the State of Washington, $420,000 in 1972. If simplified voting procedures were authorized by our state legislature, the cost could be less.\ldots\" (Brereton Letter to Birch Bayh, January 2, 1971)

The Supreme Court's decision resulted in the disfranchisement of 208,000 voters for Federal elections in the State of Wisconsin. (Milwaukee Journal, December 21, 1970)

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

The Secretary of State, Robert C. Zimmer­man could not furnish definite information as to costs until the legislature decided what to do about the problem. (Wisconsin State Journal, January 28, 1971)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The legislature has convened and Zimmer­man reports that, according to his under­standing of the process of reducing the voting age to 18 in all elections will be introduced in this session. The Wis­consin Constitution authorizes the legislature to pass a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18 in all elections. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 18, 1971)

Therefore, Wisconsin will be forced to deal separately with those under 21 in the next general election in the absence of a constitutional passage and ratification by the States of an amendment to the Federal Constitution. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 28, 1971)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The State constitution, which establishes the voting age as 21 years only if amended at a general election. Unless the State legisla­ture decides to establish an annual general election, final ratification would be impossible after the 1972 Presidential election. Secretary Kramer is unsure whether the necessary two-thirds vote in each branch of the State legislature could be obtained for a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age this year because the voters turned down an amendment to make the voting age 19 at the November, 1970, general election. He said:

"It would be realistic to expect this legislative session to immediately re-sub­mit another proposition to lower the voting age if it were not for the suffocating expense of the war, particularly in a time when the state is desperately struggling to avoid bankruptcy.

(Kramer Letter to Birch Bayh, January 28, 1971.)"

WEST VIRGINIA

Number of voters affected

West Virginia has more than 90,000 voters who are subject to different treatment in State and Federal elections.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

John D. Rockefeller, IV, the West Virginia Secretary of State, submitted a "rough estimate" of the costs of dual-age voting. He felt that it would amount to about $20,000 for voting machines alone, a one-time burden of about $20,000 per year for separate paper ballots. But, he added that the "crux of the problem" will relate to "the confusion which will be created at the polling place at elec­tion day." He estimates that there will be seven voters per ballot, if they "in­tervene in the next presidential primary. The "added re­ sponsibilities passed on to election officials (who have not been hired in West Virginia) may create a jumble of confusion." Training classes for election officials have not been held.

For the sake of a straightforward discussion, the prohibited costs, (Letter to Birch Bayh, February 2, 1971)

Lowering the voting age by State action

The State constitution prohibits "minors" from voting in State and local elections. The legislature is presently considering the passage of a statute to redefine the term minor for the purposes of voting, so that 18 year old would be entitled to vote in local elec­tions. Any such attempts would face a likely court test. A State constitutional amend­ment goes to the voters in time to alleviate these problems before the next presidential election. Rockefeller advises that the proposal is based on a proposal for a federal constitutional amend­ment lowering the voting age to 18.\ldots\" (Rockefeller Letter to Birch Bayh, January 18, 1971)

WISCONSIN

Number of voters affected

Nearly 20,000 Wisconsin citizens became partially enfranchised as a result of the Supreme Court's recent decision.

Costs and problems of dual-age voting

Thys Thompson, the Wisconsin Secretary of State, estimated that the dual voting pro­cEDURE will raise the cost of elections in Wyo­ming by 20% and will greatly slow up voting, tabulating and voting in any election. (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 14, 1971)

"Perhaps the greatest complication will be in accurately ascertaining the total votes cast in any precinct, and the ballots which will not be counted in any election." (Letter to Birch Bayh, January 14, 1971)

(From the N.Y. Times, Jan. 24, 1971)
earlier. At the turn of the century, he says, men stopped growing at about 26 years of age. According to a study of six such pro-
dents, there is little, if any, growth, after 17 or 18.

UNIFORM INCREASE IN HEATH

A study distributed a few days ago by the National Health Service of the United States Public Health Service reports a rather uniform increase in the average height of American boys from 1875 to 1965. It amounted to roughly a half-inch per decade.

Over the last 90 years, the report says, the average growth for those in the 6-to-11 age bracket, has been 15 to 30 percent. Much of this is related to early maturation.

"Thus," says the report, "a boy who was 10 years old in 1875 might have been only about 50 percent of the way through his growth period, while a 10-year-old boy of the mid-nineteen-sixties might be 60 to 70 percent mature."

While boys and girls of today, when they reach full adulthood, are somewhat taller than their grandparents, the margin is far less in their growth period.

Dr. Tanner is one of those who argue that intelligence matures earlier in those whose growth has been accelerated. He notes, in his book, that he has seen cases in which the body reaches menarche on the average age of 12.8 years.

The low birth weight and slow growth rate of the 10-year-old girl was attributed to the shortage of oxygen at high altitude. The Denver girls lagged in weight throughout their development, but when they finally reached menarche, were, as a group, about the same as the girls reaching this stage at sea level.

This and other finds have led Dr. Frisch to believe that menarche is initiated in any individual, when the body reaches a critical weight. When that period of puberty begins, she has, when the weight, averaged for any age group, reaches some 60 pounds. Menarche usually occurs at a mean weight of 95 pounds.

However, the weight of boys entering Harvard from public schools increased 1.5 inches during that period, which he attributes to improved living standards in the lower socio-economic groups.

Dr. Damon has also studied trends in newborns, commenting on the date of the event as recalled by 66 women attending a prenatal clinic at Boston Lying-In Hospital with their records fixed for the 70s and 80s.

The average age for the mothers was 14.38; that for their daughters was 12.8.

As a result of this study, he says, that the ages of menarche in women of the 18th century would be much earlier than those of the 20th century. He is also studying the causes of this early maturation.

It is obvious that the age of menarche has been dropping throughout history. Writers of the Hippocratic school in ancient Greece refer to about 14. Dr. Frank Farken wrote that the age of menarche in women of the 18th century would be much earlier than those of the 20th century. He is also studying the causes of this early maturation.

In a book published last year, Dr. Tanner described last week how the Denver girls, of the Denver Center for Population Studies. It was noted in comparing figures for growth and date of menarche that in 1930 and 1950 by the Child Research Center in Denver, which is 5,800 feet above sea level, and similar records from the Clinic in Berkeley, Calif., which is at sea level.

In both cases the girls were defined as "upper middle class and well-nourished."

The average weight of the Denver girls at menarche was 7 pounds and the mean age of menarche was 13.1 years. The California girls averaged 7.5 years and reached menarche at a mean age of 12.8 years.

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This effect seems to occur without regard to age or height. It could explain why early body growth has led to earlier puberty.

Dr. Frisch says a particularly dramatic effect of an increase in the mean age of menarche is that it occurs much earlier than the girls in girls' schools.

The author of the report, Dr. Albert Damon of the Harvard Center for Population Studies, said that a particular dramatic effect of an increase in the mean age of menarche is that it occurs much earlier than the girls in girls' schools.
**March 9, 1971**

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**Congressional Record — Senate**

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**State Action To Lower the Voting Age: A Report in Two Parts**

The first part of this report shows activity in the several States since 1960 to lower the voting age. The second part reprint an earlier Legislative Reference Service report on each activity between 1948 and 1960.

The primary sources of the information herein are the legislative journals of the various States. The Library of Congress does not house every State's journals and the records of some State legislatures are difficult to use because of inadequate indexing. This report is, accordingly, incomplete. We have provided the latest information available which is, in most instances, current through December 1969.

Supplementary sources have been consulted including (1) newspapers, (2) the Weekly Reports of the Congressional Quarterly Service, (3) the National Governors Association reports of State legislative reference bureaus, (4) hearings in 1968 before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, (5) the Congressional Record, (6) Scholastic Teacher for May 1969, and (8) publications of the Council of State Governments.

To provide the reader with speedy access to the information contained in this report, a table of action since 1948 in the States is included.

In summary, it can be concluded that State action to lower the voting age has increased considerably during the past ten years, partly in response to the Vietnam War but also for other reasons. The Congressional Quarterly Service reported in its Weekly Report of May 23, 1969, that bills to lower the voting age had been introduced in every State legislature in 1968 or 1969 with the exception of Georgia and Kentucky, where it is already 18, and Mississippi, since 1968, action beyond mere introduction has occurred in several States, with referrals or possible referrals occurring in 18 States: Michigan (rejected, 1968), Maryland (rejected, 1968), Nebraska (rejected, 1968, on ballot again, 1970), Tennessee (rejected as topic for constitutional convention, 1968), North Dakota (rejected, 1968), Hawaii (rejected, 1968, on ballot again, 1970), Ohio (rejected, 1969), New Jersey (rejected, 1969), Alaska (on ballot, 1970), Connecticut (on ballot, 1970), Maine (on ballot, 1970), Massachusetts (on ballot, 1970), Minnesota (on ballot, 1970), Montana (on ballot, 1970), Oregon (on ballot, 1970), Wyoming (on ballot, 1970), Delaware (must be repassed, 1970 or 1971), and Nevada (must be repassed, 1971).

Despite this flurry of action, no State has lowered its voting age since Kentucky did so in 1966.

**ACTION TO LOWER THE VOTING AGE IN THE SEVERAL STATES: 1949-1969**

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1 When it is stated that the House or Senate "died" a measure it could mean that the measure was defeated either on the floor of the House or Senate or in House or Senate committee; or it could mean that the measure simply "died" in a House or Senate committee after action on the other house; or it could mean that the measure was not reported. For specific see the body of the report.

PART I: STATE ACTION SINCE 1960 TO LOWER THE VOTING AGE

Alabama
In 1961, H. B. 124 was introduced in the Alabama House of Representatives to reduce the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1963, S. B. 56 and H. B. 745 were introduced to reduce the voting age to 18 but no further action was taken on either measure. The same fate resulted for S. B. 240, the 18-year-old vote amendment introduced in the 1965 legislative season.

The Senate on July 7, 1967 passed 22 to 10 S. B. 24, which would have lowered the voting age to 20. Passage came on a motion to reconsider after S. B. 24 had initially failed (19-9) to receive the necessary votes. S. B. 24 died in House committee.

Alaska
No bills introduced in 1963 to lower the voting age. It is at present 19 and has been since Alaska entered the Union in 1959. In 1969 the legislature passed an amendment to lower the age to 18. It goes to the voters for action in 1970.

Arizona
In 1962, H. C. R. 8, to reduce the voting age to 18, received a favorable vote in the House on March 6, but was subsequently returned to committee. In 1964, H. C. R. 27, lowering the voting age to 18, was introduced without any subsequent action therein. H. C. R. 7, introduced in 1965, would have lowered the voting age to 18, but no further action occurred on it. There was no action in 1966 on H. C. R. 13, or H. C. R. 29, both of which proposed lowering the voting age to 18. Four proposals were introduced in 1967 to lower the voting age to 18- H. B. 204, H. B. 304, H. C. R. 6, and H. C. R. 7—but all died in committee.

In 1968, four voting age bills were introduced, all to lower to 18 (S. B. 18, S. C. R. 1, H. B. 76, H. C. R. 5), and all died in committee.

California
No resolutions or bills were introduced in the 1961 legislative session. During the 1963 session, Constitution Amendment proposal 24, introduced in the Assembly, would have lowered the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

No bills introduced in 1964 or 1965. In 1965, H. Res. 389, to appoint an interim committee to study the right to vote, including the voting age, died in committee, as did A. C. A. 14, a lower voting age amendment (no age shown). In 1967, three bills to lower the voting age to 18 (H. B. 368, A. C. A. 14 (no age shown), A. C. A. 19 (no age shown), and A. C. A. 64 (no age shown)) all died in committee. In 1968, A. C. A. 17 and A. C. A. 24 (no age shown) also died in its committee, A. C. A. 64, which appears to have been a voting age proposal, was defeated in the Senate. In 1969, the California Constitutional Commission recommended lowering the voting age to 19.

Connecticut
In 1961, H. Res. 15, to lower the voting age to 18, was introduced in the House, without further action taken. No action was taken during the 1963 session on H. Res. 25, an 18-year-old vote proposal. H. Res. 13, to lower the voting age to 18 (no age shown), died in committee in 1965. An additional proposal may have been introduced in 1967 but the journal is not clear in this regard. The Connecticut Constitutional Convention rejected an 18-year-old vote proposal in 1965. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report for May 1, 1969, reports that the Connecticut legislature approved an 18-year-old vote proposal which will go to the ballot for voter approval in November 1970.

Delaware
The State legislature passed a 19-year-old vote amendment in 1969. If repassed by the legislature in 1970, or 1971, it will take effect as Delaware does not require elector approval of amendments to the constitution.

Florida
In the 1963 session no proposals to lower the voting age were introduced. S. J. R. 58, to lower to 18, was introduced in the Senate during the 1963 session without subsequent action. H. J. R. 675, an 18-year-old vote proposal introduced in the House during the 1965 session, was ordered from committee with recommendation that it not pass. No vote was taken on H. J. R. 675.


Georgia
The voting age in Georgia has been 18 since 1943. (See part two of this report.)

Hawaii
Legislative proposals to lower the voting age (it is now 20) have been introduced since at least the 1961 session, according to a pamphlet on proposed amendments to the Hawaiian Constitution. In 1967, the Hawaii Legislature approved the convening of a Constitutional Convention subject to voter approval at a referendum (the voters previously expressed approval of such a convention in the fall election of 1966). The calling of the convention was once more approved by the voters and it convened and worked from July until November, 1968. The issue of lowering the voting age was debated at the convention and a proposal to lower the voting age to 18 was put on the ballot in 1968.

The electorate, November 1968, specifically rejected that part of the new Constitution which would have lowered the age from 20 to 18. This was the only part of the proposed Constitution the voters rejected. The vote was 72,930 (yes), 60,660 (no).

In 1969, the legislature approved an 18-year-old vote amendment. The voters will pass judgment in 1970.
Idaho
We have no record of any action in the Idaho legislature through the 1963 session.

Illinois
During the 1961 session two proposals to lower the voting age were introduced in the Senate—S.J.R. 16 and S.J.R. 18—but without further action thereon. During that session an 18-year-old vote proposal was introduced in the House. H.J.R. 22, a 19-year-old vote resolution, was reported favorably from committee and voted on June 20 (60-30 in the House. The vote was yea, 92, nay, 68, less than the two-thirds approval required by the Constitution.

In 1962, H.B. 266 was introduced relative to lowering the voting age. In the 1965 session an 18-year-old vote resolution was introduced in the House (H.J.R. 23) and a 19-year-old vote resolution in the Senate (S.J.R. 23). Both died in committee.

In 1967, H.J.R. 5 and H.J.R. 39, to lower the voting age to 18, received an indefinite postponement. In 1968, H.J.R. 4, to lower to 18, received an indefinite postponement. In 1969, the legislature passed a 20-year-old amendment introduced in the 1965 session. In 1965, H.B. 22, a proposal to submit an 18-year-old vote amendment to referendum, died in committee. S. B. 46, to lower to 18, was unfavorably reported from committee. That report was sustained in the Senate by a vote of 23-6.

The Constitution submitted in 1968 for the approval of Maryland voters included a provision for voting by persons 19 and older. The proposal was defeated by the voters 233,050 to 866,575.

In 1967, H. B. 104, to lower to 18, died in Committee. In 1969, the 18-year-old amendment was defeated in the House 73-61, after received initial approval 93-36. The Senate had earlier given its approval to 19-year-old voting 30-8 (March 10, 1969).

Massachusetts
A special report of the Legislative Research Council, prepared in 1968 under directive of S. No. 310, on voting age issues of 1965 and 1967, 41 measures to lower the voting age were introduced in the Massachusetts legislature: 86 to lower to 18, 3 to 19, and 2 to age 20.

In some instances, the committee on Constitutional Law reported the bills favorably and one bill, Senate, No. 412 of 1965, was ordered to a third reading by the joint legislative convention. However, none of the bills were acted on, and there did not appear to be any formidable support for these proposals prior to 1969.

In 1967, the General Court, in joint convention, approved House, No. 2575, reducing the voting age to 19. That approval was confirmed again by the General Court in 1968 and the voters in 1970. If the voters approve, the age will be lowered to 19, effective 1972.

(See above, under Action on voting age proposals for a recapitulation of the voting age bills introduced in Massachusetts.)

Michigan
In 1964, S. Res. 88, to create a special committee of five Senators to study the issue of lower voting age, and its ramifications, was adopted in the Senate. The House adopted a similar proposal that year, H. Res. 110.

In 1965, the Senate adopted S. Res. 166, which continued the five-member committee to study the issue of a lower voting age. However, it did not act on S. Res. 319, a resolution to appoint an interim committee to study the legal ramifications of a lower voting age.

In the 1966 elections, the Michigan voters defeated a referendum to lower the voting age to 18 by a vote of 1,267,672 to 705,076.

Minnesota
In the 1965 legislative session, three 18-year-old vote proposals were introduced but died in committee. They were S.F. No. 793, H.F. No. 514, and S.F. No. 1131. The House reported with recommendation that it not pass. The House accepted this report. It also upheld four of the amendments for H. F. 676 (L. D. 476), a 20-year-old voting amendment, and for H. F. 255 (L. D. 328), a 19-year-old voting amendment.

In the Senate in 1965 S. P. 153 (L. D. 384), a proposal to lower the voting age to 20 (originally 18, but amended to 20), was passed 37-3 on May 20. In the House, S. P. 153, was defeated (yeas, 83, nays, 62) when it failed to obtain a required two-thirds approval on May 10.

In a 1966 session, no proposals to lower the voting age were introduced.

In 1969, the legislature passed a 20-year-old amendment. This proposal will render their verdict in 1970.

Mississippi
Legislative Journals for Mississippi indicate that no proposals to lower the voting age were introduced in 1965, 1966, and 1967. There are no records of action in the legislature during the 1961 session.

The Senate approved a 19-year-old vote proposal in 1969. That proposal was H.J.R. 5 (H.J.R. 10), to lower the voting age to 18, passed the House on February 28 by a vote of 84-52. It died in the Senate.

In 1965, H.J.R. 10, to lower the voting age to 18, was defeated in the House on March 10 by a vote of 54-104.

There is no record of action in the Legislature during the 1961 session.

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In 1965, H.J.R. 10, to lower the voting age to 18, was defeated in the House on March 10 by a vote of 54-104.

New Hampshire
No voting age resolutions were introduced in the 1961 or the 1963-64 sessions. In the 1965 session, C. R. 3, to lower the voting age to 18, was defeated in the House June 21, 1965.

In 1967, H. C. R. 13, to lower to 18, was killed by the House on recommendation of the committee.

New Jersey
No voting age resolutions were introduced in the 1960, the 1962, the 1963, or the 1965 sessions. In the 1965 session, C. R. 3, to lower the voting age to 18, was defeated in the House June 21, 1965.

In 1966, A. C. R. 9 (or 4), a 19-year-old amendment, died in the Senate (which probably means it passed the House).

In 1969, the legislature approved an 18-year-old amendment. The vote in the Senate was 30-0. We have no record of the vote in the Assembly. The voters rejected the proposal decisively in November 1969; yes, 785,978; No, 1,154,606.

New Mexico
Scholastic Teacher, May 2, 1969, reported that the New Mexico legislature was considering voting age proposals with a good
probable action before adjournment. However, no final action was taken.

New York
No action was taken on the following resolutions to lower the voting age to 18 introduced in the 1960 session of the legislature: (in the Assembly) 17, 326, 327, 1450, 1662, 1688, 1928, 2360, 2627, 4510; (in the Senate) 147, 1110, 302, 907, 1290, 1530, 1589, 2142, 2189, 2610, 3297; (in the House of Assembly) 302, 919. Nor was action taken on a 19-year-old vote resolution (401 in the Assembly).

In 1963 no action was taken on the following 18-year-old vote resolutions introduced in the 1963 session: (in the Assembly) 110, 217, 462, 694, 1965, 1970, 2000, 2115. No action was taken on the following 18-year-old vote resolutions introduced in the 1964 session: (in the Assembly) 402, 630, 882, 1326, 1466, 2759, 2810, 2828, 3257, 3312, 3322; (in the Senate) 302, 819. Nor was action taken on a 19-year-old vote resolution (401 in the Assembly).

No action was taken in the 1962 session on the following 18-year-old vote resolutions: (in the Assembly) 158, 724, 1078, 1121, 1290, 1839, 1852, 2142, 2189, 2610, 3297; (in the Senate) 302, 819. Nor was action taken on a 19-year-old vote resolution (401 in the Assembly).

No action was taken on the following 18-year-old vote resolutions introduced in the 1961 session: (in the Assembly) 158, 724, 1078, 1121, 1290, 1839, 1852, 2142, 2189, 2610, 3297; (in the Senate) 302, 819. Nor was action taken on a 19-year-old vote resolution (401 in the Assembly).

Ohio
No action was taken during 1961 on proposals to lower the voting age to 18 (S.J.R. H. 9, H.J. R. 6) or a proposal to lower to 19 (H.J. R. 17). S.J.R. R. 23, and 18-year-old vote resolutions introduced in the 1963 session (in the Assembly) 2831, 2863, 3297; (in the Senate) 302, 919, was defeated in the Ohio legislature passed a 19-year-old vote amendment in 1963, which was defeated by party that year by the voters, 1,274,334 against to 1,226,592 for.

No proposals were introduced in the 1960 session to lower the voting age.

In 1965, S.J.R. 25, to lower to 19 (?), was reported unfavorably; no vote. No action was taken in the 1967 session.

The same fate occurred to S.J.R. 26, to lower to 18, on the House ballot, decided not to submit the question to the voters.

No voting age proposals were introduced in the 1969 session.

No action was taken on the following 18-year-old vote resolutions introduced in the Assembly in the 1965 session: 81, 414, 474, 1965, 1963, 2000, 3062.

The National Civic Review noted in its May 1966 issue that in February 1966 the Assembly approved a measure to lower the voting age to 18. However, it was not submitted to the House. In May 1966, the Senate Majority Leader announced, however, that the Senate would take no action on the resolution in view of the Constitutional Convention to be held in 1967.

The issue of lowering the voting age was considered during the 1967 Constitutional Convention. On July 17, the Convention delegates defeated a proposed voting age of 19 by a 165-9 vote, and a proposed voting age of 20 by a voice vote. They then voted 162-76 to maintain the voting age at 21. On July 18, the delegates gave initial approval by a 218-8 vote (in committee) specifying 21 as the voting age but authorizing the legislature to lower that to as low as 18. However, that vote was lowered, it could not then be increased. The vote of approval was 95-83. On September 7, 1967, the delegates voted 113-36 to this resolution by a 139-50 vote after defeating an attempt to lower the voting age to 20 (97-60) and defeating an attempt to eliminate the Legislature’s power to lower the voting age (92-67).

The voters of New York, however, rejected the proposed Constitution at the November 1967 election by a 3-1 margin.

The New York Times indicates that 18-year-old vote amendments were debated by both House and Senate committees in 1969.

North Carolina

There were no voting age proposals introduced in the 1961 session of the legislature. In 1968 S.B. 57 and H.B. 107, to lower the voting age to 18, were introduced. H.B. 107 was defeated in the House, and the report. S.B. 57 died in committee.

No proposals were introduced in the 1965 session.

North Dakota

The April 7, 1967, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report noted that the North Dakota legislature approved a 19-year-old voting age amendment, which went to the voters in a September 1968 referendum. It was rejected, narrowly, 59,834 to 61,818.

No voting age proposals were introduced during the 1961, 1963, and 1964 sessions.

Tennessee

No voting age proposals were introduced during the 1961, 1963, and 1964 sessions.

In 1967-68, S.J.R. 13, a 19-year-old vote amendment, died in committee. In November 1968, the voters rejected a referendum proposal to allow the Constitutional Convention to consider lowering the voting age to 18 (336, 214 to 290, 822).

Texas

No voting age proposals were introduced during the 1961 or 1962 sessions. In 1963, H.J. R. 1, to lower the voting age to 18, was amended on the House floor to change the age limit to 19 but defeated ultimately by a vote of 92 to 67. A new vote on H.J. R. 100 is required in order for an amendment to pass the House.

No voting age proposals were introduced in either the 1961 or 1963 sessions.

Vermont

There is no recorded voting age proposal being introduced through 1968.

In 1967, H. 370, a bill to provide that any attempt to lower the voting age to 18 in Vermont must be the act of a constitutional convention at town meetings, died in committee.

Virginia

During the 1966 session, S.J.R. 33 and H.J.R. 4, to lower the voting age to 18, died in committee. In 1968, S.J.R. 7, to permit voting by those 18 and older serving in the armed forces, and S.J.R. 45, to lower to 18, died in committee. H.J.R. 10, to lower to 18, died in the House committee. In 1969, the Virginia legislature, after giving thought to permitting an 18-year-old voting age amendment to the ballot, decided not to submit the question to the voters.

Washington

In 1961, S. J. R. 29, an 18-year-old vote resolution, was introduced but died in committee. The same fate occurred to S. J. R. 3 and H. J. R. 2, 18-year-old vote resolutions introduced in the 1962 session, amendments to the Constitution. The same fate occurred to S. J. R. 10, to lower to 19, was favorably reported from committee but did not come to a vote. H. J. R. 25, to lower to 18, died in committee. H. J. R. 14 and H. J. R. 26, to lower to 18, died in committee. S. J. R. 15, to lower to 18, with floor amendment to make 18 the age of majority, was defeated 25-20, March 6, 1967.

West Virginia

H.B. 88, an 18-year-old resolution introduced in the 1963 session, died in committee.

During the 1963 session, 435, A, an 18-year-old vote referendum proposal, was approved by the Assembly, April 17, 1963, by a 53-46 vote. The same Senate concurrent in the Assembly’s action. The Senate postponed action on 116, S that same year. It proposed to revise the statutes to lower the voting age to 18.

Wyoming

Scholastic Teacher, May 2, 1966, reports that the Wyoming legislature passed a 19-year-old vote proposal. It will be submitted to the voters in 1970 and, if approved, become effective in 1972. The National Civic Review, April 1969 (p. 161) reports that the Wyoming Senate amended this 18-year-old proposal to deny the ballot to any male with felonies. This provision, however, was not retained.

PART II: STATE ACTION TO LOWER THE VOTING AGE, 1945-1960

(Note: This L.R.S. Report was reprinted in an Appendix to hearings held in 1961 on the nomination and election of the President and Vice President and on qualifications for the electoral college. The full citation to the document is given below.)


The following is a study prepared by Walter Kravitz, Government and General Research Division, Legislative Reference
Introduction

Since the introduction in the 79th Congress, 1st session, of House Joint Resolution 30, calling for a constitutional amendment to extend the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older, at least 47 State governments have dealt with the matter of lowering the voting age in one way or another. This report presents a State-by-State survey of such action, followed by a summary of the most important provisions of the resolutions introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee on November 9, 1943, but the latter was less than the required majority and the bill failed.

Arkansas

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1948 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated. In 1951, resolutions to the same effect were introduced. The resolutions required three-fifths constitutional majority of the house, by a vote of 77 to 13, on August 14. On April 29, 1952, the measure failed in the senate 9-29. In 1953, three bills were introduced; none gained committee approval.

California

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1948 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1951, another resolution was introduced in the legislature in 1948 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated in a house vote, 67-8. In 1956, the voting age was lowered to 18. It died in committee. In 1957, a similar measure was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Florida

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated. In 1951, five resolutions to the same effect were introduced in the legislature. The resolutions required three-fifths constitutional majority of the house, by a vote of 77 to 13, on April 18. On April 29, 1952, the measure failed in the senate 9-29. In 1953, three bills were introduced; none gained committee approval.

Georgia

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the 1955 legislature to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated. In 1959, a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18 died in committee. In 1961, a similar measure was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Hawaii

The State entered the Union in 1898 under a state constitution, and therefore, requires a constitutional amendment. Wherever pertinent, the method of amendment is explained below.

Idaho

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1953 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated. In 1962, a proposal was made to submit a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18, but the latter was less than the required majority and the bill failed.

Illinois

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Indiana

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Iowa

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Kansas

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Kentucky

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the general court in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Louisiana

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Maine

Proposals for a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age were introduced in the legislature in 1948, 1955, and 1957. No action was taken on any of them. In 1955, a similar measure was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Maryland

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Massachusetts

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the general court in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Michigan

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Minnesota

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Mississippi

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1951 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated.

Missouri

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1951 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated.

Montana

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Nebraska

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated.

Nevada

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

New Hampshire

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

New Jersey

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1951 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

New Mexico

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated.

New York

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated.

North Carolina

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

North Dakota

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Ohio

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It was defeated.

Oklahoma

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Oregon

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Pennsylvania

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Rhode Island

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South Carolina

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South Dakota

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Tennessee

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Texas

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Utah

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Vermont

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Virginia

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Washington

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

West Virginia

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1951, a similar proposal was introduced; none gained committee approval.

Wisconsin

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

Wyoming

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee.

West Virginia's constitution bars minors, the word being defined by statute.
Michigan

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. Four measures were introduced; all died in committee. In 1945, H. J. R. 9, a proposal to lower the voting age to 18, was defeated. In 1953, another proposal, S. 6, was defeated in committee. In 1955, another proposal, S. J. R. 6, was favorably reported by the committee, but the proposal was then recommitted by the Senate. In 1956, a similar measure was introduced in both houses of the legislature. It was defeated by a vote of 21 to 9, but the proposal was recommitted by the Senate. In 1957, another proposal, S. J. R. 6, was favorably reported by the committee, but was then recommitted by the Senate. In 1958, a similar proposal, S. J. R. 6, was similarly disposed of by the Senate committee.

Ohio

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1953 a similar proposal was defeated.

North Carolina

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1953 a similar proposal was defeated.

North Dakota

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. In 1953 a similar proposal was defeated.

Oklahoma

A constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18 was introduced in the legislature in 1954. It died in committee. The 1951 session of the legislature passed H. J. R. 9, to amend the constitution to lower the minimum age to 18, by the necessary constitutional majority, and the proposal was put to a referendum in November 1952. It was defeated, with 615,771 votes cast against and 444,974 in favor. No proposals to lower the voting age have been submitted in the legislature since 1953.

Oregon

A constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18 was introduced in the legislature in 1954. It died in committee. In 1955, another proposal to lower the minimum to 18, H. J. R. 3, was recommended by the committee, but the proposal was then recommitted by the Senate. In 1956, a similar proposal, S. J. R. 6, was similarly disposed of by the Senate committee.

Pennsylvania

A constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18 was introduced in the legislature in 1954. It died in committee. According to the Congressional Digest of March 1954, page 72, two bills to lower the voting age, S. 1, and H. R. 8, died in 1953, "as have other earlier measures since 1943." On May 24, 1957, the house of representatives approved, by a vote of 149 to 1, a measure to reduce the voting age to 18. It was defeated in the Senate. Two resolutions in 1957 to lower the voting age to 18 or 19, were pigeonholed in committee.

Rhode Island

A measure to lower the voting age was defeated in the legislature in 1955. We have no record of any legislative action.

South Dakota

This State is unique in having twice rejected by referendum proposals to lower the voting age to 18. A similar proposal was introduced by the legislature in 1951 was submitted to the voters in 1952. It lost by 685 votes: no, 128,910; yes, 128,221. The State constitution requires that two successive legislatures approve a measure before submission to a referendum. In 1959, instead of reapproving the 1957 proposal, the legislature called a constitutional convention to consider, as one of its four topics, the lowering of the voting age to 18. The convention met in Rapid City on July 21. On September 10 the convention voted, 38–32, to leave the constitutional amendment unchanged. It was defeated, 68–35, against reducing the minimum to 18, and rejected two proposals to lower the voting age to 20.

Tennessee

A constitutional amendment was introduced in the legislature in 1943 to lower the voting age to 18. It died in committee. A similar bill was introduced in 1945. In 1949 H. J. R. 6 was favorably reported by the committee, but was then recommitted by the House. We have no record of any other legislative action.

Utah

Proposals to amend the constitution so as to lower the voting age to 18 were introduced in the legislatures in 1945, 1954, and 1958. All died in committee.

Washington

Two proposals to lower the constitutional age so as to lower the voting age to 18 were introduced in the legislatures in 1945–H. J. R. 9 and S. J. R. 6. Both died in committee. In 1947, H. J. R. 2, a proposal by the Senate to lower the voting age to 18, was favorably reported and, on February 23, received a majority vote, 49 to 48, in the House. In 1955, a similar resolution, H. J. R. 3, was passed by the House, 40–18, but was rejected by the Senate committee. In 1959, another proposal, S. J. R. 6, was similarly disposed of by the Senate committee.

Virginia

Proposals to amend the constitution so as to lower the voting age to 18 were introduced in the legislatures in 1947, 1949, and 1953. In 1949, H. J. R. 3, was favorably reported by the committee and passed the House; but the required constitutional vote, 71 to 28, on February 15. In the Senate the measure was pigeonholed in committee and a motion to leave the bill on the calendar was not made. The resolution on the calendar lost 29 to 18, on March 8. In 1957, three resolutions were introduced: H. J. R. 3, and S. J. R. 3 lower the minimum to 18 and S. J. R. 27 to lower it to 19. H. J. R. 3 was twice reported favorably but was never brought to the floor. In the 1959 session each house received a resolution and in each the resolution was killed in committee.

West Virginia

Constitutional amendments to lower the voting age to 18 were introduced in the legislature in 1943, 1945, and 1951. In 1951, the first three were the measures died in committee. In 1951, on March 6, an attempt to
discharge the committee in the house failed, 40 to 43. In 1953 the house committee reported favorably, but no further action was taken. We have no record of legislative action after 1953.

Wisconsin

A constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18 was introduced in the legislature in 1943. It was adopted by the assembly as J. R. 30 by a vote of 55 to 29, but failed to gain clearance from the senate committee. In 1948, the resolution was rejected by the assembly committee. In 1947, under the designation Jt. Res. 18A, the proposal to lower the voting age passed through an intricate maze of parliamentary maneuvering ending in a 48-44 vote to pass. The majority, not being a constitutional one, the measure failed. In 1951 an 18-year-old voting age proposal was rejected by a senate committee, and in 1958 an assembly measure to lower the limit to 19 was unsuccessfully reported.

Wyoming

In 1951, Gov. Frank A. Barrett asked the legislature to lower the minimum voting age to 18. A measure was introduced and defeated. We have no record of any other legislative action.

SUMMARY

Table I lists the five States in which the question of lowering the voting age has been put to the electorate. In two, Georgia and Kentucky, the question was approved, In the other three—Indiana, Oklahoma, and South Dakota, it was defeated.

Table II lists the 14 States in which, in addition to those in Table I, at least one house of the legislature has approved a proposal to lower the voting age by the required constitutional majority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Passed in house; defeated in senate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Passed in house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Passed in house; defeated in senate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Passed both houses; failed in next legislature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Passed in house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Passed in assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Passed in senate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Passed in senate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Passed both houses; failed in constitutional convention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Passed in house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Passed both houses; failed in assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Passed in house; defeated in senate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Passed both houses; failed in assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Passed in house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Passed in assembly.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Passed in house.</td>
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<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Passed both houses; defeated in senate.</td>
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<td>Oregon</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Passed in house.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Passed both houses; defeated in senate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Passed both houses; failed in assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Passed in house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Passed in house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Passed in assembly.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Cotton). The question is on agreeing to the first committee amendment.

Mr. RANOLPH. Mr. President, the diligence of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Bayh) as chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Committee on the Judiciary has often been proven to this body. As a further indication of his leadership he brings this measure to us for determination. The hour is late—very late—but still, we believe, in time to accomplish the necessary procedures prior to State and Federal elections in 1972. Senate Joint Resolution 7 will complete that which already has been accomplished partially by statutory Act of Congress and which the Supreme Court of the United States has declared applicable to Federal elections—extending the franchise to those between 18 and 21. However, this has left the voting rolls and ballots in the 47 States with a higher voting age in a chaotic condition. States are being confronted with the requirements of establishing separate voting rolls and ballots in primary and general elections. The only way this situation can be resolved prior to the 1972 elections by passage of the pending resolution in both this body and in the House of Representatives and referred to the States for ratification.
later when I was still 30 years of age, after having lost on the first occasion.

I have had the opportunity through the years—and prior to standing for public office, which I have been doingfully for many years, and thousands of young adults, as I have been working with them each year in my capacity, personally and officially, as a Member of the Senate on educational and civic affairs. Of the described areas is different, the words are different; and perhaps the symbolism of youth expresses itself in a different manner than in the earlier period. Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Voting Rights Act of 1970, and the Voting Rights Act of 1982. These young adults have had this privilege regardless of which side of the aisle they were on—Democrats or Republicans—have not been so eager to bring this matter to fruition.

It is my earnest hope, Mr. President, that the 26th amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America will be the extension of the full right of citizenship to Americans on attaining the age of 18. We will bring our 18, 19, and 20-year-olds into the unique system of America.

This, I think, will broaden the base of our system of government to include approximately 7 percent more citizens in our voting population. These young adults, I submit, will be extended, as I earlier indicated, by the Voting Rights Amendments of 1970, but the Supreme Court determined that our action was applicable only to Federal elections; and now a bill has been placed on State and local officials.

There are practices and procedures which are at variance. There would be separate voting rolls and ballots in primary and general elections. This has all been well documented and is a part of a report which has been filed by the Constitutional Amendments Subcommittee. I report this in a sense, not only confusing but chaotic.

The procedure by which States which do not now have 18-year-old voting—all but three—can lower their voting age can best be described as an endless process. In every case it would require amending the State Constitution. In all but one State the proposed amendment would have been introduced in the legislative and in several States a proposed amendment must be approved by two successive legislatures—not one, but two successive legislatures. I use my words carefully, for I say this. This is the hit-and-miss approach. It is a hit-and-miss approach. It is an approach which does not lead to balanced and well-reasoned action in connection with the voting process.

However, if there is prompt action by the Congress, the issue, as the Senator from Indiana said over and over again, will be brought directly to the State legislative bodies for consideration. I stress again that legislative bodies are in session today. Thirty-one are and they will be in session on April 1, less than a month away. Another will convene in May. Action by 38 States is necessary for ratification. Working this year and in the early part of next year, ratification can be achieved.

Mr. President, I believe it is the desire of the Senate to vote on this matter— I hope this afternoon. There need be no excessive debate. It has not been a matter of discussion over a period of months and years, with concentrated debate during consideration of the Voting Rights Act last year.

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

Mr. RANDOLPH. I am happy to yield.

Mr. BAYH. The Senator as unusual is striking at the heart of the matter. He emphasizes rapidly that it is possible to accomplish our goal before all the States of the Union are put to great inconvenience and great expense. If we move quickly, we can get the proposed amendment. He added one important factor which needs to be emphasized, and that is that rapid action now should not be interpreted by anyone as hasty.

As the Senator from West Virginia knows, the two of us tried our best, in the closing hours of the session last year, to prevail on two or three of our colleagues, who seemed to be the only ones who opposed moving this measure through at the close of the session, after the Supreme Court had ruled that the State legislatures could not consider this matter. That is past history. We cannot remedy that mistake, but we can move expeditiously and wisely now. There has been adequate consideration of the subject. We have been discussing it and studying it for years. We have discussed it in committee and on the floor of the Senate.

I commend the Senator for moving quickly.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the statement of the Senator from Indiana is a valid one. This is not a pleasantry, but a reality. I submit that there are many persons in this body and in the Congress who have made not only considerable but commendable contributions to the hoped-for hour when young adults are allowed to participate in all elections—Federal, State, and local.

The distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Montana (Mr. Mansfield), who sits in the chamber at this time, has again and again expressed himself, eloquently and effectively during debate, on this important proposition. I know that he joins with other Senators this afternoon in the hope that we will not permit this basic subject matter to be in a sense, diverted—and I use my words advisedly—and possibly subverted by other matters that are extraneous, especially in view of the need for prompt action and the fact that time is running out.

The New York Times of March 8 contains an editorial which I think sets forth exactly what I propose, referring to it and reading from it I shall take my seat. The title of the editorial is "Uniform Voting Age."

The editorial reads:

The 26th Amendment to the United States Constitution is, we are told, Within two days of each other the House and Senate Judiciary Committees have approved the proposed constitutional change to lower the voting age to 18 for all elections, including State and local. So overwhelming was the vote (52 to 2 in the House panel, unanimous in the Senate's) that the indications are bright for quick passage.

Since the 18-year-olds already have the right to vote in national office—by grace of Congress, the President and the Supreme Court—an amendment now would essentially be to start the process of making the place instead of a Congressional law, which for many under the Constitution as stands, only the States could fix qualifications for voting in contests for Federal office.

The result now is due confusion in most of the country's state capitals. To keep two sets of registration rolls, as well as providing two sets of ballots, will be slow and expensive. Yet for a State to reduce the voting age for State and local officers would generally require amendment of its constitution, a procedure that could take years.

I close with these words from the editorial, and I hope we will realize, as I said, that a delay of even I day might void our efforts. Just one day could keep hundreds—or even thousands—of 18- to 21-year-olds in the general elections of 1972.

The problem, then, is no longer one of philosophy or ideology of smooth mechanics; very few will contend that people who may already vote for President should not have the power to vote for county sheriff or State assemblyman.

Quick action by Congress and State legislatures is needed now to bring uniformity out of confusion—ideally in time for the 1972 elections.

Mr. President, I am not often given to appeals, but I would like to appeal to my colleagues that we act on this matter, and act promptly, and do what we should have done long ago. We now have the opportunity and the responsibility to approve a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18. Our Nation will be the better for it if we act now.
two Senators and two Representatives for the District of Columbia.

He knows that I intend to move to table that proposal, and I would hope, therefore, that it would be possible to face up to this matter today, so that if at all possible it could be disposed of.

What the Senate sought to do last year was to grant the right to vote to those 18 and above who are now denied the right to vote in State, local, and national elections. The House of Representatives agreed, the President signed the bill, the matter was taken by the Attorney General to the Supreme Court, and last December the Supreme Court laid down its dictum to the effect that what Congress had done and the President had signed did not apply to local and State elections, but only to national elections.

In other words, those citizens 18 and above are now eligible to vote for the President, the Vice President, Senators, and Representatives in the House of Representatives. If something on the order of what the General Assembly of Vermont sought to do last year would be accomplished in the Senate, is not attended to soon, an unwarranted delay would be in order, and unless the bill is unencumbered, to face the matter was taken by the Attorney General to the Supreme Court.

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

EXTENSION OF RIGHT TO VOTING CITIZENS 18 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER

The Senate continued with the consideration of the joint resolution—Senate Joint Resolution 7—proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, the Committee on the Judiciary's Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments has prepared some perfecting amendments, which were adopted by the committee. I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments be considered and agreed to en bloc.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Cotton). Without objection, it is so ordered.

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

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Cotton). Without objection, it is so ordered.

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THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Cotton). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE FLIGHT OF OUR DAIRY FARMERS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Associated Press reported on March 7 that the Secretary of Agriculture is proposing to set milk price supports at $4.92 per hundredweight. I ask unanimous consent that at this point the Associated Press article by Don Kendall be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

No Increase in Dairy Price Supports

Agriculture Department and Congressional sources say the Nixon Administration will not increase the rate of government dairy price supports for the year beginning April 1st. The sources said the decision will mean extension of the 85% support rate of parity for manufacturing grade milk used for butter, and other products set a year ago. There will be, however, some increase in actual price support rates because of a continuing rise in Government parity price—a formula relating costs of production with actual market prices. An announcement on the decision is expected soon. It must be made before the end of the first quarter. Under the law, Agriculture Secretary Clifford Hardin has the authority to set dairy price support levels at between 75% and 90% of parity. A year ago Hardin announced the support level at $4.86/cwt on manufacturing milk—that price has since dropped to the 60-70 marketing year. At that time, the new
Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Associated Press story notes that a year ago Secretary Hardin announced the support level last year, the actual price support level has deteriorated to a little more than 80 percent. And the overall parity for American agriculture at this time is about 69 percent, which is only a few percentage points above the all-time low depression period of the thirties.

If the Secretary follows what is indicated in the Associated Press story I have referred to, the dairy farmers can expect that the April 1 price support rate will be $5.21 on manufactured milk. This is 4 again as much as the 4.4 billion pounds of milk equivalent purchased in 1969-70.

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If the Secretary follows what is indicated in the Associated Press story I have referred to, the dairy farmers can expect that the April 1 price support rate will be $5.21 on manufactured milk. This is 4 again as much as the 4.4 billion pounds of milk equivalent purchased in 1969-70.
"Review of the Dairy Situation." That document just came to my attention yesterday, I was shocked and amazed at some of its observations.

The first recommendation I refer recommends lowering dairy prices by keeping the same price support levels for the next marketing year that we have now, which means that in terms, will fall back, due to the inflation, the farmer will be getting less this coming year than he received last year.

I, therefore, urge upon Secretary Hardin that he take the advice and counsel of this document, known as "Review of the Dairy Situation." I hope he will not even give it serious consideration. It purports to speak for the farmers. But as read it, it surely was not speaking for the farmers or the national interest.

This document, I repeat, calls for lower prices for dairy farmers. The end result of such a policy will be more production, because farmers will attempt to keep up their gross income by producing more. It will inevitably mean more purchases by the Government of the United States of surpluses. The result will be lowered prices for dairy farmers. The end result will be an increased pressure of the cost-price squeeze.

The maintenance of a viable dairy industry is threatened by the low incomes that come from present untenable farm prices. If the proposal for even lower prices succeeds, it will hasten a wave of bankruptcies among dairy farmers and do grave damage to the national interest.

Let me state unequivocally that, despite any documents that may circulate in the high councils of Government, the dairy producer is not only a producer but also a consumer, and particularly the dairy producer.

So I appeal to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States to avoid the false prophets of low prices and lowering support levels and to follow what I believe will be his instincts and his basic good judgment, to give to this area of American agriculture the kind of help and understanding and assistance that it justly deserves.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold that request?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I withhold it.

EXTENSION OF RIGHT TO VOTE

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 7) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I have discussed with the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts the amendment he intends to offer. I have also discussed the possibility of a time limitation not only with him but also with the distinguished minority leader and the manager of the bill, the distinguished senior Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH). It is my understanding that before the Senate goes tonight on an adjournment basis, the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts will offer an amendment. It is my intention at an appropriate time to move to table that amendment.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that, beginning at the hour of 12 o'clock noon tomorrow, there be a period for debate for not to exceed 1 hour, the time to be equally divided between the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Montana, and that it apply to that amendment and all amendments included in the unanimous-consent request, that after the disposal of that amendment, there be 1 hour allotted on the pending business, following which a final vote will be had.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and I do not intend to object, is my understanding of the consent agreement correct, that there would be time available tomorrow between the hours of 12 and 2, when we would have an opportunity to discuss the amendment prior to the motion to table?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct. The time would be equally divided between us.

Mr. KENNEDY. Am I correct that, under the unanimous-consent agreement, there can be no action that would preclude the opportunity of utilizing the full 2 hours for the debate? I believe that a number of Senators hope to be able to speak on the amendment. Am I correct in my understanding of the Senator's intention?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct. And if there is any time remaining on any side, and the Senator desires it, we will do our best to make it available.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President also included in the unanimous-consent request the 1 hour devoted to the consideration of the bill following a vote on the tabling motion.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct, at which time a final vote will be had.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I express the hope that perhaps that hour will not be used up, because some Senators have other engagements on tomorrow afternoon.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that rule XII be waived.

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

How does the Senator from Montana desire the hour to be divided?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The hour would be under the control of the majority and minority leaders or whomever they may designate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, if the motion to table fails, does the majority leader wish to indicate any specific procedure with respect to subsequent votes?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator has raised a question which I had not anticipated. However, we can always make another unanimous-consent request.

Mr. President, since the Senator has raised the point, I ask unanimous consent that the part of the motion providing that the vote take place at the end of the hour be negated.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unanimous-consent request be confined only to the 2 hours on the Kennedy amendment and my motion to table it, and that the time as agreed to be divided between the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Montana.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The unanimous consent agreement, subsequently reduced to writing is as follows:

Ordered. That debate on the Kennedy Amendment (No. 11) relative to D.C. representation in Congress, and all amendments thereto, to S.J. Res. 7, proposing an Amendment to the Constitution, extending the voting right to citizens 18 years of age or older, be limited not to exceed 2 hours beginning at 12:00 noon tomorrow (March 10) to be equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader (Mr. Mansfield) and the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Kennedy) after which the Senate will vote on the motion to be offered by Mr. Mansfield, to table the Kennedy Amendment.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Amendment No. 11

Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. President, I call up my amendments No. 11.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendments.

Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendments be dispensed with.

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

Mr. KENNEDY'S amendments—No. 11— are as follows:

Beginning with the word "That." In line 2, page 1, strike out all to and including the colon in line 7, page 1, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That the following articles be proposed as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, any one of which shall be valid to all intents and purposes only if ratified separately by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

On page 2, after line 7, insert the following:

"ARTICLE -

"Section 1. The people of the District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall elect two Senators and the number of Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled by apportionment if it were a State. Each Senator or Representative so elected shall be an inhabitant of the District and shall possess the same qualifications as to age and citizenship, shall be elected for the same term, and shall have the same rights, privileges, and obligations as a Senator or Representative from a State.

"Sec. 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of the District in either the Senate or the House of Representatives, the people of the District shall fill such vacancies by election.

"Sec. 3. This article shall have no effect on the provision made in the twenty-third article of amendment to the Constitution for determining the number of electors for President and Vice President in the House of Representatives or Senate under the twelfth article of amendment when such were made.

"Sec. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution proposing amendments to the Constitution to provide equal rights for men and women, and to provide for the representation of the District of Columbia in the Congress."

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. KENNEDY. As I understand it, a unanimous-consent request has been propounded by the majority leader for a time limitation on this amendment. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. KENNEDY. So, once the Senate stands in adjournment today, my amendment will become the pending business, and will taken up at 12 noon tomorrow?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. KENNEDY. I thank the Chair.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there again be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, subject to the two houses of the legislature, and the fourth amends the State's election laws pertaining to primaries and similar qualification devices for registering voters, are put under Federal control.

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

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

THE STATE OF VIRGINIA AND THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, last week an historic precedent was set—and an outrageous one.

The Governor of Virginia was forced to bring to Washington for approval four laws enacted by the Virginia General Assembly.

All these laws have to do with elections in the State. Three of them re-appointment representation in the Congress and the two houses of the legislature, and the fourth amends the State's election laws pertaining to primaries and nominating conventions.

Under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, all new Virginia statutes and changes in old statutes must be approved by the Attorney General if they affect in any way the State's electoral process. Virginia is one of six Southern States singled out for this treatment under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Neither the Governor of Virginia nor the Attorney General of the United States is responsible for this discriminatory situation.

The fault lies with Congress.

It was Congress which first passed the Voting Rights Act in 1965, and then extended it in 1970.

The Voting Rights Act imposed Federal control over voting procedures, con-
more objectionable because it applies to only a few States. This adds discrimina-
tion to the already centralized power
in Washington.

The full scope of the act was made
evident by a recent decision of the U.S.
Supreme Court.

On July 14 of this year, the Court
downed a decision dealing with a
municipal annexation in Mississippi. This
ruling made it clear that the Voting
Rights Act imposes a federal con-
control unilaterally upon any of the
States, and that this control is
imperative, therefore, that the
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As chairman of the Committee on
Labor and Public Welfare and as part
chairman of the Senate Committee on
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Hearings will be held in advance of the White House
Conference, and the congressional debate
on extension of the Older Americans Act.

These questions are worthy of atten-
tion, and they should receive such attention
well in advance of the White House
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on extension of the Older Americans Act.

Mr. Scott. Mr. President, despite the fact
that the official cease-fire along Israel's borders has ended, it seems very likely
now that, barring a tragic miscalculation,
the truce will last. There will, no
doubt, be more Palestine guerrilla attacks
across the borders, but the Palestine
movement has never recognized the
cease-fire and it would be dangerous for
us to expect them to do so now.

However, the careful balance of power
which President Nixon and his Secretary
of State, William P. Rogers, have helped establish in the area
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ally depended upon its commercial fishing industry for a major portion of its coastal income.

Whereas, the State of Maine believes that the harvesting of these marine resources on a sustained basis can be effective only if it is commercially depended upon its commercial record of effort at coastal authorities; now, therefore, be it

Resolved: That we, the members of the Senate of the Legislature, assembled, go on record as petitioning each member of the Maine Congressional delegation to use every effort and to investigate all possibilities of the United States' securing a fisheries jurisdiction off its coastline to the outside limit of territorial waters and shall seek to such an additional distance as will give adequate protection and management of fishery resources emanating from or adjacent to the coastal States and that such fishery jurisdiction be qualified to permit foreign fishing inside said United States fishing zone, through agreements with foreign governments, similar to those which are presently in effect, and be it further

Resolved: That duly certified copies of this resolution be immediately transmitted to said congressional delegates with our thanks for their prompt attention to this important matter.

ALASKAN NATIVE LAND CLAIMS

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, one of the most important, yet perhaps least understood issues to be resolved by this Congress is the settlement of Alaskan Native land claims. I am therefore grateful to William K. Wyant, Jr., who reported in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of February 25 on the various measures being advanced to settle Alaskan Native land claims. His article, entitled "Alaskan Natives' Claims Pushed," outlines the major differences between the Jackson bill, which is (S. 33), which represents the position of the Alaska Federation of Natives and which is now cosponsored by 13 Senators and is identical to the bill passed by the Senate last year, and the bill (S. 353), which appears to me that this may be the arid force of the Indian Claims Commission. It has been introduced in the Senate last week that the natives had filed formal claims to about 500,000,000 dollars of funds appropriated by Congress for settlement of the claims settlement dispute, and I hope that we may be able to reach an agreement on the bill so that we may be able to pass it.

Harris and Senator Edward M. Kennedy (Dem. Massachusetts) introduced a bill last week enlarging the package to be given the natives in January for final acquisition of title to Alaska. The Harris-Kennedy measure would include a provision that the baby would be entitled to 60,000,000 acres of land and 10,000,000 acres of mineral lands, which would give the Alaska natives half a billion dollars over a 12-year period and the other half of revenue sharing when the royalties have been paid. Thus the Jackson bill would give the natives a total of a billion dollars from the federal government and a billion dollars from the state government. Of the $500,000,000,000 from royalties, the federal share would be only $2,621,000,000, but the state share would be $2,600,000,000 in revenue it would otherwise receive.

The liberal measure offered by Senator Kennedy and appears to be far less in demand than the Jackson bill. It is felt that the Jackson bill would represent less than 20 per cent. They were in Alaska first. The Harris-Kennedy bill, with 60,000,000 acres, would represent less than 50 per cent.

"The land is our life. To take almost all of it away from us... is to deprive us of life itself.

It appears to me that this may be the central issue involved in the complex claims settlement dispute, and I hope that the Senate will give careful consideration to the position advanced by the AFN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ALASKAN NATIVES' CLAIMS PUSHED

(Mr. W. W. Wyant, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Senator Fred R. Harris (Dem.), Oklahoma, whose wife is part Comanche Indian, is trying to see to it that the United States and Indians of Alaska get a square deal from the white man in Congress's settlement of native claims.

Harris and Senator Edward M. Kennedy (Dem. Massachusetts) introduced a bill last week enlarging the package to be given the natives in January for final acquisition of title to Alaska. The Harris-Kennedy measure would include a provision that the baby would be entitled to 60,000,000 acres of land and 10,000,000 acres of mineral lands, which would give the Alaska natives half a billion dollars over a 12-year period and the other half of revenue sharing when the royalties have been paid. Thus the Jackson bill would give the natives a total of a billion dollars from the federal government and a billion dollars from the state government. Of the $500,000,000,000 from royalties, the federal share would be only $2,621,000,000, but the state share would be $2,600,000,000 in revenue it would otherwise receive.

In addition to the two Senate proposals for settlement of native land claims there is a second open-handed House bill sponsored by Representative Wayne N. Aspinall (Dem.), chairman of the House Interior Committee.

The Aspinall bill would give the natives outright title of as little as 20,000 acres of land around their villages and permit them to use up to 40,000,000 acres for hunting and fishing without transfer of title.

Under the House bill, the Eskimos, Aleuts and Indians would receive a federal appropriation of $25,000,000,000 over 10 years, plus an additional $25,000,000,000 from federal mineral revenues and up to $500,000,000 from state mineral revenues.

The liberal measure offered by Senators Harris and Kennedy is in line with what the Alaska Federation of Natives wants. The federation considers the land provisions of the Jackson bill inadequate.

Donald R. Wright, president of the federation, pointed out to the Senate Interior Committee that the natives had filed formal claims to about 340,000,000 acres, or more than 90 per cent of the land in Alaska. "The natives have recognized it is inalienable in any bargaining. They were in Alaska first. Wright said the Jackson bill, providing native title to only 10,000,000 acres of land around their villages and permit them to use up to 40,000,000 acres for hunting and fishing without transfer of title.

The House bill, which is cosponsored by Representatives Aspinall, Wright and others, would provide in revenue sharing, thereby leaving the matter in the hands of Congress.

"The land is our life. To take almost all of it away from us... is to deprive us of life itself.

It appears to me that this may be the central issue involved in the complex claims settlement dispute, and I hope that the Senate will give careful consideration to the position advanced by the AFN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ALASKAN NATIVES’ CLAIMS PUSHED

(Mr. W. W. Wyant, Jr.)
who are in critical condition and literally
must be kept alive through a transfu-
sion of Federal funds.

One of the proposals being circulated
unofficially is Representative Mills'
Federal takeover of welfare costs. This
proposal, which includes reform of the
present system, is excellently timed, given
the current gravity of the situation.

The Federal Government should assume
the total costs of welfare over a 3- or 4-
year period.

However, as an editorial from the
Christian Science Monitor of March 1.
Russ and I believe that merely federal-
izing welfare would not provide assis-
tance to those areas that do not have
but as this reading yet, Hanoi has a critical
need of funds if they are to continue es-
tential services.

I believe that a combination of wel-
fare-reform and Federal financing plus
revenue-sharing, as suggested in the
Humphrey-Reuss bill (S. 241), would
provide a balanced assistance program
to local governments.

It is not immediately whose program is
implemented. What is important is that
this vitally needed assistance reach our
States and localities as soon as possible
and under conditions that assure its
being spent effectively and well.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-
sent that the editorial be printed in the
Record.

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

REVENUE SHARING CHALLENGED

Not all the arguments are in on the reve-
 nue-sharing battle that looms in Congress,
as the Humphrey-Reuss bill (S. 241),
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Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-
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Record.
rant our deep attachment, as we seek to work on national issues and distinguish honest solutions from illusory ones. For this reason, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

The objection, that the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**A CASE OF HYPOCHONDRIA**

(By Daniel J. Boorstin)

Our inventive, up-to-the-minute, wealthy democratic spirit has an imaginary ill health; our very instruments of education, of information and of "progress" make it harder every day for us to keep our bearings in the larger universe, in the stream of history and the whole world of peoples who feel strong ties to their past. A new price of our American standard of living is our imprisonment in the present.

That imprisonment tempts us to a morbid preoccupation with ourselves, and so induces hypochondria. That, the dictionary tells us, is "an abnormal condition characterized by a depressed emotional state and imaginary ill health; excessive worry or talk about one's health." We think we are the beginning of the world's end, a result we get our nation and our lives, our strengths and our ailments, quite out of focus.

We will not be on the way to curing our national hypochondria unless we first accept the unfashionable possibility that many of our nation's ills are imaginary and that others may not be as serious as we imagine. Unless we begin to believe that we won't be dead before morning, we may not be up to the daily tasks of a healthy life.

We are overwhelmed by the instant moment. We read the morning's newspaper and flit on this hour's newscast. As a result we can't see the whole real world around us. We don't see the actual condition of our long-lived, big national. And so we can't see clearly whatever may be the real ailments from which we actually suffer.

In a word, we have lost our sense of history. In our schools, the story of our nation has been displaced by "social studies"—which is the study of what all us. In our churches the effort to see man sub specie aeternitatis has been displaced by the "social gospel"—which is the study of the way against the way, the special evils of our time. Our book publishers and literary reviewers no longer seek the timeless and the durable, but spend most of their time enquiring which are the "social commentary"—which they pray won't be out of date when the issue goes to press in two weeks or when the manuscript becomes a book in six months. Our merchandisers frantically devise their 1970½ models (when will the 1979½'s arrive?) which will cease to be voguish when their sequels appear three months hence. Neither our classroom lessons nor our sermon's nor our books nor the things we live with or the houses we live in are any longer strong ties to our past. We have become a nation of short-termers.

Without the materials of historical comparison, having lost our traditional respect for the past, we are adrift in a world of unconnected facts. Of kindred nations, we are left with nothing but abstractions, nothing but baseless utopias to compare ourselves with. We think that the history of our distraught citizens labels us as the worst nation in the world, or the bane of human history. We confuse our own disinterested self-righteousness (and a few disinterested Negroes tell us). For we have wandered out of history. And all in the name of virtue and social progress.

We have lost interest in the real examples from the human past which alone can help us see the bias that haunts our present. So we compare ours with a mythical Troublesome Free World, where all mankind was at peace. We talk about the War in Vietnam as if it were the first war in American history—or at least the first to which many Americans are directly opposed. For many Americans, the war is not yet having attained perfect justice, and we forget that ours is the most motley and miscellaneous—the most resilient—of all nationalities first to use the full force of law and constitution and to enlist the vast majority of its citizens in a strenuous quest for justice for all races and ages and religions.

We flagellate ourselves as "poverty ridden," as "ill-tempered," as "ill-tempered" in another civilization, a result as when there was not bottom 20 percent in the economic scale. We splutter against The Polluted Environment—a term invented in the age of the automobile. We compare our smoggy air not with the odor of horse dung and the plague of flies, and the smell of garbage and human excrement which filled cities in the past, but with the honeysuckle perfumes of some nonexistent City Beautiful. We forget that even if the water in many cities today is not as spring-pure as palatable as we would like, for most of history the water of the cities (and of the countryside) was undrinkable. We reproach ourselves for the ills of disease and malnourishment, and forget that it is only in enterprising, restless and whining cough, diphtheria and typhoid, were killing diseases of childhood, querulous fever plagued mothers in childbirth, polo was a summer monster.

Flooded by screaming headlines and hourly telecasts of the most recent, bitter and most "revolution," we haunt ourselves with the illusionary ideal of some "whole nation" which we feel we have kept and our own faith "in its values."

We become so obsessed by where we are that we forget where we came from and how we got here. We begin to believe that the courage to confront the normal ills of modern history's most diverse, growing, belting Nation of Nations.

Our national hypochondria is compounded by the American characteristics. The American belief in speed, which led us to build railroads farther and faster than any other nation, to invent "quick-lunch" and self-service to save the terrible ten-hour day, to build automobiles and highways so we can commute at 70 miles an hour, which made us a nation of instant cities, now demands that everything is necessary. We are already required to be the home of the world, which has bred in us a colossal impatience. Any social problem that can't be solved in the instant seems impossible, and that is a great deal of social ill. Our appliances and our buildings and our very lives seem out of date even before they have lived out their lives. What can't be done right now seems hardly worth doing at all.

Some of these current attitudes are themselves the late-twentieth-century perversion of the old American Booster spirit, which has no precise parallel anywhere else. Totalitarian nations have been marked by their attempts to create new "social engineering" to the way things are and the way they might be. And that distinction has never been a proper one, and the confusion between the way things are and the way they might be, has bred in us a colossal impatience. Any social problem that can't be solved in the instant seems impossible, and that is a great deal of social ill. Our appliances and our buildings and our very lives seem out of date even before they have lived out their lives. What can't be done right now seems hardly worth doing at all.

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The best antidote, then, against ruthless atrocities and simple-minded utopias has been American history itself. But that his history becomes more and more inaccessible when the technology and institutions of our time imprison us in the present. How can we escape the prison?

First, we must awaken our desire to escape. To do this we must abandon the prevalent belief in the superior wisdom of the ignorant. Unless we give up the voguish reverence for youth and for the "culturally deprived," unless we cease to look to the vulgar community as arbiters of our schools, of our art and literature, and of all our culture, we will never have the will to de-provincialize our minds. We must make every effort to reverse the trend in our schools and colleges—to move away from the "relevant" and toward the "timeless," to read and speak to the unfamiliar. Education is learning what you didn't even know you didn't know. The last ten years has seen a flood of superficial "black studies"—which simply re-enforces the unfortunate narrowness of his experience and confines him in his provincial present. We all need more ancient history, more medieval history, more of the history and culture of Asia and Africa.

Then, we must enlarge and deepen what we mean by our history. The preoccupation with politics which has been characteristic of the humanities means that unreasonable notions that today government are the root of all good and evil. The self-righteous, self-righteous estimates of self-vaulted new "schools" of history would make history a mere toy of contemporary politics. To understand the human past we must explore the past. They would make men of all other ages into the slaves of our contemporaries, and use only for our purposes. We must make our history a means of understanding the past, that people lived but that history is not just a means of understanding the past, that people lived but that history is not just
mean enlarging its once-pedantic scope to include the whole spectrum of the ways of life of men and women.

When we are called to be imprisoned in the present, to be obsessed by the "relevant," we show too little respect for ourselves and our possibilities. We assume that we can properly judge our capacities by the peculiar tests of our own day. But we must look into the whole Historical Catalogue of man’s possibilities. To be really persuaded that things can be otherwise, we must see how and why they have actually been otherwise.

To revive our sense of history is surely no panacea for current ills. But it surely is a palliative, a discovery. For what is now incurable, may help us define the timetable of the possible, and so help us become something that we are not. If history cannot give us panaceas, it is the best possible cure of the yen for panaceas. And the only proper cure for utopianism.

"The voice of the intellect," observed Sigmund Freud (who did not underestimate the role of the irrational) in 1925, "is a soft one, but it does not cease until it has gained a hearing. Ultimately, after endlessly repeated rebuffs, it succeeds. This is one of the few pawns one may be optimistic about the future of mankind." Beneath the strident voice of the present we must try to hear the voice of the future. We must always speak only with the attention of the attentive listener. It speaks a language always unfamiliar and often archaic.

The language of all past times and places, which is the language of history.

DEPARTURE OF A PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, on January 31, 1971, Mr. Stewart French retired from the professional staff of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

It will be recalled that the more formalized system of professional staffing of Committees of Congress as we know it today was established by the 79th Congress in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1945.

The intent of the act in pertinent part was that our committees be staffed by highly skilled, impartial experts who would serve the Congress without regard to partisan, political or personal considerations.

The long service of Stewart French exemplifies one of the instances in which the intent and purpose of this Act of Congress has been fulfilled.

Stewart had served on the professional staff of the Interior Committee for almost 22 years, and as its chief counsel since 1954. Prior to his appointment to the committee at the beginning of the 81st Congress in 1949, he had been a lawyer and a newspaperman in various capacities in both Government and private enterprise.

Stewart’s career on the Interior Committee staff is an example of the way the professional staff system was intended to work. He served under six different chairmen—four Democratic and two Republican. He served the members on both sides of the committee table with equal professional skill, willingness, and enthusiasm. Among the major legislative achievements of which he was attached and made a part of this resolution.

Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, last Thursday, March 4, 1971, I was pleased to join the distinguished Senator from Vermont (Mr. Proctor) in introducing S. 1123, the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1971.

The aim of this legislation, as President Nixon put it, is to assure that no qualified student, who wants to go to college, should be barred by lack of money.

Through a combination of grants, work-study payments, subsidized loans, and work-study payments, this legislative package advanced by the administration would make it possible for every qualified student, regardless of economic status, to obtain such financial assistance as may be necessary to go to college.

This is a subject in which I have been interested for a long time. In 1958, I co-authored the national defense student loan program which became part of the National Defense Education Act.

It is a source of considerable satisfaction to me that since 1958 as many as 2,750,000 students have benefited from the national defense student loan program.

During the development of that legislation in 1958, I worked closely with the present Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Elliot L. Richardson, who was in the same Department. Once again, I am pleased to have the opportunity to work with Secretary Richardson in an effort to expand educational opportunities for those who are qualified to attend college.

Under S. 1123 the national defense student loan revolving fund would continue in its present form. While additional Federal money would not be added to this fund, it is estimated that $1 billion in new money for subsidized and guaranteed loans would be made available from non-government sources under the legislation through creation of the proposed National Student Loan Association.

Mr. President, this is important, meritorious legislation. I hope it will receive early and favorable consideration by the Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of a statement concerning this proposal presented March 3, 1971, by Secretary Richardson before the Senate Subcommittee on Education be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HONORABLE ELIOT L. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, U.S. SENATE, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1971

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee: Last week the President sent to the Congress his second special message on higher education, urging your prompt action on proposals which would greatly expand higher education opportunities for the people of this Nation. I am pleased to be with you this morning to discuss these proposals and to join the President in urging
your immediate attention to this matter of great national concern.

The President's program for expanding higher education opportunities is based on two important proposals: expansion and reform. The Administration is also submitting a budget which requests sufficient funds to support its commitment to expanded educational opportunities.

EXPRESSION OF STUDENT AID

The basic tenet of our program for the reform and expansion of student aid programs is the commitment that no qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money. The legislative proposal which is before you provides that Federal funds go first, and in the largest amounts, to the neediest students, placing them on an equal footing with students from higher-income families. In addition, it provides that students would have advance assurance of the type and amount of Federal assistance they could expect to get for their college education.

Commissioner Marland and Mr. Mutulhead will develop the profound significance of this new direction in Federal policy. For the time being, I would like to emphasize that we are proposing nothing less than an assured level of basic Federal support for every student from a low-income family who is qualified to enter college. This assurance will have an important bearing on college attendance by high school, and even elementary school, students. In addition, it will provide, as never before, a guarantee for college students from low-income families to choose among a variety of educational institutions with an assurance of a basic level of Federal support, whatever type of institution they choose to attend.

The Administration's improvements in the existing student aid programs have five major purposes:

To assure the availability of funds to every qualified student.

To assure that Federal funds go first, and in the largest amounts, to the students who need them most.

To provide potential students with as accurate information as possible concerning the aid they can expect.

To assure that all students of equal need are treated alike.

To provide additional financial aid to students attending high-cost institutions.

The Administration is recommending a coordinated student aid system with two parts: (a) a combination of grants, work-study payments, and subsidized loans for undergraduate students with low to middle incomes attending post-secondary educational institutions as well as proprietary institutions of higher education; and (b) creation of a National Student Loan Association to raise money to make loans available for all post-secondary students at all income levels.

The basic concept of the student aid system is that all students whose families can be expected to make the same contribution should have the same help available for their college expenses. The combination of family contributions plus Federal grants, work-study payments, and subsidized loans will make college available for any student to meet minimum educational expenses.

The system would work in the following manner: Each year the Secretary of HEW, after conferring with the Advisory Council on Financial Aid to Students, would publish a schedule indicating the amount of Federal funds available to students at different income levels. The first step in determining each student's eligibility for aid by determining the expected family contribution. This determination would take into account such factors as the size of the family, the number of family members in school, family income, family assets, expenses, and capital assets. The deficiency between expected family contribution and the cost of education at the institution would be met by a combination of grants, work-study payments, and subsidized loans.

For example, that what we are proposing represents a Federal floor for educational assistance. Added to this floor will be, in a majority of cases, financial aid from State sources, institutional aid, and private financial assistance, which amounted to an estimated total of $904 million in academic year 1969-70. As an example of State programs that are available, I might note that in New York, State assistance this year will add about 350,000 students with an average award of $280. In Ohio, a student enrolling in a private institution from a family with an income of $5,000 to $9,000 would qualify for a $900 State grant. If he enrolls in a public institution, he receives a $300 grant. In either case, this would increase his eligibility for Federal assistance. Many other States have similar programs of student aid. Institutions, foundations, and corporations, as will, devote a significant portion of their income to student assistance. We would anticipate that they would use those funds to provide supplemental grants or low-interest loans to students and whatever limited assistance might be needed for students not qualifying for Federal aid and Federal grants. In other instances it would be Federal aid, combined with other aid, exceed the cost of education at the institution.

Mr. Chairman, it has been charged that our proposal ignores the problems faced by middle-income families in putting their children through college. I would like to emphasize how untrue this is by pointing out to the committee some concrete examples of how our proposal would work under the President's budget commitment:

A family with $12,000 income and three children of college age, for almost $1,000 per student for just $250. The family would devote a significant portion of their income to student assistance. We would anticipate that they would use those funds to provide supplemental grants or low-interest loans to students and whatever limited assistance might be needed for students not qualifying for Federal aid and Federal grants. In other instances it would be Federal aid, combined with other aid, exceed the cost of education at the institution.

The Administration is recommending a combination of approximately $5 billion in new funds for Federal student aid programs, and the establishment of the National Student Loan Association, with authority to buy and warehouse student loans from students and institutions of higher education and commercial lenders. We estimate that this new market for Federal guaranteed student loans would involve as much as $10 billion in new lendable funds for guaranteed loans.

NSLA would be a private corporation, chartered and established by the Federal government. It would raise funds by issuing its own obligations for sale in private capital markets. The proceeds of bond sales and loan retirements would be returned to the government, allowing the NSLA to pay a lower rate of interest.

With the proceeds from its sales, NSLA would buy, sell, or warehouse student loan paper from colleges, banks, or other eligible lenders. Typically, a college without funds of its own to invest in student loans would make a loan to a student and then turn the note over to NSLA, which would buy, sell, or warehouse the student's note and regain liquidity. To insure the operation of NSLA and ease the transition into a secondary market, the Administration would ask Congress to appropriate $400 million in initial bud­ get calls for an appropriation of $400 million, which would be used to assist colleges in making loans and to establish investment lines of credit to the Treasury after NSLA begins operation.

NSLA would significantly increase the flow of investment to student loans. Both banks and colleges would be encouraged to do more student lending.

There are proposals for a secondary market for loans before both the House and Senate which provide only for warehousing of student loans. While the warehousing function, which involves cash advances to be repaid by the lender, is vital to a secondary market institution, authority to buy and sell student loans is also essential.

Finally, several other features of the Presi­ dent's student aid proposals merit attention:

The College Work-Study Program would continue. Colleges would continue to match work-study funds provided by the Federal Government (one dollar for four), but this requirement would be waived for institutions or work programs which it would hamper.

National Defense Student Loan Benefits would be retained. The maximum amount of Federal income tax paid by a family, as proposed in § 659, to determine Federal eligibility for student loans, would continue as the basic grant program, but without matching requirements.

The President's proposal would also provide dramatically increased access to Federally guaranteed loans for all students, regardless of their families' financial status. In the past, the supply of guaranteed loans has been arbitrarily restricted by the lack of a secondary market which could buy student loan paper and provide lenders with new loan paper to make new loans. The Administration proposes the establishment of the National Student Loan Association, with authority to buy and warehouse student loans from students and institutions of higher education and commercial lenders. We estimate that this new market for Federal guaranteed student loans would involve as much as $10 billion in new lendable funds for guaranteed loans.

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study payments appropriate to the individual student.

The Guaranteed Loan Program would continue to be open to all college students, but would be available to eligible borrowers on a need-blind basis. The interest subsidy paid by the Federal government on student loans to above-average-income students would be eliminated, and the special allowance paid to banks would be reduced.

Loan rates would be raised to $2,500 annually and would apply to the aggregate of both subsidized and unsubsidized loans.

The maximum permissible loan repayment period would be increased from 10 years to 20 years.

RENEWAL, REFORM, AND INNOVATION

Providing increased access to higher education is only one part of the Administration's strategy for expanding higher education opportunities. The President said in his message on Higher Education, "If we are to make higher education financially accessible to all who are qualified, then our colleges must be prepared both for the diversity of their students and for the individual needs of their students."

To encourage basic structural change in higher education and to provide new and more meaningful educational options for students, the Administration makes the following proposals to the National Foundation for Higher Education.

For too long the relationship between the Federal Government and the Nation's colleges and universities has been adversarial. The Federal Government has done too little to help colleges and universities do work that has little or no relationship to their essential functions. The National Foundation for Higher Education will forge a new and constructive partnership for basic change and innovation designed to meet the needs of the American public.

Mr. Chairman, I understand that I will return tomorrow to discuss in detail the Foundation proposal. Today, however, let me make clear that I am personally responsible for, and am committed to the specific design of the Foundation. It has been carefully drawn up to achieve independent yet coordinated action. It will be an agency of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, run by a Presidential-appointed Director, and advised by a Board of Directors. The Foundation will have close working relationships with the Commissioner of Education and the Director of the proposed National Institute of Education. Since this Administration has made it clear that the Commissioner of Education is the chief education officer, I intend to ask the Director of the Foundation to report to me through him.

I am pleased to see that S. 469, introduced by Chairman Pell, includes a Foundation, as well as a National Institute of Education, another key request of the President in the area of education. The Pell Bill is also before us as S. 474, which was introduced by Senator Proxmire. It would appear that the members of this subcommittee share with the President a major commitment to the reform and revitalization of education in this Nation. I believe that our differences can be readily resolved and well and the task be done, making education more exciting, more challenging and more productive.

During the past year we have consulted frequently with representatives of the higher education community and with the Congress in an attempt to draft a comprehensive higher education bill which would be accepted by all concerned. These consultations have resulted in an agreement that a bill of this nature will be introduced in this year's proposals over last year's. We have, for example, added a new component to

our student aid proposals—cost of education loans—which will provide benefits identical to those currently received by students under the Guaranteed Loan Program. This will enable low and middle income students to attend higher tuition institutions. At the suggestion of Members of Congress and leading officials in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, we have also proposed a new program of loan insurance for private college facilities and research institutions under the Higher Education Facilities Act. Finally, our consultants have made some important changes in our proposal for the National Foundation for Higher Education. We have removed from the Foundation the programs which clouded its reformist image last year, and we have, as noted, modified its structure to place it within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Higher Education Opportunity Act also contains a number of other titles and provisions which either extend or modify many existing provisions of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Higher Education Facilities Act, and the National Defense Education Act. Commissioner Marland will discuss these modifications with you in detail.

CONCLUSION

In closing I would like to emphasize the importance of prompt Congressional action on the President's high education proposals. Failure to act immediately could mean a denial of much-needed support for as many as one million students who have not previously had access to Federal student aid programs. Time is of the essence. We must act now in order to assure students and parents that Federal resources will be available for the opening of school in the fall.

The theme common to all of the Administration's higher education proposals is expanding higher education opportunities for all who can benefit from them. The President called for a "new kind of engagement between all the citizens of our society and our system of higher education." I urge the Congress to join in this exciting new effort to make good on our National commitment to equality of educational opportunity.

HALT HEROIN IMPORTS AT SOURCE

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, heroin addiction is one of the major problems facing our Nation today. There are more than 500,000 heroin addicts in the country today, a quarter of them teenagers.

It is the greatest single cause of death among young persons between the ages of 18 and 35. It is a major cause of street crime in our cities.

It is time that the American people brought this into this country comes from Turkey and 15 percent from Mexico—two of America's political and economic allies. It is a national tragedy. The President's LoanProgram, for example, is one of the reasons why heroin addicts abroad and produce a bumper crop of opium. We must strike at the source.

That is why I am joining the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Hartke) and other Senators in cosponsoring Senate Resolution 64, calling on the President to use all necessary diplomatic and economic means to cut off the flow of heroin abroad and to halt it from being illegally imported into the United States.

SST SCARE EVAPORATES

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, for more than a year now, we have heard a concentrated and almost unending stream of charges concerning the SST and environmental pollution. At times it seemed as though reason and fact were to be given no weight in the legislators' consideration of this problem. The campaign of the opponents of the SST was so massive that it seemed to defy the possibility of a factual debate or even a dialog based upon the truth.

As so often is the case, however, the critics of the SST have modified their own public stand. They have indulged in so much verbal overkill that Members of Congress, some segments of the press, and a greater and greater number of American laymen are now beginning to understand the truth.

The fact is that the environmental arguments against the supersonic transport are so negligible that they do not deserve to be taken seriously in a decision affecting the United States. It is to be permitted to build two prototypes of this airplane of the future.

As the newspaper, the National Observer, observed on March 6 the environment arguments against the SST "are now in tatters."

The newspaper paid particular attention to a warning from Dr. James McDonald, a University of Arizona physics teacher who argued that a fleet of SST's would cause atmospheric changes and expose Americans to enough greater radiation that it would cause an extra 5,000 to 10,000 cases of skin cancer in the United States. It pointed out that Representative Sylvio Conte, of Massachusetts, who voted against the SST last year, drew from Dr. McDonald the fact that he once held a belief that flying saucers may have been responsible for the power brownouts in the Northeastern United States.

Because of the importance that has been given to the environmental arguments against the SST—although very few of them ever held even a small degree of relevance—I ask unanimous consent that the National Observer article entitled "Environmental Scare Over SST Evaporates" be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ENVIRONMENTAL SCARE OVER SST EVAPORATES

(By Jude Wanniski)

The environmental arguments against the supersonic transport (SST) are now in tatters. As a result, opposition has improved that later this month Congress will decide to go ahead with the airplane. Of all the horrifying concerns raised by the environmental lobby against the SST, one not has survived a barrage of intense scientific scrutiny.

Ears last week before House Appropriations subcommittees, the Coalition Against the SST showed its desperation. The most serious ecological warning came from Dr. Harmon Vedder, a prominent physiologist, who argued that a fleet of SST's would cause atmospheric changes that would increase Americans to greater radiation, that exposure would cause an extra 5,000 to 10,000 cases of skin cancer in the United States.
This theory was too much for Rep. Silvio Conte, a Massachusetts Republican who last year voted against the SST. Mr. Conte asked Dr. McDonald, as Mr. Conte was told, that flying saucers may have been responsible for the power brown-outs in the Northeastern United States.

"I've kept the same open mind on UFOs as I have on the SST," said Dr. McDonald, who therefore urged Mr. Conte to scour the Air Force archives for himself to see the evidence that points to the probability of the existence of flying saucers. "I wish, I had the time," sighed Mr. Conte.

The most important testimony came from Dr. William D. Kellogg, Associate National Center for Atmospheric Research. Dr. Kellogg last year chaired a symposium of physicists that reviewed the climatic effects of the SST. It concluded that although some additional research was needed, there is no concrete reason for holding up SST prototype development.

Dr. S. Fred Singer, deputy Secretary of the Interior and the chairman of the American Geophysical Union, the National Academy of Engineering Quality, also gave the project a green light. He told the subcommittee he is "95 per cent sure" the SST would have a significant effect on the environment. And within two years, before the United States would have to decide whether or not to go on with the program, he believes he can be "99.99 per cent sure.

The environmental lobby should be deluged with its apprehensions. For through the lobby's pressures, the Administration has ruled out SST flights over land, eliminating the sonic booms. It has also pledged that should the SST fail to get a clean bill of health from the scientific research of the next two years, the SST will not fly at all. Further, the contractors now promise that the SST will be cleaner and quieter than any of the commercial jets now in use. And if it doesn't meet these higher standards, says the Administration, it will not be certified.

But the lobby, the Coalition Against the SST, is not happy. It simply doesn't want the airplane built. A year ago, the coalition—which includes the Sierra Club, the Friends of the Earth, the Environmental Defense Fund—argued that the SST sideline was too high, that it measured 125% of the cost of a Boeing 747 (in dollars). The coalition insisted the SST be required to meet several new regulations for subsonic flight. The engine contractor, General Electric, redesigned the engine. It now says it will meet the 108 EPNdB standards. The Sierra Club insists the requirement be made 98 EPNdB.

REACTION AGAINST PROGRESS

Dr. Singer has a theory about these objections. "Why has there been so much fuss raised about the SST? Why is the conflict focused on this particular new technology? I think the answer is complex, but perhaps one of the most important reasons that the SST has become a symbol. In my view, we are witnessing here a general reaction against progress and against basic science itself, on the part of a coalition of people which—paradoxically—wants the SST built."

In this view, the environmental opposition to the SST is largely unreasoning, more a visceral yearning to preserve the natural world as it is while a way is found to cleanse water and air. Of course, this is a hard hypothesi to accept in an Age of Aquarius, one, especially since the United States is profoundly enmeshed in global economics. Indeed, only by more rapid advances in the "right kind" of technology will the nation escape its pollution.

Before the end of this month, Congress will have to decide whether or not the SST is the "right kind" of technology, a decision that should be easier now that the environmental issues have become clearer.

The Administration and the aviation industry believe they will not really know until the prototypes are completed and flight-tested. But they insist the stakes are so high and the odds are so far in their favor that they are willing to take the gamble. The Government has already invested $1 billion; it will take $3 billion to cover the development costs in the U.S. aircraft industry; an accumulative loss, by 1985, in the U.S. balance of trade of more than $50 billion; loss to the U.S. Treasury not only $1 billion so far invested, which would be repaid through royalties, but more than $6 billion in corporate and personal income taxes.

Private industry is in no position to gamble another $300 million to find out if the SST will work. The industry already has a $139 million investment in the plane, and if the prototypes show an economic potential, the contractors will have to invest $1.5 billion for production of the SST.

The Government is playing for bigger stakes. If the SST is not built, industry's loss of potential sales would not match the staggering losses the U.S. Government would face in damage to a basic industry. The House Appropriations Subcommittee last week gave its nod, by a 7-to-2 vote, to the SST.

The environment to recognize the chief reason the SST is attractive to the world's airline companies, although this same reason promises a beneficial impact on the environment. The SST would be twice as productive as the most productive subsonic jet, the Boeing 747. Thus, it would take half as many SSTs as 747s to handle transoceanic traffic.

REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE CANADIAN MARITIME COUNCIL

"If it had not for the continuing advanced processors, "said Dr. John Peri of the Canadian Maritime Council, "the skies would now be swarming with airplanes to handle the demand and air traffic congestion would reach the current size."

William Magruder, director of SST development, in the Department of Transportation, said that it would take 50,000 DC-3s to handle the air traffic now served by the U.S. jet fleet of 3,000.

In a way, the Coalition Against the SST has been trapped by its own rhetoric. It built the SST into an "ecological disaster" of such monstrous proportions—in the process allying itself with forces that don't want the SST built no matter how benign its environmental impact—that it cannot now gracefully refuse to go away."

The same coalition, which includes the American Federation of Scientists and the Council for a Livable World, also came to reject the SST because it was perceived as the "right kind" of technology. When these groups join together, seeking strength in unity, they give up independence of action and potential conflict from the coalition once they get what they would normally feel is a reasonable compromise. They must fight back the bitter end with non-negotiable demands.

The coalition will continue to push the skies as the "right kind" of technology until their enthusiasm. It recognizes it now must battle not only the airplane on economic grounds, but last week green with no enthusiasm.

Russell Brown, a young chemical engineer from Idaho, appeared on the coalition's behalf, submitting a paper that "proves" the SST could not compete with the 747. When a subcommittee member praised him for his testimony, Mr. Brown could not resist boasting that he had worked out his calculations in two minutes on a dining-room table. "The arithmetic, he said, was so simple that "any eighth-grader could do it."
which will provide the basis for increased accuracy, timeliness, and geographic precision for these purposes. For example, the international Indian Ocean expedition and the International Cooperative Programme for the Study of Subtropical Convergences and Other Intertropical Conver­gences, which is an effort to examine the processes involved in the exchange of matter and energy between the atmosphere and the oceans. If we could combine our interests and our capabilities to examine the problem, we could then focus our attention.

The major emphasis on international cooperation will be to ensure that the scientific programs whenever possible. In addition, we at the program management level will present our overall program plan to intergovernmental organizations in order to obtain their assistance and support. Having presented to you our general approach to the management of the decade programs, I would now like to address the scientific problems upon which we should focus our attention.

First, I would like to outline three basic points of philosophy which have been used to shape the program and which we will use for the management of the project during the coming years.

(1) The goals assigned by the vice-president were well chosen in that they all involved an examination of man's interaction with the oceans. We recognized that a set of such goals would have to be designed carefully to avoid duplicating the prerogatives and even the assigned responsibilities of on-going Federal agency programs. This meant, for example, that we should not involve ourselves with research into tsunamis, tides, mapping, and charting, fisheries research or operational prediction systems, all of which are responsibilities of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Nor would we involve ourselves in detailed geological surveys which are rightfully the task of the U.S. Geological Survey, and which are a key to the environmental quality of rivers and estuaries which, at first glance, are the responsibility of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Federal Water Quality Administration. Having blocked out those areas which were not appropriate, we attempted to arrive at an operational philosophy which would take advantage of existing talent and resources, to stretch the money available to IDOE as far as possible in attaining the goals outlined. We concluded that IDOE and other agencies could enhance each other's activities. This could be done by the Department of Defense and other agencies could enhance each other's activities. This could be done by the Department of Defense and other agencies by encouraging cooperation on research programs which would be within the scope and much of the effort during this first year has been devoted to refining an operational philosophy to define the program and in identifying more specifically, scientific problems upon which we should focus our attention.

(2) The second set of these is the development of technologies for use in the environment. We recognize the importance of applying truly modern technology to oceanic investigations. The level of funding presently available to the program will permit the support of technological development. In the near future, we will support that technology required by the IDOE scientific programs as necessary. This will involve participation by industry wherever possible. As the experience grows in size and sophistication, increasing involvement of the technological excellence of industry will be required. We will be concerned with the determination of the growth of the National Oceanographic Instrumentation Center by supporting that organization in developing the testing, calibration, and engineering evaluation of the instruments to be used in the scientific program.

(3) The second support function involves the improvement of national and international data exchange through modernization and coordination of existing systems. Once again we decided that it was not feasible to support such a program in general terms, but that it would benefit the scientific research efforts as well as the existing data management organizations if we were to involve the data centers directly in the scientific projects. Accordingly, we have made arrangements by which the environmental data centers of NOAA and the sorting centers of the Smithsonian will participate in the IDOE through the following procedures: (A) the data centers will review the research programs submitted to the IDOE by the scientific community to assure that adequate attention has been paid to the reduction and processing of the scientific data required for coming from the work; (B) the data centers and the scientists will agree on formats for submission of data and the data centers will be responsible for delivery of the data to the centers; and, (C) the data centers will estimate the added costs of handling data and the scientific community who will be required to answer their questions on the use of the data. If these procedures were not followed, we would be unable to support such a program. Thus, we will seek joint support of the IDOE scientific investigations from other countries whenever it is mutually advantageous to do so.

(4) We have attempted to identify, within the program, research efforts by the Department of Defense and the international cooperative program, which are of concern to the IDOE. These efforts will be focused on scientific problems which will more properly involve cooperation between various parts of the ocean—rather than a broad commitment from each country to mount an exploratory expedition to a geographic area in an agreed upon time period.

Thus, the major emphasis on international cooperation will be to ensure that the principal investigators in this country contact their counterparts in other countries and encourage their participation in the programs whenever possible. In addition, we will focus our attention.
effect on esthetic and commercial uses of the oceans; and

(4) To identify areas of the ocean where one can expect to find high concentrations of pollutants.

Using these guidelines, surveys to obtain baseline data of the presence of specific pollutants and their concentrations in the biota, sediments, and water will be made during the study program. Once completed, the studies will provide adequate information to permit the logical development of sophisticated research projects in the biological and chemical areas. We have identified the gulf and Caribbean as a model for investigating the gulf and the Caribbean, and are considering supporting projects to study the biological amplification of pollutants and so forth. We have identified tracers—both physical and chemical—along the gulf and Caribbean. What is required is a knowledge of such changes will enable us to determine whether our theories are correct; if they are, an understanding of the generating mechanisms may help us to predict the occurrence of resources on the floor of the ocean.

Our understanding of the geophysical framework of the continental margins under the oceans is still not very clear. We believe that a search for minerals on these margins will require a knowledge of the geology, processes, and sediments of the continental shelves. We may support a few fine-grain surveys to look at the geology of selected areas, this work as a support of our seabed program on the continental margins.

Another program which presently has the attention of the majority of East Coast physical oceanographers is the study of the role of medium-scale eddy processes in ocean circulation. As a result of the work over the last several decades we have known something about the mean circulation of the oceans, but there has been no real understanding of the perturbations which take place. We also know that a large percentage of the energy associated with sea interaction processes takes place on scales equivalent to the quasi-geostrophic eddies which have been observed in the North Atlantic for the last twenty years. We hope to support a program which attempts to delineate these eddies with the ultimate goal of understanding the dynamic processes which control their generation and decay.

Another area of environmental prediction which, in my opinion, holds great promise for pay-off is the study of the large-scale air-sea interaction processes taking place in the north Pacific. This is an area of study which is requiring a program of synoptic observations, combined with theory, which will provide us with the understanding of energy exchange between the ocean and the atmosphere. The goal of the program is to provide the proper scientific basis for increasing our long-range weather predicting abilities in the marine environment and over the North American Continent. Other important parts of our environmental effort are the examination of water mass formation and abyssal circulation which are important in the Antarctic and Arctic, and the understanding of ocean sediments in the ocean. In addition, the top layers of sediments from areas of rapid sediment deposition can be used to identify climatic changes which have occurred in the past. A knowledge of such changes will allow us to determine whether man is influencing changes now observed, or, whether they are naturally cyclic events which have nothing to do with our activities.

In the area of seabed assessment, we hope to focus much of our attention on the study of the rift valleys of the mid-ocean ridge systems to determine whether the hot mineral brine hydrothermal vents are merely a rift valley—might also be taking place in the deep sea. We also considered that the deep ocean trenches should be studied for two reasons: First, man is considering the deep trenches as a place for the disposal of some kinds of wastes on the basis that such waste would spread out on the sea floor. Second, on the basis that mineralization may also be taking place there. We intend, therefore, to support research which will help us determine whether our theories are correct; if they are, an understanding of the generating mechanisms may help us to predict the occurrence of resources on the floor of the ocean.

While we may support a few fine-grain surveys to look at the geology of selected areas, this would be an outgrowth of our seabed program on the continental margins.

I am personally very excited about the scientific potential of the work we have just outlined because this is the first time we will be able to bring the necessary resources to bear to produce results which will provide us with meaningful answers from our research. Although I cannot tell you today which individual projects will be funded to carry out this work, if we spend the money according to our present plan in fiscal year '71, we will spend $3.8 billion in environmental quality and protection. The goal of this will be to provide us with the proper scientists, laboratories, and facilities to undertake full-scale investigations into the quality of the ocean environment.

The philosophies and the scientific program which I have just described have been presented to and approved by the National Science Foundation-International Decade of Ocean Exploration (Sao Paulo) at the 1970 meeting of representatives from academic institutions and industry; by the Inter-agency-agency panel; by the International Geophysical Ocean Affairs Board and National Academy of Engineering Marine Board, which was responsible for the drafting of "an oceanic quest". We will continue to seek the advice of these groups as the program progresses.

The true strength and ultimate success of the Ocean Exploration program will hinge on the scientific excellence of the research effort. While we will not neglect the other important aspects of this project as international cooperation, technological advancement, and the proper management of data, our major effort has been and will continue to be directed toward ensuring that the programs we support are of the highest quality. It is only through this approach that we shall make real contributions to understanding the sea, the dynamic processes that operate in the sea, and the role the sea plays in the functioning of the planet.

FRANCO-AMERICAN COOPERATION IN CONTROL OF DRUG TRAFFIC

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, it is obvious that any effort to control the drug traffic and to curb drug abuses will require international cooperation for success. This is particularly true in the case of the United States and France. Our close cultural ties and the attraction of Paris for young Americans, our relative positions in the Atlantic Community, the U.S. military bases in France, the remembrance of the immemorial paths of trade between East and West all require intimate partnership to control the problems relating to drug traffic.

Over a year ago, I visited the headquarters of the French police in Paris and spent an entire day in discussion of drug problems and related juvenile delinquency with the President of the Gendarmerie Marcellin. I met with the Honorable Arthur K. Watson, U.S. Ambassador to France for a discussion of the drug problem and the steps he has been taking to improve controls on a bilateral basis. The Ambassador has been personally committed and extremely active in this area. I am happy to observe that there has been a considerable improvement in both attitudes and practice during the year that has elapsed between these two conferences.

It gives me a great deal of satisfaction, therefore, to note that the United States and France signed a historic drug control pact on February 26, 1971. It puts the two countries squarely on record to do something about the illicit narcotics and dangerous drug traffic.

The agreement was signed in Paris by Attorney General John N. Mitchell and French Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin. It is historic in that it is the first written cooperative law enforcement agreement between two countries.

The pact, which is the result of about a year's work by top American and French officials, spells out in detail how narcotic agents of both countries work together in combating the problem, particularly trafficking through France.

A section of the protocol preamble sets forth its basic premise. It says in part:

Close cooperation and mutual assistance are, therefore, essential to enable the services to meet their respective obligations in combating the traffic narcotics and dangerous drugs.

The protocol spells out in detail the stationing of American personnel in France and French personnel to the United States to work in the common effort.

It also outlines how the two governments will conduct joint investigations and exchange intelligence and pool their resources. American agents are assigned to Paris and Marseilles and two French agents are already assigned to the New York Office.

Of primary importance to the two countries is the detection of heroin conversion laboratories in southern France and the interdicting of heroin being shipped into the United States.

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France and the United States have worked together in the past when critical problems merited them. In an unusual consent to have printed in the Record the text of Attorney General Mitchell's statement made at the signing ceremony in Paris, and as printed in the Washington Daily News of Monday, March 1.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
February 26, 1971  

Attorney General John N. Mitchell read the following statement following the signing of an agreement between France and the United States to formalize their activities in the fight against international trafficking in drugs:

My good friend, Minister of the Interior Marcelin and other distinguished official and guests of France and the United States:

Our action today in signing this agreement is consistent with the chapter in the history of comradeship between our two countries.

Nearly two hundred years ago, we first fought together to achieve liberty on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

In this century we have twice been comrades in arms to preserve liberty on this side of the Atlantic, and throughout the world.

Today our two nations are, in a sense, striking for liberty together.

The enemy we face destroys men's liberty and makes them slaves of a drug habit.

Frenchmen and Americans have conquered narcotics and other substances that control the legitimate production of drugs.

And, of course, French and American law enforcement agents in the United States and France, respectively, have now been accepted into the Peace Corps.

In the past 18 months, the number of Americans on our staff overseas has decreased by 38 percent.

In the past 10 months, the number of local citizens on our staff overseas has increased by 46 percent. The size of the Peace Corps staff has been reduced by 24 percent to become more economical and efficient.

The Peace Corps is entering its second decade as living, vibrant proof that America is a nation of people who care about the world in which they live, of people who are willing to put that care and concern into action, who will commit a portion of their lives to the benefit of others.

One way to build a lasting peace is to help make better the quality of life for all people. Through its work in development and education, the Peace Corps is striving to build a peace of cooperation and mutual effort. National development and international peace go hand in hand. And the role played by a growing and maturing Peace Corps cannot be denied.

It is a dynamic organization which has profited from certain set-backs in the past and shown every promise of moving ahead. But in order to do so we must give it all the encouragement we can; we should in fact endorse the concept of national nonmilitary service on a widespread scale so that other national service corps can carry on in the fine tradition of the Peace Corps.
Those of us who had the privilege of knowing Charles Engelhard recognized him to be an exceptional man; a distinguished industrialist who served as an adviser to our Government on East-West trade relations, a philanthropist whose support of deserving charilies and social causes is well known in our State and Nation, a noted industrialist and a generous supporter of international trade, and a family man of great warmth and humor.

His involvement with many projects in the State of New Jersey will be long appreciated.

Mr. President, it has been fashionable for some to contend that the right to own and hold property is not also a "liberal right." To ascribe property to some as a vestige of a "bourgeois ethic" is tantamount to saying that the right to own property should have no place for our contemporary society.

The property rights articulated in that resolution are an extension of our concern about property rights. Those rights should have no important place in our contemporary society.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**PROPERTY RIGHTS**

(On 10th Amendment and the NLF)

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, it has been fashionable for some to contend that the right to own and hold property is not also a "liberal right." To ascribe property to some as a vestige of a "bourgeois ethic" is tantamount to saying that the right to own property should have no place for our contemporary society.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**MEN AND THINGS: THE LIBERAL BIAS AGAINST PROPERTY**

(By Professor Thomas L. Shaffer)

(Note: Ownership of property is prevalent in human society as taxes and govern­ment, and almost as prevalent as sex. Most of us are more concerned with their possessions and with what they take to acquire and protect them than they are with righteous indignation. When a property owner sets out to learn about the human facts in his subject—into, for instance, he wants to learn about the behavior of the dead (will trusts, future interests and death taxation)—he will be discouraged by the fact that he has a ghost to deal with, to say about death, and even a bit of death, but almost nothing about property.

There are "tomes of metaphysical essays" by Jean-Paul Sartre, and from the found­ers of psychoanalysis, the theory that our concern about property begins at the parents chair. But for the most part the men who have been most interested in studying the human spirit have not been concerned about our relationships with things. There may be a reason for that. And the reason may be that for our purposes necessarily deals with property and which should begin to learn what it cannot learn from behavioral science.

**MOST REVOLUTIONARIES ARE NAIVE ABOUT PROPERTY**

Here is a guess: The most revolutionary elements in our society are naive about prop­erty, which is a "bourgeois ethic," and thus a "liberal's" problem. The revolution­aries—some that houses should be owned com­munally, the aspiration that we share our burdens and benefits and forget about ownership altogether. In some way this sentiment is implicit in the communal spirit—is our "let's-get-together ethic"—of the current postwar generation. A liberal spirit seems implicit in the ideas and symp­athies of those of us who often cheer at the freewheeling spirit of this generation. This is a mildly utopian idea; it is prevalent in the literature of the new left and the not­so-left, not-so-so-left, and it suggests a liberal bias against property. (If the word "liberal" seems bothersome, substitute "reformer's" or even "revolutionary's." "Liberal" is used here, frankly, to provoke annoyance.) There is at least the implied aspiration that it is possible to separate the ownership of property from the right to use it: That it seems to be erroneous, and the error could make a difference. More to the present point is that it seems to be part of the current liberalism in behavioral science.

My favorite image on men and things is Humphrey Bogart on the African Queen, hanging down that felled jungle river with Katherine Hepburn. The boat's ancient steam engine jammed, and her hair scattered hot steam, and Bogart jumped up, ran to the boiler and kicked it. And the boiler worked again.

Hepburn asked what was the matter with the boiler, and Bogart said it was jammed. Hepburn asked him why, and Bogart said, "I got a screwdriver and a valve." Hepburn asked why he didn't use it and take the screwdriver out. And Bogart said, "I could do that, Miss, but I like to kick her. She's all I got."

You cannot talk about the captain of the African Queen as a person unless you are willing to talk about the African Queen as an extension of its captain—as part of his personality. That seems to me an instinctive judgment on which the behavioral scientists have presented no data. They have talked about the need to satisfy the curiosity of lawyers. If they had not failed us—or if they somehow propose to re­ define their failure—what might be the beh­avioral theories on man's ownership of things? Here are three ideas.

"I AM WHAT I HAVE"

First, property is something I am. It is a part of what I am. It makes a theoreti­cal case for that proposition:

The quality of being possessed does not indicate a purely external determination... on the contrary, this quality affects its very depth... This is the significance of primal­ity. The ceremonial goods are buried with the objects which belong to them... The corpse, the cup from which the dead man drank, the knife he used make...
March 9, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

TRANSMISSIONS OF STATUS AND PROPERTY ARE INSEPARABLE

The transmission of status—which is a symbol of power—and the transmission of property are functionally inseparable. Titles to property and titles to status run together throughout Western history; and there is more transmission of status in our own culture than we may be ready to admit. You do not get a man's name on the roster of names in the United States Senate. In societies entirely alien to our own, the transmission of corporate membership—in clan groups, in cases, in the primitive equivalent of the country club—is property used to symbolize status and power. I think Mr. Stringfellow and reformers of his persuasion, as well as revolutionaries who will doubtless be influenced by him, make a mistake when they equate the assumption and protection of power with property ownership. And the mistake may lead them far beyond anything they had in mind.

There is a kind of revolution that is callow and therefore unwittingly inhuman. Successful revolutions—and the most successful of all revolutions, the American Revolution, was designed and implemented by most callow young men for the best possible reason for the way people are. Callow revolutions tend to unexpected catastrophe. I agree with Justice Holmes that this is a cruel instance of that, but it is not really. The levirate—a custom under which a widow is given to the brother of her deceased husband—seems to be of much greater social importance than the legal property. And the mistake may lead them far beyond anything they had in mind.


Footnotes at end of article.
more so among the admirers and supporters they have in the command generation. But most people set almost as much store by the nonofficial dispositions of their personalities. All of us are more involved in our things than many of us care to admit. Anyone who proposes to influence the behavior of others should realize that, as Judge Prettyman said, "The right of a man . . . to wear his whiskered feet before his own fireplace and to sit in the right of his own corner pub and cuss the government." 8

The end result of the discouraging economic and tax policies emanating from Washington has been a significant and alarming decrease in our energy consumption. This, in turn, has led to a decrease in our proven domestic reserves of oil and natural gas. In short, because of this decrease in exploration for new reserves of oil and gas, we have been consuming our proven reserves faster than we have been adding to them. Recently we have realized the need to create comprehensive national energy policies, designed to insure adequate exploration, development, utilization and conservation of our limited, yet abundant, reserves of energy resources. Herefore, we thought it might be desirable to conduct the investigations conducted to ascertain the availability of sources of fuel which could meet the strict anti-pollution requirements.

I would like to pursue further this example of the inter-relationships of energy resources to highlight the results of uncoordinated and sometimes conflicting government policies. After the laws were passed, the users of high-sulphur fuels naturally sought supplies of alternative fuels. A typical user, so affected, attempted to secure supplies of fuels with a lower sulphur content, for example, low-sulphur residual fuel oil. Natural gas was chosen first because it pollutes the air least of all fuels. The laws were passed to achieve a desirable and necessary result; however, before adequate investigations were conducted to ascertain the availability of sources of fuel which could meet the strict anti-pollution requirements.

THE NATION'S ENERGY RESOURCES

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, recently the Senate, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on Senate Resolution 45, a resolution which calls for an in-depth investigation of the availability of and the future requirements for our Nation's energy resources. Based on this study, the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee would recommend by September 1, 1972, policies and legislation designed to assure our energy resources consistent with preserving and enhancing our environment to the greatest extent possible.

As a co-sponsor of this measure, I urge my colleagues to give Senate Resolution 45 their full and favorable consideration. I ask unanimous consent that my remarks before the Interior Committee be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHN G. TOWER

Mr. Chairman: I appreciate this opportunity to comment upon S. Res. 45 which was introduced by my distinguished colleague, Senator Jennings Randolph. I am a co-sponsor of this resolution calling for an in-depth investigation of the nation's energy resources and our future requirements for energy. I think that these are questions of fundamental subjects for our deliberations here more urgent or more pervasive than the dangerous energy shortages which presently threaten our nation.

In comparison, other matters assume minor proportion. An energy shortage could affect the amount of heat and light in virtually every home, factory, hospital and school throughout the land; it could be turned off at the flick of a switch; it would kill some movement of automobiles, trains, trucks, buses, airplanes, and ships. Moreover, our national security could be seriously threatened. And, more importantly, our very existence could be jeopardized. Our vast energy uses are entwined with the very fabric of our lives. My imagination is able to conceive of few, if any, more pervasive or urgent concerns before this body than the preservation of adequate supplies of the four major energy resources—oil, natural gas, coal, and fissionable materials—and the support of investigations into the potential of fusion power sources and solar power conversion.

In this Congress, I am proud to support a resolution to authorize NASA to expand upon their research into small-scale solar power conversion on spacecraft to large-scale commercial installations. The potential of these future sources of power should be included in the Congressional consideration of our Nation's energy policy.

While I hope that the energy shortage which I have described will never occur, I must admit that such an event is a possibility. I am convinced that immediate action is necessary to avoid an energy crisis. The first step involved in taking such preventive action is the formulation of national energy policies. This is the thrust of Senator Randolph's resolution.

For many years, I have been concerned that the nation was losing its supplies of adequate and secure energy resources. My concern was increased when it was revealed that the capital in the energy resource exploration industries and the resulting decrease in exploration threatened the Nation's energy base.

At the present time, domestic oil and gas exploration is at its lowest level since 1943. Oil and natural gas production is running approximately 73 per cent of our current requirements. Since these two resources provide the bulk of our energy requirements, my remarks in this statement will be devoted to these resources.

The decline in exploration activity is, to a large extent, the result of policies emanating from Washington. Governmental policy has been negative during the past several years. An example of this negative attitude was the reaction of some members of the Executive Branch and the Congress to the recent increase of domestically produced crude oil. This increase did not even offset the additional tax burdens placed upon the industry by the Revenue Act of 1969. Nor did this small increase nearly offset the increased exploration and producing costs which have resulted as a result of inflation. Thus, the price increase was roundly criticized in Washington.

The result of the discouraging economic and tax policies emanating from Washington has been a significant and alarming decrease in exploration. This, in turn, has led to a decrease in our proven domestic reserves of oil and natural gas. In short, because of this decrease in exploration for new reserves of oil and gas, we have been consuming our proven reserves faster than we have been adding to them.
which resulted in an extremely tight supply of fuel oil from foreign sources. Some of these factors included the closing of the Suez Canal in 1967, the shutting of the Trans-Alaska pipeline in 1970, reduced production allowances imposed by Libya on producers in Libya, and a shortage of Trans-shipment petroleum around the Cape of Good Hope.

Frustrated in their effort to locate other, more desirable fuels, the users sought alternative supplies of the least desirable fuel—low-sulphur coal. In this case, the development of known deposits of low-sulphur coal had the past several years. This decreased mine development was due mainly to the expectations of the mine owners that increasing portions of future electric power generation would be fueled by fissionable materials. However, the nuclear power generating industry has encountered technical and environmental difficulties which have resulted in relatively few electric power generators being converted from coal to fissionable material. Nevertheless, long-term investment in the development of the coal mines had been forestalled or abandoned in the coming nuclear electric power generation era.

Because some users have been unable to continue to purchaseable supplies of fuel, many of us have experienced the resulting effects of these shortages. By now, we are all acquainted with brown-outs and even black-outs. Results have been a certain increase in frequency, intensity and duration as our demand for energy increases and our supplies of energy and resources continue to remain in short supply.

We have experienced mild power reductions this past winter. These shortages could have been much worse. We must not be lulled into a feeling of security just because we are able to get electricity this past winter without severe power disruptions. We have been extremely fortunate. We have luckily experienced a mild winter; we had a small extra oil production capacity which could be converted into fuel oil; and we called upon our good neighbor to the north, Canada, who had some excess oil and gas producing capacity and could sell us increased amounts of oil and natural gas.

But it's a start. It has brought to our luck and our neighbors. We must begin to formulate comprehensive energy policies which will result in our being able to supply our own energy needs. I have cited the many problems wrought by the single and laudable decision to clean up our environment. In the decision to remove the chain of events still being felt. Involved have been various levels and departments of government—state and national. Yet these agencies of government have reacted without having a coherent and unified plan based upon carefully formulated policies. And this has been only one recent example of the disjointed and conflicting consequences resulting from a lack of such policies. There are many examples of the havoc wrought through conflicting policies.

So, having recognized the lack of a comprehensive and the consequent serious results which have followed, it should be evident that the formulation of such policies must be of the highest priority.

We have experienced energy shortages intermittently for several months. We have examined the situation that the shortages of energy resources are mainly due to a lack of coherent national energy policies. Yet, we have not even begun to formulate such policies. I deplore the drift into a more and more serious energy situation. We must not simply allow catastrophic shortages. To do so would be to jeopardize the security and safety of the American people.

Instead, we must act now to formulate comprehensive energy resource policies. Only by doing so will this country be assured of secure and adequate supplies of energy resources.

Mr. President, I urge the Committee to do so.

THE DREAM OF THE LITHUANIANS—FREEDOM

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. President, as our Nation draws closer to the celebration of its own 200th birthday, it is only proper that we should consider the fate of another nation whose independence day must each year be celebrated in less happy surroundings.

This is the 53d anniversary of the independence of Lithuania, a nation whose self-determination is for the moment overshadowed by the specter of Soviet occupation.

Mr. President, it is the dream of people across the world to determine their own destiny, free from the tyranny of outside interference. This is not a true today for the people of Lithuania, for ever since World War II the freedom of these people has been checked by the brutal domination of the Soviet Government.

This small nation's proud history dates to a proud day in 1918 when that nation fully came of age, declaring its status as a fully independent, sovereign state among the nations of the world community.

Mr. President, this sovereignty was duly recognized by the Soviet Union, which at that time renounced all sovereign rights and claims over the Lithuanian people and territory. But in 1940 an era of occupation began in which the Lithuanians became a subjugated, dominated, totally controlled colony of Soviet Russia. This resulted in complete control of the entire political and economic сфера of Lithuanian life. It meant rule by force, alien domination, systematic depopulation of the original inhabitants and extensive settlement by nationals of the ruling country, economic exploitation, and an attempt to impose a Russian sense of culture and spiritual values.

Mr. President, this ruthless attempt to hold in bondage the whole nation continues to this day. Most recently brought to light in the unforgettable incident involving the Soviets and a Lithuanian sailor named Simas Kudirka.

Mr. President, it is altogether fitting that we should join in commemorating the anniversary of Lithuanian independence, but the courage and dedication of the people of that nation demand that we do more than declare our admiration for that courageous spirit.

Mr. President, more than words are called for here. That is why I am proud to join the distinguished Senators from Pennsylvania in urging the President of the United States, the Secretary of State and the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations to take the following actions:

First. To initiate action in the United Nations to implement the declaration on granting of independence to colonial peoples and peoples in reference to Lithuania by restoration of her independence.

Second. And to strongly urge the U.S. Government to issue explicit directives which would establish conclusive guidelines for the handling of political asylum requests so that never again will this country be faced with such tragedies as the handling of the case of Simas Kudirka.

Finally, Mr. President, let us all vow to learn from the wonderful spirit of the Lithuanians. Let us commit ourselves to the ideals of freedom and independence has remained throughout so many years of Soviet domination.

CRIME-FIGHTING SUCCESS

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, controversy concerning the Nixon administration's revenue-sharing proposals has often turned on ambiguity and partisanism. It is helpful to have concrete examples of the Federal-State-municipal partnership advocated by the President. The National Observer for March 9 contains an excellent article by Jude Wanniski on the workings of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration—LEAA—in the Boston and New England area.

Mr. Wanniski reports that last month, for the first time, city and State police chiefs from the six New England States met to plan combined efforts against organized crime. Last year, again for the first time, Massachusetts Superior Court judges met with State penal institution officials. The judges explained their sentencing practices, the officials their rehabilitation programs. Says the article:

As a result, the judges changed some of their sentencing practices.

This is the type of planning effort encouraged and supported by Federal funds:

It's a novel Federal-State partnership, one the Nixon Administration holds up as an example of how government can work better. In fact, it is the model for the Administration's 'special' revenue-sharing plans, through which Federal funds would go to local governments for broad purposes, such as education, manpower training, and urban development.

According to Joseph Rosetti, LEAA regional director, initial difficulties have been overcome, and State and local officials are finding it easier both to cooperate and to decide on the more basic needs of nationwide law enforcement. Judges, traditionally operating their courts in independent fashion, have begun to see the benefits of improving administration.

I note that Mr. Rosetti does not adopt the patronizing manner toward his State counterparts which has been so much a part of the Federal bureaucracy in the past.

The people in the state agencies are as good as those that any Federal agency can gather.
And even in the worst states, they're a lot better off making their own decisions than with the Feds telling them what to do.

Mr. President, I recommend this article to all Senators. It is indeed instructive.

I have not yet heard a positive response that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

NIXON MEX CALL CRIME-FIGHTING PARTNERSHIP "REAL SUCCESS STORY"

(Pro Judae Wanniski)

City and state police chiefs from the six New England states met in a motel near Boston last week, meeting informally with officials of the state's penal institutions. The judges explained why they sentence as they do the inmates they dismissed from their rehabilitation programs, and the kind of criminals who seem to benefit from them. As a result of this exercise, the Assembly must change its sentencing practices. It was an extraordinary session. These men had never met before.

Six young men and women, who are technically police personnel, work out of a Boston office in getting to know, personally, student and black militant leaders around the state. This "crisis management team" may provide authorities with a direct line of communication with these groups, and an early warning system, in a crisis. It's a new concept in police work.

These projects are only a few that have either been funded or approved in Boston. Two projects are here at 80 Boylston St., the quarters of the Governors Committees on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. There is an office like it in each of the 50 state capitals, each basically performing the same tasks toward the same ultimate goal: to reduce crime through reform and modernization of the most stolid institutions of American society, the police, the courts, the places of correction.

"SUCCESS STORY"

Arnold Rosenfeld, who directs the Massachusetts committee, will have $9,424,000 in Federal funds this year. Rosenfeld said this week, and he said this goal, almost double the $4,900,000 he doled out in 1970. The money comes from the Justice Department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), which this year will provide more than $850,000,000 to the 50 state planning agencies for "action programs."

It's a novel Federal-state partnership, one the Nixon Administration looks up as an example of how government can work better. In fact, it is the model for the Administration's "special" revenue-sharing plans, through which Federal funds would go to local political bodies like the town council, for example, for education, manpower training, and urban development. Mr. Nixon last week asked Congress to give states even more discretionary power over these crime funds. He also asked the current request that the state match the Federal contribution with their own funds be dropped.

The idea behind the partnership is one that is central to Mr. Nixon's design for domestic reform, especially revenue sharing. It rests on the assumption that the Federal Government is not the most efficient unit at raising money, but local governments are more capable of dispensing services.

The test of the Nixon Administration, the Federal Government provides the money, with only the loosest of rules on where it should go; state and local governments decide their own priorities and then take responsibility for spending it. The LEAA bargaining takes place among the LEAA, Mr. Rosenfeld's committee, and the cities and towns, and the Federal money is doled out. But the essence of the idea remains: The state, not the Federal Government, has the budget.

"By the state getting the staff, the money, and authority," says Mr. Rosenfeld, "we can actually go out and gather a lot of years in various areas, encourage, and make demands on the institutions. And now that they're getting Federal funds, they're [local officials] willing to do it."

His committee, he says, attempts to spend its bag of Federal money to produce a maximum of long-range reform. The state's judges are being badgered into accepting money for court-management studies—which almost always recommend that the judges give up some of their power in the interest of efficiency. Correction officials are urged to reorganize their sentencing practices, to share specialists, for example, to break up the system. Mostly, it takes persuasion.

As a related project, regional strike forces are forming, enabling smaller communities to share specialists, for example, to break up the system. Mostly, it takes persuasion.

_STRIKING A BARGAIN_

Though the planning agency prefers to pin point its limited resources into activities that will permanently improve the system, this is not always possible. A police chief whose budget is frozen and whose fleet of patrol cars averages 60,000 miles on their odometers will not be overjoyed at finding there is money for a human-relations training course, but none for squad cars. A judge will get a piece of equipment whose budget is frozen and whose fleet of cars, and buildings. Indeed, the LEAA has been sharply criticized in Congress for perpetuating the worst features of the old system. The judge will get a piece of equipment whose budget is frozen and whose fleet of cars, and buildings. Indeed, the LEAA has been sharply criticized in Congress for perpetuating the worst features of the old system.

"Eventually, when we've got a truly professional, well-trained staff in maximum-security institutions," he says, "we'll be in maximum-security institutions, he says. In addition to the regional organized-crime projects, the LEAA is drawing into common communication systems. Last year, through state-LEAA grants, 106 cities and towns in Massachusetts were linked to the state police information system.

As a related project, regional strike forces are forming, enabling smaller communities to share specialists, for example, to break up the system. Mostly, it takes persuasion.

It's up to the state planners to strike a bargain with what they think they are the state's agencies are as good as those that any one of them can gather. And even in the worst states, they're a lot better off making their own decisions than with the Feds telling them what to do.

The Federal-state observation hasn't proven itself quite to the degree Mr. Rossetti suggests. There have already been charges of misuse of some LEAA funds in Alabama and Florida, where LEAA officials are now working to straighten out the programs. For this reason, the Nixon Administration last week decided to continue requiring that all states continue to submit detailed reports on how the Federal money is spent. The Administration insists that states have more incentive to see that funds are not misused since they have to account for them. This sounds right. With the usual Federal program, where Washington provides the money and the local officials provide the administration, the incentives for mismanagement are nowhere near as strong.

SENIOR HARTKAS ASKES INCREASE IN PRICE SUPPORTS FOR DAIRY PRODUCTS

Mr. HARTKAS, Mr. President, a recent bulletin issued by the Department of Agriculture is noted with deserved pride...
March 9, 1971

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the speed with which the Department has acted in the last several months to support him, for the same bulletin stated that, although the dairy industry could be seriously damaged by the ever-increasing import levels, the Department had done little to assist the dairy farmer.

While the Department's policies have begun to buy pork for school lunch programs and the Department of Defense has more than tripled its pork purchases, little or no cheese has been purchased for school lunch programs this school year, and the administration apparently is intent upon killing the special milk program in the budget for fiscal year 1972.

The dairy farmer is suffering because of the lack of concern of the Nixon administration. But there is something which can be done to assist these farmers immediately.

First, the Department of Agriculture can begin to buy cheese on the open market for use in school lunch programs. The Secretary has the authority to do so and he should not delay any longer before taking action.

Second, the special milk program must be continued next year. This program benefits not only farmers but also thousands of underprivileged school children.

Third, the price support level for milk should be raised to 90 percent next month. Once again, the Secretary of Agriculture already has the authority to do this.

Fourth, in light of the serious injury which is being caused dairy farmers by imports of dairy products, I believe that action must be taken to find a way to hold down such imports.

Mr. President, the dairy farmers of the United States need our help. I urge Senators to join me with their support.

FIFTY YEARS OF CONSTRUCTIVE SERVICE—the Manchester Kiwanis Club

Mr. MINTYRE. Mr. President, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to share with my colleagues the news that the Manchester Kiwanis Club has recently celebrated its 50th anniversary as a service organization—which contributes so much each year to New Hampshire's largest city—was founded on February 14, 1921.

The spirit of the Manchester Kiwanis has always been one of service, and theirs is a long tradition of working with city and State officials, as well as with private groups, to translate their concerns into constructive action. As a Kiwanis member in Laconia, N.H., I have always admired the Manchester group.

Mr. President, the Manchester Kiwanis have long been identified with their traditional project—assistance for the Manchester Girl's Club—and just a few years ago this interest led them to raise enough money to build a fine, spacious auditorium for the club.

There have been other worthwhile projects, too. For several years the Kiwanis have sponsored scholarships for girls in the Manchester area who are entering schools aimed at a career in nursing. They have also provided scholarships which have allowed some of the city's less fortunate youngsters to attend YMCA summer camps. The Kiwanis have also sponsored prizes for students at the State Industrial School in Manchester, working with young boys who have gotten in some trouble with the law, and seeking to is that they have a second chance in life.

In addition to this, the Kiwanis have been involved in fund raising for the Reliance American Dairy, who worked to organize assistance for senior citizens, and have worked to inform themselves and others on such pressing social concerns as the abuse of drugs and the problems of pollution.

Mr. President, I commend this fine group on their record and wish them the very best on the occasion of their 50th anniversary. The Manchester Kiwanis Club is truly a service club in the fullest sense of that word.

PRIZE-WINNING ESSAY BY TIM COUGHLIN, BOISE, IDAHO

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, one of the great values of the American public school system has been its fostering of discussions on democracy, liberty, individual responsibilities, and the obligations of government. This open analysis has helped keep the Government close to its people by helping them be aware of what they can expect from their Government. Third, the Government, however, there also is a resulting feeling of frustration directed at the Government's slow response to pressures for change. Those pressures for change have increased in recent years, in part from the greater number of young people in the past decade and in part from the disillusionment of the Vietnam war, the conclusion of which is inevitable.

The young people caught up in the whirlwind of crises for change have little time to realize that equally trying times have existed before. Two little time is allowed from the crises for change to consider that there are many elements of the Government worth working to preserve.

Each year, under the auspices of the Veterans of Foreign Wars "Voice of Democracy" contest, thousands of high school students are given the initiative to ponder the side of the coin opposite that of change. Their topic this year was "Freedom Our Heritage." The young man who won the State of Idaho contest compared that heritage with a ship's log:

The record of where the ship has gone and how the men who sailed before us got through other storms and shoals and kept the ship free. Like any ship, she is not steered by the hand at the wheel alone. A single lonesome sailor could not deliver the ship, pulling a sheetline, can alter the course of the ship, and of history. His actions can be called mutiny and treason, but he is in his own right and only in his ship's interest.

In his freedom, that one man can guide the ship on to clearer waters.

The author is Tim Coughlin, a student at Bishop McVinney High School in Boise. I ask unanimous consent that his speech be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

FREEDOM OUR HERITAGE
(By Tim Coughlin)

Webster's dictionary defines freedom as the absence of necessity, coaction, or constraint. That same dictionary defines heritage as something transmitted or acquired from a predecessor.

In some two words is summarized the better part of American history. In nearly everything that can be read of our past, you can see these words are full of truth.

Over the years, you might say, a pattern has emerged, almost a basic blueprint for a free man. Every person that we admire in history had the following qualities:

First, he had the integrity and courage to follow what he knew was right, to defend his decisions when necessary, and the plain ordinary guts that took all the hard knocks that came his way.

Second, he had a responsibility. He placed his beliefs and ideals first, and himself a poor second. He was self-reliant enough to do his job, but he did not insist on a constitutional farm or to cross the Senate floor to vote with the opposition. We could see freedom as liberty, not license.

Finally, he needed an awareness of the era in which he was living, of what was going on in the world, and in turn he knew when it was time to sit and when it was time to stand.

And so indeed we have a heritage, but a bit different from what we often picture. To many of us, heritage is something down in the park, that we take the kids to see on Saturday afternoon.

All the old forts, ships, planes, and so on are to remind us that in each of these old structures man or religion or race, or free, or not by being told that he was born into a democracy, but free by thinking, being, doing, and sometimes suffering for what he believed in.

To these men, freedom was not something of the past but of the present. Not something passive, but something active and real.

Because they fought and won and remained free, we honor the men and the place. One word describes these battles that made and kept us free—dissent.

The Congressman of Maine voted for the resolution of the Congressman from Massachusetts, declaring that the war had been unnecessarily and unconstitutionally waged by the President.

Shades of the Cooper-Church amendment to end the war? Hardly. The date was December 22, 1867. The war was in Mexico and the congressman's name; Abraham Lincoln.

In the continent of Europe in the fifteen and sixteen hundreds, the religious beliefs of the people were determined by the rulers of the state. Those who believed differently could either face persecution or leave.

Those who left became our pilgrims and puritans. They disserted, they had the integrity, the responsibility, and the awareness of their rights and wrongs.

The last example is that of Edmund G. Ross, a Republican Senator from Kansas. He was not guilty of what acquitted President Andrew Johnson at impeachment trial in 1868. By courage and adherence to his beliefs, he changed his political grave and saved our form of government.

Each of these people demonstrated the qualities I mentioned. Each, in his actions, was not only greater but also more free in his position than those around him.

Dissent then, whether he be on campus mall or Senate floor is the heartbeat of freedom.

Violent dissent though, is a sad mistake. It changes an open hand and mind to a closed, clenched fist.
The Boston Massacre and Kent State both look interesting in the history books, but they are complete dead ends.

The struggle for women's suffrage was lost like a ship's log: it reminds us of where the ship has gone and how the men who sailed the ship have carried it through other storms and shoals and kept the ship free.

Like any ship, she is not steered by the hand of the whole alone. A single lonely man free in his courage and defiance, pulling a sheet line, can alter the course of the ship, and of history. His actions can be called mutiny but he is in his own right and he is free.

In his freedom, that one man can guide the ship to clearer waters.

THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, since its inception, the United Nations has been concerned with the political rights of women. The establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women as a full-fledged commission of the Economic and Social Council, and the Preamble of the United Nations Charter are examples of this concern.

The General Assembly, in December of 1946, adopted a resolution noting that not all states had granted women political rights equal to those enjoyed by men and recommended that such states take steps to do so.

On May 30, 1948, the International Convention on the Granting of Political Rights to Women was signed. At the time, the Commission on the Status of Women recommended to the Secretary General of the United Nations that similar conventions be proposed to assist countries which had not granted women equal political rights. A subsequent report of the Commission noted that as of 1960, 20 nations still had not granted women equal political rights. As a result, the Commission on the Status of Women began to prepare a draft convention on the political rights of women which was submitted to the Economic and Social Council and finally to the General Assembly. The convention was adopted by the General Assembly in December 1953, and recommended for signature in March 1953. As of today, 68 nations have signed the Convention on the Political Rights for Women.

The convention entitles women to vote in all elections; to be eligible to run for all publicly elected bodies established by national law; and to be entitled to hold public office and exercise all public functions established by national law on equal terms with men and without discrimination.

The struggle in the United States for women's suffrage began early in our history. The colony of New Jersey granted women the vote in 1776. The State of Montana, the first woman to serve in the House of Representatives in 1916. After lying dormant in Congress for 41 years, the proposal for women's suffrage, introduced by Susan Anthony in 1869, was ratified on August 26, 1920, as the 19th amendment.

Unfortunately, our national respect for the political rights of women has not been equaled internationally. The United States has failed for 18 years to ratify the Convention on the Political Rights for Women. I fail to see any reason why this measure should not be wholeheartedly embraced by the United States. Our inaction is no longer tolerable. I urge this convention's speedy approval.

NEW HAMPSHIRE TV NETWORK PLAYS INCREASING ROLE IN EDUCATION

Mr. MCEINTYRE. Mr. President, television must accept criticism when it performs below the standard of quality which the public expects of it.

But, if we are to criticize TV we must be equally ready to praise it when it performs with excellence and contributes in a major way to the community.

The five-station New Hampshire network which began as a single station operation in 1959 has now advanced to offering, among other programs, 23 educational series of 45 hours of weekly television lessons in literature, science, social studies, music, and a variety of other subjects to the schools of New Hampshire and Maine.

These programs provide teachers with educational resources that would not be otherwise available to them. This is an enormous contribution to the education of the area.

Mr. President, I want this story told: therefore, I ask unanimous consent that an article from New Hampshire Echoes of Concord, N.H., setting forth this accomplishment by the New Hampshire Network, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SCHOOL OF THE AIR: TELEVISION LESSONS VIA THE NEW HAMPSHIRE NETWORK

(By Patricia Merrill)

When school bells ring in New Hampshire, more than 110,000 children in Kindergarten through Grade 12 gather around television sets sometime during each week for special lessons supplementing their classroom experiences.

Sixth graders investigate the physical and chemical properties of air, atoms and molecules; high school students visit ocean depths in a study of underwater ecology; primary grade classes explore the wonders of the mind and the body.

Since 1959, Channel 11—now the five-station New Hampshire Network—has been offering New Hampshire and southern Maine school children a wide variety of educational instruction.

According to William A. Brady, NHN Instructional Service director, a total of 33 courses is being offered this year by the New Hampshire School of the Air. The most extensive course offered to NHN students includes 25 hours of weekly television lessons in literature, science, social studies, music, art, and a variety of other subjects.

In telecasting these programs, the NHN provides opportunity to reach students in remote areas, to bring in experts, to use educational resources that would otherwise be unavailable to them. As a member of the Eastern Educational Television Network, we are able to tap into the production talents and teaching skills of 25 member stations throughout Eastern United States. Further, it utilizes the services of Maine production talents such as the Great Plains National Instructional Library in Nebraska, the Midwest Program on Airplane Operation at Montana and the National Instructional Television, also in Indiana.

The NHN has utilized its educational resources in cities such as New York, Boston and Washington, enables the NHN to select the best programming for its school schedule. In this way, the NHN's own production energies can be concentrated on the preparation of courses designed to meet specialized needs such as "The Curious World," encouraging fourth and fifth graders to learn the processes by which scientific discoveries are obtained, "Books," a modern literature series for kindergarten and first grade.

Fifth grade students are encouraged to look for something, not just at the television lesson. The classroom teacher who prepares a class for the television experience, encourages students to take an active involve­ment with meaningful and imaginative follow-up activity, makes the best use of this rich and flexible teaching resource. Study guides—distributed free this year to all enrolled schools—describe the content of each lesson in a series and list related activities.

Schools enrolled in the New Hampshire School of the Air pay a fee of one dollar per pupil, Grades 3-12, based on actual school enrollment. The cost to an individual school system of duplicating the New Hampshire Network's total contribution to the curriculum of local school systems would be prohibitive.

New courses this year include "The Playground" to help children discover music concepts and develop an interest in music; "Let's See America," a series of visual field trips to historic and unique American landmarks such as Strawberry Banke, the Saugus ship, and the United Nations; "Children of the World," dealing with the customs, problems and life styles of people in other countries; and "A Matter of Fiction" an all- series designed to improve reading among junior high students.

"A Look At Us" encourages high school students to consider issues which affect them deeply, providing a deeper insight into their own feelings and attitudes and a better understanding of the attitudes and feelings of others.

While certain grade levels are suggested for each course, "out of grade" use is widely encouraged. For example, grade programs have been viewed by special education classes in junior high, and a portion of a junior high series has been used by a fifth grade class.

One of the new programs, "The Curious World," is under discussion by the NHN Network under a grant-in-aid from Sanders Associates. The six program series for grades 3-5 is designed by teacher Kevin Dalton (of Science in Your Classroom). All Instructional Service program decisions and selections are made by a curriculum advisory committee or NHN's Advisory Committee from public and parochial schools throughout the state.

Each school year the NHN Instructional Service Department sends questionnaires to the teachers to determine which courses are being used, to keep track of their reactions to the quality of the television lessons.
This year a new factor was added to the selection process with the establishment of a Preview Week. An entire week of daytime broacasting enabled users to view sample lessons being considered for the 1971-72 schedule. The day's sample lessons were then sent to the NHN for compilation and analysis.

Brady points out that one of the advantages of increasing channel reception is that the lessons can be viewed at home as well as in school. "Children who are absent because of illness or who wish to watch some of their class activities," he explains, "All parents can keep informed of what their children are learning, and can show in their children's learning experiences."

A survey conducted last year revealed that well over a million student-hours of viewing were logged by the children in New Hampshire's public and parochial schools during the 6-9-70 school year.

"Since the activation of the state network," says Brady, "We are reaching students in virtually every section of the state. While we are increasing the numbers of students using our programs, our concern this year is with quality—with helping classroom teachers make the most effective use of the lessons. Brady has conducted a series of television utilization workshops for teachers in Woodville, Middletown, Dover, North Conway, Berlin and Littleton.

The NHN is currently conducting field studies in New Hampshire in the northeast portion of the state to determine the locations of several translators, low power repeaters, used to fill in the most heavily populated reception areas. The first translator (Channel 70) is being built in North Conway to improve reception in Conway, North Conway and Littleton.

Students are not the only ones who have been benefiting from television lessons. More than 2,500 elementary teachers in New Hampshire during the last four years have enrolled in three credit courses produced by the New Hampshire Network in cooperation with the University of New Hampshire.

"Art in Teaching," "Science in Your Classroom," "Reading, Group and Individual," are just a few of the programs that teachers develop creative art and science programs and to examine factors affecting reading, group and individual. Focusing on the needs of the individual child.

The three courses, which combined a study of new teaching techniques and the development of skill in using special materials in the classroom, emphasized that techniques are a means to an end, not an end in themselves.

An estimated 78,000 school children were reached as a direct result of these courses which consisted of 15 television lessons combined with follow-up classroom workshops in regional centers located throughout the state.

Outside the classroom, the NHN provides 15 hours a week of top children's programs for viewers of all interests. The New Hampshire Network is supported by state funds, schools enrolled in instructional services, the New Hampshire Public Broadcasting Council (representatives from 23 educational institutions forming the NHN's governing body) and gifts and contributions from business, industry, groups and individuals.

In its 11 years of telecasting, Public Televisioe Network has grown from a single station to a five-station network, a statewide service meeting educational needs, providing local public affairs coverage and bringing quality television into the homes of New Hampshire viewers.

UNEMPLOYMENT OF AEROSPACE TECHNICIANS AND ENGINEERS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, on Wednesday, March 3, 1971, Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Director of Labor for Manpower addressed the conference on employment problems of scientists and engineers in the aerospace and defense industries. During the conference, he noted that defense cutbacks have resulted in the unemployment of 50,000 to 65,000 engineers, scientists, and technicians who formerly worked in defense and aerospace.

In order to find out where these people were and how they were being affected, we distributed a questionnaire to aerospace engineers, scientists and technician unemployment in 24 cities hard hit by defense and aerospace layoffs.

For the most part, the survey indicated that employment reductions in these fields have had a serious impact on only a limited number of locations. A large share of the problem with respect to displaced defense and aerospace engineers appears to be centered in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Orange Counties in California, Long Island, N.Y., Wichita, Cape Kennedy, Huntsville, Houston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Dallas. Overall unemployment was not severe in some of these areas.

Mr. Lovell said that the largest numbers of unemployed, the survey showed, were aeronautical engineers, aeronautical draftsman, electrical engineers, mechanical draftsmen, industrial engineers, mathematicians and programmers.

Demand for such professional and technical workers suggests that current employment opportunities is far short of the total number of the presently displaced workers. It is significant that, between January 1, 1971, and the month of January, 1971, the State Employment Security agencies throughout the city received 5,000 job offers in scientific and engineering occupations from employers from every state in the Union except Alaska and Montana. On January 31, 1971, there were 5,023 openings unfilled. There were 78 different scientific, engineering and technical occupations in these unfilled openings ranging from aeronautical engineers and aircraft designer to structural engineer to system programs mathematician and thermodynamics engineers.

There still remains, however, that vast numbers of engineers and technicians today. Contacts with Federal agencies responsible for such activities as pollution control, highways, with services as well as the Council of State Governments and the National League of Cities, U.S. Conference of Mayors—suggested that there is sizable unfilled needs for engineering, technical and scientific personnel for these programs.

The key problem here, however, is how to translate the unmet needs of State and local governments into an actual hiring program. Such an eventuality would require sizable additional funds not now available to the Federal agencies concerned, or to State and local governments.

I am on record as saying that many of the aerospace engineers are called on that because of their work experience rather than education. The vast majority of this group have degrees in civil, mechanical or electrical engineering. Engineers with such background could fit into such programs as highway safety, urban renewal, construction, water control engineering—most of you know better than I where they could fit.

We have found, however, that the willingness of retirees appears to be directly proportioned to the employment level. The principal barrier appears to be the problem of salary readjustments. Training allow-
The Department of Labor's Manpower Administration has taken a number of significant steps to help in this situation. It became fairly clear that the only way to help this large and diversified group of professionals was to create an area registry for scientists and engineers. This was the first judgment that was not nearly as discouraging as it first appeared.

The Association of Aeronautics and Astronautics came to us last year with the help of the Association of State Employment Service Offices in providing a nationwide system through which unemployed engineers and scientists could be matched with new jobs. The system was patterned after the Trade Expansion Act, and the response from many of the 10,000 unemployed scientists and engineers in the area has been enthusiastic. The Boston Herald Traveler conducted a month-long radio and television campaign for the unemployed and several thousand unemployed engineers and technicians found work, many outside their field, through this service. The new center is providing services ranging from job application, advice on how to meet mortgage payments or bank loans, and to relate their background to other jobs which could easily use their fundamental education.

In the 10 hardest hit areas, we are exploring the possibility of further refining the self-help methods and developing an area registry like that used by such organizations as Talent Plus and Experience Unlimited. We are asking State agencies to help unemployed engineers or scientists to set up and operate Job Information Centers for displaced persons. This will facilitate the employment and financial counseling, resume preparation, job development, and placement efforts of the volunteer groups in these areas.

Greater stress will be placed on job development efforts, especially in high placement priority areas. These will cover both the private and public sectors, and will involve utilization of appropriate industry and trade associations. As part of this promotional effort, specific information will be developed on the character, education, occupation, discipline, experience, etc.—of the unemployed engineers and scientists.

The Labor Department is developing a legislatively proposed employment program which includes measures to facilitate the mobility of persons displaced from previous jobs due to changes in national economic conditions. This legislation is patterned after the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and would include such benefits as unemployment allowances, relocation payments, and counseling and training services.

While the proposed legislation is not exclusively related to the aerospace defense unemployment problem, it could be an important tool in this area to close the gaps in existing categorical legislation.

Let me point out at this juncture that we realize how difficult and frustrating the loss of jobs can be and how discouraging it is to work in situations of personal hardship; the rise and fall in economic vagaries. I firmly believe, however, that the consortium of national, State, and local governments will help President Nixon, such as general revenue and manpower revenue sharing, welfare reform, and the construction of the SST, which will not only bring the economy back quickly but in the process, create jobs.

One of the major lacks among the highly educated worker is, ironically, the same lack that President Nixon emphasized in his first month in the White House.
March 9, 1971

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Providing engineers and scientists with solid information about job opportunities, job requirements, job locations, and job trends is—indeed—the most important thing that we can do for them in the long run. Because, in the final analysis, these educated men and women can take care of themselves once they have the facts to work with.

To solve this problem, the Labor Department, through the employment security offices and its own regional staffs, will assist local and state offices and employer groups in assembling current lists of employers in the area by size and industry; provide technical assistance in developing a labor market system for local areas; encourage the use of demand analyses, and collating and analyzing the data.

A PRA YER FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. President, the Washington Post, on February 27, published a letter to the editor entitled "The Woebegone City's Architectural Landmarks," which noted that the "combined forces of subway, Pennsylvania Avenue plan, and downtown renewal are sure to pose a major threat to landmarks within the boundaries of the main commercial and municipal sectors of Northwest." The article cited the recent proposal of architect Wolf von Eckhardt to preserve the Willard Hotel as an example of a new mood among designers and architects who are interested in incorporating valuable period-piece buildings into existing renewal projects.

It concluded with a call to action: "Now is the time for influential planning, civic and business leaders in this city to understand and inform themselves to the urgent need to spare these and other structures that are significantly indispensable both from an aesthetic and an historical point of view. We must pride the architectural past remaining to be observed by future generations, the least these most vulnerable people can expect from another, taking the place in Nature's harmony which Thou hast appointed to be our blessing; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

CONGRESSMAN PRESIDENT, America's cities, from Boston and Washington to Charlestown, New Orleans, San Antonio, Denver, and San Francisco, reflect in the architecture of their buildings a uniqueness and character that is too rapidly disappearing under the bulldozer. Particularly is the continued loss of many buildings of historic value. Since 1933 an estimated one-quarter of the buildings recorded in the Nation's Capital have been destroyed . . . (and) there are many historic buildings under Federal ownership for which inadequate provision has been made for restoration and preservation.

In the face of that clear statement of concern, it is rather ironic that the President has permitted plans to destroy many of the landmarks of the Nation's Capital to continue without abatement. It is even more ironic that we are spending Federal tax dollars for this destruction.

It was equally disturbing to read an editorial in the July 1, 1970, Washington Post which indicated that the historic Willard Hotel has been kept dark for more than 2 years while the General Services Administration negotiates a swap with the Willard's owner for a potentially valuable 17 acres of land in Arlington. This transaction raises the possibility that plans to destroy historic buildings in Washington may result in significant financial rewards for speculators.

In light of these developments, it was somewhat reassuring to read an article in the February 19, 1971, Evening Star which stated:

"Under pressure from Capitol Hill, key officials of the Nixon Administration and the District's business community are moving toward agreement on a scaled-down plan for redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue. They also indicated the redevelopment plan should stress the renovation of existing structures wherever possible, with a minimum of land devoted to new businesses."

If the news of this new attitude is accurate, the future for Capital landmarks appears brighter. At the same time, every person who takes pride in this Nation's past as represented in its architecture would breathe easier if the President would use his powers as Chief Executive to preserve historic landmarks in the Nation's Capital.

Mr. President, we, as a nation, must be committed to protecting our historic landmarks, not only those of great national significance, but the landmarks which make one city distinct from another. It would be a disaster to destroy the landmarks in Washington, D.C., and replace them with new buildings of little character.

A STATUS REPORT ON CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. President, for the last 2 years, as chairman of the Senate Land and Development Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Works, I have devoted considerable time and

There being no objection, the prayer was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A PRAYER FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE

(By the Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., a recent convert in the Episcopal Church, a list was obtained from a study entitled "Downtown Urban Renewal Area Landmarks," published in 1970 by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency, and from plans for such federally financed programs as urban renewal, the subway, the freeway program, and the Pennsylvania Avenue plan.)
effect to the chemical and biological warfare program conducted by the Department of Defense.

I have just received from the White House a report on the current status of much of this program. For the information of the President and for the benefit of this committee, I am submitting a copy of this report, with the unanimous consent that this report be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE
Hon. Thomas J. McIntyre,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TOM: There have been some Congressional inquiries and press speculation regarding the implementation of the President's decisions, as announced on November 25, 1969, and on February 14, 1970, to renounce biological and toxins warfare and to confine our programs to strictly defined defensive purposes. While this work cannot take place without full implementation of such a major policy change, several fundamental steps have already been taken, which the President, in his speech of January 27, 1971, elaborates on.

At the time of his decisions, the President requested the Defense Department to make recommendations for the safe and orderly disposition of the stocks of biological agents now in storage. This effort to work out the full implementation of such decisions will be continued. The White House can state that discussions with scientific and governmental agencies, including, for example, the Council on Environmental Quality, the Surgeon General, and the President's Office of Science and Technology, have been extensive. On December 17, 1970, the Defense Department announced the final approval of its plan for the destruction of all stocks of biological and toxins warfare and munitions.

The disposal operation is scheduled to begin at Pine Bluff (Arkansas), Rocky Mountain Arsenal (Colorado), Fort Detrick (Maryland) and Beale Air Force Base (California) in early 1971, as soon as necessary coordination with other interested Federal State and local agencies is completed. All stocks will be destroyed on site. It is expected that the operation will take about 12 months and will cost approximately $120 million. Needless to say, the overriding guideline for the plan is absolute adherence to strict and orderly security procedures.

The matter of possible non-defense uses for biological facilities has been the subject of extensive review. On January 27, 1971, the President announced that a new, major project to investigate the health effects of a variety of chemicals (e.g., pesticides, food additives and therapeutic drugs) will be established in the biological facilities at Pine Bluff Arsenal. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) will occupy the facilities as the Army vacates them, and it is expected that FDA will take over the entire biological facility in FY 1973. After the destruction of the stocks, the facility will be completely open for public inspection and international inspection.

While the future of the biological facilities at Fort Detrick is still under review, this too will be an open facility, after the USA ECW has completed its work on the biological diagnostic program.

The objective of the biological program

FEDERAL BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1972

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, in President Nixon's announcement of his general budget for fiscal year 1972, much of the point that only 34 cents of every dollar would go for military expenditures, with 42 cents going for human resources. However, a careful examination of the budget—and it is presented in such a manner that it is very difficult to get a true picture—shows that this claim is highly misleading. Nonetheless, many experts seem to have accepted the President's statement without any serious effort to determine the actual facts.

I was, therefore, very much pleased to see an article on the budget in the March 5 issue of Commonweal magazine which does get beneath the surface and give a true picture of how the President actually proposes to spend our money.

Mr. Richard du Boff, associate professor in the Department of Economics at Bryn Mawr College, in Pennsylvania, correctly points out in the article that the military expenditures actually account for more than 60 percent of Federal spending.

A hard look at the budget reveals little serious change in priorities. Military spending, despite the supposed "winding down" of the war, is going up.

Mr. President, I think that Mr. Du Boff has written a most significant article. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

I also ask unanimous consent that a recent newsletter sent to my constituents be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

From Commonweal, XCVIII, Mar. 5, 1971.

NIXON'S SECRET PLAN: THE BUDGET

(Par from being a dry accounting of bookkeepers, a national budget is full of moral implications; it tells what a society cares about and what it does not care about; it reflects the world of the President. Senator J. W. Fulbright, August 8, 1967.)
March 9, 1971

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Budget for fiscal 1972 conveys an impression quite different from Nixon’s “highlight.” The unified budget, which earmarked a $317.6 billion for outlays, results in a $229.2 billion deficit. If we deduct from both of these figures trust fund money, we find that our national debt is $577.8 billion, only $27.6 billion less than the $583.4 billion forecasted for the current fiscal year. The Nixon deficit, however, has already been shaved down drastically— $50 billion would be shaved down drastically if human resource spending were defined in terms of the desperate concerns now at the center of the “priorities” debate—urban defense, human resource spending, veterans’ benefits and interest on the national debt do have some of their magnitude understated. My four-step calculations show how much was absorbed by past, present and future wars. This added military spending, charged to the Selective Service System (the latter has been included in nondefense “human resources” and is presented in such a way as to hide the fact that it is a hidden military enterprise that we discover bit-by-bit, like the $100 million per year of military aid daged as “food for peace.” It will be no surprise, moreover, if the $17.5 billion defense budget itself creeps up over the next 18 months or proves to be a harbinger of bigger and better days ahead for the Pentagon. In the 1972 budget the Pentagon, according to Business Week (Jan. 30), “is getting favorable treatment. Pay increases . . . will reverse the downward drift in military spending . . . . More significant for the future is the Senate’s vote that the fact that new obligational authority is programmed to rise by $6 billion, portending a sharp increase in the spending of future years. New defense contracts are scheduled to jump $900 million. And there is an added $33 billion for development of new areas with large military installations. Midget, said a Senate committee that the additional funds are needed to support the military expenditures.” It’s easy to see why revenue sharing would put more funds into the coffers of government units characterized by greater operation efficiency and worse bureaucratic snarl. But no reason is more persuasive than the fact that, given the current political climate in the United States, revenue sharing will serve to reduce pressures to cut back on Pentagon spending. It is the illusion of “redirecting priorities” with none of its substance, and it must be assumed that Nixon and his advisers are very well aware of this consequence. Otherwise, it is the general lack of inclination on the part of the state and local government officials to relate their budgets to those of the Federal Government that makes for decay of American society as a whole.

An extreme example is New York’s Governor Nelson Rockefeller, perhaps the most outspoken champion of revenue sharing. On a recent tour of the state Rockefeller has declared, accurately, that citizens of his state pay in some $23 to $24 billion in taxes to the federal government and get back less than $4 billion in federal programs. What he has consistently neglected to say is that the bulk of the difference goes to the military. The omission is, of course, intentional.

Over the past two decades Rockefeller himself has been one of the most ardent advocates of the national security state and vested interests. He’s been one of the chief architects of the Pentagon’s iron grip on our national resources.

The other principal feature of the fiscal 1972 budget is revenue sharing’s “dependence.” To begin with, this too, on close inspection, turns out to be another case of false and deceptive advertising. The $5 billion of government revenues that Nixon plans to raid on March 9, 1972 budget comes $3.75 billion in the budget. But the chief effect of revenue sharing in this budget, these three items in the defense, half of international, more than the $2.5 billion in military spending: the Selective Service System, the Selective Service System—already well above the 34 percent figure used by Nixon. The fact is, however, that on paper there is an increase of between $1 and $2 billion, depending on the assumptions used to support this calculation. In spite of all the criticism leveled at the Pentagon since 1969, despite Vietnam, the Pentagon got over $20 billion in support spending, despite the Fitzgerald case and the ABM debate, the Pentagon goes rolling on. It has proven to be a successful weapon in the battle for the military industrial complex. In short, the Pentagon has fended off a more hostile press. In the past it seems to be invulnerable to attack—which means that, through its weapon, this nation’s defense, half of international, more than the $2.5 billion in military spending: the Selective Service System, the Selective Service System—already well above the 34 percent figure used by Nixon. The fact is, however, that on paper there is an increase of between $1 and $2 billion, depending on the assumptions used to support this calculation. In spite of all the criticism leveled at the Pentagon since 1969, despite Vietnam, the Pentagon got over $20 billion in support spending, despite the Fitzgerald case and the ABM debate, the Pentagon goes rolling on. It has proven to be a successful weapon in the battle for the military industrial complex. In short, the Pentagon has fended off a more hostile press. In the past it seems to be invulnerable to attack—which means that, through its weapon, this nation’s...
eral security, etc.) is counted against the deficit. Thus, only a change in bookkeeping procedures keeps the President's estimated deficit at $116.6 billion instead of $33.1 billion.

Much is made of the point that "only" $23.1 billion of the $229 billion budget comes from social security and medicare. (Trust funds receipts will actually amount to $75.5 billion.) This money is already committed; it is simply the price we pay for the system that cannot and cannot be spent for general purposes. Therefore, that portion of the budget which does come from this source is not an indicator of the estimated outlay of "federal funds". This is nearly 1000 times as much as the entire budget for the State of Arkansas.

### Allocations for other major functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In billions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs/finance</td>
<td>$4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/rural development</td>
<td>$6.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commerce/transportation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community development/housing</td>
<td>$4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans benefits/services</td>
<td>$10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public assistance/social services</td>
<td>$9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>$10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/manpower</td>
<td>$8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>$2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural resources</td>
<td>4.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>General government</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health—includes Medicare</td>
<td>16.0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In President Nixon's budget "pie", he shows about $34.3 percent going to "human resources". However, the majority of what is described as funds for human resources comes from the $67.5 billion estimated outlay for military budget, the spending for these purpose totals $107.8 billion. There are many other military-related expenditures under other categories. For example, $658 million has been requested for additional supporting assistance, primarily to Vietnam and Cambodia. This is just a drop in the bucket of the tens of billions we've spent in Indochina. However, the $658 million is three times as much as the total expenditure on education and secondary education in Arkansas last year.

Within the proposed military budget is another $1.28 billion for the anti-ballistic missile system (ABM), which has already cost about $3.7 billion and could cost another $80 billion if its development costs. The missile range missile system (ULMRS) is budgeted for $110 million and would probably cost at least $15 billion. In addition, another $2.4 billion will go for other various missile systems. In many cases this is "seed money and a much larger bill will come due in years ahead. Navy shipbuilding and conversion programs are budgeted for $3.3 billion, which is more than the total deposits of all Arkansas banks ($3.1 billion). Also in the President's budget is $381 million for the ill-advised "Supersonic transport (SST)" subsidy, which I will once again oppose.

Contrast the huge amounts for these projects with only $61 million for rural and $170 million for urban water and sewage grants and $114 million for anti-air pollution control; or $1.3 billion for higher education; $196 million for the national park service; or $620 million for constructing health facilities.

Roughly, the federal dollar (excluding transfers from trust funds) spent this way Under President Nixon's budget:

- Military, Veterans, Interest on National Debt, Supporting Assistance and Space, 62 cents; Education, Health, Manpower, Public Assistance, 15 cents Agriculture/Rural Development, 6 cents; Commerce/Transportation, Community Development and Housing, 14 cents; and Other, 9 cents.

A hard look at the budget reveals serious change in priorities. Military spending, despite the supposed "winding down" of the war, is going up. Most of the reordering of priorities which has occurred has been the result of Congress' efforts, although the $3.5 billion of the $229 billion which can be controlled is $153.7 billion, which is only 68 cents. Despite many promises to the contrary, the military budget, which is up $4 billion, accounts for more than half of what is described as funds for human resources are in the category of non-essential or low-priority programs and to provide funds for programs needed to improve the quality of life in Arkansas and the nation.

### Controlled Thermonuclear Fusion for Generation of Electric Power

**Mr. BAKER:** Mr. President, this morning's editions of the Washington Post contain an article describing a successful test of a preliminary Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory of a process that may lead, at some time in the future, to the use of controlled thermonuclear fusion for the commercial generation of electric power.

I commend the Washington Post for putting the article on page one. Although there is sporadic attention given by the press to the crisis in the energy situation, which was critically generated by some fairly spectacular blackout or brownout—I continued to be literally haunted by the fact few people seem to be aware of the dimensions of the problem.

Energy is without question the most fundamental element of the world economy. Without energy the maintenance and expansion of human access to necessary goods and services would be unthinkable.

Amid talk by well-intended idealists of a new era of "clean," "nuclear" and "efficient" energy, American scientists yesterday successfully conducted an experiment in Los Alamos which might provide the solution to the nation's breeder reactor, which literally creates more fuel than it consumes.

Unfortunately, the Nation's breeder reactor program has suffered from two major flaws. First, it has been greatly under-funded. Second, it has been far too narrow in scope, restricting itself largely to the development of the fast breeder, employing the uranium-plutonium cycle, while virtually ignoring the thermal breeder, which employs the thorium-uranium cycle and has several advantages over the fast breeder, not the least of which have to do with safety.

In any event, I intend to have more to say during the course of this Congress on the development of new sources of electrical energy. For the moment, I ask unanimous consent that an article by Thomas O'Toole and a March 1 press release from the Oak Ridge National Laboratory be printed in the Record. Without objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**Test of H-MACHINE OPENES DOOR TO PLANT-FREE ELECTRICITY**

(Thomas O'Toole)

American scientists yesterday successfully activated a large experimental device to safely contain the energy of the hydrogen bomb in a major step toward abundant and pollution-free electricity.

The first successful demonstration of a thermonuclear reactor, called the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory at Los Alamos, N.M., when scientists were able to repeated-ly fuse nuclei of hydrogen gas that had been heated to temperatures of more than 15,000 degrees Fahrenheit.

While yesterday's experiment did not produce a power or demonstrate nuclear fusion as an energy source, it was hailed as a milestone in the worldwide drive by scientists to harness the power of fusion for mankind's benefit.

We got a beautiful rosy pink glow every time we utilized the H-Rube, said Fred Ribe, Soylent group leader at Los Alamos and one of the world's foremost fusion experts. "This is a major step toward a consolidated Edison out of business tomorrow, but it does mean we're on the right road to fusion."
fusion, but it has rarely been the right road. For years, the machines built to contain enough tritium and deuterium to reach the so-called burn temperature to release the energy of fusion either failed to contain the gas or failed to achieve the desired confinement.

"It was like some unknown law of nature was telling us we couldn't do it," said Dr. Robert R. Hirsch of the Fusion Energy Commission's controlled thermonuclear fusion program. "Our experience was telling us that the plasmas were more clever than we were."

The plasmas Dr. Hirsch spoke of are the same gases that were giving off rosry pink glow in the Los Alamos plasma tokamaks yesterday in the first large-scale device anywhere in the world to safely contain plasma gas, the Scylac is a $10 million machine that has been five years in the planning stage, more than two years in construction and almost seven months in testing.

"We're still firing off plasmas," Ribe said at 6 o'clock last night, more than six hours after the Scylac with its. . . . They must be dined off hundreds so far, and not once have we seen anything but a completely successful containment of the gas."

"Fired at Los Alamos yesterday made and contained their first plasmas, they must achieve several more milestones before the tokamaks can be used for long-for goal of their monofusion reactor."

What the Los Alamos scientists did yesterday was to develop a new kind of machine, a tokamak, and to build it with deuterium gas, about a thousand trillion particles of gas per cubic centimeter. Next, they "shocked" the gas with huge amounts of power, enough to electrify the gas and create a magnetic field around the gas to pinch it down and hold it in.

It's called the "cold" technique that has been the most critical in the past, and yesterday the Scylac was able to squeeze the gas as its plasma passage of 15,000 degrees and hold the gas in pulses of as long as 30 microseconds apiece.

While 30 microseconds (30 millionths of a second) sounds like a very short time, it is almost long enough for a plasma to sustain a fusion reaction. Plasmas need only three things to hold together: They must be dined off enough and hot enough for a period of about 250 microseconds.

The Scylac's tokamak yesterday was dense enough, but it wasn't nearly hot enough. A temperature of 15,000 degrees is just the tip of the iceberg. Plasmas must reach a temperature of more than 50 million degrees to achieve fusion.

"We feel we're on our way," Ribe said yesterday. "Fired at Los Alamos today marked a difficult and promising milestone in fusion research."

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there is growing desire for a new effort to close the gap in Paris. For the only alterna-
tive is isolation, and the United States, which the British deem disastrous. They may
agree with Mr. Nixon that a hasty "buy-out" would be cheaper, but they cannot
not agree that his own past policy constitutes the sole alternative to such a debacle. And
while it is true that the West Germans and the Vietcong could in time be disarmed by
America's willingness to negotiate everywhere.

The Federal German Republic, in contrast with France and Britain, and like Italy, has
accepted the recommendations of the Munich crisis. For it is not only in its own interests-
and its political and strategic interests (I am not referring to its industrial and commercial
interests) that the West Germans acted. Moreover, unlike Italy, West Germany's whole existence
has been dominated by an international is-
spite of American warnings and theigo

The auspices of the Western Allies that the
Federal Republic was established, and Bonn
has sought both its security and the restora-
tion of its sovereignty in a close alliance with

the United States.

Chancellor Erhard and his foreign mini-
ister, Schiller, were determined not to let
anything or anyone interfere with the pri-
cracy given to the American alliance and to
accept with regret the American decision to
"Vietnamize" the conflict in Southeast Asia--
who had partially seduced Adenauer. Bonn's
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Atlantic assistance. The Federal German Republic would make any effort to
hold its hand should there be trouble with the Russians or their
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pended in 1961 at the time of the Berlin Wall.

Consequently, Bonn endorsed American ac-
sions in Vietnam, and its officials often stated that Vietnam was the proof of American
determination to carry on its commitments.

Saigon and Berlin were two links in the free
world's unbreakable chain. The greater its
Western Europe's own policy in Vietnam, the less the prospect of a change in
policy in the West. This was true even if there
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ment about the indivisible credibility of
World War II (and which de Gaulle had
wanted to avoid).

But because of Vietnam, it takes place exactly in
that context of American eclipse which de Gaulle had called for, and, in turn, the con-
ditions and consequences of that eclipse make it easier for the Russians to extract as
the price for that implication of their East European
importum which has been their aim ever since the end of
War II (and which de Gaulle had wanted to avoid). Should Washington talk
t out too strongly to Bonn, Bonn's reply would
to all too obviously be: give your own passing
on the diplomatic scene, and your own lass-
tude with the burdens of NATO—two by
products of Vietnam—what other choice did we have...

The French position has been clear-cut and
unchanging. Never was the American argu-
ment that militarily everything had already been
pledges accepted in Paris. With a long and
somewhat cold, or cynical, view of alliance his-
tory that the commitment car-
nation carries or reneges on a pledge is
determined by its own assessment of its vital
interests in the area, and nothing that happens
dermine America's commitment to Europe,
as long as the defense of Europe is deemed
essential in Washington. On the other hand,
the French see it, that this commitment would be carried out has always seemed
uncertain to the French (much to Washington's
annoyance). For Bonn, de Gaulle has been
Vietnam, but because, even earlier, the end
of America's monopoly in the nuclear field, and
the coming of the era in which each
can involve much faster than the other.

French criticisms have often been dis-
missed as Schadenfreude, where the French
had failed, the Americans simply couldn't
(or shouldn't) succeed; isn't it funny to see
the Americans bogged down, after all the
advice they had given the French on getting
out of Algeria? Actually, there has been very little
anti-Americanism in the French political world,
Far Right, former settlers emigrated from North
Africa, who had been most vociferously op-
posed to the war. But then, the French have indignantly chauvinistic about American
antipolonialism, have been the only forces sympathetic to France's anti-imperialist
stand in Vietnam. French criticisms have also been dismissed either as a continuation
of that left-wing, often fellow-travelling anti-Americanism so prevalent in the Inte-
ligentsia, with its inclination to interpret
every American move as part of an imperial-
list design, or else as a convenient play used
by de Gaulle in his devious battle for French
grandeur (or, to use the Moscovy expression)
It is true that the war in Vietnam has become
both for anti-American intelligentsia and
for de Gaulle's grand design. But there is much
derision of how the French see this.

The French regime, by contrast with Brit-
ish or German cabinets, never deserted Viet-
nam, instead of deploying diplomatic or dip-
y strategy in other parts of the
world. De Gaulle, in his struggle against
"the Bonn-Moscow agreement
see America's shadow across the world short-
ened (although he never wished American
force in Vietnam); and perhaps preferred to
see world affairs). While Pompidou has given
up much of de Gaulle's militancy (already
curbed by the Bonn-Moscow agreement,
May 1969), he too shows no desire for greater
American activism in Europe. The French
point is based on a continuing and instan-
mate awareness of the political realities of
Indochina. French contacts with North Viet-
nam have been encouraged by the Fifth
Regency. But France has long had
with the longest experience in dealing with
Hanoi have also tried to be of help, pers-
istingly way as its closest neighbors. The
relations between Washington and Hanoi possi-
ble. Until the fall of Sihanouk, French influ-
cenced and involved was a more
Phnompenh as well as in Paris the French
established relations with members of the
NLF. They were
the bejaugred head of the Laotian govern-
ment, Prince Souvana Phouma. While their
question of a French war effort, and de
Gaulle's foreign policy has long been
question about the indivisible credibility of
Geneva and St. Etienne agreements of 1954, and
found itself on the losing side of the
American success but
of one.

The French do not deny the force of Amer-
ican arguments about the domino effect of
a Communist takeover of South Vietnam (and
now Cambodia) on the rest of South-
Asia, or about the prospects of a blood-
bath in Saigon, or about the absence of any
visible sympathy for the NLF among many
South Vietnamese. But they are
deeply skeptical about, is Washington's ca-
pacity to impose the political solution pre-
ferred by the U.S. If there were a good chance
for an American withdrawal, the French would
readily accept the peaceful non-Communist South,
the French would have no grounds for opposing such
move, and would accept the

The French do not see the stakes in the same
way that the Americans do. The French
French and Vietnamese people, with its inclination to interpret
＂Asian regimes＂ as
were
fall, and not on the
U.S. It is hard to believe that American pres-
ence in Indochina, to use a misleading parallel often in-
and the NLF, as the
French position is drastically
the other side’s
set is its capacity to fight—would consider a
new arrangement of political

As the French see it, the state of the war
is the political control of Indochina. To keep
Lao, Cambodians and South Vietnam out of
Communist hands, there is only one way—
continuing war, a harrowing prospect, since "victories
in the war on the other side" have meant
North Vietnam (a move whose international
consequences have intimidated both the
Johnson and Nixon Administrations), while the
maintenance of the North Vietnamese
sanctuary on the one hand, and the horrors
inflicted by the war on the population of the
South on the other, insure the per-
petuation of the "other side's" forces and
appeals. To keep the war going favorably, so
spoke, requires enough of an American
involvement to guarantee that all the evil
results of American success—on the
American economy and political sys-
tem, and on American foreign policy would
continue. A drastic curtailment of Ameri-
can commitments in Indochina, the French
argue, would mean a Communist takeover in particularly hu-
militating conditions; that is, through the over-
will continue to be a perpetual threat
for years by US efforts, and without any
compensation.

Given these alternative outcomes of a
continuing war, the French believe that it
is in America's interest to seek a negotiated
settlement even though it would have to be
based on U.S. governments have deemed
repugnant. The French—with their own
experience of negotiations with the Vietnamese
and with the Americans—do not agree
with American officials on what constitutes
humiliation. To the French, a peace settle-
ment is possible, if it justifies the
aknowledges the possibility or even the like-
th for "enemy" control of the states, events
which would bring new and stronger
political-pathers among the urban refugees and vic-
tims of inflation and disruption. In this re-
ected American success, and as a move that has
resulted in an American obligation to sup-
ppe and that two politically fragile regimes instead of
one.

Consequently, the French see only two
possibilities. One is, almost literally, perpet-
ual war—ending by extending their control, which the French ex-
pt them to enlarge as American with-
drawal continues. The French do not be-

vole that Saigon could carry the burden
alone. In the absence of a political solution,
the French see the only role for the Ameri-
can involvement, certainly in the form of
massive air support and probably a sizable
American ground presence. The
other possibility is a negotiated settle-

nal policy: the control of the cities
by the NLF, to
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petuation of the "other side's" forces and
appeals. To keep the war going favorably, so
spoke, requires enough of an American
involvement to guarantee that all the evil
results of American success—on the
American economy and political sys-
tem, and on American foreign policy would
continue. A drastic curtailment of Ameri-
can commitments in Indochina, the French
argue, would mean a Communist takeover in particularly hu-
militating conditions; that is, through the over-
will continue to be a perpetual threat
for years by US efforts, and without any
compensation.

Given these alternative outcomes of a
continuing war, the French believe that it
is in America's interest to seek a negotiated
settlement even though it would have to be
based on U.S. governments have deemed
repugnant. The French—with their own
experience of negotiations with the Vietnamese
and with the Americans—do not agree
with American officials on what constitutes
humiliation. To the French, a peace settle-
ment is possible, if it justifies the
aknowledges the possibility or even the like-
th for "enemy" control of the states, events
which would bring new and stronger
political-pathers among the urban refugees and vic-
tims of inflation and disruption. In this re-
ected American success, and as a move that has
resulted in an American obligation to sup-
ppe and that two politically fragile regimes instead of
one.

Consequently, the French see only two
possibilities. One is, almost literally, perpet-
ual war—ending by extending their control, which the French ex-
pt them to enlarge as American with-
drawal continues. The French do not be-

vole that Saigon could carry the burden
alone. In the absence of a political solution,
the French see the only role for the Ameri-
can involvement, certainly in the form of
massive air support and probably a sizable
American ground presence. The
other possibility is a negotiated settle-

nal policy: the control of the cities
by the NLF, to
peace settle-

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believes that official rhetoric could sufficiently disguise realities to ward off that right-wing backlash at home which the Administration is said to fear. But another, equally formidable hold on American policy is the U.S. commitment to a total withdrawal of armed forces.

On Friday, March 3, the Senate passed House Joint Resolution 16 to establish a national week of concern for prisoners of war and missing in action. This legislation will provide the basis for a heightened expression of national sentiment for the plight of brave Americans who remain captive or are missing in action.

As an indication of the deep and abiding involvement of many Americans in this cause, I call to the Senate's attention a recent act of the Kansas Legislature. On March 2, the Kansas House of Representatives and Senate passed resolutions requesting the Governor of the State to declare the week of March 21, 1971, as "Kansas Week of Concern for Prisoners of War/ Missing in Action."” I wish to honor those brave citizens of Kansas who have sacrificed their freedom in defense of freedom for all.

I believe the concurrent observance of similar weeks of concern by other governments is appropriate and a significant expression of the concerns and feelings held by all Americans.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of resolutions passed by the Kansas Legislature be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION No. 106
(A Resolution condemning the illegal and inhuman acts of the government of North Vietnam against prisoners of war and missing in action...)

(1) Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of resolutions passed by the Kansas Legislature be printed in the Record. There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

KANSAS WEEK OF CONCERN FOR PRISONERS OF WAR/MISSING IN ACTION

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, on Friday, March 3, the Senate passed House Joint Resolution 16 to establish a national week of concern for prisoners of war and missing in action. This legislation will provide the basis for a heightened expression of national sentiment for the plight of brave Americans who remain captive or are missing in action.

As an indication of the deep and abiding involvement of many Americans in this cause, I call to the Senate's attention...
WHEREAS, Citizens of the state of Kansas serving on active duty in the armed forces of the United States, in Southeast Asia, have been known or believed to be missing in action and are known or believed to be held prisoners by North Vietnam, the Viet Cong and the Pathet Lao, therefore:

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of Kansas: That the people of the state of Kansas call upon the government of the United States, the governments of all nations who are signatory to the Geneva Convention, and the Secretary General of the United Nations to bring such pressure as is necessary upon the government of North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front and the Lao Patriotic Front to insure immediate, full and complete compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

Be it further resolved: That the governor of the state of Kansas call upon the government of the United States, in Southeast Asia, have been declared to be missing in action and are known or believed to be held prisoners by North Vietnam, the Viet Cong and the Pathet Lao: Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of Kansas: That the people of the state of Kansas condemn these inhumane and illegal acts of the government of North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front and Lao Patriotic Front and call upon them to cease their deliberate and contumacious violation of the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

Be it further resolved: That the chief clerk of the house transmit duly attested copies of this resolution and requested to support its intent by every feasible means available.

Be it further resolved: That the government of the state of Kansas be authorized and requested to call upon the governments of all nations who are signatory to the Geneva Convention, and the Secretary General of the United Nations to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front and the Lao Patriotic Front to insure immediate, full and complete compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

Be it further resolved: That the governor of the state of Kansas be authorized and requested to call upon the governors of all nations who have sacrificed their freedom in defense of freedom and integrity of the United States, to the government of North Vietnam and to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

S ChE N A T E R  R E S O L U T I O N  N O . 15

(A Resolution condemning the illegal and inhumane acts of the government of North Vietnam, National Liberation Front and Lao Patriotic Front in Southeast Asia and to request the Secretary of State to call upon the governments of all nations who are signatory to the Geneva Convention, and the Secretary General of the United Nations to bring such pressures as are necessary upon the government of North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front and the Lao Patriotic Front to insure immediate, full and complete compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention)

WHEREAS, In 1957 the government of North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front and the Lao Patriotic Front have willfully and continually violated the covenants of the Geneva Convention, and have sacrificed their freedom in defense of freedom and integrity of the United States, to the government of North Vietnam and to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

WHEREAS, Article 2 of the Geneva Convention specifically provides that the provisions of the Geneva Convention shall apply to prisoners of war; and

WHEREAS, The government of North Vietnam and her allies, the shadow-governments of the government of the State of Kansas, the Lao Patriotic Front, have willfully and continually violated the covenants of the Geneva Convention, and have sacrificed their freedom in defense of freedom and integrity of the United States, to the government of North Vietnam and to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

REVENUE SHARING AND THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I am informed by the Treasury Department that special revenue sharing would supplant the Appalachian Regional Commission with an emphasis on local planning to promote growth in a severely underdeveloped area of our Nation. This concept is wholly inconsistent with the broad philosophy of the Nixon administration in strengthening the participation and effectiveness of State and local governments.

The Appalachian Regional Commission, the Appalachian Highway Program over 5-year period. I expect that this bill will reach the Senate floor this week and as one of its sponsors, I am hopeful for its speedy passage.

I am confident that the extension of the Appalachian program can be accomplished so as not to conflict with the President’s revenue sharing and executive reorganization proposals.

The creation of the first regional commission for Appalachia was of the concept of a Federal-State partnership with an emphasis on local planning to promote growth in a severely underdeveloped area of our Nation. This conveys a fundamental principle of a comprehensive program to return Government to the people.

The voice of State and local planners and Governors make the Appalachian program consistent with the broad philosophy of the Nixon administration in strengthening the participation and effectiveness of State and local governments. Rural community development is an important item for America’s agenda. I simply do not believe that the dollars which have been earmarked for Appalachia should be taken away from the regional commission. Rural development programs should be funded with other dollars and not by depriving the people in Appalachia.

The Appalachian Regional Commissioner for Appalachian highways, roads, schools, health centers, airports, water and sewage treatment plants. These are visible testimony to its effectiveness. I believe that extending the life of this commission is vital if its achievements are not to be lost to the 70 million people in the 13-State Appalachian region.

For these reasons, I intend to introduce legislation to amend the special revenue sharing provision for rural community development so that the Appalachian Regional Commission will not be compromised.

ADDRESS BY RITA HAUSER, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO U.N. COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the U.S. representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Ambassador Rita A. Hauser, spoke before the Triennial International Convention of B'nai B'rith Women in Washington, D.C. on February 14. Mrs. Hauser’s is a significant human rights speech.

As a delegate to the 25th session of the United Nations General Assembly, I
worked with Mrs. Hauser in the U.S. delegation, as I have on other occasions. It is of the principles for which she works—human freedom and equal rights—that she so spoke in her address as the first woman keynoter of the B’nai B’rith International Convention of B’nai B’rith Women.

I ask unanimous consent that Mrs. Hauser’s remarks be printed in this Record.

This being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Address by Mrs. Rita E. Hauser, U.S. Representative, to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights

Honorable delegates and your distinguished guests: It is a privilege to Keynote this Triennial Convention of the B’nai B’rith Women, in attendance from many countries.

You have honored me personally by inviting me to address you in this capacity, and you who have preceded me in years past included major national leaders, and I am grateful that you have been kind enough to place me in their company. I do not believe that you will be surprised to learn that I am a lawyer. When I doubted of my destiny, she frequently repeated the tale of the suffragette who was arrested. As she went off in the paddy-wagon, her co-marchers feared for her well-being. The arrested suffragette assured them: “Don’t worry about me. I’ll pray to God and He will help me.”

This view was somewhat shaken recently, I confess. I was in the hospital feeling awful and depressed. A nurse, robust and healthy and full of life, told me not to worry. “Believe in God, and, besides” she said “He’s the only man you can believe in.”

I wish, in turn, to honor you, a strong and vocal part of B’nai B’rith. Your leaders and your general membership are always on hand as a strong and clear demonstration of the concepts of human freedom and dignity in which I believe deeply and which I labor for as a professional representative of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. B’nai B’rith stands out as a pivotal force among the human aspirations of all peoples.

In the last few months, the world witnessed an extraordinary exhibit of concern for the fate of the Basque Separatists and the Leningrad defendants who stood trial in Spain and in the Soviet Union respectively. The facts underlying the crimes in question, the conduct and nature of the trials and the harsh sentences were followed closely. The countries involved clearly realized they were not free to ignore this world interest and concern, that they, too, were of a time in history when brutal repression of human liberty would not long be tolerated by their own citizens or by others. In both instances, death sentences were passed by courts. In the Basque case, first trial, it was of great interest to note that the defendants were not accused of skyjacking, but of attempting to destroy rail transport. In the Leningrad trial, it was of great interest to note that the defendants were not accused of treason, but of attempting to achieve national self-determination by peaceful means, means that are punishable under the laws of the United States. Indeed, the code of B’nai B’rith enunciates in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that every human being enjoys fundamental rights of freedom. The right of all humanity. But, here, too, not everyone can claim it. To be truthful, since girlhood I have believed in God, and in my soul I believed it is a privilege to Keynote this Convention.

As the physical dimensions of life have vastly altered since 1914, man’s view of himself has also radically changed. The humanist view reigns supreme in the law and the published policies of all countries, that man is a free and independent person, and that he is entitled to be treated with respect consonant with the dignity that is the birthright of all humanity. But, here, too, not everyone can claim it. To be truthful, since girlhood I have believed in God, and in my soul I believed it is a privilege to Keynote this Convention.

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as part of the dynamic for positive change in their country, to spur responsibility and contribute, antifascial.

I believe a feminine revolution, different in quality but equally real, is also underway in the United States, where the recent lively street demonstrations that I speak for, most seem to me to be counter-productive to any change or progress. This is certainly so referring to the growing view of American women of all walks of life and all ages, that women are entitled to equal pay, equal consideration for employment and job promotion, equal education opportunities, and, above all, equal participation in the centers of powerful life. That life is not yet a fact of life in America—or in most any other country. But the preconditions for reaching equality are there, and, I am convinced, persistent, responsible and intelligent persuasion will result in its rapid accomplishment.

The Nixon Administration, of which I am a part, is keenly aware of the inequities women still face. And it has responded with commitment and interest, taking practical steps of far-reaching importance. For example, for the first time since enactment of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibited sex discrimination in employment, the Justice Department filed suit against a major corporation which is refusing to allow women to enter various practices which greatly restricted job opportunities for women factory workers. The case was settled by a decree which required the corporation to remove barriers to advancement for female employees, and to hire women in jobs previously reserved for men; the Court just ruled that in the absence of evidence showing such women to be less efficient, the employer could not continue its practice. The Administration supported bills to give husbands and children of Federally employed women the same death and other benefits that widows of Federally employed men now get, thereby recognizing that in families where husband and wife both work, both are contributors to the family standard of living and that the wife is not just earning "pin money". Executive Order 11246 has been frequently invoked by this Administration to attack discriminatory hiring in universities, and, as a result, many major educational institutions have revised their admission policies and opening the door to women for top positions.

It is encouraging, too, to note the changes being made by business and industry to end sex discrimination. Many companies and unions are providing child-care centers for working mothers and fathers-an idea pioneered by the Nixon Administration in the Congress call for child-care facility funding and most authorities predict these centers will soon be as much a part of American life as they are of French, German or Scandinavian life. Maternity leave with pay is also on the near horizon.

I believe the men of this country, who today almost exclusively are the legislators, governors and industry leaders, are beginning to recognize the real costs of inadequate treatment of women and of the special problems of mothers who work. Women may have to delineate the details of the long discrimination, but there is a concerted interest before change will fully come about. But I am confident that the women of America, who have cared greatly about many social issues and concernedly took far reaching steps to better things, will use the new awareness and demands made in fighting for the changes that matter directly to them, as women, and that they will be as successful as they are true to their heritage. When women, almost alone, brought about the first great civil rights victory in our country, other than abolition of slavery, was over the right to vote, they made the making. They gained the right to vote by forceful but peaceful demonstrations, by diligence and, above all, by intelligent persuasion.

Just recently I addressed a state-wide gathering in Arizona called to celebrate fifty years of women's suffrage. Our elderly women, in a wise old voice, but very spry indeed, held me fascinated as she told me the story of her fight, as the only woman in the State Legislature at the time, to get Arizona to adopt the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution. And she then stated: "Now that I've had my golden anniversary, I can die happy." Can any of us here under 70 really imagine what it was like being a woman not only did not have the right to vote, but when learned and respected leaders predicted that female suffrage would wreck the family and society as well as being unmitigated evil in its wake? We know that the contrary is true: female suffrage elevated political discourse and the commitment and responsibility to society that does not secure these values, and, as a result, many major educational institutions have revised their admission policies and opening the door to women for top positions.

As we try to understand the underlying causes of crime, we must reaffirm the principle that our society is governed by law and social justice are two sides of the same coin. You cannot have justice without law. And though you may order those general rules, you cannot have meaningful law and order in a democracy without justice for all.

At the very time when we are most in need of good police protection and of attracting intelligent police officers, the policeman's life is made a burden and his very reason for existence is being challenged by the anarchists in the streets.

The problem that many police face is that of effective protection and of attracting intelligent police officers, the policeman's life is made a burden and his very reason for existence is being challenged by the anarchists in the streets.

It is the size of the task and the recommitment of adequate resources that we must concentrate on.

What especially will help the police is a program of police betterment—better organized, better equipped, better financed, better respected to do a better job.

Last year I introduced a program to help accomplish these goals. This multi-promised program provides Federal funds for:

Establishing fellowship fund over the next 3 years that will enable 3,000 policemen and deputies to undergo full-time training in law enforcement.

Expanding development and distribution of improved police radio communications systems.

Modifying the equipment of small-sized police departments at lower cost.

Aiding communities that are chronic victims of civil disorder.

Improving public education in narcotics, especially in elementary and high schools.

Authorizing $5 million in a cash program to speed research and testing of nonlethal weapons and police protective equipment—marking the first time that specific sums will have been earmarked for these purposes.

Strengthening police-community relations programs.

I developed these proposals after conducting a survey of all the police chiefs, sheriffs, and district attorneys in California asking them what congressional action would most help them in their war against crime.

The task of providing adequate law enforcement and alleviating the conditions which breed crime is going to be an expensive business. But the cost of crime in human and economic terms demands our immediate attention. I shall continue to direct my own efforts and attention toward those goals, as well as to the task of giving our police the training and tools they need to do their work.

MR. CRANSTON. Mr. President, safety of person and safety of property are two absolute elements of civilization. Any society that does not secure these values is not a true society, for the very reason for existence is being challenged by the anarchists in the streets.

At the very time when we are most in need of good police protection and of attracting intelligent police officers, the policeman's life is made a burden and his very reason for existence is being challenged by the anarchists in the streets.

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LETTER BY JERRY VOORHIS ON SOUTHEAST ASIAN WAR

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, a man who once served with great distinction in the House of Representatives, Jerry Voorhis, now once again living in California, has written a letter to many of us about the Southeast Asian conflict. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

The letter is a thoughtful one from a thoughtful man. I do not agree with all his conclusions; I believe the best way out of our tragic involvement in that conflict is to enact the Vietnam Disengagement Act of 1971. Simply that, without further complications. However, Jerry's thoughts are always creative and constructive, and I urge that they be considered with care.

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

JANUARY 1971.

DEAR ALAN: Please forgive the fact that this letter is mimeographed. The reason is that I am sending it to a considerable number of members of Congress who, like yourself, are not sure that I am concerned as I over the Southeast Asian war.

This letter from an ordinary but deeply concerned citizen of the United States is sent to you because I feel sure that you are as sensitive as I to the stark tragedy in which we are involved in Southeast Asia. And, of course, with even more reason. I understand the burden you carry, for I was
once for ten years a member of the House myself.

I think it is difficult for an average citizen to understand why our government cannot grasp and act upon, certain evident facts.

First of these facts is any man, or part of a nation, can expect to win the genuine allegiance of its own people if it owes its existence in power to the support of a foreign army on its soil. Especially if that foreign army is of a very different race and culture, and if it comes from a nation which - however powerful and undoubted force of Cambodian villages are subjected to death from the skies, to fighting in their fields, and to the battling of foreign armies on their soil.

Is this the way to convert people to the cause we support? Which is to say, when we support them? It is, I venture to say, far more likely to convert them to Communism despite the cruelties of which the “other side” is guilty.

Second, the very nature of this war, fought as it is, seems to be, in the main, the destruction of the lives and the environment of small countries on the other side of the globe. The Communist powers are not the only ones who have incalculable destruction of the lives and the environment of small countries on the other side of the globe. The American people expect from the United States the good name of our nation around the world. And especially again for our avowed objectives to be gained from the bombing of the North is evidence of his own fears that “Vietnamization” will not work. And that policy boils down to is that the United States proposes to keep the war going full blast, not only in Vietnam but also in Cambodia and Laos, but without the further killing of our own men. This naturally would bring blessed relief to American homes. But it will not be of any great help to those of Southeast Asia! And can anyone doubt that as soon as they think they are no longer being bombarded the North Vietnamese will launch a major attack? And what do we then do? We already have the Administration’s answer. It is to stop the bombing of the North, thus hardening its determination to fight to the bitter end. Suppose, as is almost certainly the case, that further experimental bombing shows that the bombing is not effective in putting a stop to the North’s offensive, then what? Again, a reversal of policy would seem the only probable result. Meanwhile, it seems to me that our prisoners of war held by North Vietnam are being used as pawns in a game for the political advantage of the Administration. It is clear enough that those prisoners will be released when the bombing stops. The argument if courageous, attempts to “rescue” some of them may have been calculated to gain political advantage for the Administration. But its only result so far as the prisoners of war are concerned will be the possibility of reprisals against them and the certainty that they will be held under far more stringent confinement and control. I think this despicable. I also have at least a suspicion that the Administration is playing with the emotions of the American people with this prisoner of war issue in order to prepare the people for an all-out war, but we do not turn out as the Administration hopes.

Were South Vietnam a united nation and were we not sent there...then the situation might be different.

But that is not the case.

We are, I submit, confronted by two alternatives. One is to prepare for involvement of men and treasure in Southeast Asia for an indefinite length of time. The other is to seek a peace now on almost an armistice terms that can be negotiated. The incalculable losses from the first course, in loss of lives, in depletion of our forces, in preventing effective attack on our problems at home, and in deepening the sense of guilt and moral determination that our own country makes the second alternative the only practical or decent one from the point of view of our nation—not to mention the war-torn populations of Southeast Asia.

What then must the United States do? First, agree to a definite date for withdrawal of all armed forces, both ground combat forces, but air forces, logistical forces, the CIA, advisers—everyone. In short, to follow the President’s policy of “Vietnamization,” though belatedly, and not to engage in any war on the Asian continent.

Second, to agree to an interim government in South Vietnam that would include Thieu or Ky but would include all significant elements in that beleaguered country.

Third, to agree to abide by the results of internationally supervised elections to determine the future of South Vietnam, and probably of Cambodia as well. This would surely be in accord with our profesed objective of self-determination.

It is, I believe, probable that in such a basis a peace could be concluded.

And I am sure our government ought to try.

Sincerely,

Jerry Voorhis
A concerned citizen.
Federal Government that will maximize private enterprise and national growth.

But the Federal Government has not adopted such policies.

We have fallen into the "Washington syndrome."

That's the simple-minded theory that problems in the economy are solved when the President and Congress throw enough money and statute books at them through new Government programs.

From 1969 to 1988, the number of Federal domestic grant programs jumped from 45 to 485—almost a thousand percent increase.

What has this meant for you, as individuals and as businessmen?

It has meant that the Federal Government has become the chief competitor—for money, for business, for employees.

It has meant that you are so hemmed in by regulations that you can't pass the law at least once a day without even realizing it.

It has meant that you are being taxed out of your very existence.

It has meant that you must stand by helplessly and watch the very principles of free enterprise that made this country great be thrown out the window!

It is time to call a halt to this whole mess.

It is time to cut back the great swelling balloon of bureaucracy, let out all the hot air, and get down to business.

President Nixon has attempted to do just this thing, through his three-point economic and executive program.

I would like to discuss the meaning of this program today. It has been misrepresented, shunted aside by the democrats, and ignored.

Yet the President's proposals appear to be the only logical course to get this nation back on the right track again.

Let's look at what he wants to do.

First, President Nixon wants to get the economy back on an even keel again.

I am going to be realistic with you.

Obviously this tremendous task cannot be accomplished overnight.

It took eight years of government overspending to bring the economy to the inflationary point it's at today.

The President's initial attempt to correct the situation by cutting spending showed the weakness of this inflationary balloon—one session of Congress did not even last.

Unfortunately, as we all know, this had severe results for business.

So a different approach had to be tried.

The President has chosen a more gradualist approach.

We have grown too soft as a nation to take our medicine straight.

So the President is going to phase down government spending, while at the same time applying maximum stimulation to the private sector.

The monies derived from this economic expansion will gradually be used to balance the budget and pay off our national debt. Unfortunately, to establish this fiscal pattern requires additional deficit spending for a short while. We must get a little further into debt—ever so slightly.

But the long-range goal represents a significant change in Federal policy—a return to the principles of the private sector.

At long last the true foundation of the American economy and the American spirit of progress—free enterprise business operations—will have a chance once again.

It is up to you to fill this role—otherwise we will turn back, under demimorphic leadership, down the long road to stagnation and the eventual death of free enterprise as we have known it.

In order to cut Government spending without hurting the economy, the President has made the most original and useful proposal of our generation. Revenue-sharing.

Revenue-sharing will eliminate a large number of those 485 grant-in-aid programs I mentioned before and take the money and give it directly back to the cities and States—strings attached.

As businessmen you all know what this implies.

We have long known that a horrendously large percentage of funds appropriated never got to where they would do any good. This was true before the advent of the "new frontier" programs.

Where have these monies gone?

1. Buried in the Government

2. On new buildings, machines, personnel to administer the programs.

3. On unnecessary junkets by program administrators.

4. On "regional offices" which are supposed to bring the programs closer to the people, but which have perpetuated the chain of bureaucracy on the local level.

5. Why not, the President is asking, eliminate the middlemen?

Why not give the money to the people and agencies that really need it, and that have been doing the real work of administration all along?

6. Why not eliminate the matching-grant requirement that has forced cities and States to overspend in order to get with the Federal Government?

7. Why not let cities and States set their own priorities and then be forced to obey big brother in Washington.

This is the true meaning of "power to the people."

It's your money.

Under revenue-sharing, you will have a direct voice on how it is spent.

You elect your own local and State officials.

You can contact these men directly without difficulty.

You can express your displeasure with waste and inefficiency immediately and strongly.

No more seas of red tape in far-off Washington.

No more dictates from above.

More value for your tax dollar.

Why, you ask, doesn't the government simply phase out these programs immediately and let us keep our tax dollars at home?

I think you know. I think you, more than anyone else, realize the vast extent to which big brother has undermined the fabric of our society. Dependancy on the handout from Washington has become a way of life.

If we cut out all of these programs now, a chaotic scene would result. Without the Washington jungle, our economy would make the depression look like a picnic.

Revenue-sharing is an intermediate step. It provides for tremendous savings at the Federal level.

It puts the burden on State and local government to shape up and resume its rightful role in the economy.

It requires a clear development of priorities by the people, not by bureaucrats.

It sets the stage for eventual withdrawal of the Federal Government altogether.

As we all know to our sorrow, the Federal Government is the most inefficient extractor of tax dollars in human history.

Too many of those dollars have stayed in Washington.

We want to stimulate private enterprise, to get maximum benefit from Federal tax dollars.

Now I would like to turn to the third point in Mr. Nixon's proposal to revitalize America and get rid of the crushing burden of Government.

I am speaking, of course, of Executive reorganization.

There are two ways of paring away a bureaucracy.

One is to take away its functions.

This is what revenue-sharing will do. It will eliminate a large number of administrative functions from the Government.

More plainly, all those "bureaucrats" and "supervisors" will not be needed—"program administrators" will be kicked out because there won't be any more need for them any more.

The second way of reducing a bureaucracy is to make it efficient—to streamline it.

Let's take the case of the Environmental Protection Agency, there were twenty-six competing and overlapping agencies in the field of environment.

We were doing more harm to the environment than to save it.

By creating a single agency under unified direction from the top of the department, the farmers have Agriculture. The unions have Labor. Businessmen have Commerce. The social reforms of Government have DHHS.

But who speaks for America as a whole? Who speaks for the American people?

Otherwise, the Democrats will kill it, and the alternatives are too horrible to think about.

Wilton Miller, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has already come out against revenue-sharing. He plans to ignore the President's proposals.

Will he in other respects, too? He wants to "federalize" welfare.

Can you imagine what this would mean to the taxpayers?

Sure, you would get relief from your local taxes!

But imagine what would happen to your Federal taxes!

In 1961, total spending for welfare programs was almost $4 billion.

In 1980, total spending had climbed to $13 billion.

By 1972, if welfare keeps increasing, this figure will have jumped to $80 billion.

By 1980, welfare could amount to half the Federal budget.

The only thing that is keeping welfare under any sort of control now is the willingness of such leaders as Governor Reagan to clamp a tight rein on the abuses.

Turn welfare over to the Federal bureaucracy and our big government now will look like Madison in five years.

The Government handout will become the most common feature of American life.

We will become a two-class Nation—the social workers and the welfare families.

Let's keep out of welfare altogether. Let's turn the money back to State and local governments, and let them set the standards for welfare.

Only those close to the problem can determine the true meaning of need.

We don't want to deprive children, old people, and handicapped people of assistance. But we do want to establish a decent residency requirement and a proper standard of need.

We can only do this if we relocate the powers of the Government from Washington back to the States.

Revenue-sharing will spur this relocation. Revenue-sharing is our last chance to start governing ourselves again.

I have spoken of the President's program to stimulate private enterprise, and to get maximum benefit from Federal tax dollars.

Now I would like to turn to the third point in Mr. Nixon's proposal to revitalize America and get rid of the crushing burden of Government.

I am speaking, of course, of Executive reorganization.

There are two ways of paring away a bureaucracy.

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The President.

Only the President can rise above individual interests and speak for the American people.

And even his statements get lost in the bureaucratic maze. Even the cherished traditions of the American people are ignored.

Let me just give you the most recent and terrible example.

Because of bureaucratic buck-passing, hemming and hassling, and just plain ignorance, the men of the U.S. Coast Guard cutter Vigilant were forced to grovel helplessly to one side while Russians beat up and dragged away a Lithuanian seaman who wanted to seek asylum in the United States.

Why?

Well, the Coast Guard had a nice little "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" arrangement with the Russians. In exchange for the Russians staying out of certain waters, the Coast Guard let them do pretty much as they pleased elsewhere. And the top brass didn't want to upset the applecart.

The State Department was no better. It was too afraid of offending the Russians to act. Instead, it acted vigorously to put into effect programs and policies he originated or supported, and to inflate those he opposed. That great vigor and stamina, combined with shrewdness and sagacity which confounded and amazed all of us, much of the time, meant he was a man to be reckoned with on all great issues to come before this generation.

Senator Russell did not attain such power and prestige merely by seniority, although he did possess it. Recognition with great majorities illustrated his great political popularity and success. Richard Russell was not content to sit passively and allow power to accrue to him by the passage of years. Instead, he acted vigorously to put into effect programs and policies he originated or supported, and to inflate those he opposed. That great vigor and stamina, combined with shrewdness and sagacity which confounded and amazed all of us much of the time, meant he was a man to be reckoned with on all great issues to come before this generation.

Senator Russell understood the Senate and its folkways of power because he worked at it, because he took nothing for granted, and because he possessed a formidable strength of will that enabled him to accomplish so much and to command such respect because he always treated his colleagues with courtesy and decency, even if they were the newest of Members and even if they opposed him on the issues.

We were good friends through the years, even though we often were on opposite sides politically. He will be missed and he will be remembered.

REORDERING AMERICA'S PRIORITIES

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, one of the finest achievements of the Nixon administration to date has been the reordering of America's priorities, a reordering which is reflected in the fact that under the Nixon administration, the portion of the budget allotted to human resources has become larger than the portion allotted to military spending.

But still we hear the chant that more must be done to "reorder" our priorities. The incantation of this is especially persistent in New York City, where the mayor frequently tells the Nation about his evacuation commitment to a new set of priorities.

Mr. President, the front page of the March 15 edition of the New York Times cast an interesting light on the manner in which the mayor implements his passion in his own city.

The front page of that issue contained three stories which were juxtaposed in a most interesting way.

The first story carried the headline "City Betting Unit Was Lent $800,000 in Welfare Funds." The story reported that the city's offtrack betting corporation, which is not thriving, received a large loan from the city's welfare agency, which, if we are to believe the mayor, is not thriving and needs Federal help.

The second interesting front page carried this headline: "School Board Orders End To Hiring of Substitutes."

The first two paragraphs of the story tell a sad story:

"The education took emergency steps yesterday to meet its $40 million budget deficit, including ordering an immediate halt in the hiring of 11,000 substitute teachers, which are employed daily to fill in for absent teachers."

The board also directed that plans be prepared for the laying off of 6,500 other school employees, mainly teachers, on March 15 and that all those affected should be "placed on notice."

Mr. President, in the beginning of this year we can begin the most important advice we are getting from the mayor of New York if we understand the actions his administration takes, I ask unanimous consent that the three above-mentioned articles be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 3, 1971]

SCHOOL BOARD ORDERS END TO HIRING OF SUBSTITUTE TEACHERS—10,000 AFFECTED—6,500 OTHERS, MOSTLY TEACHERS TO BE Laid Off March 15 To Meet Deficit Of $40 Million

The Board of Education took emergency steps yesterday to meet its $40 million budget deficit, including ordering an immediate halt in the hiring of 11,000 substitute teachers who are employed daily to fill in for absent teachers.

The board also directed that plans be prepared for the laying off of 6,500 other school employees, mainly teachers, on March 15 and that those affected should be "placed on notice."

"This is an agonizing directive to issue but we must comply with the law," said Mr. Bergtraum, president of the board.

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tion had directed Dr. Harvey B. Scribner, the school Chancellor, to take the following actions if sufficient funds are not made available:"

Order an "immediate cessation" in the employment of day-to-day substitute teachers."

"Immediately freeze" all repair and maintenance funds, except for emergencies.

"Suspend immediately" the issuance of reduced passes to all children in kindergarten through second grade who live less than a mile from school and all pupils in the third-through-eighth grades who live less than a mile from school. This will affect 57,000 pupils.

Direct the community schools to prepare and submit plans to reduce personnel service expenditures by 8 percent effective as "the close of business" on March 15. The local districts have jurisdiction over all elementary, intermediate and junior high schools and the layoffs would affect about 4,000 teachers, supervisors and clerical employees.

Direct also the Office of High Schools to make and submit plans for a 5 percent reduction in personnel costs, effective March 15. This would affect 1,500 school employees.

Reduce the headquarters and central administrative personnel salary and "inevitable cost" reduction in personnel costs, effective March 15. This would affect 1,000 employees.

Suspend all activities in weekend community, youth and adult programs supported by tax-levy funds and reduce by 10 percent the cost of evening academic high school, trade schools and "fundamental" adult classes in citizenship and English.

EMPLOYEES LISTED
The city system has 65,000 teachers, 4,000 supervisors, 2,500 school aides and teacher assistants, and tens of thousands of supporting personnel.

A Board of Education spokesman said the "immediate" actions would take effect on a day-to-day basis, as soon as the notices are received by officials in the school districts.

Last Sunday, at a meeting with officers of the central Board of Education, opposition was expressed by representatives of community boards, school unions and parent groups to any reduction in school services and programs.

They announced the formation of a coalition of school administrators and "fundamental" government sources. A meeting of the coalition was set for today.

"DRASTIC DISLOCATION"
School officials said they could not immediately assess the impact of personnel reductions on the pupils, but Mr. Bergtraum said the reductions would cause a "drastic dislocation."

The first effects will come when the schools halt the hiring of day-to-day substitutes. Pupils whose teachers are absent will have to be divided among other classes, in most instances. The current contract between the central board and the teachers' union gives principals the right to assign their personnel on their preparation or free periods to take over uncovered classes. But teachers cannot be asked to do this for more than a 20 minute preparation periods each term without receiving extra compensation.

The lack of day-to-day substitutes could thus enable principals to shuffle 250,000 or more pupils each day.

The March 15 layoffs also would probably hit the city's parks hard, with the "regular" substitutes, who were called in during the first 15 days of the fall term last September, permanently engaged for the year, which ends June 30.

The contract requires that regular substitutes be given 10 days notice of the termination of their assignments, and the central board asked district officials and other places to send on notice those who face dismissal March 15.

The pool of regular substitutes or other classroom substitutes would result in a further shuffling of pupils. The contract stipulates maximum class sizes, but while some schools have classes that are below the limit, many others do not.

There was no definite word yesterday on how central or local officials would lay off regularly licensed teachers—if this should become necessary. Another plan is the fate of headquarters employees, some of whom are teachers and supervisors drawn from school posts for special assignments.

Earlier in the day, Governor Rockefeller said in Albany there was "no chance" the state could come up with the funds the system needed, and he declared that efforts to obtain help should be focused in "the right direction—to where the money is—to Washington."

And a little later, Mayor Lindsay said the Board of Education's plight was "fortunate, regrettable, and painful for everyone involved." But he said the city was currently facing a $300 million budget deficit. City officials have estimated a $1 billion deficit in the new fiscal year beginning July 1.

Mr. Shanker disclosed that the Board of Education is "one of several alternatives—that teachers and other school employees voluntarily take a cut in salary to stave off a reduction in jobs and services. Mandated pay cuts would violate the board's contract with the unions."

Mr. Bergtraum confirmed the board's proposal and said it was quickly rejected by Mr. Shanker, and also by Walter J. Degnan, president of the Council of Supervisors and Administrators. Vincent H. Goldfarb, executive director of District Council 37 of the State, County and Municipal Employees Union, said: "I'm sure they were surprised."

The city has already announced plans for buying an abandoned rail yard five blocks from the stadium, then leasing it to a private concern for parking facilities for 800 cars. In addition, the city, in developing the Bronx Terminal Market, will provide for additional parking spaces.

IMPROVEMENTS ARE LISTED
The Mayor also outlined the following improvements in the area:

- Improvements to improve traffic flow by adding additional patrotnen and a new radio communication unit to coordinate traffic in the area before and after the game.

- New signs directing traffic to and from the stadium. The IND 161st Street subway station was renamed "Yankee Stadium" and further recommending that escalators be installed to replace steps rumps.

- Plans for additional funding as the city undertakes to pay for the work, with the city returning the money afterward.

CITY BETTING UNIT WAS LENT $600,000 IN WELFARE FUNDS—$3.9-MILLION AUTHORIZED—UNPUBLISHED ARRANGEMENT TOUCHES OFF AN UTOBO (By Maurice Carroll)

An unpublished $2.9-million loan authorization from the city's welfare agency to the Offtrack Betting Corporation was made public yesterday by the Mayor.

The lending was made to the Bronx Criminal Court, which had stopped talking and negotiating with New Jersey officials who had been trying to move the team across the river.

A spokesman for Gov. William T. Cahill said that New Jersey would continue its efforts to acquire the team, "but it is not the policy of the Mayor or the Legislature to lend or guarantee to any individual or organization money that might be used for political purposes or to fill the private coffers of others."
was disclosed yesterday, touching off an up­
roar at a City Hall hearing. “It’s illegal—it’s a violation of the law, a
violation of the Charter!” Councilman Mario Merola thundered at Jule M.
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notification to the Board of Estimate or the
power training program. It cost
ible.”

members of the

pass on normal budget transfers between

spread and other Councilmen, hurried to the

each trainee,

Bertram R. Gelfand.

4.25 per cent annual interest.

violation of the

propriated for the assistance of the poor

O.T.B. officials?”

might very well have gone to pay salaries of

the state lottery

ting is done where people

and the race

having race results reported regularly on

phoned in for a while.

the bets manually in the track betting ma­

to open five more offices in April, and be­

beginning in May, 10 more a month.

“We should have 90 offices open by the
end of the year,” he added. “About 40 to 46
per cent will be in Manhattan, because the
state lottery has shown that most bet­
ing is done where people work.”

Mr. Samuels said both the offtrack offices
and the race tracks themselves would have
more patrons if the results of the day’s races
could be shown every night on television.

“We have no idea,” said the Federal Com­

munications Commission relative to
having race results reported regularly on
both radio and television,” he said. “The FCC
has been sympathetic so far.”

Mr. Samuels said that because the com­
puter that calculates the numbers is not

computing ones to the tracks have not yet been
installed at the tracks, the wagering will be
phoned in, and the bookmakers will have
the bets manually in the track betting
machines. Bets will be sent in an hour before
post time for each race.

Mr. Samuels said lawyers for his agency
had prepared and submitted to Deputy Mayor
Richard R. Aurelio a memorandum on a pro­
posed amendment to the State Constitution

that would permit the offtrack corporation
to take bets on other sports and on numbers.
He said legal betting on all other sport and
on numbers could be used to generate an illegal
gambling revenues of organized crime.

Mr. Samuels discussed methods by which
he believed the Federal Commerce Com­

mittee could prevent a similar situation from
occurring in New York State.

Mr. Samuels said there would be 12,000
recorded bets on the four tracks in New
York State.

It is well known that Mr. Mills enjoys an unparalleled reputa­
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tive accomplishments. His devotion to the people of his district in Arkansas
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The long years of Mr. Mills’ experi­
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or block grants, funds to be spent within
six broad areas of national concern, and
the continuation of many categorical
grant-in-aid programs where the Fed­
eral Government retains strict control
over the expenditures.

What I found quite unusual about cer­
tain of Mr. Mills’ remarks in this inter­
view was his seeming objection to gen­
eral revenue sharing on the grounds that
it would encourage Federal control over
the revenue sharing program. It would
create a specter that the Federal Gov­
ernment might eventually say to the
States: “There are certain things we
would like for you to do to your judi­
cracy—your legislature . . . to any Slate
program you may want to name—in or­
der for us to continue giving you this
largesse out of the Federal Treasury.”

Thus Mr. Mills seems to be saying that
general revenue sharing would further
impose the Federal presence into State
and local affairs.

I suppose that anything can happen in
this world. We may eventually repeal the
constitution and install a king in this
country.

But let us look objectively at this
rather fanciful suggestion. The most ob­
vious thing to be said about it is that it
is highly unlikely that a constitutional
proposition with so many favorable con­
ditions to revenue sharing would have to
be imposed by the national legisla­
ture, which is theoretically made up of
the people of the United States. Congress
could, today, impose by public law any condi­
tion it wished upon the various States of
the Union, provided that such a law was
within the constitutional powers of Con­
gress. The powers of the Congress to im­
pose onerous requirements on the ex­
penditure of Federal funds would in no way
be expanded by the enactment of general
revenue sharing. On the contrary, enact­
ment of the proposal would mark the
first time in the history of public finance
that the Federal Government had ever
required a State or local government to
put up a fraction of the revenues that it
raised.

The Congressman may very well have
in his arsenal a number of weighty and
considerable reasons why revenue shar­
ing should not be enacted. But I am not
persuaded that this specter is one of
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A somewhat related criticism is that
advanced by those who contemptuously
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the moon, or, and I hesitate, Federal as-
sumption of welfare costs. In each in-
stance we are technically spending money “that we do not have.”

The most fundamental basis for reve-
uenue relief on the part of its suppor-
ters that the State and local governments should be permitted to share in a small but fixed fractional part of certain collected revenues, not in a fixed fractional part of the net profits from government operations. Such a sharing will strengthen and revitalize State and local governments and tend to slow down the development of greater centralism. I do not believe that the distinguished chairman of the Com-
mittee on Ways and Means or any of the other critics of the proposal have successfully refuted these basic argu-
ments in support of revenue sharing.

One other comment of the Chairman’s caught my eye, and I am even hopeful enough to encourage him in it. As is well known, Mr. MILLS has been discussing as an alternative to revenue sharing a gradual Federal assumption of all State and local welfare costs. Even though supplemented by a minority member of the committee, Mr. BYRNES, appears to prefer some sort of tax credit approach to either welfare tax aid or the welfare sharing proposal that has drawn the lion’s share of attention.

A number of statistical studies have revealed that only 11 of the 50 States would receive money under the Federal assumption of welfare costs than they would from the enactment of the President’s revenue sharing proposal. Conversely, 39 States would receive less under such a welfare scheme.

In his recent interview, Mr. MILLS is quoted as having said that:

“...We could say to the states that, in order to get the government into welfare, they would have to put on half of what they save to the cities and counties.”

Mr. MILLS is not the sort of man to make such a remark off the top of his head, and I intend to read into it every possible interpretation of the remark that is of particular interest. First, it seems to imply that the powerful Federal Government might actually use the assumption of welfare costs as a vehicle to impose certain con-
ditions on State governments. But this cannot be a fair interpretation of what Mr. MILLS meant, because we have just learned how the berserKS he finds such an act on the part of the Federal Gov-
ernment. Why, if the prospect of the Federal Government using revenue shar-
ing as an instrument to dictate its views on the States is such anathema to Mr. MILLS, surely he would not propose using the welfare system for such a pur-
pose.

The second thing about this remark that interests me is the fact that he is describing something suspiciously simil-
lar to the pass-through requirement of the President’s welfare proposal, which would require that roughly half of each State’s allocation be passed through directly to cities and counties. If Mr. MILLS is endorsing section 501 of S. 690, it is a most welcome endorsement. Although it remains true that, under Mr. MILLS’ welfare savings pass-through proposal, the cities and counties of 39 States would receive less fiscal relief than they would under the President’s proposal, at least they would get something, and that is a step in the right direction.

Mr. President, I am confident that the will of the 77 percent of the American people reported by George Gallup to fa-
vor revenue sharing will not be frustrat-
ed by the Congress. Although objec-
tions to the tax credit approach may be effectively argued, there is no doubt in my own mind that the overwhelming assets of the proposal greatly outweigh whatever tenuous liabilities it might contain.

THE UNILATERAL JAPANESE RE-
STRAIN ON TEXTILE EXPORTS TO
THE UNITED STATES

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I am extremely encouraged by the news that the Textile Federation of Japan has agreed to voluntarily limit their textile exports to the United States over the next 3 years.

The negotiations to seek a formal signed agreement by the two nations proved to be frustrating and disappoint-
ing to all concerned, and I feel that the Japanese have acted both wisely and courageously in coming up with a unilat-
eral voluntary agreement.

I am hopeful that this agreement can provide the basis for similar agreements on the part of other textile exporting nations.

I know that our own textile industry has been extremely concerned over the recent increases in imported textiles. I know, too, that they have been seeking controls on the most favorable terms to our own domestic industry, and have held out the hope that the Congress would enact quotas.

But I would hope that our industry, and our administration, will look care-
fully at this Japanese agreement in light of our overall trade relations with Japan and as evidence that this tenuous liabilities it might contain.

Russell. His unfortunate death has re-
moved not only a good and true friend
but also an inspirational and dedicated leader whose equal will not soon be seen again in this body.

He gave to the Nation 38 years of de-
voted and exemplary service. Through-
out that time his performance measured up to the highest ideals of the U.S. Sen-
ate, the peerless tradition of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun. He brought to the body thinking that was ahead of his time.

It is noteworthy that well over half of Dick Russell’s life was spent in this body. The only man who served longer was Senator Carl Hayden.

Senator Russell’s remarkable record of tenure provides ample evidence of his character as seen by those who know him best—the residents of his beloved native State of Georgia. In all his elec-
tion campaigns, he had only one seri-
ous challenge.

Sometimes in its enthusiasm for its subject, the press understandably falls victim to exaggeration. But its erstwhile description of Senator Russell as the most powerful man in the Senate was never an understatement. None of us who knew him and worked with him would question his dominance.

What might not have been generally understood by the public which did not know him personally, however, was the reason for his power in this body. They did not have the good fortune of enjoy-
ing such close and inspiring friendship, his sin-
cerity and willingness to accept respons-
sibility, and the deep personal sense of honor which guided all his actions.

Dick Russell’s courtly manner and his straightforward approach to his deal-
ings were more than tools of the trade which helped him to rise rapidly to a position of leadership. They were such inner qualities of the man that any other type of behavior for him would have been impossible.

He was a statesman in the truest sense of the word. He was a man born to serve his State. His record of public service is one of the most remarkable and in-
spiring in our Nation’s history.

He paid a fierce allegiance to the Sen-
ate, an institution and the necessity
for it to function by rule and precedent. He knew so well that departure from those rules and precedents would erode and destroy the usefulness and high posi-
tion of the body.

Elected to the Georgia House of Rep-
resentatives 1 year after his graduation from law school, he became speaker of the house 6 years later. In another 4 years, he became Governor of Georgia in the history of the State. Then he came to the U.S. Senate, for which he had been destined.

The omnipotent Creator who has watched over the Nation throughout its history has been fit to give each genera-
tion a cadre of dedicated and inspired leaders, to guide our destiny and to pro-
tect our freedom. Senator Russell served that role for the past 38 years. He will be sorely missed, but his memory will be cherished by generations to come as one of the men who has led the country on its path to glory.
ARDMORE, OKLA.—ALL-AMERICA CITY

Mr. BELLMON. Mr. President, a single community of our country, Ardmore, in the state of Oklahoma, is one of the 11 winners of the All-America Cities Awards contest. This annual competition, now in its 23d year, is cosponsored by the National Municipal League and Look magazine to give recognition and encouragement to citizen achievement. This year, America Cities Awards is cosponsored by the National Municipal League and Look magazine to give recognition and encouragement to citizen achievement.

In citing Ardmore as an All-American City, the distinguished jury of citizens and government experts had this to say about its achievements:

An oil-production center, Ardmore shut down two all-black schools to integrate Negroes, Indians and whites. A citywide Human Relations Council pulled people together to solve racial problems in employment, education and public events. This enthusiasm also powered Operation Pride, a cleanup and sanitation program that doubled the number of beds in the general hospital.

The current issue of Look magazine includes an excellent article detailing some of the activities that brought Ardmore this well-deserved national recognition.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled ‘A Small City Tackles Problems of Jobs, School, the Race’, be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SMALL CITY TACKLES PROBLEMS OF JOBS, SCHOOL, THE RACE

JOE FRAZIER, WORLD HEAVY-WEIGHT CHAMPION

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, ‘It’s not the size of the man in the fight’; the old saying goes, and it was never more true than last night at Madison Square Garden. That fact was arrayed against Joe Frazier, but the statistics of size fell victim to the force of will. Experience was arrayed against Joe Frazier, but the experience of the past fell victim to the determination of the present. Those of us who witnessed this greatest sports spectacle saw history in the making. His opponent brought into the ring a record without defeat and a boxing résumé, in the opinion of many, of almost legendary proportions. But it was nowhere near enough to stave off the determination of Joe Frazier. Now we have an undisputed world heavyweight champion. And judging from the clout he showed last night, he is going to be around for a while. He joins a select company of greats—Jack Dempsey, Gene Tunney, Joe Louis, and Rocky Marciano—as the holder of that most impressive sports title of all, world heavyweight champ.

South Carolinians know Joe Frazier well. He’s from Beaufort, where he was born and raised. He followed his career from Olympic heavyweight champion to world champion. We knew long ago of the fire and determination within him. People in Beaufort were the first of us that doubted that he would one day make it. In doing so, he has fulfilled our hopes. More importantly, he has fulfilled his own fond hopes.

South Carolinians know yet another side of Joe Frazier. They know him as a man who has brought not just fame to his home, but service to his community. In the gym of the Parris Island Marine Base, an exhibition matches to raise money for day-care centers, where mothers could bring their small children while they went out to work. And the children could be fed a nourishing breakfast and a hot lunch. They remember that he brought his singing group in to raise funds for a community health center. The community remembers that he also bought a piece of land, a race track. And the man also remembers the community.

I join my fellow South Carolinians, and all Americans, in saluting the champ. Joe Frazier has another career, a wonderful one, with his hands. Knowing his determination, I believe his career will be just that.
we must plan our theater nuclear weapon posture and relate it to our conventional posture. In this case, we have a realistic option in the theater without having to rely solely on strategic nuclear weapons. In other words, we can use our available tactical nuclear capabilities that contribute to realistic deterrence while allowing for maximum flexibility of response in every possible contingency we plan for should deterrence fail.

We are currently evaluating the long-term structure of our theater forces. In the near-term, we will continue to rely on current capabilities, including theater assets, tactical aircraft, rockets, and field artillery. However, research and development and weapon improvement programs are planned in this area, including the development of our weapons and the associated command and control systems that have adequate capability and continue to emphasize minimum chance of accident. With such programs, we believe that we can retain or improve the essential contribution our theater nuclear forces make to our deterrent posture.

D. THEATER CONVENTIONAL FORCES FOR DETERRENCE

President's Foreign Policy Report to Congress, February 25, 1971:

1. The Planned FY 1972 General Purpose Forces:

Table I includes a summary of our active General Purpose Forces and Mobility Forces for FY 1972 and compares them to the forces in selected prior years.

2. Army and Marine Corps Ground Forces:

By the end of FY 1971, the active Army forces and active and reserve Marine Corps forces will be of about equal active division equivalents. The Marine Corps will have three active divisions and three active aviation wings. The Army includes eight National Guard and one Marine Corps Reserve division, and 21 separate Army Reserve, Army National Guard, and FBIQ-division to form total U.S. General Purpose Land Forces of 26 1/2 division force equivalents at the end of FY 1971, compared to 29 at the end of FY 1970.

By the end of FY 1971, we will have completed most of the planned reduction in major land forces. The remaining reduction planned is a decrease in division totals of 1/2 division from the end FY 1971 levels. The end FY 1972 Army force structure will consist of 13% active divisions. Mainly because of reductions in support and overseas manpower, the FY 1972 strength will be able to reduce its total active manpower from 1,107,000 to 942,000 during the fiscal year.

Military manpower is more costly for our allies than for any of our forces and, the differential probably will grow as we move toward an all-volunteer force. These realities have led us to conclude that adjustments should be made in the balance of U.S. and allied contributions to our combined capabilities to better use the advantages of each. It could be toward a more self-reliant allied forces. In some cases, our allies can and should improve the capabilities of their forces with U.S. assistance. However, other allies lack the material resources to match the manpower assets available to us, and thus will make their maximum potential contribution without outside assistance.

As we continue with implementing our new strategy, we may find it desirable to modify or adjust in both the size and composition of our future land force, combat and support forces. We have decided that the FY 1972 planned forces discussed above—a total of 25% active and reduced by 1/2 division—are the forces we are to base for the future, as we proceed with modernization programs for these forces.

1. By any reasonable measure of economic capabilities and manpower, the United States and its allies in combination have adequate resources to provide for realistic deterrence of both conventional and nuclear war.

2. The deterrent value of U.S. and local forces varies considerably over the spectrum of possible conflict situations. Local forces may have greater value than U.S. forces in many cases, particularly in meeting smaller conventional threats.

3. Military manpower is more costly for the U.S. than for any of our allies, and the differential probably will grow as we move toward an all-volunteer force.

To ensure adequate tactical air forces, military planners must strike the right compromises in both design and numbers of aircraft while organizing and supporting them correctly. Aircraft designs must reflect not only the various missions, but also the conditions under which they must be accomplished. Aircraft designs must be built in appropriate numbers for each mission. Therefore, in fact, when and where a single aircraft is able to carry out many of the missions it will have to accomplish in unpredictable weather. Therefore, we have built multi-mission aircraft which are designed to accomplish many missions, but can also accomplish several other missions. For example, the F-4 Phantom is now the principal air superiority fighter of both the Air Force, the Navy and Marine Corps. However, it is also capable of carrying out attack missions, although, not as well as, say, the A7 which is primarily an attack aircraft.

Similarly, we must strike compromises if we are to have forces with a high balance of mission capability and enough flexibility to be able to meet less likely, but nonetheless important, demands.

The issues involved in force planning are further complicated by the need to make the best use of assets already on hand and to continue to provide the best possible facilities for our friends and allies to contribute to their own defense in the air as well as on land. For example, while we do not have versatile tactical air forces about as large as our own tactical air forces, our Asian allies have the capability of maintaining relatively few kinds of aircraft. In addition, the levels of training and support of many of the allied forces have increased immeasurably.
forces, but some others can maintain credible air forces only with U.S. assistance. To the latter end, we have begun the International Marine Amphibious Forces Program, so our allies have a fighter which will be simple but able to match the threat over friendly or contested territory. Yet, even national Fighter Aircraft Program, so our own unique and demanding circumstances; continuing to examine the relationship of these forces to those of our allies. We believe that the tactics and support ships. In future years, as these missions for which conventional submarines are suitable. On the other hand, we do not need a reactor. A major part of the total need for nuclear attack submarines can be met by any free nation other than the United States. Thus, it is clear that many, modern, conventionally powered submarines to lift the marine Amphibious Forces and about 155 logistics squadrons, amphibious ship to lift the marines and about 155 logistics squadrons, amphibious ship to lift the marines, a strong navy is essential. But in escort ships, our friends and allies also possess significant ASW capabilities (attack and ASW) and their nuclear attack submarine forces are, however, quite capable. As the President noted in his Foreign Policy Report last month: "No token presence could serve our purpose. Our substantial contribution of United States forces—about 25 percent of NATO's peacetime capabilities in Central Europe—increases the viability of the strategy of flexible response. It enables us to round Alliance defense on something other than reliance on the principle of the threat. It is the basis of our allies' confidence in us. It links European defense to a common strategy and to the nuclear power of the United States."

The FY 1972 Budget provides for the maintenance of our current force in Europe and, consistent with the President's pledge last December that: "Given a similar approach by the other Allies and the United States, we can improve its own forces in Europe and would not reduce them except in the context of reasonable strength."

Other deployed forces also contribute to stability and deterrence. In this context, the air-land-armor force, for example, last fall the presence of our 6th CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - SENATE March 9, 1971
Fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Jordanian crisis served as a reminder that outside intervention carried great risks. We plan to accelerate modernization and to discuss next will enable us to sustain and improve our present capabilities.

Our FY 1972 Budget will help improve the readiness of our existing forces. The Services should be able to discuss these programs in much more detail when they appear before the Committee.


Forces that can be deployed or used for actual combat must be properly equipped and in a high state of readiness if they are to be of our military forces.

Today, the operational readiness of the Army's active forces is lower than we would like. This has been brought about by the severe personnel imbalances stemming from the one-year tour in Vietnam and by the heavy procurement requirements that were needed for Vietnam—both to support our own Army units there and to help equip South Vietnamese units. Army Forces outside Vietnam simply have not been supported as well as have those in Vietnam.

There are some encouraging signs, however. The Army has been able to deliver several new weapons systems to its forces outside Vietnam, and its FY 1972 budget provides some resources for continuation of this effort. The Chapparal/Vulcan air defense system, the TOW anti-tank missile system, and the new XM803 main battle tank, are all being issued to Army units in Europe. The M-16 rifle has been issued to most active Army troops, and deliveries to the Reserve Components have begun. Other modern equipment is being issued to the Reserve Components in increasing quantities as we move ahead. It may be particularly important, as the growing number of modern helicopters included in these deliveries.

Our tactical air forces also need to be improved and modernized if they are to be successful in the future environment in which they must be prepared to operate. Although the operational readiness of these forces today is at a high level (owing in part to their extensive role in the Vietnam conflict) there are a number of areas where we believe the increased capabilities of a modernized force will be required. For example, the F-4 represents an airplane which dates back to the mid-1960's. These aircraft will not be able to cope with projected air threats of the late 1970's and early 1980's. The new F-16 and F-18 fighters are designed to provide the capability we will need. With respect to close air support, we have a number of aircraft which can perform this mission. Nevertheless, there is a need for relatively low-cost aircraft specifically designed to provide a specialized close air support role in the future.

There are, of course, other areas where our tactical aircraft inventories should be modernized, and they will be covered in subsequent sections relating to their missions.

As you know, our naval forces are also in need of modernization. Last year, I directed the Congress that if additional money were made available in the FY 1971 Budget, shipbuilding should be accelerated to correct a past shortage. The $1.6 billion shipbuilding program contained in the FY 1972 Budget is $759 million above the FY 1971 level and $1.6 billion above the 1966–1967 five-year average for ship construction, and reflects our intention to proceed with a vigorous modernization program for the Navy.

We also plan to accelerate modernization of our own active and reserve land-based combat forces, particularly with respect to capabilities required for NATO. This modernization effort is in our view even more important with the reduced size of our land forces.

Let me now turn to a discussion of the major modernization programs we are planning for FY 1972. A summary of these programs is shown on the following pages. Although programs are grouped by primary mission, a number of general and program goals will be discussed in the context of the systems have inherent capabilities that permit multi-mission utilization. Table 10 provides a summary of major procurement.

**SECTED GENERAL PURPOSE AND MOBILITY FORCES MODERNIZATION AND IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS**

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**A. GROUND COMBAT CAPABILITY**

**XM803 Tank.** In connection with our land forces, the Army’s tank program today is focused primarily on the continued development of its new main battle tank, the XM803. As I reported to you last year, the joint effort to develop a single tank with the Federal German Government has been terminated. Since then, the Army’s efforts have been directed toward developing the survivability and mobility of the XM803, reducing the average unit production cost to $600,000 in FY 1970 dollars. The program will be reviewed in greater detail when we intend to authorize production only when we are sure the development is complete and the cost acceptable.

The resulting tank will have all of the essential characteristics which will enable it to counter the tanks which the Soviet Union is capable of field in the 1980’s: a 152 mm gun capable of firing a new high velocity armor-piercing round and launching the Shillelagh antitank missile, as well as spaced armor, low silhouette, passive night vision, and fire-on-the-move capability. But some of the less critical features have been either eliminated or modified to save money. We are requesting $877 million in FY 1972 to continue development and Advanced Production Engineering for the XM803, which will include procurement of second generation pilot hardware, testing of critical component and a number of training devices. The Secretary of the Army will be prepared to discuss the details of this program and proposed funding for the XM803.

**M60 Tank.** To continue improvement and refinement of the M60, $13.8 million is included in the FY 1972 Budget. Of this, $13.8 million will be used for a modest product improvement program to upgrade the M60 and M60A1 tanks, which are the Army’s standard tanks today. These improvements are to give the M60-series tanks better performance and tactics, including the capability to apply corrective modifications to 210 of the M60A1/2 tanks which the Army has purchased in previous years. The M60 is essentially an M60 tank with a modified turret and armament system which allows it to fire both conventional ammunition and the Shillelagh antitank missile. Fixes for the technical difficulties in turret stabilization, which slowed this retrofit program, have been identified. The Army assures me that the testing of these fixes is proceeding satisfactorily.

In addition, the Army plans to continue its improvements and modernization efforts for the M60A1. The FY 1972 Budget includes $41 million to procure 90 M60A1 tanks and 60 Bridge Launcher Chassis for the Army in Europe. This program, together with the M60A1E2 modification program discussed above, will keep production at the minimum just adequate level.

**Tow and Dragon.** To complement its tank capability, the Army is moving ahead with procurement of its new anti-tank missile systems for the infantry—Tow and Dragon—for which we are requesting $103 million in FY 1972. The Tow is the heavy anti-tank weapon used by infantry battalions.

Last year the Army reevaluated a proposal to use the Shillelagh missile instead of Tow in the European theater in response to strong Congressional interest in this possibility. The Army’s findings were that Shillelagh offered significant tactical advantages over the Tow, and this action would not promise any significant cost savings. Furthermore, adaptation of Shillelagh missiles to German designed and produced units with a new anti-tank missile system by three or four years. For this reason, we decided last year to proceed rapidly with procurement. At the present time, we are well into a multi-year procurement program for this system; we are rapidly filling the Tow at the minimum sustaining rate. Meanwhile, the Army has sufficient prior orders to maintain production in Germany and some of its forces here in the United States with the Tow launcher and a partial supply of missiles. The Dragon is the lighter
weight anti-tank system, designed to be handcarried by our most forward ground combat elements. It, too, is destined primarily for our European and Far Eastern forces. Our decision to begin production of the Lance missile system is planned for FY 1972 and $84 million is included for this purpose. This system, designed to be launched from fixed, mobile, or aircraft launchers, will provide our ground forces with considerably increased survivable firepower. Lance utilizes a multiple independent target homing warhead, that should enable it to achieve a high probability of killing its target. Testing of this missile has progressed satisfactorily and we expect to begin procuring it in FY 1972 for equipping the tactical forces. We are requesting $87 million for this purpose in our FY 1973 budget.

The budget also includes $110 million to purchase the Royal United Kingdom an additional 30 AV-8As. The HARRIER is a proven aircraft that has been operational with the Royal Air Force (RAF) for two years. Currently, several squadrons are being formed in the U.S. The RAF and U.S. experience already acquired indicates that this aircraft will prove to be an effective and valuable system.

MAVERICK. The MAVERICK is another program that is of importance in providing our ground forces with a means of easily and accurately destroying enemy tanks, armored vehicles, artillery and field fortifications. It has automatic television homing guidance, that should enable it to achieve a high probability of killing its target. Testing of this missile has progressed satisfactorily and we expect to begin procuring it in FY 1972 for equipping the tactical forces. We are requesting $87 million for this purpose in our FY 1973 budget.

C. AIR SUPERIORITY AND AIR DEFENSE

F-4. Near term modernization of aircraft for this role is planned through FY 1974 procurement. The budget includes $143 million to buy 34 F-4 aircraft in FY 1972 for the Air Force. However, the number of active F-4s will remain at about 1,100, with older aircraft being transferred to the reserves as new ones are delivered to modernize this force.

F-15. We are concerned, however, that the F-4 may not be able to cope with future threats to air superiority, and hence, are developing the F-15, the F-15, in order to fulfill our future requirements. We expect to begin F-15 procurement in FY 1973, and by FY 1976 to start replacing F-4 squadrons with F-15 squadrons in the active tactical forces.

F-14. To modernize our fighter oriented naval air forces, we plan to replace F-4 aircraft in this series with F-14s in the mid-1970s. The budget contains $238 million for continued R&D and $800 million to procure 46 F-14 aircraft in FY 1972, as compared to 26 procurements in FY 1971. As I noted last year, this increase in production rate is contingent on its performance in test flights. While we believe the F-14 is an important development, the contract was let in early 1969 and does not have some of the features that we have now been able to manage control. Also, the crash of the first development aircraft has delayed somewhat the development program. We are reassessing the development program. The FY 1973 budget contains funds for the program, but as yet no modification program has been approved. The budget also includes $104 million to procure PHOENIX missiles for use on F-14 aircraft. The Navy will discuss the entire F-14 program in more detail.

F-16. The F-16 Fighting Falcon is planned for the close air support role. It is a high performance fighter/attack aircraft. The Chaparral/Vulcan system is currently being developed for the Air Force. Its combination helps fill a void in the forward air defense of deployed ground forces. At the same time, the Air Force is planning to procure Improved Hawk missiles, to provide a better defense against electronic countermeasures than either existing or planned air to surface attacks. Procurement funds of $108 million for another increment of each of these systems is requested in the FY 1973 budget request.

SAM-D. The SAM-D air defense system continues in advanced development, and good progress is being made. This system is being developed to operate with the anticipated air threat of the 1980's—a threat which neither the present Nike Hercules nor Hawk can counter. We are requesting $116 million in FY 1972 funds to continue the basic SAM-D development program.

D. INTERDICTIO, RECOGNITION, AND OTHER OPERATIONS

A-7D. Interdiction missions flown against enemy forces maneuvering behind their front lines, and against the command, supply, and communications networks of each enemy field army. We presently have a variety of aircraft, including the F-100, F-4, AV-8, A-7E, A-4, and F-111, capable of performing interdiction missions. In the near term, A-7 and F-111 aircraft will replace current aircraft to modernize this part of the Air Force. We expect to procure 97 A-7Ds in FY 1972, which will cost $208 million is included in the budget. This order will complete our planned development for these aircraft and provide for a force of three A-7 wings in the Air Force.

We currently plan that the number of tactical A-111 wings in the force will increase to four by the end of FY 1972, our plans include continuing to equip this aircraft. The F-111 should provide a significant increase in interdiction capability by virtue of its ability to operate at night or during adverse weather and by deep into enemy territory. The budget includes $190 million for additional development, initial spares, and for production of prior-year aircraft to complete the F-111 procurement program. The Air Force has tested the F-111 aircraft, and we are confident that it will perform satisfactorily. There are, however, Mark II Avionics System difficulties in the F-111 that may affect its performance. Of these difficulties is now being worked out with the contractor, and the Air Force will be prepared to discuss the details, including both funding and procurement plans, to the Congress. No F-111 procurement is planned beyond FY 1975 but funds are needed to pay for aircraft procured in previous years.

A-6E/A-7E. The A-6 and A-7 aircraft are the Navy's principal all-weather and visual attack aircraft. In the A-6E and A-7E series, the A-6E and A-7E, are expected to provide increased performance over earlier versions through improved avionics systems. Therefore, we have concluded that A-6E and A-7E production should continue in order to modernize our sea-based attack aircraft forces. For this purpose, we have included $192 million to purchase 12 A-6E and 24 A-7E aircraft in FY 1972.

EA-6B. The budget includes $554 million for continued development of the E-4C airborne early warning and EA-6B electronic countermeasures aircraft. The program also includes procurement of Improved Hawk missiles, to provide a better defense against electronic countermeasures than existing or planned air to surface attacks. Procurement funds of $108 million for another increment of each of these systems is requested in the FY 1973 budget request.
which $44 million is requested. This aircraft is expected to have sufficient payload capability to permit it to perform all-weather reconnaissance.

E. SEA CONTROL AND NAVAL PROJECTION OF FORCES

AirCraft Carriers. At the end of FY 1972 the aircraft carrier force will consist of the nuclear-powered ENTERPRISE, eight FORD-CLASS, and four older carriers. The NIMITZ and EISENHOwer nuclear carriers have been funded and will be delivered to the Navy in FY 1974 and 1975. The Navy now estimates that these ships will cost $694 million and $616 million for FY 1972 and 1973, respectively. The total cost of $1.64 billion above the Navy's previous cost estimates. This amount has been included in the FY 1972 Budget. Navy witnesses will, of course, be prepared to discuss in detail the reasons for these and other increased cost estimates for ship construction included in the FY 1972 Budget.

In 1978, our carrier forces will average twenty years in age with the oldest ship 33 years. At that time, the nuclear-powered carriers NIMITZ and EISENHOwer will have joined the ENTERPRISE in the fleet. I am convinced that our responsibilities in the Cold War and the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Mediterranean, and other ocean areas will require construction of an aircraft carrier force to maintain our sea power for the Navy to assure adequate attack carrier capabilities for the 1980's and beyond. The Navy is currently assessing the need for funding to fill our shipbuilding backlog in order to support long lead time items in FY 1972. Preservation of the industrial base should be at issue, or if significant savings would be realized, I will seek funds for long lead time procurement for CVAN-70 in FY 1972 through reprogramming actions or budget amendments, within our overall request. This will enable us to keep the option open to authorize the next carrier in FY 1973 or FY 1974.

P-3C Aircraft. Land-based ASW aircraft are our primary means to search broad ocean areas. To increase our capability in this area, we are pursuing a continued program to buy P-3C aircraft to modernize the active forces and transfer earlier model P-3s to the reserve forces. In FY 1972 we plan to buy 36 P-3C aircraft at a cost of about $207 million. This aircraft is our primary means to search and destroy submarines and surface vessels. In FY 1972 we plan to purchase enough P-3C aircraft to provide the Navy with two operating squadrons and to transfer the older P-3A/B aircraft to the reserve fleet. We are planning to modernize this force by a unique ASW capabilities of submarines and amphibious assault ships to meet the spectrum of deployment requirements.

Air Defense and ASW Squadrions. The F-16A and F-15E aircraft are our primary means to search and destroy air targets. The F-16A aircraft is our primary means to search, destroy, and, by the use of electronic warfare systems, to corrupt the navigation of naval vessels and submarines. The F-15E aircraft is our primary means to search and destroy air targets. The F-15E aircraft is our primary means to search, destroy, and, by the use of electronic warfare systems, to corrupt the navigation of naval vessels and submarines. The F-15E aircraft is our primary means to search and destroy air targets. The F-15E aircraft is our primary means to search for and destroy submerged missiles and other submerged targets.
gency for several reasons. First, even with Presidential repositioning, marshalling commercial ships dispersed on the worldwide trade is a much slower and more costly process than having vessels available in draft with suitable vessels under its control, they can be repositioned during strategic warning periods while waiting for mobilization orders in order to be immediately available to deploy forces to limit a developing crisis. Such ships will be inhaled as a matter of routine repositioning upon receipt of warning.

A second reason why we cannot rely exclusively on the Defense Department's (DOD) strategic sealift options is that there are few of them have the capability to move the heavy, outside the unit equipment of our combat, and even if it is to be available, the commercial sealift strategy is toward container ships and other specialized ship types. Container ships, which now comprise 35% of the U.S. commercial general cargo sealift capability, are projected to increase their percentage to 55% by 1975. Such specialized, large vessels can carry numerous numbers, but are of little use in the early stages of a crisis when unit equipment must be rapidly deployed to a contingency. By contrast, the commercial break bulk fleet, which can lift most unit equipment, is projected to decrease from 224 C-5-S-76's equivalents in FY 1971 to 167 in 1975.

The delay associated with activating vessels from the Defense Reserve Fleet (DRF) prevents these vessels from meeting the shortcomings of the active fleet. The first vessels from the DRF would be expected to become available for use in a deployment until approximately 30 days after mobilization, and thus could not be flexible in the early critical phases of a deployment. Moreover, since virtually all of these vessels were built during World War II, their value in the event of an emergency is questionable. Because of this, these ships are gradually being disposed of and will be phased out of the fleet.

DoD's current shipping assets are quite limited. In the mid-1970's without acquisition of new ships, the DoD-controlled strategic sealift force will be limited to three roll-on/roll-off vessels. In light of this fact and the shortcomings of the commercial fleet, we are attempting to obtain ten Multi-Purpose Cargo Ships (MPS). These vessels are specially designed to be compatible with both unit equipment specifications and are considered necessary for rapid deployment in the event of a contingency. Recognizing the desirability of eliminating these ships from our military charter contract service as a means of reducing our commercial interests, we propose to acquire these ships under long-term chartering arrangements. These ships would be especially suited to the Reserve and Guard for operations and maintenance (O&M) procurements. The Army and Air National Guard have separate appropriations for O&M (except depot maintenance), but not for procurement, and all of the O&M and procurement funds for the Reserve were merged within the active force appropriations.

We decided initially to deal with this situation by increasing military department appropriations to separate Guard and Reserve budget accounts, within the appropriation accounts, for O&M and maintenance. In addition, the M-60 tank, for example, is eligible for inclusion in active force appropriations. Beginning with the FY 1971 budget, this tank was the first new procurement, but the line item budgeting for procurement was not established. Much of the equipment program money, in effect, being used in the FY 1971 budget, was used to supply reserve components with equipment in the FY 1972 plan by retaining the reserve units and equipment. This principle of line item identification of funding to reprogram 'fall out' equipment has been used in the FY 1972 O&M accounts, but a different approach is now being taken with a new procurement of new equipment. Instead of separating the procurement funds, the Services are establishing formal procedures to determine quantities of new equipment between the Reserve components and the active forces. This system should be in place by the beginning of the fiscal year 1973.

Let me now discuss some of the specific details of our program to modernize Reserve forces from more and better equipment.

a. Army Reserve/Army National Guard

Reductions in the level of combat equipment in Service Reserve components have reached a point where the Reserve component unit with the active unit is making it possible to replace some of the outmoded equipment and conserve the limited stocks of the Army National Guard and Army Reserve with first-line combat equipment. Progress is being made in increasing equipment levels, but much more is still needed.

It is estimated that at the end of 1970 the Army Reserve component units had on hand about $1.6 billion worth of combat serviceable equipment, with peak requirements of about $6.1 billion, and, within that amount, training requirements of $3.8 billion. We are planning to meet the first-line combat equipment requirements in the event of mobilization by the end of 1974. By 1975, we anticipate that the inventory will have increased to $5 billion.

Table 1 indicates that the equipment inventory is actually declining slightly. FY 1970 was the first year of significant procurement, with about $3.5 billion of equipment issued for the equipment shortfalls, and about $3 million of serviceable equipment was issued to Reserve components. The Reserve component ego between $450 million and $600 million in equipment will be provided in FY 1971, and at least $800 million in the next two fiscal years.

About $200 million of the FY 1972 total of $500 million will come from equipment in depot stocks that is in need of repair. The FY 1973 budget provides about $1 billion for equipment to be reconditioned and returned to service.

An example of improvement in the types and quantities of equipment now being issued to Reserve and Guard units is the first M-60 tanks to arrive this year. About 120 M-60s are being provided in FY 1971 and over 150 more in FY 1972. Rifles and other equipment, another important item, and 300-000 M-16 and M-14s are being issued this fiscal year—considerably more than was anticipated a year ago. The Army Reserve component unit with the active unit is making it possible to replace some of the outmoded equipment and conserve the limited stocks of the Army National Guard and Army Reserve.

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pursuing more limited forms of association. Units which have achieved company level readiness in Army training tests (i.e., their training and equipment is up to the level needed to be operationally effective) may then participate in active Army exercises in order to measure their capabilities against those of the active forces. The Continental Army Command has implemented a program in which company-size Reserve component combat units are scheduled to participate with active component units at near active installations. The Army Materiel Command is pursuing a similar program with Reserve component combat support units.

B. AIR FORCE RESERVE/ AIR NATIONAL GUARD

The Air Force Reserve and Air National Guard include some of our most capable and ready forces. Units of the AF and ANG are engaged daily in air defense, air refueling, and airlift missions in support of the active forces, and many of them are capable of rapid response in the event of need. The major problem they face involves the quality of the aircraft and equipment they are operating. While many of the older obsolescent aircraft, such as the F-84, C-119, and C-124, with newer and more capable F-4, F-105A and C-130 aircraft have been replaced, the older aircraft, we are also considering the adoption or extension of certain concepts for improving the quality of our worldwide air defenses. These include giving tactical and fighter intercepter units dual mission assignments, relying on the Reserve and National Guard units for national defense and expanding the use of the associate unit concept which has proved so successful in the airlift forces.

Fighter and Attack Forces. Turning to the specifics of modernization, the ANG fighter/ attack forces are currently scheduled to receive four new F-106 aircraft in a showplace, number of better aircraft in the FY 1972-1976 period, including F-4, F-105A, and F-100 aircraft. The ANG is scheduled to receive four models such as F-84s and F-104s. With the phaseout of obsolete aircraft and re-equipping of some squadrons, plus units being converted from other missions, the ANG will achieve a significant increase in capability. Under current plans, the fighter forces at the end of FY 1972 will have six squadrons of F-105A, one of F-104s, and one of F-4s. The attack forces will include 18 F-100 squadrons and two A-37 units dealing with the type of possible conflict may be considered artificial by some, particularly in the case of an intense localized conflict such as the war in Southeast Asia. It is important to note, however, that under the Nixon Doctrine, as exemplified by the Vietnamization Program, we believe that our allies can be trained to assume the primary burden for planning to cope with sub-theater and localized conflicts.

C. NAVY AND MARINE CORPS RESERVE

Fighter and Attack Forces. During the past two years the Navy Reserve attack carrier air squadrons have been reorganized, and their aircraft upgraded. Prior to that time these units did not have combat serviceable aircraft, and they could contribute in a combat situation only by augmenting active forces with filler personnel. The Navy Reserve's fighter and attack squadrons, together with those of the Navy Air Reserve, are configured to deploy with the carriers. By FY 1972 there will be two carrier air wings in the reserve. The carrier air wings will continue to modernize their aircraft with the introduction of large numbers of F-14s, F-104s, and F-4s. In addition, as F-4s become available they will take up the F-106s in the reserve inventory. The Navy now expects to convert four F-106 to F-4 aircraft by the mid-1970's.

Marine Corps Reserve air units have also been upgraded in the past year. The Reserve has beenprocured to improve the capability to replace obsolete model A-4s and older model F-8s have also been modernized. During the past year the Reserve Aircraft Wing has received 18 CH-46 helicopters and should receive an additional 18 by the end of this fiscal year. In addition, by the end of FY 1972, the Marine Reserve Aircraft Wings is expected to have received its full complement of 94 CH-46s, 12 UH-1 helicopters.

ASW and Surface Warfare Forces. Most ASW aircraft units have also been reorganized and upgraded to combat deployable status, in the last two years. The second independent squadron in the reserve has been equipped with F-8s, and the units are being re-equipped with shipboard carrier air wings. The carrier-based ASW squadrons have been re-equipped with serviceable aircraft, and the remaining units are scheduled to have a reequipped air carrier during the next two years. ASW squadrons are expected to receive additional F-8s and F-4s.

In the Air Force Reserve, Special Operations Force (SOF) units will be modernized and upgraded to a level commensurate with the SOF mission as A-37 aircraft become available from the active forces. The AF plans to form four A-37 squadrons in FY 1973 and convert F-84s to F-86s.

Air Defense. Modernization of the Air National Guard air defense forces is continuing in FY 1971 as the last three squadrons of F-102s are upgraded from reserve forces. With these aircraft the ANG will then have a total of 6 F-101 and 10 F-102 squadrons. The current plan is to maintain this force level until the F-106 is available and the older aircraft become available from the active forces. We are, however, considering the possibilities and the great responsibility for performance of the continental air defense mission.

Airlift Forces. The AF and ANG airlift forces are being modernized as C-119s and many of the C-124s are replaced with C-130A. Air Reserve and Air National Guard units equipped with C-130 aircraft, give us a very capable Reserve Tactical airlift capability. By the end of FY 1971, and C-141 and C-141 reserve associate units and the first two C-5A reserve associate units will have been equipped. The Reserve unit program has worked quite well, and we now plan to form two more C-5 units in FY 1972. In FY 1971 and C-5 squadron there will be an AF reserve unit which could augment its capabilities if needed.

F. SUBSTANTIVE AND LOCALIZED PROGRAMS FOR DETERRENCE

The President can guarantee that future conflicts will never involve American personnel. The threshold of involvement will be raised and in some instances involvement will be much more unlikely.

(Chairman's Report to Congress, February 25, 1971)

No President can guarantee that future conflicts will never involve American personnel. The threshold of involvement will be raised and in some instances involvement will be much more unlikely.

We must face the prospect that conflicts running from localized insurgency or guerrilla warfare to the type of possible conflict which future presidents will have to face in the 1970s. We have chosen to discuss such potential conflict separately from large-scale conflict directly involving the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Fact, or the Chinese People's Republic. Such a distinction between theater and sub-theater conflict may be considered artificial by some, particularly in the case of an intense localized conflict such as the war in Southeast Asia. It is important to note, however, that under the Nixon Doctrine, as exemplified by the Vietnamization Program, we believe that our allies can be trained to assume the primary burden for planning to cope with sub-theater and localized conflicts.

One question of concern is the direction under President Nixon's Strategy for Peace, there may be situations where only U.S. capabilities can guarantee the maintenance of a position which may be necessary in the future. Earlier, I noted the U.S. forces which could be deployed in FY 1972 to respond to intense conflict in Europe. Let me describe another type of possible response—U.S. forces which could be made available for minor contingencies in Europe.

1. U.S. Capabilities for Quick Response

In some situations, timeliness of response or ability to deploy could be more important than the maximum force that could be deployed in, say, 60 or 90 days.

Depending on the circumstances and area, the quick response forces could be drawn from the forward-deployed Fleet Marine Forces in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Mediterranean, 926 Airborne Division in the U.S. a brigade of the 8th Infantry Division in Hawaii, or the 8th Infantry Division in Europe. In addition, the Marine Corps battalions are available to theatre commanders. Backing up these forces are the Marine Divisional Artillery and Medium and Light Air Support Units, which can provide some measure of close support for the forces. In addition, the Marine Air Wing is the only Marine Air Wing which is currently available.

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The Marine Reserve's land-based ASW patrol squadrons are also being upgraded and provided with more capable aircraft. The ten F-2 squadrons are being re-equipped with serviceable, later model P-3, and in FY 1971, two new squadrons are being formed with more capable PS-3A aircraft released from the PS-3 reserve. These new squadrons will be equipped with F-8C aircraft, and the remaining unit will be deployed in the Reserve to replace P-2s.

Some improvements are also being made in naval reserve surface ships, which consist primarily of a large number of A-37 aircraft. With the new ASW aircraft, we will be able to deploy smaller, more capable aircraft, and the aircraft will be able to operate at sea more frequently and for a longer period of time. The regional command, which includes the surrounding areas, will be able to deploy a smaller, more capable aircraft, and the aircraft will be able to operate at sea more frequently and for a longer period of time. The regional command, which includes the surrounding areas, will be able to deploy a smaller, more capable aircraft, and the aircraft will be able to operate at sea more frequently and for a longer period of time.

Although the rapid deployment capabilities of U.S. forces are substantial, our goal is to maintain these capabilities and to maintain the future—by helping our allies to build their own military capabilities against localized aggression into self-reliant capabilities. As we proceed in this direction, we will also be considering modifications to our own forces, modifications which will enhance the readiness of our military forces, rather than a supplanting role.
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE
March 9, 1971

SECURITY ASSISTANCE

On a national basis, security assistance can be viewed from slightly different perspectives, depending on the area and type of assistance involved. Much regard to Western Europe and the Mediterranean area, our strong commitment to NATO requires that our security planning be closely integrated with overall NATO plans for future forces. In general, security assistance requirements are to help those less capable of bearing a larger share of the security burden, but do not have the development of recipient countries, who can supplement their role in NATO defense plans, as well as to provide an element of stability in the Western face of increased Soviet activity in the region.

As I noted in my report last year, foreign military sales provide a means to help more developed recipients, who can support financially a larger share of their own security burden, but do not have sufficient or modern material available in country. Thus, in the general European area, where national economies are generally stronger, most of our assistance takes the form of cash and credit sales. This situation does not exist in Asia, however, and in that area, grant aid still plays a general role.

In the Pacific and Asia, just as in Europe, our assistance programs must also be planned in concert with their own forces, but in a different sense. As we proceed with Vietnamization and implementing the Nixon Doctrine, we face a significant shift in military presence with stronger local capabilities, rather than just improving indigenous forces which complement our own retained forces.

Many people are not aware of the magnitude of U.S. military force reductions in the entire Asian area. In the past 2 years we have announced plans to withdraw and reduce authorized military strength in Asia by approximately $12 billion. Besides the troop redeployments from Vietnam, this figure includes reductions in Japan, Okinawa, Thailand, the Philippines, and Korea. U.S. military presence in this area is going down, not up. It is being replaced by improved capabilities of nations in this area, both through their own efforts and through the assistance which we are providing them.

In Vietnam, as I noted earlier when discussing Vietnamization, the RVNAF is picking up the burden which we had assumed during our buildup. Because we are actively engaged in the Vietnamization planning and operations are integrated, funding military assistance through the Defense Department would be more logical.

In Korea, where the Koreans are also assuming more responsibilities, we are proceeding at an accelerated pace to provide for their own military means for assistance. In this situation, we hope, with the cooperation of the Congress, to fund the Korean force modernization through the grant aid program over the next several years.

Limited fund availability in the past has prevented our allocating to Korea much more than the funds necessary for support of the operations and maintenance costs of its forces in being. Many have been reluctant to make an adequate investment in the replacement of obsolescent equipment, and this has impeded the development of maximum combat effectiveness.

The $150 million requested and provided in the foreign aid supplemental legislation last fall marks an important step toward effective implementation of the Nixon Doctrine in Korea. This will begin a tailored force modernization for South Korean armed forces. This modernization program, which was developed as a part of the plan, will strengthen the forces so that we may proceed with the planned reduction of U.S. forces in Korea. The defense posture essential to deter North Korean aggression.

Although the amounts involved for Korean Armed Forces modernization are admittedly substantial, they will be more than offset by the savings whose current planned reduction of U.S. forces. Total net savings—that is, U.S. withdrawal and decreased assistance—could amount to about $450 million over a five-year period. This is not only good economy but, even more important, it is in the direction of a key goal of the Nixon Doctrine—that of greater sharing of the defense burden with our security partners.

We would hope to structure our security assistance funding to contribute to regional security arrangements. While few countries by themselves can develop a self-defense capability against the full range of possible threats, several working in concert can prepare a unified front to deter aggression.

Although every country has a legitimate right to be prepared to defend itself, a careful balance must be struck between dollars spent for defense and dollars spent to improve economic conditions. Regional arrangements can and should be developed in defense planning to achieve maximum results. This may involve not only military sales but procurement, especially in costly and air and naval weapons systems.

As the President noted last month, the Japanese have announced plans for continuing qualitative improvements in wholesale for defense. To provide for substantially all of their conventional defense requirements.

Of course, such changes in the forces of our friends and allies cannot take place overnight, and just as is the case for the long leadtimes required to develop new defense weapons systems, so too the results will have to be achieved with a shifting of the burdens of security. As and as the President so emphatically pointed out in his Foreign Policy Report, the method is crucial. Developing additional capability does take time. In certain instances such as in Cambodia, where the need is urgent and the types of material required are obvious, we can provide a much quicker response.

Small arms and ammunition to equip friends who are involved in the conflict can be accomplished relatively quickly, but long-range programs to develop appropriate local capabilities require detailed planning and consultation, because much more than just the direct military aspects must be considered.

We are now in the process of planning by beginning to develop integrated country program-budgets.

In the longer run, we are hopeful that our friends and allies understand that the United States will live up to its commitments and continue to support them. Thus, as we proceed to implement the Nixon Doctrine, both timing and balance are critical concerns. We must maintain our strength as a complement to the growing regional strength of our friends and allies in Asia and use this strength if necessary to assist them in their efforts to provide for their own security until such time as they reach self-sufficiency.

U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHILE

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, we were now in a period of decision in our relations with Chile. The crucial impending decisions are going to be made by the Chilean Government, and they will leave a lasting impression on relations between our two nations.

Today, I want to direct the attention of the Senate to the question of Chile’s proposed confiscation of American copper mining and smelting operations.

When another nation makes such hostile moves against American firms, too many Americans complacently view the matter as strictly a problem for the affected companies. Even if the companies were the only American entities affected, that would still be no justification for the action by Chilean officials. If these firms are confiscated, the American taxpayers’ investment in the companies is confiscated.

Second, the reason American policy has invested tax revenues in the task of helping industrialize underdeveloped nations like Chile is that we believe it is both prudent and morally important for the United States to lend a helping hand to nations embarking on economic development.

Let me explain how these two factors are involved in the question of Chile’s proposed moves against American copper mining and smelting operations.

Since 1946 the U.S. Government has extended over $1.7 billion in aid to Chile. Of this amount, nearly $1 billion in loans is still outstanding. Moreover, the United States in recent years has also insured against expropriation and war risk over $350 million in private loans by American investors, just for copper expansion projects. Thousands of new jobs have been created in Chile by these and earlier American investments.

But now, the new Chilian government of President Salvador Allende proposes to confiscate all American copper company assets in Chile, along with several other American companies. The mines themselves are to be seized with no pretense of repayment. The alleged compensation for the American investments? Payment in 30 year Chilian bonds at 3 percent interest. But Chile currently has a 30 percent per year rate of inflation, and there is nothing to indicate that the policies of the Allende government will improve the situation. This means that the proposed justification for confiscation will be nugatory for mining, plants and all other facilities.

The U.S. taxpayers will lose along with the companies through such a violation of international due process. They will lose $350 million of insured loans, extended to expand copper production by American companies in Chile. There is also $2 billion in gold and copper held in the reserves of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, our Federal lending and insuring agency.

Thus the American taxpayers are going to stick with a bill of an added $300 million to pay for this planned violation by the Chilean government both of international law and of solemn contracts.

On February 22 the Washington Daily News published a thoughtful editorial on the problem of protecting foreign investments.
Mr. President, so that all Senators can ponder the important questions involved in Chile's proposals, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

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

**FOCUSING FOREIGN INVESTMENTS**

Most people, if they think at all about Chile's threat to confiscate U.S.-owned copper mines, tend to view the matter as between the government and rich companies and their stockholders.

Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., has performed a service by bringing that larger set of players to get tramped on in the process—those of American taxpayers.

Three copper companies—Chilean, Kennecot and Cerro—have about $700 million invested in Chilean mines, some of the largest and richest in the world. There is no question that they will be nationalized.

Mr. President, our State mourns the passing of this great man.

Several newspapers have paid tribute to Mr. Rivers, including articles which appeared in the Feb. 18 issue of the State. Columbia, S.C., the Columbia Record, Columbia, S.C., and the February 9 issue of the Spartanburg Herald, Spartanburg, S.C.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

*From The State, Columbia (S.C.)*, Feb. 8, 1971

**ARTHUR RIVERS DIES AT 72 IN COLUMBIA**

Arthur B. Rivers, former director of the South Carolina Department of Public Welfare, died Sunday in his home at 106 S. Saluda Ave. in Columbia. He was 72.

A native of Chesterfield County, Rivers became director of the department in 1942 and retired in 1970.

Rivers, who graduated from Wofford College in 1919, served as administrator of the Chesterfield County Emergency Relief Administration from 1923-35, going from there to the U. S. Treasury as assistant procurement officer until 1942.

A former member of the State House of Representatives, he was a member of the Chesterfield County Board of Education.

President Truman and Selective Service Director Gen. Lewis B. Hershey conferred the certificate of Merit and Selective Service Medal on Rivers in 1968, 2 years after his retirement, and also was included in the 1964 Who's Who in South Carolina.

Mr. Rivers, who was succeeded as welfare director by former Columbia pastor R. Archie Ellis, was conferred the honorary degree of L.H.D. by Wofford College in 1961.

Rivers was selected in 1964 for inclusion in the International Who's Who in the South and Southwest and also was included in "South Carolina Lives" in 1962.

He was a Mason and a member of the Columbia Lions Club.

Mr. Rivers served as administrator of the Chesterfield County Emergency Relief Administration, and as assistant procurement officer during the depression. He devoted much of his pre-war official career to the national body to assure private investment elsewhere in Latin America.

A similar body for foreign investment could "mitigate the present situation," Mr. Rivers wrote in a letter to the editor.

His honors were numerous. From President Truman, Mr. Rivers received the Certificate of Merit and the Selective Service Medal. In 1968, 2 years before his retirement, he received an award from the Social Welfare Association for his work in behalf of the handicapped.

He was elected on such a ticket that a pro-business crowd endorsed him, and was selected for "South Carolina Lives," in 1962.

In 1981, his alma mater, Wofford College, conferred upon him the honorary L.H.D. degree.

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**TRIBUTE TO ARTHUR B. RIVERS**

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, no man lives so well as he who lives for others.

The death of Arthur B. Rivers of Columbia, S.C., ended a life that had been dedicated to the welfare of the citizens of our State.

Mr. Rivers served for 28 years as director of the State Department of Public Welfare. He had already served as administrator of the Chesterfield County Emergency Relief Administration, and as assistant procurement officer during the depression. He had a long and outstanding career nearly half a century.

A graduate of Wofford College, Mr. Rivers served as a member of the State house of representatives and as mayor of Mount Croghan, S.C.

Mr. Rivers was a graduate of the International Who's Who, and was selected for "South Carolina Lives," in 1962.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

*From The Spartanburg Herald (S.C.)*, Feb. 9, 1971

**COLUMBUS—Funeral Services for Arthur B. Rivers**

Funeral services for Arthur B. Rivers will be held at 2 p.m. tomorrow in Washington Street United Methodist Church, conducted by the Rev. E. Warner. Burial will be in Greenlawn Memorial Park.

Pallbearers will be William E. Rivers, Cadet Harry Rivers, Dr. William R. Laney, Charles Rivers, Bruce Kewling and Wade S. Dunbar.

The family suggests that those who wish make memorials to the Arthur B. Rivers Scholarship Fund at Wofford College.

Dunbar Funeral Home, Gervais Street Chapel, is in charge.

*From the Spartanburg Herald (S.C.)*, Feb. 8, 1971

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Pallbearers will be William E. Rivers, Cadet Harry Rivers, Dr. William R. Laney, Charles Rivers, Bruce Kewling and Wade S. Dunbar.

The family suggests that those who wish the Columbia Record, Columbia, S.C., and the February 9 issue of the Spartanburg Herald, Spartanburg, S.C.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in

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A former member of the State House of Representatives, he also served as mayor of Mt. Croghan and as a member of the Chesterfield County Board of Education.
FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT CONTROL PROGRAM

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. President, recently a study has come to my attention which contributes significantly to the continuing debate on the effectiveness and validity of the foreign direct investment control program. This is the report of a subject commission for the past five years.

This analysis of a strategy for the U.S. balance-of-payments policy has been prepared by Gottfried Haberler, the Galen Stone professor of international trade at the University of Pennsylvania and Thomas D. Willett, associate professor of Economics at Cornell University. I recommend the study to the attention of my colleagues as I believe that it raises several significant questions which merit consideration and review by the Members of this body.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire study be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the study was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

FOOTNOTES AT END OF ARTICLE.
important, we believe, are changes in the outlook and attitudes of policymakers, both in the United States and abroad, that have taken place in recent years. To put it bluntly, it is now fairly generally realized that in a sense the world's monetary system has come to be called, is inherently unstable, many claim. The growing discrepancy between the gold standard and the de facto inconvertibility of the dollar is said, will inevitably undermine confidence and lead to a crisis. Jacques Rueff and Robert Triffin, agree on the instability of the present system. Their prescriptions for remedy are, of course, different: Rueff wants to go back to the gold standard; Triffin wants to go forward by making the IMF a real world central bank, with broad moneymaking power.

For some time the international monetary system appeared indeed to be moving in the direction of a world central bank. "It has come to be called, is inherently unstable, many claim. The growing discrepancy between the gold standard and the de facto inconvertibility of the dollar is said, will inevitably undermine confidence and lead to a crisis. Jacques Rueff and Robert Triffin, agree on the instability of the present system. Their prescriptions for remedy are, of course, different: Rueff wants to go back to the gold standard; Triffin wants to go forward by making the IMF a real world central bank, with broad moneymaking power."

For some time the international monetary system appeared indeed to be moving in the direction of a world central bank. But in 1968, the system evidently has gained in stability. The official balance-of-payments statistics compiled by the Department of Commerce presents two alternative measures of the foreign official holdings of convertible currencies and the "official transactions" or "official settlement" concept. The liquidity concept is defined as "changes in liquid liabilities to foreign official holders, other foreign holders, and changes in official reserve assets consisting of gold, Special Drawing Rights, convertible currencies, and the U.S. gold tranche position in the IMF." The official settlement concept is defined as "changes in liquid and nonliquid liabilities to foreign official holders and changes in official reserve assets consisting of gold, Special Drawing Rights, convertible currencies, and the U.S. gold tranche position in the IMF." The official settlement definition was proposed in 1968 by a committee under the chairmanship of E. M. Bern­

In recent years the U.S. too has engaged in foreign exchange transactions and holds a fraction of its international reserves in the form of "convertible currencies" ($2.8 billion compared with a gold stock of $11.5 billion as of October 1970). The latter is often called the "basic balance" and was used by the Department of Commerce until it was replaced by the liquidity definition. The official settlement definition is that the liquidity concept takes into account the change in U.S. liquid liabilities to all foreigners, whereas foreign official holdings, foreign official transactions or official settlement concept considers only changes in U.S. liquid liabilities to foreign official agencies.

In its recently published annual report for 1970, the Council of Economic Advisers adds two additional measures for gauging the po­sition of the balance of payments: the "Balance on Current Accounts" and the "Balance on Current and Long-Term Capital Accounts." The latter is often called the "basic balance" and was used by the Department of Commerce until it was replaced by the liquidity definition. The official settlement definition is that the liquidity concept takes into account the change in U.S. liquid liabilities to all foreigners, whereas foreign official holdings, foreign official transactions or official settlement concept considers only changes in U.S. liquid liabilities to foreign official agencies.

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Reserve Currency System," Western Economic Journal, March 1970. They show that the system never was so unstable as the pessimists say.

The concept of Stability and Instability in the Monetary Field," remarks made on May 18, 1970 at the Monetary Conference of the American Bankers Association, Hot Springs, Virginia (mimeographed).

A STRATEGY FOR U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS POLICY, AMERICAN OPTIONS AND FOREIGN RESPONSE

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

We distinguish between (a) policies and measures designed to provide means for the financing of deficits and surpluses (dis-equilibria). The former pertain to the liquidity problem, the latter to the adjustment problem. To the former group belong, on the national and bilateral level, the holding of uncanceled dollars by foreign central banks as international reserves, the swap agreements with foreign central banks, the placing of "Roosa bonds" and bilateral standby credits with foreign central banks.

The task of the adjustment is, on the international level, the creation of SDRs and, earlier, the GAB (General Agreement to Borrow) between the central banks of the group of eight.

It is now generally recognized that the adjustment problem is more fundamental and more complex. It is agreed that for all countries, the liquidation of current account deficits, if very slow or not at all, the need for liquidity would become unmanageable large.

If the world were formally and irrevocably on the gold standard, there would be no liquidity problem for the U.S. Any need for liquidity that might arise would be automatically financed via the accumulation of dollar balances in foreign central banks. If other countries were prepared routinely to accumulate dollar balances without limit.

In that case the U.S. would not have an adjustment problem either, because any deficit would be automatically financed.

Clearly, however, the amount of dollars that foreign central banks will be prepared to add to their reserves, the limit has, and can be reached only around the corner. That is why we could say (chapter 1) that the world is on the dollar standard and the U.S. has no acute or imminent liquidity problem. The problem has considerable leeway, but a limit exists somewhere ahead.

Therefore, the adjustment of the balance of payments is a matter of great concern also for the U.S.

Balance-of-payments adjustment policies can be classified in three groups: (1) international monetary and fiscal policies, which are often called "demand management"; (2) exchange rate changes, including par value changes under IMF procedures and the various types of policies with and through the pricing of gold and dollar; (3) the method of "controls." Controls is a portmanteau expression covering a great variety of specific or system of measures designed to influence particular segments or individual items in the balance of payments. Controls can be mild or severe; they can apply to capital movements or current transactions; they range from full-fledged exchange controls to imposition of more or less uniform border taxes on imports plus similar tax refunds on exports, a system which is close to being equivalent to a change in the exchange rate. Other types of controls are tying of foreign aid, "buy American" policies, such as procurement, and similar measures.

Footnotes at end of article.

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Balance-of-payments adjustment through internal financial management (expansionist or inflationary, conservative or deflationist monetary and fiscal policies) and through exchange rate changes, or any other can be characterized as general types of policies working with and through the pricing of gold and dollar; and the policy of "controls," consists of a wide variety of specific or system of measures to influence particular segments of the balance of payments.

The smoother and quicker the adjustment, the less international liquidity is needed. If the adjustment were free, it would be automatic. The smoother and quicker the adjustment, the less international liquidity is needed. We take it for granted that controls are made.

One type of controls is designed to influence particular segments or individual items in the balance of payments. For instance we could argue that it is time to relax the anti-inflation policies. We shall show that, in reality, the special position of the dollar and the impossibility of depreciating the dollar need not constitute a handicap and does not require any special measures. We can also show that the volume of unemployment is not due to the special position of the dollar, but to the fact that the U.S. is on the dollar standard and the system never was so unstable as the pessimists say.

The concept of Stability and Instability in the Monetary Field," remarks made on May 18, 1970 at the Monetary Conference of the American Bankers Association, Hot Springs, Virginia (mimeographed).

For the present time, clearly there exists no basis for a conflict between domestic and external policy objectives. Indeed, any internal deflation policy would be unmanageable large, as is now generally recognized that the adjustment problem is more fundamental and more complex.

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Footnotes at end of article.
options. And, as we show below, all the options bring about national rational behavior on their part, should be acceptable to the United States.

options for foreign surplus countries

Foreign surplus countries can choose any one, or any combination, of four possible responses: (1) they can finance the American deficit by accumulating more dollars, or (2) they can appreciate their currencies (or let them float as Canada did again last May), or (3) they can pursue a more expansionary internal policy which would increase their surpluses and the U.S. deficit; or (4) they can reduce import tariffs or other import restrictions or export subsidies, if they have them. Let us give an example of an option (4): In November 1968, instead of appreciating the DM, Germany reduced border taxes on imports and tax refunds (subsidies) on exports by four percentage points. This constituted an implicit appreciation of the DM. Later, in October 1969, when the DM was explicitly appreciated by 9.4 percent, the border tax and export subsidy were raised again by the same amounts. Thus the effective appreciation of the DM (as of October 1969) was sub-tantially less than 9.4 percent. But compared with the border tax adjustment of November 1968, the appreciation of the DM was, of course, 9.4 percent.

We see how these four responses on the part of foreign surplus countries should be perfectly acceptable from the American standpoint as measures to reduce the surplus countries which tends to reduce their surpluses and the American deficit would be better than no change. But the surplus countries, which are the main suppliers of trade barriers, an appreciation of the surplus country's currency (although it constitutes a depreciation of the dollar in terms of the surplus country's currency), or an increase in monetary expansion (inflation) in the surplus country. From the American as well as from the world standpoint, a reduction of trade barriers would be the best response; but for obvious reasons one cannot hope that this approach will be widely adopted.

We argue that the surplus countries' first option, further accumulation of dollar balances, is also acceptable from the American standpoint as a measure to reduce the surplus countries' deficits and fiscal policies are guided solely by internal policy objectives—in other words provided that they do not increase unemployment and slack than may be needed to curb inflation. The opinion is, however, widely held and not without reason, that policies of surplus countries to foreigners may be dangerous and damaging for two reasons.

The first is that it may endanger the U.S. liquidity position. What would happen if, for any reason, there developed a run on the dollar and dollars were thrown on the market? The answer is simple and has already been given: Private individuals cannot convert dollars into gold. They can only sell their foreign central banks which are, under present arrangements, residual holders of dollars. Since the dollar is de facto convertible into gold only for central banks, one could get hold of gold dollars only by pursuing an expansionary monetary policy or by accepting an open or disguised devaluation or currency crisis. So we come back to the other three options, which clearly are accessible for the U.S.

The second reason why an indefinite financing of a deficit by accumulation of dollar balances is said to be unacceptable can be formulated as follows: A balance-of-payments deficit for current account purposes were kept at $1.5 billion in 1970. That is a "modest" deficit in terms of the world balance of payments. But if it were to persist, it might well bring the U.S. into a critical balance-of-payments situation. The U.S. has to wait until the surplus countries act in any of these ways mentioned. Until they do—or if they do not—the U.S. suffers slack and unemployment. Therefore, the U.S. should impose import restrictions on the surplus countries' exports in one form or another.

There would be some validity to this argument. If the surplus countries' economic and fiscal policy were not guided solely by domestic policy objectives—in other words, if the U.S. needed more domestic investment and employment and slack than might be needed to curb inflation, namely, the unemployment created by the deficit—then the increase in imports implied by the deficit. This formulation makes it clear that the argument does not hold, if internal (monetary and fiscal policy) and external policy can be so geared to domestic policy objectives. Our analysis will perhaps be criticized on the ground that it is unreasonable to assume that monetary and fiscal policy can be so finely tuned that it turns out every dip in aggregate demand which is in excess of what must be tolerated to satisfy domestic policy objectives.

It is, of course, quite true that there are a hundred reasons—balance-of-payments adjustments being one of them—why there will continue to be changes in GNP, up or down, which result in deviations from the actual level of unemployment from the target level, whatever the latter may be. But let us keep a clear head and realize that a change in demand that can be attributed to balance-of-payments changes is, in reality, quite small compared to the changes due to annual changes in GNP, up or down, which occur as a result of the hundred other causes. Surely there were a "gradual liquidation of American industrial potential" (to quote Professor Gottlieb) monetary and fiscal policy would follow.

To summarize the results of our analysis in this section, surplus countries have four options: They can go on accumulating dollar balances, they can pursue an expansionary monetary policy, they can appreciate their currency or let it float, or they can reduce trade barriers. All of these options are acceptable from the American standpoint, including the first. A possible fifth option—namely, controls—is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Reactions of foreign surplus countries

Spokesmen for foreign surplus countries, both official and private, do not always take a similar view. On the contrary, they argue that controls would make things worse; for example, the controls would make it more difficult for the dollar to deprecate in terms of gold or by appreciation in terms of gold or by appreciation in terms of gold of two or three currencies of surplus countries. But given the DM, the dollar, and the Russian ruble, the liquidity of the world, the foremost private transactions and investment currency, that is, the dollar, would be sustained, either by controls (discriminating against the Communist countries) as the unit of account in innumerable private and official transactions, contracts, and financial and commodity arrangements—given this fact, from the world standpoint, it would be easier and less disruptive, economically, politically, and psychologically, to appreciate two or three surplus currencies than to deprecate the dollar along with its vast network of trade links.

There is still another reason why a devaluation of the dollar in terms of gold would create a general inflation in terms of commodities and not in the price of gold. A change in the gold price by a few percent would surely give great encouragement to gold speculators, without any real contribution of the dollar to the liquidity problem. It will be observed that the reason why the gold value of the dollar need not be added to that of any other currency irrespective of the fact, from the world standpoint, it would be easier and less disruptive, economically, politically, and psychologically, to appreciate two or three surplus currencies than to deprecate the dollar along with its vast network of trade links.

Irrespective of what spokesman for the surplus countries say and how unhappy they may be or pretend to be, it is difficult to see what else they could do but adopt one, or a combination of some, of the four responses mentioned above—that is, accumulate dollars, appreciate their currency, or reduce trade barriers. It is sometimes suggested that they have still another, fifth option—namely, control. The history would make it likely that the controls are likely to do just that. But if the word "controls" is used in its usual meaning of import restrictions, this reaction would make matters worse. While the controls would make borders worse; it would increase still more the foreign countries' surpluses in dollars, and the only way the controls would have to be, negative, so to speak, restraining exports and stimulating imports. Countries usually do not like that kind of control. At any rate, that kind of control would amount to a messy, inefficient, and wasteful substitute for the appreciation of the surplus countries' currencies and would constitute a violation of the letter and the spirit of the IMF charter.

A type of control that the IMF charter permits is restrictions of capital movements. For example, surplus countries could forbid capital outflows and impose controls on capital inflows in their territories. We believe that it would not be in their well-considered interest to restrict American direct investment, at any rate, not on political grounds. But it is obviously up to them to make that decision. It has been suggested that surplus countries could make a case for demanding that the dollar be depreciated in one form or another. It would be possible to argue that cost of scores of other currencies be appreciated.

Obviously, however, this is not the situa-
were traded in an uncontrolled (or mildly controlled) market at a discount. After the war, which made all transactions at an extremely low level, this system could be tolerated for a while despite its inefficiencies, with a enormous volume of transactions on current and capital account and mass travel in all directions, it would require a formidable bureaucracy to act effectively to inflate the rate current from capital transactions, not prevent capital transactions from masquerading as trade, or at very close to full-fledged exchange control, not prevent capital transactions from masquerading as trade, or at any rate, no partial devaluation of the dollar and partial appreciation of the foreign currency in question.\(^4\)

Although as in the U.S. in the last few years has created unease and concern about the future of the dollar among the large foreign dollar holders confidence in the dollar is substantially unimpaired. Unless inflation goes on unchecked or accelerates, confidence in the dollar will be preserved. But it may be useful to consider briefly what would happen, if a serious confidence crisis and a "run on the dollar" should happen.

First, private dollar holders abroad could get rid of their dollar holdings only by selling dollars directly or indirectly to foreign central banks at the price of conversion into gold, foreign central banks could reduce their dollar balances by raising the par value of the foreign currency or by letting it float, or in a disguised form, by introducing "negative controls" among these alternatives, the most attractive from the point of view of foreign dollar holders. But there is no other way out.\(^5\)

**SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS**

We have argued that American balance-of-payments policy should be "passive." An "active" balance-of-payments policy would use either measures of control (in the broad sense defined earlier) or changes in the exchange value of the dollar. The first of these approaches is inefficient, wasteful, and undesirable, and likely to lead to international arrangements which make the dollar the world's reserve and intervention currency, unavailable to the U.S. We have pointed out that the dollar is "passively" better off if the balance of payments is on a handicap for U.S. general economic management-US. foreign trade, financial, and other policies are exclusively guided by internal policy objectives (high level of employment, growth, price stability, or whatever they are). A passive attitude towards the balance of payments can be described as a "passive neglect." It should be observed, however, that neglect of the balance of payments does not imply neglect of either the interests of the U.S. or of those of our trading partners. Nor does it imply lack of interest in the organization and functioning of the international monetary system. To be more specific, under present arrangements and policies, the U.S. cannot unilaterally change the exchange value of the dollar. U.S. interest rates and changes in the decisions of our trading partners who choose to "revalue" ('Appreciate') their currencies or to "devalue" ('Devalue') their currencies. I cannot watch the gradual liquidation of American industrial potential on the vain hope that foreign monetary officials will trust us in our needs and capacities and will establish exchange rates that would permit competitive terms of trade. Rather than that, I go for the "quota" bit, with all of its imperfections."

\(^4\) Other countries would still have a liquidity problem unless the U.S. reciprocated and accepted foreign balances as part of its international reserve. U.S. officials have indicated that they would not regard any changes in the dollar as "temporary," at least to some extent, in case the U.S. should run a persistent surplus.

\(^5\) To discuss the controversial question of whether the adoption of an incomes policy would do any good. If it were possible by means of an incomes policy to defuse the inflationary situation marginally—more than that is not expected, even by the policy's supporters—the efficiency of payments too would be only marginal.

\(^6\) How much unemployment constitutes a reasonable sacrifice is a question. There should be traded for how much unemployment, if there is such a trade-off, is a question of which views may differ, both inside the U.S. and between the U.S. and foreign countries.

\(^7\) It is not unimportant to observe that three or four years ago this situation was well understood only by a few.

\(^8\) Admittedly, many countries complain that they have to "import inflation" from the U.S. But when the chips are down, the foreign critics are extremely reluctant to accept this as an official complaint, that is, to let their currency appreciate. There have been only three cases of currency appreciation in the whole postwar period. It is desirable, though it too can be regarded as a currency appreciation in disguise.

\(^9\) Several countries, such as Germany and Switzerland, have tried tax measures and the prohibition of interest payments on bank deposits of foreigners to reduce short-term capital inflows without much success in the longer run.

\(^10\) An objection to our argument might be that the government would add to their dollar holdings without trying to reduce their balances. But that does not change the situation. "Revaluation" means that the foreign currency of the dollar holders abroad would accumulate faster. But that does not change the situation. "Revaluation" means that the foreign currency of the dollar holders abroad would accumulate faster. More on this later.

\(^11\) To control the "effect" of the outcome of a change in the gold value of the dollar would be different if it were the result of international negotiations rather than of a surprise decision by the foreign government. In the former case, it might be said, more countries would be willing not to follow the American example and accept an appreciation of their currency.

\(^12\) This may be so, but it is extremely doubtful that the outcome of exchange rate appreciations is feasible. Negotiations could not be kept entirely secret, and thus give rise to very disturbing speculation.

\(^13\) Arguments like this abound in the popular press. But they are difficult to distinguish from the threat of the foreign critics are extremely reluctant to accept this as an official complaint, that is, to let their currency appreciate. There have been only three cases of currency appreciation in the whole postwar period. It is desirable, though it too can be regarded as a currency appreciation in disguise.

\(^14\) We quote: "Many economists... would agree that present exchange rates significantly overvalue the dollar, especially when allowance is made for American capital outflow and governmental transfers. The term remedy for an overvalued exchange rate is expropriate adjustment ('Devaluation') and not import restrictions. Under present institutional arrangements, our exchange rate is determined by decisions of our trading partners who choose to 'revalue' ('Appreciate') their currencies or to 'devalue' ('Devalue') their currencies. We cannot watch the gradual liquidation of American industrial potential on the vain hope that foreign monetary officials will trust us in our needs and capacities and will establish exchange rates that would permit competitive terms of trade. Rather, than that, I go for the 'quota' bit, with all of its imperfections."

\(^15\) It has been suggested that the first reaction of the surplus countries would be to block further allocations of SDRs, and French officials who were reluctant to go along with the SDR creation in the first place have already voiced their opposition to having the U.S. deficit large. This may be a disappointment for other countries. However, for the U.S. the main problem with the position of the dollar is correct, it would simply mean that official dollar balances abroad would accumulate faster. It is in no way objectionable to be available to the surplus countries—accumulate dollars, inflate, appreciate, or reduce trade barriers.

**A STRATEGY FOR U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS POLICY—REFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM**

**CREATION OF SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS**

For some time, an international monetary re-
ful side effect in discouraging gold speculation by greatly reducing the speculators' estimates of the possibility of an increase in the official gold price.

But the scheme also has its dangers and drawbacks. Our major quarrel, however, concerns the size of their creation. Years of intensive international investigation and negotiation, employing a lot of the skills of high-powered experts and negotiators, went into working towards the solution of the liquidity problem and so the proposals were of roughy equal importance and could be successfully solved one at a time.

The liquidity problem was chosen first, perhaps, largely because of the chances of reaching international agreement in that area looked most promising. To be sure, the connection between the three problems of confidence, liquidity, and adjustment, while very useful for analyzing the working of the international monetary system, has misled policymakers into thinking that the three problems were of roughly equal importance and could be successfully solved one at a time.

A very important consequence of the present system of fixed exchange rates with the dollar as its anchor is that the rate of inflation in all countries that peg their currency to the dollar is approximately the same. Any country that keeps its currency fully convertible into dollars, in the long run, will be forced to have approximately the same degree of inflation as the dollar. The problem is not quite so negative, however. This proposition is not generally understood and, if expressed bluntly, will be rejected by many. It is nevertheless a fairly obvious consequence of well-known facts, requiring only a few qualifications which detract little from its importance.

Let us explain what it means and what it does not mean. Any country is, of course, free to inflate more than the U.S. In fact, many have, and any country inflating more than the U.S. will be forced to devalue its currency. There are three qualifications: First, by accumulating and "sterilizing" dollar balances, a country can slightly postpone or slow down the required price adjustment. But, like any policy against the grain of economic equilibrium, it is a costly struggle and likely to be progressively hampered by speculation when the price relationship is right.

Up to a point a country can use controls (import restrictions, export subsidies, etc.) to avoid devaluation. But, as will be shown, the use of such controls is in disguise, and a wasteful and inefficient disguise at that. The greater the price discrepancy from the dollar, the more stringent the required controls. Experience has shown a hundred times that the wastes and inefficiencies soon become intolerable, so that open devaluation has to be substituted for the disguise.

The third qualification is that if the degree of inflation in a country is measured by the GNP deflator, such as the GNP deflator, then need not be perfectly correlated with the inflation index in disguise. To the extent that the GNP deflator is composed of prices and that the economic system is controlled, the inflation index in disguise may be separate and distinct from the dollar. As mentioned earlier, however, it is sometimes happens that a country may control to a large extent its inflation index in disguise, and a wasteful and inefficient disguise at that. The greater the price discrepancy, the more stringent the required controls. Experience has shown a hundred times that the wastes and inefficiencies soon become intolerable, so that open devaluation has to be substituted for the disguise.

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If foreign countries do not like U.S. direct investment, although it serves to close any “seignorage” gap that may arise, the U.S. can restrict such investment without difficulty. In most countries foreign investment and takeovers are subject to government approval. Indeed, in almost all of them, negative controls unilaterally, both of which amount to a disguised appreciation of the currency). In the very short run they may avoid, or rather postpone, going along with U.S. inflation by accumulating dollars. What else could they do? In the past they could signal their displeasure by converting dollars into gold. Except for small amounts this is now de facto barred. Some proponents of inflationary monetary policy have suggested that a country’s reserve in the European currency. But these speculations and worries are misleading. If a common European currency comes into being it will be easier for countries to change value, and because in the long run the dollar will float, the U.S. interest in exchange flexibility is indirect and derives from the fact that greater flexibility is of great advantage to our trading partners and for the international financial world. U.S. interest in exchange flexibility is indirect and derived but real nonetheless.

To put the detail the whole problem of fixed vs. flexible exchange rates in the abstract. The practical problem is the development of a part value system of fixed exchange rates subject to occasional adjustments, as set up by the Smithsonian Agreement of 1973, replaced by a system of general flexibility under which every currency in the world would fluctuate freely in terms of every other. No such radical change is feasible, nor is it necessary to achieve a better working of the adjustment mechanism. The elements of a much more modest, although in our opinion potentially quite effective, reform may be sketched as follows: Every country that feels aggrieved because the present system, based on the dollar imposes on it too much inflation or the opposite should be allowed to let its currency float. An alliance of permissible deviations of the exchange rate from the par value or to adopt a crawling peg. Persistent deficit countries should be encouraged to liberalize or to reduce their rate flexibility, rather than dissuaded from doing so. The problem of persistent surplus countries is easier. From their point of view no more is needed than to make it clear to them what their options are—accumulation of reserves, monetary expansion, appreciation or floating of the currency, or reduction of trade barriers. There can hardly be a doubt that these are, the only realistic choices and that any one of them, or any combination thereof, should be acceptable to the U.S. and other countries.

Some people may ask—are countries not more or less free now to react in any of the ways described? Unfortunately this is not the case. They can inflate or liberalize trade, but the sticking point is exchange flexibility. It is true that as far as inflationary less developed countries are concerned, the IMF does not object to exchange rate flexibility. It probably encourages countries such as Brazil, Mexico, or Chile to change in exchange rates. In recent years, some of them—Brazil, Chile, and others—have developed a currency that may be described as the system of “the crawling peg.” Under this arrangement, the currency is depreciated at short intervals by small steps. For example, the cruzeiro is reduced by something between 1.8 percent and 1.3 percent every four to five weeks. The floating peg has been a great improvement over the earlier system of the stable peg under which these countries waited six months or longer and then devalued with a bang by a large amount.

The reason why the International Monetary Fund has acquired a reputation as the “heavy hand” of the IMF is, no doubt, that under rapid inflation the adjustable peg system, let alone fixed exchange rates, soon lead to intolerable consequences.

In the case of the industrial countries where the disadvantages of the present system are even more serious, the problem is that the IMF has been much less tolerant. This was clearly revealed in the case of Canada in 1957 when Canada permitted a large change in exchange rate. The move has not hurt anybody and was a great help to Canada’s international position and economic performance (1962). Nevertheless, Canada was sternly rebuked for abandoning the adjustable peg and is under constant pressure to return.

The above mentioned IMF report on the Role of Exchange Rates in the Adjustment of Payments evidently reflects the thinking of the fund’s executive directors at
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the present time. The report offers a subtle, closely reasoned and well documented analy-
sis of all aspects of exchange rate changes. It is
likely to be the starting point of the debate.
No one can expect from a first-rate staff and a presti-
gious board of directors. But as a policy state-
ment, which is supposed to show the way, if
to the present time, then it has at least
tried to answer some of the new solutions of old problems which have not
responded well to traditional treatment, the
report has a highly academic flavor.
One tends to agree with the conclusion of a
thoughtful and penetrating analysis14 that the
report usually has a somewhat surprising, in view of the
type of the existing par value system and of
the adjustable peg, although it freely admits that
damage is often done because countries un-
duly delay exchange rate adjustments beyond the
time when it should be clear that a funda-
mental disequilibrium exists.

The report rejects outright three pro-
posals for greater flexibility: a system of freely floating exchange rates, or a consid-
terably widening of the band for permissible ex-
change rate fluctuations, and the various suggestions for a managed floating sys-
tem. It favors, instead, the widening of the margin of permissible fluc-
tuations. As George Halm points out, it is
something short of an increase in the elasticities of any crawling peg, that the report
seriously considers the seemingly more rad-
cial suggestion that "the Articles of Agree-
ment might be amended to allow members to
make changes in their parties without the con-
currence of the Fund as long as such changes
are within the bounds suggested by the
theorists of the past."

The main thrust of the report is that the par
value system may well work quite satisfac-
torily if countries could be persuaded to
make more frequent and prompt use of the
 provision of the original charter to change their exchange rate in case of "fundamental disequilibrium." But the report does not
give much guidance and help to the gov-
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compatible pegs" (or threshold zones) somewhere on the scale
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and have to be continuously tightened. "Improve" concerning the terms of improving the balance of payments. A tendency to spring leaks as time goes on must be considerable doubt about the outcomes that arise when confidence in a country is equal to or a little higher than the actual rise in the cost of living in a given country. It could be a case of induced inflation but one of spontaneous inflation. It is not need be determined in reference to the possibility of forecastable speculation by high interest rates. For example, in Brazil it does not pay to speculate on an expected change in the exchange rate (precise data unknown) of 1 percent or 1.5 percent with interest rates running up to 40 percent.

Footnotes

1 The "confidence problem" (i.e., the problem that arises when confidence in a currency is lost and a run on the currency develops) is of decisive importance in the future. Any such crisis has to be dealt with on an ad hoc basis. But experience has shown that the close cooperation between the monetary authorities of the major countries and that has deepened in the postwar period is capable of handling confidence crises even when they involve major currencies.

2 Article XXIV, Section 1 (b).

3 The Case Against the Link, Quarterly Review, Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, Rome, March 1971.


5 It is not necessary here to go into the reasons for these deviations.

6 It should be observed that the mere fact that the actual rise in the cost of living in a given country is equal to or a little higher than the U.S. does not prove by itself that the country in question spontaneously matches or surpasses the U.S. rate of inflation. It could be a case of induced inflation.

However, if prices in a country rise persistently and much faster than in the U.S., one gets the strong suspicion that it is not a case of induced inflation but one of spontaneous inflation. If a country is forced from time to time to deviate against the dollar or to maintain controls, the suspicion is confirmed beyond doubt.

Even if the gold policy were changed, if other countries asked for conversion into gold of large parts of their dollar holdings and the U.S. were prepared to accede to that request without roll, it would not relieve other countries from the necessity to follow the U.S. inflation, so long as they maintained full convertibility of their dollar into other currencies and a fixed exchange rate.

It is now better understood than it was a few years ago that monetary integration and the creation of a common currency presuppose far-reaching harmonization and coordination of not only monetary but also fiscal, wage, and incomes policies. The EEC countries are still far from that stage. See Gottfried Haberler, The International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C., 1970.


The balance-of-payments disequilibrium need not be a case of induced inflation but one of spontaneous inflation. It could be a case of induced inflation but one of spontaneous inflation.

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The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore, Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

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This teaches a lesson which is applicable also to the industrial countries: If speculative capital flows are no problem in the case of the U.S., it is because the U.S. would not be compelled under the more favorable conditions of the crawling peg or freely floating rates.


I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be printed in the RECORD. There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION No. 13

"WHEREAS, 19,094 citizens of West Virginia are presently serving in the armed forces; and,

"WHEREAS, The citizens of this state have expressed concern for the prisoners of war and their families; and

"WHEREAS, Overwhelming approval was given by the next-of-kin of the prisoners of war for the attempted rescue at Son Tay Prison near Hanoi; and

"WHEREAS, Further support should be given to our fighting men, especially those held captive by North Vietnam; therefore,

Resolved, That the clerk is here­by directed to forward copies of this reso­lution to the President of the United States, the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, and each member of the West Virginia congressional delegation."

ORDER PROVIDING FOR THE TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. Presi­dent, I ask unanimous consent that to­morrow, immediately following the re­marks by the able Senator from Indiana (Mr. Hartke), there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with statements therein limited to 3 minutes, the period not to extend beyond 12 o'clock noon.

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

APPOINTMENT BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Bellmon). The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with Pub­lic Law 85-874, appoints the Senator from California (Mr. Tunney) to the Na­tional Cultural Center Board.

QUORUM CALL

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. Presi­dent, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerkwill call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. Presi­dent, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be re­ceived.

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

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. Presi­dent, if there is no further morning busi­ness, I ask that morning business again be closed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morn­ing business is concluded.

EXTENSION OF RIGHT TO VOTE

The Senate continued with the con­sideration of the joint resolution—Sen­ate Joint Resolution 7—proposing an amendment to the Constitu­tion of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. Presi­dent, what is the pending question be­fore the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Bellmon). The question is on agreeing to the amendments—No. 11—offered by the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Ken­ney) to Senate Joint Resolution 7.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I thank the Chair.

SECRETARY OF STATE ALLEN J. BEEMANN has indicated that 8000 polling places, registration forms, poll books, and ab­stracts" would have to be maintained for the two types of elections. Across the Nation this requirement might add between $50 million and $75 million to the cost of holding elections. States would be hard pressed to find these additional funds at a time when budgets are especially tight. Secretary of State Beermann also believes that it would be necessary "to efficiently separate the younger voters and to include them upon their reaching the State's voting age, 20," which is the present age in my State. Another problem might arise in that there would be a different number of votes cast for President and for Governor, respectively.

It is most important that we submit this proposed amendment to the States for ratification promptly. For this amendment to be effective in 1972, 38 State legislatures must give their approval. But time is slipping away for this approval to be achieved during the current legislative session. Nearly 20 will not meet next year unless brought into special session. Thus, time is of the es­sence.

This Senator has been in favor of permitting our young people to participate in the electoral process for a number of years. It has been his position, however, that that decision should be made by the States themselves in their own way. One way is by enacting amendments to their own State constitutions, if that is necessary, or by adopting necessary legislation to that effect. The second way in which it could be done so that the States would resolve that issue and make the decision would be the method that is submitted in Senate Joint
Resolution 7, which would propose an amendment to the Federal Constitution. In one or the other of these ways, the State would then make the decision.

Just last November, the voters of my State of Nebraska voted to lower the voting age from 21 to 20. I favored that constitutional amendment and I voted for it. In 1968 a proposal to lower the voting age to 19 was on Nebraska ballots. I favored that idea and voted for it, although I felt that the proposal would not do. I did so in the belief that the youth of this Nation are intelligent enough to make a significant contribution to this country through the ballot box.

One of the arguments used, of course, is that if they are old enough to fight, they are old enough to vote. I do not know that that has any particular applicability here. A much more solid, substantial, and logical basis would be that they have the intelligence and the knowledge necessary to cast their ballots and do it well—those of them who will do so. It was forecast by many of the witnesses that very likely the total number of 18 to 21 years of age citizens voting would be increased 25 percent. In part, with due time I would have every confidence that they would respond in bigger numbers. It is therefore a great pleasure for me to support the proposed national amendment and the approval of this body, and ask that the various State legislatures ratify it as promptly as possible.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I take just a moment to compliment the able Senator from Nebraska on the statement he has just made. I have joined with him in the past, I think, in taking the position that this matter should be effectuated by way of constitutional amendment rather than by a Federal statute.

Last year, I voted for the amendment lowering the age to 18. I voted for it as an expression of personal support for the idea. But I voted against the act itself on the floor of the Senate because I believe that the setting of qualifications of voters is a matter which has been left to the States under the Federal Constitution. Article 1, section 2; article II, section 1; and the 17th amendment to the Federal Constitution all make it indubitably clear, in my judgment, that the prerogative of determining the qualifications of voters is a prerogative that is left to the respective States.

It is for that reason—believing as I did that this is a matter which the Federal Government could not legislate and that the States are best determined under the Constitution—that I voted against the act. But I say again, I voted for the amendment as an expression of my position and as more or less a statement of principle. I am not the subject of lowering the voting age. I join the Senator today in expressing support, if he will allow me, for this proposal which is better than the one that I voted to defeat. I feel that this amendment is the proper way to go about the whole matter.

We will be providing the people of the United States with an opportunity to vote on constitutional amendments to lower to 18 the age for voters in State and local elections.

I compliment the Senator.

Mayor FANNIN. Of course, the bulk of the required majority approved in both bodies is the other way of going about it. There is, needless to say, but I shall say it, the fact that we would have been faced last year with a vote of caution to heart and proceeded a lot more providently and a little more deliberately and arrived at that time the resolution we have before us today. By that time, I have an idea that most legislatures that wanted to favor this would have acted. This is March and most legislatures meet in January, but that is water over the dam. We should pay attention to what is before us, rather than commiserate about what could or could not have happened by the adoption of another course of action.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I feel that the Senator from Nebraska, because from West Virginia have put this matter in its proper perspective. When the question of lowering the voting age came before the Senate last year, I took the same position as did the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from Virginia, that the question of the voting age was a matter to be determined by the citizens of the several States. Ever since we have had a Union, each State has had the right to make its own decision as to what age would entitle its citizens to vote. As we all know, four States have lowered the voting age—two to 18, one to 20, and one to 19. In the last election, other States lowered the voting age. I think that is the appropriate procedure. I was very much opposed to the procedure taken by the Senate and Congress in attempting to lower the voting age by statute.

As a result of that, as the distinguished Senator from Arizona for his contribution.

GOVERNOR REAGAN SPEAKS ON WELFARE REFORM

Governor FANNIN, Mr. President, on March 3, Governor Ronald Reagan delivered an extensive message to the California Legislature. The message contained a sweeping 70-point reform for the State's entire welfare system. These reforms would tighten welfare eligibility and work requirements, to assure that the "truly needy," those with little or no income, would get the bulk of California's welfare benefits.

The Governor's message has aroused widespread interest and considerable debate among those who are concerned with the monumental increase in State welfare costs in recent years and who are equally concerned with the quality of assistance being made available to the many needy and deserving families and individuals covered by State and Federal programs.

In the forenoon of that day, Governor Reagan addressed the people of California on the subject of his reform proposals in a speech at Town Hall in Los Angeles.

The Governor's statement was a thought-provoking and well-reasoned analysis of the problems and prospects of the welfare system in our most populous State.

I feel that the statement would be especially interesting to Members of Congress as we continue our efforts to reform the Federal role in public assistance programs, and I ask unanimous consent that the March 3 address by Governor Ronald Reagan, Town Hall, Los Angeles, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record.

Speech by Governor Ronald Reagan, Town Hall, Los Angeles, March 3, 1971

Mr. Chairman, Members of Town Hall, Ladies and Gentlemen:

First let me thank you of Town Hall for your thoughtful and timely invitation.
suspect that you were aware you were providing a forum through which the people of California could be reached. In doing so, you have been living in a world where every inhabitant of California is confronted by a most serious problem.

In the last few days, I have been asked a number of times if the political honeymoon is over. I am not sure it ever started. On the whole, perhaps someone said something about it. We must be stepping on it as fast as we can. We had a solution—something comfortable—and they never came back.

On January 4, in my inaugural remarks I said that unless we had been elected to office were willing to completely reform our welfare system. We went further. We will ask you for a tax increase and every succeeding year as far as we can see into the future.

What we call California's welfare and health care system is in reality nothing more than a state implementation of federal mandates approaching $15 billion in cost and leading us into sure bankruptcy unless we tighten government's belt or we loosen it further.

In the last few days, I have heard the repeated statements that welfare is an administrative disaster leading us to ask for a tax increase. We propose to end welfare and Medi-Cal. About two hours ago there was great interest in California being led out of state funds four days ago.

There was no partnership at this conference nor in the unsanctioned endorsement of federal revenue sharing. But the topic dominating all others was welfare. If the problem is not on the state's radar, the only state reading a concrete proposal for welfare reform, surprising was the general acceptance that added revenues were only temporary expedients and not a permanent answer to the problem.

Certainly this is true in California. The biggest of our welfare programs, Aid to Dependent Children, increased its case load 39 percent last year and its cost 42 percent. Medi-Cal increased its cost more than three times as fast as our normal increase in revenues. One out of nine Californians is receiving some form of assistance.

Because of the state's only reading a concrete proposal for welfare reform, surprising was the general accepta.

I have heard the repeated statements that welfare fraud is only one or two percent and that it is not worth the effort to try to catch it. You can do much about the truth. The is no one knows. No one in the United States knows how much is paid out in welfare. We all know how many checks are being mailed out but we have no way of knowing how many individuals are getting several checks under different names. We do not know because regulations keep us from checking on an applicant's declaration—"we must accept his word as to his need."

Recently in the San Francisco bay area, a group of citizens set out to show how easy it is. They counted $32 billion in taxes of which more than $600 million more than we have. To save the state $220 million in welfare means reducing the total costs more than $600 million. We cannot reduce our share without reducing costs at the county and the federal level. Or put another way, we have to ask the taxpayer for an additional $220 million in state revenue, we force the counties to raise property of some form. We may even have to add roughly $300 million to federal costs. And of course the same citizen's citizen pays it all—courts and federal. Right now, California's are paying $32 billion in taxes of which more than $20 billion goes to Uncle Sam. The average family in California is $4,152 for every average family of four in California. A choice has to be made. Either we tighten government's belt or we loosen it to change. We are living and dying with Medi-Cal.

Last month I submitted to the legislature a budget which can be balanced without increased taxes if we undertake a total reform of welfare and Medi-Cal. About two hours ago a message outlining this reform was delivered to both chambers of the legislature. I had planned a more personalized delivery of this message. However, my two days' delay can have only one thing happened to me on the way upstairs:

Perhaps it is just as well, for the message is predicated on the assumption and delusion that welfare is the source of welfare and Medi-Cal. Perhaps we will succeed in bringing some semblance of welfare to Medi-Cal with a third formula. It goes to work when the recipient gets a job. Much of the welfare costs that are determined by not counting $90 of post-retirement income, nor do you count one-third of the remainder, nor deduction for income tax, union dues, whatever plans they make for housing, or make for clothing, care, transportation, and this includes car payments and finally $35 microwaves. There is virtually no ceiling on earnings above which you become ineligible for welfare although we have found it unusually does not go much above $1,000 a month. At least one man in California, however, managed to keep his welfare grant plus $16,800 a year in salary. More typical is the case I described in the current issue of "U.S. News and World Report." I gave an example of an individual who is called: $399 a month who took a job now $892 a month. The formula reduced the $582 to $43 countable income and thus the $399 welfare. This individual now has an income of $892 a month—a good portion of it tax free—and is eligible for Medi-Cal.

Our task force surveyed those counties which together carry 40 percent of the welfare case load. We learned that working welfare recipients have average earnings of $346 a month. Their grants in aid not counting Medi-Cal (for which they remain eligible) averaged $186. The grants for those with no outside earnings or income are only $21 more or $207 a month. Simple decency suggests reducing the supplemental grant and increasing the $207 so as to provide a more decent living for the totally destitute. Our reform proposes doing this. We will first of all provide better for the truly needy. Admittedly our first requirement in these stringent times must be balancing the budget but even so we can also improve the lot of the poor and as we put our financial house in order do so even more substantially.

Some will accuse me of citing horror stories from the past. I can only point out that every one of those cases is called: Medi-Cal reform."

On the way upstairs an answer was needed for the individual who sees no reason to work if the dollars for working only replace the dollars he or she earns. In the case of working from which a proper incentive would be to supplement earnings by continuing to pay at least a part of the federal and state income taxes. In this way the taste for the people, they had finished "thinking of everything," the intended incentive had become a windfall for the recipient. The onset of the third formula: Medi-Cal was always money, beneficiaries, the aged, the disabled and blind should be removed from the welfare structure.
tive and grant payments for these citizens numbering about 600,000. Their payments will be automated similar to the method used in paying Social Security. The state has asked for a costly bureaucracy checking to see if the elderly are continuing to get older. With the savings to the counties in 1971-72.

Let me say here and now to those who have charged we intend to balance state spending by dumping the load on the counties ... they are, as usual, taking through their hats. One of the absolute musts in this reform program is that there be no net cost shift to the counties. As a matter of fact, let me repeat what I said earlier, if there is no reform, county costs will go up $100 million. With the savings to the counties, of course, netted. The $8 million projected savings next year will grow in future years and could be as much as $47 million in savings to the counties during 1972-73.

With the change of the elderly and disabled, every county welfare officer will be dealing with the potentially employable. As of now welfare is as I have described it: "a state of dependency," putting ever increasing numbers of people on a dole and providing food and shelter is not a worthwhile goal. These people are not a facet of society individual with individual and unique reasons why many have been unable to get into the competitive labor market and be treated as unique and personal will give welfare a purpose and a goal. The goal must be to eliminate, if possible, the need for itself. We must begin to measure our success by how many people we have removed from the rolls each year, not how many we have added. We intend to place the employable welfare recipient under the jurisdiction of the Department of Human Resources Development. This department's total effort is devoted to job hunting and job training. Social Security is according to this new jurisdiction will be judged not on how much it saves but on how many people it places on welfare, but how many they place in jobs. This entire concept was announced last year by Mr. Sesame, the only major government funded program now dealing with welfare job training is "WIN"—the work incentive program. Almost a third of all those who have obtained jobs through "WIN" in the entire nation, have done so in California.

Now we propose going further. The able-bodied employables will be expected to work in a public work force if they are not engaged in a job training program. They will receive the same benefits they are getting now, but will in return work at public assistance to the employable. This is just one of the programs that will be made by the County Supervisors Association.

California has not been hesitant about job training programs. The only major government funded program now dealing with welfare job training is "WIN"—the work incentive program. Almost a third of all those who have obtained jobs through "WIN" in the entire nation, have done so in California.

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fare. In the days ahead the legislative committee hearings will be the target for demonstrations and pressure of every kind. We have had great cooperation from some in the social welfare field who are true professionals and who want order brought out of the present chaos. But, other bureaucratic empires threatened, will challenge every proposal and predict dire results if any of the proposals could be adopted. Others will urge total federal takeover as the only solution. This would mean surrendering to those problems in the first place, and few in federal government want this.

Today we stand at a crossroad. We can continue to talk about welfare, complain about it and watch it grow unchecked while we raise taxes this year and every year thereafter to meet the cost. Or we can take the steps necessary to control it and reform it so that it will at least have the proud purpose of maximizing human dignity and salvaging the destitute.

This is not a jerrybuilt, hasty answer to a crisis of the moment with other work and study. It is perhaps our last chance. Neither Democratic or Republican, it is humanitarian and must be tried before we pass judgment. I have addressed this message to the people of California because we need you.

GATT

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, today there was an announcement that Japan's textile industry has agreed tentatively to place restrictions on its exports to the United States.

Japanese manufacturers are not proposing any meaningful concessions. Their proposal would fall far short of curing our foreign trade problems.

First of all, the Japanese say they will limit sales only of their own nations in the Far East follow their lead.

This makes the announcement so tenuous as to be almost meaningless. Japan is starting to have some of the same trade problems with other nations in the Far East that we have with Japan—that is the exodus of industry to other nations where labor is even cheaper.

Even if Japan should carry through on the proposal to limit textile exports, the proposed controls are totally inadequate in several respects.

They would not control the various types of textile exports to the United States. Therefore, we would have the same bad situation we have in the steel industry. Japanese textile manufacturers could concentrate on certain types of textiles and drive certain manufacturers in the United States out of business.

The proposed voluntary controls by Japan are an attempt to forestall any quota legislation by Congress, but also guarantee the growth of their imports into the United States.

What the Japanese apparently are trying to do is to try to get off any quota legislation by Congress, but also guarantee the growth of their imports into the United States.

Most important of all, Mr. President, is the fact that we are talking here about only one industry. Textiles and textile industry jobs are important to the United States, but it is only one industry.

Lastly, it would not be an acceptable growth of the Japanese share of the American textile market. This would be at the expense of American workers.

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Lastly, it would not be an acceptable growth of the Japanese share of the American textile market. This would be at the expense of American workers.

With the beginning of World War II and the entry of this country into that war, efforts to achieve liberalization of international trade were for the most part set aside. Thus, the reciprocal trade agreements program initiated in 1934 had little opportunity to bring the promise which had been promised by its supporters.

The policy embodied in the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 was a wise policy. I feel that the basic idea of the reciprocity in our trade relations must continue to be the basis for trade relations with other countries if international trade is to make the contribution that can be made to the economic progress and development of all countries.

The broad principles on which the postwar foreign trade policy of the United States was based are found in the first official statement in the Atlantic Charter and in article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom. On August 14, 1941, the Atlantic Charter was made public, articles IV and V of the Charter declared that the two countries—
Desire (d) to bring about the fullest co-operation among nations in the field of all international trade and to place international trade on a more liberal and equitable basis with the object of securing, for all nations, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement provides:

The terms and conditions upon which the United Kingdom receives defense aid from the United States of America and the benefits to which it is entitled under the United States of America in return therefore, as finally determined, shall be such as not to burden your country or this country with an undue share of the burden of maintaining the order of the world and shall be such as to encourage trade and confidence between the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

The charter unconditionally, Australia had been working on a proposal for an International Trade Organization for Expansion of America or the United Kingdom against the importation of any United States of America or the United States.

The final draft of article VII was signed on February 23, 1943. This draft was the result of the United States being extended to 13 other governments.

During the years 1942-44 planning for postwar currency stabilization, and for the purpose of reconversion and commercial policy received detailed consideration by the U.S. Government.

Agreement was reached on the establishment of an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at an International Conference held at Bretton Woods, N.H., in 1944.

During these years the U.S. Government has been working on a proposal for an International Trade Organization which culminated in December 1945, in "Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment." These proposals were partly the result of American and British discussions. They were elaborated into a draft charter, "Suggested Charter for an International Trade Organization of the United Nations," in 1946. This charter was amended in successive conferences in London, New York, Geneva, and Havana, the final version of which became known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The ITO never came into being. Formerly all the President did in December 1950, was to withdraw consideration of the charter from Congress. There was no further action on the proposal. Theoretically the charter retained its legal status as an international agreement awaiting ratification. Actually only Liberia ratified the charter conditionally. Australia ratified the charter conditionally, making its adherence effective upon similar action by the United Kingdom and the United States; Sweden ratified conditionally awaiting similar action by the United States; and other nations waited for action by the United States and Britain. In 1951 Secretary of State Dean Acheson testified before a congressional committee that it was his belief that the charter would never be resubmitted to Congress, which has proved to be the case.

The first full-fledged large-scale postwar conference under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was held in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1947. After 6 months of negotiations the document known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was signed on October 30, 1947. It consisted of two parts, the first an agreement by the countries participating in the conference to a long list of mutual tariff reductions and tariff bindings known as "schedule I" and the second a protocol of provisional application of the general provisions of the agreement. President Truman proclaimed U.S. acceptance of the charter on December 3, 1947. The protocol of provisional application, constituting acceptance of the general provisions of the agreement, was the final approval of the charter of the ITO. Thus an interim commission was established whose function it was to administer temporarily the general provisions of the GATT until the ITO came into existence. At that time the interim commission would cease to exist.

Thus, the GATT which originally was intended to serve as a staging arrangement pending the entry into force of the ITO, has stood alone since 1948 as the only international instrument which lays down rules of conduct for trade.

Although embodying many of the features of the ITO, the GATT is not so comprehensive as the charter. The Department of State has never sent the GATT to Congress for approval. U.S. adherence to the GATT as a contracting party under the President's authority is allegedly derived from the Trade Agreements Act.

Technically, the GATT has been described by some as not an organization but rather a trade agreement. As stated above, countries agreeing to its provisions are known as contracting parties rather than members. In all extensions of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act until passage of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 there was a statement, signed by the President, that the GATT was not a treaty; that it had not been submitted to Congress for approval; and that the GATT was not a part of the statutory authority because of its provisional nature.

If we consider the nature of GATT as an international organization which, questionably, the United States has stood alone since 1948, it is hard to conclude that GATT has the essential characteristics of an international organization. Thus, it is highly questionable whether the President had statutory authority to enter GATT.

The proponents of GATT defend our association by simply stating that to disassociate ourselves would seriously disrupt this Nation's foreign policy and perhaps the stability of international economic relations. If we concede the truth of this statement, such concession is scant legal authority to justify our participation in GATT.

Mr. President, in view of the tenuous and tortured analysis justifying our participation in GATT and the failure of the Congress either for its advice and consent or for implementing legislation, it appears the time has arrived for a thorough review of this position of the United States in the GATT.

As I mentioned at the outset, the Finance Committee recognized the many problems in the field of international trade and requested the Executive to do a thorough study of the following provisions:

1. The most-favored-nation (MFN) principle and the exceptions thereto; their effect on MFN exceptions on intra-regional and extra-regional trade where common markets and free trade areas are concerned;
2. The GATT provisions dealing with agriculture;
3. The GATT provisions on unfair trade practices, fair international labor standards, and subsidies, from the point of view of the United States as border tax adjustments are concerned, and the U.S. negotiating position on border tax adjustments;
4. The adequacy of GATT provisions dealing with agriculture;
5. The adequacy of the balance of payments exceptions in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) as a "trade agreement" is questionable. If we consider the nature of U.S. trade agreements prior to 1945 act, and allowance of U.S. foreign policy and traditional nature of GATT, it is hard to conclude that GATT was not a substantial deviation from the pattern of prior agreements. Thus, we could further state that the general subjects of GATT were not within the constitutional competence of Congress when it extended its authority to the President to enter "trade agreements."

Third, the administrative provisions of GATT constituted an international organization which, questionably, the United States has stood alone since 1948. Thus, it is highly questionable whether the President had statutory authority to enter GATT.

It was planned that the ITO would eventually assume these functions.

In 1947, House and Senate committees held extensive hearings on the proposed ITO and GATT negotiations. Some members of Congress were for the authority of the President to enter into GATT on the specific ground that he was not authorized to join an international provisional organization. The administration forcefully explained the position that GATT is not an organization. However, GATT has all the essential characteristics of an international organization. Thus, it is highly questionable whether the President had statutory authority to enter GATT.

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of its plans for negotiating the elimination (or reduction) of foreign nontariff barriers including:
(1) The quantitative restrictions that remain in effect in many countries such as Japan;
(2) The common agricultural policy of the European Economic Community;
(3) The border tax-export rebate system of the EEC, and the reasons why indirect tax rebates on exports are not considered "bounties or grants" within the meaning of the countervailing duty statute as interpreted by the United States Court of International Trade;
(4) Discriminatory government procurement policies;
(5) The probably effects of British entry into the Common Market on U.S. trade and balance of payments;
(6) The effect of foreign exchange-rate changes on United States trade and tariff concessions; and
(7) An analysis of whether or not greater flexibility in foreign exchange rates would serve in the interests of United States and world trade;
(a) The nature and extent to which other countries subsidize their exports, directly or indirectly;
(b) Comparative analysis of various proposals to extend tariff preferences to the products of less developed countries with principal trading nations in the industrialized countries.

The collapse of international trade in the 1930's and the resultant political and economic effects led some world leaders to conclude that new international economic institutions were essential for international cooperation in international trade and payments matters. The ultimate goals envisaged for such institutions were the prevention of war and the establishment of a just system of economic relations.

During World War II preparations were underway for the formation of the new institutions. The Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 resulted in the emergence of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Trade and Development Corporation (IBRD). It was recognized that an international organization to regulate international trade was a necessary complement to the IMF and the IBRD. During the war years, the U.S. State Department had prepared a draft charter of an International Trade Organization.

At the first session of the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council resolved that a conference to draft a charter for an ITO should be called. Four conferences were held. The last of these conferences was held in Havana from November 21, 1947 to March 24, 1948.

The ITO never came into being. Many of its provisions were considered too extreme. They would have amounted to a virtual delegation of congressional tariff setting and trade regulating powers under the Constitution to the Executive.

To fill the gap caused by the death of the ITO, the United States Congress passed the Tariff Act of 1930, which gave the President power to negotiate trade agreements with foreign countries.

The basic GATT agreement was completed in 1947 but it has never been submitted to the Congress for its study and approval. It is being observed by the United States through a "protocol of provisional application."

The "protocol of provisional application" stated that the eight governments who signed it would undertake "not later than November 15, 1948 to apply provisionally on, and after January 1, 1949:"

(a) Parts I and III of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and

(b) Part II of the Agreement to the fullest extent not inconsistent with existing legislation."

This protocol is still in effect, although the GATT has been amended a number of times and affected by other protocols, including some which are not yet in effect. The basic treaty is a complex set of instruments, applying with different rigor to different countries.

In spite of the fact that the GATT has never been specifically approved by the U.S. Congress as a treaty or otherwise, the executive branch trade spokesmen tend to view GATT as "the law."

When the Congress contemplates taking any action to protect a domestic interest, the Executive pointedly observes the recommendations of the United States. It is not clear, however, that the executive branch demands the respect that the United States command internationally. It is but one of the many ad hoc arrangements that are made in practice whenever the Congress actually contemplates taking action in response to a threat or an actual injury. It is somewhat understandable that under these circumstances, the GATT would contain certain provisions designed to favor European countries and Japan.

Conditions in 1970 are vastly different from those in 1947. At this point, the GATT should be re-written to take out the inequitable provisions which effectively discriminate against certain countries, mainly the United States, and to put in new provisions to cope with new conditions in the world economy.

MAYFAVOR-NATION TREATMENT

Non-discrimination is intended to be the cardinal principle of the GATT, as provided in article I. What you give to one you must give to all. This principle is aimed at making against discrimination in trade agreements, preferences, and special commercial relationships.

The GATT sanctions the departure from unconditional MFN treatment in the case of customs unions and free trade areas (article XXIV), certain exceptions in article XIV, and the existence of certain preferences in article I, paragraph 2. These "exceptions" effectively allow European countries to depart from MFN treatment when it suits their commercial interests.

The United States generally observes the unconditional MFN principle although in recent years the United States has compromised on its rigid adherence to this GATT principle. In the U.S. request for a GATT waiver on the United States-Canadian automobile pact and the United States-European Coal and Steel Community to pool resources of coal, steel, iron ore, and scrap.
in a single market without internal frontier barriers. The GATT considered this project as limited to and not the beginning of what turned out to be six with or without GATT approval, the GATT granted a waiver.

France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and The Netherlands, agreed in 1958 the Treaty of Rome, establishing the European Economic Community, a common market with a legal status. Whether the Rome Treaty is consistent with article XXIV of the GATT has never been seriously questioned academically. The common market of Europe was established in 1958, under the Treaty of Rome. Furthermore, in Africa, the United States are actively supporting the participation of the intermediate trading partners of the United States in regional trade blocs the whole developed world is now widely questioned.

All taxes on business are increasingly thought of as costs, with varying effects and differential impacts depending on the form, but in the short run, are partially absorbed by the manufacturer depending upon the degree of competition. In the market for kets for his raw materials. Direct taxes, especially the corporate income tax, are shifted forward to the price of the products sold to consumers to the extent that market conditions allow. Well known economists and fiscal experts brought together in a symposium, organized by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, in September 1964, reached the following conclusions, (1) "In practice, indirect taxes are not fully shifted into product prices," and, (2) "Certain direct taxes, and particularly the corporate profits tax, may be partially shifted into product prices; although the degree of shifting may vary from country to country."

Businessmen operate with target rates of return in mind and will pass-on all costs, including taxes, into the price structure of their products to the extent that price elasticity of demand in the market will permit. Thus, modern economic theory suggests that the government's system of indirect and direct indirect taxes is an extreme and arbitrary assumption which does not stand the test of analytical scrutiny. Direct taxes are, by Business and Industry Advisory Committee of the OECD (BIAC) in a report on the problem of tax shifting stated: "In a strongly competitive situation the prices obtainable—and hence the degree of tax shifting—are substantially determined by the market itself." In short the GATT on border taxes are not "trade neutral."

Actually, the distinction between "direct" and "indirect" taxes is arbitrary. It seems as if the word "indirect" had been invented to make a mockery of the principle of preference in the GATT.

The provisions in GATT relevant to border taxes and subsidies, basically articles II, III, and XV, are drawn from the charter of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which deals exclusively with border taxes and subsidies. The provisions of GATT which do cover border tax adjustments were not the product of carefully reasoned theory, or of experience melded in the crucible of extensive usage.

When the present GATT language was drawn up more than two decades ago, the question of border taxes and subsidies was of secondary importance, for the main concern was with differentials in determining a future trade policy.

Another important area in which GATT principles and disciplines concern subsidies and border tax adjustments. In essence, the GATT provisions on subsidies and border taxes have been interpreted to permit the rebate of "indirect taxes" (such as value added or turnover taxes) on exports as a subsidy. The element of tax is added to imports, but to deny equivalent treatment for "direct taxes," such as income taxes.

In Asia, Australia has unilaterally violated MFN by granting preferences to less developed countries. In the GATT, the principle of non-discrimination is being observed more and more in the breach. The problem is that the exceptions are growing and threaten to make the MFN principle a mockery. The effect of the GATT is to make it increasingly difficult to implement a Pacific Free Trade Area among Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The British Commonwealth preference system violates the MFN principle. In short, there are very few countries if any, who observe unconditional MFN treatment, without exceptions.

But, the problem is that the exceptions are growing and threaten to make the MFN principle a mockery. The EEC has special preferences for its 19 former African colonies which in turn give "reverse preferences" to EEC goods in the countries of its members. The process of negotiating discriminatory commercial arrangements with Greece, Turkey, Israel, Jordan, Bahrain and Morocco is gaining momentum. National practices for membership with the community are being considered for Austria, Spain, Ireland, British, and others. All this involves a massive movement away from MFN.

Tariff preferences are by nature discriminatory, and yet the whole developed world seems to have accepted this as a necessary concession to the demands of the less developed countries. In short, the principle of non-discrimination is being observed more and more in the breach. It concerns us to see developing in the world industrial trading partners of the United States are being incorporated in regional trade blocs which threaten the United States with the uncertainty of most-favored-nation clause. The United States has eschewed joining a free trade area with North Atlantic countries mainly because it feared that the United States would be forced into competitive regional blocs. But, we have actively supported the participation of other countries in regional blocs which threaten to accomplish the same unwanted result. In addition, as more countries enter into such blocs with the United States, the competitive position is bound to suffer from the inherently discriminatory nature of these arrangements. There is growing evidence that these arrangements are weakening the United States in determining a future U.S. trade policy.

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In 1960, the contracting parties adopted a Working Party Report which listed a number of practical objectives. Among these were the remission of direct taxes or social welfare charges on industrial or commercial enterprises and the reduction in import of exported goods, of charges or taxes, other than charges in connection with importation or indirect taxes levied on one or several stages on the same goods sold for internal consumption. The implications of practices listed in (b), (c) and (d) of footnote 37 of the Report are not authorized by the United States. They, in effect, permitted the European countries to impose border tax rebates, thus reducing the duties on exports in accordance with their value added or cascade turnover taxes.

In the late forties and early fifties it is not surprising that U.S. trade officials were willing to incorporate existing commercial practices on border tax adjustments into the GATT. This was the result of problems in international trade than border tax adjustments, which at that time were low—in the range of 2-4 percent and limited to around one-sixth of the goods traded— and then only in the case of a few nations. The result was a GATT Article XI-B with a surplus in 1947 which must have had an effect on our negotiators' attitudes.

But the failure to appreciate the consequences of excluding so-called "indirect" tax rebates in 1960 from the general prohibition against export subsidies while including a specific prohibition against "direct" taxes, was a major blunder. The United States by that time had run into serious balance of payments difficulties. Western Europe had become a prosperous "third force." Giving away commercial advantages to prospects for Europe for the sake of their own internal tax harmonization objectives was an unwise and costly move, in which there was the out-weighed clear commercial considerations.

**BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS SAFEGUARDS**

Balance-of-payments considerations have exerted and will continue to exert a powerful influence upon the major countries' dispositions to deal with trade matters. Recent history shows that countries will adopt whatever measures are needed to maintain their balance of payments irrespective of GATT. The British imposed an import duty to control imports and prior to that time, and France imposes import duties and even import surcharges to protect their balance of payments. The French subsidized their exports to Belgium and France in promotion of the GATT rules allow. In developed as well as the less developed countries quantitative restrictions and licensing arrangements are legion.

The GATT recognizes that member countries may have to protect their balance of payments and international reserve positions and to this end Article XII sanctions the use of quantitative restrictions (quotas). Export subsidies or export surcharges are not allowed under GATT rules as balance-of-payments adjustment mechanisms; import quotas are. This rigidity in the GATT in the face of other provisions of the GATT which are more flexible. Limiting available options to quotas also is inconsistent with the main principle of the GATT, free and open trade and protection device.

It is also difficult to understand why, if quotas create the right barriers, the principle of payments safeguard, the United States would be violating either the letter or the spirit of the agreement if it is imposed quotas in response to similar measures in a situation that has been stated by administration spokesmen. The United States has experienced deficits in its balance of payments every year since 1960, with two exceptions, and its international reserve position has deteriorated substantially. This would appear to fully justify the application of Article XII to the United States. Member countries in GATT should face up to the lack of flexibility in Article XII, and decide whether they really want to prevent one country suffering from chronic balance of payments problems. In facing this issue, the member countries should consider that the United States has the right to use whatever means they deemed necessary to restore equilibrium notwithstanding the GATT.

**CONCLUSION**

In a number of areas the GATT is deficient and discriminatory. Its exceptions to unconditional MFN treatment favor common markets and free trade areas, and threaten to break up the trading world into competitive regional blocs. Recent bilateral commercial arrangements involving the European Common Market and other countries do not even pretend to justify their existence under article XXIV. The United States could gradually become isolated as a trading nation if it continues to adhere to a policy encouraging the establishment of joint regional trade blocs which violate MFN principles, while eschewing U.S. participation in such arrangements under the theory of "multilateralism." The GATT treatment of subsidies and import charges discriminate against countries that have a number of domestic enterprises and the structure—direct or income taxes—in favor of other countries whose revenues are derived from a different system—such as value added taxes.

The GATT safeguard on balance of payments is an anachronism and is inconsistent with the major principles of the GATT. The GATT safeguard is inconsistent with other principles in GATT. Furthermore, in recent years, major countries such as England and France have imposed import restrictions for balance of payments reasons in complete disdain of GATT principles.

The GATT does not even pretend to be a guide in agricultural trade which is now heavily controlled and subsidized, especially in the European Community.

In short, as presently constituted, the GATT is not a guide to fair trade. Its rules are often inequitable and outdated. It was written at a time when the United States was clearly in the position of a monopoly super power and trade and when the rest of the world suffered from an acute shortage of dollars. It was written at a time when unconnected parties at arms length transactions. Today, trade is increasingly becoming a major industry and the creation of national trade unions. The drafters of GATT may not have foreseen the postwar economic developments in the world. No one can claim that world conditions have not changed sufficiently to require a new look at the GATT. It is the view of the staff that the GATT should be redrafted to provide for principles of fair and free trade before the United States canapprox its provisions.

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1. The Breton Woods Conference resolved: "Complete attainment of *** purposes and objectives [of the IMF] cannot be achieved through the additional and permanent Fund alone; *** and recommended that the government seek agreement: "to reduce controls, to stabilize trade and in other ways promote mutually advantageous international commercial relations..." United States Department Document 2411, December 1945.

2. The eight signatures, some with reservations, were Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Netherlands, United Kingdom, and the United States.

3. For example, the GATT provisions regarding preferences of the member countries, but not to others. Even the fundamental principle of GATT—nondiscrimination—has been compromised by numerous exceptions in recent years. The GATT provisions have not prevented the United States from imposing non-tariff barriers in recent years as substitutes for tariff protection.

4. For example, the meaning of linking the import charge at the border with "charge for the same or similar goods, to like domestic products" is not defined.

5. This principle states that internationally traded goods are subject to some specified taxes of the importing country and exempt from similar taxes of the
prohibitive basis or residence of the taxpayer, and (c) of the taxable object.

levied the origin principle as applied to other

property taxes imposed according to the situs

principle by a number of contracting parties

was referred to in the proposal submitted

prices; charging of prices below world prices;

export credits at rates below those which

are employed to cover the long-term operating costs and

losses of the credit insurance institutions;

(b) The exemption, in respect of exported

goods, of all or part of the charges in

connexion with importation or in both

cases.

(e) In respect of deliveries by govern-

ments or governmental agencies of imported

raw materials for export business on differ-

ent terms, including for free transit or for

commission charges on industrial or commercial enter-

prises.

(d) The exemption, in respect of exported

goods, of all or part of the charges in

connexion with importation or in both

cases.

The government bearing all or part

of the cost of or in lieu of protection

measures which involve

charges on industrial or commercial enter-

prises or governmental agencies of imported

goods or raw materials for export business or

for the purpose of that declaration, these

practices generally are to be consid-

ered as subsidies in the sense of Article

XVI: 4 or are covered by the Articles of Agree-

ment of the International Monetary Fund.

The representatives of governments which

were not prepared to accept that declaration

were not able to subscribe at this juncture

to a protocol to attach a new "Appendix 3" but had no objection to the above

interpretation being accepted by the future

parties to that declaration for the purposes

of its application."

Mr. FANNIN, Mr. President, it is time

to put an end to the privileged trade po-

sition allowed some of our trading part-

ners.

Common Market and Japanese trade

has risen drastically as the United States

has fallen off the pace.

The Common Market countries and

Japan must now realize that they have a

responsibility to play fair with the

United States in trade matters.

A partial solution to the problem would

be vigorous action by the United States
to force other nations by cur-

rent fair trade agreements. I will be

sponsoring legislation aimed at accom-

plishing this.

There is, however, a very serious ques-

tion as to whether GATT can be mend-

ed to make it totally satisfactory for

our time.

I urge the immediate study of GATT

with the objective of either improving it

or discarding it in favor of a new,

equitable international trade agreement.

It is time for free trade zealots in this

Nation to take their heads out of the

sand, and it is time for our trading

partners to show some reciprocity in

dealing with the United States.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. Presi-
dent, the program for tomorrow is as follows: The Senate will convene at 11

o'clock a.m., following an adjournment.

Immediately following the disposition of this amendment, the Senate will consider the Joint Resolution No. 7, it is anticipated that the Senate will consider the extension of the Appalachian Regional Development Act.
His efforts have produced a plan where the administration has failed. Although the agreement-offer falls short of the expectations of the American textile industry, it is a step in the right direction. Nixon was right in urging the textile industry to cooperate with the administration in pursuing a comprehensive solution to the textile problem. The administration has failed to lead the textile industry to realize that the only way to solve the problem is to cooperate with the administration.

TRIBUTE TO MR. WILBUR MILLS

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

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, in the same vein as my colleague, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. WAX ), I want to congratulate Chairman MILLS on what appeared in today's press. In an era in which all news seems grim, a break in the world-trade clouds is especially welcome.

The announcement that Japan is unilaterally imposing restrictions on its textile exports to the United States, and the comment by the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee (Mr. MILLS) that similar action by certain other textile exporters should remove quota proposals from the legislative agenda, bring sunshine to skies that yesterday were menacing indeed.

Those of us who perceive in protectionist-isolationist tendencies a real threat to mutual security can breathe easier.

These promising developments are a great tribute to the statesmanship of Chairman MILLS, a statesmanship that reaches far beyond this Chamber. His skill as a legislator is matched by skill in international diplomacy.

And I am sure President Nixon will express his appreciation to Chairman MILLS for extricating the White House from textile envelopment.

BERNADETTE DEVLIN

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

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, on March 1, 1971, I spoke before this body in regard to the deportation of Bernadette Devlin. At that time I made mention of the fact that I had tried to obtain information from the State Department without any avail, and cited the two instances when I had communicated with them, though I had never received an answer.

However, my appearance before this body did have an answer. On March 1, 1971, I received an answer from the congressional liaison for the State Department indicating there was nothing they could do under the law to keep Miss Devlin from speaking because she had asked to speak in this country on a political lecture tour, a professional lecture tour, on social, economic and political causes, from Ireland. She has bragged that she has been left to be a Communist except in the Soviet sense, and I objected to her entry into this country for that reason.

Last evening Miss Devlin appeared on the Dick Cavett Show and mentioned my name, and said that I would not know a Communist if I saw one between heaven and hell. Well, I do not know what direction she is traveling in, but I certainly recognized her.

I want to go further into this as I go along, to find out why we cannot exclude people who come here espousing radical causes, getting paid for it, and taking the money back with them.

She also confirmed my suspicion when she said:

Congressman Hunt is bogged down in red tape and I shall have departed the country the day after tomorrow before he can do anything.

I submit to you it is about time we closed some of the loopholes. We have enough radicals in this country, without importing more, and we should keep our money here to do something for this country.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF COMMISSION ON HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 1231(a), Public Law 91-605, the Chair appoints as members of the Commission on Highway Beautification the following members on the part of the House: Mrs. Waggoner of Texas; Mr. Edmondson of Oklahoma; Mr. Don H. Clausen of California; and Mr. Schwenkel of Iowa.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF GALLAUDET COLLEGE

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 5, Public Law 420, 86th Congress, as amended, the Chair appoints as members of the Board of Directors of Gallaudet College the following members on the part of the House: Mr. Young of New York; and Mr. Rohn of North Carolina.

CREATING SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT INVESTIGATION AND OF ALL ASPECTS OF CRIME AFFECTING THE UNITED STATES

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 115 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That, effective January 1, 1971, there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of seven Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman, or, in the event the membership of the select committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

SEC. 2. The select committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of all aspects of crime affecting the United States, including, but not limited to, (1) the elements, causes, and extent; (2) the preparation, collection, and dissemination of statistics and data; (3) the sharing of information, statistics, and data among law enforcement agencies, Federal, State, and local, including the exchange of information, statistics, and data with foreign nations; (4) the adequacy of law enforcement and the administration of justice, including constitutional issues and problems pertaining thereto; (5) the effect of crime and disturbances in the metropolitan urban areas; (6) the effect, directly or indirectly, of crime on the commerce of the Nation; (7) the treatment and rehabilitation of convicted and convicted and ex-convicts; (8) measures relating to the reduction, control, or prevention of crime; (9) measures relating to the improvement of (A) investigation and detection of crime; (B) law enforcement techniques, including, but not limited to, increased cooperation among the law enforcement agencies, and (C) the effective administration of justice; and (10) measures necessary for the preservation of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

SEC. 3. For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the select committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the select
committee, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, either in any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, investigations, and to require, by subpoena, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued under the authority of the chairman of the select committee or any member of the select committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

Sec. 4. The select committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigations, hearings, and studies, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report or reports which are made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 2, strike the word "seven" and insert the word "seven".

Beginning on page 2, line 19, strike all through page 8, line 9, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"For the purpose of making such investigations and studies, the committee or any subcommittees thereof is authorized to sit and act, subject to clause 31 of Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned; and to hold such hearings and require, by subpoena or other wise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued over the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member designated by him and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

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

This so-called voluntary export restraint agreement

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, considerable attention has been paid in the press recently to the possibility that a voluntary export restraint agreement may be devised in the field of textiles between the United States and the Japanese, just around the corner. Considerable speculation centers on the likely contents of such an agreement, and much of this speculation reminds me of an old armchair adventure in diplomacy. Just who has agreed to what and just who has given up what is very unclear and, I go without saying, remains to be determined. This is not to say that we would expect in diplomacy—lots of mystery, attempts to keep the other side guessing, lots of posturing, but above all let us not forget the stuff of which diplomacy is really made, lots of bluffing. The Japanese textile interests have much to gain from the American market and it is highly unlikely that we will forget this for one moment. Whatever the press is reporting the Japanese have agreed to do or not to do, it should be read with this in mind: they are out to get the best deal that they can for their interests.

It seems that those of us with responsibility for safeguarding American interests should be on the alert these next few weeks lest we lose guard down and end up accepting a promise or something which looks good on paper instead of something tangible and binding. Past experience with voluntary trade agreements, similar to the textile agreement under consideration now, has been all too discouraging. For example, despite the overall voluntary steel export restraint program with the Japanese, the domestic specialty steel industry is being bombarded with rising steel imports from Japan and Western Europe. Many U.S. firms are threatened with the necessity of dissolving as a result. If there is to be an agreement and it is to be a meaningful agreement, then what is needed are precise and specific import restrictions by categories of products. Any broad overall ceiling agreement just would not do.

I am also aware that footwear and electronics articles apparently have not been included in the Japanese trade discussions now in progress. I am not encouraged by this failure to consider other industries, since we all know that footwear and electronics industries have suffered greatly in recent years from foreign import penetration.

Furthermore, the announcement yesterday by the Japanese Textile Federation to unilaterally restrict their exports to the United States, insofar as it fails to take into account the intentions of other nations in the Far East, is ultimately a unilaterally a declaration of war. We all know the pace with which the Japanese have invested in textile and electronics plants throughout the Far East. Any restraint on exports or products from Japan should, if it is to be meaningful, also include restraint on goods produced by their subsidiaries in other parts of the world, which, if anything, enjoy a cheaper pool of labor than the Japanese themselves at home. On this point, I am in full agreement with the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

In my view, there is no doubt that as a diplomatic maneuver this latest Japanese proposal is designed to undercut and make ineffective a long-term cotton arrangement. I believe it would be the height of folly for the Ways and Means Committee of this House to set aside consideration of long overdue trade reform legislation which would not only extend the Franks-Wyman-Murphy adjustments, provide adjustments assistance and widen escape clause provisions, but would also demonstrate, in the most adamant terms, the alternative available to the United States in the absence of binding and meaningful bilateral agreements on footwear, electronic articles, and other products—as well as textiles—dumped elsewhere. This would be to play into the hands of the Japanese negotiators who surely are negotiating today with one eye on what Ways and Means is likely to do or not do about trade reform.

To my way of thinking, the only hope for something of substance emerging which will assist the industries most affected by foreign dumping in our markets would be the push for a trade reform bill this session of Congress. This latest action by the Textile Federation of Japan should be viewed as but another attempt to raise hopes, an exercise that we have witnessed many times in the past, only to see these same hopes die. In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I feel that Mr. Alspor is to be taken seriously when he observes that a possible Japanese voluntary arrangement will put the final nail in the trade bill coffin. While I fail to share Mr. Alspor's enthusiasm for the agreement, I feel that he is at least right in raising doubts about the aims and objectives of the Textile Federation of Japan and the free trade lobby of this country. I, for one, do not plan to sign trade agreements with this just under the rug. Trade legislation is very much before the Ways and Means Committee for serious consideration.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

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

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. WYMAN. I would ask the gentleman from Massachusetts if there is anything in the present Japanese proposal to voluntarily restrict their imports to the United States to the 1970 year base period that is any way responsive to the purposes and aims of the Trade Act we had before us, and for which we voted in this body last year?

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this agreement, from what I can read, would be a very liberal agreement and would almost give the Japanese complete access to our textile market.

Mr. WYMAN. Do we still need a bill?

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. As to the plants in Korea and Taiwan, they would not be restricted on the imports coming from those countries.

Mr. WYMAN. I agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts. The so-called voluntary restraint agreements proposed by our Japanese friends are not an adequate response to the needs of American industry. The responsibility devolves to know just how much of an import problem it must face each year.

In the first place, the Japanese proposal, similar to the 1970 import level which is the highest in our history. The trade bill passed by this House last year established a lower period, 1967 to 1968.

Second, there is no guaranty that other
importing nations will also impose voluntary restraints. Japan is not the only country that causes serious problems for American industry.

Nor is the textile industry the only industry set by the nation to be put into bankruptcy and a freezing of foreign imports. The American footwear business is close to the brink of national disaster because of the wave floods of foreign footwear imports that threaten to put our shoe manufacturers out of business. On some thousands of American employees out of work in the later years of their lives largely with no place to go except to the welfare roles.

With all due respect to some very senior Members of this body who are quoted as having indicated that quota-type legislation will not be necessary if other nations in the Far East follow Japan's example on textiles, there is no question but what orderly marketing restrictions are urgently and continuously needed to protect various American industries. The defense fence built around the United States to keep imports out. They want to be able to plan for an orderly flow of measureable import into the country. They are not willing to be put out of business if all of a sudden some ships dock in U.S. ports with their hulls loaded to the hilt with the lowest-priced product, flooding the American market and seriously under pricing U.S. production in that type of product.

Let us face it. The United States is defending itself if it thinks it can maintain the highest standard of living in the world, continue to pay the highest wages, and still keep its markets wide open without restrictions to competing products made abroad at wages so low that they would be illegal in this country. A certain fair share of the American market should and must be guaranteed to American industry. This should be required by this Congress.

The weakness in the Japanese position at the present time is not confined to their selection of 1971-72 as a base year. It also lies in their self-imposed allocation of a percentage growth rate or proposed self-imposed limitations for future years. These are double the growth rate of the American market since World War II.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the present administration to support a meaningful trade bill that will provide quota limitations on foreign imports affecting certain critically affected industries. Then and only then are we likely to get meaningful agreed multilateral restrictions on imports that will enable these terribly hurt U.S. industries to survive.

Tariff adjustments, escape clause mechanisms and adjustment allowances are not a viable response to the economic crisis presented by the waves of foreign imports flooding our shores. Essentially, these are burial expenses. What is needed, and urgently so, is orderly marketing legislation substantially similar to the trade bill that passed this House last year.

Omitting the oil import concessions and eliminating the DISC arrangements, it is about time the administration overrode the countervailing protestations of the free traders in the Department of State and insisted upon meaningful protection so that the thousands of working men and women in America who look to it for assistance in staying on the job. They neither seek nor deserve a policy of handouts during a transitional phase leading to individual membership on the welfare roles.

I urge the immediate passage of H.R. 4276.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. Ryan).

Funds for Education—New York City's Plight

Mr. Ryan. Mr. Speaker, the New York City Board of Education faces a massive bill in this fiscal year 1971 for some $36 million according to the latest estimate. As a consequence, cutbacks were announced last week when we included the layoff of some 6,500 teachers and 10,000 substitutes. There is no other solution but to be 20-percent reduction in head­quarters staff, and a freeze on all but emergency repairs.

On Sunday the New York State Supreme Court, Kings County, issued a temporary order preventing the cutbacks from going into effect because they were "arbitrary" and done without consultation with the local boards. The court action was instituted by Assemblyman Samuel D. Wright, president of Community School District 23 in Brooklyn. A hearing on the temporary order was scheduled for this morning.

In addition, an inquiry is being conducted by the New York State Department of Education. A massive demonstration is scheduled for Friday at City Hall by some of the 6,500 par­ents, laborers, teachers, and children who were affected by the layoff.

Obviously, an extreme crisis exists in New York City. One of the most basic areas of concern is disintegrating for lack of money. Last year the President vetoed the appropriation bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. And this year, the administration's budget requests for fiscal year 1972 for funding of education programs are totally inadequate.

Let me point to some of the budget requests by the administration for fiscal year 1972, which was vetoed by the President.

Funds for equipment under title III of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, which provides support for graduate students preparing for teaching careers at the postsecondary levels. Grants for public libraries are cut more than 50 percent from last year's appropriation; for example, New York State will receive, not the $2,906,000 it received in fiscal year 1971, but only $659,095.

These are but a few examples of the inadequate education funding contemplated by the administration. Despite the President's claim to have submitted an expansionary budget, clearly education needs have not been the recipients of any expansion.

Apart from cuts, the fiscal year 1972 budget request contains funding levels for other programs which are virtually the same as those for the current fiscal year. And this means regression, not progress. While the cost of educational goods and services has risen 9 percent in fiscal year 1971, according to the National Science Foundation report, entitled "Research Report 1970, R-15, Estimates of School Statistics 1970-71," the same funding for fiscal year 1972 as for the current year is requested for title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This is particularly disastrous for New York City, and other urban areas, because the title I program is geared to providing compensatory educational programs and services to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children—in brief, the victims of our slums and ghettos.

Full funding of Federal education programs is essential, and adequate funds must be provided in the next fiscal year. But, meanwhile, the crisis in New York City exists now, and additional funds next year will not stave it off.

Last Thursday, I and several of my New York City colleagues met with Secretary Elliot Richardson of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Commissioner Sidney Marland, Jr., of the Office of Education. We urged that every effort be made to help alleviate the crisis by providing additional funds. While the Secretary and the Commissioner were both sympathetic to New York City's plight—a plight similar to that in other cities and towns throughout the country, as the article from the March 6 issue of the Wall Street Journal which I will include at the end of this statement illustrates—they were not optimistic.

There is, in fact, one source of funds—a supplemental appropriation. The following chart shows how much fiscal year 1971 allocations for title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 have fallen short of full funding in the 32 largest cities in New York State. New York City would receive an additional $146,392,072 were title I fully funded. This chart gives a breakdown just for New York City.

The material follows:
### Funding—Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Fiscal Year 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Fiscal year 1971 allocation</th>
<th>Fiscal year 1971 allocation if fully funded</th>
<th>Plus difference</th>
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<td>$278,238,704</td>
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<td>Buffalo</td>
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<table>
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<th>Maximum amount authorized</th>
<th>County name</th>
<th>Allocation</th>
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</table>

Another source of funds lies in the supplemental appropriation for the bilingual education programs provided for in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, to support the funding for the Bilingual Education Act, our meeting a sincere and earnest desire of Congress. Two of these, amounting to approximately $1 million, are currently pending in the Department of Education, the second of which was approved by the New York City Board of Education, the New York State Education Department, and the Federal Office of Education. However, actual release of the funds is frozen.

I urge Secretary Richardson and Commissioner Marland, who demonstrated in our meeting a sincere and earnest desire to be of help, to support supplemental funding for title I of both the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, to support by bill H.R. 1589, providing supplemental funding for the Bilingual Education Act, and to expedite release of the funds for the title III applications currently pending in the Office of Education.

Following is the article which appeared in the March 8, 1971, issue of The Wall Street Journal, entitled "School Squeeze: Many U.S. Cities Begin Losing Off Teachers Due to Money Pinch," written by Frederick C. Klein and Richard D. James:

SCHOOL SQUEEZE: Many U.S. Cities Begin Losing Off Teachers Due to Money Pinch

(By Frederick C. Klein and Richard D. James)

The teaching profession is learning a hard, grim lesson. For the first time since the Depression, teachers are learning, first-hand, what it means to lose teachers.

In recent years, financially pressed school districts from New York to Los Angeles have laid off, elementary and secondary school teachers or announced intentions to do so. About 10,000 of the nation's two million full-time teachers had been laid off since January 1. The majority of these are supposed to take effect next Monday in New York, where the Board of Education last week declared it would reduce its teaching force by as much as 5,000. In New York City, the Board of Education has been forced to cut back by hiring thousands of new teachers or substituting temporary teachers. The Board of Education has been faced with a choice between cutting off further layoffs or laying off teachers. The results of these decisions will be seen in classrooms across the nation. The effects of such issues were okayed at the polls last fall, down from 84% in 1960. In Illinois, the approval level slumped to 44% from 72% in that same period.

Initially, many school boards responded by cutting back on construction, maintenance, and school programs they deemed nonessential, such as art, music and sports. Indeed, just about every district is currently laying off teachers first through such steps.

But "you can only save so much by paring things around the edges, and in many districts the money pinch has become far too severe for that," says an official of the National School Boards Association. Teacher salaries remain the schools' biggest expense. Layoffs are the only way to make the kind of reductions we're faced with now."

FAIR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES

The educational consequences of the layoffs are sure to be far-reaching. A case in point is the Detroit school system, where 192 of some 11,000 teachers were laid off last Monday and about 65 more may lose their jobs this week. In addition, the system isn't using substitutes unless a teacher is out more than one day. Principals or assistant principals are filling in as teachers during one-day absences, or the affected class is divided among other teachers.

Audrey McCutcheon, Detroit's deputy superintendent, says the staff reductions will boost the average class size in the 360,000-pupil system only slightly, to 35 from 33, but he says this figure is highly misleading. "That's only an average; where a teacher has been laid off, other classes in his school are absorbing as many as a half-dozen more children," he says.

Mr. McCutcheon says that some pupils whose teachers have been sacked have been put into other grades because there was no room for them in classes at their proper level.

Included in the Detroit layoffs were about a dozen teachers of remedial math and reading. "This hurts the kids who need help the most," says Mr. McCutcheon. The system's program of closing some 270 previously unused classrooms has been sharply reduced because the eight teachers who did the TV teaching have been assigned to classroom to fill in for laidoff colleagues.

Planned layoffs in other cities are expected to have similar impact. New York school officials say that even the elimination
It has done more. Heroin addiction is the single most deadly form of drug abuse in America today. It is a killer drug which affects not only those addicted to it, but their families and the community at large. Heroin addiction is responsible for a substantial portion of the crime in America today, and the profits of the heroin traffic form a major bankroll for organized crime. The Select Committee on Crime has conducted an intensive investigation into the heroin crisis, and its investigation has spanned the spectrum of the problem. The committee can continue its work elsewhere, if the committee can accomplish.

The printed hearings of this committee provide a look at crime rare in its breadth and scope. In its 13 public hearings, the committee has sat in as many cities across the Nation. While crime is a national problem, it is also a local one, and the Select Committee on Crime may sit and act within the United States, to recreate or reconstitute the House Committee on Crime.

For background reasons, I would like to set this forth in the Record. Back in December, 1968, the Select Committee on Crime was authorized by the House to set up a joint committee between the House and the other body. But as I indicated at the time I presented it on behalf of my colleague, Mr. Smith, of California, Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 115 re-creates a Select Committee on Crime which was originally created on May 1, 1969. The committee was composed of 11 Members of the House to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman.

The resolution authorizes the committee to conduct an investigation and study of all aspects of crime affecting the United States. For such purpose, the committee may sit and act within the United States, to recreate or reconstitute the House Committee on Crime; and it is an obligation because the committee has served our body well. And it is an obligation because the message that crime presents to this Nation demands that we actively participate in the fight against crime.

In its 20 months of life, during the last Congress of America, the Select Committee on Crime compiled an impressive record of accomplishment. It has not solved the problem of crime, and, of course, we did not expect it could do so in a short period of time. But the committee did attack some of the gravest problems of crime confronting the Nation, and from these confrontations, the Nation has benefited.

I say with pride that our Select Committee on Crime virtually singlehandedly alerted the Nation to the dangers of amphetamine abuse. For too long, these dangerous drugs were calmly accepted as part of the panoply of drugs Americans use. I say with pride that the Select Committee on Crime has changed this; the Select Committee, after exhaustive hearings and investigations, warned the Nation of the very grave consequences of amphetamine abuse. There is a new awareness in America today, an awareness that pep pills can be killer pills. For that awareness, we must thank the Select Committee on Crime, which had done nothing else—and it has done more—it would have earned our abundant respect and gratitude.

But it has done more. Heroin addiction is the single most deadly form of drug abuse in America today. It is a killer drug which affects not only those addicted to it, but their families and the community at large. Heroin addiction is responsible for a substantial portion of the crime in America today, and the profits of the heroin traffic form a major bankroll for organized crime. The Select Committee on Crime has conducted an intensive investigation into the heroin crisis, and its investigation has spanned the spectrum of the problem. The committee can continue its work elsewhere if the committee wants to do it, but that is not the instance so far as this is concerned.

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Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 115 will recreate or reconstitute the special select committee to study all aspects of crime affecting the House.

Now for the information of some of the new Members, may I state that this resolution, comes from the Rules Committee which has original jurisdiction on such matters. We approved it and sent it to the House for consideration. There is 1 hour of debate. We do not go into the Committee of the Whole House for any part of such a resolution. Such a resolution will be considered in the manner of a motion to recommit. The House will vote on the adoption of the motion to recommit. The motion to recommit is agreed to. The resolution is then considered by the House with all those amendments that may be offered and passed, if the House chooses, as the House wants it. But it has done more. Heroin addiction is the single most deadly form of drug abuse in America today. It is a killer drug which affects not only those addicted to it, but their families and the community at large. Heroin addiction is responsible for a substantial portion of the crime in America today, and the profits of the heroin traffic form a major bankroll for organized crime. The Select Committee on Crime has conducted an intensive investigation into the heroin crisis, and its investigation has spanned the spectrum of the problem. The committee can continue its work elsewhere if the committee wants to do it, but that is not the instance so far as this is concerned.

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Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 115 is the Select Committee on Crime. In urging you to support House Resolution 115, I am only urging you to do what we must do. We, of the Congress, cannot sit idly by as crime tears at the very fabric of American society. The Select Committee on Crime has proven its value; it has proven it can produce, and we owe it to ourselves to insure that the committee can continue its fine work.
the parole system is working and how the conditional release system is working and give us any suggestions from the district attorney's association in general as to how the chiefs of police and whatever other outstanding individuals or organizations could suggest, whether our penalties are too strong or too strict, and about narcotic cases or whether there are not strict enough and in other words about what the whole situation is so we could determine whether there is anything further the Congress should or should not do.

I admit that I have not attended all of the hearings, and I do not mean in any way to criticize any member of this committee because certainly every member of the committee and every Member of this House is against crime and anything the House of Representatives can do to stop the crime situation, I know we all want to do it.

But, as I have said, I am a little disappointed that the reports do not show more of those, although I was told as late as possible that the House have all the distinguished members of the committee, that they did hold hearings and talks with some of those individuals whom I have mentioned. They did have some comment on each of them.

I have some concern that the committee may have been used as a sort of— and I hesitate to use the expression—a dumping ground, a place where a lot of unnecessary employees could be placed and were placed on this committee, and that it acquired a very large staff. At one time I believe they had over 40 employees on the committee. They tell me that the number now is around 22, and they are all working. It may be that that is cleared up.

Having being spent around $900,000 or a little bit more, I wish the committee would have come in with a report that would have been a little more helpful to us in determining whether there is anything more we should or should not do. I do hope, and I am satisfied that this committee will be recreated and reconstituted. I merely want to put in the record the hope that the distinguished chairman from Florida, the gentleman from Florida, and the other members of the committee will come in here at the end of this 92d Congress and tell us whether there is anything we should or should not do, and not simply come in and tell us that there is a big narcotic problem, a big murder problem, or things like that. We all know that. I truly seek an answer to the question, "What am I not doing as a Member of the House of Representatives that I should be doing to stop this crime situation, which still remains as one of our most serious problems in the United States?"

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

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. BOGGS).

Mr. McCLOY. I appreciate the gentleman's yielding to me. I concur with the sentiments expressed by the gentleman from California. The House Judiciary Committee, upon which I have the privilege to serve, has proceeded to take testimony and to consider many of the subjects which the gentleman has mentioned, such as the number of judges which is essential for improving the fight against organized crime. I guess I am a little skeptical of organized crime, in connection with which we have had a very comprehensive investigation. The volume of hearings is about 3 or 4 inches thick. We did report to the House that in my opinion, can go a long way toward investigating the various ramifications of organized crime and all of its impact on our society. I believe that that is one of those investigations that the gentleman desires to investigate. I propose to investigate. I might say that I only hope that their investigation will not interfere with the special grand juries we have established under the organized crime bill, which, in my opinion, can be extremely effective in the fight against organized crime.

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

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I wish to commend him for the statement he has made. He has expressed some doubts, and I share those doubts, as I think many other Members of the House do.

What is the meaning of the language— the select committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress—

Is "as soon as practicable" a year from now, or next November or December?

Mr. SMITH of California. That would have to be governed by the committee. As I recall, they sent out at least two reports, which I recall receiving and reading, maybe three. Then I think several times a week they sent out sheets with comments. Under the resolution the committee would be recreated and reconstituted until January 3, 1973, to make their final report.

Mr. GROSS. If the gentleman will yield further, I noticed an automobile the other day with a tag on it stating, "House of Representatives, Crime Investigating Committee, Official Business." I wonder whether any such tags are being driven, and what their purpose. Are their drivers investigators or what are they? Does the gentleman have any knowledge as to what this staff does?

Mr. SMITH of California. I am sorry. The gentleman would have to address that question to the chairman of the committee. I yield to the chairman, the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Peppr, to answer the question of what he desires.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, my own information is that one of the investigators, using his own car, simply put that tag on to identify himself, because he is an official investigator for the committee.

Mr. GROSS. And there is only one, is that what the gentleman is saying?

Mr. PEPPER. The investigators are obtained by the committee in the course of this work are obtained from the General Services Administration, and that agency is reimbursed for the car used by the committee or its representative.

Mr. GROSS. Do GSA cars carry this tag? This is the first committee indication on a car that I have ever seen. Are they all equipped with this tag in the name of the House of Representatives? I might say that I think it costs the House a dime.

Mr. GROSS. Why do you think this gentleman thought probably—I do not know whether it was a matter of pride with him or whether he thought it would aid in his identification if he indicated he was there on behalf of the committee to make some investigation. Perhaps he wanted to have some kind of indication of what his status was. But I do think it costs the House a dime.

Mr. GROSS. With both sides of the aisle participate in the increase.

Mr. SMITH of California. This goes from seven to 11. Of the four—I am informed it is two and two, on the Democratic side, and two on the Republican side.

Mr. GROSS. I agree with the gentleman that if this committee can bring about any improvement in the curbing of crime in this country, I am sure we are all for it, but I certainly want to see some results for the nearly $1 million spent thus far, as I believe the gentleman indicated. I am going to look forward to real results from this committee if it is to be continued.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, may I say to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PEPPER) that I have one request for time, and I will withhold if the gentleman from Texas yields.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the majority leader, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. Bosca).

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution. I do so for a variety of reasons, but principally because of the outstanding job done by this committee headed by the able Member from Florida (Mr. Peppr) in the field of drug abuse.

Some years ago, I was chairman of a special subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee on narcotics abuse. We discovered at that time that there were many drugs that were not controlled at all, the so-called chemical drugs, such as amphetamines and barbiturates, and the more recent LSD and speed and others that have become a threat especially to the young people in this country. At the time I headed my committee, probably one-third the number of addicts there are in this country today.
The amount of heroin being peddled in the high schools in this country is alarming. The amount of the chemical drugs, such as the amphetamines and barbiturates has increased. There are some people who take barbiturates, and we have to keep it in mind that taking barbiturates can get enough energy to move around the next day. They live a drug-induced type of life.

In the case of heroin addiction, there is so little chance for recovery, that when a young person, a student is caught up on heroin, he or she really is just committing suicide by degrees.

This committee has done a great service to the Nation in pointing up these abuses. It has carried on educational TV and radio programs, on about 500 stations in the United States. I am happy to see that ads are now being shown on nationwide television depicting the lusting caused by drug addiction, something that is needed in this country.

There is no more dastardly human being walking the streets than the person who, in order to gain illicit money, will organize a crime. We have increased the penalties for these people enormously, but the educational job still needs doing.

I commend the gentleman from Florida and the other members of the committee for the fine job they have done. I intend to vote for and to support this resolution.

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

Mr. BOGGS. Surely; I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. BOGGS. What is wrong with smoking cigarettes?

Mr. BOGGS. There is a large body of medical opinion that cigarette smoking is harmful. I know that many do not accept this conclusion.

Mr. GROSS. I thought the gentleman was condemning the smoking of cigarettes.

Mr. BOGGS. I was.

Mr. BOGGS. What for? What is wrong with them?

Mr. BOGGS. I answered that question earlier. Cigarette smoking may shorten the gentleman's life.

Mr. GROSS. I doubt that the gentlemen can save me from myself.

Mr. BOGGS. No; I am sure I could not, and I would not try.

There is no one in this country today who disputes the necessity of a concerted effort to combat crime. We of the Congress are committed to fighting crime, the administration is against crime, and the people are against crime. Crime is not an issue but a national problem that needs urgent attention.

One of the greatest accomplishments of the Select Committee on Crime has been its ability to help us all focus our attention on those aspects of the crime problem that are of the most critical. Like a high-powered microscope, the Crime Committee has focused on and enlarged for the public view those areas most in need of action. For our knowledge of the dangers and widespread use of amphetamines, we are in debt to the Select Committee on Crime.

For a widely distributed report on marihuana, we are in debt to the Select Committee on Crime. For a radio documentary on the dangers of drug abuse broadcast by over 500 stations, we are in debt to the Select Committee on Crime.

Under the able leadership of our esteemed colleague from Florida, CLAUDE PEPPER, the Select Committee on Crime has set up the field of drug abuse. Properly concluding that drug abuse is a major cause of crime, the committee has delved into the drug abuse crisis with a determination to solve it. The committee has brought forth two of the finest reports filed in this body in the last session: the Crime Committee's report on "Heroin and Heroin Paraphernalia" and Amphetamines. The heroin report is a decisive move toward the ultimate solution of the heroin crisis. The recommendations in this report—many of which will reach us in the near future—will form a comprehensive plan to attack an international problem. I feel sure that the Crime Committee's report will remain for many years one of the seminal documents of this body in the session: the Crime Committee's report on "Heroin and Heroin Paraphernalia" and Amphetamines.

The committee's equally fine amphetamine report is quite simply, just about the only one of its kind in the Nation. It embodies the Crime Committee's searching investigation into the amphetamine abuse. A danger that I pointed out some years ago when I headed a Ways and Means Subcommittee on Narcotics. All over America is greater recognition of the dangers of amphetamine abuse, and that recognition is a credit to the work of the Crime Committee.

In seeking out the causes of crime, the committee became particularly concerned with the frightening and rising number of crimes committed by young people. The Congress has benefited greatly by the committee's interest in juvenile justice. The committee's report on that area, like its other reports, is a definitive work with carefully reasoned recommendations for remedial legislation.

All together, the committee has presented us with 53 recommendations. Since the reports containing these proposals were filed late in the life of the 91st Congress, it will be the duty of this Congress to consider these proposals.

With its mandate to investigate all aspects of crime, the Select Committee on Crime has been extremely careful to respect the jurisdictional prerogatives of our standing committees. When its investigations have uncovered information that might be of value to other committees, it has not hesitated to share that information with the standing committees.

Given the record of the Select Committee on Crime and its proved ability to do a job that certainly needs doing, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri (MR. BOLLING).

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I should like first to ask the gentleman from Florida (MR. PEPPER) to answer a couple of questions. I should like the gentleman to give his comments.

The gentleman from Florida knows I have raised this topic from the beginning and that I still oppose it, but I am very interested in knowing what his plans are in connection with the future of this committee. I have the impression that the distinguished chairman of the committee at least is to wind up this committee's function in this Congress.

I should like the gentleman to comment without trying to put any words in his mouth. I should like him to make his own statement as to what the situation is with regard to the plans of the prospective chairman of the continued Foster committee.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to respond to the inquiry of my distinguished friend. I am an optimist by nature, and I had hoped the distinguished gentleman, whose voice we all esteem in this House, might have changed his mind about our committee so that it was set up in 1965 and that he would be supporting us today.

However, I do appreciate his kind inquiry, and I will attempt to answer as best I can.

The committee was set up by resolution adopted by the House by 300 something to 18 on May 1, 1969. The committee was charged by this House resolution with the responsibility to investigate all aspects of crime and to make recommendations relative to the solution of crime problems to the House.

Well, that was a big order. We have worked very diligently for 18 months, substantially, in trying to discharge that obligation we have to the House. Frankly, the problem is of such magnitude that, strive as we might, hold hearings, and issue reports, I am not going to conclude that task of that magnitude in the 18 months we have had.

So we have felt compelled in our duty to the House to ask for an extension through at least the 92d Congress. I do not mind saying to my friend that we never expected that this committee be set up for an indefinite or indeterminate period of time. We simply wanted to try to do a job as a select committee, where we have the advantage of being able to cut across the entire spectrum of the jurisdiction of the House and thus analyze the problems of crime and make valuable recommendations toward its solution. I will say to my friend it is my purpose as the introducer of the resolution for the select committee and the prospective chairman of the committee to try to conclude our work at the end of the 91st Congress, in order to end the 91st Congress, I am not going to foreclose the possibility that we might continue, because we do not know what the situation might be at the end of that Congress. The able gentleman from Missouri might be imploring us to continue our activities by...
that time, and I would not want to have to decline his gracious request. However, seriously, if we can conclude our work in good faith and in a creditable manner, we expect and intend to do so by the end of the 92d Congress. We were set up to do something about crime, and that is what we are trying to do and intend to.

Mr. BOLLING. The gentleman from Florida has kindly answered the first question that I asked.

The second question I would like to ask him has been the subject of very significant criticism on the part of a number of Members of the amount of money spent in the 18 months investigation. The figure is in the neighborhood of $800,000. I would like the gentleman from Florida to comment on his plans in that respect for the next year and the second year after that.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the gentleman again for the inquiry.

We had to start from scratch to try to assimilate basic knowledge with regard to the crime problem in the United States. I think everyone will agree that we expanded our staff as we prepared for and carried on investigations and hearings. We held these investigations and hearings in Boston, Omaha, Lincoln, San Francisco, Philadelphia, New York, the State of Virginia, and several times in the environs of the District of Columbia and in the Capital. We do not anticipate the necessity for as large an expenditure in the 93d Congress as we had in the last. We expect to submit to the Committee on House Administration a reduced budget.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. BOLLING. I thank the gentleman from Florida for his response.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

I opposed the creation of this select committee and I still oppose the creation of this select committee. I do it as a matter of principle. Except in very rare circumstances, I oppose nothing. But, I prefer to see the work done by a standing committee. Frankly, I do not smell assent to some of the original dissenters to its creation.

Mr. BOLLING. Now I would like to make a statement.

In making my original opposition, I said that the Select Committee on Crime has a record of solid achievement, and deserves to be reconstituted to complete within the next 2 years its investigative functions.

During the early months of the Crime Committee I felt that some of my misgivings were justified. It is true that we had some of the problems, staff problems which have been resolved for now more than a year. It is also true that originally the committee lacked the kind of clear sense of direction and purpose that I should have hoped for, but that too has changed.

As of now, nearly 2 years after the creation of that committee, and as one of the original dissenters to its creation, I believe that the Select Committee on Crime has earned its creation, its continuation.

The wisdom of the law and the fair administration of justice and the fair conduct of the Select Committee are not in question, but what is in question is whether the Select Committee is the proper body to continue that work.

We held these investigations and hearings in Boston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, New York, the State of Virginia, and several times in the environs of the District of Columbia and in the Capital. We do not anticipate the necessity for as large an expenditure in the 93d Congress as we had in the last. We expect to submit to the Committee on House Administration a reduced budget.

The second question I would like to ask the gentleman from Florida is, there has been very significant improvement in the development of new drugs, new techniques, we as responsible Members of Congress cannot tell the American people that the problem is so different.

The select committee has moved to meet its responsibilities in the past 21 months. Substantive areas of the national crime problem have been investigated. Public hearings have been conducted in many parts of the country. The committee, in the course of its work, has made major inroads in the process of packaging heroin. It has seriously interfered with the attempt to remove the distribution processes of heroin in the District of Columbia and in New York City by looking into the oversupply of gelatin capsules and glassine envelopes, something that the Department of Justice has not done, and something that would not have been done except for the Select Committee on Crime.

I think much remains to be done, particularly further investigations into the area of organized criminal infiltration of legitimate businesses, and perhaps some inquiry into the problems of small drug users. But however made, we want to see that the Select Committee on Crime is given the support of all Members of the House.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the gentleman for his comments and, Mr. Speaker, I urge the support of all Members on the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, the Select Committee on Crime was created on May 1, 1969, by House Resolution 17. The committee is authorized and directed to investigate and study all aspects of crime in America. This broad mandate allows the select committee to investigate all aspects of the criminal justice system and, in so doing, to step improperly on the jurisdictional toes of other committees.

In the last Congress, the Select Committee met its responsibilities in the past 21 months. Substantive areas of the national crime problem have been investigated. Public hearings have been conducted in many parts of the country. The committee, in the course of its work, has made major inroads in the process of packaging heroin. It has seriously interfered with the attempt to remove the distribution processes of heroin in the District of Columbia and in New York City by looking into the oversupply of gelatin capsules and glassine envelopes, something that the Department of Justice has not done, and something that would not have been done except for the Select Committee on Crime.

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Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGINS. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, I rise only to comment in highest terms the splendid work of the able gentleman in the well from California, who has been, since Mr. Watson left the committee, the ranking minority member on the committee, and he has done a magnificent and dedicated job, and I want to commend the gentleman for it.

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his comments and, Mr. Speaker, I urge the support of all Members on the resolution.

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The committee's public hearings initially sought a broad view of the crime problem. The committee's attention was soon focused on juvenile delinquency and the Nation's several drug problems. The later Committee found that under the purpose of engendering specific legislation to meet the problems of heroin addiction and the heroin paraphernalia trade.

Juvenile delinquency is now regarded as a major crime problem in the United States. The most recent Federal Bureau of Investigation compilation of national crime statistics shows that approximately 40 percent of those arrested for crimes of violence and 70 percent of those arrested for crimes involving property were under 21 years of age. The Select Committee attempted to find out why so many young people are turning to crime.

Millions of Americans live in degrading slums, often without adequate living space, nutrition, or medical care. They are in hot or cold water. Several experts on juvenile delinquency testified that children growing up in such circumstances are forced into the streets, and inevitably into the teenage gang behavior. These deplorable characteristics of slums and ghettos, including poor housing and inadequate medical services, are a source of frustration and bitterness toward the institutions of government.

The educational systems of the Nation are not responsive to culturally deprived students, slow learners, and problem children. Inadequate and often overcrowded facilities for vocational training do not exist although Federal moneys are available to fund such programs. Statistics show that a student is less likely to be involved in a crime than is a dropout. No effective educational methods to prevent students from dropping out have been found, nor are there adequate programs for re-enrolling, educating, and training the school dropout.

The committee investigated the efficacy of the Federal and State systems of the administration of juvenile justice and looked to serious these on youthful offenders.

Many metropolitan police departments have only recently begun to educate and train officers to properly cope with young persons. In many areas of the country there is no distinction between the treatment of juvenile and adult offenders during arrest and temporary detention periods.

The Judiciary has had to realize its philosophies and formats regarding juvenile case dispositions. Local courts are only now beginning to adjust to recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions decreeing that young people being tried in juvenile delinquency proceedings are to be afforded much the same rights as an adult, in criminal proceedings. These rights include right to legal counsel, to a formal notice of charges, the right to confront their accusers, the privilege against self-incrimination, and the right to a transcript of proceedings, the right to appeal, and a showing of guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

The professional counseling and guidance officers are woefully inadequate. Probation officers are typically underpaid, undertrained, and greatly overworked. The Commission on Law Enforcement in Juvenile Justice recommends that a probation officer supervise no more than 35 youths. However, the committee found that probation officers are usually assigned a caseload of four to five.

Juvenile corrections institutions were the most disturbing portion of the committee investigation of the juvenile justice system. The committee visited several institutions and found that some have initiated rehabilitational techniques that have proven to be successful, implementation of these successful programs has not been widespread.

Eleven Federal Government agencies have some responsibility in the area of juvenile justice. None are meeting these responsibilities in a comprehensive or satisfactory manner. The Federal Government regarding construction of low-income housing, medical aid to impoverished areas, educational programs for deprived and delinquent juveniles, vocational education, effective drug education programs, and the improvement of juvenile corrections institutions. The report also contains seventeen specific programs and recommendations that the committee believes will aid local governments and private citizens fight the problem of juvenile crime.

Members of the committee have introduced a resolution to create a Juvenile Research Institute and Training Center. This institution would coordinate the Federal efforts to combat juvenile delinquency. It would also provide training for persons seeking to become professionals in this field.

The committee found that the study of the growing problem of juvenile crime leads directly into a more dangerous phenomena of crime: the use and abuse of narcotics, marihuana, and dangerous drugs. No single problem is of more concern or poses more danger to an orderly American way of life. A great part of the committee's resources have been spent studying certain segments of the drug problem.

Marihuana is certainly the most widely abused substance in the United States, although exactly how widespread is the abuse is not known. It is reasonable to estimate that millions of youths have at least experimented with it. The Federal Government and all the States have laws prohibiting the possession and use of marihuana. The committee found that some States, including Nebraska, have relatively mild penalties for violating these laws. In other States, penalties for the same conduct are extremely strict. The uneven hand of the law is now receiving the youth of America for marihuana violations, while lawmakers cannot be certain why its use is not permitted. The physical and mental effects of marihuana use are relatively unknown. Medical and scientific opinions are widely divergent. No definitive study has been made.

The Select Committee on Crime did not recommend to the Surgeon General of the United States that he undertake a study to determine the physical and psychological effects of the use of marihuana. The Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse has since been created and has begun such a study.

The committee submitted a report to the 91st Congress on April 6, 1970, entitled 'Marihuana and Drug Abuse,' which contains a full view of the committee's investigation of the marihuana problem.

The second, more dangerous, drug problem involves the abuse and misuse of amphetamines. When abused, this type of drug is known as "speed" regulations promulgated by the Food and Drug Administration and contained in the Federal Register on August 8, 1970, stated that amphetamines may be legitimately prescribed for the treatment of narcolepsy, a rare sleeping sickness, the treatment of hyperkinetic children, and in the early stage of weight control. For these few uses, officials at the National Institute of Mental Health have estimated there is annual national need for a few hundred thousand doses of amphetamines. However, legitimate manufacturers are currently producing 5 to 8 billion amphetamine doses annually. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs estimate that more than half of these are diverted into illegal channels. Of the supply remaining within the legal channels, medical authorities state that promiscuous prescribing has led to drug abuse.

The committee solicited the opinions of hundreds of medical authorities and heard testimony from both law enforcement officials and representatives of drug companies. At public hearings, the committee heard terrifying and explicit testimony regarding the physical and psychological consequences of amphetamine addiction among the young. Dependency on amphetamines is not only a significant cause of all types of crime, but it is a deadly destroyer of minds and bodies.

The committee was told that lax laws and regulations have engendered a situation where more than 60 percent of the amphetamines exported to Mexico are smuggled back into the United States and sold in the black market. Though legitimate manufacturers are not the only source of these dangerous drugs, they are the largest single source. The committee felt that technical expertise or experience is needed to construct and operate a crude laboratory capable of producing "speed." There is little Federal or State control over the
purchase of the immediate precursors or chemical ingredients needed to manufacture amphetamines.

The committee prepared legislation designed to deal with the amphetamine problems exposed by its investigations and hearings. The first bill introduced would have prohibited the manufacture and distribution of methamphetamines—one of the most powerful and widely abused "speed" drugs. The second bill sought to place strict controls on the manufacture and distribution of all amphetamine-type drugs. Both bills would have imposed stricter limits on the sale of the chemical ingredients of amphetamines.

Unfortunately, the Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 did not contain adequate controls to prevent the further diversion of legally manufactured amphetamine-type drugs. The members of the Select Committee believed so strongly in the need for increased controls that they unanimously sponsored an amendment to that act reestablishing amphetamine, methamphetamine, methylphenidate and pemhetramine, all central nervous system stimulants, from schedule III to schedule II. The committee believed that the increased production controls, registration requirements, and export regulations applied to compounds in schedule II would greatly reduce diversion and abuse of all types of amphetamines.

The committee submitted a report to the 91st Congress on January 2, 1971, entitled "Amphetamines." The report outlined the difficulties of amphetamine abuse in the United States, the disastrous physical and psychological effects of the misuse and abuse of these drugs and the relationship of this problem to violence and crime. The report details the experiences of Japan and Sweden, both of which have had significant problems with amphetamine-type drugs. The report analyzes the current laws and practices which control the use of amphetamines and the ingredients of amphetamines, the adoption of the International Psychotropic Drug Protocol, the improvement of international border security procedures, and the prohibition of or tighter regulation of mail order shipments of amphetamines.

The epidemic spread of the use of heroin is the most dangerous drug problem we face today. Ten years ago heroin addiction was apparently decreasing. Within the past 3 years there has been a dramatic resurgence of heroin, especially among the young. While heroin was once found exclusively in the ghettos, it is now found in every section of the country, and among every segment of the population. The committee devoted to determine the scope and magnitude of the heroin problem.

Heroin can only be made from opium. The only source of opium is the opium poppy, Papaver somniferum, which does not readily grow in the United States. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs estimates that more than 80 percent of the heroin used in the United States originated in Turkey. The heroin smuggling routes, from the Middle East to Europe and on to the United States, are well known. Even so, present Federal law enforcement programs prevent less than 20 percent of the smuggled heroin from reaching American addicts.

There are presently more than 200,000 heroin addicts in the United States. More persons are being addicted each day. New York City police estimates that its addict population has risen from 50,000 to 100,000 in the past 4 years. The dangers and deleterious physical effects of heroin use are well known. However, of all the terrible facts and figures regarding heroin, perhaps the most profoundly shocking is that of the 900 addict deaths in New York City in 1969, 214 were teenagers. In 1970, 45 percent of the cases disposed of in New York City by the Supreme Court of New York involved narcotics violations. Drug related cases account for more than 40 percent of the prison population in New York.

The direct impact of heroin addiction on crime in America is so extensive it defies accurate measure. A confirmed addict usually needs money for his drug habit. Since legitimate employment is usually impossible, most addicts turn in desperation to crime. It matters little to the addict whether his criminal act be petty larceny, prostitution, or violent street crime. His need will justify almost any means.

The committee found that the heroin trade is not plied by criminals alone. "Legitimate" business plays an essential part. While the substance a drug user introduces into his body may be called heroin, that substance is usually only 10 percent heroin. The remainder is diluents such as manmade, quinine, or lactose. The heroin street pusher typically sells his product packaged in a No. 5 gelatin capsule or in glassine envelopes. The heroin user often uses needles or syringes. Without question, there are legitimate uses for lactose, syringes, and gelatin capsules and glassine envelopes. The committee expects to find that their neighborhood pharmacy sold 4 tons of manmade, 40,000 ounces of quinine, 47 million glassine envelopes, and 25 million No. 5 gelatin capsules in the past 3 years. The committee located this very drugstore in New York City, and disturbingly this "drugstore" had violated no law.

The committee submitted a report to the 91st Congress on January 2, 1971, entitled "Heroin and Heroin Paraphernalia." This far-reaching report includes a history of heroin addiction in the United States and in other parts of the world, an analysis of the existing addiction crisis, the detail of international heroin smuggling routes, and an expose of the distribution of heroin to our communities and schools.

The report contains 28 specific recommendations to Congress and the Federal executive branch, including measures regarding international conventions and controls of heroin smuggling, the existing legalized American opium trade, the heroin paraphernalia trade, law enforcement, and border control. In addition, the committee surveyed the relationship between drug-related crimes, criminal laws dealing with narcotics, and the treatment and rehabilitation of heroin addicts.

Mr. WIGGINS of California. There is no doubt in the minds of the American public that, possibly outside the Southeast Asia war, the No. 2 critical issue before the American people are the economy and the ramp age of lawlessness and crime throughout our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the Special House Crime Committee, from the hearings held throughout the country, are convinced that in the short existence of this committee it would be ill-advised to terminate the great work it has accomplished. The committee has also alerted the public and especially our youth on the dangers of the devastating effect that the drug epidemic has on our communities and schools. Favorable action on this resolution will mean this committee can continue this investigation as to the causes and sources of the underground distribution of morphine, heroin, methadone and other narcotics, and their effects on lawlessness and crime. The committee has only had time to touch upon the sources of infiltration of organized crime into the ranks of legitimate businesses.

The news media have recently revealed that the statistics of the major cities, and especially over the Nation, have recorded a percentage of decrease. This is certainly good news. The Federal Government, States, and municipalities should push further their fight on crime and the causes thereof.

The Special Select Committee on Crime created by the House in the last Congress has contributed greatly to recorded decrease in lawlessness. This committee has held hearings over the Nation and especially in major cities from coast to coast during the last Congress. The newspapers, television, and radio publicity in the various localities where hearings were held extended wide information and encouragement to the people combating the activities of drug traffickers.

One of the great results of the work of this committee has been through the news media inciting the minds of millions of our youth the dangers of the use of drugs to the human body and especially over our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Massen).

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 115 calls for the extending of the special House Crime Committee for the duration of the 92d Congress. This resolution was introduced by our colleague and present chairman of the committee, Congressman Farmer of Florida, and the minority ranking member, Congressman Woosers of California. There is no doubt in the minds of the American public that, possibly outside the Southeast Asia war, the No. 2 critical issue before the American people are the economy and the ramp age of lawlessness and crime throughout our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the Special House Crime Committee, from the hearings held throughout the country, are convinced that in the short existence of this committee it would be ill-advised to terminate the great work it has accomplished. The committee has also alerted the public and especially our youth on the dangers of the devastating effect that the drug epidemic has on our communities and schools. Favorable action on this resolution will mean this committee can continue this investigation as to the causes and sources of the underground distribution of morphine, heroin, methadone and other narcotics, and their effects on lawlessness and crime. The committee has only had time to touch upon the sources of infiltration of organized crime into the ranks of legitimate businesses.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE 5597

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Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs representatives in London with whom I met, a major source of their education as to the intricacies and dangers not only of the psychotropic substances but of all of the narcotics such as heroin, opium and morphine and the like come from the very monumental reports that were produced after a year of study by this Select Committee on Crime.

I refer to the report on amphetamines and hallucinogens, that is, to the complex problem of drug abuse. But many small steps, similar to the committee's breakthroughs in heroin packaging, lead to the path of a long-lasting solution.

Time does not permit me to enumerate all of the significant contributions that the Select Committee on Crime has made to the knowledge of this body. It suffices to say that the record of the committee is a source of pride to all the Members of the House. We now have the opportunity to allow this record to be expanded.

The investment of the 91st Congress has proved to be a sound investment. To renew its activities by reconstituting the Select Committee on Crime is, I am sad to say, particularly prevalent in the south Bronx, a once-popular and stable residential area that is now the domain of dope peddlers and junkies. No where is the novelist's portrayer of fear about the power of narcotics more vividly portrayed than in the south Bronx, a once-popular and stable residential area that is now the domain of dope peddlers and junkies.

During its New York hearings on the heroin trade, Chairman Pepper and the other members of the committee visited a church in my district in the Bronx and held a private afternoon session with interested neighbors from the community. The committee, to a man, was appalled by what they saw and heard. They left, deeply moved and determined to rout the forces of democracy.

The committee's contributions to the fight against heroin trafficking are substantial. Because of their investigation of narcotics, packaging and sources of packaging materials have been seriously disrupted. This is true for both glassine envelopes as well as for empty gelatin capsules. Their disclosures of activities in this area have contributed to law enforcement personnel. I, for one, owe a great deal to the committee's hearings and reports in adding to my personal knowledge of the drug problem.

The Select Committee on Crime made its own crusade to curtail overproduction of amphetamines by legitimate manufacturers. It is no coincidence that the PSYOP, which is recently issued new policy guidelines for the legitimate uses of amphetamines.

During my recent trip to Vienna as an observer to the International Psychotropic Drug Protocol Convention, I was greatly aided by the information gathered by the committee in its "Amphetamine Report." The reputation of the committee's work is further enhanced by the fact that it is acknowledged by all. It was this trip, along with my visit to Turkey during the last Congress, has intensified my appreciation for the committee's contributions to the complex problem of drug abuse. But many small steps, similar to the committee's breakthroughs in heroin packaging, lead to the path of a long-lasting solution.

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from one suspected of criminal activities such individual possesses the constitutional privilege of immunity from criminal prosecution, and while it may be necessary and useful for Congress to compel such testimony within the limits of the fifth amendment, that tool should be used sparingly for obvious reasons.

Another matter which causes me a great deal of concern is the fact that we have established the limits of the fifth amendment which are within the expressed jurisdiction of permanent committees of this House, namely, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the Committee on the Judiciary, and others. In the former case, I hasten to point out that the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce held hearings in Washington during the last Congress and produced the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act. Furthermore, the Judiciary committee has attempted to look into the possibility to examine measures intended to strengthen the Federal effort against organized crime, held hearings during the last Congress in Washington D.C. These hearings were comprehensive and resulted ultimately in passage of the Organized Crime Control Act. These hearings were held at a fraction of what it cost in Baltimore. The hearings of the Select Committee on Crime. Now we are told that the Select Committee plans to hold hearings in this same area during the present Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that these will be no duplication of effort. The increased cost to the taxpayer which will result by extending the life of the Select Committee on Crime will, I hope, avoid interference with our duly constituted crime investigation agencies. I am thinking particularly of the special grand juries authorized by the organized Crime Control Act of 1970.

In the reconstitution of this Select Committee these are a great many pitfalls which the committee must avoid—if its existence is to be justified.

Mr. Speaker, I am aware that I have some time remaining, and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Garmatz) has asked for 2 minutes, I now yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise in full support of the resolution now before us extending the life of the Select Committee on Crime. In doing so I am aware that I have something of an advantage over my colleagues. Almost a year ago I was privileged to observe this committee in action in the United States Capitol—but in the heart of a community that could have been representative of many communities across the land. The occasion was the second day of a 2-day hearing in Baltimore in the auditorium of Southern High School in Baltimore. The purpose to that hearing was to find out whether the poor of this nation and that of Maryland—are proud, too, that the Select Committee on Crime has also worked closely with Maryland law enforcement agencies in another phase of its investigations: heroin addiction and the nefarious traffic and distribution of this drug—the cause of an enormous amount of crime in urban areas. In the course of its investigations the committee, for the first time, brought nationwide attention to the over-regulation of legitimate businessmen in heroin distribution. That is, businessmen who have profited by providing heroin dealers with legitimate complaints in the National Weather Service and its members the Select Committee plans to win the approval of the House.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I represent the 18th Congressional District of New York which is central Harlem. I wish I could come down here with the luxury of knowing I would be fighting for legislation to improve the conditions in which my constituents live, especially in the area of housing, poverty, education. I am convinced that this committee can do this if we should proceed to think about some of our other problems, we would soon find out that we cannot resolve any of those problems unless we decide what this Nation is going to do about the epidemic which is sweeping over us. If you want to talk about law and order let us talk in terms of lack of opportunity and the ever increasing use by children, children as young as 8 years old, of narcotics and the danger of their becoming addicted as a result of just attending school. The breakdown of quality education in the city of New York is directly related to the increase of drugs being peddled in New York City schools.

If I were to tell you about the problems we were having in our municipal hospitals caused by drug addiction, I would have to tell you about the terrible decisions that must be made by doctors as they try to decide whether a bed should be made available for a young addict or not and sick or whether that bed should be made available for a young addict.

When our Nation talks about a volunteer force, we should look to those people who really want to serve and who are physically and emotionally able to serve. Mr. Nixon would have to find out whether the poor of this Nation land has assumed a position of progressive leadership among the States in its response to the demand for improved law enforcement and criminal justice. We are proud, but we are not complacent. We recognize that much more needs to be done.

But crime is a national problem. Congress finally recognized that fact when it enacted the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, providing for State and local law enforcement. If we can put a dent in crime in Maryland, then we can surely bring about a reduction in the national rate of crime as well. This is no time to relax our efforts. This is no time for the Congress of the United States to take a backward step. Let us, therefore, keep the Select Committee on Crime in business and offer the members of this committee every encouragement as they continue their difficult task of providing the rest of us in this House with firsthand, factual information and recommended recommendations which can form the basis for enlightened legislation.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Rangel).

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I represent the 18th Congressional District of New York which is central Harlem. I wish I could come down here with the luxury of knowing I would be fighting for legislation to improve the conditions in which my constituents live, especially in the area of housing, poverty, education. I am convinced that this committee can do this if we should proceed to think about some of our other problems, we would soon find out that we cannot resolve any of those problems unless we decide what this Nation is going to do about the epidemic which is sweeping over us. If you want to talk about law and order let us talk in terms of lack of opportunity and the ever increasing use by children, children as young as 8 years old, of narcotics and the danger of their becoming addicted as a result of just attending school. The breakdown of quality education in the city of New York is directly related to the increase of drugs being peddled in New York City schools.

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are physically able to serve in the U.S. Army and, if so, whether they will become addicted to drugs in the Army.

We all know that the U.S. Constitution says a person is innocent until proven guilty. I speak as a former U.S. attorney and I can tell my colleagues that in the city of New York this is just not so. It is not so because we have dealt with this part of the Constitution where we find in our criminal courts that 60 to 70 percent of the criminals charged with crimes are found to be addicts. Therefore, in our houses of detention we find men waiting for 1, 2 and even 3 years in jail awaiting trial even though they have not been proven guilty of any crime.

I suggest that in my community it seems pretty hopeless. We have tried to work effectively with our 30,000 New York City police and yet we find that the billions of dollars involved in drug traffic has even diseased some of New York's finest policemen.

There was a time when we had no hope at all that the world would be concerned with what we thought was a problem of central importance. We see the problem has hit the suburbs and spread throughout the Nation to touch all American youth.

I was in on the formation of the Select Committee on Crime, as the committee came into our areas and held hearings, that we would find some light at the end of a very dark and very long tunnel. I ask the Members here to bear out that light for a people for whom the situation has been almost hopeless.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. Howard).

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to support this resolution. Two years ago I was happy to be the second sponsor behind the gentleman from Florida in introducing this resolution. I believe the committee is very worthwhile.

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

Mr. HOWARD. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to say the gentleman in the well was one of the strongest supporters of this resolution, previously. We are grateful to him for his support.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. Speaker, I was in on the formation of the committee, but not one of the previous Members appointed to it. I thought they were all very fine people, but I was disturbed by the decision of the leadership that it is going to look into, as the gentleman from Florida said, all aspects of crime, and the leadership decided that all Members on this committee must be lawyers and there should be none except lawyers on this committee.

Mr. Speaker, I submit crime is more than law or lack of law. Crime is really people and why they behave and why they do as they do. This committee is dealing with all the causes of crime in this country which will not be found in the lawbooks of America, or in our statutes. We have to look at things like narcotics, and we have to look at things like frustrations, and we have to look at deprivation in the cities, and we have to look at boredom in the suburbs, and we have to look at the way we are going to be able adequately to eliminate crime from this country.

So I do hope we will get a broader prospectus. Crime may be psychological or physiological. Crime is not any one person. It deals with people. I do hope in the formation of the new committee we will deal with all aspects of people and people's activities if we are going to deal with all aspects of crime.

I would like to ask the gentleman from Florida if he agrees that having it limited to lawyers may limit his work.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I do agree with the gentleman. I think this subject is broad enough to cover all aspects of this national social problem.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. MONAGAN).

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like briefly to state some concerns I have with this legislation. I am going to support this resolution, particularly in view of the expression of the intention of the gentleman from Florida that this committee would terminate with the close of the present Congress.

I do believe, however, that there are questions relating generally to setting up commissions, both in the legislative branch and in the executive branch that must be considered. We are just too prone to setting up commissions.

A subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations which I head recently made a study of this proliferation of committees and found that there were some 100 governmental advisory commissions in existence, with costs ranging from nothing up to millions of dollars and personnel reaching up to hundreds of people.

We have involved also with such bodies the question of jurisdiction, and of conflict with existing committees. That is so in this case, as has been stated by several speakers. There is a potential and actual conflict with the area of activity of the Committee on the Judiciary.

We also have a cost here of at least $1,000,000, which to my way of thinking in many cases could better be distributed to existing committees. The Committee on Government Operations for example has with all its staff and functions a budget of approximately $400,000. The Committee on Foreign Affairs with its wide-ranging and vital responsibilities has a budget far below the amount of $800,000.

In addition, I have had some question about the operation of the committee itself. Representatives came to the State of Florida from the Select School for problem boys there, where all of us knew that there were problems that existed as exist in every similar institution throughout the country. It seemed to me that the main result was that there was a blaze of publicity. It was a 6-day wonder. It hit the pages of all the newspapers. The committee went away, and that was the effect of its impact upon that community and upon that problem.

Mr. Speaker, in this instance, because of the potential good that the committee may do that has been mentioned by the various speakers who support it, and because of my hope that it will be more specific in its achievements in this field, I am going to support it, but I do give notice of my own reservations and the problem that I would face if a renewal were to be propelled in the future, unless there were some change, of course, in the activity of this committee.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. BURKE).

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 165 to establish a Select Committee on Crime. It is vital that the work of this committee be continued and indeed expanded over the next 2 years.

Over the past 30 months, the Select Committee on Crime has held investigations into many diverse segments of the crime problem in the United States. Its statements on the widespread use and abuse of amphetamine—speed—drugs were a disturbing revelation to the Congress and the public. Its report on amphetamines presents a clear picture of the problem and proposes methods of stemming its increase.

Perhaps the most terrifying aspect of the drug and crime problem in the United States is the growing use of heroin. Inexplicably, heroin addiction, dormant for several years, is on the rise again. Its tentacles have spread to every segment of our country irrespective of race, sex, or economic status. Children in college, high school, and, yes, even elementary school are becoming addicted.

The Select Committee on Crime was the first group to take action to attack this malignancy on our culture. In two hard-hitting hearings the committee examined the smuggling of heroin into the United States, and the distribution of the narcotic once it has arrived. It examined the plight of the heroin addict, and the effect of his addiction in terms of crimes, violence, and instability upon the rest of the society.

The committee exposed so-called legitimate businessmen, who deal in the manufacture and distribution of paraphernalia for the preparation and administration of this dread drug. Finally, the committee examined the scientific research now going on, and the early efforts through Methadone and other techniques to stem the need of the addict for the crippling substance.

These hearings resulted in a report outlining the heroin problem, and a series of legislative recommendations, many of which will be introduced shortly. The work of this committee, easily the
most definitive on the heroin problem to date, provides a definitive plan for the eradication of the disease of addiction in this country.

But there is far, far more than this, Mr. Speaker. The committee has done extensive investigation and reporting in areas that have gotten a great deal of attention and coverage in the press, such as the problems of police and street crime and violence, and many other facets of our national tragedy of crime.

Mr. Speaker, this committee has a great deal more work to do, and is now in the planning stages for several important investigations and hearings. Their work has been admirably begun, and I am sure that their future performances will be exceptional.

I cannot close without paying special tribute to the great American who heads up the Crime Committee. The committee's performance under his guiding hand and inspiration has proved a suspicion that I have long held. That is that the talents of Claude Pepper are so varied that they are without equal--and his unflagging enthusiasm to do what is best for the benefit of both this House and the Nation. The distinguished Representative from Florida (Mr. Pepper) has approached the problem of crime with the same learned zeal and scholarship that he has focused on so many other problems confronting this Nation over the decades. I feel a vote to continue the committee is in no small part a personal tribute to the record of accomplishment compiled by the distinguished chairman.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly urge the re-appointment of this committee and look forward to its future endeavors.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Pickax).

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago, I cosponsored the formation of the Select Committee on Crime. I am, therefore, proud to support the continuation of this committee.

Originally, I supported the creation of this committee because I felt that the mounting crime rate needed the attention of the Congress whose sole function was to make an in-depth investigation and recommendations. I do not see that the need for this committee is any less today than it was 2 years ago.

With 20 months of experience to call on, the committee today is in an even stronger position to analyze the spiraling problems of crime. Specifically, I am interested in the continuation of the committee's work in the field of drug abuse and drug education.

Mr. Speaker, I salute the committee and I very much wish they should have the time—certainly for the next 2 years—to maintain their on-going status.

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, the Select Committee on Crime under the leadership of Honorable Claude Pepper should be continued by this House.

The need to stop drug abuse in this country calls for all efforts by this Congress to spotlight the effects of drugs on the children of the Nation.

In my district nothing strikes fear in the hearts of honest people more than the fear of drugs. Our leadership in this area must continue through the Select Committee on Crime.

Drug abuse represents the most serious menace that faces this country and calls for the best efforts of all its citizens to halt the purveyors of destruction who seek to destroy the fiber of young life.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I urge members to continue the Select Committee on Crime. Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues in the House to vote for the continuance of the Select Committee on Crime. During its 20-month existence, this committee has contributed greatly to the knowledge of this body.

The Select Committee on Crime has conducted an intense investigation into heroin and heroin paraphernalia, which culminated in hearings held in New York City, my home. Heroin addiction, once confined to small areas of the city, is today present in every section of the five boroughs. My district in Staten Island and Brooklyn is no exception, I am sorry to say.

The New York City hearings of this committee, chaired by our distinguished colleague from Florida, Claude Pepper, along with the committee's hearings in other localities, have culminated in a publication previously unquestioned aspects of the heroin trade. This information, coupled with the investigations in related drug abuse cases, has provided the basis for a major legislative program to curtail the distribution of illicit drugs in this country.

The Select Committee on Crime has provided us with a great source of information both for our own education about the drug problem as well as for distribution to constituents. The committee's reports on marihuana, amphetamines, and heroin and heroin paraphernalia, and its radio documentary, "Facts and Fables of Drug Abuse," have been invaluable sources of drug education material.

Moreover, the hearings and the investigations have provided the basis for more dramatically than in the area of drug abuse. A drug problem exists in virtually every school on Staten Island, from the senior high schools to the elementary schools. Every family feels the impact of one, or another, by drug abuse. Clearly, every possible effort to eradicate this problem should and must be taken.

There is no way that we can measure the usefulness of the Select Committee on Crime in dollar terms. How can we estimate the value of saving one life, let alone thousands. But clearly we can see that the value of this committee greatly exceeds the cost of its operation.

The Select Committee on Crime's findings concerning heroin packaging have caused serious disruptions in the distribution of heroin in both the Metropolitan New York and Washington areas. Its efforts have substantially curbed the manufacture and sale of glassine envelopes and gelatin capsules. The committee has had a direct effect on the illicit production of amphetamines and has led to a reevaluation of the use and distribution of this class of drugs. The efforts of the committee in the District of Columbia promises to be an invaluable aid to narcotics law enforcement in the Nation's Capital.

I agree with Chairman Pepper that if we can substantially reduce drug addiction, we will see corresponding reductions in our Nation's crime rate. The fact that nearly 70 percent of all street crime is drug related is reason enough alone to continue this committee's activities.

It is clear that the work of this committee in the 91st Congress more than justifies expectations of greater returns from its work in this new Congress. We need the Crime Committee, and I urge us to join me in voting "yes" on House Resolution 115.

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 115 to continue the Select Committee on Crime.

My good friend and colleague, the Honorable Claude Pepper, has done an outstanding job leading the Select Committee on Crime in the last Congress. The committee's record justifies our continued support of its activities.

Since its inception, the committee has provided us with timely and necessary studies on the problems of crime and drug law enforcement. The reports issued by the committee concerning drug abuse and narcotic addiction are outstanding. The committee's background information on the problems of drugs and many of us have made the reports available to constituents and police departments who have requested information and Federal assistance in dealing with this devastating law enforcement problem.

Mr. Speaker, the problem of law enforcement is perhaps today's most pressing problem which demands our continued attention. The statistics alone, not to mention the personal tragedies we read about or hear about and in many cases are touched by, cry out more eloquently than words the need for action.

In only 10 years, the rate of major crimes of violence increased 104 percent. Between 1964 and 1967 the rate of violent crimes has increased at an increasing rate: between 1968 and 1969 the number of street robberies increased 13 percent; in the first quarter of 1970 they increased 10 percent.

I believe that the research and studies developed by the Select Committee on Crime have contributed immeasurably to our understanding and to our ability to reverse the trend borne out by the statistics. I believe that the war on crime must continue with all the weapons we have at our command, and I, therefore, support the continued activities of the Select Committee on Crime.

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct privilege for me to have the opportunity to express my support for the resolution now before us reconstituting the Select Committee on Crime. No other committee has spent as much time working with local law enforcement officials and local repute activities of the Select Committee on Crime.

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reational facilities. Now, through the work of the Select Committee on Crime, Congress has been able to observe local and State crime control machinery in action within the community it serves.

I am pleased to point out that the committee's endeavors, its recommendations and public hearings in my own State of Massachusetts with a 2-day hearing at Faneuil Hall in Boston. Some of the evidence and the recommended legislation that appeared in the committee's first report to the Congress entitled, "Marijuana." This report has been widely distributed and has been most helpful to Members of Congress struggling to separate fact from fiction in the national controversy over the use of this substance.

The Boston hearing also served as a starting point for the committee's investigation into the adequacy of juvenile justice in the United States, an investigation that convinced the members of the committee that greater Federal interest and support were required to offset badly needed improvements in the present system. As a result, last September Chairman Pepper introduced H.R. 19327, the Juvenile Research Institute Act of 1971.

The bill would be a major step along the road to providing adequate care and rehabilitation for the Nation's young people. The success in reducing crime, surely it is obvious that we must begin with our young people. For this reason I was gratified to cosponsor this constructive legislation.

Another of the more productivehearings was held in San Francisco where, for the first time, the incredible dimensions of amphetamine abuse were graphically and dramatically presented to the American people. As I see it, the Select Committee on Crime deserves commendation for its subsequent fight to amend last year's Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act to further curb the overproduction of these pills.

More recently, the committee's investigative talents have been turned to another of our most pressing domestic problems, heroin addiction. Many of these recommendations will reach the public in the near future.

Heroin is our Nation's killer drug, and its work on amphetamine abuse, in particular, revealed the dangers of these pills. The committee has also revealed the startling overproduction of amphetamines, many of which find their way on to the illegal market. The new consciousness of the dangers of these drugs is a direct result of the fine work of this committee.

I am also pleased to note that the Crime Committee has devoted its considerable talents to the investigation of heroin abuse. The killer drug is so intimately connected with the rising crime rate in America today that it is my feeling that I must cosponsor that amendment. Although it was not approved by the House, the all-out fight waged by the members of the committee for this legislation demonstrated, I believe, this committee's commitment to its stated objectives.

Still, this committee may have made its most significant contribution in another aspect of the Nation's drug problem: heroin addiction. All of us have received copies of the committee's report filed in January and entitled, "Heroin and Heroin Paraphernalia." It is the product of many months of hearings and many months of staff research and investigation. Its 21 recommendations taken together amount to an imaginative, comprehensive approach to the heroin problem. The report has been widely read and is receiving the attention it deserves. The committee has worked hard to reduce the supply of and demand for this murderous drug. This report is worthy of serious consideration by all the Members of Congress.

Up until Congress enacted the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, the Federal Government had traditionally jet the States and localities go it alone in the struggle to control crime in our Nation's streets. That act for the first time provided Federal funds to aid law enforcement. Its full effect will not be felt for some time to come. All of us urge the Department of Justice that this effort be intensified.

But we cannot assume that money alone can solve our crime problem. The creation of the Select Committee on Crime was further evidence that the Federal interest in and responsibility for turning back this rising tide of crime. The committee has only begun its difficult assignment. Let us vote for reconstitution so that these members can continue their meritorious work.

Mr. SIERS. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great personal pleasure to rise today to speak in support of House Resolution 115, introduced by my esteemed colleague from Florida, Claude Pepper, to extend for the life of this Congress the Select Committee on Crime.

At a time when considerable discussion and work has been done to reduce the supply of and demand for this murderous drug.

Mr. Pepper's committee is pre-eminent in the field of drug abuse, and its work on amphetamine abuse, in particular, revealed the dangers of these pills. The committee has also revealed the startling overproduction of amphetamines, many of which find their way on to the illegal market. The new consciousness of the dangers of these drugs is a direct result of the fine work of this committee.

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Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I support House Resolution 115 providing for the continuation of the House Select Committee on Crime. Under the able leadership of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Pepper) and his distinguished colleagues on the committee, the Select Committee has functioned effectively in developing a greater understanding and awareness of crime in the United States.

It is easy for us to state that we are opposed to crime; but in doing so we must provide the tools to wage the war against crime. The Select Committee through its hearings and reports has provided insight into the nature of crime.

We have greater awareness of the need for comprehensive national policy for dealing with crime. The Select Committee has generated new data on the problem of organized crime in this country. Its studies on drug and narcotic addiction and abuse have contributed in understanding juvenile offenders.

At a time when considerable discussion and attention is being focused on reformation of our criminal justice system, on criminal rehabilitation and penal reform, and on administration of justice, the extension of the Select Committee on Crime is of extreme importance. The mandate for such a committee was enunciated
some time ago by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. That mandate now is the need for reform in law enforcement to avoid the menace of a growing crime rate in this country has not changed.

Previously, crime fighting may have been looked upon with a romanticized “gang buster” view; today it is recognized as a deadly serious business requiring skill, training and dedication. It touches every aspect of our life. The Select Committee's continuing focus on the need to improve our law enforcement, crime detection and prevention efforts. The committee can help make certain that our law enforcement officials have the support they need to function effectively.

If crime is viewed as a manifestation of our society, then we must have a framework which provides a rational, well-organized approach for dealing with the problem. The Select Committee can help provide that approach.

The idea of the Select Committee on Crime was to attempt to look at the crime problem as an interdisciplinary rather than by category, “to probe all aspects and elements of crime” in the United States and to report its findings to the House of Representatives, "together with such recommendations as it deems advisable." The committee was established on May 1, 1969, with the overwhelming approval of the House, 343 to 18.

Since that time the committee has organized and commenced operation, having held 13 public hearings in as many cities across the Nation.

These hearings have dealt with the drug problem as it relates to crime, juvenile justice and corrections and improvements in law enforcement and justice in the United States.

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, one group in so short a time cannot hope or aspire to finding solutions to crime in America. However, this committee has been productive and reported its findings, in detail, to the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the very worth of the work being carried out by the Select Committee on Crime should be continued and I respectfully recommend passage of House Resolution 115.

Mr. WOLFP, Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislative resolution. As a sponsor of the resolution creating the Select Committee on Crime in 1969, I have viewed with pride the fine work done by the committee (Mr. PERRIN) and his colleagues. During its 20 months of existence, the Crime Committee has held 13 public hearings throughout the country, issued four reports—including reports on the drug traffic in heroin and amphetamines—and made 53 legislative recommendations.

In my judgment, the primary function of this type of special committee is to shed light on the conditions which exist in America today, and not necessarily to legislate. Without public support, very little can be accomplished in this country. It is the job of this select committee to make the public aware of the crime problem in the United States, and it is fulfilling its purpose through the issuance of reports and legislative recommendations. Hopefully, the legislative committees of the Congress will follow through on those recommendations by enacting the necessary legislation.

I would also like to make clear that I will be permitted to continue its vital investigative work, for the problems we faced in 1969 are still with us. For that reason, I would like to include at this point in the record the remarks I made on May 1, 1969, in support of the creation of the committee:

Mr. WOLFP, Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislative resolution. As a sponsor of the resolution creating the Select Committee on Crime, I am pleased to speak for its prompt passage. We have only to read our daily newspapers and listen to our broadcast news reports to realize the gravity of the crime problem in all parts of our Nation.

This problem stretches from organized crime with its many outlets to urban violence to suburban teenagers experimenting with dangerous drugs. The magnitude of the problem is truly awesome and prompt constructive action is necessary.

In order to achieve sources of the problem and therefore offer constructive suggestions for possible solutions, a thoroughgoing examination of crime is desirable. This is, of course, the purpose of this resolution and the reason why I have joined in sponsoring the legislation drawn by my able colleague from Florida (Mr. PEPPER).

I trust our colleagues recognize the importance of initiating a complete study of the problem of crime at the earliest possible date and therefore anticipate immediate positive action. Not to act now would be a grave disservice to the tens of millions of law-abiding Americans. Finally I want to join in commending the gentleman from Florida (Mr. PEPPER).

Mr. ERASCO, Mr. Speaker, on Law Day, May 1, 1969, the 91st Congress created the Select Committee on Crime. During the remaining 20 months of that Congress, this committee, ably chaired by Mr. CHARMAN (Mr. PEPPER), has distinguished itself through its investigations, particularly in the area of drug abuse.

Through a series of hearings in virtually every section of the United States, the Select Committee on Crime has confirmed our most dreaded expectations. The drug traffic in heroin and the use of “speed” is no longer a west coast phenomenon alone. Today, drug addiction is just as visible in Lincoln, Neb., as it is in the District of Columbia.

Today we are considering whether to continue the activities of the Select Committee on Crime for the 92d Congress. I strongly urge my colleagues to vote yes. The Select Committee on Crime is a vote for this favorable action is numerous.

Literally billions of amphetamines have been manufactured annually by legitimate drug manufacturers in this country. Amphetamines have become one of the most abused of all dangerous drugs. When taken improperly they have been found to cause rather strong reactions in the user. The committee discovered that half the illegal amphetamines sold on the streets were manufactured by legitimate drug firms. Until this was pointed out by the Select Committee on Crime, during its public investigations, few were aware of the gravity of the problem.

The use of heroin is not new to this country. But heroin addiction has grown to become a problem of massive proportions in the last 5 years. Many legitimate businesses have unwittingly been contributing to the heroin trade. Millions of glassine envelopes and gelatin capsules have been found to be packages of heroin. Until the Select Committee on Crime questioned the manufacturers of these products during hearings in New York City and the District of Columbia, how many of them were aware of the application of their products to the drug trade?

One dose of heroin as it appears on the street market contains at most 10 percent heroin. The rest of the compound is made up of quinine, mannite, and milk sugars. The only possible use of the combination of these cutting agents is in the heroin trade. Yet presently there are no laws to punish these practices.

As a sponsor of the resolution creating the Select Committee on Crime, I am aware of the frustrations of law enforcement when faced with a task that is almost too well the effects of crime and drug abuse. It is the causes that need further congressional investigation in order to examine the causes rather than the symptoms. Too often we have unwittingly been contributing to the problem of drug abuse.

Mr. HAGAN, Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I rise in support of the reconstitution of the Select Committee on Crime. A vote for the reconstitution of this committee is a vote to continue our efforts to reduce crime in our Nation. I urge you to continue the life of this very important committee.
clarification. In its 30 months of existence the Crime Committee has begun to expose many of these alarming causes and has proposed specific remedies. It is clear that the committee continue its valuable work.

How many of us were aware of the dangers of the seemingly innocuous diet and pep pills before the Crime Committee alerted us to the effects of amphetamines? How many of us realized that the dangerous drug we knew of as “speed” was also being misused by children who had symptoms of anorexia and needed some pep? Through its hearings and extensive investigations, the committee revealed the vast overproduction of amphetamines. For these timely warnings the Nation and Congress will remain indebted to the Crime Committee.

The Special Subcommittee on Alleged Drug Abuse in the Military, of which I am privileged to serve as chairman, is particularly grateful to the Crime Committee for its thorough investigations into the overproduction of amphetamine and amphetamine-like substances currently in use in the Armed Forces. In the course of the Crime Committee’s investigations, it appeared that the military medical services were purchasing large amounts of amphetamines. Members of the Subcommittee, advised before our committee and provided with all the information his committee had collected to date. On the basis of this, the special subcommittee had its own hearings to examine the military amphetamine purchasing policies and the need for these drugs.

It appears that the demand for these drugs is indeed decreasing. In fact, the Defense Medical Material Board has ordered that all amphetamine drugs be removed from survival kits. You may be sure that all amphetamine purchases and prescriptions for military personnel and dependents are being closely monitored. Cooperation of the type exercised by the Crime Committee has been most valuable to those of us charged with the special responsibility of investigating and dealing with illegal drug abuse in the military.

Amphetamine abuse, however, has been but one of the many aspects of crime examined by the Crime Committee. The committee examined the possibility of investigating alleged drug abuse in the military.

Mr. Pepper. Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to speak on behalf of House Resolution 115, which Mr. Wisco, Chairman of the Select Committee on Crime, introduced to the Select Committee on Crime, which I had the pleasure and honor of chairing during the 91st Congress.

In recent years, the House of Representatives had exercised a wise discretion in the creation of select committees. We have been careful in establishing select committees, so as not to duplicate the work of the standing committees of the House.

But I am here today to ask that you look favorably upon the reconstitution of the Select Committee on Crime because I believe that the nature of crime in America demands action that often cuts across ordinary committee lines, just as it cuts across local, State, and even international borders. I would suggest that this interdisciplinary study is the function that the Select Committee on Crime has and can continue to perform to give benefit to the Nation. And, if we continue to concentrate on one cause, rather than having many variables which contribute to the starting rise in crime in this Congress is pledged to halt. Laws on drugs, and I am privileged to serve as chairman, is the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Legislation on courts is referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Without in any way casting the slightest aspersion on the excellent work of these and other standing committees, I submit that there is a compelling need for this body to have an investigating committee that can span the full range of the fight against crime, free to look into all aspects of crime and their interrelationship, while at the same time scrupulously honoring the rights and prerogatives of the standing committees.

In addition to the ability of a select committee to take an interdisciplinary look at crime, I think this body needs the combined weight of investigative capacity to seek out specific kinds of abuses. Over 20,000 bills were introduced during the 91st Congress. Each of these bills was referred to a standing committee, where it received careful consideration. Consequently, I believe it is clear that we need an investigative committee whose staff is free of the weight and important burden of considering the legislative proposals of the Members of this body.

Now that I have outlined what I consider to be the need for a Select Committee on Crime, I wish to introduce, in a very few words, the nature of the bills that were referred to a standing committee. There are some significant remedies that were enacted during the 91st Congress. These are the Federal Government could more effectively assist the local government in meeting the crime problem. Specifically, the committee elicited much helpful testimony on the subjects of drug abuse and addict rehabilitation, juvenile justice and corrections, improvement and upgrading of police, and the eradication of the native marihuana supply in the United States.

In October 1969, the committee again traveled to the people to get a mid-America view of crime. The hearings in Omaha and Lincoln, Neb., clearly demonstrated the extent of the crime—narcotic and dangerous drug abuse, the rise in violent crimes, increasing involvement of juveniles in criminal activities—are the same in medium-size communities and in the more populous urban centers in the major urban concentrations of the country. The committee especially focused on the development of suggestions for legislation which the Federal Government could more effectively assist the local government in meeting the crime problem.

In addition to the ability of a select committee to take an interdisciplinary look at crime, I think this body needs a committee that can mobilize the entire capability of investigating claims of fraud and corruption in the enforcement of narcotic laws, the detrimental consequences of drug abuse. Mr. Pepper. Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to speak on behalf of House Resolution 115, which Mr. Wisco, Chairman of the Select Committee on Crime, which I had the pleasure and honor of chairing during the 91st Congress.

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Government to restrict the movement of dangerous drugs between legitimate manufacturers and illegal drug distributors. Testimony was received from Government officials, drug company representatives, and a number of subpenaed to testify on illegal drug laboratories and the operation of illegal drug distributors.

Following up on its work in San Francisco, the committee convened a hearing in Washington in November in order to take additional testimony concerning the legitimate and illegitimate uses of amphetamines and methamphetamine. This testimony was considered important to the committee in its efforts to explore all aspects of this problem prior to recommending remedial legislation. This hearing, and the San Francisco hearing became the foundation of the committee's drive to greatly curtail the legitimate but abused production of amphetamines.

Late in November, the committee convened 2 days of hearings in Columbia, S.C. The committee took two field trips during this hearing; first, to meet with the inmates of the Richland County Jail, and second, to visit the Columbia Pre-Release Center, an innovative program to equip inmates for the society they are reentering.

Of particular interest at the hearing was testimony concerning the new and successful programs of the South Carolina correctional system. These programs included extensive vocational training, prerelease, and education. The committee receives word from narcotics agents that the types of crime that citizens fear most—burglary, robbery, mugging.

The committee's final hearing of the 1st Congress was held here in Washington, D.C., on March 9, 1971.

Heroin paraphernalia is essential to the pusher to cut his heroin to street sale dosage units, and the committee discovered that many pushers were getting their supplies of capsules, envelopes, quinine, and mannite from so-called legitimate manufacturers of capsules.

As a result of this hearing, the F.B.I. announced that it was discontinuing production of the gelatin capsules usually used to package heroin. El Lily & Co., the major capsule producer, announced that it would institute stricter controls over its shipments of the capsules.

For further details, see our report. In the absence of our hearings, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania instituted proceedings against a Pennsylvania pharmacist who testified at our hearing that he supplied paraphernalia to Baltimore heroin pushers.

White envelopes and capsules may seem like minor items given the magnitude of the heroin problem, but our investigation indicated that the disruption caused by this committee's curtailment of these supplies has lead to the identification of a number of heroin distributors whose identity was previously unknown to law enforcement agencies.

Much of the work of the Crime Committee's first 20 months is embodied in our four reports to the Congress. Rather than issue a comprehensive report or alert to report definitely on all aspects of crime, we chose instead to report only on those subjects which we have studied in such depth so as to offer substantive recommendations.

These reports, "Marihuana," "Heroin and Heroin Paraphernalia," "Juvenile Justice and Corrections," and "Amphetamines," have received widespread circulation among Members of the House and the general public. Well over 20,000 copies of the marihuana report were distributed by Members to their constituents.

The recommendations in the latter three reports constitute, we believe, a basis for important legislation. The report on heroin, for example, urges a wide-ranging program to attack heroin abuse both here and at the overseas source of the heroin.

The Juvenile Justice Report calls for passage of the Juvenile Research and Training Center Act, which this committee drafted with the cooperation of a distinguished panel of juvenile justice experts, headed by Judge Orman Ketcham of the District of Columbia Juvenile Court.

The report on amphetamines outlines the horrible extent of the abuse of these legal manufactured drugs. We call for an amendment to the present drug laws to tighten control over the production of these deadly drugs.

The Select Committee on Crime is not a legislative committee, of course, one of the advantages we have over Presidential Commissions, for example, is that we are free from legislation to control the manufacture, distribution, and sale of the items used to dilute and package heroin, usually referred to as heroin paraphernalia.
As I said at the opening of my statement, the Crime Committee, if reconstituted, can serve the House in these and related areas and can provide a pool of information which legislators and can continue to be of inestimable value to the legislative committees and to the Members. I sincerely hope that we are given the opportunity to continue the enormous task which we assumed during the 91st Congress.

I want especially to thank all Members of the House who have cosponsored the resolutions setting up the Special Select Committee on Crime and who have supported our committee in its inception and in its labors.

We shall seek to vindicate the confidence of the House in whatever we may do in the discharge of our duties.

Mr. Speaker, one of the alert and most conscientious of the members of our committee in the 91st Congress until his retirement from the committee upon his being named U.S. district judge in Nebraska was Hon. Robert V. Denny—now confirmed by the Senate as district judge.

I include a telegram to me from Mr. Denny supporting the reconstitution of the committee:

FARIBURY, NEBR., March 5, 1971.

EOl, CLAUDE PEPPER,
Oklahoma House Office Building,
Washington.

DEAR CHAIRMAN CLAUDE: I am out of Congress waiting confirmation as a Federal Judge. I am writing to try to gain your attention that the resolution for funding the works of the House Select Committee on Crime will be up next week and this is to advise you I wish I could be there to testify, and if I was I would urge the committee to authorize the requested appropriation, as I think the one landmark thing the House Select Committee on Crime has done is excite the general public about the danger of drug abuse in our country, and each political sub-division is now doing something about it. Best regards to you and the committee.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I would like to give a summary of the 83 recommendations which the House Select Committee on Crime made to the 91st Congress:

RECOMMENDATIONS SUMMARY
A Heroin and Heroin Paraphernalia
The Heroin and Heroin Paraphernalia Report consists of seven sections, the final section contains the Committee's 21 Recommendations. The first six sections are in narrative form and detail the history and development of the addiction crisis in the United States, the epidemic and its extent, the shape and distribution, survey the multiple laws which law enforcement faces in combating heroin trafficking, both inside and outside of the United States.

Section 5 is devoted exclusively to heroin paraphernalia, and this section draws heavily on the findings of the 1969 Washington, D.C. and Colorado hearings. The story of the 1½ x 1½ inch glassine envelope and the No. 5 empty gelatin capsule is described in the section. Other descriptive terms and emphasis is placed upon the testimony of several of our impressive and/or colorful witnesses.

Section 6, entitled Narcotics Research, reviews several of the findings which have been made by the National Institute of Mental Health and staff concerning the development of methadone maintenance programs in New York City, Washington, Boston and Miami, and also the narcotic research programs conducted by NIH, the university communities and certain independent studies by private institutions.

Significant emphasis is placed upon the federal role in narcotic addiction research. The Report notes that in the two-year period ending in 1970, all government expenditures are expected to soar by 130 percent, and spending for narcotics research will rise only 5 percent.

A sub-section within the Research section is devoted to the development of synthetic substitutes for manufactured opium substitution. The section on synthetic substitutes reviews the testimony of witnesses at our New York hearings and also the information and documents supplied by the staff by scientists, clinicians and physicians who have worked toward the development of synthetic substitutes. This section should be used to buttress Recommendation 2, wherein the Committee calls upon the Congress to outlaw the importation of crude opium into the United States. The Report states that although the search for synthetic analogues has been successful in that pain killing drugs which are effective and which are not as well known as have been compounded and marketed, it calls for continued research toward the development of a "neutral" or "slender" drug which do not produce dependency and addiction. This section may also be used to support Recommendation 1, wherein the Committee advocates the total eradication of cultivated opium.

The final full section of the section on Research details the federal addiction research and sets the stage for our future hearing wherein we will explore an additional 18 opium-producing countries, non-addictive synthetic substitutes, and narcotic antagonists or blockade drugs such as nalsaline and cy.There are 13 opium-producing countries in the world. In addition to the necessity for the outlawing of all legal importation of crude opium and morphine, it should be noted that the term "heroin, morphine" are often used interchangeably. However, morphine is a refined or processed opium which is derived from crude opium. We import annually approximately 125,000 kilos of crude opium. We also import significantly small amounts of morphine. Recommendations 1 and 2 are supported by our conclusion (which is in turn supported by weighty scientific opinion) that we now have synthetic substitutes which will not only kill pain, but provide a euphoria-type effect for physicians treating patients with terminal illnesses, like those who are dying of cancer.

Our Committee calls upon responsible medical and scientific leaders to join us in our urgent and acceptance of synthetic pain killers in lieu of other current drugs.

In Recommendation 3, we offer a proposed short-term solution to the opium cultivation problem. The plan is to give agricultural aid to countries who are cultivating poppy crops and proceed to cultivate opium crop substitution and diversification programs in underdeveloped countries. We do not concede that our proposed Recommendation is impossible of obtaining. I think we argue that while we are working toward total eradication, interim measures are undoubtedly necessary.
In Recommendation 4, we propose amend­
ments to the 1961 Single Convention which 
would enable our internal enforcement 
machinery in order to implement the licensing provisions of the 
Single Convention and also aid international 
organizations working toward the goal of 
total eradication of opium cultivation. We 
also propose that a comprehensive multi-
national basis through a multinational ini-
tiation be submitted by the United States to 
the United Nations. We encourage the use of 
our intelligence, through a multinational ini-
tiation rather than a bilateral method. Addition­
ally, we recognize that there is a need to impress 
upon the world community the 
responsibility to stifle the production of the opium poppy.

In Recommendation 5, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
United Nations periodically on the 
progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 6, we propose that 
knowledgeable officials, it is the considered 
view of the world community that 
the Single Convention and also aid internation­
al Commission on Narcotics Drugs, the Inter­
ational Narcotics Control Board, and the 
Directorate of Narcotics and Drug Abuse

In Recommendation 7, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
United Nations periodically on the 
progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 8, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
United Nations periodically on the 
progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 9, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
United Nations periodically on the 
progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 10, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
United Nations periodically on the 
progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 11, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
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progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 12, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
United Nations periodically on the 
progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 13, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
United Nations periodically on the 
progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 14, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
United Nations periodically on the 
progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 15, we propose that 
the world community report to the 
United Nations periodically on the 
progress made in the fight against 
the problem of narcotics trafficking.

In Recommendation 16, the Committee 
calls for the establishment of expanded 
treatment programs in rural and state pri­
sions and detention centers.

Recommendation 17 is in three parts. The 
first part of the Recommendation calls for 
more effective police procedures in narcotic 
offense cases so that the court can sen­
tence a defendant convicted of ball jumping 
up to and including a year in prison for a 
first offense and 3 to 5 years in prison for a 
second offense. This Recommendation is sup­
pported by substantial testimony taken at our 
New York hearings, as well as a thorough study 
or by the National Commission on Narcotics 
and Drug Abuse in the federal districts in the country; namely, the 
Southern District of New York.

The second part of Recommendation 17 
concerns a request that the Congress should 
give serious consideration to amending the 
 Bail Reform Act in order to allow a court to 
exercise its discretion, in certain limited 
narcotics cases (prior to trial or after con­
viction, pending appeal) where the court finds that the narcotic 
threat is a danger to the community at large or to any 
specific person in the community. It should 
also be noted that the Committee requests the 
Congress to give serious consideration to a 
simplified preventive-detention statute in 
the future in cases of narcotics trafficking cases.

It also recommends that active warrants 
should always be available to defendants in 
narcotics cases and that such speedy trials are 
be held in the presence of the defendant, but 
to the prosecution as well.

The final part of Recommendation 17 con­
cerns the issue of trial in absentia. The 
Committee requests that the Congress give 
serious consideration to legislation 
which would empower a court to proceed 
with prosecution in the absence of the 
narcotics trafficking or conspiracy case, where 
the defendant, after being advised by the 
court of his right to counsel, flees 
for trial, upon responsible notice, voluntarily 
leaves the jurisdiction. The Committee sug­
gests that the provisions of the Narcotic 
activity. The Committee recommends an 
increase in federal funds for the construc­
tion, operation and maintenance of 
certain limited narcotic 

The Committee also recognizes that the 
lack of medical facilities in many disadvan­
taged areas is a new income source of 
bitterness and frustration. The 
Committee urges that medical schools make 
availalbe

The Committee further urges that medical schools make 
availalbe

In Recommendation 19, the Committee 
requests that the Congress determine the 
effectiveness of drug education programs 
before they further fund any additional edu­
cational programs.

Recomendation 20 embodies the Com­
mitee's findings as a result of its hearings 
in New York and Washington concerning the 
sale, distribution and transfer of nar­
cotics products. It recommends that our proposed 
District Paraphernalia 

The Committee's final Recommendation (21) 
concerns the prospects of expanding the medihane maintenance programs, 
and uses citywide funds avail­
able for all those heroin addicts who can 
profit from such treatment. The Recommendation 
does not preclude other types of 
treatment and emphasizes the fact that 
not only is there the problem of narcotic 
abuse, where such abstinence is 
possible. The Recommendation emphasizes 
the need for Federal assistance in the 
form of grants, although several 

Several jurisdictions have experimented 
with the strategy of stopping 
jugating to prevent juvenile crime. One of the 
most successful programs in the country is 
the creation of the "Safe Streets" program in New 
York. This group utilizes the young people in the neigh­
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borhood in a variety of capacities. The members, all wearing bright orange team jackets, patrol the neighborhood after dark. They will examine the street for signs of fire, fires and disturbances, and report anything of an unusual or criminal nature they observe on the street. Not only does the program give the neighborhood a greater sense of security, but it is considered an important accomplishment, but crime can be significantly affected and reduced by such programs.

The police officer, of course, is an integral part of the juvenile justice system. The young offender is caught up in a legal system that will come through our policemen. The Committee urges all police departments to make sure that the police officers who are assigned to the work they perform regularly visit to police officers in the area of handling juveniles. The youth, offenders, it must be clear, are not to be treated in the same manner as adult arrests. In addition, each department should have a juvenile division. In it with officers extensively trained in juvenile justice procedures.

There will be instances where young people will have to be arrested. It may still be possible, however, to make use of "intake consultants." These people review each case before it gets to trial. They may feel it may not be necessary, or "worse yet," that the social service agency, school counselor, or family counseling agency. In some circumstances, the intake consultant may order the youth to provide restitution for any damage done. Sometimes a talk with the youth and his family is enough. In any event the use of the intake consultant technique may enable the young person to avoid the always traumatic, often futile, adjudicatory process.

The Committee also suggests that there be a reasonable doubt to the police departments to make sure that the police officers who are assigned to the work they perform regularly visit to police officers in the area of handling juveniles. The youth, offenders, it must be clear, are not to be treated in the same manner as adult arrests. In addition, each department should have a juvenile division. In it with officers extensively trained in juvenile justice procedures.

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C. AMPHETAMINES

A problem confronting our Nation today is more serious or critical than the matter of narcotics and dangerous drug abuse. Of all the dangerous drugs available for abuse, amphetamine-type drugs, whose street name is "speed," cause the most bizarre and sometimes violent behavior.

Our laws are not adequate to cope with the "speed" problem. The Committee believes that there are five major areas that account for the problem: speed's" fast action", its "effect", its "availability", its "accessibility", and its "consequences". The Committee urges all jurisdictions to conform to the Supreme Court mandate as quickly as possible.

The Committee also suggests that there should be a reconsideration of the sentencing system in the juvenile justice system. This is often scorned as an inferior court. However, the job of the juvenile court judge is probably the most important on the bench. The status of juvenile court must be upgraded at least to the level of the highest trial court in the jurisdiction. The juvenile court judges must be appointed or elected to become judges on these courts.

However, there are other personnel whose work is of great impact in the juvenile justice system. These include the probation and police officers, all playing a key role in the juvenile justice system. The probation and police officers, all playing a key role in the juvenile justice system.
countries have lived with this problem longer than we, the Committee has reviewed the Swedish and the Japanese experiences in the hope that national systems suit our own problem and to find some solutions.

Japan has struggled with the problem since the end of World War II. During the War, soldiers working as nurses had access to amphetamine-type drugs in an attempt to increase their efficiency. At the end of the War, pharmaceutical companies decided to use some of their surplus stock through clever advertising campaigns to a frustrated public, sometimes with only the feeblest of attempts to verify their credentials.

The investigations also revealed the export of quantities of drugs to a so-called pharmacy in Mexico and a number of evidence presented at the Tijuana Gold Course.

Clandestine laboratories are also a source of black market speed. The Committee was told of the ease with which the formulas can be learned, the precursors purchased, and a lucrative business launched. Without control of the precursors of amphetamines, the United States was faced with the same problem that Japan had when it tightened its controls of the legitimate production of amphetamines without controlling the raw materials.

The Committee looked into the existing legislation that has permitted the overproduction and diversion to occur. It appears that in 1945, when the Drug Abuse Control Amendments were introduced, there already existed an amphetamine abuse and overproduction problem. This was recognized by the Congress at that time, and it was stated that the Amendments were the first step to attempt to control the problem, and that if they did not succeed, more stringent controls would be needed. The Committee does not believe that the 1970 Drug Abuse Bill has provided the necessary controls.

The Committee also considered the international controls that have been proposed in the Draft Psychotropic Drug Protocol, which is to be discussed and ratified by the international community at a conference in Vienna in late January and February of 1971. At the present time, there are no international controls governing the production or trade of psychotropic drugs. The Committee believes that the proposed controls of the Protocol are too general, that the United States export controls should be implemented in such a way as to conform to the intent of the Protocol.

Sixth, the Committee recommends that inquiry be made as to what additional controls need to be imposed on barbiturates to prevent their diversion into illegal channels.

Seventh, manufacturers, distributors and dealers should maintain records of sales more carefully. No amount of government regulation can be as effective as the strict self-regulation by the industry. We would hope in the future that the drug industry, individually and collectively, will do a better job in seeing that their dangerous drugs are used legitimately.

D. MARIHUANA

The Committee's Report on Marihuana attempted to collect and synthesize the many studies and tests on the dangers and health hazards of marihuana use. Therefore, the Committee called for a definitive study to be undertaken by the Surgeon General, similar to the studies conducted with marihuana. There is also growing evidence that marihuana experimentation is making inroads in the Nation's secondary schools.

As the testimony quoted in the Report indicates, there is nowhere near unanimity concerning the dangers and health hazards of marihuana use. Therefore, the Committee called for a definitive study to be undertaken by the Surgeon General, similar to the study conducted with marihuana in the United States. The Committee suggested that such a study encompass the following areas:

1. An evaluation of the efficacy of existing marihuana laws;
I look forward to further positive steps toward controlling the cancer of crime in America.

On Law Day, May 1, 1969, the House overwhelmingly approved the creation of the Select Committee on Crime. The vote, I believe, was 343 to 18. I urge the House today to reconstitute the Select Committee on Crime by passing House Resolution 115 by a unanimous vote. Let us keep a good thing going.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. Speaker, recent statistics indicate that this country's urban areas have more than half the reported crimes in the Nation. As a Chicanog and Representative from the Third District in Illinois, I am seriously concerned about the extensive amount of crimes committed in our cities. It is for this reason that I lend my support to the 2-year extension of the Select Committee on Crime.

Crime and its ramifications do not lend themselves to simple eradication. There are numerous aspects for consideration: police effectiveness, drug addiction, organized criminal groups, and the environment of the inner city. These difficulties, however, are our failure to grapple with the issue of crime and its prevention.

I concur with the conclusion of the National Urban Coalition statement on the national priorities that one of the principal difficulties in evaluating present procedures and instituting reforms in the area of crime is the lack of research and data. The report points out that I wholeheartedly support the extension of the Select Committee on Crime.

The argument has been raised by some of my distinguished colleagues that the Select Committee on Crime invades the jurisdictions of standing committees—particularly the Judiciary Committee. The legislative problems associated with crime are so numerous that it is necessary to have a committee whose prime responsibility is to investigate and report. Much care must be taken, however, to guarantee against the intrusion of one committee into another.

During the 91st Congress, the Select Committee on Crime uncovered violations under the jurisdiction of other House committees, namely the Banking and Currency Committee and Special Subcommittee to Investigate Alleged Drug Abuse in the Military. Three violations were subsequently reported to the respective committees. This record of cooperation and jurisdictional respect speaks for itself and further justifies my support for this resolution.

Mr. DRINAN, Mr. Speaker. Just as crime is not restricted to any one area, age group, income bracket or business, so drug abuse has permeated and endangers the whole fabric of our society. This has been vividly portrayed through the hearings and reports of the Select Committee on Crime.

The cost of crime to society has been estimated in dollars, but what of the emotional costs, the fear and suspicion that haunt so many; have those ever been estimated? Are we in Congress to sit and wait for others to propose remedies or are we to face our responsibilities and tackle the cankers that plague society? Those of us who have the power to affect change cannot, in good conscience, ignore what needs to be done. The citizens of this country look to their Representatives in this field. It is our direction. We will have failed them if we do not provide the necessary legislation. However, to draft enlightened legislation, the Congress needs facts, statistics, reports and recommendations. The Crime Committee has ably provided these in the past and I believe should be encouraged to continue doing so.

As dean of Boston College Law School and drug abuse is not solely the problem of the West Coast. Yet these problems, though nationwide, have to be solved on the local and state level. The Crime Committee has sought the opinions of administrators, local agencies, and citizens on the local and state level to learn what has to be done and in what way the Federal Government can and should help.

While the hearings touched on many aspects of crime, the committee reports focused on four topics: marihuana, heroin and heroin paraphernalia, juvenile justice and corrections and amphetamines. The marihuana report presents one of the most comprehensive documents that set forth expert views on the use of marihuana.
port and provides an impressive number of far-reaching legislative recommendations.

The committee examined with the same thoroughness the problems surrounding the administration of juvenile justice and corrections. The committee realized and reminded us that just as schools train the young to become adults, so many jails are making adult criminals out of young offenders. Our young people have a valuable role to play in our justice systems that corrupt rather than correct. The committee furnished some enlightened recommendations for additional research and changes.

The Nation and Congress are indebted to the committee for the timely warning of the dangers of amphetamine abuse. It is the Crime Committee we have to thank for revealing the overproduction of 5 to 8 billion doses of amphetamines annually by legitimate manufacturers. There is something gravely amiss when the profit motive and not medical need is permitted to dictate the volume of drugs produced. It is my hope that this Congress, with the leadership of the Members of the Crime Committee, will see fit to correct this imbalance.

The Crime Committee’s record speaks for itself. While it has done an unquestionably fine job in the 20 months of its existence, it hardly needs to be said that there is a great deal more to be done in the struggle against crime. The standing committees and the Members need the continued expert help and advice of the Crime Committee. I strongly urge that we vote for its reconstitution.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on this resolution in the Record.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE CERTAIN PRIVILEGED REPORTS

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

VIETNAM LAND REFORM BILL

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

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing with nine of the most distinguished Members of the House legislation designed to encourage and accelerate South Vietnam’s new land reform program. It is our considered opinion that the administration of the Foreign Assistance Act will speed U.S. troop withdrawals, save American lives, and leave something in Vietnam of enduring value.

We cannot urge the Congress and the President to unite in support of this important measure which we sincerely feel will end the war more quickly. For the first time, the agrarian peacefulness of South Vietnam will be given a real stake in the future of that country.

I am inserting at this point in the Record the text of the bill and a statement explaining its provisions and rationale:

H.R. 5764

A bill to amend chapter 4 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide additional assistance for the national land reform program enacted March 26, 1970, by the Government of Vietnam. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, that chapter 4 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which relates to supporting assistance, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

“Sec. 404. Vietnam Land Reform Program.—There is authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $100,000,000 in the aggregate for the fiscal years 1972 and 1973 to encourage and support rapid implementation of the national land reform program enacted March 26, 1970, by the Government of Vietnam. The use of supporting assistance funds for land reform in Vietnam shall be contingent upon the attainment of mutually agreed goals of accomplishment stressing economy, efficiency, and advanced implementation of the program by July 1, 1973. Land reform assistance to the Government of Vietnam shall be made at quarterly intervals based upon satisfactory achievement toward the 1973 target goal. Amounts appropriated under this section are authorized to remain available until expended.”

PRESS STATEMENT ON VIETNAM LAND REFORM BILL

Ten House Members today introduced legislation designed to accelerate South Vietnam’s new land reform program. Faster completion would speed U.S. troop withdrawals and save American lives, the Congressmen maintain.


United States contributions totaling up to $100 million would be tied to actual performance. This amount is less than two days’ cost to the United States of waging the war in Vietnam, Moss said. “Land reform is the best chance we have of helping to transform South Vietnam into a truly democratic state,” Moss said. “And considering the great sacrifices in blood and money America already has made there, we should leave something of enduring benefit to the people of Vietnam which will help to justify those sacrifices so they will not have been made in vain.”

The legislation states that the “use of supporting assistance funds for land reform in Vietnam shall be contingent upon the attainment of mutually agreed goals of accomplishment stressing economy, efficiency, and advanced implementation of the program by July 1, 1973.”

Under the bill, land reform assistance to the Government of Vietnam would be made at quarterly intervals based on satisfactory achievement toward the 1973 target goal. The original plans by the Vietnamese called for completion of the program in four years instead of three as contemplated under the House bill.

Moss said the Communists have been successful in past years recruiting four Vietnamese peasants to fight as Vietcong guerrillas with “false” promises of land ownership.

“More than half of the American war deaths in Vietnam have been due to Vietcong-planted mines and booby traps and the mute silence of the peasants as they watched comrades walk into their ambushes.”

Moreover, he said, all enemy main force actions are dependent upon village labor to house supplies in and around the villages.

“With substantial numbers of peasant farmers attracted to our side by gaining title to the land each is now paying high rents to landlords,” Moss said, “enemy recruitment of guerrillas and support would drop dramatically.”

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION FOR UNITED NATIONS INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM

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

Mr. SIEBENLING. Mr. Speaker, not a day passes that I do not receive letters, calls, and visits from constituents, both young and old, imploring me to do what I can toward bringing a prompt end to the tragedy of American military involvement in Indochina. I suppose that every Member of this House is having a similar experience.

The frustrations of a large and growing majority of American people over our Nation’s course in Indochina are, I am sure, matched by the frustrations of a large number of the Members of Congress. One response has been a whole series of bills to establish a definite cutoff date on American military activity in Vietnam. Another series of bills would prohibit U.S. military activity in or over Cambodia, Laos, and North Vietnam.

I have supported several of these bills and believe that they merit early and favorable consideration by the Congress.

Meanwhile, the war goes on. Worse yet, in the name of protecting the withdrawal of American troops, the administration is following a policy leading to an ever-widening circle of conflict. Yesterday it was Cambodia. Today it is North Vietnam. Obviously, this presents a growing risk of military confrontation with the People’s Republic of China.

Mr. Speaker, we in this House have an obligation to do all we can to break this vicious circle and to avoid such a confrontation.
One possible solution which has not been seriously explored is an effort once more to bring in the United Nations. Accordingly, I am offering a resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the President of the United States should urge the United Nations to undertake the responsibility for ending the conflict in Southeast Asia and reconciling the warring parties.

I do not claim the authorship of this resolution. I am proud to say that it was drafted by a group of individual citizens, all members of the Unitarian Church of Akron, Ohio. Several years ago, some members of that church, believing they had an obligation as Christians to work for peace, organized themselves informally under the title "Concerned Group Seeking Alternatives to War." I think it is a tribute to our free society and to the continued strength of our spiritual heritage that this group of people has produced a resolution of the depth and the practicality as the one that I now offer.

I include the resolution as part of my remarks and refer to it to the appropriate committee for further consideration.

H. CON. RES.

Whereas the war in Southeast Asia is now in its seventh year, making it the longest war in our history, and has cost us casualties than any foreign war except World War II; and
Whereas many thoughtful and patriotic people are concerned about how the war is being spent in Southeast Asia would permit us to help solve the many major domestic problems of poverty, race, education, health, and pollution; and
Whereas we have been supporting a government in South Vietnam that many feel is a regime opposed to many of our concepts of freedom and democracy;
Whereas the problem of ending the conflicts in Southeast Asia and reconciling the opponents is not solely an American responsibility, but an international responsibility: Now, therefore, be it
Resolved by the House and Senate of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the sense of the Congress that the President of the United States should urge the United Nations to undertake the responsibility for ending the conflict in Southeast Asia and reconciling the warring parties.

S. Res. 2. It is further the sense of the Congress that at the same time the President should announce that American military involvement in Southeast Asia, will be completely terminated by a specific date within the next six to twelve months whether or not the United Nations acts.

S. Res. 3. It is further the sense of the Congress that the United States agree, if the United Nations accepts this responsibility, to assist the United Nations financially for a specified period of time in carrying out peacekeeping operations, providing for elections, and rebuilding the country, by contributing a fixed portion of any military aid to the United States spent in 1969 or 1970 for military activities in Southeast Asia, but this amount would not exceed 25 percent of such expenditures.

S. Res. 4. It is further the sense of the Congress that all the members of the United Nations be urged to participate financially and otherwise, but that our participation not be contingent on other participation.

STATUS OF PENDING CONTRACT MATTERS BETWEEN UNITED TRANSPORTATION UNION AND THE RAILROADS

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

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from the President of the United Transportation Union with respect to the current status of matters between the union and the railroads, which I feel it is in order for the House to have. I do not have time to read it, but I am going to place it in the Record.

Let us hope that this information will be followed shortly by judicial resolution of the matters in question in a form which can simultaneously avoid impairing national health and safety and preserving to labor its cherished right to make its collective bargaining effective. I do not believe they say in their letter is followed.

Mr. Speaker, I include the letter in the Record with my remarks.

The letter is as follows:

UNITED STATES TRANSPORTATION UNION

Re: Status of pending contract matters between United Transportation Union and the railroads.

Hon. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, Jr.,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Chairman Harrison O. Staggers,
Chairman House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I thought it in order to give you a current report on the situation between the United Transportation Union and the railroads.

As you know, of course, the negotiations were indefinitely recessed Saturday morning. Thereafter, in support of its position in the national negotiations and in the hope of encouraging some bogged down negotiations, the United Transportation Union authorized the withdrawal of service on the railroads.

The President of the United States has written a letter to the President of the United States with copies to the Secretary of Transportation, Labor, and Defense, as well as to you, gentlemen, advising of the action so taken and further advising that service would be available on the two railroads in question with respect to the transportation essential to the protection of the national safety and health.

On late yesterday, Sunday afternoon, March 7, Washington counsel for United Transportation Union were advised that the railroads, acting through the National Railway Labor Conference, had placed the home of Judge Howard Corcoran of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, with the object to obtain a temporary restraining order to enforce the foregoing selective strike. At the hearing on the restraining order, counsel for the United Transportation Union stated to the Court that, to avoid emergency or "midnight" consideration, the Court should first of all resolve the question whether the United Transportation Union could engage in such a selective strike so as to avoid affecting the public safety and health, the United Transportation Union would voluntarily suspend its proposed action with respect to the two railroads (or any other railroad) until at least 2 p.m. Thursday, March 11. This proposal was made by the United Transportation Union to give the Court adequate opportunity to explore fully all of the issues.

On the basis of the United Transportation Union's proposal, no action was taken by Judge Corcoran, but the matter presumably will be considered in the order and way during the interim provided.

It is, of course, our hope that the District Court will find, within the framework of existing law, that selective strikes in support of national positions but which do not affect public health or safety are permissible, thus avoiding any necessity for congressional intervention.

We will keep both of you gentlemen fully and promptly advised of any further developments in this matter.

Respectfully,

CHARLES LUNA,
President.

RAILPAX IN WYOMING-UTAH

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

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, on February 26, Senator Frank Church introduced in the Senate a bill to amend the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970. The Senate bill would have the effect of designating, under the basic system, rail passenger service to at least a major population center in each of the 48 contiguous States.

In his introductory comments he made two major points: that the object of the bill was to ensure that each of the 48 contiguous States is included in the basic system, and, second, that the time for action is short.

Mr. Church said his bill was inspired by the fear that five States, Idaho, South Dakota, Vermont, Maine, and New Hampshire, would be excluded from the basic system, and that a sixth State, Wyoming, was not certain of inclusion.

He noted that if a legislative remedy was not enacted, rail passenger services in these States would be canceled, and that restoration would be an unjust, unnecessary, and expensive responsibility assigned to those States excluded.

In addition to the efforts of public officials and Members of Congress for these States, I am jointly sponsoring, with the gentleman from Utah (Mr. McKay), a companion bill in the House for the Church amendment.

We are offering this bill—H.R. 5715— in the House to expedite legislative relief for those States facing exclusion from the system and to support and back up the efforts already undertaken to insure a truly national rail passenger system.

We are hopeful that the House will see fit to act promptly to carry out the intent of the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970 that all regions of the continental United States enjoy designation in the basic system.

Enactment of this amendment will underscore the sentiment of Congress that none of the 48 contiguous States be in fact, in fact, in fact, represented in the basic system and that none of the States be discriminated against in this vital public service.
Mr. Speaker, H.R. 5715 is part of a sustained campaign on the part of Wyoming citizens and officials to preserve rail passenger service and to insure Wyoming's place in the basic system.

In this effort, the Governor of Wyoming, Stanley K. Hathaway, and U.S. Senators Gale McGee and Clifford Hansen have ably presented the merits of this campaign and its vital importance to Wyoming's needs, but also from the perspective of a basic national system providing the best possible service to passengers from throughout the nation.

Mr. Speaker, I have been in cooperation with these presentations. On January 14, I met with Secretary of Transportation John Volpe and with Federal Railroad Administrator Carl V. Lyon. As a follow-up to this meeting, I requested that the Secretary postpone his decision until Wyoming's case could be presented. On that day, a memorandum to the Speaker, Hathaway, and Volpe was forwarded a joint memorial.

On the following day, the delegation jointly signed a letter to Secretary Volpe urging inclusion of Wyoming in the basic system.

The Wyoming State Legislature on January 22 forwarded a joint memorial to the Vice Speaker, Hathaway, and Volpe requesting that Wyoming's needs be included in the basic system. This was joined by many groups, including the Wyoming Public Service Commission, the Rawlins Chamber of Commerce, the Laramie Chamber of Commerce, the United Transportation Union, the Wyoming Labor Employees Club, from petitions signed by residents in Laramie and Rock River and from other individuals, vitally concerned with the Corporation's decision. As a result of this presentation, the Wyoming House of Representatives, Roger McDaniel, who provided me with additional correspondence from Statemen and municipal bodies, chambers of commerce, and individuals.

As you can see, Mr. Speaker, in Wyoming the residents take a personal interest in government and participate directly in campaigns to persuade the Federal Government to include the rail passenger services vital to community growth, cannot but hamper Wyoming's future development and well-being.

I ask the committee to give every consideration to moving H.R. 5715 to enactment as soon as possible because it guarantees that no State will be discriminated against and that no State will be forced to continue its rail passenger service if it is not improved, but destroyed, by the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970. I cannot speculate about the consequences for other States, but for Wyoming, elimination of rail passenger service would be a bitter blow at the historical foundation of our economy and a sorry omen for that economy's future.

RAILPAX SHOULD INCLUDE BUFFALO TO CHICAGO AS END POINTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Perrin). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. Kemp) asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Speaker, since the publication of the final report on the national rail passenger system issued by the Secretary of Transportation, it has been evaluated and commented upon by experts at the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Public Service Commission of New York State. I have studied this report as well as the subsequent comments and evaluations, and I have come to the conclusion that it is imperative that we convey to the Railpax Corporation the need for the inclusion of Buffalo to Chicago as an end point into the basic system. As a result I have introduced legislation commensurate with this purpose in the form of Bill H.R. 4570.

A final decision by Railpax whether to continue rail service west of Buffalo by designating Buffalo as a stop on the mandated New York-Chicago route is imminent; however, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may not have the time to call witnesses and hold hearings to confirm my thoughts on this subject before this decision is made. Therefore, I would like to take the time today to discuss this. I have invited fellow members with a direct interest in this matter to attend and I urge each of you to give Volpe and Secretary Volpe in the very measurement to make their views known on this important matter.

When the national rail system begins operation in May, there will be passenger service from New York to Buffalo, but there is no requirement to continue service west of Buffalo. It is possible that Buffalo will be left without even a minimum of reliable rail service. I find this untenable for a number of reasons.

A: POPULATION

The population of the major cities along this route between New York and Chicago via Buffalo 1970 are as follows:

- New York City area 11,448,480
- Albany, Troy, Schenectady area 710,602
- Buffalo area 340,036
- Syracuse area 699,190
- Rochester area 875,888
- Cleveland area 1,140,480
- Erie area 148,602
- Toledo area 2,043,380
- South Bend area 135,453
- Chicago area 3,502,509

Total 25,226,556

The point is that this corridor by sheer numbers alone exhibits great passenger volume potential on an efficiently run railroad.

B: PASSENGER VOLUME

In arguing for a Buffalo to Chicago rail route, probably the most important issue is whether there will be sufficient passenger revenues generated to warrant service west of Buffalo. In this context, let me say that I was appalled to find that the condition of the rolling stock and of the service itself from Buffalo to Chicago was largely unpalatable to passengers, and has very depressed patronage on the Buffalo to Chicago route. Let me say that I do not think that an objective decision can be made on this matter by merely viewing the present poor state of affairs and then look at the past record and also the future potential of this line through reasonable remedial measures.

In my study, I have found that since 1969, there has been a deliberate downgrading of passenger service by Penn Central to make a case for discontinuance due to financial difficulties. As a specific example, take the cases of trains Nos. 28, 63, 64, 81, and 98. They all run between Buffalo and Chicago along the "South Shore" route; that is, along the southern shore of Lake Erie through Cleveland, Youngstown and Chicago. These formerly carried "through" coaches which were interchanged at Buffalo between the subject trains and trains that run to and from New York City. However, Penn Central eliminated these through coaches, and passengers were then required to change trains, with their luggage, at the Buffalo station.

Mr. Speaker, this highlights the need for the designation of a single route which deserves special note. For many years this train has been known as No. 98 and was operated as a through train between Chicago and
New York. On December 3, 1987, Penn Central discontinued it between Buffalo and New York and instituted a connection with train No. 74 at Buffalo which ran through Ohio westward to Chicago. An illustration of direct service was again possible, with a departure at 7:30 a.m. from Buffalo for 3/4 hours between trains. After much urging by the Public Service Commission of New York, Penn Central finally, effective April 19, 1987, added a direct train through to Cleveland. In 1980, members of the American Association of Railroaders, several dozen members, met with the company officials. They asked for an additional train at 7:30 a.m. for the journey to Cleveland, which was in about 614, which was the train that the company was operating on emergency to Buffalo. The train was on time and the passengers were riding backwards in Car 613. The window by the porter's seat was broken, the window was broken in Bedroom E. The public toilet in that car was just a mess, the sink and toilet were leaking. The car rode very, very hard. In fact, I think probably the least comfortable car of the train. I went in the sleeper, 4219, which was much more comfortable. It was amazing that the train was 15 minutes late leaving Watertown, Indiana, and we passed a slow order for track work and arrived in Elkhart ten minutes early. I got off the train with the conductor and the fireman nonchalantly walked up and said, "Well, we don't have an engineer." The departure time and we still didn't have an engineer and finally about eight minutes after departure time we saw the engineer walking across the street towards the train that we wouldn't acquire F& Thr. and we finally left about 11 or 12 minutes late. But that didn't really make any difference because it was 614, and the train was held out of Union Station in Chicago ten minutes, and we still arrived five minutes late.

Another complaint has been poor on-time performance. Performance reports brought to my attention indicate in altogether too many instances the delays and irregularities at stations and facilities, slow orders, holding passenger trains for freight trains, and other similar causes. For example, the report relating to the performance on March 28, 1970, indicates that it arrived in Chicago 3 hours and 15 minutes late. The delay listing are as follows: 30 minutes Buffalo, cars off 71; 19 minutes Buffalo, which ACL 1933 from headstock to rear account broken steam line; 6 minutes Bay-View-Berea, slow orders; 46 minutes east of QO held account SLK-1; 1 hour 41 minutes Buffalo-Central block on SV-13 and manual block operation.

And, I have seen no indication of any action that has been taken by Penn Central to correct such deficiencies. On time performance data for trains Nos. 28, 64, and 98 has also been very erratic. Although they are sometimes on time, there have been many occasions when they have arrived far behind their scheduled arrival. It is generally accepted that dependable and on-time operation is one of the primary advantages of railroad travel. To do this service is clear that Penn Central's service has been stripped of this advantage.

I have also read numerous reports of equipment deficiencies along this route such as air-conditioning failures, equipment breakdowns, failure to clean accommodations, and other deficiencies which by design or otherwise, have had the effect of driving passengers away. As an illustration, I am setting forth in the Rocoas the testimony of one of New York's leading railroad experts in connection with the conditions encountered on his trip from Albany to Chicago through Buffalo. The car 613 on train 61/27 on the right of May 28, 1970:

Q. Now, during the course of your trip out here to Chicago did you make any observations concerning the coaches that were in service on Trains 61/27 that you rode?

A. Yes, I was assigned Roomette 10 in Car 614, which was Roomette 4. Upon entering the train in Buffalo, I was very sorry, sir, we don't have any air-conditioning, and I am operating on emergency lighting... .

Q. That, conductor, whom I know, mentioned the fact of the problem in Car 614 and he said, "Well, I'll give you a cool ride." I was on Car 613, which is climate-controlled. "Would you put this man in Roomette 8, Car 613, Car No. 4334?" Thereupon a few minutes later the porter came back and he said, "This man put in this car, the carpet is all wet, the toilets are leaking."

Q. And asked the porter if I could see that, and he took me back and I saw that. And in the meantime, why, they assigned me Roomette 8 in Car 613, Car No. 4334, and the window was broken and I noticed that by the time the passengers were riding backwards in Car 613. The window by the porter's seat was broken, the window was broken in Bedroom E. The public toilet in that car was just a mess, the sink and toilet were leaking. The car rode very, very hard. In fact, I think probably the least comfortable car of the train. I went in the sleeper, 4219, which was much more comfortable. It was amazing that the train was 15 minutes late leaving Watertown, Indiana, and we passed a slow order for track work and arrived in Elkhart ten minutes early. I got off the train with the conductor and the fireman nonchalantly walked up and said, "Well, we don't have an engineer." The departure time and we still didn't have an engineer and finally about eight minutes after departure time we saw the engineer walking across the street towards the train that we wouldn't acquire F& Thr. and we finally left about 11 or 12 minutes late. But that didn't really make any difference because it was 614, and the train was held out of Union Station in Chicago ten minutes, and we still arrived five minutes late.

Another than that I have a very nice trip.

Q. And did you make any observations concerning the coaches that were in service on this train?

A. Yes, sir. I went through the coaches, of course it was at night, and from what I observed, as I noticed, was that, I looked in the men's room, I didn't bother to look in the women's room—Coach 2908 was hot; Coach 2924 was cold. And I told the rear conductor about that and he went up and corrected that.

And Coach 2902 was also hot, and Sleeeper 4806 for Detroit, water was leaking out of the toilet and it was leaking so bad it came right under the partition and onto the rug in the hallway. That's just looking in the men's room, served, as far as cleanliness is concerned, it didn't have a mess, the sink and toilet were leaking. The window by the porter's seat was broken, the window by the porter's seat was broken.

I have also been informed that due to difficulties in December 1969, Penn Central had a backlog of 1,000 cars which were re-spun and were just cleaning and which have not been given such a cleaning for over a year.

Further, instances when bus transportation provides faster service than Penn Central's trains have been brought to my attention. In view of this, it is ironic that Penn Central has made no attempt to eliminate the unnecessary running time from some lines. In view of its strength in a more competitive position. It is rather incredible that trains operating New York and Chicago via Buffalo consump more running time than those operated by other carriers. One reason for the longer running times is layovers of great duration which take place at certain intermediate points. For example, passengers on train 61 between Buffalo and Chicago have a 50-minute layover at Cleveland, and according to an additional 26-minute layover at Toledo.

Appendix C which I have entered in the Rocoas indicate the amount of running time added to trains over the former New York Central route between New York and Chicago since April 1967. Under the timetable of April 30, 1967, a passenger could board a train at 4:30 p.m. and arrive in New York at 9:30 the next morning. Today, that passenger would have to wait at 2:38 p.m. and would not arrive in New York until 10:01 p.m. A comparable situation exists in the westerly direction.

Appendix A illustrates the lengthening of the schedules of trains 27 and 28 which has generally been taking over the past twenty years. Against a $240 round trip from Chicago to New York, the time savings made from our train to Chicago had been a convenient 4:30 p.m., that time has gradually been advanced so that No. 28 now leaves during the middle of the afternoon at 2:30 and arrives at Chicago 3 hours and 15 minutes late. Examination of this data
reveals that even during the light-traveled month of October, the trains on this route carried relatively heavy loads. For example, during October 1966 the "Buffalo-Train," Nos. 22 and 26—carried a total of 6,967 passengers which equates to an average of 112 patrons per trip. During the same month in 1967 these trains carried 5,934 passengers. When likewise, during October 1966 the eastbound and westbound "Wolverines" carried a total of 7,389 passengers and during the same month in 1967 they carried 6,336 passengers. Furthermore, during October 1966 the eastbound and westbound "Cleveland Limiteds"—overnight trains between New York and Cleveland—carried a total of 10,823 passengers and during October 1967 they carried 9,524 passengers. And even in the bad year of 1969 trains 27 and 28 handled 36,727 and 47,623 passengers, respectfully, while trains 51 and 98 handled 15,848 and 12,853 passengers. This route carries relatively heavy loads.

A vexing question is raised by the subject trains. For example, what air service could be used to travel between Pequot, N.Y., and South Bend, Ind.? There are many other examples of trips which can now be convently made by train and which would require circuitous routes to be made by air.

It is a well-known fact that many persons, for various medical and other reasons, cannot or will not fly. Train service does not present a hardship to these people. Further, air fares are up to twice as much as the train fares, and are simply beyond the reach of many members of our society.

Some of the same problems are encountered with bus travel. For example, no bus service exists between New York and Ada, Ohio, where a college is located, or between New York and Crestline, Ohio. Michigan City, Ind., and La Porte, Ind., have no bus service connecting them with the East. Between Elkhart, Ind., and New York there is only one bus a day, and two changes are required en route. A trip from Painesville, Ohio, to Amsterdam, N.Y., entails a distance of 415 miles and can presently be made in about 8 hours on trains. The same trip by bus would mean changes at Buffalo and Utica, with an overnight stay in Buffalo. Total time of the bus trip, including the unavoidable overnight stay in Buffalo: almost 23 hours.

In the context, the point is that before a decision is made by Railpax to positively not require service west of Buffalo, positive evidence must be presented that competing carriers have the ability and the willingness to handle the displaced Buffalo-Chicago passenger trains, and to my knowledge, no such evidence has been forthcoming. While ample use is made in this geographical area of the automobile, airplane, and bus. I believe that the era of railroad passenger transportation has not passed so far out of the picture that a substantial section such as between Buffalo and Chicago will not pass so far out of the picture that a substantial section such as between Buffalo and Chicago will not be used.

In addition to these other practices which have had a negative effect on the corporation, there has been no reasonable and unavoidable effort made lately to promote passenger service on this route. The reservation and information system which has been used by Penn Central is antiquated and unreliable. One situation which has made an oft-heard call from New York to the Chicago reservation bureau, it took about 4 or 5 days to obtain return reservations. One reservation system in New York handles all calls which originate in the New York area to New York, Newark, Trenton, Reading, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Buffalo, Rochester, Cleveland, Toledo, and New England cities. And the point is that the New York staff has been severely tested by the Public Service Commission of New York to be understaffed and unprepared for the huge size of the operation. It is clear that such a system did not please customers and induce them to do business in such a manner again.

Additional aggravating factors which contributed to declining passenger volume were failure by Penn Central to advertise its east-west service, Penn Central stopped paying commissions to travel agencies, which both competing carriers do, and timetable information has often been misleading. Penn Central made no effort to reach many people who were undoubtedly completely unaware of its services.

D. EFFECT ON TRAIN SERVICE BETWEEN NEW YORK OR BUFFALO

One set of data that Railpax must consider is in conjunction with the Public Service Commission of New York in the reference to the financial effect that discontinuance of train service west of Buffalo will have on its New York to Buffalo revenue. The loss of through passengers from New York to Chicago via Buffalo will be a hard blow to the New York-Buffalo service. For example, the great majority of passengers traveling on the New York-Chicago trains began or ended their trips at Chicago. About 80 percent of the passengers originating east of Buffalo were destined to or beyond Chicago on train 27, while some 56 percent of the passengers at Chicago on train 28 road to destinations east of Buffalo. The following amounts were derived by the empire service trains from traffic originating or terminating west of Buffalo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passenger service</th>
<th>Mail revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>923,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>48,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>74,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>454,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>442,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>47,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>75,727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>52,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>79,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>72,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>14,082</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 2,110,224 $1,098,969
Total passenger and mail revenue: 3,209,193

In the event that the decision is made to have no train service west of Buffalo, Railpax will have to serve the cities which are adjacent to the city. The Chicago-Buffalo corridor will possibly lose over $3,000,000 in annual passenger and mail revenues. Besides this, much of the lost passenger revenue will go to Canadian trains, as passengers, to continue westward, will disembark at Buffalo, then transfer to Canadian trains at Fort Erie, Canada, and continue their trip westward. On the other hand, Railpax will be hurt financially if it does not.
March 9, 1971

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decide to discontinue service west of Buffalo.

E. ALTERNATE ROUTE

It is my understanding that there is the possibility Pittsburgh may be chosen by Railpax as the alternate route between New York and Chicago instead of Buffalo. I respectfully submit that Pittsburgh under the new system, will be connected between the east and west by their inclusion on two east-west routes: the New York-Kansas City route and the Kansas City-Washington route. My point is that in any case, Pittsburgh will not be cut off from east-west service.

P. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would again like to reiterate that both the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Public Service Commission of New York support my contention that train service must be continued west of Buffalo. The poor present state of affairs on the Buffalo-Chicago route can be reasonably remedied. The deliberate downgrading of service and the nonfeasance characteristic of this route will be eliminated when Railpax takes over the system in May. The Interstate Commerce Commission will set the adequacy requirements for the route, and it will be impossible to have a recurrence of the deplorable conditions which have literally driven away passengers and revenue. In view of the evidence, I am confident that passenger patronage can be stimulated along this route to the point where it will be an economically viable investment for the Railpax Corp. Finally, let me say that I think it is essential that rail passenger service be maintained between New York and such large metropolitan areas as Erie, Cleveland, Toledo, and South Bend. Likewise, it is equally essential that service be assured between upstate New York points—Poughkeepsie through Buffalo inclusive—and Cleveland, Toledo and Chicago. Failure to specifically include service west of Buffalo could result in the cutting off of the entire population of upstate New York from the Western United States via Chicago.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I include extraneous matter to which I previously referred:

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULES FOR TRAINS NOS. 26 TO 28/62 AND TRAINS NOS. 25 TO 61/27 BETWEEN NEW YORK CITY AND CHICAGO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Train No. 26</th>
<th>Train No. 28/62</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schedule effective</td>
<td>Schedule effective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX B

SCHEDULES FOR TRAINS NOS. 6 TO 64 AND NOS. 59 TO 63 BETWEEN NEW YORK CITY AND CHICAGO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Train No. 64</th>
<th>Train No. 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schedule effective</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX C

SCHEDULE FOR TRAIN NOS. 90 TO 98/72 TO 98/74 BETWEEN CHICAGO AND NEW YORK CITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Train No. 90</th>
<th>Train No. 98/74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schedule effective</td>
<td>Schedule effective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Earlier train at 10:30 a.m. was not shown as connection in timetable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Beyond Buffalo</th>
<th>Toledo</th>
<th>Waterloo</th>
<th>Elkhart</th>
<th>South Bend</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 1-7, 1966, Inclusive</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon.-Sat.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Bend</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per day</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period Nov. 1 to 7, 1968, Inclusive</th>
<th>Beyond Buffalo</th>
<th>Toledo</th>
<th>Waterloo</th>
<th>Elkhart</th>
<th>South Bend</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mon.-Sat.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Bend</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per day</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period Jan. 1 to 7, 1969, Inclusive</th>
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<th>Toledo</th>
<th>Waterloo</th>
<th>Elkhart</th>
<th>South Bend</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mon.-Sat.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Bend</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per day</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PENN CENTRAL TRANSPORTATION CO., FROM AND TO RECORD OF REVENUE PASSENGERS CARRIED ON TRAIN NO. 28 OPERATING BETWEEN CHICAGO, ILL., AND BUFFALO, N.Y. DURING THE PERIOD MAY 1 TO 7, 1966, INCLUSIVE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Beyond Buffalo</th>
<th>Toledo</th>
<th>Waterloo</th>
<th>Elkhart</th>
<th>South Bend</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average per day</th>
</tr>
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**Conventions Used:**
- **Average per day** refers to the average number of passengers carried over the period specified.
- **Beyond Buffalo** and **Total** columns provide the total passengers carried between the specified places.
- **PERIOD** indicates the time frame for the data collection.
### MAR. 1 TO 7, INCLUSIVE, 1969

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### APRIL 1 TO 7, INCLUSIVE, 1969

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PENN CENTRAL TRANSPORTATION CO., "FROM AND TO" RECORD OF REVENUE PASSENGERS CARRIED ON TRAIN NO. 51 OPERATING BETWEEN BUFFALO, N.Y., AND CHICAGO, ILL. DURING THE PERIOD MAY 1-7, 1969, INCLUSIVE

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### Table 1: Revenue Passengers Carried on Train No. 51

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<th>Cleveland</th>
<th>Toledo</th>
<th>Elkhart</th>
<th>South Bend</th>
<th>Chicago</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Bend</td>
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</table>

### Table 2: Revenue Passengers Carried on Train No. 63

#### From

<table>
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<th>Location</th>
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<th>Toledo</th>
<th>Elkhart</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Buffalo</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.6</td>
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### Table 3: Revenue Passengers Carried on Train No. 31

#### From

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<th>Location</th>
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<th>Toledo</th>
<th>Elkhart</th>
<th>South Bend</th>
<th>Chicago</th>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>108</td>
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<td>123</td>
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<td>4.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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### Table: Revenue Passengers Carried on Train No. 64 Operating Between Chicago, Ill., and Buffalo, N.Y.

#### During the Period Nov. 1-7, 1968, Inclusive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Average per day</th>
</tr>
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<td>Chicago</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Englewood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gary</td>
<td>La Porte, South Bend, Elkhart, Toledo, Sandusky, Elyria, Cleveland, Painesville, Ashtabula, Erie, Westfield, Dunkirk, Beyond Buffalo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Elkhart</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toledo</td>
<td>Sandusky, Elyria, Cleveland, Painesville, Ashtabula, Erie, Westfield, Dunkirk, Beyond Buffalo</td>
<td>1.3</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erie</td>
<td>Westfield, Dunkirk, Beyond Buffalo</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westfield</td>
<td>Dunkirk, Beyond Buffalo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyond Buffalo</td>
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</table>

#### Average per day

- 0.1, 1.0, 0.6, 4.6, 4.9, 0.6, 0.6, 7.6, 0.4, 3.1, 4.4, 0.7, 0.9, 5.9, 4.3

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### Table: Revenue Passengers Carried on Train No. 64 Operating Between Chicago, Ill., and Buffalo, N.Y.

#### During the Period Jan. 1-7, 1969, Inclusive

<table>
<thead>
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<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
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</tr>
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<td>Gary</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Beyond Buffalo</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyond Buffalo</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Average per day

- 0.3, 0.3, 2.0, 5.0, 12.6, 1.1, 1.6, 19.6, 0.9, 3.9, 10.4, 0.3, 0.3, 10.9, 24.7, 103.7
Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEMP. I yield to my distinguished colleague.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman is rendering a significant service by bringing this matter to the attention of the House by the legislation he has introduced, namely the creation of Railpax, and the support of the New York delegation will be forthcoming because I know he is speaking in behalf of a very significant part of the economy, and a matter of great convenience to the residents of the State of New York when he calls for the inclusion of the Buffalo-Chicago routes into the basic Railpax system.

I rise in support of H.R. 4570 and congratulate my colleague from New York for his efforts on behalf of a Buffalo to Chicago rail passenger route. Further, I strongly urge the Railpax Corporation to adopt the Buffalo-Chicago route as part of the National Rail Passenger Service, before it begins operations in May.

Last year, I supported the legislation which led to the creation of Railpax, because I felt it held out the hope of an economical and more efficient rail service for all the citizens of this Nation. But, the failure to extend the New York-Buffalo line logically on to Chicago, ignores the traditional and best route for residents of upstate New York to travel to the Midwest and West. I am hopeful that this oversight, detrimental to the residents of my own 28th Congressional District and all the residents of upstate New York, will be quickly remedied.

Again, I commend my colleague, Congressman Kemp, for his efforts in this matter.

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished colleague for his remarks and support.

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

Mr. KEMP. I yield to my distinguished colleague.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from the western part of our State for the position he has taken and for the legislation he has introduced. I join him in it and would be a cosponsor of any such legislation together with the gentleman. I wonder if the gentleman has any information whether or not there is a possibility of extending that railpax service from Albany to Montreal? Do you know anything about whether or not they have included that?

Mr. KEMP. I thank my colleague for his comments.

At this point, I am not aware of that type of service being included in the Railpax basic system.

Mr. KING. I would be very glad to join you in your request.

Mr. KEMP. I appreciate that.

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is entirely understandable and appropriate for the House Members assembled on this occasion to call attention to their principal city being included as an intermediate stop on the prospective New York City-Chicago and Washington, D.C. Chicago routes of the national rail passenger system. Passenger trains, after all, are a vanishing species and the limited intercity rail service will benefit only a fortunate few of our urban centers.

It was not always so. In 1929 some 2,000 passenger trains—an essential component of any modern balanced transportation system—provided service to communities of every size and description. At the end of last year, alas, the number had dwindled to fewer than 400, and passenger trains were operated in basic competition with demonstrated reluctance and only at the insistence of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The next rung on the ladder, as we all know, was when private enterprise was finally allowed to abandon passenger service and Public Law 91-518 was enacted establishing a semipublic corporation to operate passenger trains between points designated by the Secretary of Transportation as part of a national basic rail system.

Pursuant to this legislation, the Secretary of Transportation has designated the points between which intercity passenger trains shall be operated and—again pursuant to Public Law 91-518—he is now in the process of identifying routes over which service may be provided.

Our colleague from Buffalo (Mr. KEMP) has presented a convincing case for extending the intercity-Buffalo-Chicago passenger service west to Chicago. I support his position wholeheartedly. But my interest—representing the greater Toledo area—goes further. Passenger service between Chicago and Washington-Chicago has been specified by the Secretary of Transportation and whether either or both of the intercity routes connecting these cities will include Toledo is to be decided in the immediate days ahead. The Toledo Area Chamber of Commerce has already filed a brief describing Toledo as a major transportation hub—one of the Nation's largest rail centers, eleventh largest port in the country, the leader in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Seaway traffic, and so forth—and has done a good job in calling attention to the expanding industrial, commercial and agricultural activity throughout the Toledo standard metropolitan statistical area and northwestern Ohio.

Rather than expand on these data and the metropolitan virtues, let me simply say that the case for including Toledo in the inter-city routes—New York-Buffalo-Chicago or New York-Chicago via a southern route, and Washington-Chicago—is convincingly made and supported by the very criteria developed by the Secretary of Transportation, in keeping with the bipartisan and unanimous in the act, for election of “points” which Railpax will be required to serve.

The first of these criteria provides that the designated rail passenger network will make an optimum contribution to the Nation's total transportation system.

Blessed by its geographic location, Toledo is served by land, sea, and air. Easy access to Toledo is available via Interstate Routes 75 and 475, the Ohio Turnpike, and 11 State and U.S. routes. Ohio Turnpike traffic, measured at two interchanges in Toledo in 1970, was over five and a half million vehicles. Air passenger service is also immediate and substantial. During 1970, Toledo had an air passenger count of 424,925 and CAB data for 1969 showed 67,720 to and from Chicago, 73,739 to and from New York City, 18,970 to and from Washington, D.C., and 9,670 to and from Cleveland.

Toledo also is in excellent position to meet the criteria stipulating that anticipated rail ridership should be substantial, or competition levels should enable the proposed rail service to operate at a cost which is competitive with the costs of alternative modes.

While Toledo's air service has increased in recent years, the fact remains that the city's proximity to Detroit and Cleveland makes it difficult to secure the number of flights and the diversity of direct service available to these larger communities. This very fact, of course, underscores the potential of the Toledo area if sufficient, updated rail passenger service is available.

No city better meets the criterion that selection should include cities that can be efficiently served by the Corporation as part of an integrated national rail passenger network.

Toledo's position as one of the Nation's major rail centers speaks clearly for itself. Toledo's long and prominent role in rail passenger transportation is the number of large cities that can be served from Toledo through short-haul service. Within the 300-mile range that is used to define short-haul service, Toledo is in a position to serve and be served by Chicago, Cleveland, Erie, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh, with Harrisburg, Philadelphia, and Albany one step further to the east.

The population criterion provides that the route options between the major points should touch a large number of intermediate-population centers.

Toledo is a major city center. The SMSA which includes Lucas and Wood Counties in Ohio and Monroe County in Michigan climbed to 691,649 in 1970 and is served by the U.S. Postal Service as one of the 50 largest metropolitan areas in the United States. More importantly, Toledo's retail trading zone, comprising 12 counties in northwest Ohio and two in southeast Michigan, has a population of more than 1,175,000. From the standpoint of rail passenger potential, the composition of this population must be considered superior. More than a dozen major manufacturing corporations are centered in retail areas just described and more than 40,000 students are currently attending colleges and universities in north Ohio alone. Approximately 4,000 of these students travel from out-of-State, many from the East.

From the standpoint of profitability, corporate flexibility and capital improvements are required since inclusion in an inter-city route, Toledo must be ranked at the top of the list. The city's pioneering role in rail transportation has been handed down generation to generation and managerial and technical competence re-
Mr. Speaker, all of us here this afternoon are united in our advocacy for the district we represent. As the staggering highway death tolls continue to increase and as our airports become more and more congested, we recognize more clearly the need for a balanced transportation system and the essential role of rail passenger transportation in such a system. How quickly this can be done depends in large measure on the care and consideration that is given to selection of the cities to be included in the routes soon to be established.

As an advocate for Toledo, I have tried to stress the importance of the contribution that our community can make if it is included. But from the standpoint of the Nation, the really important task is to establish rail passenger service as a component of a balanced transportation system. Fortunately, what is important to Toledo and perhaps to almost every community is in no way incompatible or inconsistent. We are anxious to participate in this new undertaking and look forward to doing so.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the remarks of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Kemp) urging the establishment of Buffalo and Chicago as end points in the basic national rail passenger system.

Inclusion of this route in the national system is vital to the continued growth and prosperity of all the people of New York State.

Without a passenger rail line westward from Buffalo, the nearly 4 million people who live in upstate New York along the Albany-Buffalo axis will be deprived of reliable rail transportation to the Midwest and West.

The currently planned national system already incorporates the New York City-Buffalo route. To terminate this route abruptly in Buffalo would mean that many people could use rail transportation to Buffalo and nowhere else. It would consign this route to being little more than a regional spur rather than a national trunkline. Only by its extension to Chicago can this important route serve as a truly useful link in the commerce of the Nation.

I commend the gentleman from New York (Mr. Kemp) for his initiative and hearty add my support for H.R. 4570 to establish rail passenger service from Buffalo to Chicago.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of my colleague from Buffalo. New York is certainly a State that has done its share in trying to maintain passenger service. It has provided property tax relief to the railroads operating within the State. It purchased outright the New York Central Railroad in 1966 and is now seeking to upgrade and improve the service. In 1967, the State approved a $2.5 billion transportation capital facilities bond issue to help the suburban passenger service. In 1969, over $15 million was allocated for emergency maintenance work on the Long Island Rail Road and the Hudson, Harlem, and New Haven divisions of the New York Central Transportation Co. So New York State has been acting to meet this crisis as it developed.

New York State has the empire service—New York-City-Albany-Buffalo and this is excellent. However, under the new Railpax no through service is planned to Chicago via this route. In my view this is a serious mistake to cut off passengers who desire the northern tier of New York, Ohio, and Indiana to those who wish to travel to Chicago via rail. As a young college student, I took this route during the New Year's Holiday, further, moving more, on both sides have been railroaded and it is a proud family tradition.

There are still many persons, such as my own wife, who prefer the train to a plane, if the former is available. With our up-state weather, we have to have alternative means of transport available, if this last winter is any indicator of the future. My strong feeling is that the National Rail Passenger Corporation will prove to be a wise act and with the wholehearted cooperation of local, State, and Federal authorities, the United States can again have good rail passenger system that we can all be proud of. To achieve this goal, the Buffalo to Chicago route needs urgently to be added to the National Rail Passenger Corporation.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND
Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have their remarks in the Record on this subject.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PERREN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

HEARINGS SET ON ABOLISHING DETENTION CAMPS
(Mr. KASTENMEIER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the Record for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of Subcommittee No. 3 of the Committee on revision of Federal antitrust laws, I wish to announce that a public hearing will be held on March 18, 1971, at 10 a.m., in room 2236 Rayburn House Office Building, on H.R. 234, a bill introduced by Mr. Matsunaga for himself, Mr. HOLLIFIELD, Mr. MIKVA, and myself, to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the establishment of emergency detention camps and to provide that no citizen of the United States shall be committed for detention or imprisonment in any facility of the U.S. Government except in conformity with the provisions of title 18.

The principal purpose and effect of H.R. 234 is to repeal the Emergency Detention Act which was enacted as title 5 of the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 1956. That act establishes procedures for the apprehension and detention, during internal security emergencies, of individuals deemed likely to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage. Unfortunately, the legislation has given rise to the belief that it may be used to apprehend and detain citizens holding unpopular beliefs. It is therefore urgent that Congress take action by extending the legislative mandate of the Emergency Detention Act of 1956.

MODERNIZING FEDERAL ANTITRUST LAWS
The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Force) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, exactly 1 month ago today, I introduced legislation establishing a National Commission on the Revision of Federal Antitrust Laws. This afternoon I am reintroducing this measure with 15 cosponsors representing both political parties and both spectrums of political thought.

Joining me in introducing this measure are: Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, Mr. ARCHER, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. COLLINS of Texas, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. HENRY of Ohio, Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. MANN, Mr. MAYNE, Mr. MICHEL, Mr. RAILSBACK, Mr. RARICK, and Mr. BOB WILSON.

The rationale behind this proposal is a simple one. The Federal laws which regulate the form and shape of business activity are vital ones, yet they have not been updated in over 20 years despite its rapidly changing nature and structure. Moreover, no systematic efforts have been made to determine what the current legislative needs even are in the antitrust area.

By creating a National Commission comprised of 24 eminent personalities representing the public and the private sectors, empowering them for 1 year to make investigations and hold hearings, and requiring them to submit a report of their findings and recommendations to the President and to the Congress, a much needed perspective could be obtained on the state of Federal antitrust regulation.

Armed with this new perspective Congress can then swiftly move to update antitrust laws where needed and to shore up Federal regulations where weakened by disuse or misuse.

Mr. Speaker, the task set forth for the Commission is a difficult one, but one that Congress should undertake if it is to continue to function in the public interest. Those of us who introduce this measure today can only hope that our colleagues will band together in a nonpolitical and nonpartisan spirit and approve this bill. If we do so, the National Commission on Revision of Federal Antitrust Laws will well serve both the interests of commerce and the interests of consumers.

NEED FOR BRIDGE IN BIG SPRINGS, TENN.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Quillen) is recognized for 15 minutes.
Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, "You can not get there from here" is not an empty phrase for the people of the Big Springs community.

They live across the river and the only way to get across is by driving some 34 miles through another State in order to get to their county seat.

For more than 100 years the people of this small community in Hancock County, Tenn., which is located in the northeast corner of my congressional district, have been isolated from the rest of the world.

For the purpose of bringing my story into the proper perspective, I would like to add that, according to statistics from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Hancock County is the Nation's seventh poorest county.

Back in 1966, a group from the Big Springs community presented me with a petition asking that I help them get a bridge across the Clinch River, which runs through the county.

If you were to ask where Big Springs is located, people would say, "just across the river." If you were to ask them about Big Springs where everything else is, the answer would probably be the same—"just across the river." But getting across the river is another thing—"you just can't do it." Then they would go on to explain.

Over the years, some of the residents of the community have moved away in order to make contact with the outside world. Those who remain do so because they feel connected with the land they live on and the friendship they hold for their neighbors. They are staying, but they are staying against all odds, for the truth of the situation is that isolation has hemmed itself around their lives, hurting them most when they can afford it least.

Just how isolated is Big Springs? By all normal yardsticks, the answer would have to be "incredibly so." Some of the houses and roads are not even found on the county map. The lack of a bridge necessitates the residents having to drive over 26 miles of dirt road that at times is simply bedrock and at other times greasy mud, in order to get to the nearest commercial center.

The trip takes to get anywhere sometimes prohibits men in Big Springs from getting an outside job while living at home.

I have been working on this project for more than 5 years, but we still do not have a bridge constructed across the river, although in recent months there have been encouraging developments.

The Big Springs community is involved in a unique situation. In the true sense of the word, the people of this mountain community are isolated from the rest of the world.

One hundred and sixty-three people live in Big Springs and its rich bottomlands and rolling stones are cherished by the county for crops and pasture. Almost everyone would have to say that the Clinch has given Hancock Countians a good life—everyone except the people of Big Springs. In the Clinch valley the Clinch has taken life away.

Big Springs residents, like other residents of Hancock County, want to share their community with others, and they desire to have better access to commercial centers, health and educational facilities, farms, markets, and jobs.

Last year, more than 53 percent of the household heads were farmers, 19 percent were retired or unable to work, and 28 percent had nonagricultural jobs in addition to part-time farming. A majority of the families depend on the sale of crops for their income. Tobacco is the major crop, with some corn, hay, and vegetables being sold. The tobacco markets most used by farmers in the area are in Weber City and Gate City, both of which are in Virginia. The Kingsport, Rogersville, and Sneedville tobacco markets in Tennessee are used to a lesser degree.

Cattle, hogs, and chickens are sold in Gate City, Kingsport, Rogersville, and Sneedville livestock markets.

The farmers of Big Springs are highly enterprising, but they do not know how to get to their county seat.

In order for the residents of Big Springs to get to the county seat of Hancock County, which is Sneedville, they would have to cross the Clinch River at a point just south of Big Springs community, the trip would be only 16 miles, a savings of 16 miles over the next nearest route.

This same mileage holds true for a trip to any point to the south or west of the Big Springs community.

If they are to get to the doctor and commercial centers, if the children of the community are to go to school, they must travel dangerously.

For instance, several years ago Hancock County consolidated its high schools, but the Big Springs school had no way to catch the schoolbus on their side of the river. Instead, the parents of high school students must watch as their children cross the river on a rope bridge down to the river and paddle across the water in a leaky wooden boat. These children are in danger and the parents understandably fear for their lives.

In the winter, the children must use ice and snow as they negotiate the cold river. Because of these personal hardships, many of the children fall behind in school and, therefore, there is no land for a playground. Many go through life with an eighth grade education.

The community has a one-room schoolhouse, but it is outdated. When the children go out to play during a recess, they have nothing to go to. They are afraid to go on a knoll and, therefore, there is no land for a playground. Some children play under the school and more times than not they are lucky if they are not cut by broken glass, old tin cans and rusty nails. Others play bingo with kernels of corn.

I could talk for many hours telling you a variety of stories about the plight of the people of Big Springs. But the purpose of my story is to bring the people of Big Springs face to face with the reality of their situation. I want to make them see that this is a matter of either letting the Federal Government help or overburdening the State and county.

Consequently, I went to the Appalachian Regional Commission for whatever assistance this arm of the Federal Government could provide.

At the present time, the news that we have received from the Appalachian Regional Commission is encouraging, and I am optimistic that financial aid will be forthcoming. I would like to point out that a clause included in the ARC Act provides financial assistance for any poverty area within the Appalachian region if it would facilitate school consolidation. In the case of Big Springs, it would make it possible for students to get to school. So, it appears to me that this would be the basis for constructing a bridge across the Clinch.

If we receive a commitment from the Appalachian Regional Commission for the purposes of this resolution, we have promises of other help from the State Highway Department, the Upper East Tennessee Economic Opportunities Authority, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Hancock County.

Mr. Speaker, we must not let these people suffer any longer. They are distressed and heartbroken and I sympathize with them.

Let us hope that this matter will be resolved once and for all at the very earliest date.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS' PROPOSED REGULATIONS ON THE REFUSE ACT PERMIT PROGRAM ARE INADEQUATE AND MUST BE REVISED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Reuss) is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the recent hearings held on February 18 and 19 by the Senate Subcommittee on the Environment and members of the House Subcommittee on Conservation and Natural Resources, concerning the administration's proposed 1899 Refuse Act permit program revalued that the proposed regulations of the Corps of Engineers must be strengthened.

They were published on December 31, 1970 (35 F.R. 20005) and on January 21, 1971 (36 F.R. 960), to carry out the President's Executive Order 11574 of December 23, 1970, directing the Corps and the Environmental Protection Agency to establish the Refuse Act permit program. On February 4, 1971, I inserted into the Congressional Record our subcommittee's letter of December 23, 1970 analyzing many of the deficiencies in them and urged that these be revised.

The present Refuse Act permit program will not achieve the objectives the public expects, unless several defects in the regulations are eliminated. The most significant of these is the failure to require industrial plants discharging their polluting wastes into intrastate waters to comply with federally established efficient standards.

On February 9, 1971, we wrote letters
to the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Attorney General, and to the Corps, about these defects. We urge the Senate Subcommittee on the Environment and Natural Resources to consider the revisions and procedures for administering the Refuse Act permit program and for enacting more effectively the 1899 Refuse Act.

We have brought to your attention the shortcomings in the Regulations which we believe most important for a proper structuring of the program more effective and achieve the Corps is required under section 21(b) of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, 1965, to which apply only to interstate waters; and (3) "fish and wildlife resources which are not directly related to water quality standards."

Paragraph (d) (2) of the proposed regulation fails to mention any criteria for the Corps to be required to consider the "impact of the discharge or deposit on" only three matters: (1) "anchor age and navigation," (2) Federally approved water quality standards which are not directly related to water quality standards under the Water Quality Act of 1965, which apply only to interstate waters; and (3) "fish and wildlife resources which are not directly related to water quality standards."

We understand that there are at least seven states which have no water quality standards for their intrastate waters. Yet there is no provision in the regulations describing what happens when no certification is obtained under Section 13 of the National Environmental Policy Act, "relating to the nation's natural resources and related environment, including fish and wildlife and recreational values therein. . ." in Zabel v. Tabb, 430 F. 2d 166 (G.A. B. 1970), cert. denied, 395 U.S. 29, 30 U.S.L.W. 5556 (Feb. 22, 1971), the court referred to this document and said that this "Executive action had almost a virtual legislativ impermat from the 1967 Report of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries ... (H. Rept. 90-988; see also Senate Com merce Committee's report, S. Rept. 90-1419). As a result of the effective operation of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act and the Corps' regulations or Memoranundum of Understanding. (Transcript, p. 405).

We note too that these steps "have not yet been spelled out" in EPA's proposed regulations, issued under the 1899 law. That document recognizes the "responsibilities" of the Secretary of the Army under Section 13 of the National Environmental Policy Act, "relating to the nation's natural resources and related environment, including fish and wildlife and recreational values therein. . ." in Zabel v. Tabb, 430 F. 2d 166 (G.A. B. 1970), cert. denied, 395 U.S. 29, 30 U.S.L.W. 5556 (Feb. 22, 1971), the court referred to this document and said that this "Executive action had almost a virtual legislative impermat from the 1967 Report of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries ... (H. Rept. 90-988; see also Senate Com merce Committee's report, S. Rept. 90-1419). As a result of the effective operation of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act and the Corps' regulations or Memoranundum of Understanding. (Transcript, p. 405).

We note too that these steps "have not yet been spelled out" in EPA's proposed regulations, issued under the 1899 law. That document recognizes the "responsibilities" of the Secretary of the Army under Section 13 of the National Environmental Policy Act, "relating to the nation's natural resources and related environment, including fish and wildlife and recreational values therein. . ." in Zabel v. Tabb, 430 F. 2d 166 (G.A. B. 1970), cert. denied, 395 U.S. 29, 30 U.S.L.W. 5556 (Feb. 22, 1971), the court referred to this document and said that this "Executive action had almost a virtual legislative impermat from the 1967 Report of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries ... (H. Rept. 90-988; see also Senate Com merce Committee's report, S. Rept. 90-1419). As a result of the effective operation of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act and the Corps' regulations or Memoranundum of Understanding. (Transcript, p. 405).
(d) (2) of the proposed regulation place upon the recommendations which may be made under the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act effectively abrogate the 1967 Memorandum of Understanding, and thereby ignore both the Interior Department's, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's (NOAA) responsibility to protect the quality of the environment for outdoor recreation.

We believe that adequate authority now exists under the 1899 law for the Corps to consider whether or not the issuance of a permit is in the public interest. The scope of that consideration is not limited by the 1899 law, but is defined in paragraph (d) (2) of the proposed regulation. The Corps recognized this fact in its regulations of April 10, 1970 (E.I.G. 112-1-230).

For these reasons, we recommend that paragraph (d) (2) of the Corps' proposed regulation be amended as follows:

"(2) The decision as to whether a permit authorizing a discharge or deposit will or will not be issued shall be based on an evaluation of the impact of the discharge or deposit on all factors affecting the public interest, including, but not limited to navigation, anchorage, fish and wildlife, water quality, economics, recreation, water supply, ecosystems and, in general, the needs and welfare of the people of the United States. The permit shall be issued unless the judgment of the person authorized to make the decision, its issuance will be in the public interest.

(a) Anchorage and navigation, (ii) water quality standards, which under the provisions of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, were established to protect the public health or welfare, enhance the quality of water and serve the purposes of that Act, with consideration of their use and value for public water supplies, propagation of fish and wildlife, recreational purposes, and agricultural, industrial, and other legitimate uses; and (iii) in cases where the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act is applicable (where the discharge or water quality standards were established to protect the public health or welfare, enhance the quality of water, and serve the purposes of that Act), with consideration of their use and value for public water supplies, propagation of fish and wildlife, recreational purposes, and agricultural, industrial, and other legitimate uses.

In light of the foregoing revision of paragraph (d) (2), we recommend that paragraph (d) (5), which is based on (d) (2) and which sets forth when a District Engineer may deny a permit, should be revised to read as follows:

"(5) In the absence of any objection by the Regional Representative to the issuance of a permit for a proposed discharge or deposit, the Corps may take or deny or granting a permit in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (d) (2) above.

(a) Anchorage and navigation; or (ii) water quality standards.

(1) Anchorage and navigation will be impaired; or

(ii) Where the discharge for which a permit is sought will or may take or alter the channel, or otherwise controls or similarly modifies the stream or body of water into which it is discharged, it will or may have a significant adverse impact on fish and wildlife resources, including those effects which are "reflected to the establishment of the Federal water quality standards fully discharged our responsibility to the fish and wildlife resources and recreational values under our jurisdiction."

The Corps of Engineers, is charged with the duty under the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act of making recommendations to Congress with particular reference to the effect on fish and wildlife of all de­ posits or discharges of contamination and pollutants." (Transcript, pp. 77-78)

We believe this duty not discharged by the water quality standards program.

We recommend that paragraph (d) (3) of the proposed Corps' regulation be revised as follows:

"(3) The concern of the Congress with the conservation and improvement of fish and wildlife resource is indicated in the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act (16 U.S. Code 661-686c) [where, consultation with the Department of the Interior is required regarding activities affecting the course, depth, or modification of a navigable waterway]. Sec­ tion 2(a) of that Act requires that whenever the waters of any stream or other body of water are proposed to be impounded, diverted, or otherwise modified, the Corps shall do so with particular reference to the effect on fish and wildlife of all deposits or discharges of contamination and pollutants." (Transcript, pp. 74-75)

We believe this duty not discharged by the water quality standards program.

WE reccommend that paragraph (g) (3) of the proposed Corps' regulation be revised as follows:

"(3) The concern of the Congress with the conservation and improvement of fish and wildlife resource is indicated in the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act (16 U.S. Code 661-686c) [where, consultation with the Department of the Interior is required regarding activities affecting the course, depth, or modification of a navigable waterway]. Section 2(a) of that Act requires that whenever the waters of any stream or other body of water are proposed to be impounded, diverted, or otherwise modified, the Corps shall do so with particular reference to the effect on fish and wildlife of all deposits or discharges of contamination and pollutants." (Transcript, pp. 74-75)
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all "data received from applicants unless trade secrets are involved will be made available for public inspection." In addition, Mr. Atkinson of CEQ on February 19, 1971 said (transcript, p. 848):

"The counsel of the Army has already said that applications for Refuse Act permits and all information, records and statements about the permit applicant should be matters of public record subject to the protection of trade secrets. We anticipate that any trade secrets revealed in connection with any authorized Federal activity which would, if divulged, reveal trade secrets of the permit applicant, should be prevented from being made a matter of public record.

"Moreover, the committee believes it is not in the public interest for data relating to the quantity or character of the effluent to be considered confidential. The public has a right to know who is polluting the atmosphere and in what amounts.

"We recommend that paragraph (g) (1) of the Corps' proposed regulation be amended by adding the following at the end thereof: "

Also, it does not require that the persons specified in paragraph (o) (2) be entitled to greater access to information than the public generally. We believe that the regulation as it stands is unnecessarily limited and more precisely should be formulated to permit any party to sue on the basis of a breach of any permit condition or on the basis of a breach of any requirement of a permit.

We recommend that paragraph (o) (1) be amended by adding the following subparagraph:

(iv) Provide for the establishment of effluent charges subsequent to the date of issuance of the permit, and for the payment of such charges.

2. The issuance of a Refuse Act permit will impose a condition on the operator under the 1899 law for four to five years unless the permittee breaches a condition of the permit. The public interest will not be served unless the condition is not taken lightly. The public has a right to have assurances from its Government that when a Federal permit is issued the permittee will be under an obligation to clean up his discharges during the period. Thus, the Corps and EPA should require as a condition of the permit that the permittees provide the best system of pollution control available within an established timetable.

We recommend that there be added to paragraph (o) (1) the following subparagraph:

(v) Require that the permittee shall install, use, and maintain one or more systems or methods which, using the best available technology, provide, within the shortest feasible time, for the elimination, or the maximum feasible reduction, of the refuse discharged or deposited by the permittee.

Adding this new subparagraph (vi) also requires adding the following new subparagraph (v) to permit the Corps to give advice to the Corps on various matters relating to the permit conditions:

(d) (i) ... (v) The permit conditions necessary to secure compliance shall include, installation, use, and maintain one or more systems or methods which, using the best available technology, provide, within the shortest feasible time, for the elimination, or the maximum feasible reduction, of the refuse discharged or deposited by the permittee.

We recommend that the approval of the Corps to monitor discharges and deposits made under a Refuse Act permit. The provisions for "periodic demonstrations of compliance" and for "site and sampling accessibility" in paragraph (o) (2) are not requirements, but merely "may" be required by EPA, and thus do not adequately protect the public interest.

Therefore, we recommend that paragraph (o) (2) be revised to read as follows:

(iii) Provide for possible suspension or revocation of the permit for violation of any condition of the permit or for failure to maintain effective enforcement of the condition, in the event that the permittee breaches any condition of the permit.

5. Paragraph (o) of the proposed regulation does not include a provision requiring monitoring discharges or deposits made under a Refuse Act permit. The provisions for "periodic demonstrations of compliance" and for "site and sampling accessibility" in paragraph (o) (2) are not requirements, but merely "may" be required by EPA, and thus do not adequately protect the public interest.

Therefore, we recommend that paragraph (o) (2) be revised to add the following paragraph to the proposed regulation:

(viii) Provide that the permittee (a) install, use, and maintain such monitoring and sampling equipment as may be required by the Corps to assure periodic inspection, at periodic intervals and provide information thereon in periodic reports required by this paragraph, and (b) provide, at reasonable cost, equipment, personnel, or through any agreements or arrangements, for inspection at periodic intervals and provide information thereon in periodic reports required by this paragraph, and (b) provide, at reasonable cost, equipment, personnel, or through any agreements or arrangements, for inspection at periodic intervals and provide information thereon in periodic reports required by this paragraph.
systems and to take samples of such discharge or deposit and copy any records relating thereto.

V. PUBLIC NOTICE

Paragraph (1) of the proposed regulation provides that all "public needs" shall be reviewed in the language of paragraph (d) (2) of the Corps' proposed regulation.

In this letter we recommended a revision of paragraph (d) (2). Accordingly, we recommend that the statement set forth in paragraph (d) of the proposed regulation be revised as follows:

"The decision as to whether a permit authorizing a discharge or deposit will or will not be issued under the Refuse Act will be based in all cases on an evaluation of the impact of the discharge or deposit on (1) anchorages and navigation, (2) water quality standards and related water quality considerations as determined by State authorities and Federal agencies, and (3) in cases where the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act is applicable (where the discharge or deposit on fish and wildlife resources) on all factors affecting the public interest.

VI. WATER QUALITY DETERMINATIONS

Paragraph (d) (6) of the Corps' proposed regulation provides that where a Corps' District Engineer disagrees with the "advice of the Administration," he shall forward the matter to the Secretary of the Army who shall then "consult with" the Administrator of EPA. We believe that this provision as written is inconsistent with the Corps' policy concerning the holding of an application requesting permission to discharge or deposit into navigable waters or tributaries thereof without preclude legal action in appropriate cases for Refuse Act violations.

We believe that this statement will not be very persuasive to a court since it relates only to "legal action in appropriate cases," and does not adequately inform either the applicant or the public as to what are these "appropriate cases."

Assistant Attorney General Shiro Kashiwa on October 21, 1970, informed the House Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation that he will bring such "legal action" when "substantially similar substances are present in an industrial discharge." Moreover, Mr. Ruckelshaus, at the White House Conference on December 23, 1970, said that the Corps' policy is compared with the implementation schedule established under applicable water quality standards.

III. CONCLUSION

We believe that only Congress and not an agency can regulate a party, it must allow the party to go ahead and pollute not pursuant to any implementation schedule that he has been put on.

We recommend that there be added to paragraph (d) (1) of the proposed regulation, the following:

"The mere filing of an application for a Corps' permit under sections 1, 16, and 18 of the 1899 law does not do so. That responsibility is now in the Corps and it is the Corps' duty to perform it. That duty can be changed only by Congress. In Zobel v. Tubb, 430 F. 2d 199 (C.A. 5, 1970), the applicants for a Corps permit under section 18 of the 1899 law contended that the denial of a permit without a hearing before the Fish and Wildlife Service is "a deprivation of a property right in violation of due process of law." The court, in this case said: "Administrative law requires that before an agency can impose a penalty, it must allow that party to be heard. Here, landholders were given such a hearing before the Corps, the Engineer empowered to grant or deny a permit. They were not entitled to a hearing before the Fish and Wildlife Service because it is not the one who will impose a penalty."

IV. PUBLIC HEARINGS

Paragraph (k) (1) of the proposed Corps' regulation sets forth the Corps' policy concerning the holding of public hearings by the Corps in connection with Refuse Act permit applications. When this public hearing policy is compared with the hearing policy for other Corps' permits under sections 1, 10 and 14 of the 1899 law, we find, as Mr. Jordan stated in his letter of October 18, 1970, to our House Subcommittee, that "there has been a shift in emphasis" by the Corps.

We believe that only Congress and not the Executive Order (11574 of December 23, 1970) is otherwise contrary to the public interest.\[85\]
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September 9, 1971, extended this hearing policy for “applications for the establishment or modification of harbor lines” under the 1899 law.

Paragraph (k) (1) of the Corps’ proposed regulation establishes the policy for Refuse Act permits. It states:

A Paragraph (j) (i) (1) of the proposed Corps’ regulation provides that when a permit application is received, a copy “will be promptly forwarded to the Regional Administrator.” Paragraph (j) (i) (3) of the proposed regulation states:

The courts have repeatedly ruled that oil discharges are subject to the Act. However, the Corps’ regulation states:

We believe that the Corps’ regulation is better because it allows EPA time to review the application and consider the comment of the Corps. We therefore recommend that the second sentence of paragraph (d) (7) be deleted.


Mr. Rusk, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Rusk:

Enclosed for your information, review, and comment is a copy of a letter which we have today sent to Chairman Henry S. Reuss, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Conservation and Natural Resources, Senate Committee on Appropriations.

Sincerely,

Henry S. Reuss
Chairman, Conservation and Natural Resources Subcommittee

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Hon. William D. Ruckelshaus
Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RUSK.

Enclosed for your information, review, and comment is a copy of a letter which we have today sent to Chairman Reuss, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations concerning the Corps of Engineers proposed 1899 Refuse Act program.

We understand that your agency has extended a hearing policy. This is similar to the policies currently in effect at the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and the Corps of Engineers. The Corps of Engineers has filed the following report with us:

We believe that the Corps’ regulation is better because it allows EPA time to review the application and consider the comment of the Corps. We therefore recommend that the second sentence of paragraph (d) (7) be deleted.

The points discussed in this letter cover the principal areas of our concern. Some additional points have been mentioned in our letters of January 26, 1971, to General Ruckelshaus, the Acting Administrator of the Corps and of February 18, 1971, to Mr. Jordan; and in Mr. Jordan’s testimony of February 18, advising us that the Corps may make other changes which will also improve these regulations.

As we said at the close of the hearings on February 19, the staff of our subcommittee stand ready to discuss these issues further with your agency, the Corps, and EPA and to help wherever possible to get this program under way early next month.

We are sending a copy of this letter to the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney General, and the Administrator of NOAA. We would appreciate your comments on the proposed Corps of Engineers hearings policy.

Respectfully,

Henry S. Reuss
Chairman, Conservation and Natural Resources Subcommittee
In both cases, these involve a technical review. Yet under the memorandum, EPA must also advise on the "nature and seriousness of the violation and its impact "on water quality," whether the disposal is "an actual or potential violation of a local or state "pollution abatement proceeding" or on the "applicability of the Federal Water Pollution Act;" and whether "administrative or judicial proceeding is being taken" or, indeed, is merely being "contemplated," under the Act.

As we have said time and time again in re­gard to the July 10, 1970 Justice Department Guidelines on enforcement of the Refuse Act, the existence or non-existence of such actual or contemplated State, local, or Federal "pro­ceedings" has no bearing on whether or not enforcement of the Refuse Act should be un­dertaken. Although the new draft Justice Department guidelines have removed this ob­struction in all of the July 10 Guidelines, the guidelines are now made dependent entirely on EPA's review and EPA's advice con­cerning the above mentioned matters. We can only assume that if such "proceedings" exist there would be no enforcement of the Refuse Act or its permit conditions. It is imperative that memorandums and guidelines concerning enforcement of the Refuse Act, developed by the Environmental Protection Agency, not be used to elim­i­nate this barrier to effective enforcement of the Refuse Act and the permits thereunder.

Sincerely,

HENRY S. REIFF, Chairman.


Hon. SHIRO KASHIWAGI,

Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice.

Dear Mr. Kashiwagi: Enclosed is a copy of a letter we have today sent to the Adminis­trator of the Environmental Protection Agency concerning the only section of the July 10 Refuse Act (33 U.S.C. Code 407).

During the hearing on February 19, 1971 before the Senate Subcommittee on Environ­ment and Members of our Subcom­mittee, you testified that you would provide to this Subcommittee your "requests for violations of the 1899 Refuse Act "that have been filed" with the Justice Department since January 1, 1970 and the "action taken." We enclosed a table to aid you in preparing this list.

We understand that you will draw upon this list in the Senate hearing and since the Subcommittee's hearings were heard before the Justice Department and the U. S. Attorneys in preparing this list.

On October 17 and December 18, 1970, we wrote to you asking several questions concerning enforcement of the 1899 Refuse Act by the Justice Department in the 10 mercury discharge cases. A copy of each letter is enclosed.

Your letter of January 25, 1971 did not reply to several of these questions on the basis that the "cases were not settled.

Since all of the questions we asked related to matters made public by the Department and the Interior Department, and since each of the mercury complaints and stipulations has been filed in court, we feel that there is no obligation to explain to this Subcommittee the matters raised by our questions. We therefore request that you promptly respond to each of our questions in the enclosed letters so that we may evaluate the effectiveness of the Act and the enforcement under the 1899 Refuse Act in these cases.

In our letter of December 18, 1970, we asked you to "familiarize yourself with the Department's plans to re" their mercury discharges. Three plans are required to be filed under the Act and if approved, to be filed between the Government and 9 of the 10 defendants.
In your reply of January 25, 1971, you said that the Administration had established a plan at the earliest possible date to transfer all water pollution responsibilities under the Refuse Act to EPA. This is not entirely accurate. It might be considered a point in favor of the Administration's position that we strongly consider the option of leaving the final say on water quality in the Corps, though I would regard it as unwise to encourage such a view.

My major concern regarding the program, however, relates not to its questionable legality, but rather to its failure in one particular respect: it fails to go as far as the law permits. At the hearings, the Administration witnesses told us that, under the program, interstate waters would be subject to federal standards. They further stated that, subject to some exceptions, an interstate water would not be subject to the question the adequacy of state standards in the granting of permits for discharges into interstate waters. More reliance with these admittedly deficient standards would thus provide the basic condition for approval of such permits.

Whereas the witnesses admitted that this would be an unfortunate result, some of them expressed the view that in the absence of a new law, state and local authorities were powerless to prevent it. I cannot agree with this position. The Refuse Act authorizes the administration of national policies by EPA as a federal agency. One section of the act within limits to be defined and subject to conditions to be prescribed by statute or regulations. It would thus be by language appear that we would be subjected to state standards for all navigable waters—including those now unprotected by federally-approved standards—valid for discharge permits. The Congress, in adopting federal standards might simplify the review process. Comparing a discharge to an efficient standard would appear far easier than determining whether that discharge will exceed a state's receiving water standards. Moreover, imposing adequate federal standards would be issued unless those guidelines are met. It is feared. My views an application from, say, XYZ steel company was cited as cause for concern.

Despite this analysis, the additional burden would be substantial, I would argue that we must nevertheless accept it. The alternative is to continue to let our waters deteriorate when it is within our power to protect them. The response that we will protect them after Congress acts six months, one year, or two years from now I find unacceptable. It is my hope that you will not accept either.

Sincerely yours,

PHILIP A. HART,
Chairman.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 28, 1971]

GIVING MUSCLE TO THE REFUSE ACT

Until a few years ago, the 1899 Refuse Act lay on the books virtually unnoticed and unused. It was one of many environmental protection laws written long before the recognition of water pollution as a national problem. That situation is changing. As this morning's bread. Specifically, the 1899 Refuse Act permits any person or corporation to discharge any "refuse matter of any kind or character, not deleterious to the health of navigable waters without a permit from the Corps of Engineers. On the exact meaning of the terms "refuse," the Supreme Court held, "there is no plain and certain meaning in the 1899 Act about how the Corps of Engi-
neers establishes standards for measuring pollution, but it authorizes the Corps of Engineers to determine what in fact pollution is.

Last year, the administration, urged on by the new Council on Environmental Quality, announced it would use the Refuse Act to curb pollution. As is now clear, however, that the program proposed by the administration does not flex all the muscle that could be used. A major concern is that not all of America's navigable waters will be protected by federally approved standards. That only some waterways are protected, due to the administration's reliance on the limited authority of the Water Pollution Control Act. The Refuse Act, however, extends not only to rivers, watercourses and streams that cross or form state lines (interstate), but to waters that run within a state's boundary (intrastate). The latter are being dirtied, perhaps ruined, by being the receptacle of a large part of this country's industrial waste. If the administration used the full power of the Refuse Act, these waters would be protected also.

Last week, in hearings before Senator Hill's Committee on the Environment, the administration's proposed permit program received a close look from such concerned organizations as the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Audubon Society and the National Wildlife Federation. Perhaps because the opposition has been involved, its first efforts are understandably timid and narrow. The administration deserves credit for its interest in backing the Refuse Act, but it has a purpose, before Congress allowing its water program to reach intrastate waters. But why wait for this authority when the Refuse Act already gives it?

Now that it has joined Representative Pepper's efforts, others, the administration might as well go all the way along the Water Pollution Control Act by covering all navigable waters, not just some; and by considering all the environmental risks of permitting water pollution. With the wastes from thousands of factories and plants involved, not to mention the very life lines of our waterways, the Refuse Act is anything but a useless vestige of the last century.

**SUSPENDING THE BACON-DAVIS ACT**

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Peffer), Under previous order of the House, Mr. O'Hara (Ohio), is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, the President's action in suspending the Bacon-Davis Act, as an anti-inflation move, is strangely inappropriate. As part of a pattern of action by which the President seeks to reduce wage scales generally and to undercut free collective bargaining, it is more understandable, but still indefensible.

The President and his spokesmen have sought to make several points in their barrage of "justifications" for the suspension of Bacon-Davis.

First, they have alleged that the Bacon-Davis Act requires construction wages on Government contracts to be pegged to the highest wages for comparable work, or at least pegged to the union scale.

This argument is not correct. The Bacon-Davis Act merely requires that Government contractors agree to pay the prevailing wage in the area—union or nonunion—and not less than the minimum wage. It was passed, not to boost construction wages, but to prevent Government contracts from being undercut by prevailing wages, by prohibiting wage undercutting in Government construction. Nothing in the act requires the payment of wages at an artificially high rate. It does and should require the Government to avoid doing business with cut-rate, fly-by-night contractors.

In suspending the act, the President clearly means to suggest that the Government had entered into agreements with contractors who are paying less than the prevailing wage to the detriment of reputable established contractors and their employees. This is, of course, wholly contrary to public policy, and if the President is determined to do it, he should first find someone to introduce a bill repealing Bacon-Davis. It would not pass, and it should not pass, but this approach would have the refreshing novelty of directness.

Another "justification" for this action, which was apparently offered by the President himself, is the contention that the construction industry benefits from a unique statute in Bacon-Davis.

This too is incorrect. Government supply contractors and Government service contractors, like construction contractors, are also bound to pay their prevailing wages and not to go below the minimum wage. Once again, in these two areas, as in construction, the basic principle that the United States should not be a party to catching workers between the fire of unemployment and the frying pan of substandard wages, governs our contracting. That the President has chosen construction as the unique target of his abandonment of this longstanding policy is bad enough, but to assert that the policy he has abandoned applies uniquely to construction is worse.

A third argument in favor of the President's action is the repeated contention that wages are the inflationary component of construction costs. Mr. Speaker, I find it unbelievable that any public official who has seen where interest rates and the cost of living have gone with the blessing of this administration, could have the gall to suggest that construction workers' wages are inflationary, but that bankers' profits are not. Wage increases can cause inflation, Mr. Speaker, if they are out of line with productivity. But artificially inflated interest rates are inflation pure and simple and the fact that they now have begun reluctantly and belatedly to inch downward, simply indicates that the Nixon hard-money policy had driven interest rates even beyond the prevailing rate for the bankers.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, the President's action suspending Bacon-Davis and the silence of this administration with respect to the inflationary contribution of their bank friend's does give us cause for grave concern.

**HEARINGS ON LOBBYING BILL**

Mr. PRICE of Illinois asked and was given permission to extend his remarks as this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois, Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, I take this means of calling attention to hearings which the committee is scheduled to open March 16 on H.R. 5259, the Legislative Activities Disclosure Act, a bill which would repeal the 1946 Regulation of Lobbying Act and replace it with a completely new body of law.

With Representative JACKSON E. BETTS, of Ohio, ranking Republican member of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, I introduced the bill on March 1 in response to House Resolution 1031 of the 91st Congress, second session. That resolution directed the committee to study the need for new legislation in the areas of lobbying and campaign finances. The committee subsequently conducted public hearings on both subjects. H.R. 5259 is a result of our study of lobbying.

Now we are seeking to submit that bill to a broader cross-section of opinion. We solicit the views of all who want to be heard concerning its provisions. While this hearing is being conducted, committee hearings for Members of Congress who are interested in giving us the benefit of their views concerning the bill, we are equally interested in gaining the opinions of others, including those who would be subject to it.

We invite anyone desiring to testify concerning the bill to get in touch with the committee staff in room 2340, Rayburn House Office Building, so that a schedule may be arranged for their appearances. We also invite statements for the record of those who are interested in the bill, but who may be unable to appear before the committee.

**SUPersonic Prototypes**

Mr. PRICE of Illinois asked and was given permission to extend his remarks as this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, my remarks I would like to include the following statement of my colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, CLARENCE J. BROWN, before the Transportation Sub-committee, Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, on the development of the two supersonic transport prototypes.


Members of the Appropriations Committee: Why should the United States complete the development of two prototype airplanes of the supersonic transport? I believe there are three good reasons: economic, environmental and social. And I shall discuss each in brief factual detail.

There has been an unfortunate tendency on the part of the opponents of completion of the American SST prototypes to use demagogic "scares" and "dangers" and to continue to use such attacks even after they are outdated or disproved. I have had the opportunity recently to examine and to submit the SST funding with such opponents and have been shocked to hear them use the report of an Ad Hoc Task Force, of Cabinet officials which President Nixon named when he first became President. The op-
ponents of the SST indicate that this first
cursory study by the Administration indi-
cated SST development was defearable—but
they do not indicate that the predilection of
the plan would involve both the British and
French Concorde or no Russian TU-144.

I should like to submit with my testimony
to the Subcommittee on Transportation of
December 28, 1970, issue of Aviation Week
and Space Technology a copy of information
which appeared in the February 8, 1971,
issue of Aviation Week and Space Technology
and which I have in my possession today.

Distortion of facts by SST opponents has
become common. When the Joint Economic
Committee asked you to examine the facts
of the SST, the chairman of the subcommittee
making that study wrote Under Secretary of
Transportation James Beegs and the mem-
bers of his 1969 administration ad hoc study
committee on the SST and asked for 1970
updated comments on their 1969 viewpoints.
The responses favoring the SST and based
on more accurate information than was avail-
able in 1969 were ignored in the Committee’s
draft report. In writing to Dr. DuBridge, the
Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary
Affairs, Magruder, Director, Office of
Science and Technology concluded that
“the Government should not be subsidizing a
dream project in consumer interest, nor, as im-
portantly, in national interest. For
instance, the criticisms of take-off and land-
ing noise made in the Joint Economic Commit-
tee’s final report. Dr. DuBridge did reply on April
19, 1970, with a letter reiterating the commen-
tary recommended that the

The opponents of the SST do not consider
the results of the recent extensive
review of the SST by the National
Academy of Science as indicating that
the SST is commercially viable
or economically feasible. They have
distorted the results of the NAS study
in an effort to convince the public
of the unworkability of the SST.

On page III of the NAS report,
which lists 1580 dollars per hour for the
test of the SST, the opponents
have deleted the word “per hour”
and have everyone in the SST
project misleadingly stated that the
SST is responsible for approximately
300 million dollars of federal funds.

The SST is a major project that has
involved many billions of dollars
and has taken many years to
achieve. The project is not
likely to be fully completed until
the end of the decade, and
its cost is not yet fully
known. It is important to
consider the whole picture
of the SST project, including
its potential economic benefits
as well as its potential
environmental costs.

The SST is a major achievement
in the field of aerospace technology,
and it is important to support its
development. However, it is
also important to consider
the potential environmental
impacts of the SST and
to ensure that its development
is sustainable and
environmentally responsible.

In conclusion, the SST is
an important project with
the potential to
advance
aeronautical
innovation and
civilian aviation.

The SST is a critical
project for the future
of aviation, and
supporting its
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of aerospace
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The SST project
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have been some who will receive extra benefits in royalties if 500 of the projects 500 to 800 sales materialize by 1990.

The SST project is also different in that we are not trying to develop a new transportation industry (as we once were with the automotive industry), which has been sold and it will receive an extra billion dollars in royalties if SSTs are sold. The SST project, one of the great contributors to the nation's economic well-being, must look in future years for a preservation of the current competitive advantage enjoyed by the SST program. It is from the standpoint of economics that we will derive from the availability of SSTs, that we lose the advantage we now enjoy in world markets we could lose if SSTs are not competitive. SSTs, therefore, cannot be overstated. It is from this perspective that we look at the number of planes it would take to carry the passenger miles in a certain year if new planes were not developed. For example, all of 1971's traffic could be carried in 765 flying 747s, but the same revenue passenger miles would have required 2,189 707s, 1,056 767s, 1,200 727s, and 8,979 Constellations or 47,416 DC-3s. By 1980, the estimate is that 500 SSTs can replace 819 747s, 1,280 767s, and 14,592 DC-3s which would be required to carry the same traffic estimated in that year.

If the impact of these figures is not impressive with respect to the economics of the future of aviation, they should certainly be impressive from the ecological standpoint. The SSTs will be flying through the lower atmosphere ten years from now versus 500 SSTs gives some impact to the argument that SSTs have the lowest pollution rates per passenger mile of any modern mode of transportation. One SST carrying 288 passengers at 1,260 miles per hour will spew out less unpowered fuel pollutants than three automobiles traveling at 60 miles per hour. Another SST carrying 600 passengers at the same speed. Another SST carrying 600 passengers at the same 35,000 feet will emit less water vapor in the stratosphere daily than the average thunderstorm and there are 3,000 and 6,000 thunderstorms in the world each day. Contrails also do not form at SST altitudes as established by the fact that both SSTs and the whole SST fleet will emit less water vapor in the stratosphere daily than the daily average thunderstorm and there are 3,000 and 6,000 thunderstorms in the world each day.

The most modest estimate of the advantages we will derive from the availability of an American SST in world trade is $32 billion between now and 1990, but there could be as high as $45 billion. Conversely, it is clear that if we lose the advantage we now enjoy in world markets we could lose as much in the next 20 years.

There is a tendency on the part of all customers to purchase from the supplier who can give them the best product for the money. The possibility that this capability will shift to the British-French and to the Russians if American SSTs are not sold is one of the reasons that presents competitive advantage in world markets by our aerospace industry, therefore, cannot be overstated. It is from these favorable balances that we will get or hold onto some of the resources with which we can pay for the social and ecological programs which we will need in the years ahead.

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world should not be ignored. The history of mankind is filled with efforts to shorten the distance between nations and cultures. After Marco Polo returned from China, the Europeans were intrigued by the possibility of a more direct route to the Indies resulted in Vasco DaGama's voyage around Africa and the discovery of America. These efforts, though often met with skepticism, eventually led to the development of transatlantic travel. Today, the same logic flows from facts. I think the average passenger on a plane recognizes a perceptible deterioration in his comfort over the years.

But whatever our judgment on the SST, it should be made on the basis of facts and not unprovable claims and suspicions. Those of us who favor the SST have attempted to be diligent with both the facts and the logic which flows from facts. I think the facts are persuasive as to the merits of our position. I recognize valid doubts and feel that these doubts must be answered as the program develops. But significant doubts is substantial enough to justify abrupt termination of this program now.

I must also concede to a certain emotional bias. As an air traveler, I have found that people who gave it its first lift off the ground are from the area of the Congressional District. The situation created by the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline proposal by the Department of Interior released an "Environmental Impact Statement" regarding the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline. The conclusion of that statement incorporated a "green light" recommendation for the construction of the pipeline. In spite of the dangers to the environment that the pipeline might cause, Congress was not misled by these environmental statements. It is not uncommon for the Government to "find" one thing and recommend another, but the evidence that the proposed action was publicly stated so strongly and then followed by a contrary recommendation.

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clarion call for the protection of our environment, and in terms of the current situation with the Alaskan oil pipeline situation, his words are extremely apropos. He said:

"The step I have taken today (re, Cross-Florida Canal) will prevent a past mistake from causing permanent damage. But more important, we must assure that in the future we take not only full but also from causing permanent environmental impact of such profound, so that instead of merely halting the damage, we prevent it."

Mr. Speaker, never before has the raison d'être for the bill we are introducing been stated so succinctly. It is a statement worth constant repetition and a statement worth careful thought by Members of this House.

My colleagues and I are hopeful that other Members will introduce bills similar to ours in order to emphasize the seriousness of the potential danger to the Alaskan environment should the Congress fail to act. A copy of our bill is reproduced below:

**A bill relating to the construction of an oil pipeline system in the State of Alaska**

Mr. Speaker, the United States by Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior shall not issue any permit, grant any right-of-way, provide for the sale of forest products or mineral materials, or take any other action involving in connection with the construction, operation, maintenance of any oil pipeline system for use in transporting oil from fields in northern Alaska to any deep water port or other place, unless such action is authorized by law or lies in the fields of antipollution and conservation.

I think it is clear from the brief listing of his awards that Congressman Dingell is a consummate "expert" in the fields of conservation and environment. His article entitled, "Systems Approach Needed for Environmental Problems," follows:

**Systems Approach Needed for Environmental Problems**

**(By John D. Dingell, Congressman from Michigan)**

In 1976 the United States will celebrate its bimillennial—200 years of population growth, land development, agricultural and industrial expansion, and tremendous technological advance.

I am certain that if Thomas Jefferson or Benjamin Franklin could return to celebrate the 200th anniversary of America, he would be appalled and outraged by the hideous ruin that Americans have wreaked on this beautiful land in less than two centuries.

Even with heroic measures taken by all levels of government—and with the most active participation by agriculturists, ecologists, and ordinary citizens—it is a certainty that the United States, like other nations of the world, will find itself confronted in 1976 with a greatly increased environmental degradation and more severe problems of the three P's—pesticides, pollution and population.

The warnings of scientists, conservationists and ecologists and the almost universally shared vague apprehensions of the citizenry, which have finally hardened into mass concern over environmental degradation in America, have found clear utterance in the first response of President's Council on Environmental Quality.

That report, speaking with the prestige of the office of our Chief Executive, chronicles a real and direct threat to our nation, its past, present, and future. Practically no aspect of American Life escapes well justified criticism of its adverse impact on environmental quality.

Poor land use and planning; pollution of land, water, and air; the wasteful squandering of precious resources; noise; crowding and squalor in our cities—all are subjects of concern.Unchecked population growth, new and exotic pests such as mercury and the other, perhaps even more deadly pests, are also of concern and apprehension.

This report, hastily compiled in a seven months' mad rush to beat statutory deadlines, had available to it the full resources of the federal government. It is noteworthy in many regards.

Clearly and admittedly incomplete, it lays to rest for the first time any thought that all is well with nature in the United States.

The report brings to mind the warnings of "Silent Spring" by the gentle Rachel Carson, and the vicious and devastating attack upon her and her work by industry apprehensive over loss of profits. One wonders whether publication of this Council report will evoke similar response. I think not.

Even more, in the light of the high activity and dedication of the Council members and the immense resources available to them in preparing the report, is the obvious lack of real confidence of the Council systems besetting us. Equally noteworthy is the repetitiveness of statements on the lack of complete information on all fronts.

The need for environmental indicators—

"...to know where we are, where we have been, where we are going and how fast we are going—is also stressed."

This lack of environmental knowledge on all levels of activity, both public and private, has been a major concern to me here in Congress and in the Congress. Intimately related is the need to systematize our relationship and approach to the environment and to the use and reuse of our resources.

To begin moving this country to a systems approach to environmental problems, I introduced on February 17, 1969, H.R. 6750, to create a Council on Environmental Quality, an independent, totally technical body to oversee the environment, and to require an annual environmental report. Shortly thereafter, similar legislation was introduced in the Senate by Senator Jackson as S. 1076.

Our joint efforts brought to fruition the Environmental Policy Act of 1969. This legislation, which was signed by the President on January 1, 1970, contained all of the above provisions and the requirement that proposed federal activities must be reviewed by the Federal government to provide a clear statement of environmental effect.

The Data Bank is an important first step toward a systems approach to the resolution of man's problem of living with his environment.

The development of such an approach, sound in purpose and practice, is, in my opinion, the most important problem faced by mankind in the world today. For to fail in this undertaking will mean increasing degradation of the quality of life, followed by probable extinction.

As a second step toward achieving a systems approach in man's activities that affect the environment, I am introducing, with my bill, H.R. 18488, to create a National Environmental Data Bank. With all our abilities and concern for data storage, retrieval, and dissemination and with the immense numbers of federal activities related to the environment, it is a continuing source of surprise to me that nothing of this kind has yet evolved.

The Data Bank legislation would require all federal agencies to develop and foster environmental data to take all reasonable steps to make them compatible to the maximum extent possible.

Encouragements would be afforded to federally financed researchers to have their own data included in the data bank's files. Inducements to inter-relate federal and federally financed private computer systems would be given. The Banking Board would have authority to lay down re-
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requirements for maximum storage of properly evaluated, collapsed, useful information and data on the environment obtained under Federal and Federally funded programs.

These steps would be coupled with a reclassification of grants and would also constitute a continuing evaluation of a capacity for, and the actual initiation of, predictive environmental models of predictive ecological inferences, so that we might begin looking not only to the past and the present but also to the future. This last tool would enable us to use mathematics, the computer, and present scientific data to gauge the impact of man and his activities on the environment of the nation.

Given these things, we would be more capable of moving forward, albeit haltingly and imperfectly, with the sorely needed systems approach to the environment. Our tools would be the Council on Environmental Quality, its annual report, and the capacity of the Federal Data Bank.

Much more will be required, perhaps the most important of which will be bringing economic and social activities into a mutuality and economic policy on an equal basis. Initiation of this relationship between economic and environmental policy is a matter being taken up at the meetings held by the Council on Environmental Quality and the Council of Economic Advisers.

The President runs the Executive paying close heed to his Council of Economic Advisers, the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board.

If real progress in preserving a quality environment is to be attained, advisers, policies and goals in the environmental area must have equal, even superior, importance in government to those in the economic field.

The Environmental Policy Act requires full equality, even though neither the subject of environmental quality nor the Council of Economic Advisers was being given that dignity by the Executive.

If I were President for one day, I believe I would seek to link the problems between environmental and economic concerns and economic concerns would be the most important single step I could take.

I would also assure that the Council on Environmental Quality achieved full parity with the economic adviser of the Executive. It appears to me that from this kind of reform would flow an abundance of other needed reforms in the environmental field.

If the economic advisers do their jobs as well as they should, and the Council on Environmental Quality carries out its responsibilities under the Environmental Policy Act, and if the two national goals and systems of advisers function well on an integrated basis in relation to the multitude of major environmental policy problems, we will be on the way to resolution.

Glorifying example of one of the problems that would be resolved is that of waste which becomes pollution of the land, the air, and the water. We try to bury it, dump it into our water bodies, but in the process the cycle of life on earth is lost, and still it continues to pile up, produced by the most efficient industrial societies we know of in the world.

If we operated our households the way we operate the Nation, our backyards would be filled with pools of waste and our swimming pools would be full of the products of our home sewage system, the air above our houses would stink from burning waste and exhaust fumes of our autos. And our unappreciated environment holds that at its root. It becomes plain to anyone intelligent that a system of production and distribution that releases into the atmosphere the products of production and distribution is the only intelligent way of solving the problem of environmental degradation.

It is also, perhaps, the best way of recovering waste which, instead of being a blight and a curse, is potentially one of our most precious resources.

Recycling, then, is a matter of dire environmental and economic necessity. Pollution, perhaps, is the surest way not to provide the power to properly recycle and recover valuable products, and under an intelligent systems approach would be bound to be totally without justification on either an environmental or economic basis. Until we commence recycling our wastes of all kinds to the maximum degree, there will be no real solution to the pollution problems of this nation.

Under a crude systems approach, recycling would have many benefits. Soil-building nitrites and phosphates can be recovered from municipal sewage or delivered directly to irrigated farm fields. Old cars, tin cans and waste metals can provide metallic supplies for a mineral-short America. Combustible waste can provide compost, fertilizers, and fuel and lubricating oils. Waste paper properly recycled can save millions of trees and thousands of acres of recreational land. It would provide low pollution fuels for the generation of electricity.

Assuming that our national goals are environmental as well as economic in character, the best tax structure would seek to achieve maximum revenue and maximum recycling through incentives and penalties.

The incentives should be held down and penal destructive of the national goal and requirements of law, and legal standards on pollution of air and water. Tax penalties would have to be heavy enough to encourage polluters to conform to any national goals and not be a license to pollute.

The concerns and activities of environmentalists embrace the entirety of man's environment. Polluted air and water filled with sewage and industrial wastes are no less destructive than people crowding, the noddy, deteriorating cities ridden with despair and crime. The language of the Environmental Policy Act tells us that all of these matters are a part of man's environment, and the Council on Environmental Quality is directed by law to comment on all of them.

In this kind of hard circumstance one always seeks encouragement. I can offer none except the simple realization that man, who created atomic power and sent some of his might to the moon and back, has the technological capability to clean up the fearful mess he has created—if he but manifest the will.

The cost in human resources and money will be high: according to recent estimates $64 billion for water pollution, $3.1 billion for air pollution, $2.4 billion for solid waste disposal. The cost in failure to try or succeed will be immeasurably heavier.

Air pollution, for example, costs every American $60 per year. According to John Middletown, Commissioner of the National Air Pollution Administration, the world can save the United States $13.5 billion per year for a total expenditure of only $3.6 billion per year. The energy of our nation is almost $11 billion per year. That try for a cost benefit ratio, America!

Although I have not seen no recent studies of benefits of water pollution control, there must be a substantially similar cost benefit ratio. Consider hydroelectric, quality of water-related recreation, recovered by-products, reduced water treatment costs, and reduction in waterborne disease and mortality.

Old saying has it that for every man chopping at the root of the evil there are a thousand men hawking at its branches. In our attack on this monstrous tree of environmental degradation, let us begin at its taproot by creating an effective systems approach for a conservation bill that touches the vital branches by a disjointed and often counterproductive attack on the symptoms of environmental problems.

H.R. 5060—TO PROHIBIT THE "HUNTING" OF WILDLIFE BY AIRBORNE HUMAN PREDATORS

(Mr. SAYOR asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SAYOR. Mr. Speaker, Congressman Oaxb and I, together with 20 other concerned conservationist Members, introduced in this session a bill to prohibit the hunting of wildlife from an airplane.

This bill is based on a plea of the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956 by providing a criminal penalty for shooting at certain birds, fish, and other animals from an airplane. It is, I think, realistic in this sophisticated day and age to say that the human beings so devoid of compassion, so unsportmanlike, so eager for killing, that they must use a vehicle designed for the transportation of goods in order to prey on the Nation's wildlife. One is reminded of the 1800's when "gentlemen sportmen" slaughtered great herds of buffalo from train platforms.

The long-ago era of our history of misconception for indigenous wildlife is re-incarcerated in today's "sportsman" or greedy bounty hunter who has been seen and photographed herding and killing with the use of airplanes. I am sure you recall the poignant television documentary, "The Wolf Men," wherein the practice was dramatically presented. That program was responsible for the introduction of our bill in the 91st Congress, H.R. 15188, which would have outlawed the incredible practice.

The program was also responsible for the greatest outpouring of public sentiment for conservation that I have witnessed in my years in Congress. Had it not been for the obstructionist tactics of certain Members of the other body, I am confident that the bill would now be public law.

The House of Representatives, to its eternal credit, did its part by unanimously passing H.R. 15188. As it stands now, we must begin again.

It has been a long time since "The Wolf Men" television show: since the introduction of our first bill; since the public hearings; and, since, House passage of the bill. Nevertheless, the public's interest in the legless evil has decreased in the least. I cannot begin to count the letters which I have received concerning the fate of the old bill and plans for a new measure.

Although we are starting the legislative process again with H.R. 5060, we are assured that the public's interest in the issue has remained high. Indeed, I would venture a guess that interest has been heightened for the simple reason that it is obvious that cowards who hunt from airplanes will continue the practice right
up to the very minute when a Federal public law becomes enforceable. One would have thought that public’s outside world would have ensured an immediate cessation of the practice. Such was not the case: we are dealing with a blood-hungry, two-legged animal whose profit depends upon the depletion of America’s wildlife population.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come to put a stop to the disgraceful practice of hunting wildlife from an airplane. H.R. 560 will do this. To achieve the public expresses its support of the new legislation by contacting their individual representatives in the House and Senate. We are confident of an early consideration and passage of the bill in the House and look forward to equally quick action in the U.S. Senate.

THE CHANGING BASIS FOR "PROTECTIONISM"

(Mr. BETTS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Recom and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. Speaker, in spite of the fact that there seems to be a hull in any discussion of trade policy, the fact remains that the situation has changed very little from the time during the consideration of the trade bill last year. As a reminder of the continuing problems, Mr. O.R. Strackeplan, President of the Nationwide Committee on Import-Export, studied the whole subject in a speech before the Mid-America Trade Conference on February 24 of this year. I am inserting it at this point in the Recom with the sincere hope that it will be read and studied by all who feel there is a genuine need for some action in this area:

THE CHANGING BASIS FOR "PROTECTIONISM"

While the terms, "protectionism" and "free trade" are often confused as forms of semantics, the evolution of this obsession has not been sufficiently uncovered.

The principles of free trade, as elaborated by Adam Smith circa 1776, assume a minimum of governmental interference in the market forces of a country and with its external trade. The term laissez-faire (leave alone) has been applied to the economic philosophy of Adam Smith. It underlay the so-called free enterprise system of our own country until the severe depression of the early thirties. Essentially it means minimal interference by Government with business and commerce.

Protectionism, on the other hand, which does represent such interference, was recognized early in our history, particularly after the War of 1812, as a means of building a nation. Otherwise we faced a future of economic subordination to Britain as a supplier of raw materials and an importer of manufactured goods. The earliest avowed protectionist tariff was the Tariff of 1816.

The tariff became a political football, kicked back and forth until 1841. Generally, until then, the Southern States were isolationists, demanding "free trade for revenue only," while the Northern Industrial States preferred a protective tariff.

From 1840 to 1850, the opening of international conferences and reduced our tariff an average of approximately 80%. Today our tariff on domestic items is about 10% compared with a little over 50% in the early "tariff. If the collected tariffs are added to the duties we pay on our imports, including those free of duty (some 38% of the total), our average duty is between 6% and 7%. (John Eisenhower, Senator from New Hampshire.) The debate on the tariff today is left strictly to the selection of the national planners who can distinguish between good and evil. (Of course, anti-laissez-faire, and should have been dear to the national planners, but it is of no interest here.)

THE GREAT DEPARTURE: ACCEPTANCE OF NATIONAL PLANNING, EXIT LAISSEZ-FAIRE

The decade of 1938-43 marked a sharp economic change. The American way of life, country from much that had gone before. Laissez-faire economists were driven from respectability to the dustbin and discredited heroes. National planning of industrial and commercial activity was enshrined as the new god of economic thought. The free enterprise system was divorced and tarnished. The fame of the British economist, John Maynard Keynes, who had explicit ideas on governmental management of the economy, rose like a shining star over the horizon.

Where laissez-faire procreated or frowned forbiddingly on state intervention in wages, hours of work, working conditions, collective bargaining and similar economic considerations; and was no less appalled over price support of agriculture, reduction of crop acreage and direct payment for non-production, the "New Deal" turned these prejudices upon its own head and discarded them.

In addition, in regulating banks, the stock exchange, railroads, and counteracting the hardships of the devalued workers from their jobs, Unemployment Insurance, old age pensions and similar social services were introduced as a legitimate concern of the Government.

Later, public education and medical care became additional instruments for the well being of the nation. Governmental control of the banks, government management of the economy, rose like a shining star over the horizon.

Times change in all fields and the change, it is held, justifies a modified attitude. A complicated society, it may be agreed, can no longer trust market forces. Selfish interests have insufficient regard for the public good. Therefore they must be regulated: let us say, all businesses, for the moment. Henceforward, the planning centers. Protectionism, although itself an interference, is evidently bad, but at least it could be more efficiently controlled.

Governmental control of the banks is good. Governmental control of the stock exchange is good. Governmental control of the utilities, establishment of minimum wages; and also control of monopolies, intervention in monopoly, control of banks, nationalization of industry could be justified, particularly by the planners.

Seemingly it was a good interference with the marketplace to help our dairy farms to survive, and this objective justified the bad interference—embodied as the restriction of imports. Thus, while protectionism was abominable, it was not the worst thing in the world.

The same observation may be made of our import quotas on raw cotton and on wheat and wheat flour. If the rescue of the farmers was good, was it not also good to restrict imports to prevent their upsetting the plan of rescuing agriculture? World cotton and wheat acreage was sufficient to swamp our market with cotton and wheat and depress prices to levels from which we sought strenuously to rescue our growers. Was the one governmental interference good, and the other evil?

In 1946 Congress enacted what has been called the Full Employment Act. It set a goal, a national plan, making the state of employment a national concern.

Unfortunately that as a nation we adopt a goal of full employment we cannot at the same time be indifferent to forces that if left alone would defeat the plan, whether these be of foreign or domestic origin. To carry out the purpose of the Act the Government has over a period of time utilized the power of taxation and control of rates of interest and rates of wages and the shaping of the budget as instruments of the policy of full employment.

Unfortunately for the success of these various controls, the United States is not an economic island free from foreign influences. We face competition internationally in some sectors sufficiently to be affected internally by the competitive factors of trade. If import controls are put on a plane to hand with other items in our balance of pay-
In other words, an additional 720,000 workers would lose their jobs to imports and to the contribution to steel-making, of a total of about 1,940,000.

20% reduction of 290,000 workers. This falls short of the sacrifice in the coal industry, in which, as we have seen, 334,000 miners lost their jobs to high-efficiency.

This calculation provides some idea of the mathematics of rising efficiency in terms of employment. If our workers are displaced, displaced workers will find employment elsewhere. Where is that elsewhere? If many other countries are equally burdened by import competition, how is employment to be found for the combined victims of greater efficiency?

Since we still lead the world in productivity per man-hour, with few exceptions it is certainly not superior foreign efficiency that plagues our industries, but their lower wages. Our lead in productivity testimony, as we were to revert to free trade, we would let nature take its course. We would put no restrictions on imports but neither would we make fixed outlines for the unemployed, since do so we would be swamped with unemployment. Many workers in countries that would find their country be allowed to fall as the supply of workers exceeded the demand. Consumers would get the further benefit of lower prices. In a few years of adjustment we would have full employment again—that is, if we also took down all the other controls that interfere with the free play of market forces.

The politics of this course of action would, of course, be disastrous, but with few exceptions it is certainly not superior foreign efficiency that plagues our industries, but their lower wages. Our lead in productivity testimony, as we were to revert to free trade, we would let nature take its course. We would put no restrictions on imports but neither would we make fixed outlines for the unemployed, since do so we would be swamped with unemployment. Many workers in countries that would find their country be allowed to fall as the supply of workers exceeded the demand. Consumers would get the further benefit of lower prices. In a few years of adjustment we would have full employment again—that is, if we also took down all the other controls that interfere with the free play of market forces.

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Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, this year, 1971, is an historic year not only for the events which will take place, but also for those past occurrences which 1971 commemorates.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to invite my distinguished colleagues, members of the 92d Congress today, to an event which has direct relevance upon the workings of Congress today. I refer to the creation of the present mace which serves as the symbol of authority for the Speaker at Arms.

The first session of the First Congress, which convened in New York on March 4, 1789, adopted a resolution on April 14 providing that:

A proper symbol of the elective office shall be provided for the Speaker at Arms, of such form and device as the Speaker shall direct, which shall be borne by the Speaker when in the execution of his office.

The symbol approved by the first Speaker, Frederick A. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania, was the mace.

The mace, Mr. Speaker, was originally used as a weapon and consisted of a staff with a heavy head, sometimes studded, at one end. It was a fearsome weapon in battle and refinements, such as spikes and axe heads, developed over the years as weapons systems improved.

With the establishment of the Roman Republic, however, the mace acquired a more symbolic and civic role. Roman consuls were in public by 12 senators, each of whom bore an axe bound in a bundle of rods. This mace symbolized the consuls' authority to proceed and put to death. This symbol was used by provincial magistrates as well, and used to restore order in the courts, as well as to carry out the punishments for which it was designed.

As more sophisticated weapons were developed, the mace became more and more a symbol of authority and power.

The Romans brought this symbol to the British Isles and, hundreds of years later, the mace was used in the House of Commons as the symbol of the King's authority and his consent to the meeting of the House of Commons as the symbol of legislative authority. Thus the Members of the House, who are themselves lawmakers, very properly set an example for the whole country of respect for the mace as a symbol of legislative authority. Thus the Members of the House, who are themselves lawmakers, very properly set an example for the whole country of respect for the mace as a symbol of legislative authority.

When in 1841, the same mace has served Congress and is the one presently displayed and serving the 92d Congress. On several occasions it was "presented" before an unruly Member by the Sergeant at Arms, at the direction of the Speaker. On every such occasion, order was promptly restored.

In the annals of the House of Representatives, it is reported that in 1789, there are very few recorded instances of the use of the mace to restore order on the floor of the Chamber. No index of the times it has been used for such purpose has ever existed, but the instances cited here are taken from books of reminiscences and personal recollection of Capitolattached of more than 50 years' experience in the House.

When in 1841, the same mace happened, an individual Member became turbulent and seemed beyond the Speaker's control, the Sergeant at Arms, on order of the Speaker, lifted the mace from its pedestal and "presented" it before the offending person. Order was promptly restored, so great was the respect for the mace as a symbol of legislative authority. Thus the Members of the House, who are themselves lawmakers, very properly set an example for the whole country of respect for discipline.

In Poor's Reminiscences there is an account of an incident occurring the day of the election of Representative Robert C. Winthrop, a Massachusetts Whig, to the speakership of the 30th Congress in 1847. Ancestry was the all-absorbing issue before the country, and it caused an acrimonious debate participated in by Representatives "Bob" Toombs, of Georgia, William Duer, of New York, and Thomas Henry Bayly and R. K. Meade, both of North Carolina. Mr. Duer denounced Mr. Meade as a "disunionist." "It is false!" shouted Mr. Meade; "You lie, sir!" retorted Mr. Duer, and there was a chance for a duel. The Sergeant at Arms Nathan Sargent seized the mace and quickly quelled the tumult. Mr. Winthrop was elected Speaker and the Sergeant at Arms elevated the mace, which had so recently been subjected to the foot of the Member, to the pedestal of the new Speaker, who proceeded to swear in new Members.

In 1860 the Speaker undertook to quell an incipient fight between two Representatives, William A. J. Sparks, of Illinois, and J. B. Weaver, of Iowa, when they used such menacing words and threatening actions toward each other that many Members rose to separate them. Whereupon the Sergeant at Arms moved about the House with the mace and order was restored.

Another blustering scene occurred in the House on February 17, 1885. Representative John D. White, of Kentucky, who proceeded to swear in new Members, was hailed on the floor of the House by Representative Carlisle and frequently used abusive language, was called to order by the Speaker and commanded to take his seat. Mr. White disregarded the order and resented the rebuke, and confronted by the Sergeant at Arms bearing the mace he promptly took his seat.

In the 53d Congress Representative John A. Heard, of Missouri, engaged in a heated argument with Representative W. C. P. Breckenridge, of Kentucky. A brief scuffle ensued. The Sergeant at Arms, with the mace in hand, approached the knife, but was intercepted by the Sergeant at Arms when he took his seat.

In the 55th Congress Representative Charles L. Bartlett, of Georgia, threw a volume of United States Statutes at Representative James M. Brumm, of Pennsylvania, but further trouble was caused by the Sergeant at Arms, who restored order with the mace, with the mace, which Mr. Bartlett, ranking minority member of the committee, construed as meant for himself. He rushed at Mr. Southwick, brandishing a knife, but was intercepted in the main aisle by a number of Members. The Sergeant at Arms appeared on the scene with the mace and order was restored.

During the famous World War I Congress, the 65th, ugly words passed between Representative Tom Heffin, of Alabama, and Representative Patrick Daniel Norton, of North Dakota. Mr. Norton, agrieved at the failure of the Sergeant at Arms between them with the mace, ordered Mr. Heffin to restore order. Mr. Heffin, a leading advocate of war with Germany, had made some remarks which were construed as an aspersion upon the patriotism of Members of the House, and the resolution which took America into World War I, whereupon Mr. Burnett inquired why his colleague did not go to the floor. The mace was required to restore order.

In the 73d Congress, during a rollicking debate between Representative Emil Frage, of California, and Representative Deen of Georgia, with nearly as much acrimony as the resolution which took America into World War I, the Sergeant at Arms between them with the mace, Mr. Heflin learned that his colleague did not go to the floor. The mace was required to restore order.

In the 92d Congress, during a rollicking debate between Representative Emile Elise, of California, and Representative Deen of Georgia, with nearly as much acrimony as the resolution which took America into World War I, the Sergeant at Arms between them with the mace, Mr. Heflin learned that his colleague did not go to the floor. The mace was required to restore order.

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passed over without presentation of the mace.

There were, formerly, a good many instances of disorder on the floor of the House when, by direction of the Speaker, the Sergeant at Arms passed up and down the aisles, mace in hand. It happened frequently during the boisterous 53d Congress and later.

In the history of the United States, Mr. Speaker, there have only been 30 Sargeants at Arms. Twenty-six of those men have carried out their responsibilities with the dignity required for the office, including Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. of Tennessee, the present Sergeant at Arms.

Those who have had the privileges of this office and the stewardship of the mace of the House are:

Joseph Wheaton of Rhode Island: May 12, 1789, to October 27, 1807—First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Congresses.

Thomas Dunn of Maryland: October 27, 1807, to June 18, 1814—Twenty-second, Twenty-third, and Twenty-fourth Congresses.


Thomas B. Randolph of Virginia: December 3, 1838, to December 15, 1852—Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Congresses.

Roderick Dorsey of Maryland: December 15, 1852, to June 16, 1841—Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, and Twenty-seventh Congresses.


Benjamin F. Russell of Ohio: July 15, 1850, to July 7, 1853—Thirty-third Congress.

Lyle O. Smader of Illinois: July 8, 1853, to September 2, 1854—Thirty-fourth Congress.

Zeake W. Johnson, Jr., of Tennessee: January 5, 1855—Thirty-fourth Congress.

During the last 130 years, the distinguished men who have carried the mace presented the mace to restore order when tumult threatened the House.

Those years were not always peaceful ones, Mr. Speaker. Our Nation suffered a civil war and reconstruction. Crucial decisions were made in this House on the industrial revolution, big business, the labor movement, and progressivist legislation. Heated debate preceded our entry into World War I. World War II was fought in these halls.

Often this debate got out of control, at which time the Sergeant at Arms would present the mace, order was restored, and the process of Government continued.

Mr. Speaker, the Sergeant of the House of Representatives and the Sergeant at Arms have thus played a vital role in the conduct of Congress. The Sergeant at Arms and the mace deserve much of the credit for the survival of our Government and Nation. They have helped control the convulsive debates in good times and bad, during years of prosperity and years of depression and despair.

Today, the mace stands on its pedestal, with all the dignity and magnificence of its 130 years of service. It stands as a symbol of our Nation's history and perseverance through difficult times.

Mr. Speaker, in these days one reads of divisions, hatred, and cynicism; of urban decay and the steady destruction of our resources that are natural. I find in the mace, however, a reassurance and reminder that Congress can again confront the problems of our Nation, if it so chooses.

Mr. Speaker, I salute the mace on its 130th year of service and I salute the distinguished Sergeant at Arms, Zeake W. Johnson, Jr., of Tennessee, on his 16 years of impressive service.

SHARING U.S. OFFSHORE INCOME

Mr. BOOGS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matters.

Mr. Speaker, Louisiana is blessed with some of the largest oil and gas reserves in the world. Much of our production occurs offshore on the seabed, which forms the outer and inner continental shelves.

For decades now, the income from this production has been the subject of a dispute between Louisiana and the National Government. More than $1.6 billion is in escrow, awaiting a final resolution of this controversy.

It has long been the policy of the National Government to share revenues from its lands within State boundaries. Louisiana, however, which bears the expense of providing the public services which make offshore production possible, has simply denied a share of these revenues.

This was the topic of a recent editorial in the New Orleans Times Picayune. I am including it in this record by referring it to the attention of my colleagues.

SHARING U.S. OFFSHORE INCOME

So the oil and gas income in the disputed seaward areas off Louisiana continues to be federal government income on offshore policy and the escrowed funds—totaling $1.627 billion at the outset of this discussion.

Why the indecision on a settlement which has dragged for years? Federal government income on offshore policy and the escrowed funds—totaling $1.627 billion at the outset of this discussion.

There is a long-honored formula covering the sharing of revenues from federal lands within State boundaries. Alaska, an exception, shares 80 percent. Louisiana is one of the states benefitting from this 1920 Mineral Leasing Act.

The 1930 statutes have received 37.5 percent of the revenues from oil and gas production from United States-owned lands in the respective states. Alaska, an exception, shares 80 percent. Louisiana is one of the states benefitting from this recent law.

Now for the justice of it: Louisiana pays heavily on the cost of providing governmental services for those who work in the federal offshore and for their families. Yet no severance taxes—so important to the Louisiana treasury—come in from these "outside" areas. Nor does Louisiana share in the bonuses, lease payments and royalties. It has long been the policy of the Federal Government to share revenues from federal lands within State boundaries.

The 1930 statutes have received 37.5 percent of the revenues from oil and gas production from United States-owned lands in the respective states. Alaska, an exception, shares 80 percent. Louisiana is one of the states benefitting from this recent law.

In other words, federal sharing of revenues from oil, gas, grazing and lumber generated from federal lands is a well-established practice dating back to the marriage of the Federal Government to share revenues from federal lands within State boundaries.

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ance taxes adds attractiveness to the rich-
reached years ago.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a higher education fund bill to assist parent-taxpayers to meet the high costs of sending their children to institutions of higher learning.

Escalating college costs are putting an unconscionable financial strain on middle income taxpayers who must personally pay for their children's college education, and this bill is designed to alleviate the threat of financial strain to middle-income taxpayers who bear the greatest burden of financing the Federal Government.

Fashioned after the Self-Employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act, this bill will allow parents to make tax-deductible contributions to qualified higher education funds established for the sole purpose of defraying the cost of higher education of dependents. Under the terms of my bill, a qualified education fund is one established pursuant to a written plan for the purpose of defraying the cost of room, board, and tuition at an institution of higher learning. Parents will be allowed to contribute up to $500 per year for each beneficiary, but total tax-deductible contributions will not be allowed to exceed the taxpayer's adjusted gross income per year, and in no event to exceed $2,500 in 1 year. Contributions can be made to the fund any time before the birth of the child up to his 19th birthday, and the tax deduction will be available to persons in all tax brackets.

The program established by this bill will greatly increase the amount of funds available to finance college costs, and it will not do this at the expense of existing Federal educational loan programs. I think this is a most equitable measure, and I urge my colleagues to join me in working for its passage.

H.R. 7759

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage higher education, and providing for the administration of the fund established for the purpose of defraying the cost of higher education of dependents.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Higher Education Funding Act of 1971."
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE
March 9, 1971

"(O) INCOME TAX TREATMENT UPON TERMINATION—

"(A) Upon termination of a fund under paragraph (1) (A) because of an excess contains the fund to, or amounts to, an amount equal to the current gross income for his taxable year during which such contribution is made an amount equal to the value of the assets upon termination, reduced by the amount that is attributable to the proceeds of life insurance contracts which are excluded from gross income by section 101 (a), shall be included in gross income by section 101 (a), shall be included in gross income of the taxpayer or his estate for the taxable year during which the termination occurs with respect to the amount included in gross income provided in subsection (n) of section 72 shall apply with respect to the amount included in gross income provided in paragraph (b) of subsection (c) (2) of such section.

"(B) Upon termination of a fund under paragraph (1) (B), the taxpayer shall include in his gross income for the taxable year during which the terminating distribution occurs an amount equal to twice the value of the assets of the fund immediately before such distribution.

"(2) The inclusion of a fund because of the happening of the event specified in paragraph (1) (C) or (D), an amount equal to the value of the assets upon termination, reduced by the portion of any amount that is attributable to the proceeds of life insurance contracts which are excluded from gross income by section 101 (a), shall be included in gross income of the taxpayer or his estate for the taxable year during which the termination occurs with respect to the amount included in gross income provided in subsection (n) of section 72 shall apply with respect to the amount included in gross income provided in paragraph (b) of subsection (c) (2) of such section.

"(C) Upon termination of a fund under section (c) (2), no amount shall be included in the gross income of a taxpayer who establishes a qualified higher education fund because of any income realized by the fund or because of any payment by the fund on or behalf of an eligible beneficiary for the purpose specified in subsection (c) (2) (A).

"(D) Related Amendments.—

(a) AMENDMENT OF SECTION 511.—Section 511 (a) of such code (relating to exemption from tax on corporations, certain trusts, etc.) is amended by striking out "401 (a)" and inserting in lieu thereof "401 (a), or a qualified higher education fund described in section 218 (c)."

(b) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 of subchapter A of subchapter II of subchapter A of chapter 44 of subchapter A of subchapter A of part I of subchapter C of chapter 48 of the internal revenue code of 1954 is amended by striking out the item referring to section 218 and inserting in lieu thereof the following new paragraph:

"(c) QUALIFIED HIGHER EDUCATION FUND.—Except as provided in subsection (c) (2), no amount shall be included in the gross income of a taxpayer who establishes a qualified higher education fund because of any income realized by the fund or because of any payment by the fund on or behalf of an eligible beneficiary for the purpose specified in subsection (c) (2) (A).

Sec. 219. Cross references.

HELCEREO HEROES

(Mr. MONAGAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have the attention of the Congressmen and to honor the colleagues the courage and heroism of helicopter pilot Robert F. Sidonio, a citizen of Ridgefield in my district of Connecticut.

Sidonio is a member of one of our many crack helicopter teams in Southeast Asia. Robert Sidonio has distinguished himself for his bravery and skill. His actions speak for themselves. In all, his helicopter and its three teams were credited with saving 30 outposts which might have otherwise fallen. After being shot at several times, Sidonio and his helicopter, which was given the name "Tiger Surprise," were downed during some night fighting at the opening of the war, and his copilot escaped fatal injury. For his service to his country, Sidonio has received the Purple Heart and two air medals.

The exploits of "Tiger Surprise" have become so well known across Vietnam that the Army has outfitted another helicopter to be named "Tiger Surprise" to honor the tradition and accomplishments of the original team. We are all aware of the risks that our helicopter teams must take in Southeast Asia on every flight. We can all be proud of the courage of such men as Robert Sidonio. He and others such as he are serving their country admirably and deserve our highest tribute and thanks.

I would like to place in the Record at this point two newspaper articles which I have clipped out of the newspaper reports as the story developed and as such amount were received to that which subsection applies.

RIDGEFIELD FIVOT-HERO PROMOTED

RIDGEFIELD.—Robert F. Sidonio, 21, son of Mr. and Mrs. John Sidonio of Ramapo Road, has been promoted to chief warrant officer. He is on duty with the 101st Airborne Division (Airmobile) in Vietnam, about 30 miles south of the north Vietnamese border. The 101st is known as "The Screaming Eagles" and is considered a crack outfit.

The Ridgefielder has received the Purple Heart and two Air Medals, second one of the latter award in November.

Seeing a picture of his old helicopter, "Tiger Surprise," in a copy of the magazine, "Upfigt." The helicopter was the one in which he and his copilot, W/O Edward Scuza, were shot down.

The story accompanying the picture described the details of the crash, explosion, subsequent rescue and hospitalization of the two men.

The article states: "In a war which has created few legends, the 'Tigers' can lay claim to one. It started to take shape about the highway near the town of Kon Tum in the south central part of South Vietnam. The 101st is known as 'The Screaming Eagles' and is considered a crack outfit. The picture, which had been used to lay smoke screens during ground assaults, was converted to a night fighter.

"The copoter and its three teams of a pilot and a co-pilot has been credited with saving 30 outposts which may have otherwise fallen."

A second helicopter has been outfitted and named "Tiger Surprise" to carry on the tradition of its predecessor and pilots.

Sidonio and his co-pilot, W/O Scuza were shot down during night fighting in the early hours of April 1, 1969. Scuza lost his toes on both feet while Sidonio, who had zippers sewed in his boots instead of lacees, was able to get his boot on and escaped the fury to his feet. However, he did receive first and third degree burns on his arms and neck.

A wristwatch he was wearing defected shrapnel just enough to keep it from hitting an artery, His mother said that the watch is being repaired and preserved for a keepsake.

Mr. and Mrs. Sidonio have received a letter from Maj. Gen. William J. Schwope, commanding officer, attesting to the enemy fire their son had been under and his complete recovery from injuries.

Sidonio attended St. Mary School and Christ the King Preparatory Seminary in Westport, from which he graduated. He had planned to enter the seminary until he entered the service.

He attended Western Connecticut State College in Danbury for one year before entering the armed services.

BY GUNFIRE 3 STRAIGHT DAYS—RIDGEFIELD HEILIPERT DOGOS DEATH

KH SANN, VICTIM (AP).—Maj. Jim Newman and the pilots were sitting around their briefing room—a big metal supply container—for the third time in a row, when a little bird's latest brush with death.

CWO Robert Sidonio, 21, Ridgefield, Conn., had been shot down on January 13 over Laos and was hit twice but his tiny OH1 observation helicopter had made it back both times.

Conversation broke off as the radio crackled, Lt. Martin "Slim" Pickens, Orlando, Fla., was coming in weak, but he seemed to be saying "air burst" and "maybe a chopper blowing up."

Newman jumped for the radio and his pilots, the Cobra gunship pilots dashed past him, and in what seemed the second, Charlie Troop, 2nd Battalion, 17th Air Cavalry of the 101st Airborne Division, was on the way.

There are no Chinnoks in the cavalry, so it wasn't one of their own. But that didn't make any difference, Laos, in a week and a few days, has been a nightmare for everyone's helicopters.

Within minutes they were over Laos. Sidonio—skittering in over the treetops in his suit, his copilot, W/O Scuza, lost it and the Black Panther, or Hac Bai in Vietnamese, it was—his ship riddled with holes for the third straight day.

The Cobras turned to attack the North Vietnamese gun positions and fired all of their rockets before they reached the burned spot on the ground that had been the Chinook.

A crash like that—followed by fire—offers little hope of any survivors, but Newman, 36-year-old troop commander from Paysonville, N.C., and his crew got a few minutes to take the crew, alive or dead. The cavalry has its own platouos for that, but they're not allowed in Laos. So they stay at Khe Sanh, filling sandbags and griping about the Army using crack troops—themselves—for menial chores.

In a few minutes, back over Laos, Charlie Troop's ships docked between the locations of known 31-caliber and 37mm guns and the Panthers of the 17th Air Cavalry. The Vietnamese went into the crash site by helicopter.

Vietnamese prosed the ashes and recovered the remains of six Americans who had been aboard the Chinook.

On the way home, the Cobras spotted an enemy truck loaded with ammunition, destroyed it, and shot up four enemy gun positions.

Not a bad day for Charlie Troop. Not as bad as the day before, however, when four Cobras and four Slicks went down, two Cobras destroyed, two pilots missing and two hospitalized.

The day the way when Newman couldn't find a clearing big enough to land and pick up his wounded gunship pilots, so he went into the jungle instead, clipping the treetops.
with his rotor blades, while a cable was lowered, then nursing the damaged ship back to Khe Sanh with the wounded men aboard. The flight from Khe Sanh to South Vietnam was a 2,000-mile journey. Back at 4 a.m. that day, the 36-year-old West Pointer from Waukesha, Wis., took a .51-caliber slug in his Cobra’s rocket pod and they had to call the demolition squad to tidy his remains.

That day also, CWB Robert Pascoe, Phoenix, Ariz., was flying scout for the Cobras and single out Vietnamese gun positions. Back at 4 a.m., the trooper to start a search just as Pascoe swooped onto the Khe Sanh airstrip, skidded to a stop and leaped out with his fire extinguisher.

“I thought I was in flames,” he said sheepishly as his colleagues surrounded him. Cobras were already on the ground and through the haze he could see the jagged hole in the main frame. Pascoe had made it, but the chopper was finished and would be shipped back to the States for repairs.

Charlie Troop has had more experience than any other cavalry unit in the rugged border country of the northern region of South Vietnam, where the enemy gunners fire from concealed positions in the jungle-covered mountains.

The air defenses in Laos are a variety of guns designed to deal with the Air Force and Navy from a network of Viet Cong installations. The pilots don’t like all this and they don’t pretend to. After that one bad day, a few more in the same manner, they know that they go both ways.

The pilots don’t like all this and they don’t pretend to. After that one bad day, a few more in the same manner, they know that they go both ways.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. HOLIFIELD (at the request of Mr. Price of Illinois), for 60 minutes, on March 10, and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Price of Texas, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. QUILLEN, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio, for 5 minutes.

Mr. Price of Texas, for 20 minutes, today.

Mr. OHARA, for 20 minutes, today.

Mr. V. STANTON, for 15 minutes.

ENFIELD, CONN., SELECTED AS ALL-AMERICA CITY FOR 1971

(Mrs. GRASSO asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. GRASSO, Enfield, Conn., a town of 50,000 residents in the Sixth Congressional District, has been selected by Look magazine and the National Municipal League as an all-America city for 1971. This yearly award designation is limited to 11 cities throughout the Nation which have brought about major improvements to their community through vigorous civic action. The distinguished panel of Government, foundation, and business leaders selected Enfield from among thousands of cities and towns throughout the Nation as an example of what involved and concerned citizens can do to improve their community.

This award is a considerable source of pleasure to me as I have seen Enfield grow from a small town with a population of 20,000 into a burgeoning regional commercial center of 50,000. Many communities have experienced such growth and found that the outmoded governmental, structural and municipal services were incapable of handling the increased size. A number of years ago Enfielders recognized the coming crisis and acted. A citizens government reform group convinced the community to adopt a modern council-manager plan based on the National Municipal League model. The school system, once adequate for a small community, was expanded by $23 million to include 10 new schools. An $18 million sewer construction program, a drug advisory council and a mental health center were also established.

These costs are high, but the citizens of Enfield recognized that the investments of money and energy made now would pay the dividend of a livable community in the future.

I join my colleagues in saluting Enfield, Conn., the all-America city.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. HALL, and to include pertinent matter.

Mr. WYMAN, immediately following the remarks of Mr. Burke of Massachusetts today.

Mr. Price of Texas, in two instances.

Mr. BURKE, in two instances.

Mr. SCURR, in 10 instances.

Mr. McCURRY, in two instances.

Mr. HOGAN, in two instances.

Mr. ROBINSON of New York, in five instances.

Mr. STEELE of Wisconsin.

Mr. Brown of Ohio, in two instances.

Mr. Price of Texas, in two instances.

Mr. ZWACH.

Mr. SPENCE.

Mr. McCURRY, in two instances.

Mr. DERWINSKI in two instances.

MRS. DWYER in five instances.

Mr. BOB WILSON.

Mr. POWELL, in four instances.

Mr. MANNING in four instances.

Mr. WHITEBURST in two instances.

Mr. ARENS.

Mr. FORSTTHE.

Mr. MILLER in two instances.

Mr. ASHBAK in two instances.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD in three instances.

Mr. LONG of Maryland.

Mr. McCORMACK in five instances.

Mr. ASPIN in two instances.

Mr. CORMAN in five instances.

Mr. EDWARDS of California.

Mr. BONANO.

Mr. BERGLAND in three instances.

Mr. JACOBs.

Mr. NIX.

Mr. REES in two instances.

Mr. BANGEL.

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON.

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia in two instances.

Mr. WOLFP.

Mr. RYAN in three instances.

Mr. MIKVA in six instances.

Mr. BINGHAM.

Mr. BRINKLEY.

Mr. KLUGVYSSIS in two instances.

Mr. FOUNTAIN.

Mr. OBIE in eight instances.

Mr. PATTER in two instances.

Mr. JONES of Tennessee.

Mr. MANAG in three instances.

Mr. DRINAN in two instances.

Mr. HUNGATE.

Mr. MILLER of California.

JOINT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. HAYS, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on March 8, 1971, present to the President, for his approval, joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H.J. Res. 18. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the period beginning March 21, 1971, as “National Week of Concern for Prisoners of War/Missing in Action.”

H.J. Res. 337. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the second week of March 1971 as “Volunteers of America Week.”

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o’clock and 25 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, March 10, 1971, at 12 o’clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. CELLER: Committee on the Judiciary.

H.J. Res. 223. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older (Rept. No. 92-37). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BOLLING: Committee on Rules.
PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ABBITT (for himself and Mr. WATTS):
H.R. 5732. A bill to amend the tobacco marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ASPIN:
H.R. 5733. A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BARRETT:
H.R. 5734. A bill to substantially reduce the personal dangers and fatalities caused by the criminal and violent behavior of those persons who transport and store, or who manufacture, sell, or distribute, by restricting the availability of such firearms for certain personal dangers and fatalities caused by the violent behavior of those persons who transport and store, or who manufacture, sell, or distribute, firearm ammunition without prior or explicit Congressional authorization; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CAREY of New York:
H.R. 5736. A bill to provide for the temporary suspension of duty on certain granulated and ground cork and on certain natural and composition cork cut or molded into rods; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DELANEY:
H.R. 5738. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act, as amended; to provide for payment for chiropractors' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DENT (for himself and Mr. GARVEE):
H.R. 5739. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to increase OASDI benefits by 25 percent (with a $100 minimum) and raise the earnings base, with subsequent adjustment as the cost of living rises, to provide various improvements in benefit computations, to prohibit certain nonbenefits, to lengthen the waiting period, and to provide for disability benefits for men age 60 and women at age 55, to increase widows' and widowers' benefits to pay wife's and widower's benefits without regard to age in disability cases, and to liberalize eligibility for disability benefits; to make disabled beneficiaries eligible for Medicare without regard to age, to eliminate the medical insurance program entirely from general revenues, and to cover prescription drugs; to require the furnishing of drugs on the basis of need; to exempt those who may have without loss of benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DINGELL:
H.R. 5740. A bill to amend the Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970 to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to purchase a railroad and its equipment in the event of a default in the payment of principal or interest with respect to a certificate issued under that act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FORD:
H.R. 5741. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to transfer surplus Liberty ships into the inactive fleet for conservation program; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. FUQUA:
H.R. 5742. A bill to incorporate the Gold Star Wives of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FUGA:
H.R. 5744. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to include the mails as a special category of nonmailable matter certain material offered for sale to minors, to improve the right of privacy by defining obscene mail matter, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. GIBBONS:
H.R. 5746. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase, in certain cases where an individual entitled to a widow's or widower's insurance benefit remarries, the portion of such benefit which such individual may continue to receive after the remarriage; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GIBBONS:
H.R. 5747. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide in certain cases for an exchange of credits between the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system and the civil service retirement system so as to enable individuals who have some coverage under both systems to obtain maximum benefits based on their combined services; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GIBBONS:
H.R. 5748. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide in certain cases for an exchange of credits between the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system and the civil service retirement system so as to enable individuals who have some coverage under both systems to obtain maximum benefits based on their combined services; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GUDE (for himself, Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania, and Mr. McCLURE):
H.R. 5750. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to protect, manage, and control fish- and wildlife resources on public lands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:
H.R. 5751. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide that an individual or survivor's benefits under that act or the Social Security Act while he or she is entitled to dependents' or survivor's benefits under the other such act shall not be in excess of $1,000, and to increase to $2,400 a year the amount of outside earnings a beneficiary may have without loss of benefits; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:
H.R. 5752. A bill voluntary Military Service Act; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. JONES of North Carolina:
H.R. 5753. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act so as to include among health insurance benefits covered under part B thereof, coverage of certain drugs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JONES of North Carolina:
H.R. 5754. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide that monthly social security benefit payments shall not be used as evidence of eligibility for pensions under that title; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KETHE:
H.R. 5755. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to remove the limitations on the amount of medical and dental expenses which may be deducted by persons, to arrive at their adjusted gross income, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KARFI:
H.R. 5756. A bill to provide during times of high unemployment for programs of public service employment for unemployed persons, to assist States and local communities in providing needed public services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. MCCURRY:
H.R. 5757. A bill to eliminate the authority of the President to suspend the Davis-Bacon Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. MIYAK:
H.R. 5758. A bill to amend the Public Works Acceleration Act to make its benefits available to certain areas of extra high unemployment, to authorize additional funds for such act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MIYAKA (for himself and Mr. HANSEN of Idaho):
H.R. 5759. A bill to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to extend financial assistance to desert land entrants to the same extent as such assistance is available to homestead entrants; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MIYAKA:
H.R. 5760. A bill to prohibit the use of funds appropriated by Congress to support the use in combat zones of persons induced under the Military Selective Service Act of 1967, to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MIYAKA (for himself, Mr. BRATON, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. Contiers, Mr. McBRIDE, Mr. MATSUNAGA, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON):
H.R. 5761. A bill to protect the political rights and privacy of individuals and organizations subjected to the authority of the Armed Forces to collect, distribute, and store information about civilian political activity; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MIYAKA (for himself, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. ANNYNED, Mr. HINCHMAN, Mr. BRACK, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mr. PRATER, MRS. HANSEN of Washington, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. HATCHWAY, Mr. MOOREHEAD, Mr. PESKEL, Mr. ROSSINO, Mr. ROSENTHAL, and Mr. HALPEN):
H.R. 5762. A bill; National Public Employee Relations Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. MOOREHEAD:
H.R. 5763. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide a 10-percent across-the-board increase in benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MOOREHEAD:
to provide additional authorization in support of the comprehensive reorganization program enacted March 26, 1970, by the Government of Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. NELSEN (for himself and Mr. Froehlke): H.R. 5769. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance and encouragement for the establishment and expansion of health maintenance organizations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 5767. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance and encouragement for the establishment and expansion of health maintenance organizations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. NELSEN (for himself, Mr. Casad, Mr. Moeller, Mr. Garn, Mr. Moynihan, and Mr. Donahue): H.R. 5768. A bill to amend the comprehensive report program for the Government of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. NELSEN (for himself, Mr. Casad, Mr. Moeller, Mr. Garn, Mr. Moynihan, and Mr. Donahue): H.R. 5768. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance and encouragement for the establishment and expansion of health maintenance organizations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WIDNALL (for himself, Mr. Bursch, Mr. Dwyer, Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania, Mr. J. William Stanton, Mr. Blackburn, Mr. Brown of Michigan, Mr. Williams, Mr. Wykle, Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts, Mr. Crane, Mr. McKinney, Mr. Lott, Mr. Franks, Mr. Reuss, Mr. Ashley, Mr. Stephen, Mr. Geetts, and Mr. Annunzio): H.R. 5778. A bill to authorize insurance in connection with the preservation of residential historic properties; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WITTE: H.R. 5779. A bill to amend the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956 to provide a criminal penalty for shooting at certain birds, fish, and other animals from aircraft; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

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EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CONSCRIPTION IN EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 8, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin, Mr. Speaker, supporters of conscription often justify their opposition to the all-volunteer force on the grounds that the American tradition is one of a universal obligation for military service. This belief is not supported by the facts, which show that conscription is the exception rather than the rule in our Nation's history—and when the draft has been used, it has been selective and discriminatory rather than universal.

An excellent treatment of conscription in America was prepared for the Gates Commission by Jack Rafuse, of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and is entitled Militia Tradition, Mr. Rafuse notes that—

In its origins militia service meant home defense in its most narrow sense. A militiaman fought in his town, or later, his state. He did not fight elsewhere. Militia conscription was never meant to provide soldiers for distant wars. The colonial draft was local in function and execution. It was highly selective, infrequently used, and administered by the smallest units of local government.

According to Mr. Rafuse:

During the Revolutionary War, when too few were willing to volunteer for long periods of time or at great distances, the states reluctantly resorted to conscripting militiamen to serve with the Continentals. However, payment of a fee, procurement of a substitute or marriage exempted a militiaman. In other words, many civilians were entirely exempt from the militia draft.

In part I of this paper, the colonial tradition, the experience during the Revolutionary War, and the militia structure of the early Republic are examined. I commend this item to your attention.

U.S. EXPERIENCE WITH VOLUNTEER AND CONSCRIPT FORCES—PART I

(John Rafuse, Center for Naval Analyses)

THE TRADITION OF CONSCRIPTION

The polemics of conscription in America abound with references to history and tradition, but present little data or analysis. This paper examines American history with special regard for military manpower recruitment practices. One purpose of the study is to provide a historical survey of conscription in America and to convey some of the contextual flavor of the past debates. The second and principal purpose is to contrast the debates with factual data to permit judgment on the credibility of the debates and on the extent to which conscription is or is not in the American tradition.

The United States has used conscription to provide military manpower only in wartime as an emergency expedient. Conscription was used during the Civil War, World War I, and World War II. Controversy and debate surrounding each of these occasions were intense. Since World War II there has been only one brief hiatus in the draft. The present draft has been in existence almost without interruption for thirty years. More than half of the U.S. population is under thirty so it has never known a time there was no draft. Thus, the draft is now considered the natural state of affairs, though in 1940 such a situation would have been inconceivable to most people.

Prior to 1946, the only peace-time draft in this country was in 1946, when the world was not at war. As a result of the decision that the United States had chosen sides. Europe went to war in 1939, but in 1940 conscription was one of the greatest public.^ But the United States was not at war. On the other hand, it was argued that the international situation would not allow us to continue peace-time armed forces while other nations were mobilizing on a gigantic scale. The World War II draft was truly universal, a lottery set up at a time when the manpower needs and economic requirements of the nation were much different from those of the 1960's. The 1940's demands made on the manpower pool over a 15-year period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total 26-year-old men</th>
<th>Percent with military service</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1,300,000</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1,400,000</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projected 1974</td>
<td>1,800,000</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
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*2 1960—700,000 military strength.
*3 $2,700,000 military strength.

The increase in numbers of men 18 to 26 years of age means that an ever-diminishing percentage of the draft can be shifted, justified by "tradition." Since national conscription has existed for only 33 of the country's 200 years, the Declaration of Independence, it is difficult to consider the draft an American tradition.

There are those, however, who feel that the real tradition is that of national conscription, but rather of a series of laws committing every citizen to obligatory armed service. That tradition, they feel, is longer and more pervasive. If that is so, there is an important contest: in its origins, militia service meant home defense in its most narrow sense. A militiaman fought in his town, or later, his state. He did not fight elsewhere. Militia conscription was never meant to provide soldiers for distant wars.

Probably the most complete tabulation of colonial American militia laws shows 777 provisions (laws or parts of laws) relating to militia service. The total number of laws tabulated in the volume is 608, of which 200 laws, and 306 provisions, are the scope of compulsory service. Of the 369 provisions one-third (122) were delegations of authority. The remaining provisions (247) are the only ones which have the semblance of compulsion, and not all of those compel citizens to serve. Further, all those laws which are compulsory also contain clauses for exceptions or exemptions. In addition, several laws without provisions of conscription increased the number exemptions or exclusions from service.

In all there were 200 laws with elements of compulsion, but 218 exempting clauses such as: legislators, college faculty and administrators, Quakers, justices of the peace, doctors, lawyers, and mariners; runaties, slaves and Papists. The immunity of women, old and infirm, since every settlement was a separate colony with separate laws, and since no law is reenacted and is in effect, conscription of militia laws, once enacted, were seldom repealed though they were frequently reenacted with amendments. The reenactments demonstrates that earlier laws were ignored or abused. Enactment and repeated reenactment of laws, with exemptions for some, and ever-stiffer penalties for others, demonstrate that neither the letter nor the spirit of the conscript legislation was observed. Lacking and not needing unanimous participation, the ruling body in each colony tried to force some people to serve while others were exempted. The settlements grew and combined to form the familiar thirteen colonies. At the same time, the frontier dangers became more distant, and the effectiveness of the militias and the laws of the individual settlement lessened. Muster days became less frequent and turned into local efforts to raise and the actual numbers of British-French wars for empire, North American colonists beside sometimes fought British regulars. However, the colonial militias proved largely unfit for distant campaigns. There were exceptions, but they were few. The militias were called upon to provide men not because of their battle-effectiveness, but because they were the only semi-organized and orderly citizen-military manpower. One historian has said:

The militia proved less useful when they were not fighting directly and obviously in defense of their own homes. The New England expeditions that took Port Royal in Acadia in 1690 and 1710—facing weak opposition—and the famous expedition that seized the fortress of Louisbourg in 1745—despite much stronger opposition—were exceptions. In general the colonial militias were not a reliable instrument of offensive war distant from their own frontiers.

Reasons are evident. It is clear that men came to America to be soldiers. More likely, they came in part to escape soldiering. They would fight when they had to, to preserve their property and farms. Most of the time they had crossed the ocean to find. But they did not wish to abandon homes and farms for a season to fight. They were in pursuit of objectives only remotely connected with their own aspirations or security. Militia training did not prepare them for extended campaigns, nor did militia organization build the maintenance of long expeditions. A long campaign to distant fields that also involved meeting Indian tactics of stealth and ambuscade was a campaign for which colonial militias, except units recruited from frontiersmen, were especially untrained.

When the French and Indian War demanded such campaigns, the militia system did not suffice. Regular forces with regular army appeared in America, to fight the French and their Indian allies and to add their contribution to the influences that were to lead to American independence.

Thus, the militia draft cannot be used as a parallel for the present draft. The purposes of the militia were different; the roles of the militia were different; the missions of today's army, and so discipline, term of service, code of behavior, means of advancement, and the specific role of the organization in the community were all different. The colonial militia was local and an institution. It was highly selective, infre-
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 9, 1971

MILITARY LEGISLATION AFTER THE REVOLUTION

After the Revolution, American policy was to maintain the smallest national military establishment possible. Congress had reduced the Army to 80 men and placed full reliance upon the militias. Under the Articles of Confederation, the lack of central authority permitted the separate states rather than the United States.

The new Constitution gave Congress the central authority and the power and right to raise and support armies and to provide and maintain a navy. Congress was separately authorized to organize, arm, and discipline the military service, suppress insurrections, repel invasions, and enforce the law. Officers and militia training, on the other hand, were to be provided by the individual states "according to the discipline imposed by Congress."

The Constitution replaced the previous confederations with a central government. However, the double military system adopted because of tradition and lack of centralization during the Revolutionary War was perpetuated under the Constitution. The central government held the authority to maintain professional forces, but the separate states retained compensatory power in the militias. The power was checked and balanced between the federal government and the states in the competition between the two continued.

An Act of April 30, 1790,

1 recognized the establishment of a "Centennial Camp" as opposed to the state militias. The militia was defined to include every able-bodied man, free and white, 18 to 45 years of age, to be enrolled in the militia. The law divided responsibility for raising and supporting the Militia between the federal and state governments.

After having fought in the Revolutionary War, the Continental and state militias were to be organized into camps. The Artillery and Engineers were to be under the command of the regular army officers. The law was approved by the Continental Congress on October 1, 1778, and became effective on December 6, 1778.

The law was intended to provide for the maintenance of a central military organization, the Continental Army, and to give the states the ability to raise and support their own militias. The law was approved by the Continental Congress on October 1, 1778, and became effective on December 6, 1778.

The Knox Plan was a proposal to reduce the size of the Continental Army and to establish a system of local militias. The plan was presented to Congress in December 1778 and was adopted in January 1779. The plan called for the creation of a Continental Army of 50,000 men and the establishment of state militias.

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2 For example, although Pennsylvania has "officers ..." to carry out the duties of the Selective Service System, the law states that "it is hereby declared to be the duty of the individual states to maintain the smallest possible standing force, to be reinforced by militia units in crisis.

FOOTNOTES


March 9, 1971

SUSPENSION OF DAVIS-BACON ACT, AND SOME INTERESTING FACTS ON CONTROL WAGE RATES FROM THE ST. LOUIS CARPENTERS DISTRICT COUNCIL

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 8, 1971

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the House later this week is to take up the bill, H.R. 4346, to extend standby powers of the President to stabilize wages and prices, and to extend the authority of the Federal Reserve Board and the Housing and Home Finance Bank Board to establish flexible interest rates on time deposits.

This bill was reported last Friday by the Committee on Banking and Currency after a hearing on February 23 that the administration recommended by our committee last year, that was introduced by the Treasury John B. Connally testified before us in January that the control authority, even though the President was willing to suspend the controls without a specific mandate from Congress, he did not present plans for a general price and wage controls without a specific mandate from Congress.

As a result of the President’s action, he had denounced the letter’s suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act. The act provides that it can be suspended in emergency situations. However, despite our proclamation suspending the Davis-Bacon Act of March 3, 1931. Whether the Davis-Bacon Act will have any effect on the wages on government construction projects, where will it have any consequence—only in the areas where wage rates are already much lower than the national average.

Mr. President, I am not a lawyer and would make no attempt to judge whether the President had the power he claimed on February 23 to suspend the Davis-Bacon Act. The act provides that it can be suspended by the President “in the event of a national emergency.” A footnote in the United States Code Annotated indicates that this act could have been suspended between the time of President Roosevelt’s proclamation of national emergencies on September 8, 1939, and May 27, 1941, prior to our entrance into World War II, and the enactment of a joint resolution on July 25, 1947, terminating any state of war or national emergency. However, despite our proclamation suspending the construction workers’ wage controls, the President chooses instead only to suspend protection on construction workers’ wage rates for government contracts, when perhaps Congress should not extend the price-wage control authority. I disagree with that position—I think the standby controls should be continued. However, many members of Congress have not agreed.

To our surprise, the President that afternoon announced that he was invoking price and wage controls in the construction industry. In suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act, which provides for the payment of prevailing wages on government construction projects.

QUESTIONABLE EFFECTIVENESS OF SUSPENSION

As a result of the President’s action on Davis-Bacon on February 23, our subsequent hearings on the price-wage control legislation that week included a number of references to the Davis-Bacon Act, and the questionable effectiveness of such a step in combating inflation.

In fact, Mr. William E. Dunn, executive director of the Associated General Contractors of America, the national trade association in the heavy construction industry, said the President’s action in suspending Davis-Bacon “may have some benefit in deference to the President’s Action. I certainly don’t stop the terrible inflation with which we are now confronted.” Mr. Dunn stated that, in his opinion, Davis-Bacon

should have been repealed or suspended ‘years ago’, terming it a depression-era statute. A bill to that line then led to the following colloquy:

Mrs. SULLIVAN. If the suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act will have no real effect on construction wages in industrial centers, where will it have any consequence—only in the areas where wage rates are already much lower than the national average?

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To our surprise, the President that afternoon announced that he was invoking price and wage controls in the construction industry. In suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act, which provides for the payment of prevailing wages on government construction projects.

It is important to note that the construction industry, which is a critical component of the national economy, is also a major source of employment for minority group workers. The signing of this order on Davis-Bacon would likely enhance the position of contractors who are serious about controlling inflation. However, it may not have any effect on the wages on government construction projects, where it will have any consequence—only in the areas where wage rates are already much lower than the national average.

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To our surprise, the President that afternoon announced that he was invoking price and wage controls in the construction industry. In suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act, which provides for the payment of prevailing wages on government construction projects.

I think many people will question whether the Davis-Bacon Act will have any effect on the wages of construction workers. In the construction industry, which are not serious enough to warrant the imposition of a price-wage freeze under the standby authority we gave the President last year, the President chose to freeze them. This constitutes a “national emergency” for the purpose of suspending a law providing for fair wages on Government construction work. But, Mr. Speaker, as I said, as a nonlawyer I would certainly not consider myself qualified to make that judgment. The circumstances do puzzle me.

LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON FROM ST. LOUIS CARPENTERS DISTRICT COUNCIL

I was prompted to look into this back ground, Mr. Speaker, by a letter from Mr. Ollie W. Langhorst, executive secretary-treasurer of the Carpenters’ District Council of St. Louis enclosing a copy of a letter he had written on behalf of the Council to President Nixon.

Mr. Langhorst told me his union members feel that if the President does not choose to use the power given him by Congress to invoke wage, price, and profit controls in emergency situations, but chooses instead only to suspend protections on construction workers’ wage rates for government contracts, when perhaps Congress should not extend the price-wage control authority. I disagree with that position—I think the standby controls should be continued. However, many members of Congress have not agreed.

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It must also be taken into consideration that the labor movement has faced extreme hardships every day that industrial and white collar workers do not have to contend with. Surely there must be some extra compensations for these hazards.

Comparing construction wages with another group closely associated with the construction industry, namely auto, oil and chemical workers. Department of Labor figures show that federal employees have fared better than construction workers since 1964 and 1970.

In 1964 a construction worker employed on general building construction earned an average of $6,579. A government employee with comparable earnings was a grade 8 who earned $6,390. By 1970 the construction worker was averaging $9,622 while the grade 8 government employee had jumped to $10,152. Putting it another way, the construction worker in 1964 earned $189 more than the Grade 8 government employee. In 1970 the construction worker's annual earnings were $330 less than that of the government employee.

A recent article in the Wall Street Journal reiterated what the Building and Construction Trades have stated repeatedly in recent years, namely that wages are not the primary concerns of the labor movement. As Mr. Choper, Meany once said, organized Labor is the "people's lobby." Your act, Mr. President, will only weaken that link in our society that has worked hard to preserve the American way of life. We have watched as police and law enforcement agencies in our cities have been weakened by government actions and Supreme Court decisions. This union-busting has weakened yet another link in the fabric of our society. Such holes make it easy for extremist groups—including Communists—to rush in and work that much harder in their disgraceful efforts to destroy our society. We cannot in all good conscience, stand by and see that happen. Destroy America's unions and you have destroyed the only major viable force working for the average American.

These are the objections voiced by our Council Delegates at our meeting on February 23, 1971, when the copies of his letter have been sent to Missouri Senators and Representatives and other influential persons in Washington. These delegates represent over 11,000 union carpenters in the Greater St. Louis area. We trust that you will seriously consider these objections and rescind your proclamation.

Mr. President, you came too late with too little!

Sincerely,
OLIE W. LANGHOREST
Executive Secretary-Treasurer.

HE SHOT STRAIGHT

HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1971

Mr. NELSEN, Mr. Speaker, Alan C. McIntosh, contributing editor of the Star-Herald, LaVerne, Minn., has written a real "corner" of an editorial about our former colleague, Congressman Ben Reifel. I know many will find it of great interest, and I include it in the Record at this point in my remarks:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1971

Mr. WALDIE, Mr. Speaker, the medicaid program continues to be the subject of significant controversy in many States. The program in California has been embroiled in a continuing crisis. I would like to submit to my colleagues several comments recently made on this subject by Dr. George Degnan, medical director of Contra Costa County Medical Services. His suggestion for a prepayment plan is worthy of note because of his long experience with health-care services. I find Dr. Degnan's comments exceptionally interesting in the light of the prospective reimbursement plan for medicare and medicaid now before the Congress.

Dr. Degnan's comments follow:

Medicaid and Medi-Cal have recently and repeatedly made the following statements to their fiscal crises:

"We must find ways to close this open ended contract."

"We must find a means of creating incentives for economies."

"We must find alternatives in the method of delivering health services."

I would like to respond to the above challenges:

I am prepared to negotiate immediately a contract on a capitation (pre-payment) basis with the State and Federal Government. This would be done under the following:

1. Close the open ended exposure of the Federal and State Government under the present system, because obviously their commitment would then be limited under such a prepaid arrangement.

2. Sponsor built-in economies on the part of the vendor, i.e., the provider only receiving so much per head to keep people well.

3. Promote new methods in getting people well and keeping them well. The Fee-for-Service System neither promotes nor allows for prevention. The Fee-for-Service System offers no savings for health maintenance.
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CINDY GOATLEY WINS ARKANSAS VOICE OF DEMOCRACY CONTEST

HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 8, 1971

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, it is with much pride that I place in the Record today a speech by a fine young constituent who has won the annual Voice of Democracy contest in Arkansas, sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its Ladies Auxiliary.

Miss Mary Margaret of Harrison, will represent my State in the national competition in Washington.

I commend to your attention her speech on the contest theme, "Freedom—Our Heritage.

The speech follows:

FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE

(By Cindy Goatley)

Leading America through our blackest pages of history is freedom. She shines as a beacon in an oppressed land; she rises above the highest mountain; she encompassed the area of the world; and she leads our nation to the bearing of greatness. Freedom has been shouted and sought in all parts of history is freedom.

Our forefathers struggled too hard to allow any one nation to destroy the land of freedom. The people are the hope of a nation, especially our nation in which all power is vested in the people. Only we can try to preserve freedom. She is not indestructible; but then, neither is life.

I have discussed freedom: its meaning and its greatness. I have attempted to realize the cost and worth of freedom and its need for preservation. All come to full realization of the joy of freedom, is it as great as the gift of life. Soon may we feel as strongly toward it as did the great Thomas Jefferson who wrote of America:

"Its soul, its climate, its equality, liberty, laws, people, and manners. My God; how little do my countrymen know what precious blessings they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy."

HUNTING FROM AIRCRAFT

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 8, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation designed to prohibit the shooting of wild animals from the air.

This piece of legislation would have the effect of putting an end to one of the most unsportsmanlike practices known to mankind—the hunting of wildlife from aircraft.

According to experts, there are only 5,400 of all species of wolves to be found on the North American Continent. Of that number, 6,000 per year were killed in Alaska. In the past 4 years, approximately 1,000 wolves per year were killed in Alaska alone, and in 1968, one-third of that number were killed by airborne hunters.

Some species of the wolf have been classified as an endangered species by the U.S. Department of the Interior. Yet, we continue to allow bounty hunting to kill and deplete the remaining wolves by shooting them from aircraft. In the past 5 years, hunters in Alaska have killed more wolves than now exist in our entire country.

It is obvious, I think, that there are many people who sincerely question the "sport" of shooting any animal from an aircraft. Anyone who wishes in preserving wildlife, anyone with a sense of display, will grant that killing animals from an airplane is hardly legitimate sport.

This bill does not prohibit research by universities or other agencies. It does not make it unlawful for authorized agents to use an aircraft in carrying out their regular duties in protecting land, water, and wildlife.

Mr. Speaker, we have an obligation in this country which we have not lived up to very well in the past to protect and preserve for future generations every species of animal that has inhabited this land. It has been estimated that before the age of civilization, species became extinct at a rate of one per thousand years. Today, the rate is one lost species every year, for mammals alone.

I feel that this legislation will do much to protect wildlife and preserve our remaining animals for future generations.

SST: BOOM OR BUST?

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 8, 1971

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the following article on the SST from Triad magazine, January-February 1971, should be of interest on this current controversy:

SST: BOOM or Bust?

With the ultimate fate of the SST still uncertain, vague hints are surfacing that the nation's airlines, already plagued by financial difficulties and declining patronage, would benefit greatly if it were not compelled by competition to carry any passenger. Would the SST prove to be the "financial loser", another airline hedge on competition for the Concorde by demanding a whole new battery of regulations, a third line considers reducing the number of SST craft to one, or to even dispense with the "booms" altogether in favor of "puff" routes because of drastic drops in patronage; yet another carrier reveals plans to operate SST service by the use of a single SST for "medium-range aircraft."

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The re-eneitement rates of black enlisted men usually run two to three times higher than that of whites, so that about one out of every four Army sergeants-first class is black and two out of three Army basic training drill instructors are black. While black officers rose sharply during the late 1950's, it has fallen off in recent years because of competition from industry for black college graduates.

REVOLUTION

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, change has now befallen the Army in keeping step with the machinations of the new American revolution. Instead of training men for combat to defend our Nation and people, they are now to undergo compulsory indoctrination in social justice for the benefit of the politicians.

Appropriate those in charge do not feel an American is qualified to serve his country unless or until he first understands equality and brotherhood. The training schedule will be redrafted to include basic training and drill in race relations by the numbers. Apparently it does not matter to whom whether our soldiers are trained to shoot; they must include basic training and drill in race relations by the numbers. Apparently it was felt that black power is but a legitimate process to gain economic benefits and political power for another group whose rights are denied. And the address are but evidence of this group's unity. Military duty is bad enough without troops being ordered to believe that they which they know is false.

There will be no solution to the race problem in the military because many of those in command do not even understand the problem. Rather than solve the problem that they refuse to comprehend, they would only exacerbate it by political solutions at the expense of losing the army. What man can respect or have confidence in officers or commander whose commands are false?

If there are those black soldiers who do not want to be white, there are also white soldiers who do not want to be black. If in solution they want, why not provide for separate racial units where each race can be with their own kind. Let them compete against each other as identified units rather than in disharmony among each other.

Segregation? So what if it gives our country back an effective fighting force instead of converting the military into a compulsory civil rights task force. Time will tell but time we do not have for political games.

I Insert several newclips:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Mar. 6, 1971]

RACE RELATIONS PROGRAM SET FOR ALL MILITARY

(BY THOMAS A. JOHNSON)

"The military's job is to fight and not to lead social trends."

This has been a common argument of professional soldiers who opposed the move, during the late 1950's, to integrate black and white servicemen.

But a Department of Defense move yesterday—after 11 years on a special education program in race relations for the entire U.S. military—put the armed forces even deeper into a leadership role in this particular American social revolution.

And the all-important reason for the move was simply that if the now heavily integrated American military is to be armed to fight a foreign enemy, it must first solve internal racial difficulties that have plagued the services at home and overseas for the last three years or so.

AIM SET FORTH

In a telling paragraph, Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird declared yesterday that: "The primary purpose of the program...is to achieve a more harmonious relationship among all military personnel, so that organizational efficiency and combat readiness will not be impaired by racial unrest, tension or conflict."

The Department of Defense program, which also includes setting up a permanent defense education unit, is the result of the integral roles played by 11 percent black minority in the services and a "turnaround" of the part of young blacks serving in today's armed forces.

SOLUTIONS ATTEMPTED

An irregular patchwork of attempted solutions followed. On one hand, the military set up race relations councils, special investigations, and equal opportunity enforcement officers to settle race-related problems. On the other, field commanders tried to use special discipline, pretrial conferences, and the stockade and transfers to other units to do the same.

But the major recommendations by a Pentagon task force that looked into racial problems in Europe last fall were for universal military race relations programs and stronger efforts by field commanders to push such programs.

If it comes from the top, from command- ers, it is not going to happen."

Bennett predicted: "This move should have a profound effect on the civilian community also. We will have American soldiers in the military undergoing repeated study of how to help solve racial problems. They will have an example to lead the society because there has never before been such a widespread systematic educational attack on America's most pressing problems."

[From the Army Times, Feb. 24, 1971]

FORT DIX RECRUITS RECEIVE TRAINING

IN RACE RELATIONS

FORT DIX, N.J.—A new hour block of instruction in the basic training curriculum here dealing with racial relations courses was begun this week.

During the first hour of instruction most of the time is devoted to the material contained in a feature from Conare entitled "The Black Soldier in History." This introduction is designed to highlight the considerable achievements of the black soldier. In succeeding hours, soldiers take steps to be taken to promote racial harmony. The trainees then are familiarized with racial problem-solving agencies within the Army and how to get in touch with them.

Soldiers are taught that "Black Power" is a term used to describe a process that every immigrant and minority group in America has gone through, namely the unity of a group to gain economic benefits and political power commensurate with the group's
numbers. The soldiers gain an insight into the fact that the black power sign and salute, the Afro, and distinctive dress are all part of the group uniy.

[From the Army Times, Feb. 24, 1971]

GERMAN YOUTH LEARN OF U.S. RACE PROBLEMS

HEIDELBERG, GERMANY—Understanding the U.S. population is tough for Americans, but for Germans who have had little contact with Americans and practically no direct experience in American relations, the problems can be incomprehensible.

The Heidelberg chapter of KONTAKT (a German-American Youth Activities Group) recently conducted a Sunday afternoon in an effort to share their problems.

Some 80 Germans and Americans gathered here recently for a showing of "Black and White: Uptight," a race relations film presently making the training circuit throughout the Army. Although many from the group, moderated by Rich Porter, a black soldier serving on the USAAREUR and Seventh Army Troops Human Relations Committee, broke with Army policy, it was during the discussion of the movie and related issues.

Before the film, the discussion had touched on emerging community needs, and the Panther politics to housing in Heidelberg.

Since the program was intended primarily as a vehicle for education, for the Germans, many Americans were surprised at the depth of some of the German's understanding of the problems. For many of the Germans, however, some questions that had previously appeared to be simple right-or-wrong moral issues, began to take on complicated and conflicting contours.

German reactions varied from "The movie was strictly a whitewash," through "Oh, those problems can't be solved," through "The Southern States," and "The problems will only begin to be solved when capitalism fades," to "You really don't understand your own problems."

Most of the Americans were willing to admit that they had trouble understanding these problems and that the solving of the problems would involve a long and painful universal effort.

Although the movie had its weaknesses and the discussion participants came to more conclusions than conclusions, the program was generally considered to be an important tool in developing mutual understanding. The film was shown to schoolchildren, to corporate officers, U.S. Army personnel, and unit commanders.

"They're an experienced, knowledgeable, concerned group," said one of the participants.

"They're working very hard to get the message across."

"We're trying to understand their world," said the discussion leader.

"The most important thing we can do to bring about solutions is to listen to them.""}

BLACKS GET BREAK IN ROTC GRANTS

(By Larry Carney)

WASHINGTON—The Army is setting aside several hundred ROTC scholarships annually specifically for blacks and other people residing in poverty areas in an effort to attract more minority members to the officer corps.

The new minority officer procurement program—just approved by office of the deputy chief of staff for personnel—is aimed mainly at attracting more black officers. The package, developed after months of recommendations for increasing black officer membership in the Army, "The Army's biggest minority group and make up three percent of our officer corps," one Pentagon official told Army Times.

If current trends continue, this percentage will drop still further. In 1965, 2.5 percent of the first Lieutenants in the Army were black. The most recent drop was 1.9 percent in 1970. "Other company grade statistics are comparable," officials said.

Black officers, who are lucky to see an officer corps that represents the fabric of the country, in the case of blacks who would mean an officer corps of 11 percent to ap-

proximate the percentage of blacks in the total population," officials said.

Beginning immediately, the Army plans to:

- Sharply increase the number of blacks, Spanish Americans and Native Americans enrolled in officer candidate school (OCS) courses.
- Make black officers "more visible" on college campuses, in ROTC recruiting, and in ROTC summer camp assignments. This means, more black officers will be assigned to ROTC duty.
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The ROTC scholarship program is aimed at blacks willing to enter the ROTC program as a junior or senior in high school or college.

The Army said it will make a special effort to place black officers in "high visibility" command and staff positions.

To do this Continental Army Command is making plans to require black officers to attend camps rather than remain at their institutions over the summer break.

In addition, the Army has approved the assignment of 12 minority officers and 15 minority civilians to ROTC programs. In addition, the Army said it will make a special effort to place black officers in "high visibility" command and staff positions.

Active duty commanders of ROTC summer camps are also being urged to place black officers in "high visibility" command and staff positions. To do this Continental Army Command is making plans to require black officers to attend camps rather than remain at their institutions over the summer break.

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not handle adequately by themselves.

Why? Because private forest owners have been left to their own devices in the past. They have been left to fend for themselves without adequate legal protection and support. They have been left to face the challenges of forest management without any help from government agencies.

What is the solution? It is time for the government to take action by extending its programs to private forest owners. The government has a responsibility to protect and support private forest owners, who are crucial to the health of our forests.

The government can do this by providing technical assistance, education, and funding. This will help private forest owners to better manage their forests and protect them from various threats. It will also help to ensure the sustainability of our forests.

In conclusion, the government must take action to extend its programs to private forest owners. This is essential for the health and sustainability of our forests. The government must step up and provide the necessary support to private forest owners.

END of TEXT
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Joe Culotta, Jr., is host of a program on WITX radio in New Orleans called “Let’s Talk It Over.” On February 28, 1971, he had some comments to make about the CBS program “The Selling of the Pentagon.”

Because he is a knowledgeable individual in the field of broadcasting and because his show is one of the most listened to anywhere in New Orleans, I want to insert his remarks in the Record at this point.

REMARKS MADE ON “LET’S TALK IT OVER.
WITX ON FEBRUARY 28, 1971.

Last week, this program entitled, “The Selling of the Pentagon.” It dealt with a so-called exposé of the military complex with special emphasis on the Public Information Office. This was nothing new since exposures in this area have been much in the news as of late. Which brings up the point that possibly, just possibly, there is an organized move about to intentionally discredit the military—those military who are so-called anti-war. And other groups believe that a nefarious military contingent is trying to “sell the idea of the Pentagon,” doesn’t it follow that similarly towards those groups who is anti-military just might be trying to “sell the Pentagon” also, but that their efforts may be aimed at the wrong targets. Perhaps we need to remember if the military does dissolve into another social arm of this already massive bureaucracy, our economic and social systems, perhaps we need to think of the news of the week from the Halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli and to the coast of California and New York.

But let’s look at a point or two presented in, “The Selling of the Pentagon.” CBS states that the military used taxpayers’ money to propagate against the Soviet Union and the philosophy of Communism. They stated that the military-made films are still being shown with John Wayne, Jack Webb, Walter Cronkite and even Chet Huntley putting down the Communists for world aggression. CBS states that most of these films were made in the late 50’s and early 60’s, and I quote, “before our official policy was changed to one of coexistence with the Communists.” They went on to state that possibly the narrators had a change of posture on the Communist world, that possibly the policy of the Soviet Union has changed its posture toward Communism, that possibly the policy of the Soviet Union must be completely metamorphosed. Yet in the past month at least three war films made in the 60’s were shown on national TV.

The enemy in these films were the usual ruthless, bloodthirsty Nazis who were incidentally made up of German people. Since the end of the World War II, some 20 years ago, at least a hundred or so movies have been made and released in this country. TVA's job is to tide them over during the year to two or required to create a flow of funds. For example, work done will not be paid for months later. Meanwhile, there are payments to make on equipment and payroll to meet the needs of the Valley Authority and the National Association of Consulting Foresters have attempted to break this bottleneck with an agreement that TVA will write certain establishment costs during a two-year period. Two promising young forest owners have been selected for the program. They will be aided with referrals from TVA and other public agencies.

This pioneering effort holds great promise. It should be initiated in other forest regions.

3. Cost-sharing.

Construction of the useless brushy areas to produce forests, planting trees to assure a future supply of wood, protection of watersheds, and the like are not oppositional. Enhancements of the environment are public interest activities that usually require consideration of the effects on the people (useful, but not profitable). Cash returns on the investments for a long time. Many forest owners may not be in a position to undertake such projects, because of age or financial limitations. Yet future economic and social needs of the nation require that private forest owners fulfill their role.

The only real difference between the Nazis and the Communists is that the Nazis and the Communists have more or less won the war. But they have had to be pageant against similar movements (and indeed Communism is a similar movement). The Nazis have not lost yet. They still exist and are still the No. 1 enemy of the United States and the world. To butt our heads in the Halls of Montezuma and hide behind an “official posture of coexistence” is the real “me-too” attitude which is resulting from the military of perpetrating upon the public.

I’m happy the military is still showing films depicting Communist aggression. I just wish the networks would show the military films on prime time TV. They could use them to pre-empt “Hogan’s Heroes,” after all Americans from that German prison camp were liberated.

JOSEPH CULOTTA, JR.

FTC COMES ALIVE—AND HOW

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, in time of great concern for consumer protection, some recent actions of the Federal Trade Commission should be highlighted to public approval, as the attached article outlines:

FTC COMES ALIVE—AND HOW

Widespread benefits are forecast for consumers that are expected to accrue under a new FTC staff—once riddled with internal friction and mired in a virtual do-nothing policy, now organized in a burst of long-needed activity.

Change began January 1970 when Caspar Weinberger succeeded Paul Rand Dixon as FTC chairman. Weinberger’s appointment was to use talent wherever we can find it,” Weinberger said as he proceeded to hire, among others, one of Senator’s Raiders who had antagonized the old FTC staff.

The retribution has continued under a new chairman, Miles Kirkpatrick, who moved
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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS COMPREHENSIVE REPORT ON THE CIVIL SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT PROGRAM

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, on September 21, 1970, the Library of Congress released a report entitled "The SST: A Preliminary Environmental Controllability." That report was prepared at the request of the Junior Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL) and provided a scientific and scholarly assessment of all the environmental issues—sonic boom, noise, and effects on world climate—which could conceivably be associated with the development of a commercial fleet of supersonic transports.

It is my view that this objective report by Mr. George M. Chatham, a specialist in science and technology in the Science Policy Research Division, was instrumental in placing in proper perspective the unfounded charges which some have made over the past 6 months concerning the impact which commercial supersonic transports might have on the environment.

In the belief that the objectivity and the dispassionate scientific inquiry of a reputable, disinterested, and prestigious body such as the Science Policy Division of the Library of Congress, should be directed at a review and an analysis of the full range of issues—environmental, economic, and technological—presented by the supersonic transport program, I requested the Library to furnish me with an up-to-date report on all aspects of the program. This report has now been completed. It is entitled "The Supersonic Transport Report," prepared by Mr. George N. Chatham and Mr. Franklin P. Huddie.

Because the printing facilities of the Library of Congress are not equipped to make copies of this report available for at least the next few weeks, I ask unanimous consent that the entire report be reprinted in the Extensions of Remarks section of the Record.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE SUPREME TRANSPORT

SST: SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTION

(By George N. Chatham and Franklin P. Huddie)

The following statement summarizes a study by Science Policy Research Division, Library of Congress, for issue March 1, 1971, under the title "The Supersonic Transport." The study is by George N. Chatham and Franklin P. Huddie.

Log in commercial aircraft technology

Introductory chapters of the study trace the evolution of aircraft technology. For the first time, design criteria for supersonic transports are set forth, and the period covered is the 1950s. This was a time of increasing speculation about the future of supersonic transport. A nucleus of people believed that supersonic transport was feasible and that it would become a reality in the near future.

Although two major bills were killed, neither of the final versions contained Morgan's amendment. But, the report concludes that the proposed independent consumer agency and controversial class action suits be subject to Justice Department control.

CONGRESSIONAL IMPASS

Consumer protection forces found victory in defeat this year in their long and vigorous battle in Congress against the proposals of airline business interests. The Senate and the House did not respond to the concerns of consumer groups and, instead, approved legislation which went to the President for a signature.

While the legislation as signed is not likely to be enacted into law, it is significant that the Senate and the House of Representatives are in agreement on a number of issues that are of concern to the consumer. In particular, the Senate has rejected the House's position that the FTC should not have the authority to regulate the advertising practices of airlines.

The FTC has long been concerned with the need for a uniform set of regulations to protect consumers from misleading advertising practices.

The FTC has concluded that consumer protection is a matter of national importance and that the Commission should have the authority to enforce these regulations.

The report of the Senate and the House of Representatives is a significant step in the direction of consumer protection legislation. The FTC and the Department of Transportation have been working together to ensure that the provisions of the legislation are implemented.

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES OF THE SST

Much of the study is addressed to the question of whether the SST would seriously impair the human environment. There have been many allegations as to its noise, air pollution, and possible climatic effects. After a comprehensive investigation of the SST, the following conclusions were arrived at:

Noise

The SST requires large, powerful engines which are noisy. In addition, the jet engines of the SST create a sonic boom, which can be heard at a considerable distance from the aircraft. The SST is also a significant source of air pollution, releasing large amounts of carbon dioxide and nitrogen oxides into the atmosphere.

The SST's impact on the environment is not insignificant, and efforts must be made to minimize its effects. The SST's contribution to global warming is estimated to be small, but it is still a concern. The SST's noise levels are high, and efforts must be made to reduce them.

The SST is also a significant source of air pollution, releasing large amounts of carbon dioxide and nitrogen oxides into the atmosphere. The SST is a significant source of air pollution, releasing large amounts of carbon dioxide and nitrogen oxides into the atmosphere.

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booming. The boom issue has been provisionally disposed of by an understanding that the SST will not carry for the public good over uninhabited tundra. Since Congress has passed no law to insure the continuity of the sonic boom ban, many fear that the period of the Executive commitment in the face of economic pressure by the airlines.

If noise is considered in five operational modes: on the ground, sideline noise, take-off, departure (climb from one mile past the take-off point), sideline, and over the ocean, the first is the largest contributor. With respect to particulate matter, it is a possibility however that planned experiments during the two-lane prototype phase of the SST may reduce sound level. However, much has already been achieved. In the 12 years since the commercial jets have been in service, the noise generated per pound of thrust has been reduced by one-hundredth. In view of past progress and future engineering expectations, the Boeing Company has announced that it is committed to a long-term reduction of jet noise from the 747 to the SST. Although the economic aspects of this reduction appear to be limited, it is likely that these can be resolved only by actual experience with the product in use. Such historical data on quality of engineering management in the development of the vehicle, and the system of which it is conceived as a component, much hinges also upon the quality of management of the service and its competition. Of course, these are general considerations and there are imponderables beyond the scope of the study.

2. Introduction

This paper examines some of the considerations governing public acceptance or rejection of the supersonic aircraft (SST) as a commercial transportation vehicle. Mass public transportation by air has been developed to its present state in a manner different from the automotive vehicle, the railroad, and the trunk highway. The role of the SST, and of jet aircraft generally, is inherently a minor role relative to the effluent from surface transportation media. The economic and social worth of the SST and its competition.

Weather modification

Traveling in a new regime at 65,000 feet, the SST can operate at rates of effluent emissions in such quantities relative to present existing ingredients of the upper atmosphere as to threaten to alter the climate. Experimental observations, one by one, shows the effects of the SST on the environment to be so small in comparison to natural atmospheric structure as to make quantification extremely challenging. There is a possibility however that planned experiments during the two-lane prototype phase can bring about some resolution. With respect to particulate matter, it was found that cosmic dust and volcanic effluent far exceed any possible particulate effluent from the SST, without significant climatic effect. With respect to water vapor, the injection of water vapor from the SST exceeds by many orders of magnitude any possible SST effect, but the stratosphere remains relatively stable in water content, indicating that there are stabilizing forces at work.

The conclusion that combustion of SST fuel would exhaust the oxygen in the atmosphere is disposed of by the simple statement that the combustion of all small fuel (of which jet engines can never consume more than a small fraction) would temporarily use up no more than three percent of the oxygen in the atmosphere. The conjectural effect of the carbon dioxide generated by the SST is trivial compared with that from industrial combustion engines. Long-range measurements of temperature do not disclose any climatic change attributable to a measured slight increase in CO2 content over the past century.

There is a probability to the possibility of hazard to passengers from radiation from the sun, especially during severe solar flares (occurring every 11.8 years or so ago). With proper instruments, the pilot could be warned in plenty of time to drop down below 20,000 feet where atmospheric shielding would eliminate the hazard.

The SST: Remaining uncertainties to be resolved

There are many uncertainties as to the actuality of SST development: as to whether the Boeing SST will actually produce the economic gains claimed for it; as to the safety and engineering risk this vehicle represents; and as to whether it can stand alone, without other supporting elements of a complete system of air transportation. Many of the defects of present air transportation have nothing to do with air speed or vehicle productivity; the gross sector, for one example, is generally conceded to have been neglected.

Since the economic aspects of the SST, and especially the global aspects, have received the bulk of attention of critics. Yet, upon analysis, most of these postulated effects are found to be non-existent or of a scale making their detection difficult. Of course, some environmental uncertainties remain. As to these uncertainties, it is rarely if ever possible to prove a negative.

But the greater number of uncertainties appear to lie in the future. It is likely that these can be resolved only by actual experience with the product in use. Such historical data on quality of engineering management in the development of the vehicle, and the system of which it is conceived as a component, much hinges also upon the quality of management of the service and its competition. Of course, these are general considerations and there are imponderables beyond the scope of the study.
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The tip of the propeller entered the transonic regime only once, near the end of the flight, and then only for a short time. In the interest of safety, the flight was terminated at that point, but the propeller-driven aircraft had been the aerodynamic limitations of the propeller itself.

Footnotes at end of article.

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The F-111 has remained controversial since its inception. In view of the fact that large commercial aircraft are currently flying out of military antecedents, it may be useful to examine the fate of one of these large supersonic bombers. The development of the "all-purpose" B-70

Proposed as the world’s first large aircraft capable of long-range, sustained, supersonic flight, the B-70 was envisioned as a dual-use weapon system for the emerging nuclear era. It was also seen as fulfilling the need for a supersonic reconnaissance/strike aircraft. The further growth of strategic missile forces meant that the general prototype might be modified into a commercial version to compete with contemporary supersonic airliners. Initial development was to produce a family of short-range, intermediate, and long-range supersonic aircraft for commercial use.

Initial design specifications for the B-70 were issued by the Air Force in October, 1954, with an invitation to aircraft companies to compete for the job of prime contractor. The Air Force plan was to develop and deploy a fleet of these aircraft as long-range, multi-mission bombers by the mid-1960s. The program was under attack by both missile advocates and others who felt it was too costly. The project was stopped in March, 1957. The program came to a close with a few prototypes having flown. Nevertheless, the President’s decision was firm, and the project was ended.

However, the B-70 program remained a significant event in the development of crucial components for the future of commercial aircraft. The pressing demands of national defense have characterized the need for new weapon systems, and in this area the B-70 had a role in the development of commercial aircraft.

"After designs were fixed and quantity production established to meet military requirements, it was often possible to build adaptations for production for commercial application. The construction of at least one structural design, and techniques of fabrication. These were all proposals that derived from a substantial history of military activity, and from the Department of Defense. Application of these advances, acquired at considerable cost, would give an American SST a significant edge over its foreign counterparts. The increased expenses of a military development proposal had disadvantages as well. The long, slim body of the B-70 would not convert well to civil use for the various proposals for this conversion, the passenger seating capacities ranged from 15 to a very crowded 100. A converted version would require additional upgrading for reliability and design modifications for airline service was judged likely to cost about the same as the completely new design."

The translation of the military advances in World War II into civil aircraft design had involved a change in direction that had been 20 years earlier. Under the spur of military necessity the principles of aeronautical design had been vast. These principles, of course, were the same, regardless of whether the function of the design was military or civilian. However, the requirements for an airframe were strongly influenced by its function, so that the same aeronautical design principles led to different products, so the products themselves were not necessarily different for military or commercial use but cabin space was.

The power plant as key to aircraft evolution

From the Wright Brothers to the present day, developments in heavier-than-air craft have derived most importantly from improvements in power plant technology. Before the advent of the aircraft gas turbine engine, the Wright Brothers aircraft would not have been possible, and the military gas turbine engine for aircraft had historically been the conventional pattern of development. The translation of the military advances in World War II into civil aircraft design had involved a change in direction that had been 20 years earlier. Under the spur of military necessity the principles of aeronautical design had been vast. These principles, of course, were the same, regardless of whether the function of the design was military or civilian. However, the requirements for an airframe were strongly influenced by its function, so that the same aeronautical design principles led to different products, so the products themselves were not necessarily different for military or commercial use but cabin space was.

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As to funding, the study proposed funds should be utilized for major engine development to produce the most advanced engine possible to meet military needs. The B-70 engine, the turbojet, was the power plant as key to aircraft evolution. The power plant as key to aircraft evolution. The power plant as key to aircraft evolution. The power plant as key to aircraft evolution. The power plant as key to aircraft evolution.
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...sor's initiative and urged consideration of a civil supersonic transport program. He found the President receptive.

As the SST project began to take a more tangible form, cost and fiscal arrangements became salient: (1) Should the Federal Gov-

Next, in the development of aero-

World War II commercial air travel have made it marginal at high altitudes, especially at low altitudes-adjustable

In the early versions, both aircraft used unmodified military jet engines. These engines were not designed for fuel economy. Fortu-

In general service in 1957, the Boeing 707, in 1958, it was followed in a few months by the Douglas DC-8. In the early versions, both aircraft used unmodified military jet engines. These engines were not designed for fuel economy.

Fortunately, a sideline investigation of this military interest was to appear. One early device to deal with the surplus air which all jet engines must either use or de-

In general service in 1957, the Boeing 707, in 1958, it was followed in a few months by the Douglas DC-8. In the early versions, both aircraft used unmodified military jet engines. These engines were not designed for fuel economy.

Necessarily, it was a commercial project that needed clearing. Commercial aviation, especially at moderate speeds and altitudes, was the critical military asset, the engines of which would be needed. Thus, the SST project could not take this route.

The rapidity with which the turbo-fan was developed, the turbine's prime competitor, the rocket engine, led to the development of the military version of the turbo-fan. In the United States, when the Pratt & Whitney Company modified their military engine, the J-57, by· adding an afterburner and engines similar to the turbo-fan, it was known as a military engine. This modified version, designated the JT3D, increased thrust 50% while simultaneously decreasing fuel consumption 13%.

Further increases in efficiency were offered by tapping the surplus energy in the turbine system to increase the mass flow of air by accelerating it with a large, front-end fan and then ducting it around the rest of the engine assembly. This was the turbo-fan. Now in general service in U.S. airline, it has an engine front that is larger in diameter than the rest of the engine.

A belated commercial development, the turbo-fan was adopted by the United States in 1961, when the Pratt & Whitney Company modified their military engine, the J-57, by adding an afterburner. This engine, with its expanding air stream around the body of the basic engine, this modified version, designated the JT3, was groundbreaking. At least 50% of the fuel was burned at a rate of 16,000 pounds per hour, and the fuel consumption was reduced by 15%.

The commercial airlines quickly moved to take advantage of the innovation. Existing equipment was retooled, and new aircraft were equipped with turbo-fans. By 1965, virtually all non-propeller-driven civilian jets, foreign and domestic, were using the turbo-fan.

The rapidity with which the turbo-fan was adopted, once available, suggests the importance of a substantial R&D capability for the purpose of advancing the state of the art of commercial jet engines. The military version of the turbo-fan had been investigated more than two decades earlier, its failure to offer significant military advantage had resulted in a long and costly technological lag in commercial application.

The report was intended to "define the technical, economic, and organizational parameters for the Federal Government through the broad spectrum of aeronautics." It identified the SST project as "the most visible manifestation of the future" in aeronautics development. Said the Task Force:

"An adequately funded, prudently managed, development program is essential to the maintenance of U.S. world leadership in aviation.

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Federal Government responsibility for aviation research has long been recognized and its importance is not at all in doubt. In the past, however, the Government-sponsored aeronautical research has largely been stimulated by military requirements for advanced aircraft. As a result, the operations research that has been carried out in the Government in the past has been basically directed toward developing new military aircraft, and the development programs, such as the supersonic transport, have been dependent upon the performance of the military arm of the Federal Government.

The Government's role in the development of new aircraft has been the major source of controversy. The Government has often been criticized for its failure to support the development of commercial aircraft, and the Government has been accused of overemphasizing military research. However, the Government has always been aware of the importance of commercial aircraft and has made efforts to support their development. The Government has also been aware of the importance of commercial aircraft as a source of government revenue and has been trying to increase the use of commercial aircraft by encouraging their development.

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mittee and the Administrator of FAA (a member) to provide further recommendations. He received an interim report, recommending design study awards to Boeing and Lockheed May 16, 1964. Then, May 21, 1964, he announced to FAA Administrator to make the awards. On July 1, 1965, at the swearing-in ceremony for General Wm. McKee, Halaby, FAA Administrator, President Johnson's welcoming speech General McKee was also a mandate to proceed with the SST program. The President stressed the importance of the SST as a part of his new assignment. That assignment, he said, was "* * * to develop a supersonic transport which is, first, safe for the passenger, second, superior to any other commercial aircraft, and third, economically profitable to build and operate." The President devoted most of his welcoming speech to detailed instructions for the development of the SST over the next 18 months. He explicitly recommended FAA's responsibility for the guidance and full management of the program.

The involvement of Boeing and General Electric as the preferred airframe and engine suppliers for the SST was announced by President Johnson on December 31, 1966. President Johnson authorized the Secretary of Transportation, rather than the FAA, to award prototype contracts. McKee transferred the primary responsibility for management of the SST from the FAA. Presumably it was in recognition of FAA's primary regulatory role that airline management of air transportation, the FAA would encounter a conflict of interest if it engaged in the development of an aircraft which it would later be called on to certify and regulate. This problem had been foreseen, and to prevent it, FAA established a Special Task Group (STAG) in urging that an independent office be created to manage the program. However, during President Johnson's terms of office, the management of the SST remained with FAA.

The 1967 design offer by the Boeing Company encountered an unexpected setback in final design evaluation. It offered a "swing wing" or variable geometry airfoil structure, which, at the present state of the art, potentially involved an insurmountable problem of excessive weight. President Johnson's concern for the economic and competitive viability of American aviation resulted in a consultation with the STAG in urging that an independent office be created to manage the program. However, President Johnson's terms of office, the management of the SST remained with FAA.

On April 1, 1970, an Office of the Super- sonic Transport was established as an independent office under the Department of Transportation, reporting directly to the Secretary. As its Director, the President designated William M. Magruder, who was associated with the management of the SST since its beginning. The SST Office substituted the responsibility of FAA in managing the program. The President stressed the importance of the SST, the first objective of the changed policy, as the subject of the rest of this chapter.

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The time of the Wright brothers decides not to just be second but not even to show. Now not out of any sense of Jingoism but because this plane is going to be built because it's going to bring, for example, Asia not only Japan but China, in the last third of the century it will vary from the West Coast to Asia—I think the United States should build it and I believe that we can answer the arguments of the manufacturers.

Transfer of Government Responsibility for Management of the SST

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V. ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS OF SUPERSONIC FLIGHT

This section assesses the economics of the SST in the overall context of the air transport industry and considers the fundamental principles which have determined the evolution of today's aerial transport systems. Since this section of the program is in its exploratory stage, the rationale for building the SST has been a major issue. Is the program driven by an international competition or is the SST an essential participation in a strictly practical business venture? The price tag for the SST, a new national policy for aeronautics, more than that of the most expensive subsonic jet.

Can such an investment pay—or does it pay a generous gift to the affluent air passenger?

Capacity and speed as prime determinants of profit

Some of the single engine mail planes of the 1920's could carry a paying passenger. It quickly became obvious that a slightly larger plane would have about the same fixed costs, shelter, maintenance and crew, but could carry more paying passengers. Since the fixed cost would be about the same, the higher price of the plane could be weighed against the work it would do. If it could carry four fares instead of one, the earning potential would be more than justify the higher purchase price.

Successful operators (those with enough available payload to merit the purchase of two aircraft) discovered another advantage of larger capacity: A slightly larger aircraft could carry the payload which now required two aircraft. This potential more than doubled the number of passengers. In essence, increased payload was more economically attractive for two reasons: (1) a saving of about half of the fixed costs because maintenance and crew costs would be for one instead of two aircraft; and (2) flexibility because idle space in a large aircraft is less costly than the fixed costs related to owning and maintaining two smaller aircraft. In essence, increased payload was more than just a wasteful desire to win in an international competition or is the SST an essential participation in a strictly practical business venture? The price tag for the SST is now new national policy for aeronautics, more than that of the most expensive subsonic jet.

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Step function gains in aircraft productivity

The first leap in productivity of the post-war transport aircraft was the transition from the small twin engine aircraft like the DC-3 to the four engine aircraft in the DC-6 class. Speed was doubled and passenger capacity was multiplied by more than five. This was a characteristic step function. Each new generation of vehicles has produced significant increases in capacity, performance, and economy of operation over its immediate predecessor. The decade chosen for comparison in the preceding tables covers the second leap in productivity—the transition from the passenger-engineled plane to the jets. Both passenger capacity and speed were doubled over that of the DC-6's and DC-7's. Productivity per aircraft therefore rose by a factor of 4.

In each transition period, aircraft purchase prices rose sharply, but the additional cost was small in relation to their capability to carry more passengers over longer distances. Cost per seat mile was reduced, not more. The price of a Boeing 747 is about 20 million dollars, almost twice the price of the Boeing 707. Yet it is slightly faster and can haul more than twice the payload. The purchase price per revenue unit is therefore lower, not higher, than the earlier model. The advantage of the improved equipment, in terms of aircraft operating profit, had largely vanished. The financial status of the airline industry in 1969 reveals a marginal status for the operators. The effect of the more efficient aircraft more than doubled and passenger carrying capability came in 1939 with the first pressurized aircraft, the 33-passenger Boeing Stratoliner and the unpressurized 40-passenger DC-7. Productivity per revenue unit was sharply reduced for the aircraft operating profit had largely vanished. The financial status of the airline industry in 1969 reveals a marginal status for the operators. The effect of the more efficient aircraft more than doubled.

With the all-metal twin engined aircraft engine of the early 1930's, the Douglas DC-2, the Boeing 247, and the Lockheed Electra (the later Electra), the prerequisites of courage and fortitude was greatly reduced for the air passenger. With these aircraft up to 14 passengers and a speed of 150 mph the operators were able to fly the country at two to three times the cost of the 4-passenger DC-4. In the mid 1930's the unsupersonic transocean four-engined flying boats of Sikorsky, Martin, and Boeing appeared. These giant aircraft were limited in payload because of the fuel their flights required. Their prime function was to carry mail, passengers being allowed to use up whatever margin of payload left after loading the mail and varying amounts of extra fuel to meet expected weather. Ten or fifteen passengers might be allowed. However, they enjoyed a degree of spacious luxury never again approached on space travel.

The next evolutionary step in passenger capability came in 1959 with the first pressurized aircraft. The DC-8 and the DC-7, the Lockheed Constellation appeared in competition to the DC-6 and grew in size and speed until Lock­heed's second Electra (turbo-prop powered) appeared. These propeller driven transports had reached cruise speeds somewhat higher than 400 mph and passenger capacities more than double that of the 40-passenger DC-4.

Both Douglas and Boeing introduced turbojet transports in 1958. In one step, these aircraft more than doubled the productive capacity of any previous propeller-driven transport. In their "high density" seating version, either aircraft could carry 77 passengers across the country at 500 mph. The earlier model of either jet could do the work of 3 DC-7's, thus offering unparalleled savings in capital and operating costs.

In the mid and latter years of the 1960s, the growth of high speed jets, added vehicle productivity through extra seats without notable increases in speed. Rapid modifi-

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Year} & \textbf{Total operating revenues} & \textbf{Total operating expenses} & \textbf{Passenger-miles flown} & \textbf{Net profit or loss} & \textbf{Rate of return on margin investment} \\
\hline
1969 & $2,618,471 & $2,460,172 & 36,371,888 & $227,999 & 3.2 \\
1968 & 2,299,038 & 2,188,624 & 34,850,500 & 211,014 & 2.8 \\
1967 & 2,026,038 & 1,950,722 & 32,517,400 & 175,316 & 2.4 \\
1966 & 1,879,100 & 1,797,920 & 29,178,000 & 81,180 & 1.9 \\
1965 & 1,736,000 & 1,630,000 & 26,030,000 & 106,000 & 2.0 \\
1964 & 1,621,600 & 1,510,000 & 23,980,000 & 111,600 & 2.4 \\
1963 & 1,538,000 & 1,426,000 & 21,930,000 & 112,000 & 2.4 \\
1962 & 1,483,000 & 1,360,000 & 20,080,000 & 123,000 & 2.5 \\
1961 & 1,438,000 & 1,315,000 & 18,530,000 & 123,000 & 2.4 \\
1960 & 1,395,000 & 1,270,000 & 17,080,000 & 125,000 & 2.8 \\
1959 & 1,354,000 & 1,225,000 & 15,630,000 & 129,000 & 3.3 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Note: All figures are rounded off to the nearest hundred thousand dollars.

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The index in the preceding table relates only passenger capacity and speed. Other payload is not considered. For comparative purposes, the Boeing 707 is rated as "one." Turn-around time is approximately a constant for all models. Down-time for periodic maintenance is not considered but in fact maintenance is based primarily on hours flown and therefore is less of a penalty to a fast aircraft than to a slow one so that a fast aircraft can do more work than a slow one between overhaul periods.

Early economic feasibility studies of the SST

Since 1960, the FAAA various manufacturers, and the airlines have conducted virtually a continuous series of studies on supersonic transportation as capability and as a market. United Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Mass., in 1960. In 1963, President Kennedy initiated a study aimed at providing an economic overview of the feasibility of a national program to build a supersonic transport. The study was conducted by Eugene R. Black and Stanley J. Osborne. Completed in December of 1963, the Black/Osborne report provided a review of the economic aspects of the program and included recommendations as to the roles of the manufacturers, the airlines, financial institutions, and the United States Government.

The FAA considered the more usable portions of prior studies and incorporated their own statistical materials. Their study, the Economic Feasibility Report, U.S. Supersonic Transport, April 1967, provided "baseline" analysis and a format that subsequent studies could update.

Two independent studies prepared as a part of the overall economic evaluation were also completed in mid-1967.


This report was the result of a review of the aircraft demand version of the FAAA Economic Feasibility Report. It includes revised methodology from the IDA report and re-estimation of certain basic input data on costs and yields for the aircraft mix expected in the 1975-1000 time period.


Discussion of various aspects of the production financing problem in terms of order of magnitude dollar requirements to the manufacturers and suppliers, potential sources of capital, and evaluation of the various means by which the program might be financed including alternative methods of Government support.

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Pros and cons of international finance

Items with high export potential are viewed historically as positive contributions to the balance of payments. The SST, as a manufactured Item with high export potential, would become the latest and highest-priced contribution to the world aviation market, 54% of which is now in the United States. In the case of the SST, however, question has been raised as to whether or not the balance of payments would benefit from sales.

Footnotes at end of article.

Progress and design decisions for the final size and operating characteristics of the SST continued to replace the assumptions in the studies with firm data. Plans to use a "swing wing" were dropped in favor of a fixed wing. Payload and number of passengers as well as range and other operating data were determined required within this time period.

In May 1969, Boeing issued a study of the dynamics of SST introduction into commercial service. The study was based on the analysis of 142 international routes. Overland flights were assumed to operate below boom producing speeds and were based on regulated economy fares, with yields varied in relation to the degree of market penetration. The study concluded that a fleet of 600 SST's by 1990 was economically feasible and that the currently defined SST would not require increases in the current fare structure to produce a reasonable profit for the airlines.

The Boeing study has a special significance in that, for the first time, the SST was evaluated in terms of real, not hypothetical data. Actual routes, curfew restrictions and time zone differentials were analyzed. Operating characteristics and yields were based on a firm design rather than a range of assumptions.

The updated study predicted a market potential of 515 aircraft, very close to the FAAA estimate of 500 to be sold by 1996. (Charles River Associates had predicted that 655 SST's by 1990 were feasible). It assumed a six fold traffic increase for the twenty year period between 1968 and 1989. All studies assumed the sonic boom restrictions, barring flights at boom-producing speeds over populated areas.

There was uniform agreement among the various later studies that by 1990 the SST would constitute approximately a sixth of the world fleet. The range of these estimates characterized SST based primarily on size of aircraft sold rather than available load factors. Estimates for the total fleet (Western World) of long range aircraft (short haul aircraft for flights of 700 miles or less are omitted) are as follows:

Range of 1980 market estimate

SST's ........................................... 500-800

Commercial ................................... 600-900

New and replacement subsonic jets .... 2,425-3,870

Total airplanes ................................ 3,125-5,075

Selected highlights of the physical and operating characteristics of the Boeing and foreign SST's along with the Boeing subsonic 747 are shown below:

TABLE 4.—RELATIVE PRODUCTIVITY INDEX IN SEAT MILES PER HOUR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aircraft</th>
<th>Subsonic</th>
<th>Supersonic</th>
<th>Cruise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boeing 707-300</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boeing 747</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boeing SST 707-300</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concord</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-70</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Subsonic cruise speeds are shown as approximate. Supersonic cruise speeds may also vary slightly from these design figures. Cruise speed data furnished by the Department of Transportation.

TABLE 5.—WEIGHT, PAYLOAD, AND OPERATING COST COMPARISON OF SST'S AND THE BOEING 747

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aircraft</th>
<th>Concorde</th>
<th>TU-144</th>
<th>747</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Operating cost per seat-mile on comparable basis (cents):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,944 statute miles:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct operating cost</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect operating cost</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,565 statute miles:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct operating cost</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect operating cost</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Data obtained from Department of Transportation, Dec. 30, 1970.

Based on 200 lbs. per passenger and 4,000 lbs. cargo.

Some opponents of the SST program, have contended that the project would fail and thereby waste the risk capital loaned by the Government. Other opponents, expressing fear that the SST program would be successful, suggest that its very success would result in a net outflow of funds.
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

VI. THE ISSUE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF THE SST

Whatever the nation of the aircraft that flies, Americans must divide the SST into two spheres of activity. In the first, the SSTs imply an instrument of national defense, in the second, an instrument of the civil sector. If the latter seems obvious, the long history of military troubles with large supersonic aircraft shows this is not so. On the one hand, the Concorde, with its remarkable experience of the aircraft industry with such military aircraft has done much to reduce the importance of the engineering risk for the future.

The fact that Government funding has been found necessary for the SST—a semi-public, governmental project—remains a problem. A criticism of this special funding is justifiable if the rationale is as follows:—

1. The SSTs is an important source of job income with a flow direction of dollars as associated with potential sales of the U.S. SST.

2. The SST is competing only with the first generation of supersonic transport, which will be exported, yielding a net $10.1 billion in exports. If the SST were not built, it is estimated that U.S. airlines would acquire $130 billion in jet engines by 1980.

3. The SST would be exported, yielding a net $10.1 billion in imports. The total effect of the U.S. SST on the U.S.-export trade balance under this assumption would be $7.1 billion.

4. Corresponding figures under the assumption of a successful foreign SST today: with an American SST, $10.1 billion of net exports; with no American SST, $12.0 billion net imports, a swing of $2.1 billion.

The issues of risk and test of the market place.

It is necessary to recognize that any technological innovation involves engineering risk. That risk is high in the SST. There are obvious reasons:—

1. The SST is the first supersonic transport to be built on an international basis:—

2. SST is a subsidy for luxury spending;

3. SST is a tax on the environment.

4. SST is a funding of greater importance, such as to fund United States projects and programs.

The SST is going to be exported, yielding a net $10.1 billion in exports. If the SST were not built, it is estimated that U.S. airlines would acquire $130 billion in jet engines by 1980. The SST would be exported, yielding a net $10.1 billion in imports. The total effect of the U.S. SST on the U.S.-export trade balance under this assumption would be $7.1 billion.

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2. SST is a subsidy for luxury spending;

3. SST is a tax on the environment.

4. SST is a funding of greater importance, such as to fund United States projects and programs.

The SST is going to be exported, yielding a net $10.1 billion in exports. If the SST were not built, it is estimated that U.S. airlines would acquire $130 billion in jet engines by 1980. The SST would be exported, yielding a net $10.1 billion in imports. The total effect of the U.S. SST on the U.S.-export trade balance under this assumption would be $7.1 billion.
1. Micro-environmental issues: a. Sonic boom; b. Engine noise on and near the ground; c. Aircraft wake; d. Engine noise on and near the ground; e. Radiation hazard.


- Airframe noise: The sonic boom test programs conducted by the Air Force have provided a practical and a theoretical understanding of the boom and its effects. The tests showed that the sonic boom is a phenomenon that gives the civilian an educational experience. Even when the booms were reduced, the sonic boom is a destructive potential by altitude or distance of the source that proved hard for some people to tolerate.

The announced national policy and the "FAA Notice of Proposed Rule Making," issued April 16, 1970 (39 FR 6189) would prohibit operation of civil aircraft over the United States at speeds which would cause a sonic boom on the ground. The ruling is supposed to apply to all civil aircraft, domestic or foreign, but not to military aircraft over which the Authority has no jurisdiction.

A sonic boom created by a jet fighter flying "on deck" (at low altitude) is one pressure change exceeding 100 pounds per square foot, enough pressure to damage certain types of buildings with an overpressure of 10 pounds per square foot. The low altitude pass that can occur over a continent. The low altitude pass that an over-pressure of 10 pounds per square foot can cause structural damage. Air force tests, in which the pressure caused by the sonic boom was measured, turned out to be inadequate in studies of jet engine noise. The irritation value of jet engines remained higher than that of the deep toned piston engines even when the decibel ratings were the same. New measuring systems were devised to scale the intensity of the tones present in a jet engine, such as the ear adjusts to each tone, and also to consider their duration. The basic decibel scale is still used, but not duration, the decibel scale relates acoustic energy to sound perception or loudness. Each increase of ten decibels signifies a tenfold rise in energy, but because the ear responds in a logarithmic manner, the tenfold increase in energy indicates only a doubling of loudness. The conversion of one decibel to another is accomplished by using low decibels (e.g., a reduction from 180 dB. to 120 dB.), the lower level has only 10% of its former energy, but its loudness has been reduced to only 50% of the former value.

The decibel scale is not used and the unit becomes "PNdB". The Department of Transportation uses both the PNdB and the EPNdB in its sound research. New FAA regulations limiting the intensity of jet aircraft noise apply the EPNdB.

- Reduction of jet noise by categories of operation:

There are three phases of flight (all of which are on or near the ground) in which the sonic boom is an objectionable nuisance. These are: 1) the approach phase, 2) the take-off and, 3) the climb-out. The Boeing 707, 727, 737, 747, and the Lockheed L-1011 have sonic booms in the approach phase of flight. The Concorde has sonic booms in the take-off and climb-out.

Existing subsonic jet noise is a continuing source of controversy. Retrofitted acoustical treatment is extremely costly, but despite the cost, it is a practical measure as the only recourse to gain public acceptance. The much larger engines of the SST's, on the other hand, may not be expected to produce much more unwanted sound than the worst of the subsonics new in service.

Several sets of unofficial decibel ratings have been associated with both the Boeing and the Lockheed models. These are available concerning noise levels generated by the engines of the Soviet SST. The ratings associated with high noise levels (exceeding 100 dB) are given on one or more phases of flight. In the case of the Concorde, real measurements were possible, but changed as the engines and nacelles guide vanes and other devices were modified. One of the Boeing, the decibel ratings were either calculations or were based on tests of the engines before its installation in a prototype.

Both Boeing and the Concorde makers are aware of the necessity to quiet their high thrust engines. The utterly formidable challenge is rapidly being resolved and noise levels equal to or less than today's subsonic jets appear to be within reach.

March 9, 1971

REMARKS

Boeing commits its SST to the subsonic requirements F.A.R. 30:

"To promote the commercialization of the SST, the capability of the commercial SST to achieve noise levels consistent with those required for the new four engine intercontinental subsonic transport aircraft will be demonstrated."

The British Aircraft Corporation (B.A.C.), are similarly encouraged with the progress of their acoustic research. In one way, their challenge is less than that faced by Boeing because of the much larger engines of the SST's, on the other hand, they have already turned out to be inadequate in studies of jet engine noise. The irritation value of jet engines remained higher than that of the deep-toned piston engines even when the decibel ratings were the same. New measuring systems were devised to scale the intensity of the tones present in a jet engine, such as the ear adjusts to each tone, and also to consider their duration. The basic decibel scale is still used, but not duration, the decibel scale relates acoustic energy to sound perception or loudness. Each increase of ten decibels signifies a tenfold rise in energy, but because the ear responds in a logarithmic manner, the tenfold increase in energy indicates only a doubling of loudness. The conversion of one decibel to another is accomplished by using low decibels (e.g., a reduction from 180 dB. to 120 dB.), the lower level has only 10% of its former energy, but its loudness has been reduced to only 50% of the former value.

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The Blanket of Atmosphere with a Radiation Background

The blanket of atmosphere provides a shield that largely absorbs the charged particles of cosmic radiation emitted by the Sun, thus shielding the surface. But at altitudes of 60 or 70,000 feet, some of this protection is removed. Fortunately, almost 50% of the REM is removed by descent to 60,000 feet. Solar radiation is not constant, but is known to reach levels of unusually high intensity from solar flares. Variations also occur because the earth’s magnetic field tends to deflect the particle beam, a phenomenon that varies with the earth’s rotation toward the poles and away from the equator and temperate zones. A “worst case” exposure would be a person flying over a polar route in sunlight at very high altitudes, and especially during a period of intense solar flare activity.

The question is whether the exposure to solar radiation in a high-flying SST would be serious enough to cause concern. In general, it can be said that except for the infrequent, intense solar flare, the risk is trivial. However, the issue is complicated enough to warrant extended discussion.

Controversy has persisted ever since the early days of the atomic energy program, as to the statistical consequences of radiological damage. This ranges from all penetrating radiation to those which are quite heavy, selectively absorbed, or even those which are born again after penetrating the body. The consensus is that some repair of radiation effects does take place, and therefore the evaluation of radiological effects must be performed in relation to the rate of exposure. (In other words, if the rate of exposure greatly exceeds the rate of repair, serious damage can be expected.)

The effects of ionizing radiation are measured in terms of the unit of exposure called the REM. In evaluating the extent of exposure of SST passengers and crew to solar radiation, many questions need to be resolved, such as: how many flights are made? During how long a period? What is the probability of any unusually intense solar flare activity? It is also germane to ask how much radiation is absorbed by the passengers might have been exposed to.

The established standards for radiation exposure used by the Federal Government deal separately with the general population and occupational exposure. X ray technicians and others whose work exposes them to ionizing radiation may not be exposed to more than 5 REM per year. Individual members of the general public are not exposed to more than one-tenth of that amount. Radiological health philosophy is to keep exposures well below such limits and not to regard them as “speed limits.”

Wide differences in exposure from naturally present or “background” radiation on the earth’s surface have been observed. Background radiation exposure varies because of the differing distributions of radioactive materials—uranium, thorium, and potassium, and other stony materials. The extreme range between 0.05 REM/year in the mid-Atlantic Ocean to 0.52 REM/year at Guarapua Beach in Brazil. Measurements taken in New York City have ranged from 0.07 to 0.13 REM; measurements in Stockholm from 0.15 to 0.52 REM. (The background radiation level would, of course, be subtracted from the level to be encountered by an SST passenger as determined by the difference in high altitude flight.)

Medical x-rays constitute the largest single source of radiation exposure to nonionizers. The range of possible exposure varies from 0.05 REM for a chest x-ray to as much as 60 REM for a gastrointestinal examination by fluoroscopy. The average annual medical x-ray exposure per person is probably between 0.05 and 0.07 REM/year according to the National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurement.

The “worst case” exposure for an SST flight over the polar regions at an altitude of 70,000 feet would represent an average inside exposure of 0.018 REM/hour or about 005 REM for a three-hour flight at altitude. A pilot flying all year long on such a route would be in the air for about 900 hours, and at cruising altitude about half the time. His dose per year would be significantly less than 1 REM/year. A passenger who accompanied this “worst case” pilot on half of his flights would not exceed his “maximum permissible dose” of 0.5 REM/year.

The most severe solar flare recorded, 23 February 1956, would have resulted in a significant increase in dose rate. A flight during such an event would have resulted in a dose rate as high as about 4 REM/hour. Although such events are infrequent, it would be necessary to provide against them. This can be accomplished by the use of radiation monitoring instruments aboard the aircraft. Such information can allow the pilot to ascend to an altitude where the solar radiation would be immediately detected and the aircraft could descend to a lower altitude where the atmospheric shielding would be sufficient to keep the intensity within acceptable limits.

The Problem of Air Pollution

Within the city, the work efficiency obtained from fuel becomes a matter of environmental quality. A table below compares fuel consumed per horsepower/hour for various types of power sources. To compare the work potential obtained, can be done from the same fixed amount of fuel, the next table places the comparison on the amount of pollutants released per 1,000 seat miles for the same vehicles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicle</th>
<th>Carbon monoxide</th>
<th>Oxides of nitrogen</th>
<th>Hydrocarbons</th>
<th>Particulates</th>
<th>Sulfur oxides</th>
<th>Total pollutants emitted per 1,000 seat miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auto</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jet engine</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SST</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsonic jet</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Table furnished by Department of Transportation.

2 Negligible.

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piston airplane</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SST</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsonic jet</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Table furnished by Department of Transportation.

2 Pounds per thousand miles.

3 Negligible.

Finally, the more productive a vehicle becomes, the fewer the number of vehicles required to handle a given work load. A reduction in the number of vehicles required is of great importance in terms of transportation economics as explained earlier. It is also a pollution variable.

In all comparisons, the turbine engine powered aircraft is superior to other systems considered. The piston engine, particularly when used in automobiles, is clearly the worst.

Aeromotor aircraft systems such as VTOL and STOL offer the city high production potential of vehicles equipped with higher-temperature, cleaner-burning engines as compared with standards for surface vehicles. Of more importance to the city is the fact that exhaust from these vehicles, except while landing and taking off, is released at an altitude which gives the normal air movement a much more effective dilution rate than it can have for slow moving, densely packed, surface vehicles. It should also be noted that pollution from surface vehicles, while related to efficiency, is even more related to speed of traffic movement. Traffic congestion multiplies the running time (hence effluents) of all vehicles involved. Aircraft are not immune to the problem of traffic congestion, but increased capacity of aircraft works to reduce numbers required.

The effluents of combustion emitted outside of a city do not present a serious pollution problem when compared with those allowed to concentrate within a city. However, they can not be ignored.

Aircraft, particularly jet engine aircraft, emit the lowest quantity of pollutants in relation to the weight of fuel used of any vehicle. Also their effluents are released high in the air where they are readily dispersed.

The following table shows the pollutant yields for various vehicle engine systems, based on using the same quantity of fuel.
The comparative data shown suggest that the technology of the high temperature burner used in modern aircraft if applied to automobiles significantly reduces exhaust concentration and toxicity. The aircraft turbine, as compared with the automobile engine, produces less than 50% of the energy released into the air. If, on the other hand, the movement of goods and people has become a critical issue, then systems where the causes of cleaner air are best served by fostering technologies which raises the productivity of use and transport systems and that will be less of less will be needed. Simultaneously, improvements to power sources can be made which will reduce the release and products in relation to the quantity of fuel consumed.

**The SST as a cause of unwanted weather modification.**

In the last five years or so, the attitude of an outspoken public segment toward the environment has emerged to challenge the idea of the environment as an impenetrable good, and to contort that the environment is a delicate and fragile structure that man’s technology threatens to shatter. There are cases where man has unwittingly or callously damaged ecological balances. The interdependence of dwindling wild-life shows the possibilities. The inclusion of SST’s into Florida ( Purposeful ); the rabbit plague in Australia (accidental); the proliferation of the prickly pear cactus in city limits (intentional); the predation of the mackerel fish in the Great Lakes; all serve warning of the serious consequences of unerring development with sensitive aspects of ecological balances.

Accordingly, the public has been led to the conclusion that many important technologies and the environmental offer the possibility of disaster. They stress the need for proper management of “Spaceport Earth.”

**Elimination of urban air pollution.**

Congestion in cities results in local concentration of industry, households, electric power stations, and transportation systems. Local microclimates differ widely; some of these areas contain large quantities of effluents produced locally. Still other urban areas trail a wide band of polluted air downwind. The central city is particularly prone to fog and smog, and say, “a free good,” that can accept limitless pollution and quickly restore itself by rain and wind. However, as cities have grown in size and in the volume of pollutants they generate, the self-purification capacity is sometimes exceeded and local smog conditions result.

It is not evident that the airplane, whether subsonic or supersonic, is a significant contributor to air pollution over American cities, or in America. The probable modes of air pollution caused by aircraft: emergency dumping of fuel, soot trails from combustion, smoke, ice clouds from slushy coolant injection on take-off, and even normal operation at busy airports during conditions of heavy traffic, may increase. Some of this effluent is preventable by proper regulation. Location of airports warrants closer scrutiny. Increased fuel consumption per seat mile declines with increasing size of aircraft.

Another consideration is the relationship between size and speed of an aircraft (or any vehicle) may move through the air, the less the quantity of effluent per mile traversed.

**EXCEPTIONS OF REMARKS**

In simplest terms, if there could be less transportation, then the machines used for transportation would consume less fuel, and therefore would produce fewer emissions of fuel consumed. The amount of fuel required per hp/hr is also reduced by more than 50%.

But size and speed of aircraft can contribute significantly to reduced pollution. As the tables in the preceding subsection demonstrate, fuel consumption per seat mile declines with increasing size of aircraft.

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March 9, 1971

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Footnotes at end of article.
causes, effects, and rates of global atmospheric pollution. One way is to compare the contaminants released by human activity with the natural output of a gas. If, on a yearly basis, a gas released into the atmosphere maintains its concentration at a certain level, it is assumed that this gas is in a state of equilibrium with its sources and sinks. Carbon dioxide is one of these gases. It is released into the atmosphere by the burning of fossil fuels, and it is absorbed by the oceans. If the amount of carbon dioxide entering the atmosphere remains constant, it follows that the amount of carbon dioxide leaving the atmosphere must also remain constant.

Another criterion is the relationship between the quantitative effect of some specific pollutant and a particular source or sink of the pollutant. As an example, the burning of fossil fuels releases an amount of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere that is quite large, but this is not a criterion of importance in the study of the carbon cycle. This is because the amount of carbon dioxide released by the burning of fossil fuels is small compared to the amount of carbon dioxide released by natural processes. However, the burning of fossil fuels is a major source of the anthropogenic carbon dioxide, which is the carbon dioxide that is not part of the natural cycle. Therefore, the burning of fossil fuels is a major source of carbon dioxide, and it is important to study the effects of this source.

The effects of increasing atmospheric carbon dioxide are discussed in the following sections.

### Man's use of oxygen vs. the atmospheric oxygen supply

Oxygen accounts for 20.95% of the total atmospheric mass, and weighs about 1.3 x 10^19 gms. The recoverable fossil fuel reserves total 2.97 x 10^21 tons. If man were to burn all of this fuel, the total re- combination of carbon dioxide and oxygen would be sufficient to supply the available atmospheric oxygen. The percentage of oxygen in the atmosphere would be reduced from 20.95% to 20.34%. This concentration of oxygen is not available for other uses, and it reduces by an amount six times greater than this when one travels from Washington, D.C., to Denver, Colorado, due to the lower air pressure in Denver. Man is therefore incapable of exhausting, or even significantly reducing his oxygen supply.

As to the role of plant life in sustaining this reservoir, Wallace Broecker offers the following comment:

"The algal, square meter of earth surface is covered by 60,000 miles of oxygen gas. Plants live in both the ocean and on land. In one year about 8 metric tons of oxygen per square meter of earth surface. Animals and bacteria destroy virtually all of this photosynthetic oxygen, but, as they enter the sediments of the ocean as a measure of the amount of the photosynthetic product preserved each year we find it is about 8 x 10^14 mole of carbon per square meter per year. Thus, animals and bacteria are destroying all but 4 parts in 10,000 of the oxygen generated each year. The net annual oxygen production corresponds to about 1 part in 15 million of the oxygen present in the atmosphere. In all likelihood even this small amount is nearly all destroyed by the oxidation of the reduced carbon, iron, and sulfur being exposed each year to the atmosphere. If the net amount of oxygen in our atmosphere is exceedingly well buffered and virtually unchangeable, then the short time scale (that is, 100 to 1000 years).

"Man has recovered altogether about 10^15 moles of fossil carbon from the Earth's sedimentary reservoir, as much as this amount has been combusted as a source of energy. The carbon dioxide produced as a by-product of this process is equal in amount to 18 percent of the carbon dioxide contained in our atmosphere. Roughly 2 moles of atmospheric oxygen are consumed to produce each mole of this carbon dioxide from its fossil fuel source. By so doing we have used up only 7 out of 10,000 oxygen molecules available to us. If we continue to burn chemical fuels at our currently accelerating rate (5 percent per year), in the year 2000 we shall have consumed only about 0.2 percent of the available oxygen (20 molecules in every 10,000). By the time our recoverable fossil fuel reserves have been used up, we would use less than 3 percent of the available oxygen. Clearly a general depredation of the atmosphere oxygen supply is not possible in the foreseeable future."

### The effects of increasing atmospheric carbon dioxide

When carbon dioxide (CO₂) is released as a combustion product, it is distributed throughout the entire atmosphere. Where it is concentrated, it affects the rate at which it is dispersed. It is absorbed by the ocean and by plants and other life, and part remains in the air. The division of CO₂ among these three reservoirs is a fairly constant ratio. Its distribution and absorption are, therefore, to be a function of the atmospheric concentration of CO₂, which is increased by 1.36 percent per year.

The effects of increasing atmospheric CO₂ concentration are discussed in the following sections.

### Carbon Dioxide and the Weather; the "Greenhouse Effect"

In the quest for understanding of the mechanisms of the climate and the weather, meteorologists sometimes separate out one constituent and explore theoretically the consequences of an increase or decrease in its proportion to the other ingredients of the atmosphere. This has been done with carbon dioxide (CO₂). One conclusion of the exercise is that an increase in the CO₂ content of the atmosphere sets in motion a complex process that results in the heating up of the lower atmosphere or "troposphere". This is called the "Greenhouse Effect". The hypothesis is described in the SCSEP report in the form of a conclusion as follows:

Radiative equilibrium computations, including a convective adjustment, suggest that an increase of 18 percent in the carbon dioxide concentration by the year 2000 ** would result in an increase of the surface temperature of the earth by 0.5° to 1° C. at 20
to 25 km; a doubling of a carbon dioxide concentration over the present level would result in an average temperature of about 2°C, and a 2° to 4° decrease in the stratosphere at the same level.

However, the study follows this comment immediately with the following warning, that other factors complicate the calculation and thereby doubt sufficient to destroy the hypothesis. We would like to emphasize (said the report) that we cannot neglect the important interacting dynamics and thermodynamics of the atmosphere, as well as the long-range history of climate and thermodynamics of the atmosphere, as well as the long-range history of climate and thermodynamics of the atmosphere, as well as the long-range history of climate and thermodynamics of the atmosphere, as well as the long-range history of climate and thermodynamics of the atmosphere, as well as the long-range history of climate and thermodynamics of the atmosphere.

This neglect makes the computed temperature changes very uncertain. Carbon dioxide, like water vapor, absorbs infrared radiation. Heat from the sun or heat reflected from the earth can pass through the oxygen and nitrogen in the atmosphere without being absorbed, hence without warming these transparent gases. But both carbon dioxide and water vapor are opaque to infrared, absorb this heat, and cause the atmosphere to warm up. They differ sharply in the range of their properties that absorb infrared energy and in the amount of heat they can retain. The concentration of CO₂ in the atmosphere today is greatly above a level that is fairly constant despite changes in air temperature, while water vapor content can hold much more water vapor than cold air can. Therefore the ratio of CO₂ to water vapor can give some indication of air temperature, hence with latitude and with altitude.

Water serves as a heat pump both to air masses and to differentially heated areas of the earth. As water droplets change into water vapor (a gas) energy is absorbed. When it changes to a cooler point in the atmosphere, the water vapor condenses and releases this energy. The energy is then radiated equally in all directions, about half into space. The condensate, as a cloud, also reflects downward the heat energy radiated upward from the earth and reflects upward the incoming solar energy. The cloud may then descend as rain or it may evaporate, thereby absorbing more energy which can then be carried to still another point.

Seventy percent of the earth's surface is water and most of the earth's weather is produced by the evaporation- condensation of water. There is no controversy over this role of water.

The basic role of CO₂ in the atmosphere is similarly undisputed, although its heat absorbing and re-radiating capability. However, the effect of this action is much harder to measure and understand. A change in the action of CO₂ may be confounded with other and larger heating and cooling mechanisms. It should also be noted that the net energy absorbed by the earth is related more to the reflectivity of the earth than to air temperature.

Heat absorbed by molecules in the atmosphere is re-radiated, not stored. The radiation is emitted in every direction and part of it is returned back into space. Both CO₂ and water vapor produce similar effects in absorbing and re-radiating heat and warming of the air.

There is no controversy over the role of water in the atmosphere. Scientists suggest that a doubling of CO₂ in the atmosphere could cause a permanent cover of high clouds, which would cause a permanent cover of high clouds, which would cause a permanent cover of high clouds, which would cause a permanent cover of high clouds, which would cause a permanent cover of high clouds, which would cause a permanent cover of high clouds.

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Heat absorbed by molecules in the atmosphere is re-radiated, not stored. The radiation is emitted in every direction and part of it is returned back into space. Both CO₂ and water vapor produce similar effects in absorbing and re-radiating heat and warming of the air.

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This is not the same as claiming that a doubling of CO₂ could cause a permanent cover of high clouds. It is not the same as claiming that a doubling of CO₂ could cause a permanent cover of high clouds. It is not the same as claiming that a doubling of CO₂ could cause a permanent cover of high clouds. It is not the same as claiming that a doubling of CO₂ could cause a permanent cover of high clouds. It is not the same as claiming that a doubling of CO₂ could cause a permanent cover of high clouds.

The concentration profile of CO₂ is important to the carbon cycle. CO₂ is emitted by human activities and absorbed by plants. This process is important for the regulation of CO₂ levels in the atmosphere.

The concentration profile of CO₂ in the atmosphere is determined by a combination of factors, including the rate of emission from human activities, the rate of absorption by plants, and the rate of exchange with the oceans. The concentration profile of CO₂ has increased significantly in recent decades, primarily due to the burning of fossil fuels.

The concentration profile of CO₂ is important for understanding the effects of climate change. CO₂ is a greenhouse gas, and the increase in its concentration is contributing to global warming.

Preliminary results from a new study suggest that the concentration profile of CO₂ in the atmosphere is changing more rapidly than expected. This could have significant implications for our understanding of climate change and the actions we need to take to mitigate its effects.

The concentration profile of CO₂ in the atmosphere is an important indicator of the health of the planet. It is a key metric for understanding the progress of climate change and the effectiveness of our efforts to address it.

The concentration profile of CO₂ in the atmosphere is a critical data point for monitoring the progress of climate change. It allows scientists to track the rate of change and to assess the effectiveness of mitigation efforts.

The concentration profile of CO₂ in the atmosphere is a critical parameter for modeling climate change. It is used in climate models to calculate the future concentration of CO₂ and to predict the impacts of climate change.

The concentration profile of CO₂ in the atmosphere is a key factor in determining the climate. It affects the way the atmosphere absorbs and emits heat, which in turn affects global temperatures.

The concentration profile of CO₂ in the atmosphere is a crucial factor in understanding the impacts of climate change. It allows scientists to track the rate of change and to assess the potential consequences for human societies and ecosystems.

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TABLE 10.—Fuel consumption: powerplants, automobiles, and aircraft

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source and hydrocarbon fuel burned, millions of tons</th>
<th>Powerplants</th>
<th>Automobiles</th>
<th>Aircraft</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>447</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From each pound of fuel burned produces about 1.5 lb. of water, the burning of 692 million tons of hydrocarbon fuels would produce approximately 1 billion tons of water. This water, ejected as vapor, becomes a factor in the equilibrium of water absorbed or released by the environment. The average moisture content of the air weighs approximately 180 trillion tons. If the water vapor in the atmospheric air generated in a year by the sources cited could be added to the air in a single second, it would add 1 part in 100,000 to the water normally found in the atmosphere.

A projected fleet of SST’s would transfer a relatively unused part of the Earth’s atmosphere, the stratosphere, which is not used by conventional jet transport. The stratosphere is a region of the atmosphere at some 2 million miles. The water would rise to about 2.5 billion cubic miles. The ratio of the water produced by fuel consumption of the fleet of SST’s to the water normal to the air would be only 1 part in 1 billion. However, the water in the atmosphere is concentrated in the warmer and moister regions near the Earth’s surface. The 200,000 tons or so of water expelled by an SST fleet would be ejected over a flight path of some three million square miles. The water would therefore disperse at the rate of about 200 pounds per mile.

If the relative humidity happened to be near 100 percent in a particular section of the stratosphere, a contrail could form. It would exist until it was dispersed into a volume of somewhat dryer air and then, as water vapor, it would become invisible. However, the stratosphere is normally dry, with only 3 to 4 percent of relative humidity. Accordingly, it is highly unlikely that such a contrail could form.

The diffusion of the water vapor behind the SSTs is rapid and continues until equilibrium with the surrounding air is achieved. Water vapor, like CO₂, absorbs infrared energy from the radiation spectrum of the sun. If one attempts to measure the change in radiation intensity on a square foot of Earth’s surface within about two minutes after the fly-over, he will be seeking a change in sunlight resulting from the light penetrating an expanding band of water vapor which by that time would have merged with the wingtip vortices. These two rotating tubes of air would have a total cross section of about 200,000 square feet.

The SST requires two seconds to fly a mile. Therefore, two minutes after passage the expanding cloud would occupy a volume of a billion cubic feet of air per mile. Measuring solar energy intensity on a square foot area directly behind one of the tubes (about 350 ft. in diameter), existing at this instant would require detecting changes associated with the filtering efficiency of 2000 parts per million (if weighed as water). Measurement would be most uncertain, if possible at all.

**Gradual accumulation of water in the stratosphere**

However small the daily effect may be, the question needs to be considered as to whether it could create a new environmental equilibrium. The output of this process has been frequently referred to as a "wastewater" problem.

**Stability of the ozone layer**

The possibility has been raised that the water released by the SST could cause a decrease in the water content of the ozone layer, which is about 80,000 ft. above sea level (4 miles above the cruise altitude of the SST). Over any given point on Earth, seasonal variations in O₃ (ozone) concentration average about 25%. Daily fluctuations over any point on Earth are at least 10% on a given day. Over a year’s time the ozone concentration above a single point would therefore be reduced by a third. Such a decrease in ozone, which absorbs ultraviolet radiation reading at the earth’s surface on a "clear" day varies even more with latitude, the polar regions having double the average concentration of the tropical areas.

However, over the past five years, the steady state water content of the stratosphere has been reduced by some hundred million tons. The issue included the "worst case" assumption of an 18 month cycle for all materials deposited by the SST. For any effect could be detected, the effect would be well within the daily variation and would be of no significance. The Earth’s ozone layer is not dry because it lacks exposure to water vapor. It maintains a state of low humidity due to natural mechanisms. Similarly, there is no evidence that stratosphere states or other climatic conditions are dependent on a "critical" or "desire" balance of forces. To the contrary, much evidence exists (see section on particulates and volcanic action) that the stratosphere as well as the ozone layer (and indeed the entire climate) remain stable despite inclusions of water and other materials in quantities vastly beyond the remotest possible effect. In fact, the amount of water inserted by the “standard fleet” of 500 SSTs is trivial compared to the water in and out of the stratosphere each day.

**Effects on climate of solid particles from SST effluent in the stratosphere**

A solid particle is opaque to most of the spectrum of solar radiation. Solar energy impinging on the particle is partly reflected and partly absorbed by the particle as heat. The rate at which a particle re-radiating (emitting) omnidirectionally and by convection with surrounding air molecules. In other words, the solar energy on the particle is largely lost to the earth’s surface but can contribute a warming effect to the surrounding air molecules. When the hypothesis is rejected by this observation is that particulate matter ejected into the stratosphere from SSTs might become an aerosol and scatter solar energy. The stratosphere might then absorb so much of the sun’s warmth that the lower atmosphere had a lower equilibrium temperature over or at least experience undesirable climatic alteration.

The conclusion of the discussion is that any as yet unproven hypothesis. Reasons for the conclusion are: 1) that cosmic dust constantly falling into the atmos-
pelled from any conceivable fleet of SST’s, and it has been calculated that even a single event, the thermal mechanism of water vapor—clouds—rain is much more influential in directing or altering the effects of solar flux than dust could possibly be. Any weather satellite photograph will show how rapidly the effects of such high-altitude clouds can be dispersed by the high reflective clouds at all times.

Cosmic dust varies in rate of fall from season to season and year to year. This effect on solar radiation is difficult to calculate. The earth has experienced great volcanic eruptions which have sent enormous quantities of dust aloft but the climatic effects, while validated by the theory of the cooling effect, do so only to the extent of a few degrees and for a year or two.

In short, the stabilizing effect of atmospheric water has demonstrably operated to refute the hypothesis of particulate effects on weather, under repeated and sustained conditions vastly more severe than the SST or any fleet of SST’s could create.

**Magnitude of SST particulate effluent**

The General Electric Co., manufacturer of the SST engines, estimates that carbon particles from the SST engine will total five pounds per engine per hour. The total carbon emission (30 lbs./hr./plane) would be dispersed over a distance of about 1800 miles. The highest concentration, which is also at an hour after passage of the aircraft through a calm section of the sky, Most of the exhaust is drawn into the tip vortices formed by the wing. The lift generated by the wing imparts momentum to the air. The energetic air departs from each wing tip as an expanding air mass. The two air masses rotate in opposite directions and horizontally to the ground. They depart horizontally to the ground. They depart from each other. In calm air they will eventually stagnate below and to either side of the flight path. The final diameter of the becalmed horizontal columns throughout which the carbon has been mixed would be a few thousand feet across.

All the carbon emitted is contained within these two air columns, each will contain 10 lbs. in an hour’s flight. Based on a maximum of 1000 ft./min. the smoke will have a volume of 7 x 10^9 cu. ft. through which 19 lbs. of carbon is dispersed, or 7 x 10^9 cu. ft. per lb. of carbon. Such a detection is not easily done.

Moreover, the material is chemically inert.

The smaller the particle, the slower it will settle. Small airborne carbon aerosol becomes much more sensitive to gravitational forces become less and less important compared with convective air movements. However, small particles of extreme fineness become responsive to the random movement of air molecules. The gravitational pull of the tiny particle mass is so trivial relative to the forces in the surrounding air that the particle becomes entrained, its greater density showing only as a small and fading bias in the general movement.

Unless a stratospheric particle becomes large enough to settle before reaching the surface, it will remain in the atmosphere. The size of a particle large enough to settle before reaching the surface is typically larger than the radius of the nucleus.

A “normal” fleet of 500 SST’s, operating ten hours per day, would release a total of 65 tons of carbon per day. If an average stay time of 18 months is assumed for particulate matter in the stratosphere, the ready state density of the carbon following an 18 month build-up is of interest. Based on an average residence time of 18 months, the carbon particles would reach a peak concentration of 500 tons and stabilize at that level. (550 days times 50 tons per day equals 27,500 tons.)

The S.C.E.P. results for particulate carbon is this considerably larger figure for “particulate” combustion products. The entire stratospheric region, the plane of the Sun’s disc, could be involved. Such a figure is of course an overestimate and the exact value will depend on the number and mass of each particle, the pollutant released by each engine, the S.C.E.P. assumptions as to sulfur emission products must be considered to represent a “worst case” treatment of the problem. Thus, accepting these generous estimates and considering, as was done, all sulfur emissions as “particulate”, and with a cycle time of 18 months (to reach the stable peak level) the peak concentration of sulfur products would reach 181,500 tons and the carbon total would be a combined total of 209,000 tons of “particles”. This sounds like quite a lot of dust to be scattered along the flight path. However, it is considerably less than the dust already there.

**Comparison of SST particles with cosmic dust**

The dust from space, mostly particles ranging in size from a millionth of a micron to several microns, joins the earth’s atmosphere in dependably steady and surprisingly high quantities. The micro size of the particles causes them to fall slowly, like the dust from volcanic eruptions.

The infiltration of meteoric material does not occur at a constant rate but is relatively uniform if compared with volcanic particles. It is a relatively uniform dispersion to which volcanic material must be considered an occasional, albeit huge, addition.

The quantity of dust received from space has proved difficult to measure and calculations of the total vary through several orders of magnitude. The assumption that a series of measurements taken in one part of the world during a given time period can be generalized to the entire globe is probably not justifiable. Retrieval and reproduction of detection methods seem more effective than others. Among the more complex of these are the optical and particle counting technology employed on satellites. Although the satellites remove all doubt that the materials detected are cosmic and not of terrestrial origin, interpretation of the sensor signals has introduced new uncertainties.

Estimates of the daily accumulation of cosmic dust now vary through five orders of magnitude (from 100 tons per day to 10 million tons per day).

Rosen and Ney obtained results in the mid-range of this variation:

The particle flux with the photo-electric particle counter is about 4 x 10^4 sec^-1 for diameters between 0.5 and 2.0 μm. This implies a mass flux of about 4 x 10^10 metric tons per year over the earth.

Studies on solar flux evaluated quantities were summarized by T. Grjebine.

According to a research summary by Grjebine, published in 1969, several years after the eruption of Mt. Agung, the following conditions were noted:

1. Prior to the eruption, particulate sampling by T. Grjebine showed a concentration of 12 parts per billion.
2. In 1969, several years after the eruption, Oddie et al. measured 360 parts per billion.

The point insertion of volcanic action can, of course, cause vast increases in stratospheric dust concentrations. Rainfall washing out of stratospheric dust and none were noted. In the Agung eruption, a quantity of particulate matter was ejected into the stratosphere in concentration about comparable to that given in the “worst case” analysis by the S.C.E.P. study which injected enough material to cause a detectable rise in stratospheric temperature along the flight path during which time (50 days) absolutely natural atmospheric movement along the flight path would be expected to occur.

These conditions are quite impossible. For example, a (very reasonable) velocity of the upper air of no more than 1/6 mile per hour would prevent the residue jet of one flight with mixing with that of the next. Air movement in the stratosphere varies from 25 m. per hour to sev­ eral hundred m. per hour. Considering the problem of particulate concentrations resulting from repeated use of regular routes, made a comparison with the band-like dispersion of cosmic dust looks like quite a lot of dust to be scattered along the flight path.

The amount of energy required to heat this dust and all the air containing it would be about 0.0008 of the solar flux for each degree rise in temperature. Such an absorption of energy was not great enough to cause measurable effects at lower altitudes. The energy was not enough to cause a detectable increase in temperature.

Volcanic dust has been held responsible for several more recent dips in world temperatures, such as the mild tempera...
With respect to the weather modification aspects of the SST, it might serve a useful purpose to consider how difficult it has been for man to achieve any results when he was trying to. Weather modification is difficult, precisely because the mechanisms that determine the weather and the climate are so large that they appear to be at a scale. They have a built-in stability that is extremely difficult to alter.

Evaluation of the possibility of unintended modification should perhaps be examined by those scientists seeking to achieve purposeful modification. It has not yet occurred, apparently, to those assessing the environmental impacts of the SST to consider that the combined effects of all SST effluents discharged along the airplanes in the temperate zones could establish a permanent pattern of rainfall along these itineraries. Not that this is very probable, but it is so less than some of the apprehensions that have been expressed.

One approach to the further assessment of the weather modification potentials of the SST may turn on the aspect of the atmosphere that is most sensitive and at the same time the most dynamic, for a searching functional analysis of the water balance. It is well established that interactions based on this balance control most weather and climate variations. It is also the conclusion of those engaged in the study of purposeful weather modification that the manipulation of the air-water balance is the best hope of achieving measurable results with least expenditure of effort. The results to date on this effort are too meager to permit them to be the least unhopeful. Therefore, examination of the potential SST effects on weather and climate in systematic ergastic relationship to efforts at purposeful modification, might help to put the issue to rest. To a greater or lesser extent all such issues, this one cannot be completely disposed of. It is not possible to prove a negative—only to indicate its order of probability. The present state of the knowledge is that weather and climate effects of the SST thus far investigated turn out to be trivial.

vm. casuistry and conclusions

This paper has reviewed the technological evolution of the commercial airliner from the 1920s to the present day, to provide a basis for the evaluation of the technology of the proposed supersonic transport.

In tracing this history, it became evident that much of the earlier aircraft were heavily dependent on military-sponsored development. There was, in fact, a dependency on military to the extent that the goals of military developments were not necessarily compatible with the requirements of competitive commercial vehicles.

The deviation in military vs. civilian requirements widened with time, resulting in a decrease of technology useful to the civil sector as aeronautics began to develop at a rate too slow to satisfy rising domestic and international requirements.

The lag in civil aeronautics resulted in an important issue: whether or not the development of commercial aeronautics should become a direct function of the Federal Government—this involves the functional in indirect support (funding military aeronautics and waiting for the technology to diffuse in industry). The long time lag did not prove a serious obstacle to the development of powerplants appropriate for commercial jet airliners since a strong historical relationship of Federal participation in the encouragement of transportation facilties, domicile, etc is not the absence of a specific function that has proved acceptable in the past and warrants consideration for the future. SSTs and the like are another viable technology itself. A study by the National Academy of Sciences was cited to suggest that in the future technology cannot either be turned loose to proceed untrammeled, nor constrained by arbitrary measures for regulating its development. Current-day technology are acknowledged. The importance of screening and assessing further innovations, the subject of this entire study, is that the SST appears to be a balanced compromise between these two extremes. It calls for systematic and thorough evaluation of the SST, so that it may be subjected to technological innovation, while detecting and correcting the undesirable, second-order consequences. The frights of technological imperfections can be expected to be voiced throughout the development of the SST. The SST is a technology that, in many ways, is with forthrightly and factually as they appear.

Review of economic aspects of the supersonic SST

Attention was focused on the productivity of commercial aircraft as the primary consideration in the development of competitive transport systems. Productivity is a factor of speed and carrying capacity, while the requirements of maintenance and "down-time" produce a negative impact. Another major increment of innovation in design that increased the positive factors or reduced the negative factors producing adequate and increased efficiency of the airlines. Up to about 1968, these innovations had been frequent enough to keep air fares about constant, and waiting for the technology to catch up with the face of a general inflation of the economy.

Specifically, each generation of airliners achieved higher levels of speed, and larger payloads; downtime was reduced by the improved engineering of the reciprocating engines, and even more by the advent of the turboprop engine.

On the negative side, the trend to larger aircraft did not result in the expected changes to improve the load factor. The problem they encountered was that competing airlines running large aircraft had a greater dollar overhead, and thereby a higher cost of the failure to do this. The long-term productivity will be for trans-oceanic flights. It is claimed that the SST retains its gains in productivity on such flights, even if they originate in Chicago or perhaps St. Louis, and fly subsonically over land.

The international financial considerations of the SST center on the comparative advantage of selling American-produced aircraft to foreign airlines which do not accept the supersonic SST for use in American-owned airlines. Stated in simple terms, as a pure case, the advantage for the United States appears to be plus of some $1 billion per year for the successful production of the Boeing SST, if the market analyses are reasonably correct. The primary reason for this advantage over others is that the SST complies with the flow of value. Another uncertainty is as to the probability of economic development of SSTs in the future. This success is called into question by the fact that the foreign SSTs are smaller and slower and do not accept the same SST technology, which are scheduled for earlier entry into service.

One critically important variable in mar-
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ketig is airport accessibility and congestion. Although the problem is general to all commercial aircraft, the congestion and suffers acutely by being worse with time. The SST schedule calls for its introduction in eight years. With no change in the schedule, the SST stands a very good chance to be introduced at a time when the number of passengers carried is no longer governed by market forces but has become fixed due to system limitations.

Through the years, plans to relieve the bottleneck have remained on paper. The nature of the problem requires that planning be national (or at least interstate), but the implementation requires local and county, community, coordinate action of Federal-State-local jurisdictions has proved difficult.

The more promising plans to relieve terminal congestion propose to make use of VTOL/STOL aircraft linking large terminals with smaller and dispersed satellite terminals. This scheme provides directly for the short-haul passenger, the largest single component of air passenger service. By providing for point-to-point travel for the short-haul passenger, the system would alleviate the pressure of passengers and aircraft at the large central hubs, and at the cost of terminal operation. If some arrangement of this kind is not incorporated in the U.S. air transportation system, the SST will jeopardize the marketability not only of the SST but of all other larger airliners.

The various issues of noise from the SST

The question of noise, of course, an environmental issue. However, it differs in character from other environmental insults in that it is of brief duration and hence localized in relation to the aircraft that generates it.

Noise from the SST is of five types: (1) the sonic boom, generated when the aircraft moves through the air at supersonic speed at a constant altitude; (2) the engine noise while the aircraft is motionless, taking off, or landing; (3) the side-line noise while the aircraft is moving down the runway or taking off (up to one mile from the end of the runway); (4) the departure noise, from one mile past the end of the runway until it gains cruising altitude and reduces power to cruise level, and (5) the approach noise as the aircraft approaches the field and takes off.

The question of sonic boom has presumably been disposed of for the time being by the answer that the boom will only occur geographically over populated land. This issue has raised considerable controversy because of the fact that the boom is generated by supersonic jets flying supersonically at lower altitudes.

Engine noise on the ground when take-off does not appear to be a significant factor. During this phase, engines of the SST can run as quietly as those of any other aircraft. Only enough power is required to move the aircraft slowly.

Engine noise while the aircraft is moving down the runway in the range of 13,000 feet to a maximum of 40,000 feet presents the principal problem for designers of aircraft and engines of the SST. Without adequate control of the noise generated during this phase is excessive. However, the Boeing Company has offered assurances that it is working on the problem, and its noise level during this phase will be brought within limits judged acceptable for new subsonic aircraft (FAR 36). Similar assurances are offered by the designers of the SST, but more work must be done.

Concorde will comply with all pertinent noise regulations extant at the time it appears on the market.

These assurances, of course, do not completely dispose of the issue. It remains to be seen whether the SST will be accepted by the public, on their promise, or whether they will seek an exception or interim adjustment at a later date. On the other hand, the point is made that airports are often located in areas remote from urban centers, with much open space in between and surrounding. Subsequently, the dominant factor is of brief duration and hence localized.

Another category of asserted environmental effects of the SST have come under consideration. One set involves the consequences of its operation as a result of the basic assumptions that the SST will be an important element in the urban/suburban air environment. Public dissatisfaction with deteriorating conditions of noise, air pollution, and other nuisances, particularly matter, smog, and other noxious gases, has been exacerbated by the prospect of effluents from the big, high-powered engines of the SST.

It is incontrovertible that turbojet aircraft, with their high power-to-weight ratios add their effluents to the air pollution around airports. It is not evident that they contribute a significant fraction to the effluent handled in large cities, with the possible exception of infrequent, unintended effects such as fuel dumping and badly adjusted engines. The economics of SST operation and the management dictate that these should be avoided.

The questions to be resolved in the categories of environmental effects relate to the local geographical, meteorological, and urbanized circumstances rather than to the geographical, meteorological, and environ­mental conditions in the local environment to consider such matters as:

- the nature of local air movement and its capacity to diffuse effluents;
- the local tendency toward inversion layers in the atmosphere that obstruct upward diffu­sion of SST effluents;
- the traffic density at airports;
- the load of pollutants from other sources; and
- the pollution of the airport and depart­ment lanes from housing.

As a general proposition, it rests with the local metropolitan area to insist upon a tolerable level of pollution from the air to all sources, including aircraft. Presumably, the designers of aircraft and engines are mindful that failure to maintain progress toward cleaner engine effluents would invite the risk of costly regulatory inhibitions at airports promulgated for high levels of pollution.

The macro-environmental issues of the SST

Another category of asserted environmental effects of the SST encompasses global or climatic consequences for the earth. The list of allegations includes an increased radiation from the SST, a possible adverse second-order consequences in this area.

The micro-environmental effects of the SST contribute to other effluents generated by man’s technology, while the macro-effect of the SST should be measured relative to the pollution resulting from other scale natural phenomena.

One allegation is that the big engines of the SST will be disproporionately to the consumption of atmospheric oxygen. This issue is not impressive, however, in view of the fact that the absorption of infrared radiation from the O2 and CO2 molecules would cause a rise in the temperature of the stratosphere (that part of the atmosphere below about 40,000 feet altitude). However, this “greenhouse effect” has not been confirmed in recent minor changes in atmospheric CO2. Moreover, mankind’s waste products in the atmosphere that are more potent in their effects than is the constituent of CO2 and minor changes in it.

Still another area would be particulate matter of the SST effluent might reach so high a density as to enable the particles to absorb enough solar radiation to cause the troposphere and the ground beneath to cool. An examination of the quantity of particulate matter that might be generated by the SST (a fleet of 500 on regularly scheduled service) shows that it does indeed reach the impressive figure of 200,000 to 300,000 tons of “smoke” assumption before stabilizing. (At that point, losses of particles would equal gains.) In any case, the cold smoke of cosmic dust is estimated to be much larger than this. Measurements of the fall of cosmic dust, taken at different times and places, show quantities which vary through three orders of magnitude, the smallest of which is much larger than the stabilized quantity from the SST fleet under a “worst case” assumption.

Another basis of comparison is the climatic effects of the SST. The very large increase in solar radiative momentum injected into the stratosphere by major volcanic eruptions in recent history, the mass of solar energy in question, that the absorption of solar radiation by water vapor would warm the upper atmosphere, perhaps on a minor scale. Consequently, the colding of the Earth’s surface. An opposite effect resulting in the cooling of the upper atmosphere would be the cooling due to the pollution of the stratosphere so as to cool it and also the Earth’s surface. An opposite effect resulting in the cooling of the lower atmosphere would be the cooling due to the pollution of the stratosphere so as to cool it and also the Earth's surface. An opposite effect resulting in the cooling of the upper atmosphere would be the cooling due to the pollution of the stratosphere so as to cool the Earth’s surface. An opposite effect resulting in the cooling of the upper atmosphere would be the cooling due to the pollution of the stratosphere so as to cool the Earth’s surface.

Certainly it is true that the water balance in the atmosphere is the most crucial of all environmental questions, for the atmosphere is the medium for exchange between earth's surface and the atmosphere. It is also the most variable. The circulation of water over the earth is influenced by the heat of the sun, the wind, and the rain. The evaporation of water from the oceans and the condensation of water in the atmosphere are the main sources of water for the world's supply. The evaporation of water from the oceans and the condensation of water in the atmosphere are the main sources of water for the world's supply. The evaporation of water from the oceans and the condensation of water in the atmosphere are the main sources of water for the world's supply. The evaporation of water from the oceans and the condensation of water in the atmosphere are the main sources of water for the world's supply.
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Analysis of all apparent factors of SST water discharge suggests that the quantity of water emitted from the stratosphere is very low; normally on the order of 2 to 3 percent relative humidity. It is for this reason that high-flying supersonic jets do not leave contrails. The supersonic Mach number 1.5 has a significant effect on water vapor, which condenses at 11°C on rare occasions in the polar regions where solar radiation is least significant as a factor of climate. Moreover, the quantity of water emitted per mile by a supersonic aircraft would be so small that once it underwent the disposal of water droplets, there would be no perceptible net gain in the passage of the aircraft; it would amount to only .0024 ounces of vapor per square foot of surface area.

The final question is: does this water vapor remain in the stratosphere, to be added to by each successive passage of other SSTs? On the basis of the evidence of what happens to the water vapor and droplets injected into the stratosphere by thunderstorms (0.7¢ of the some 5,000 storms that occur daily around the earth inject some 76 million tons of water into the stratosphere), it appears that the water content of the stratosphere stabilizes at a low level with surplus rejected downward. Over the past few years, the average water content of the stratosphere has risen from 7.9 to 10 ppm. This increase is from 5 to 10 times as great as the maximum possible from a fleet of SSTs. The increased water vapor content has no detectable effects on climate or radiation. What has caused this change in water vapor content is not known. One possibility is that the observed increase can be accounted for by errors in measurement. It would be desirable that periodic measurements be made so that if any significant trend can be established, it can be properly analyzed and interpreted.

Receptacle

Ultimately, the issues of the SST, as with all assessments of technology, depend upon political attitudes and values rather than on the technical issues of the innovation itself. How important is air transportation for the national welfare? How important is the short-rangeerosion of the export potential? What are the limits of U.S. International Influence? Is technological advance to be arrested, whatever the consequences?

There are many uncertainties: as to the verity of the competition from foreign SST developments; as to whether the Boeing SST will produce the economic gains claimed for it; as to the extent of engineering risk this vehicle represents; and as to whether it can stand alone, without other supporting elements of a complete system of air transportation. Many of the defects of present air transportation have nothing to do with air speed or vehicle productivity; the ground sector. Anything beyond the ground sector is generally conceded to have been neglected.

The environmental aspects of the SST, and whether any such aspects have received the bulk of attention is yet, upon analysis, most of these postulated effects are found to be trivial. Of course, some environmental uncertainties remain. As to these uncertainties, it has been pointed out several times, earlier in this study, that it is impossible to determine a priori whether a new technology will be generally accepted or rejected.

But the greater number of uncertainties appear to lie in the field of economics. It is not possible to receive the actual experience with the product in use. Much hinges on the quality of engineering improvements that have been made, and how well the system of which it is conceived can be conceived as a component. Much hinges also upon the quality of management of the airline service and its competition. Of course, these are general considerations and are therefore imponderables beyond the scope of the present study.

FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid., pages 2-3.

3. Ibid., page 15.

4. Numerous claims were made by World War II pilots that they had broken the sonic barrier with their propeller-driven aircraft in full power dives from high altitude. Speeds as high as 800 mph, sometimes accompanied by sonic booms, were reported. However, during World War II, methods were not available for measuring accurately the speed of diving aircraft. Although these claims seemed plausible at the time, knowledge of compressibility and shock wave effects was so limited, no detectable effects on climate or radiation. What has caused this change in water vapor content is not known. One possibility is that the observed increase can be accounted for by errors in measurement. It would be desirable that periodic measurements be made so that if any significant trend can be established, it can be properly analyzed and interpreted.

5. On rare occasions in the polar regions where solar radiation is least significant as a factor of climate. Moreover, the quantity of water emitted per mile by a supersonic aircraft would be so small that once it underwent the disposal of water droplets, there would be no perceptible net gain in the passage of the aircraft; it would amount to only .0024 ounces of vapor per square foot of surface area.

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EXTENSION OF QUARKS

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entirely by the military services, the turbofan was late in coming into use.


28 From 1967 until he joined the SST Program, Mr. Magruder was Chief Preliminary Design Engineer of Lockheed's TriJet L-1011 program. He then became Associate Director of Lockheed's SST design in competition for the prototype contract, awarded in 1967 under the authority vested by President Kennedy.

29 The SST is estimated to cost about $42 million (with spares) as compared with $22 million (with spares) for the Boeing 747 (1968 dollars).


31 NASA scientists believe the "Whitcombe wing" is expected to prove the feasibility of transport aircraft which permit operation over the entire range of subsonic to Mach 1 levels with a cruising speed of about 0.8 Mach. This would add to 50 to 100 mph to the cruise speed of transport aircraft.


37 Members of the steering group were Najeeb Halaby, FAA Administrator; John Stack, NASA Director of Aeronautical Research; and Brockway McMillan, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Research and Development.

38 STAG was chaired by Oral R. Cook, General, U.S.A.F. (ret.), president of the Airplane Corporation of North America.

39 "The SST: Here it comes ready or not," op. cit., page 123.

40 The STAG report discussed an SST of March 25 as the most attractive of the current SST version, the Boeing 2707-300. Aside from this difference, the STAG report envisioned a shorter estimated construction cycle. In fact, the Boeing version was understood to be ahead of the model judged feasible by STAG in 1963.


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EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

This rate of water insertion (500 cumulonimbus clouds per day) would require 45 days to place in the stratosphere an amount of water equal to that now present. This conclusion is based on the fact that the water level in the stratosphere is extremely constant. To remain constant, or approximately constant, all the water it receives each day above that normal to its stable state.

The figure of 500 storms per day was selected as an arbitrary but conservative number. The estimated total of the daily storms of a magnitude to penetrate into the stratosphere ranged between 5,000 and 6,000.


Communication from ESSA.


The amount of the sun's energy actually reaching the surface of the earth is largely determined by the angle (latitude and time of day) of the earth's surface to the sun, and the low altitude atmosphere (determined mostly by weather conditions). The absorption of solar energy by the stratospheric water is negligible.

Reactive particulates of sulphur (e.g. sulphurous or sulphuric acid or ammonium sulphate) may grow in size due to photochemical reaction with water and form additional atoms to the original molecule (e.g. adding nitrogen and hydrogen to a sulphate radical to form ammonium sulphate).

Among the others: fuel consumption was improperly assumed to be a constant, instead of decreasing steadily during a trip; the figure used was 66 tons/hr./aircraft whereas reformulated jet fuel have been steadily reducing sulfur content to an average sulfur content of .05% was used. Present-day fuels range between .009% and .004%.

Sulfur is indispensable in jet engines because it produces corrosive combustion products that shorten engine life. The producers of jet fuel have been steadily reducing sulfur content and the trend is expected to continue. On the basis of past experience with this progress, a sulfur content of somewhere between .01% and .005% would be a reasonable expectation by the time the Boeing SST could become operational. The removal of sulfur from jet fuels may already be accomplished by the President's proposed graduated tax on sulfur bearing fuels. (Described in New York Times, (February 2, 1971), page 24).


"Personal communication with S.O.C.P. numbers."

4.5 X 10^4 grams/ft. based on weight of air at 60,000 feet which is 120gm/m^3.

NOA Quarterly (February 1969, No. 22), page 12.


The figure of 500 was selected as an arbitrary but conservative number for illustration purposes. The estimated total of the daily storms capable of penetrating the stratosphere would be 75 X 10^6 tons of water.
world's people who have been oppressed, ex­ploded in some of theIH most passionate "better class of people" rise up to claim what is rightfully theirs?

The Indian, the black man and countless other minorities who have been improperly treated and maligned for centuries; they have been silent for centuries, but the whirlwinds of rebellion are shaking our shores.

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands, how will the future reckon with this man? And how will the future reckon with us?

D. Gallagher.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

REMARKS MADE BY JROTC CADETS BEFORE THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me to bring to the attention of my distinguished colleagues and all Americans the fine remarks made by JROTC—cadets before the National Council of the Reserve Officers Association's—ROA—midwinter meeting at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D.C., on February 19, 1971.

Several of the cadets were invited to address the council and to express their views about the JROTC program. Their remarks are most impressive. It is refreshing to hear about patriotism, their high regard for the program. I wish anti-ROTC youth in America could hear how these young men feel about patriotism, dedication to country, and how this program has affected them physically, mentally, socially, and spiritually.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the remarks of these cadets and a biographical sketch of them to be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REMARKS

Mr. President and members of the National Convention: The problems confronting the military establishment in the United States are complex and varied. A generation of young people has emerged and is challenging institutions and values accepted as inalterable as recently as five or ten years ago. There is a tension in America between those who believe these challenges are just and those who reject criticism, either because it threatens the security or reveal to them the fundamental weaknesses in the positions they take. The military establishment, if it hopes to maintain its credibility and to fulfill its obligations, will not tolerate the desperate criticism of those who attack it.

The military establishment takes a long hard look at itself to determine whether it will face up to a challenge more demand ing than any it has confronted in the face of the present threat or challenge.

The improvements in education that have been more evident in recent years will not be taken lightly by those who believe the need for a vital and vigorous educational system in America, one of the primary goals of the defense establishment.

To this end, the vast educational resources of the military system have a very clear job in the near future. In Junior ROTC especially, there exists an opportunity to gain the attention of the minds of our youth and establish a belief in the necessity and potential benefit to the country of a vital and vigorous defense establishment. Such an endeavor will be an accomplishment at least equal to the maintenance of world peace, for it will contribute to the stability of the democratic system in America, one of the primary goals of the defense establishment.

BIографICAL SKETCH OF CadiT JOSEPH V. TruHe

Cadet Lieutenant Colonel Joseph V. TruHe, Jr., is a student in his senior year at St. Johns College High School, Washington, D.C. He ranks first in his class academically in the Regimental Executive Officer of the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps unit at St. Johns, and attended a Junior ROTC camp at Fort George G. Meade in the summer of 1970. Cadet TruHe has received numerous awards for his excellence in class and the completion of the academic year. He will graduate in the spring.

Mr. President and members of the National Council: the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps unit at St. Johns plans to continue his education at one of the leading four-year colleges in the United States. Cadet TruHe is 18 years of age and currently resides in Church, Virginia.

REMARKS BY CADET CAPT. RICHARD A. BAUMAN, JR.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks for the remarks of these cadets and a biographical sketch of them to be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

Mr. President, in view of the time, I ask unanimous consent for the remarks of these cadets and a biographical sketch of them to be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

By the vast educational resources of the military system have a very clear job in the near future. In Junior ROTC especially, there exists an opportunity to gain the attention of the minds of our youth and establish a belief in the necessity and potential benefit to the country of a vital and vigorous defense establishment. Such an endeavor will be an accomplishment at least equal to the maintenance of world peace, for it will contribute to the stability of the democratic system in America, one of the primary goals of the defense establishment.
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Cadets who compose the twenty-five officer cadets that are located in 67 states of the nation.

Pride is a simple word with many complex meanings. It has complicated definitions for pride, but to the Marine it has but one meaning. This meaning is not often expressed in words. It rarely speaks aloud, which is why so many cadets refer to all who wear the "eagle, globe and anchor of the corps." The Marine Corps Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps is intended to instill this pride, this understanding of one's country and what it stands for, into the youth of today.

Pride and tradition are but a part of the lesson taught. The major purpose is to produce "first class" citizens, men and women who give credit to their school, community and country.

The official mission of the Marine Corps Junior ROTC is: "to develop informed citizens, strengthen character by the teachings of discipline, develop an understanding of the military responsibilities of each citizen, and promote an appreciation and motivation for careers in the U.S. Marine Corps." Even though only in my second year of training, I have developed some specific thoughts on the program. It is my opinion that military training through the administrative difficulties encountered.

The benefits of the Junior ROTC program are: first, it is a nation's program intended to improve the quality of life from improved citizenship among its young. The armed forces of the United States will find within its ranks Junior ROTC trained personnel willing to take on responsibilities and to perform assigned duties well. Also, the school community will be improved by the pride which the cadet shows for all in which he is concerned. Most important, the individual cadet will profit from the loyalty and self-confidence he has learned through Junior ROTC.

However, much like our nation's armed forces, recruiting is a difficult problem for the Jr. ROTC program. The pilot schools who turn to long hair and the "anti-establishment" philosophy will never find the pride and sense of duty that I have found in the Marine Corps Junior ROTC.

Biographical Sketch of Cadet Capt. Richard Arnold Bauman Jr.

"Richard", the son of CDR Richard A. Bauman, USN, was born 4 June 1953 in New Bedford, Massachusetts. He is a senior at Churchland High School in Portsmouth, Virginia. In June 1969, Richard became a "plainkwover" in the 18th Marine JROTC unit in the country. He rose through non-commissioned and commissioned ranks to cadet captain and senior cadet officer of his unit. In June of 1970 he was awarded the American Legion Bronze Medal for Military Excellence.

Active in school, church and community activities, he is an Eagle Scout and Junior Assistant Scout Master of Troop 269, BSA, Portsmouth, Virginia. He was a member of the President's Portsmouth Council on Youth Affairs.

Cadet Captain Bauman has long been interested in following the sea as a career. He has made ocean patrols in Coast Guard cutters, Inshore Training Units which resulted in the rescue of thirteen Cuban refugees. To further this interest, he has sought and received the recommendation to attend the Federal Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point. Should he receive this appointment, Richard intends to enter the Navy upon completion of his schooling.

In addition to the Military Excellence Medal, he holds the ROTC II Scholastic Achievement Award and the Longevity Ribbon.

Richard has a sister who is a student at Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Virginia and two younger brothers at home.

Remarks by Squadron Commander, Thomas Michael Parah

Mr. President and members of the National Council: It is a great honor for me to be here today in front of the members of the Reserve Officers' Association, and represent the Air Force Junior R.O.T.C. program.

This is my first opportunity, and I can say, quite confidently, that there is a great deal I have learned that will be very useful to me in the future—as a citizen of this country.

I am convinced that our form of government works best when the people are knowledgeable about the questions their leaders and make intelligent and in-
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 9, 1971

Mr. Speaker, the American dairymen produce some of the most nutritious products in the world. At the present time they are not enjoying a very favorable price support level. In 1970, that level was set at 85 percent of parity, with the result that dairy income continued to lag behind the remainder of the economy. By the act of 1949, Congress authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to provide price supports of up to 90 percent of parity. It would appear that some increase is now needed to keep these intelligent, hardworking citizens in the business of providing us with the most basic of foods.

Mr. Speaker, I would urge that the Congress promptly and seriously consider imposing a requirement that foreign cheeses, at a minimum, meet the standards currently set for domestic dairy products.

FUTURE FARMERS OF AMERICA

HON. ED JONES
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. Jones of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, while I was on leave of absence because of a death in my family, the country observed National Future Farmers of America Week in honor of a truly outstanding organization of young men.

Since its beginnings in 1928 in Kansas City, the FFA has spread to all 50 States and to Puerto Rico. Today the organization has more than 9,000 local chapters with a total active membership of over 460,000.

The theme of this year's observance was "Involuted in America's Future," and I can testify from firsthand observation and experience that no group of youngsters could be more thoroughly involved in our Nation's destiny.

Through the vocational agriculture programs in their local high schools, these young men receive not only vocational instruction, but they also receive training and encouragement in leadership, citizenship, and patriotism as well. This is commendable, for in a very few years our people will be depending on these very boys to provide our Nation's supplies of food and fiber.

As a former member of the FFA and as the recipient of the organization's Alumni Service Award last year at its national convention in Kansas City, I almost twice the import goals previously set by both the Nixon administration and the Johnson administration. The reason for this flood of imports is basically attributable to the fact that foreign cheeses selling at more than 47 cents per pound are presently exempt from the import program, which is designed—supposedly—to protect the American dairy producer and thus give him his superior products in competition with such inexpensive foreign products, it would seem incumbent upon the Federal Government to insure that such products are at least safe for human consumption.

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Mr. Speaker, I would urge that the Congress promptly and seriously consider imposing a requirement that foreign cheeses, at a minimum, meet the standards currently set for domestic dairy products.
know that FFA is indeed "involved in America's future." I salute the Future Farmers of America and commend the organization to the entire country.

SGT. GORDON R. ROBERTS OF OHIO, AWARDED THE MEDAL OF HONOR AT WHITE HOUSE CEREMONY

HON. WALTER E. POWELL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on March 2, 1971, I had the privilege of attending the Medal of Honor ceremonies at the White House and witnessed the awarding of this high honor to Sgt. Gordon R. Roberts of Lebanon, Ohio.

This young man demonstrated courage and dedication to his country and his men which should make every American proud. In particular, his mother and father, Mr. and Mrs. Al Russell, his friends, relatives, and all have much to be grateful for and reason to take pride in his actions.

The hero deeds of Sergeant Roberts are described in the citation presented to him by the President and I insert the text of that citation at this point in the RECORD:

CITATION

The President of the United States of America, under the authority of the Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of the Congress the Medal of Honor to Sergeant Gordon R. Roberts, United States Army, for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty.


Sergeant Roberts' platoon was maneuvering along a ridge to attack heavily fortified enemy bunker positions which had pinned down an adjoining company. As the platoon approached the enemy positions, it was suddenly pinned down by heavy automatic weapons and grenade fire from camouflaged enemy fortifications atop the over-looking hill. Seeing his platoon immobilized and in danger of failing in its mission, Sergeant Roberts crawled rapidly toward the closest enemy bunker. With complete disregard for his own safety, he leaped to his feet and charged the bunker, firing as he ran. Despite the intense enemy fire directed at him, Sergeant Roberts silenced the two-man bunker emplacement. Sergeant Roberts continued his one-man assault on a second bunker. As he neared the second bunker, a burst of enemy fire knocked his rifle from his hands. Sergeant Roberts picked up a rifle dropped by a comrade and continued his assault, silencing the bunker. He knocked out the emplacement against a third bunker and destroyed it with well-throwed hand grenades. Although Sergeant Roberts was wounded in the process, he re-continued his assault against a fourth enemy emplacement. He fought through a heavy hail of fire to join elements of the adjoining company which had been pinned down by the enemy fire. Although continually exposed to enemy fire, he continued his efforts to save wounded personnel from exposed positions on the hilltop to an evacuation area before returning to his unit. By his gallant and selfless actions, Sergeant Roberts contributed directly to saving the lives of his comrades and saved the lives of his fellow soldiers in the defeat of the enemy force. Sergeant Roberts' extraordinary heroism and initial courage in the face of great risk of his life were in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself, his unit and the United States Army.

Mr. Speaker, I believe Mr. Geocaris' address offers many constructive thoughts and I include the text in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY ANGELO G. GEOCARIS, THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE'S HUMANITARIAN SERVICE AWARDS

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on February 12, 1971, the Abraham Lincoln Centre in Chicago conferred its Humanitarian Service Award for 1971 on Angelo G. Geocaris.

Mr. Geocaris joins a distinguished list of recipients, including former Senator Paul H. Douglas, Senator Charles H. Percy, Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, and former Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, who have been honored previously by the Abraham Lincoln Centre.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to know Mr. Geocaris for many years. He has been an outstanding businessman in the metropolitan area of Chicago for nearly three decades, and throughout this period he has shared his time and resources to work for equal rights and opportunities for all Americans.

Indeed, the Humanitarian Service Award citation to Mr. Geocaris recognizes "his concern for and commitment to the welfare of all persons without regard to race, sex, creed, color, or economic condition." The citation goes on to state:

His contributions to better race relations have been demonstrated in his business practices. He has given his time, effort, and money to build and maintain the Abraham Lincoln Centre and the Chicago Urban League. He has worked hard to preserve democracy by giving money to a president and gladden the lives of minority groups and the underprivileged through his actions in support of agencies dedicated to such ends.

Mr. Speaker, I certainly concur with this statement and know of no one deserving of this honor.

Mr. Geocaris received the award at a Lincoln's birthday dinner in Chicago. I was very pleased to attend the dinner and to hear Mr. Geocaris' eloquent remarks regarding his commitment to equal opportunities for all citizens.

The distinguished chairman of the dinner honoring Mr. Geocaris was Newton N. Minow, lawyer and former Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

Among the other outstanding leaders attending the dinner were:

Robert A. Wallace, Vice-Chairman, Exchange National Bank of Chicago; Robert A. McFarland, President, Uihlein, President and Chairman of the Milwaukee State Savings Bank; Hon. George W. Dunne, President of Cook County Board; Edwin C. Berry, former Executive Director, National Urban League; and Evelyn S. Dunne, Speaker, Pro Tnem of Illinois State Senate; Henry W. McGee, Postmaster of Chicago; Dr. Michael J. Bakalis, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; and Robert A. Wallace, Executive Editor of Chicago Defender.

I am concerned, deeply concerned, about the course of our lives in the years ahead and on toward the end of this century. The pressures for change are mounting. They are building to a point where one of two things must happen. The leverage and moral worth of the demands causing the pressures will be recognized by those of us in control and fundamental reform will be made. Or, the cry will grow and go unheeded. The fragmentation of our society will continue and in the end, a government of law and order will emerge. Individual dignity and freedom will be remembered as an historical accident. Or, as a variation of this, repressive measures will accelerate as demands for basic change gather force and the state will be upon us before most of us become aware of it.

The course is clear. Led by blacks emerging from years of bondage and discrimination and given tremendous impetus by the best educated generation in the history of man, the press for a more equitable share of our national wealth and increased regard for the quality of life must be met by the established group with generosity and understanding.

We are the managers of the Chicago community. Do we believe that the Negro brothers and sisters learned is that America is a dynamic ever-changing system—that there is or at least should be, no such thing as vested interests or static social structures? The young look at America and say how much more just it can be and should be. Some of us jaded, and perhaps, a bit tired of the struggle, say isn't this the best nation in the world today, one in which that matter, the best in recorded history? The young evaluate against the ideal that we apply relative standards. But is it only through understanding that the soft ends that improvement can be realized.

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Among the other outstanding leaders attending the dinner were:

Robert A. Wallace, Vice-Chairman, Exchange National Bank of Chicago; Robert A. McFarland, President, Uihlein, President and Chairman of the Milwaukee State Savings Bank; Hon. George W. Dunne, President of Cook County Board; Edwin C. Berry, former Executive Director, National Urban League; and Evelyn S. Dunne, Speaker, Pro Tnem of Illinois State Senate; Henry W. McGee, Postmaster of Chicago; Dr. Michael J. Bakalis, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; and Robert A. Wallace, Executive Editor of Chicago Defender.

I am concerned, deeply concerned, about the course of our lives in the years ahead and on toward the end of this century. The pressures for change are mounting. They are building to a point where one of two things must happen. The leverage and moral worth of the demands causing the pressures will be recognized by those of us in control and fundamental reform will be made. Or, the cry will grow and go unheeded. The fragmentation of our society will continue and in the end, a government of law and order will emerge. Individual dignity and freedom will be remembered as an historical accident. Or, as a variation of this, repressive measures will accelerate as demands for basic change gather force and the state will be upon us before most of us become aware of it.

The course is clear. Led by blacks emerging from years of bondage and discrimination and given tremendous impetus by the best educated generation in the history of man, the press for a more equitable share of our national wealth and increased regard for the quality of life must be met by the established group with generosity and understanding.

We are the managers of the Chicago community. Do we believe that the Negro brothers and sisters learned is that America is a dynamic ever-changing system—that there is or at least should be, no such thing as vested interests or static social structures? The young look at America and say how much more just it can be and should be. Some of us jaded, and perhaps, a bit tired of the struggle, say isn't this the best nation in the world today, one in which that matter, the best in recorded history? The young evaluate against the ideal that we apply relative standards. But is it only through understanding that the soft ends that improvement can be realized.
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 9, 1971

Jayees for undertaking this ambitious and very worthwhile program. And I would like to pay special tribute to Jim Fennie, the chairman of Do Something and Max Garriott, the vice chairman.

HERBERT R. RAINWATER, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, VFW

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, this morning the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, the Honorable Olin Teague, very graciously gave me permission to introduce the commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, my longtime friend and adviser, "Chief" Herbert R. Rainwater. He has done an outstanding job as head of the Department of Veterans Affairs and their families. I want to tell you all about him: Herbert R. Rainwater

Herbert Ray Rainwater, 6300 Mountain View Avenue, San Bernardino, California, is a native of Pennsylvania. After serving as Assistant City Administrator the past three years, was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States at the organization's 71st Annual National Convention held August 14–21, 1970, in Miami Beach, Florida. He was elected Commander-in-Chief at the VFW's 70th Annual National Convention August 15–22, 1969, in Philadelphia, Pa., and simultaneously Commander-in-Chief at the 69th Annual National Convention August 16–23, 1968, in Detroit, Michigan.

During the years he served as Junior and Senior Vice Commander-in-Chief, he made extended visits to Vietnam and the Far East.

Born April 15, 1919, in Morriston, Arkansas, to Irish-German parents, Rainwater attended the public schools in Arkansas and Oklahoma. After graduation from high school, he took special courses in business administration and went on to the University of Oklahoma where he graduated with a degree in agricultural economics. He then began working as a sales representative for Philadelphia National Bank and with the prairie that God grant me the physical stamina and mental discipline, the moral courage and spiritual strength and perception to rededicate myself and be sustained in the struggle to attain these noble ends. Thank you.

THEY ARE DOING SOMETHING IN GRANT COUNTY, IND.

HON. ELWOOD HILLS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. HILLS. Mr. Speaker, today, I want to spend a few moments to pay tribute to the Jaycees of Marion and Gas City, Ind.

They have started a unique program properly and simply called, Do Something.

This program is designed to provide volunteer manpower for the various agencies in the community which are attempting to help Grant County, Ind.

There are many civic organizations with outstanding plans in Grant County, but who lack the manpower in carrying out these plans.

The Do Something program will furnish this manpower.

The Jaycees have obtained a downtown office in Marion and are at the present time conducting a manhunt for some 1,250 volunteers who will do something.

I want to personally congratulate the
March 9, 1971

rades because of Cherokee Indian blood in his ancestry. His wife, Erma, who also has Cherokee Indian blood, is a nurse. She has served in the aid of the W.V.F.Ladies Auxiliary in California and as National Council member from California and Oregon. They have two children, Mrs. Kay Sev- neider, San Diego, whose husband is a member of the Scripps Institute of Oceanography, and Mrs. Lynnette Smiley, also in California. The Rainwaters have two grandchildren.

SANE NATIONAL PRIORITIES

HON. JACK BRINKLEY
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, in an address to the Middle Georgia Chapter of the U.S. Air Force Association, at Warner Robins, Georgia, on February 23, Mr. John B. Amos, president of American Family Life Assurance Co., delivered a well-reasoned, clear-eyed analysis of the role of the military as it relates to the well-being of our democracy.

The message, framed in a two-fisted fashion, is properly hard hitting: it is timely with national insight and perspective; it is deserving, Mr. Speaker, of the thoughtful, alert consideration of the American people.

Since the founding of the Republic, the American fighting man has kept a rendezvous with destiny. In the past three decades that rendezvous has taken him from Europe and Africa through the island-hopping campaigns in the Pacific to defeat hostile forces threatening the survival of liberty and democracy. Once the hard-won victories were gained, he remained behind to guard freedom's frontier in a new world, a world that has grown wider with the passing of years—a frontier that has finally, today in Vietnam, erupted into actual warfare. Our fighting man, like his forefathers, is ready to fight to be free.

The overriding reason for the existence of our military forces is clearly to provide this Nation with the combat readiness that will guarantee our national security and give us the military strength to safeguard and to sustain our international commitments.

The Defense Department, as a result, has been working on creative and concrete proposals to meet those problems.

As I mentioned earlier, there are elements of our society that want to see our defense activities curtailed. In Washington, the Urban Coalition issued last Saturday an alternative federal budget in the hope it will stir public debate on rearranging national priorities. Al­ though I do not agree with them, I am not addressing any particular point, that they want to get the issues out for public dis­ cussion of which I support.

This is their counterbudget for the years 1972-1976. There are 400 pages here. It boils down to this: cut our spending for national de­ fense and military assistance and a big in­ crease in funds for health, income support and education, and enforcement of civil rights and civil liberties.

The Nixon budget is far from satisfactory to me and should not be to you. It allocates only 6.9% of our Gross National Product to Defense. It spells possible doom, but this counter budget spells certain doom to our security and our society. It spells eventual enslavement by the Reds.

Let us look at this allocation to national security over the past 20 years. In 1950 it had dropped to 4.5%, and as a result came the Korean War. It was as a result of that war raised to 12.8% in 1953 and 13.3% in 1953, which is far too high. It has now sunk to 6% and 9% with few exceptions. A cut to 6.8% is indeed drastic and dangerous—but, if I must choose between the two, I shall support the Korean War, shall choose the former—but it's a damned poor choice. Who is responsible for this choice? You and I, Mr. Civilian, because the military has a vested interest that impeaches their credibility when urging budgets. In matters of money appropriations and attendant taxes to pay the bills—it is you and me that will be heard.

Now, let us look at evil number one—this counter budget—this certain death. What does it specify—propose to do with the dollars that are taken from National De­ fenses.

$800 million would be spent immediately on federal civil rights enforcement.

The budget of the Office of Equal opportuni­ ties would be doubled, dou­ ble the number of projects it is involved in, doubling its staﬀ . . . it now has 800 field offices and employs 2,200 lawyers.

Payments to federal offenders rather than imprisonment would be subdi­ nated in a very peculiar fashion . . . by a fed­ eral judge! The idea is that the federal sys­ tems for, quote, "each offender placed on probation, who because of the seriousness of the offense, could have been sent to a state prison . . . an incentive for states to rely more upon and improve probation systems . . . we estimate nearly 1.5 million offenders will be placed on probation in 1976." This pro­

ternal means. They estimate the first subsidies as costing about $650 million. They include a $400 million program to encourage the parolee to work, $200 million to pay the cost of parole, $200 million to provide a medical grant for parolees, and a $200 million program to provide for parolees.

Now, let me state that I am 100% in symp­athy with the goals of the minorities, the poor, the handicapped. But what do we do re­alistically to further these goals? I think that is why Congress is working on creative and concrete proposals to meet those problems.

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counterbudge3 is primarily in the area of research and development and procurement of new hardware. There is a time lag of several years between research and development and usable hardware.

Rather than military scientists they propose that the money go to social scientists. They would add a new category to the present research and development programs which we are funding, for what social results you can judge for yourself, which would add to the great army of social scientists and the proliferation of the urban community, family planning, public housing, public health programs, etc.

So why have the Swedish welfare state collapsed? With some accuracy, that technology had not developed sufficiently in the U.S.; there are certainly being dashed upon the rocks ailing air freight shipments from abroad.

The Swedish government has stopped acting like a laissez-faire government.

In the land of the enlightened middle class, where in theory nobody has too little or too much and everyone lives at peace with his neighbor, this might be called a striking turn of events. Though sadly neglected in the American press (which could not ignore the headline making military lockout), the Swedish government's uncompromising response—suggest that in perhaps the most overworked workers' paradise of all, something has gone wrong.

The two collective agreements in question are the result of a program of research and development, they add 100 million dollars to the Nixon budget of 1972 for administration.

Our internal problems are great, but no greater than those faced by previous generations of Americans—the War of Independence from England, the Indian Wars, the conquest of the frontier, the Indian Wars, the great Depression—but, first and foremost, we must be sure that we survive as a free Nation. It has been the collapse of a company which some time in heavy industry, where an effort to narrow wage differentials paid skilled labor precipitated a long and bitter dispute in a state-owned iron ore mine, the movement was started; other authorities say the government had clear warning of the risks, but chose to ignore them. In any case, the failure does not do anything to help an already poor record. Events in recent months add to the debt side. At one point, it was discovered, that the Americans had advised the Swedes that one part of the sprawling state-owned-industrial sector was planning to build a plant for producing medical equipment which would allow several cars to be parked in one parking place. Not one of the gadgets was actually the product, but that product was abandoned.

"More solid was the development of an ultra-mini car, the "Tjorven," intended for use as a delivery vehicle in cities. Some of these have been sold (mainly thanks to the state's aggressive sales efforts to itself in the form of the post office), but not enough—last week it was announced that 200 employees were being laid off because of insufficient Tjorven sales. The factory's directors have indicated that the company has been the collapse of a company which was mainly intended to promote efficiency in the Swedish welfare state.

Citizenry and industrialists, have refused to settle for merely sharing of the gross national product (compared to 21.7% in the U.S. and 21.9% in Switzerland). Shortly after the September elections (the Social Democrats, while losing their majority, stayed in power by making common cause with the Communists), new taxes were imposed. For 1971, a steeply graduated national and municipal income tax exacts a punitive 87% at the $20,000 salary bracket, while a new net wealth tax has been piled atop it. Where ideology is concerned, evidently, "equality and solidarity" lately have thrust their way into the realm of collective bargaining. In progress for some time in heavy industry, where an effort to narrow wage differentials paid skilled labor precipitated a long and bitter dispute in a state-owned iron ore mine, the movement lately has spread from mines and other industries to the office. Variously dubbed the College Graduate Walkout and the Luxury Strike, the mass movements have now affected the spread, and mounting, discontent of Swedish professionals and civil servants. Owing to lagging wages and rising prices, both groups in the past two years have forfeited an estimated 7% of their purchasing power. To make up the ground already lost (and threatened by persistent inflation) their unions are seeking a 22% raise. The government, for its part, has assured its bargaining Office, has offered 7%, and, in a kind of Bolivarism with a gun, refuses to budge.

Fortunately, Premier Olof Palme (whom The New York Times described as "one of the most interesting men on the inside a table on which rested Charles A. Reich's book, "The Greening of America")
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Most corporations spend at least 10% of their annual budget on advertising. Some go much higher. The $80 billion the Columbia Broadcasting System spends each year on creating a favorable image for itself is much less than 1% of its $75 billion annual budget.

The Pentagon and its subordinate services rightly believe that they must, especially in these times, convince our citizens and the Congress of the importance of their missions and their requirements in men and munitions if they are to accomplish their assigned tasks.

For example, unless the military career can be represented to our people as a desirable career for able men and women, there is the slightest chance that the Administration's plan to substitute a volunteer army for the inequitable and indefensible conscription system can succeed.

If the Army, Navy and Air Force spend less on public relations, that section of the news media which now condemns such expenditures would be the first to charge that this silence was a deliberate cover-up.

It is noteworthy that those members of Congress now most critical of the military are the most demanding for complete denunciation and full explanations about every prospective operation and military plan well in advance of its execution.

The Pentagon spends much less in a whole year for public relations, that section of the news media which now condemning such expenditures would be the first to charge that this silence was a deliberate cover-up.

It is interesting to note what a distinguished retired military officer, who now is a member of the press corps, has to say about the program.

The entire program is consistent with long standing antiwar, antih_congress of their over-all budgets, but many other departments of government. They also spend less on creating a favorable public image than all big corporations spend on advertising their product or public service.

Mr. Speaker, this disease affects so many people and yet we know so little about it. It was a dreaded disease back in the early history of our civilization, and it is still a dreaded disease today.

One of the finest organizations that we have today actively fighting to control and cure leprosy is the Damien-Dutton Society, based in New Brunswick, N.J., which is in my congressional district. I have the honor of serving on the board of directors there. I have a wonderful opportunity to recognize Dr. Howard E. Crouch, founder and present director of the society.

Much remains to be done in the fight against leprosy, but with organizations such as the Damien-Dutton Society, the dedicated people like Dr. Binford and Howard Crouch we can still have hope that a cure may be found.

In closing, I would like to insert in the Record the full remarks of Dr. Binford at the presentation ceremony. May I urge my colleagues to hear his plea for help which is echoed by millions of the world over.

DR. CHAPMAN H. BINFORD PRESENTED 1971 DAMIEN-DUTTON AWARD

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. PATTEN, Mr. Speaker, on February 16 I had the honor of presenting the 1971 Damien-Dutton Award to Dr. Chapman H. Binford, medical director of Leonard Wood Memorial Hospital on Molokai in Hawaii.

Dr. Binford made a very startling statement about leprosy. He said:

According to the World Health Organization there are approximately 11 million people in the world who have leprosy. There is no evidence that the disease is being checked.

Mr. Speaker, this disease affects so many people and yet we know so little about it. It was a dreaded disease back in the early history of our civilization, and it is still a dreaded disease today.

One of the finest organizations that we have today actively fighting to control and cure leprosy is the Damien-Dutton Society, based in New Brunswick, N.J., which is in my congressional district. I have the honor of serving on the board of directors there. I have a wonderful opportunity to recognize Dr. Howard E. Crouch, founder and present director of the society.

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must be taken for years before the disease can be considered arrested.
Sustained intensive research must be continued before the basic problems of leprosy are solved.
According to the World Health Organization there are approximately 11 million people in the world suffering from leprosy and there is no evidence that the disease is being checked. There is need for continuing work by organizations such as the Damon-Dutton Society to bring relief, light and help to those who are afflicted with leprosy.
I thank you.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 9, 1971

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives that this body hereby recommends that the President of the United States attempt to obtain, through negotiation, a cease-fire and exchange of prisoners of war and, if necessary, set a date certain for the withdrawal of American ground troops from Vietnam in order to bring this about.

Whereas, the Georgia House of Representatives recognizes that the President might have already attempted this, but, because of classified information available only to him, might have deemed that such action is inadvisable or impossible to accomplish.

Now, therefore, be it further resolved that if such a situation does exist, this body hereby requests that the President explain, insofar as it does not affect national security, why this cannot be accomplished.

Be it yet further resolved that this Resolution is in no way to be taken to support the government of North Vietnam or to reflect on military actions by members of the armed forces of the United States who are now serving, or who have served, in Vietnam.

Some have feared that the Clerks of the House of Representatives have not been authorized and directed to transmit appropriate copies of this Resolution to the President of the United States and each member of the United States Senate and House of Representatives from the State of Georgia.

The complete text of the resolution follows:

A RESOLUTION

Expressing the opinion of the Georgia House of Representatives on the manner and timing of the withdrawal of our Armed Forces from Vietnam.

As a U.S. Representative from the State of Georgia, I feel it is my responsibility to bring this action to the attention of the American people.

Recognizing the fact that the war in Vietnam has affected every family, city, and state, to some degree, the resolution recommends that the President of the United States:

Attempt to obtain, through negotiations, a cease-fire and exchange of prisoners of war and, if necessary, set a date certain for the withdrawal of American ground troops from Vietnam in order to bring about this result.

I would like to share this resolution with my colleagues and others who read the Constitution. The complete text of the resolution follows:

A RESOLUTION

Expressing the opinion of the Georgia House of Representatives on the manner and timing of the withdrawal of our Armed Forces from Vietnam; and for other purposes.

WHEREAS, the war in Vietnam has affected every county, city, and citizen of Georgia, to some degree; and

WHEREAS, Georgia has had almost 1,500 of her citizens killed and many thousands wounded, and at least 67 families in Georgia have loved ones who are prisoners or missing as a result of the war in Vietnam; and

WHEREAS, the United States is beginning the second decade of the longest war in its history; and

WHEREAS, the war in Vietnam has been exceeded only by the two world wars and the Civil War in terms of human sacrifice; and

WHEREAS, it is the publicly announced policy of the United States not to seek a military victory in Vietnam, to cease the bombing, and to withdraw our armed forces permanently without any reciprocal concession on the part of North Vietnam; and

WHEREAS, our government is being charged with the responsibility of bringing to an end the war in Vietnam; and

WHEREAS, our government is being charged with the responsibility of bringing to an end the war in Vietnam; and

WHEREAS, the Georgia House of Representatives feels that it has the right, if not the duty, to express an opinion on such a vital matter affecting the people of this State.
March 9, 1971

Ledgerwood, is a lift truck operator; his mother, Mrs. Ann M. Ledgerwood, is a student nurse. Mr. Ledgerwood is the winner of a number of contests in oratory and debate. His father was a veteran of World War II and a member of the American Legion Boys' State.

Sometimes the pride that a Congressman expresses in the accomplishments of his constituents is a matter of form; but, Mr. Speaker and my fellow Members of Congress, I can tell you without reservation that Tom Ledgerwood has sincerely impressed me as an outstanding citizen whose understanding of our democratic heritage can be an inspiration to us all.

So my pride, Mr. Speaker, lies not only in the fact that I am a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and not only that the Veterans of Foreign Wars sponsors such an outstanding program as the Voice of Democracy contest, but that Tom Ledgerwood's speech is one in which all other Americans can certainly take pride. It is with great pride that I insert Tom Ledgerwood's Voice of Democracy speech into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

FREEDOM--OUR HERITAGE

The longest journey a man will ever take is the one he takes looking for freedom. You could set out looking for freedom, and never cross this giant nation without ever finding it. Because it wouldn't be there sewn into the stars and stripes waving up there in the breeze. You couldn't find freedom shipped into Mount Rushmore. You couldn't find freedom riveted into the Statue of Liberty. Nor could you find freedom molded in the Liberty Bell.

No,—if you really wanted to find freedom all you'd have to do is to stop that wandering around and take a good look at yourself. Because that's where freedom is.

It's in you—and in the minds and hearts of human beings everywhere, where it can't be chopped, cracked, torn, rusted or melted away.

Freedom is an idea, a belief, a way of life—something that is a right or a privilege. And, for some people, freedom will remain only in the mind. But our forefathers had a dream.

Their dream was to take freedom out of the mind and incorporate it into a government. And one and three-quarter centuries ago, a lot of people gave everything they had, including their lives, to establish that way of life.

They never dreamed that the nation, they were trying to create would prosper and grow into a giant, space-age nuclear power.

They didn't know whether it would last for ten years or ten thousand years.

They didn't know you, and they didn't know me, and they didn't know what we'd do with this thing they were trying to create.

All they knew was that here was something they believed in, something that meant so much to them that they were willing to offer all they had to get it.

But the most important thing was that when our forefathers took freedom out of the mind and established it into a government, they knew that freedom ceased to be free. That in order to live freedom, you had to pay a price, and that freedom was so priceless, in fact, that we'll always be paying for it.

We'll never hold a deed to freedom, say that it's ours, that we own it. We'll never be guaranteed it from one moment to the next.

We'll just keep paying.

And yet, men feel a supreme satisfaction when they are willing to pay for freedom. For the defense of freedom is the ultimate sacrifice. The laying down of one's life for one's country is the most priceless privilege that we could ever have.

In Arlington National Cemetery, near Washington, D.C., there is a beautiful tomb. The inscribed grieving message reads, IN HONORED GLORY, AN AMERICAN SOLDIER KNOWN BUT TO GOD. It's there as a testimonial to him and to 335,000 other Americans who died in the defense of freedom—many of them on foreign soil!—so that we, their descendants, can feel the liberty breathing in us that they felt in themselves.

And so, as I live a free and prosperous life in this great nation, and live my day-to-day existence in freedom, I can't help but wonder if my country will some day call upon me to make that supreme sacrifice.

God willing, I'll be able to realize that what Charles Dickens said in his book, "Tale of Two Cities", is true, when he talks about giving up his life in the supreme sacrifice for something they believe in. He says:

'It is a far, far better thing that I do, than I have ever done; it is a far, far better rest that I go to, than I have ever known.'

DRAFT REFORM

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA OF ILLINOIS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, great amounts of energy have been expended over the past few years by citizens and elected officials around the country in a continuing effort to bring the Vietnam war and the Army under control. Every one now agrees that we must terminate our involvement in Southeast Asia and commit the nation to the peaceful coexistence in freedom, I can't help but wonder if we, their descendants, can feel the liberty breathing in us that they felt in themselves.

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'It is a far, far better thing that I do, than I have ever done; it is a far, far better rest that I go to, than I have ever known.'
Then you were gone from here?

"No, I was still here, because I can't leave here until they stop trying to make me leave. I thought I made that perfectly clear."

I'm sorry, I forgot. So you went somewhere else while you were here and then you came back here from somewhere else.

While you are here?

"Of course. I went there to get out of here, and I'm still here."

How do you like it there?

"I've got to get out of here."

How do you like it there?

"The same way I got out of here. By going somewhere else."

Where will you go?

"Maybe I will come here."

But you are already here.

"Yes, but I'm going to get out of here. You see, I have a plan. Let me make that perfectly clear."

On the way out, I asked the doctor how long the poor fellow has been a patient.

"Patient?" the doctor said. "Why, he's the superintendent."

**ONE EARTH**

**HON. THOMAS M. REES**

**OF CALIFORNIA**

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**Tuesday, March 9, 1971**

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, hardly a day passes without another grim fact appearing about environmental damage. The tragedy of the oil slicks on our beaches, the thunder of jet planes over our homes, the pall of smoke over our cities, and the degraded state of our rivers and our seashores shows the necessity for urgent national action against pollution.

One way to increase public knowledge of these problems has been to set aside a special week, "Earth Week," to study, to discuss, and to observe the environment. To this end I have cosponsored a resolution in Congress to designate one of the days of "Earth Week" as Earth Day.

Last year more than 3,000 universities and more than 10,000 high schools participated in "Earth Week" and "Earth Day" discussions covering the entire range of problems regarding the environment and suggesting new solutions and policies.

Similar efforts are being planned this year and one such event, to be held the first day of spring, March 21, has been scheduled by the National Council for Survival Research and Education which encourages worthwhile environmental projects and inventions and serves as a clearinghouse for environmental information.

The national council contacted a very talented writer from west Los Angeles, Mrs. Shirley Solmon of Pacific Palisades, a member of ASCAP and the Dramatists Guild, and asked her to write a strong lyric for "Earth Day" festivities, calling for national and international action to assure that the earth remains livable.

She wrote "One Earth," and Scott Seely, an ASCAP composer and arranger, wrote the music. Arrangements are now being completed by the national council for the song to be introduced at other national "Earth Day" ceremonies.

Mrs. Solmon has long been concerned about environmental problems and the preservation of the California coastline. She recently completed the book and lyrics of a musical play, "Heads Up," for which Mr. Seely wrote the score, and she is now working on the libretto of a political musical, "The Senator's Shadow."

The following lyrics to her song, "One Earth," may be of interest to my colleagues:

**ONE EARTH**

**HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM**

**OF NEW YORK**

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**Tuesday, March 9, 1971**

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, because of the personal feelings I have on discrimination against women and the subject and in general impact felt by all women, I feel it a grave importance to include in the RECORD the highly significant statement expressed by Mrs. Ida K. Shaw before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor.

It is as follows:

**STATEMENT OF MRS. IDA K. SHAW, DIRECTOR OF EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE OF NEW YORK CITY, AND PAST PRESIDENT, DIRECTORS OF GUIDANCE OF LARGE CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF THE AMERICAN PERSONNEL AND GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION.**

Mrs. SHAW, Representative Green, distinguished members of the committee:

It is a great privilege for me to testify before you today with regard to section 868 (prohibition of discrimination) of H.R. 16008, the Omnibus Postsecondary Education Act of 1970.

Although women represent a majority of 51 percent of our population, they suffer from many of the same barriers to economic and social progress as do the minority groups in our society. They are paid less than men for comparable work, are often consigned to menial or routine jobs, are passed over for promotion, have a higher unemployment rate and are grossly underrepresented in decisionmaking posts in politics, business, and the professions. These facts are well
documented in numerous reports published by the Department of Labor, the Department of Commerce, the Women's Bureau, and various commissions and task forces. There is a strong discrimination against women calls for strong new legislative action as well as vigorous enforcement of existing laws. Women's career opportunities in most fields of endeavor are not equal. What is needed is a thoroughgoing reappraisal of the education system so that youth may see themselves as equal to men and may develop the image of women. When children are introduced to picture books, which practically condition them to accept maleness as the dominant role in their lives, in a fascinating article published recently in the children's section of the New York Times, Miss Mary Fisher found that there were five times as many males in the titles of picture books as females, and that the male books are more for the most part. Furthermore, says Miss Fisher, even when females are depicted, their activities are quite limited. They do not drive cars. Though children see their mothers driving all the time, not one picture book could I find. In the world today, women are executives, stockbrokers, taxi drivers, single parents in picture books. Male drivers are the commanding, dominant figures which practically condition them to accept masculinity as their sex role. It's too late, before you are six or seven or eight years of preparation. To another he might have said: "Your grades are high enough to get you into a premedical course, but you know what chance a girl has of getting into medical school. Besides, it would take you 9 or 10 years before you would be ready for private practice. Why not go into nursing instead? It's a wonderful profession now, and when you are married, you'll be able to give the best of care to your family." And to a third: "Why don't you take a business course? You could be a stenographer anyway before you get a home and family." The "self-image" of the individual girl is strongly influenced by society's expectation of behavior. Although parents may claim that they believe in equality of the sexes, I estimate that 9 out of every 10 girls in school today will become workers at some time in their lives and also are socialized to the idea that work will be an optional, incidental part of their lives. If indeed they will ever work at all, society believes a Prince Charming will come along and work at all. Some still believe a Prince Charming will carry them off and they will live happily forever after.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 9, 1971

ATTENTION, ALL BOSS! If you've been looking for a way to express parental anxiety to the Secretary, here's a suggestion from the State Commerce Department Woman's Program—how about saluting her during Secretary's Week, April 21-26, with the State flower to brighten her desk? How can it be? If a woman executive that the "boss" is "he" and the secretary is "she"?

American girls who are now in school will find that the image of a worker is taken in with the labor force in our economy. Whatever their reasons for working—whether to support themselves, to supplement family earnings, to achieve wealth or status, or to seek self-fulfillment—they will need to know how to get their guidance and counseling needs met. For most girls, work will be supplemental to their major responsibilities of wife and mother during a significant portion of their lives. Their career patterns will include various combinations of work, school, and marriage. Their ability to carry out their dual role successfully will be complicated by two factors: the discontinuity of their attachment to the labor force and the occupational concentration of "women's jobs."

The sex label would seem to be a cultural one rather than a biological factor in the labor market, although the specific work women do in clerical occupations, teaching, nursing, sales, and service occupations is based on cultural factors and societal expectations rather than on sex-linked characteristics or aptitudes.

The broadening career opportunities which should be opened to women place counselors in an advantageous position to encourage them to consider these fields. Counselors could be encouraged to make the connections which are being completed through a variety of in-service training programs. Counselors and employers need to present women with a realistic image of their future career choices. Counselors must be specifically aware of the changing social roles through which the career of women are being prepared. While training for a career continues to play a central role in the education of boys, the importance of career planning for girls is less clearly understood. As the role expectations of American women continue to change in this era of technological transition, students and counselors face with an important question: "Should counseling be different for girls than for boys?"

Thirty years ago, before we had counselors in most cases at all, it would not have been unusual to find the following suggestion made to a girl: "Your work in physics is excellent, but you may as well be practical. In a few years there won't be many women engineers. Why go into a field which requires so many years of preparation?" To another he might have said: "Your grades are high enough to get you into a premedical course, but you know what chance a girl has of getting into medical school. Besides, it would take you 9 or 10 years before you would be ready for private practice. Why not go into nursing instead? It's a wonderful profession now, and when you are married, you'll be able to give the best of care to your family." And to a third: "Why don't you take a business course? You could be a stenographer anyway before you get a home and family." The "self-image" of the individual girl is strongly influenced by society's expectation of behavior. Although parents may claim that they believe in equality of the sexes, I estimate that 9 out of every 10 girls in school today will become workers at some time in their lives and also are socialized to the idea that work will be an optional, incidental part of their lives. If indeed they will ever work at all, society believes a Prince Charming will come along and work at all. Some still believe a Prince Charming will carry them off and they will live happily forever after. Yet you have a chance to assure equal opportunity for women through section 805 of the Omnibus Postsecondary Education Act of 1970 will encourage the full utilization of our human resources. May we look to you for your consideration several other recommendations directed toward the same objective: 1. The formation of a commission to study the educational needs of girls with special reference to current practices in preschool and early childhood education, the adequacy and relevance of the curriculum in the light of expanded opportunities for women, and the provision of guidance and counseling for both girls and boys in elementary and secondary schools.

2. Authorization of grants to establish experimental institutes, such as the Women's Bureau, of the Service to the In-service training of school counselors in the special guidance needs of girls. 3. Support of national organizations for guidance and counseling so that both girls and boys will receive adequate educational guidance from qualified, professionally trained counselors.

A few weeks ago, I represented our association before Senator Magnuson's Appropriations Subcommittee to request an additional appropriation of $217,500.00 under the title of "guidance and counseling. At the present time, the House figure for guidance and counseling is $17 million: the Senate figure is $24,500,000. While even the latter figure falls far short of the amount needed to assure quality counseling, the Senate number at least is a start. I ask you and your colleagues on the House Appropriations Committee will support the higher figure.

There is great interest in the development of innovative programs in education. The greatest innovation of all would be to provide enough counselors to enable us reach our young people, so that we could help them cope with the multiple problems which they face. In addition to helping a disadvantaged environment plagued by discrimination, marginal subsistence, and disruption of normal family relationships, is limited to the development of cultural and educational opportunities.

In a recently completed survey conducted
by our association, we found the following average counselor-pupil ratios:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Average</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000-250,000</td>
<td>1-751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250,000-500,000</td>
<td>1-657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000-1,000,000</td>
<td>1-615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000,000-5,000,000</td>
<td>1-568</td>
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However, in many cities the average was substantially higher (up to 1-2,600). The professionally trained counselor is uniquely qualified to assist the individual student, to encourage educational achievement and career development and to maximize human potential. To accomplish this, the counselor offers a realistic caseload. Ten years ago, accepted professional standards called for a counselor-pupil ratio of 1 to 250 in the secondary schools. An even lower ratio is required for students with special needs.

We recognize that girls must be prepared for their dual role as homemakers and as workers. The new life pattern of the modern woman will include school, work, or marriage, home, and a career. The two periods when women are most likely to work are during their early twenties and after the age of retirement. Career exploration and planning for girls has equal importance for girls but, rather, are underscoring the subtle psychological barriers when they often frozen into stereotyped roles by social expectations. As nurses, or office workers, it should be offered in terms of what the schools can do. A career model offers role models. What is your mother’s occupation? Have any attention ever been given to this question? Has any attention been given in the New York City schools by the guidance and counseling people to the questionnaires that the school brings home from school to filled out? They often come phrased in terms that I think do psychological damage to a child if the mother is in fact working and the father perhaps is unemployed or AWOL. I think it makes the child feel that somehow his family has a social stigma or they are not quite satisfying or conforming to the social norm. It always asks first, “What is your father’s occupation?” Very seldom—in fact, do not think I have ever seen one that puts on an equal basis “What is your mother’s occupation?” There may have been a question written in a rather slighting way to the mother—as “Has your mother any other occupation than housewife.” I have known of instances where small boys especially see this as somehow destroying the father image or giving the impression their family is less important because the mother is the real breadwinner?

It seems to me guidance and counseling should pay some attention to these questions.

Mrs. GREEN. Yes; you are quite right. Representative Green would further comment that in most roles women are printed official documents, they always call for the father’s name first, if they call for the mother’s name.

Mrs. GREEN. Many times the mother is not even to be listed.

Mrs. SHAW. It is generally understood that when the parent’s name is called for, unless the father is listed, the family is deemed to be without a father. If a father is listed as the parent, then this must be a broken home. That is the general assumption.

In our schools we are constantly alert counselors to the importance of career planning for girls. We issue endless mimeographed brochures, statements, pamphlets, about careers for women.

Mrs. GREEN. We cannot legislate on this, but guidance and counseling people could answer the question of what are sent out which give the child the definite impression that the only person who is working is the father and that the mother is unimportant—as if the father is unemployed—somehow he is worthless. I also agree with your statement that girls are counseled right out of potential. They are told not to take these courses, because a woman couldn’t get a job in this area anyhow.” This has happened through the years.

One other question which, again, it seems to me the schools can do something about. It refers to the survey of the number of women who have taken the 278,000 registered apprentices under the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training. Less than 1 percent of the males in the classes—but schools are exempt under title I of the Government. The median income for women, of course, is much less than the median income for men.

It seems to me if this is fact it has tremendous social implications as well as implications for title I of the ESEA and some of the other programs. If any of you have that information or can provide it for me, I would like to have it.

Mrs. SHAW. This is an article in U.S. News & World Report published in April which offers statistics. I am surprised that the figure is as low as 60 percent. I thought it was even higher.

Mrs. GREEN. I thought 60 percent was nothing less.

Mrs. EMLEIBORN. I would join with the witness in saying I would think that figure is rather low, particularly with the type of welfare program we have, which puts a premium on the family without the father. Sixty percent sounds to me as though it might be.

Mrs. SHAW. Here is a reference from the U.S. Women’s Bureau. “Nearly all of the 5.6 million widowed or separated from their husbands were found to be working for compelling economic reasons. In addition, the 4.8 million widowed or separated from their husbands were found to be working for compelling economic reasons. In addition, the 4.8 million widowed or separated from their husbands were found to be working for compelling economic reasons.” That is the labor force status for women, but guidance and counseling people could do something about this.

Mrs. GREEN. And too frequently 100 percent white-Anglo-Saxon men are told to, rather than to force him into a particular area. Many women do and will continue to choose to work because it is necessary. Congress is asking for the same options that men have.

Aside from the apprenticeship program, I was shocked 2 or 3 years ago when we had visiting school superintendents testifying. They spoke of special classes that were available to boys who were potential dropouts but there had been so successful they were doubling the number of classes for boys, and were advising or urging OEO and the Title I program to fill this need. This unequal treatment in public schools was a violation of civil rights and I wrote to the Office of Employment Security, the Women’s Bureau, and the Office of Education. The high unemployment and dropout rate among girls is ample evidence of the need for similar classes— but schools are exempt under title VI.

There was absolutely nothing I could do about such discrimination at that time—since it was as and is legal. I hope to correct this in the current bill which is pending before the committee.

I would also think people in the schools as well as the administration could do a better job of bringing girls in the Job Corps up to 50 percent. Legal provision for that I think we have ever been able to get it as far as the law is concerned is 30 percent, over the violence and the public opinion of it. It seems to me 50 percent of the places should be filled by girls if they want in. At times, the waiting list for approved girls has long been.

In the new Conservation Corps there is no quota written in for girls, and I will be assured if they have programmed for that I repeat these matters that I’ve discussed in previous hearings because I believe guidance people should be aware of these things.

Let me ask you one other question. If I may, last night I watched a program called “The Advocates.”

Mrs. SHAW. I saw the last part of it.

Mrs. GREEN. What is your reaction to that proposal? Let me ask it in two parts: (1) if
March 8, 1971

it were optional, if it were encouraged; and (2) if it became mandatory. Did you see it?

Mrs. GREEN. In the program the suggestion was made to make half-time work available so so that girls who are ambitious and mobile seem to want to do it all but do not do so. The woman is at work half-time, and each would spend half of the time at home. They would still have the same income. It is known before that they are not working.

Mrs. SHAW. I think in theory it is a very good proposal, but practically it would be impossible for the following reason: As we find the hours of work being decreased in any given occupation, whether it be professional, clerical, or any other, people taking the second and third and fourth jobs in order to increase their income. Such an option seems quite reasonable and, in fact, it is an ongoing practice, because many firms have part-time workers, but the effect of this would not be to equalize the homemaking responsibilities of men and women, which I gather is the rationale for the proposal. At least, so I gathered from the discussion which followed.

Wasn't it your feeling that there was a sort of hidden agenda that men should participate equally in the management of the home as women and should contribute to the running of the home, and that this would be possible if that were both feasible and time and gave half their time to the home? If it worked that way, it would be fine. But, again, I can only say it is the rationale of the situation where I see a great many people having more than one job.

People who are ambitious and mobile seem to want to do all that they can do.

Mrs. GREEN. I thought one of the main objectives was that with greater flexibility, more women would work half-time or part-time and still fulfill their obligations at home. In so doing they would attain greater personal fulfillment. I thought that was the second major objective. It would also make it possible for fathers to spend more time with their growing children.

Mrs. SHAW. I agree. There is one very important aspect. While there is a good deal of part-time work available today, it does not carry with it the benefits of full-time work. It does not carry pensions, sick pay, health care, and other fringe benefits that full-time work involves those additional benefits, then I think such a practice might be more effective.

Mrs. GREEN. It would seem to me that our schools, which in past years have had a shortage of personnel and have recruited many only qualified women who would be willing to come back for half a day. Today, when we still have a terrible shortage of health personnel, I do not know why hospital schedules have to be so inflexible. I do not know why nurses and social workers cannot work half-time.

Mrs. SHAW. I think in many instances the practice is in effect. I recall something of the type that was in New York City a few years ago, although I have not heard about it recently. I think they had a sick-a-flock of appli­cants for teaching positions, and I find it very hard to extend this practice. I believe that this was proposed.

Mrs. GREEN. Mrs. Erlenborn?

Mr. ERLENBORN. Might I ask you, Mrs. Shaw, just one question.

On page 6, you say "Thirty years ago it would have been uncommon for a well-meaning teacher to say to a girl, and you give several examples girls were in essence, discourage from entering certain professions. Do you mean to indicate by that that it is uncommon today?

Mrs. SHAW. I think that is a good question. There are many teachers who are still speaking in those terms. Let me amplify.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A few decades ago, most teachers and what­ever few counselors there were counseled in terms of sex roles. They were sex-oriented and deeply devoted to the children's interest. They did not want to see children hurt. So, it would have been very difficult for me to hear someone say to a young Jewish boy "Look, you have a great deal of talent for such and such a subject." You know perfectly well that there is so much antisemitism in that field that you will never get very far. Go into something else where you can succeed.

In the same way some counselors spoke to black students in this vein. William Booth, who is now a judge in New York, was a high school student probably 30 years ago and he frequently tells the story of how he or so years ago in high school he told his teacher or counselor that he wanted to become a radio announcer, and this person said to him "Why prepare to be a radio announcer? There are no black radio announcers. Go into something else. Go into law." He offers that as an example of the discriminatory attitude through the counseling of stu­dents, and of course to a degree that may have been true 30 years ago, teachers and counselors may still do 30 years ago but they weren't doing it from malice. They were doing this in an effort to spare their students the sorts of prejudice that are apparent today. There is an entirely different attitude.

Never, for example, would a qualified coun­selor say to a boy "You can get a Ph.D. because in a university such as Columbia only 2 percent of the tenure professors are women." As a matter of fact, the percentage of Ph.D.s among women dropped from about 20 percent in the 1940's to about 10 percent in the 1960's.

I mean, the distinction between counselors who have special training in a study of occupations in the changing labor market who are able to reach girls and point out oppor­tunities to them, whereas teachers reflect more or less the same attitudes as parents and other members of society. They advise girls to do what seems practical, and what may seem practical at the moment may re­ sult in a tragic underutilization of women's talent eventually. That is why I attach so much importance to the provision of ade­quate counseling in the schools.

In an occupational sense, in a high school a counselor will be responsible for over a thou­sand students. Under those circumstances the counselor can neither counsel the boys nor the girls. It is only where we have these special programs, such as the college discovery program, the college-bound program which we have in New York in a ratio of 1 to 100 that both the girls and boys suc­ceed. They do not drop out. We have demonstr­ated over and over again through these special Federal projects under titles I, III, and V, and other titles that through a pro­gram of counseling the students do well, but having demonstrated that we cannot rep­licate it because of the lack of funds.

Right now there are 10,000 high school students in New York City who are getting superb counseling at a ratio of about 1 counselor to about 1,000 students. But the remain­ing 297,000 are getting it in the ratio of about 1 to 1,200. If you lumped them together you get an overall average of about 1 to 600, but this average is meaningless. Ninety-six percent of our students are getting inadequate counseling and while boys suffer from this many girls do not feel that as as much if you help project boys into career planning. A boy knows that he will have a career some day, and he feels that he is acquainted with all the opportunities that there are for them.

That is why we would strongly urge that a special commission or task force be ap­pointed not so much from the civil rights aspect of looking into discrimination against women but looking into the educational potential of women. There are for a very long time there was a homemaker corner in the nursery school, for girls, and boys were playing with building blocks and fire trucks for boys.

Mrs. GREEN. While I am in agreement with what you are saying, I would like to mention on this, my judgment would be that it would be a small percentage of the American people who would agree with the two of us and therefore such a commission is impos­sible. I would like to have your comments in terms of the Congress. I don't think it would be receptive. I think the majority of our colleagues see this as the woman's role and why have a commission to study it. I suspect, from public opinion polls, that that sentiment is shared by the American people.

Mrs. SHAW. The American people are dis­turbed that such a small percentage of law­yers happen to be women.

Mrs. GREEN. Not at all.

Mrs. SHAW (continuing). And that a small percentage of doctors happen to be women. They aren't?

Mrs. GREEN. No.

Mrs. SHAW. Isn't that disturbing?

Mrs. GREEN. A small minority of women also are Members of Congress. If the public were really concerned they would have different percentages of all of the cases you cite—though not to use wom­en's full potential in education, law, medi­cine, and all fields to the Nation.

Mrs. SHAW. You see, women themselves are their own worst enemies, because they are not seeing girls in very early age to see themselves in this role.

Mrs. GREEN. I want to go off the record—as I've seen some studies that dispute this. (Discussion off the record.)

Mr. ERLENBORN. I have no further ques­tions.

Mrs. SHAW. I agree with you as far as say­ing that women do like women, but I ques­tion the interpretation of that survey. It may be that women did not see themselves as favoring someone because of sex and that men didn't see themselves as favoring or not favoring someone because of sex. It is a ques­tion of identification. When people think of a leader they more generally tend to think of a man in that position because of a long procession of conditioned attitudes systems all over the country. The majority of teachers in any given school are usually women and that sets up a very early idea of what a woman is.

Mrs. GREEN. More recently this has been the case. At one time women were predom­inantly the principals in elementary schools but now they are in the minority.

Mrs. SHAW. I noted, for example, in our own Board of Education that male superin­tendents usually select male executive as­sistants. Now, surely there are just as many capable women executives. Even though these superintendents are all for women's rights when it comes to selecting assistants they feel more comfortable working with men.

Mrs. GREEN. And you have heard the ex­pression from both men and women at times that they dislike working for a woman.

Mrs. GREEN. This has been true, as against the minority—it's been repeated through the years: "How would you like to work under a Negro boss?"

Mr. ERLENBORN. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. I thank you very much, Mrs. Shaw. You have been extremely helpful to our committee.
The Title I programs referred to above have been cited as "exemplary." Indeed, they have produced the most encouraging results. For example, in the College Discovery and Development program, which provided one counselor to every 300 students, a high 59% of the class graduating in June 1969 were admitted to degree-granting institutions. These disadvantaged students, most of whom would have been left behind, were able to benefit from this special help, were able to overcome their academic lacks because of the individual attention which they received in this program.

The problem is that special programs of this type reach only about 5% of our high school population, the remaining 95% among whom a majority need the same kind of help, do not have access to the services of full-time, professionally trained counselors. Let me cite an example in a typical high school with such a program. In Brandeis High School, which has a population of 2,684, there are three counselors serving 600 pupils in the College Bound program, while the remainder of the school population, 4,904 students are served by only three other counselors, in a ratio of 1 to 1,600. The fact is, however, that the 4,904 students are just as disadvantaged as the 600 in the special program and yet do not receive the help they need. Over and over again, we hear the same plea from a school: "There is none of whom we can talk to. The counselors do not have enough time for us." The counselor-pupil ratio, 1:1000, indicates that this problem varies from 1 to 850 to 1 to 1,600. In a recent survey completed by the school authorities in Milwaukee, the following data regarding the counselor-pupil ratios for 20 large cities were shown:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Counselor-Pupil ratio</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>1:300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>1:250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dade County</td>
<td>1:125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1:500</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1:125</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baltimore City</td>
<td>1:150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1:300</td>
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<td>Buffalo</td>
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<td>Boston</td>
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<td>Seattle</td>
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<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>1:125</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>1:60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1:400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td>1:400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Savannah</td>
<td>1:300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indianapolis</td>
<td>1:500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1:500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>1:500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1:700</td>
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</table>

Except for the affluent suburbs, the lack of guidance and counseling in most of our large cities is self-evident.

As you know, although guidance and counseling had its origins in the first decade of the century, its real growth took place in the 1940's and 1950's, largely as a result of the impetus provided by "seed money" through Title I and similar programs. Today, a good many counseling programs are funded under Title I and other Titles, but the "seed money" concept no longer works for the simple reason that cities and municipalities lack the funds to replicate these exemplary programs. What is most urgently needed, if we are to provide every American boy or girl with adequate counseling, is general support for counseling services rather than funds for pilot projects. It has been demonstrated over and over again, in every part of the country, that when intensive counseling services are provided, pupils make dramatic advances.

I would therefore urge your support of full funding for guidance and counseling services for all pupils in elementary and secondary schools. We know that you are a staunch friend of the guidance profession and we appreciate your continuing efforts in behalf of educational improvements.

Very sincerely yours,

DAISY E. SHAW, Director.

FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE

HON. JAMES A. MCLURE
OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. MCLURE. Mr. Speaker, Tim Coughlin, a senior at Bishop Kelly High School in Boise, was the State winner in the Idaho Voice of Democracy contest this year.

This is the week when all of the State champions in the annual contest sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars gather in the Nation's Capital. I would urge my colleagues in the House to take a look at these youngsters, and those who have given up on the next generation would be surprised at what they both see and hear.

I am especially proud of Tim Coughlin. His speech demonstrates so vividly that he truly understands the meaning of democracy and the type of man who has kept us free for two centuries—men with integrity and courage, with a sense of responsibility and an awareness of his era. I comment to you Tim's speech:

FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE

Webster's dictionary defines freedom as the absence of necessity, coercion, or restraint in choice of action. Webster does not define democracy, but Webster's same dictionary defines heritage as something transmitted or acquired from a predecessor.

These two words are summarized the better part of American history. In nearly everything that can be read of our past, you can trace words in and apply them.

Over the years we have inherited a heritage that has emerged, almost a basic blueprint for a free man. Every person that we admire in history had the qualities following.

First, he had the integrity and courage to follow what he knew was right, to defend his decisions when necessary, and the plain ordinary guts that took all the hard knocks that came his way.

Second, he had a responsibility. He placed his beliefs and ideals first, and himself a poor second. He was self-reliant enough to do it alone if need be, to cross a continent to get to Washington, vote with the opposition. We could see freedom as liberty, not license.

Third, he had an awareness of the era in which he was living, of what was going on around him, which could tell him when it was time to sit and when it was time to stand.

And so indeed we have a heritage, but a bit different from what we often picture. To many of us, heritage is something down in the park, that we take the kids to see on Saturday afternoon. That the old forts, ships, planes, and so on are to remind us that in each of these old relics was a man or men who was free. Free, not by being told that he was born into a democracy, but free by thinking, being, doing, and sometimes suffering for what he believed in.

To these men, freedom was not something of the past but of the present. Not something passive, but something active and real.

And so we see, when they fought and won and remained free, we honor the men and the place. One word describes these battles that made America free—dissent.

"The Congressman from Illinois voted for the resolution of the Congressman from Massachusetts, declaring that the war had been unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President."

Shades of the Cooper-Church amendment to end the war? Hardly. The date was December 22, 1847, the war was in Mexico, and the congressman's name: Abraham Lincoln.

In the continent of Europe in the fifteen and sixteen hundreds, the religious beliefs of the people were determined by the rulers of the state. Those who believed differently could either face persecution or leave.

Those who left became our pilgrims and puritans. They disserted, they had the initiative. They recognized the responsibility and an awareness to act, and they began our nation.

The last example is that of Edmund G. Ross, a Republican Senator from Kansas. Ross cast the not guilty vote that acquitted President John Andrew Johnson at impeachment trial in 1868. By courage and adherence to his beliefs, Ross cast the not guilty vote that ended the base grave and saved our form of government.

Each of these people demonstrated the quality dissent. It is a sound, and it is a quality, was not only greater but also more free in his position than those around him.

The voice of dissent is not heard on campus mall or senate floor is the heartbeat of freedom.

Violent dissent though, is a sad mistake.
It changes an open ear and mind to a closed, clenching fist. The Boston Massacre and Kent State both look interesting in the history books, but these are complete dead ends.

Perhaps the heritage of those before us is like a ship's log: It reminds us of where the ship has been, and the man who sailed the ship before us got her through other storms and shoals and kept the ship free.

Like any ship, she is not steered by the hand at the wheel alone. A single lonely man, free in his courage and defiance, pulling a sheet out, can alter the course of the ship, and of history. His actions can be called mutiny and treason, but he is in his own right and he is free.

In his freedom, that one man can guide the ship on to clearer waters.

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON REVENUE SHARING

HON. DAVID R. OBRY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, the Milwaukee Journal took a recent editorial look at some revenue sharing proposals and found merit in the one proposed by Congressman HENRY REUSS and Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY.

Their proposal differs from others by requiring Governors in the second year of revenue sharing to come forward with plans for modernizing State and local governments.

How to improve the financial prospects of State and local governments is of more than passing interest to residents of Wisconsin, which supplies 1.98 percent of Federal tax revenues—excluding social security and other trust fund receipts—while receiving only 1.58 percent of categorical Federal grants paid to States.

The text of the editorial of February 25 follows:

REVENUE SHARING ON THE MOVE

The way appears to be opening for a compromise on President Nixon's far reaching revenue sharing proposals, with the administration backing down on its "no strings attached" grants to state and local governments. In Congress, too, there seems to be recognition that in the face of the need for revenue sharing of some sort it would be futile to have a knock down, drag out battle over how to get the job done.

Secretary of the Treasury John Connally, in the first interview he has granted, told David B. Huston of the Washington Post that the president's goal could be accomplished by broadening present federal grant in aid programs and by retaining the controversial $5 billion no strings attached plan.

Murray L. Weidenbaum, an assistant secretary of the Treasury, indicated to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress that the administration might accept a revenue sharing plan that would be closer to the agenda than it has proposed and with some new restrictions. Asked about an alternative plan proposed by two members of the Senate, Humphrey of Minnesota and Rep. Henry Reuss of Wisconsin, he said: "They have introduced a good bill, and I will not attack it." However, Weidenbaum said later that he hoped the administration bill would be adopted and that...
School—and elected to the New Jersey State Senate from our Passaic County district in 1967 and concurrently continued to serve out his term as mayor of Wayne to which he had been elected in 1964. He was named delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1966 that was nearing the end of its initial term as State senator at the time of his demise.

A stanch Republican, Senator Sisco joined the Wayne organization in 1958 and was named vice chairman of the Wayne Club, being elected Wayne’s Sixth Ward Councilman in 1962. He also became the first council president that year under a new form of government, being re-elected to two terms.

A member of the Wayne Planning Board and the Wayne Library Board, he was also past president of the Lions Club and past public relations director of District 16A Lions International. He was an active member of the Elks, the Wayne Post of the American Legion, Passaic County Republican Organization, Black Oak Ridge Homeowners Association, Picatinny Club, Wayne Township PTA, and the Wayne Musical Theatre group. He served as Passaic County special deputy sheriff, and treasurer of the Quadricity Indicators Solid Waste District Committee.

Senator Sisco was a former employee of the Erie Railroad Co. and served 5 years as a labor representative of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers. He was a representative with the Marylands Glass Co. and president of the Lor Mark Packaging Co. and T-Bowl International. He was director and member of the executive committee of the Ramapo Bank.

The Wayne Elks Lodge, of which Senator Sisco was a member, conducted services at the Moore’s Home for Families, Wayne Chapel, and with State police as honorary pallbearers and Reverend Robert Grant of Embury United Methodist Church of Paterson, where Senator Sisco’s father officiated, the Senator was laid to rest this morning in Laurel Grove Cemetery, Totowa, N.J.

I ask my colleagues to join with me in a moment of silent prayer in the memory of a distinguished American, Senator Edward M. Sisco from the Township of Wayne, County of Passaic, State of New Jersey. May his wife and children soon find abiding comfort in the faith that God has given them and the knowledge that Ed is now under His eternal care.

MAN’S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

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

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

INVASION OF LAOS

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith an excellent document prepared by the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Toward Vietnam. The statement below is a clear, cogent and compelling statement on the errors and evils of the invasion of Laos by the Nixon administration.

I include the statement as follows:

LAWYERS COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD VIETNAM

The Administration's argument that Congressional restrictions on the use of American ground combat troops in Laos and Cambodia authorize, by implication, the air war in those countries is sheer sophistry. War, under our Constitution, cannot be authorized by implication; military operations are valid only by affirmative action by Congress.

In the present constitutional climate, members of Congress have seemingly overlooked the National Commitments Resolution overwhelmingly adopted by the Senate on June 25, 1969. This Resolution states (so far as here pertinent):

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, * * * and (2) it is the sense of the Senate that a national commitment by the United States 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.

It is indisputable that the President's use of American forces in Laos has flagrantly contravened the National Commitments Resolution which was adopted to preclude such Presidential unilateral action.

In the absence of affirmative action taken by Congress specifically authorizing military measures, the President's constitutional powers under the commander-in-chief clause do not authorize him to wage war. The Founding Constitutional Convention in Congress alone the sole power to commit our armed forces to hostilities abroad—to safeguard our nation against invasion and to commit our country to a trial of force. The commander-in-chief clause merely delegates to the President the duty of the top of the pyramid of military command—making him, in Alexander Hamilton's words, "first general and admirals in their last rank." President Nixon cannot even rely on the Tonkin Gulf Resolution on which President Johnson relied as a legal basis for waging war in Vietnam for that Resolution has been repealed and indeed the repealer was signed by President Nixon himself, therefore not a vestige of Congressional authorization for committing American forces to military adventures on foreign territory (Laos, Cambodia).

The national committee's resolution reflected an accurate description of the constitutional responsibility of the President and Congress, adopted toward the end of restoring the proper constitutional balance. The executive and legislative branches should take all necessary measures to assure compliance with the national commitments resolution and to bring to a halt the violation thereof.

Since Congress has not authorized military hostilities in Southeast Asia, President Nixon's constitutional powers, as Commander-in-chief, to protect American honor and to maintain American security in Southeast Asia are far too long a period within which to be sure that constitutional responsibility. The best protection of American interests is to remove them from Vietnam—not to retain them to continue military operations.

Madame Binh, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, who has told the Paris Conference that if President Nixon will establish and abide by a date for the unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of P.R.G. will unconditionally withdraw all of our troops as well as immediate discussion of the release of prisoners of war. President Nixon's refusal to meet this offer and instead a policy that jeopardizes the lives of our troops and postulates a narrowly constituted military regime maintained by President Nixon's constitutional powers, as Commander-in-chief, to wage war and determine the present position of heads of a narrowly constituted military regime maintained by President Nixon's unconstitutional powers, to give a veto to a foreign pontificate over American military affairs and to arrest the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam and Cambodia.

Thieu and Ky, who have emphatically stated their opposition to the withdrawal of American military support, ask: "Why should we give Thieu the right to dictate American policy? I can't conceive why anybody should give a veto to a foreign potentate no matter who he is." (Look, November 15, 1968.)

Congress, in enacting the Cooper-Church amendments, made clear that whatever the powers of the President as Commander-in-chief, no ground troops or advisers were to be sent into Laos or Cambodia. The Cooper-Church amendments were intended to restrict American involvement in Indochina, not to exacerbate it. The air war being waged in Laos and Cambodia is contrary to the intent and spirit of Congressional restrictions as pointed out by Senator Mansfield in the T.V.-Radio program, "Face the Nation" (Jan. 29).

Since President Nixon lacks any constitutional power to wage war in Indochina, Congress could act to halt such unconstitutional activities. In Congress, by violating the Constitution, it is Congress' responsibility to institute impeachment proceedings against President Nixon and every person who has been impeached for acts much less iniquitous.

We have been told that we are defending American honor, but both Thieu and Ky and most of the world's nations feel that the spectacle of the enormously destructive U.S. military arsenal, especially in the case of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam and Laos, tarnishes American honor. Senator Mansfield, arrayed against pawn soldiers, has defied American honor as never before in our history.

We urge the Foreign Relations Committee
to withholds endorse legislation prohibiting
all offensive military action in Southeast Asia
and setting an early deadline in 1971 for
the withdrawal of all American forces.

We believe it would be a mistake to adopt
the Javits bill designed to "regulate underl
signed warfare"--even if the aim of "protecting
American lives" it could be construed to
place a stamp of approval upon the military
operations in Laos and Cambodia. In our
view, it detracts from the force of the na
tional commitments resolution.

Lamentably, too many members of Con
gress have accepted as valid the insidious
false notion projected by the Administration
that the President is authorized under the
Commander-in-Chief clause to do "anything
anywhere" merely by pronouncing the magic
words--"for the protection of our troops". In
Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer, 343
U.S. 570, 641-42 (1952), the Supreme Court
rejected similar claims made by the Execu
tive as to the scope of power conferred by the
Commander-in-Chief clause. The Administra
tion's claims would confer upon the Presi
dent unlimited executive power to wage
war--an evil which the Founding Fathers de
cided to exercise when they vested the war-
making power in the Congress--in the body
most broadly representative of the people.

The tragedy in Southeast Asia bespeaks the
failure of the Administration to understand
that the President is authorized under the
necessary and adequate war powers of the Con
gress to take the action.

According to recent surveys, business spend
ings on capital goods, a key element in any
business expansion long before it flowers.

The difficulties in the path of enjoying true
believers are accentuated by the refusals of both the Council of Economic
Advisers and the Office of Budget and Man
agement to make the detailed sectoral fore-
casts upon which administration economists
have in the past relied.

One explanation of the omission might be
the presence in the White House of a power
ful surrogate for Dr. Milton Friedman, the
famous┊氹经济学家, Dr. Paul McCracken. A
reasonable explanation of the pessimism which so de
tailed inquiry is highly likely to Instill. The
President is obviously relying upon a survey of consumer attitudes and intentions
which identifies few signs that ordinary Americans, af
licted by uncertainties about prices and produc
tion, will have less and spend more at

The contours of workable economic policy
are not very difficult to sketch. Sensible econom
omics and politics and the death of laissez-faire and do not flinch from the
facts of economic power. Prices, incomes, and
employment are heavily influenced by the
decisions of the giant oligopolies which dominate manufacturing, the major unions
which face them in collective bargaining
and the AMA-teaching hospital complex
which determines the structure of med
ical care. The only way to manipulate inno
mations are of course influenced by market
forces.

Nevertheless, typically they exercise con siderable discretion in their responses to market exigencies. Thus it was that Bethle
hem Steel, in the middle of a spell of flagging sales, under pressure from construction unions tacitly to bargain for fewer
hours with the pressure of competitive markets upon the economy. Prices, incomes, and
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EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 9, 1971

argument is compelling either for militant anti-trust enforcement and consequently fragmenting of large corporations or for significant wage-price controls. I suggest that the public support for radical anti-trust to be imperceptible but public approval of wage and price controls is acceptable. The economic logic and political feasibility in harmony.

Inflationary incomes policy in 1971 implies a good deal more than a revival of jawboning or even a combination of jawboning with the resurrection of the wage-price guideposts. As Professor Samuelson has pointed out that the guideposts did have a perceptible anti-inflationary impact, they operated at their most effective during the period which trailed after eight years of slow economic growth, three recessions, and high average rates of unemployment. Although the social costs of Eisenhower economic policy were too high to encourage repetition of the experience, it must be conceded that eight years of frugality certainly did rid Americans of inflationary expectations.

However, inflationary expectations remain a fact of life in the present. The need arises, therefore, for stronger medicine, in the form of price and income policies. Such policies are adequately supported: they do not consist of a dash of Robert Roosa with a dram of J. K. Galbraith. Which is to say they must be free of the temptation to be perceived and prices for six months and employ the time to design a set of selective wage and price controls. As I have written is Galbraith, I share Galbraith's view that the place to impose the controls is where the markets are least free. This is of course not administratively convenient: it is far easier to regulate Fortune's elite list of the top 500 industrial corporations and the unions with which they deal than it is to supervise myriads of small businessmen and merchants.

If the economy in 1971 is to move into a vigorous recovery, monetary and fiscal policy must march in step. It is almost certain that the prudential for such disciplined harmony of movement is administrative restraint of the key wage and price decisions. Such restraint will alloy the inflationary fears of the central bankers and encourage the White House to persevere in its promise of budgetary stimulation.

The search for successful post-Keynesian economic policy focuses upon employment. My co-panelist Dr. George Perry has recently conducted an important inquiry into the two main ingredients of post-Keynesian trade-off between unemployment and inflation. The labor force is now composed of a greater proportion of potential than of actual workers. Both groups suffer from higher than average unemployment rates. An implication of this demographic shift is the tendency of prices to stir menacingly at overall rates of unemployment which are unacceptable high, on the order of 5 per cent. A decade or so ago, the danger point was 1 or even 1½ per cent lower.

What follows is not the counsel of despair that we should give up on either employment or inflation. The moral is different. Sophisticated policy which successfully reconciles unexpected unemployment with a successful price strategy requires attention to manpower as well as to incomes. Unfortunately, the President's and a promise of a prospective congressional initiative, last session's attempt to authorize a modest number of public service jobs in hospitals, parks, museums, law enforcement agencies, and schools. Only a few years ago, President Johnson's automatic stabilizers appeared to promise over 5 million unfilled jobs in the public sector at existing levels of staffing and average unemployment rates, which were to be smaller. A good public employment program would serve two desirable ends. It would cope with a component of unemployment peculiarly intractable to monetary and fiscal policies.

III

Briefly to recapitulate my four recommendations, I begin with the identification of a need for substantially more fiscal stimulus from the federal budget if the President contemplates. At a guess, a full-employment budget deficit of $60 billion would make a proper target. After Congress has done its best and Samuelson, as I recall, will move to repeat the praise of your body which he expressed last year in the wake of Congress's additions to White House budget requests.

The rate of monetary expansion should rise to something over 6 per cent, possibly as high as 8 per cent. An incomes policy fully equipped with sharp teeth is essential partly to mollify the monetary authorities, but still more to mitigate the inequities which attend continued inflation.

Finally, the assault upon unemployment must contain structural as well as aggregative elements, notably manpower training and retraining, a public service jobs program. As a Depressionist, I recall with a certain pleasure that the 1938 platform of my party incorporated a social service job program in which the federal government would become the employer of last resort. Even though the 1968 presidential campaign, the voters were prudent enough to retain Democratic majorities in both houses.

It is something, I suppose, that that practical man, Mr. Nixon, has attached himself to an economic policy which was quite up-to-date two or three decades ago. This is not enough. The post-Keynesian universe demands attention to the facts of economic power and the circumstances of groups unable to protect themselves partly free and partly privately dominated.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT LEKACHMAN, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT STONY BROOK BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

FEBRUARY 26, 1971

In preparation for my appearance before this Committee, I took the sensible precaution of examining the relevant economic literature. On the leading journals on June and July of last year. As I suspected, I discovered that I was in the slightly embarrassing position of finding myself in substantial agreement with two of your earlier witnesses, Dr. Robert Roosa and Professor J. K. Galbraith. Both of them, of course, have expressed the view that we are facing a fact of life in the present. The need arises, for example, for wage restraint will allay the inflationary tendencies and public sector employment. As a Democrat, I would like to retain Democratic majorities in both houses.

It is something, I suppose, that that practical man, Mr. Nixon, has attached himself to an economic policy which was quite up-to-date two or three decades ago. This is not enough. The post-Keynesian universe demands attention to the facts of economic power and the circumstances of groups unable to protect themselves partly free and partly privately dominated.

Like them I judge that the best feasible incomes policy commences with a freeze of wages, prices, and, I would add, dividends. While the freeze is in force, the President, in consultation with leaders of the major private interests involved, should design a workable scheme of wage, price, and dividend regulation. The President shall be required to present his proposed plan of operation. After such approval is registered, the President will be empowered to regulate out of the freeze the vast majority of enterprises which operate in competition under conditions in which the power which they exert is, the greater is the menace to public purpose and the more immediate is the necessity for public intervention.

II

For the reasons that immediately follow, I believe 1971 economic policy to be threatened by the probable exercise of private economic power.

Let us consider the character of 1971 needs and the responsibilities of government by the Administration of the most significant changes of our day, Mr. Nixon has de-
The major provisions of the bill are as follows:

1. Congress shall direct the President to freeze prices, wages, dividends, and rents at the levels which obtained on February 1, 1971 or on such subsequent date as Congress prefers.

2. The freeze will continue in effect until:
   a. The President after consultation with both Congress and the public promulgates a workable plan for the regulation of key private decisions which affect wages and prices;
   b. Congress approves the President's regulatory scheme;
   c. Congress appropriates the funds needed to administer incomes regulation.

3. As long as the freeze lasts, the President will be empowered, as under the current legislation and as may be necessary to prevent gross inequities.

4. Congress shall appropriate the necessary levels for such purposes to the executive branch.

5. A new TNEC charged like its predecessor with sketching the map of private economic power, as well as with designing a long-run framework for the guidance of those who exercise private economic power. The Commission's membership should be drawn from Congress, the executive branch, and the public.

The collapse of Nixon Game Plan 1 is a convincing demonstration of the imperfections of price and employment objectives. Since no democratic society can calmly accept either high unemployment or serious inflation for any but a brief period, the failure of Nixon Game Plan II will pass a similar verdict upon the inadequacies of simple-minded Keynesian fiscal stimulus, unaccompanied by structural interventions into the places where private market power determines economic policy.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, today I reintroduce the National Public Employee Relations Act, to provide basic collective bargaining rights for more than 10 million Federal, State, and municipal workers who have to date been denied rights we have come to consider as fundamental for working men and women.

Years of experience in the private sector have proven to us that when the law and the public interest are best served when orderly, fair, and enforceable procedures are available for the peaceful resolution of employer-employee problems. This bill would do for public employees much of what the National Labor Relations Act did for workers in private industry, by guaranteeing the right to organize, to bargain collectively, and providing a framework within which those rights can be effectively exercised.

The major provisions of the bill are as follows:
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 9, 1971

The rights of public employees are defined to include the right to organize, bargain collectively, and engage in other concerted activities for the purpose of mutual aid or protection without interference or restraint. Employees are free to join a labor organization or engage in peaceful interfering by an employer with the exercise of these rights is declared an unfair labor practice. Provisions are made for deduction of union dues from wages if authorized by the employee.

A 5-man National Public Employee Relations Commission is established to administer the provisions of the Act. The Commission is empowered to oversee elections by which representation is determined.

A grievance procedure is established to resolve complaints of employers and employees alleging violations of the Act, with court review upon application of either party. Provision is made for mediation and fact-finding by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Once passed, the act would apply to all Federal, State, and local employees, but any State could by law establish its own procedures for public employee-employer bargaining which, if substantially similar to the Federal law, would then apply.

Mr. Speaker, public employees in this country through no fault of their own have been bypassed by the recent fast-moving labor force. In 1935, Congress adopted the National Labor Relations Act, determining that the best guarantee of fair wages and decent working conditions was to allow employees to organize and actively represent and defend their own interests. How incongruous that these same reasons should not be applied to those who perform public service. While trade unions have provided untold benefits to millions, the public sector has been locked into an antiquated, bureaucratic freezer. Those who oppose the idea of collective bargaining for public employees will inevitably object that the right to bargain collectively ultimately means the right to strike. Although this bill neither creates nor prohibits the right to strike, it should be noted that the present system has not avoided strikes by public employees, even though such strikes are illegal. What the existing practice has proven is that when no adequate mechanisms exist to protect the interests of employees and to speak to their grievances about wages, hours, and working conditions, the threat of strikes is ineffective to keep them at their jobs. Clearly all parties can best be served by a system which recognizes public employees as employees, with all the rights and responsibilities shared by employees in the private sector.

SCOUTING SURVEY OF THE CONGRESS

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, one of the most influential youth organiza-
tions in the free world and in America today is the Boy Scouts of America.

In this Nation more than 4½ million boys of Scouting age are members of Cub Scouts, Boy Scouts, and Explorers, one of every four eligible. The Cub packs, Boy Scout troops, and Explorer posts exist in every corner of the Nation, open to girls as well as boys in every race, religion, and social and economic station. Each opens up to the young men in its area an opportunity for the leadership and character training that are the basic principles of the whole Scouting movement.

In addition to the boys involved in Scouting, the leadership opportunity involves more than a million and a half adults, dedicated to assisting America's youth to become better citizens through the programs offered in Scouting.

That Scouting can be one of the most valuable ingredients in the character and leadership training of our citizens is factually substantiated by the statistics shown here in the halls of Congress. As during each of the past three Congresses, I have surveyed each new Member of the 92d Congress. Results show that 65 percent of all the male Members of the current House and Senate have participated in Scouting, either as Scouts, volunteer leaders, or in both capacities. And if participation in Scouting can provide one of the measures of the quality of the legislative branch of Government—and I believe that it does—the quality for this Congress is higher by 1 percent than during the 91st Congress.

The results of my Scouting survey of the Congress have been turned over to the Boy Scouts of America for their use and distribution throughout the BSA organization and to others interested in the Scouting movement. As I have in the past, I also am inserting the results in the Record for your use by my colleagues:

SURVEY OF 92D CONG., 1ST SESS., RELATIVE TO PARTICIPATION IN BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, CONDUCTED BY CONGRESSMAN CLARENCE J. BROWN, OHIO

Representatives Senators Total
Scout (only) 156 37 193
Scout and leader 84 15 99
Leader only 199 41 240
No participation 422 99 521
Women Members 12 1 13
Vacant 2 2
Total Members 436 100 536

I includes Puerto Rico Representative.

Total Members who have participated in Scouting (in various capacities).

Total who were Scouts: 292.

Total who were leaders: 143.

EMERLE SCOUTS

Senators Frank Moss, Utah (D), Richard Schweiker, Penn. (R), Lloyd Bentsen, Tex. (D), and Hubert Humphrey, Minn. (D).

Representatives: Bill Alexander, Ark. (D), Burd Talcott, Ind. (R), Victor Vesey, Calif. (R), Charles Bennett, Flas, (R), Roger Zion, Ind. (R), John Olver, Iowa (D), Keith J. Huscroet, Kans. (R), Larry Wina, Jr., Kans. (D), Patrick T. Caffery, La. (D), George J. Ford, Mich. (R), John A. Hntnik, Minn. (D), and David C. Wall, Mo. (R).

John E. Hunt, N.J. (R), Barber B. Conable, N.Y. (R), Mark Anderson, N.D. (R), Clarence J. Brown, Ohio (R), J. William Stanton, Ohio (R), Tom Steed, Okla. (D), John R. Delenbeck, Oreg. (R), Daniel J. Flood, Penn. (D), B. Amberg, Wis. (R), J. J. (Jake) Pickle, Tex. (D), John O. Manrie, Jr., Va. (D), and Henry S. Reuss, Wis. (D).

SILVER BEAVER

(Regional Award for outstanding volunteer service)

Senator Mark Hatfield, Oreg. (R), Representative Durward Hall, Mo. (R), and John Ware, Pa. (R).

CUB SCOUT DEN MOTHER

Representatives Florence P. Dwyer, N.J. (R), Loulie D. Mass, (D), and Ella T. Grasso, Conn. (D).

Scout denoted by "S"; Leader or Adult Volunteer denoted by "L"; Scout and Leader denoted by "S & L".

Alabama

Senator John Sparkman (D), S & L

George W. Andrews (D), S

John H. Bankhead, Jr. (D), S & L

William Dickinson (B), S

Walter W. Flowers (D), S & L

Arizona

Senator Barry Goldwater (B), S

Senator Paul Fannin (R), S

Senator Barry Goldwater, Jr. (R), S

Richard Hana (D), S & L

Craig Hosmer (R), S

Harold Johnson (D), S

Robert Leggett (D), S & L

John McParl (D), L

William Mailliard (R), S

Bob Mathias (R), S

Paul McConisky (S), L

John E. Moss (D), S

Ed Reinecke (R), S & L

John Housenrot (R)

Edward Royal (S)

H. Allen Smith (R), S & L

Burt Talcott (R), S & L

Charles Vesper (R), S

Lionel Van Deerlin (D), S

Victor Vesey (R), S & L

Jeremy Wald (D), S

Bob Wilson (B, S & L)

Colorado

Representative Wayne Aspinall (D), S

Donald Brotzman (R), S

Frank Evans (D), S

James McKevitt (R), S

Connecticut

Senator Lowell Weicker (R), S

Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D), S
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Speedy O. Long (D), S.
Otto E. Passman (D), S.
Joe D. Waggonner (D), S.
Maine

Senator Edmund Muskie (D), S.
William Hathaway (D), S.
Peter Kyros (D), S.

Maryland

Senator Charles McC. Mathias (R), S.
Senator Glenn Beall (R), S.
Goodloe Byron (D), S & L.

Senator Thomas O'Neill, Jr., (D), L.

Michigan

Senator Robert Griffin (R), S & L.
William Broomefield (D), S & L.
Garry Brown (R), S.
Elford Cederberg (R), S.
John D. Dingell (D), S & L.
Gerald R. Ford (R), S.
Edward Humphrey (R), S.
Lucien N. Nedzi (D, L).
Philip Ruppe (R), S.

Minnesota

Senator Hubert Humphrey (D, S L).
Senator Walter Mondale (D, S).
Bob Bergland (D, S).
John Blatnik (D, S).
Donald Fraser (S, L).
Bill Preusel (R, S).
Joseph Karth (D, S & L).

Missouri

Thomas G. Abernathy (D, S & L.
G. V. Montgomery (D, S).

Mississippi

Bill D. Burrison (D, S & L.
William Clay (D, S).
Durward Hall (H, S & L).
W. R. Hull, Jr. (D, L).
William L. Hungate (D, S).
William J. Randall (D, S).

Montana

Senator Lee Metcalf (D, S & L.
Richard Shoup (R, S).

Nebraska

Dave Martin (E, S & L.
John McCollister (B, S & L.

Nevada

Senator Howard W. Cannon (D, S.
Senator Walter S. Barings (D, S).

New Hampshire

Senator Norris Cotton (R, S).
Senator Thomas McIntyre (D, L.
Louts C. Wyman (R, S).

New Jersey

Senator Clifford Case (R, S & L.
Senator Harrison Williams, Jr. (D, L.
Cornelius Gallagher (D, S).
James J. Howard (D, S).
John E. Hurst (B, S & L).
Joseph Minish (D, S).
Charles Sandusky (R, S).
William Wildinall (B, S & L).

New Mexico

Senator Clinton Anderson (D, L.
Manuel Lujan (B, S & L.
Harold Runnels (D, S & L.

New York

Herman Badillo (D, S).
Hugh L. Carey (D, L.
Barber Conable, Jr. (R, S & L.
John G. Dow (D, S & L).
Thaddeus Dulski (D, S & L).
Hamilton Fish (L, S).
James Crowder, Jr. (R, B, S).
Seymour Halpern (B, S & L).
James F. Hastings (R, S).
Frank Horton (B, S & L.

North Carolina

Senator B. Everett Jordan (D), L.
James Broyhill (D, S).
L. H. Fountain (D, S).
Nick Galikanaki (D, S).
David Henderson (D, S).
Senator Walter Jones (D, S).
Charles Jonas (R, S).
Alton Lennon (D, S & L.
Senator Richardson, Freaier (D, S & L.
Earl B. Butts (D).
Roy Taylor (D, S & L.

North Dakota

Mark Andrews (R, S).

Ohio

John Ashbrook (R, L).
Jackson Betts (R, S & L.
Samuel Devine (R, S).
William Harsha (R).
Wayne Hays (D, R).
Delbert Latta (R, S).
Senator Clarence Miller (R, S).
William Minshall (R, L).
Charles Mosher (R, L).
Senator Walter Powell (S, R).
J. William Stanton (S, L.
Louis Stokes (D, S & L.
Chalmers Wykle (R, S & L.

Oklahoma

Senator Fred Harris (D, S).
Carl Albert (D, S & L.
Page Belcher (R, L).
Senator John N. Happy Camp (R, S & L.
Ed Edmondson (D, S).
Senator John Jamrzan (D, L.
Senator Tom Steed (D, S & L.

Oregon

Senator Mark Hatfield (R, S & L.
Senator John D. Dehaven (R, S).
Al Uhlman (D, S).

Pennsylvania

Senator Richard Schweiker (R, S & L.
Senator Hugh Scott (R, S).
Edward Bister (R, S).
Frank Clark (D, S & L.
Robert Corbett (R, S).
R. Lawrence Coughlin (D, S).
Joshua Eilberg (D, S & L.
Senator Daniel Flood (D, S).
Senator Jane Sutton (L, R).
Albert Johnson (R, L.
Senator Joseph McDade (D, S & L.
Senator Edward Specter (D, S).
Senator Robert Dole (D).
Senator J. Irvine Whipley (S, S & L.
Senator L. G. Williams (R, S).
Senator Gus Taron (D).

Rhode Island

Senator Claiborne Pell (D, S).

South Carolina

Senator Ernest Hollings (D, S).
Senator Strom Thurmond (R, S & L.
Senator John McMillan (D, L.
Floyd Spence (R, S & L.

South Dakota

Senator Karl Mundt (R, S & L.

Tennessee


United States

Senator Jack Kemp (R, S).
Carleton King (S, L).
Robert McMillian (D, S).
Otis Pike (D, S & L.
Bertram Fodek (D, S & L.
Senator Harry Reid (R, S).
Howard Robinson (R, S & L.
John Rooney (D, S).
Henry Smith III (R, S & L.
Senator Samuel Stratton (D, S & L.
Senator John Terry (R, S).
Senator John Wyler (R, S).

Virginia

Senator Happy Camp (R, S & L.
Senator William Fulbright (D, S & L.
Senator William Fulbright (D, S & L.

Washington

Senator Warren Magnuson (D, S & L.
Senator Henry M. Jackson (D, S & L.
Senator Henry M. Jackson (D, S & L.
Senator Warren Magnuson (D, S & L.

Wisconsin


Wyoming

Senator Alan Simpson (R, S & L.
Senator Alan Simpson (R, S & L.
Senator Alan Simpson (R, S & L.
Senator Alan Simpson (R, S & L.
Senator Alan Simpson (R, S & L.

Delaware

Senator J. Caleb Boggs (R, S, L.
Senator William Roth, Jr. (R, L).

Georgia

Senator Edward Gurney (R, S.
Senator Lawton Chiles (D, S & L.
Charles Bennett (D, S).
J. Herbert Proctor (R, S).
Dante B. Fascell (D, S).
Don Fraser (R, S).
Sam Gibbons (D, S).
Senator Wiley Mayne (R).

Senator Harold Runnels (D, S).
Joe D. Waggonner (D, S).

Georgi

Benjamin Blackburn (R, S & L.
Jack Brinkley (D, L).
John Flynn, Jr. (D, S & L.
G. Elliott Hagan (L).
Phil Landrum (D, S).
Dawson Mathis (D, S & L.
Senator Robert Momence, Jr. (D, L.
W. S. (Bill) Stubey, Jr. (D, S & L.
Senator Frank Church (D, S).
Senator Charles Mathias (R, S & L.
Frank Annunzio (D, L).
Lee Arends (R, S).
Senator Harold Cider (R, S).
Philip Crane (R, S).
Senator Edward Derwiniski (R, S).
John Erdelborn (R, S).
Robert McCotter (D, S).
Ralph Metcalfe (D, S).
Senator Morgan Murphy (D, S).
Senator Roman Pucineski (D, S).
Senator Dan Rosenksz (D, S & L.
Senator Franklin O. Olin (D, S).

Indiana

Jim Branch (D, S & L.
David Dennis (R, S).
Lee Hamilton (D, S).
Ewwood Hillis (R, S).
Senator Andrew Land (D, S).
Senator Roger Zlon (R, S & L.

Iowa

Senator Harold E. Hughes (D, S).
Senator Jack Miller (R, S).
John C. Culver (D, S).
Senator John Kyl (R, L).
Fred Schwegel (R, L).
Neal Smith (L, D).

Kansas

Senator Bob Boise (R, S).
Senator James Pearson (R).
Senator Keith Sebelius (R, S).
Garner Shriver (R, S & L.
Senator Joe Shirbits (D).
Larry Winn, Jr. (R, S & L.
William R. Boy (D, S).

Kentucky

Senator John S. Cooper (R, S).
Senator John C. Cook (D, S).
Senator W. G. Cater (D, S).
Gene Snyder (R, S).
Frank Thome (D, S).
Senator John C. Watts (D, S).

Louisiana

Hale Boggs (D, S).
Senator Patrick Caffery (D, S).

March 9, 1971
Health Care Plan Glosses Over Problems" This excellent editorial on a clearly inadequate program to meet the Nation's health needs merits careful consideration:

NIXON'S HEALTH CARE PLAN GLOSSES OVER PROBLEMS

President Nixon's health care proposals would undoubtedly plug some holes in the present system of medical care, but they seem to offer relatively little that is new and constructive, and they raise some basic problems.

The goals of any change in the system of paying for medical care should be, it seems to us:

- To provide more nearly equal access to good medical care.
- To improve cost control.
- To reorganize methods of delivering medical care to make them more efficient and effective.

To cover those kinds of services that now, even for persons with medical insurance, pose a major burden.

To finance the cost of medical care in the most equitable and tolerable method.

Pursuant to the NIXON's approach will be considered with the others. But if we are indeed ready and willing to act on a comprehensive answer to health care financing than we have now, then it is likely that the President's legislation will be found to outweigh its strengths. Mr. Nixon has not provided a definitive answer by a long shot.

When jobs run out

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1971

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, Congress last year approved a public service bill tied to a comprehensive manpower training act which was vetoed by the President. A principal objection stated by the President at the time was that the legislation was inflationary. Just recently, the President offered a $2 billion a year program aimed at revenue sharing which includes funds for public service employment for the unemployed.

Apparently what was inflationary last year has become legislatively feasible this year in light of a soaring unemployment rate which is being felt most severely in the cities. I hope that the President's submission of a manpower training plan tied to revenue sharing will not lead the fact that what the cities need now is immediate emergency employment relief—relief this Congress can grant without further delay.

The lack of employment for thousands of persons who want to work in Philadelphia should clearly illustrate why we must have such emergency legislation. I attempted to translate for the Select Subcommittee on Labor just what a cold unemployment rate statistic means to the lives of people in a statement submitted last Thursday, March 4. I insert the statement in the Record at this point:

REMARKS OF ROBERT N. C. NIX, PREPARED FOR THE SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR ON THE EMPLOYMENT EFFECTS OF THE REVENUE SHARING BILL

Honorable Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, today we are well along the road to a crisis in unemployment not unlike that which greeted President Roosevelt nearly four decades ago.

Time has elapsed, technology has improved immensely and the social structure of our society has changed, though somewhat slower than most of us would like to see. Yet the basic situation is the same: serious unemployment problems exist and especially in the large cities.

I am deeply disturbed by the January figures which show an unemployment rate of 6 percent nationally and 5.4 percent in my City of Philadelphia. Of course statistics, in cold isolation, must be translated to human terms to fully realize the seriousness of the present crisis. To state one city's problem more dramatically: there are 114,400 people in the City of Philadelphia who are seeking work and for whom no jobs are available.

It should be of little comfort to the distinguished Members of this Subcommittee to know that Philadelphia's rate of unemployment was slightly below the national seasonally adjusted average for January, 1971. It is still high, Mr. Chairman, much too high.

NIXON'S HEALTH CARE PLAN GLOSSES OVER PROBLEMS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the Record an excellent editorial appearing in the Saturday, February 20, 1971, Detroit, Mich., Free Press entitled "Nixon's
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 9, 1971

HON. HERMAN BADILLO
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's Washington Post carried a very timely and perceptive article regarding the efficiency of implementing an all-volunteer armed force. This well-written rebuttal to earlier negative arguments was prepared by the former executive director of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force—the Gates Commission.

As the author, William H. McKeeling, accurately notes, the Gates Commission—whereby men and women opposed to a volunteer army concept at the beginning—carefully examined all aspects of the problem, including those objections raised by Mr. Joseph A. Califano in his earlier article. Mr. McKeeling has effectively countered the objections which have been raised on the basis of economics, national defense policy, social values, and the like.

He has substantially contributed to belief many of the myths and fears to those who would oppose its establishment on these bases.

Mr. Speaker, I believe what Mr. McKeeling has to say should be carefully considered by all of us and I am pleased to present his article herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

THE CASE FOR AN ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCE

(By William H. McKeeling)

(Note.—The writer, dean of the Graduate School of Management, University of Rochester, is the former executive director of the Administration, the Economic and Technology and Automation and Economic Progress reports that there are 5.3 million potential public service jobs in this country, and the Administration vetoed the bill, criticizing it on the ground that it was not conducive to achieving lasting reforms. Rather than temporary legislation, I hope we could join together to achieve lasting reforms which provide State and local governments with sustained resources to meet their community's employment and job training needs—and in so doing better meet the needs of the nation.

But at the same time, he criticized this proposed legislation for being temporary. He said, and I quote:

"Given political realities, one must question whether a program of such magnitude could be ended by either falling unemployment or the expiration of this legislation."
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 9, 1971

If the draft inhibits a President in any way, it inhibits his ability to prosecute a long war in Southeast Asia. This is a vital point that has not been sufficiently emphasized. The ‘irritant and inhibition of young men who do not want to be drafted’ is an inadequate phrase. It did not appear in this case until long after the Gulf of Tonkin.

The claim that ‘the draft is color blind as far as economic and social status is concerned’ is based on a widely held misconception. Conscription has not and does not provide the same opportunities for all. Only 3 per cent of the enlistees in the military in 1969 were college graduates, while 60 per cent of White College graduates. The vast majority of the enlisted personnel are high school graduates from lower-middle and middle-income families. Furthermore, the over-representation of children from affluent families can and do find ways to avoid the draft.

Moreover, these facts have not, and will not, change dramatically with the introduction of the lottery, or with elimination of the educational deferment. The affluent simply turn to other bases for avoiding service—medical deferments, conscientious objection, various legal stratagems, emigration, and ultimately, the draft. The Selective Service System is now beleaguered by these problems. It is naively believed that any other system—except perhaps a ‘volunteer’ system—will work. But a ‘volunteer’ force is likely to be a ‘poor man’s army.’

The very concept of a voluntary draft in an increasingly eroding world of the will to sacrifice particularly on the part of our affluent citizens. . .

4. There are other policy questions. With the volunteer army, not the least of which are the enormous financial costs.

In its deliberations the Gates Commission considered these (some extent contradictory) arguments as well as a number of other arguments against a voluntary force. Nevertheless the members believe, although we unanimously believe that the nation’s interests will be better served by an all-volunteer force. The argument that would preclude the commission’s decision to maintain that level—all simply by irrelevant than Mr. Califano provides draft calls. Would Mr. Califano tend to commit the forces to combat, but, to appropriate the funds required to raise military personnel? palpably turn to other bases for avoiding service—medical deferments, conscientious objection, various legal stratagems, emigration, and ultimately, the draft. The Selective Service System is now beleaguered by these problems. It is naively believed that any other system—except perhaps a ‘volunteer’ system—will work. But a ‘volunteer’ force is likely to be a ‘poor man’s army.’

In discussing the standby draft, the commission report points out: "A standby system in which the President can invoke the draft at his discretion would capture the worst of two worlds. On the one hand, it would make it possible for the President to augment military personnel in a limited conflict. On the other hand, once the nation had committed itself to a volunteer force, the inequities of the draft would provide a convenient rallying point for opposition to the draft in one of the ways mentioned above. Thus, many drafters and draft-induced volunteers—those deferred under the draft—will be required to serve for their country, and the nation’s draft board has recognized the need to accept individuals in order to maintain their standards of excellence.

In this context, it is important to understand that the Gates Commission, like Mr. Califano, namely, whether we will continue to impose a very large tax in the form of involuntary service upon a segment of the population and thereby absorb the rest of society from contributing to a portion of the cost of defense. The Gates Commission devoted a full chapter of its report to this point. Mr. Califano, notwithstanding, evidences great concern over the "financial costs" of an all-volunteer force and further states that he would prefer to spend the additional funds that a volunteer force would require on "urgent economic needs" rather than to spend them on a "poor man’s army."

What is the question? That an all-volunteer force is likely to be a "poor man’s army," that "will be paid at a rate just high enough to convince all that these are lower economic levels?" This is a question on which original views tend to shift dramatically with further reflection. If there are already a large number of true volunteers in the services, i.e., enough to constitute 80 to 90 per cent of peacetime forces, then an all-volunteer force cannot significantly change the socio-economic character of our forces—a volunteer force cannot be predominately drawn from the lower income strata.

It is widely believed that the military services are almost entirely staffed by conscripts and draft-induced volunteers. This is far from the truth. Our military forces will be preponderantly true volunteers even if the "standby" forces are now 250,000. While the military 1.25 million men beyond the first term of service; these men are all there as an inevitable consequence of the lower turnover of our draft. The volunteer force cannot significantly change the socio-economic character of our forces—a volunteer force cannot be predominately drawn from the lower income strata.

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March 9, 1971

that if discussants (a la Mr. Califano) persisted in calling volunteers "mercenaries," he had a right to refer to draftees and draft-induced volunteers as "slaves."

THE TRADE ACT OF 1971 AND THE DISC PROPOSAL

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Trade Act of 1970, as passed by the House last year, included what I consider a most objectionable provision—the Domestic International Sales Corporation—DISC—proposal—objectionable because I believe it would create a new form of tax loophole which the country can ill afford.

Recently I received a letter from Ralph Nader which he speaks out against the DISC proposal, especially reiterating his concern that it has been included in the 1971 version of the trade bill introduced the first day of the 92d Congress. Mr. Nader wrote on October 31, 1970, to Senator Long, urging rejection of the DISC proposal.

I believe that Mr. Nader's views are well worth the attention of every Member. They are the concerns of a highbrowed volunteer

The American Public will get little in return for the immense subsidy that will be granted to exporters through DISC. If we accept the Treasury's optimistic figures regarding DISC's costs and benefits, it appears that the American taxpayer will pay a subsidy of 40 cents for each dollar of DISC-induced exports. And if we compare DISC's benefits with the costs, it is certain that the American taxpayer will be required to subsidize DISC's exports.

The Treasury Department hopes that DISC will increase U.S. exports by $1 to $1.5 billion dollars per year, with consequent benefits of $800 million to $900 million per year. This estimate is necessarily based on guesswork and self-serving statements by those exporting who stand to gain. If DISC is enacted, after considerable study, the staff of the Congressional Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation found that the benefits of the Treasury's export gain estimates. More sober analysis sets the likely export gain at $615 to $650 million per year. This is a pitifully small subsidy for DISC-induced exports.

DISC's inherent structure makes it most unlikely that its adoption will lead to significant export gains. The basic flaw is that DISC confers its benefits without requiring an exporter to increase his exports by even a single dollar. He will receive a huge tax benefit for merely doing what he is already doing.

In 1969, American exports totaled $36.5 billion. Even under the most optimistic assumptions, an increase of over $1.5 billion (or 1 percent) in sales over this base would have increased export revenues by $630 million. This increase would have been squandered by paying businessmen to continue already profitable exports. Only 4 percent of DISC's benefits will relate to new export sales. This is the reason why DISC costs a lot, but yields few benefits.

Energetic corporations can be expected to squander any benefits they derive from the DISC loophole. DISC is a device for domestic subsidiaries that cannot be used by small exporting firms. DISC will continue already profitable exports. It may encourage exporters to divert funds from ordinary exports to DISC exports.

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Energetic corporations can be expected to squander any benefits they derive from the DISC loophole. DISC is a device for domestic subsidiaries that cannot be used by small exporting firms. DISC will continue already profitable exports. It may encourage exporters to divert funds from ordinary exports to DISC exports.

The American taxpayer will get little in return for the immense subsidy that will be granted to exporters through DISC. If we accept Treasury's optimistic figures regarding DISC's costs and benefits, it appears that the American taxpayer will pay a subsidy of 40 cents for each dollar of DISC-induced exports. And if we compare DISC's benefits with the costs, it is certain that the American taxpayer will be required to subsidize DISC's exports.

The Treasury Department hopes that DISC will increase U.S. exports by $1 to $1.5 billion dollars per year, with consequent benefits of $800 million to $900 million per year. This estimate is necessarily based on guesswork and self-serving statements by those exporting who stand to gain. If DISC is enacted, after considerable study, the staff of the Congressional Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation found that the benefits of the Treasury's export gain estimates. More sober analysis sets the likely export gain at $615 to $650 million per year. This is a pitifully small subsidy for DISC-induced exports.

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have fewer manufacturing profits to shift to the tax-free DISC.

These facts add up to favoritism for large, fully integrated firms at the expense of unincorporated producers—a policy that runs directly counter to DISC's professed goal of aid for small exporters.

DISC SHIFTS A HEAVY BURDEN FROM CORPORATE TO INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS

Under DISC, the ordinary taxpayer, including wage earners and retired persons, will have to pay an extra billion or more in taxes each year to make up for tax losses in the hands of DISC exporters. Yet the Treasury Department argues that DISC is needed to increase the equity of the tax system. The Treasury's argument, by pointing out that overseas manufacturing subsidiaries of U.S. firms currently enjoy tax advantages that are not available to U.S. exporters, Treasury then proposed to end this tax discrimination by creating another, larger tax loophole for U.S. exporters.

DISC actually involves a double subsidy. First, it will open up substantial tax discrimination in reverse between U.S. exporters who have their tax problems solved by DISC and U.S. owners of foreign manufacturing subsidiaries. Second, and much more important, DISC will use its tax burden amounting to $1 billion or more per year from corporations—especially large profitable corporations—to individual taxpayers. There is certainly no equity in that.

DISC'S COSTS WILL CONTINUE LONG AFTER OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN SOLVED

Once adopted, the DISC plan is likely to become a permanent part of the tax law. Corporations will invest legal and accounting talent in restructuring their export operations with the knowledge that in return they can count on a DISC and a double subsidy. In the foreseeable future on their retained profits; the result is that DISC offsets a 9 percent tax advantage which has a 100 percent tax exemption.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

VOLUNTEER FORCE WILL RAISE MILITARY QUALITY

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the fear has been expressed by some that the personnel policy reforms related to the all-volunteer force will adversely affect the quality of our Armed Forces. However, Lt. Gen. George Forsythe, the assistant to General Westmoreland, for a modern, all-volunteer army, has stated that the all-volunteer force drive will actually raise training standards:

Getting guys off KP, grass cutting, garbage and furnace details is going to give the sergeant a full team to train for the first time in a number of years.

General Forsythe, who commanded the 1st Cavalry Division—Airmobile—in Vietnam, and also served as commanding general of the Infantry Center at Fort Benning, is acutely aware of the need for adequate training. However, on his visits to military bases he found large numbers of men doing "just firing up furnaces" and others putting KP. "These details destroy training," he added.

Of course, the only reason we have military personnel performing these chores is because the draft allows us to keep military pay so low that it seems cheaper to have military men cut the grass than to hire civilians. This false economy not only represents a serious misallocation of labor resources, but it is also an added burden on the underpaid GI. More importantly, the disruption such chores cause in the training cycle simply lowers the combat readiness of our Armed Forces.

I commend this item from the Army Times to your attention:

REMOVAL OF IRREGULARS TO UP VOLMAR

(By Larry Carney)

WASHINGTON.—Lt. Gen. George I. Forsythe says his all-volunteer Army drive is going to raise training standards—not lower them as some people have charged.

"Getting guys off KP, grass cutting, garbage and furnace details is going to give the sergeant a full team to train for the first time in a number of years," Forsythe told Army Times.

Forsythe is Chief of Staff Gen. Will Westmoreland's special assistant for the Modern Volunteer Army.

In his travels around the country, Forsythe says he generally starts his day off at 5 a.m. "to see who's up early."

At Fort Oglethorpe, Col. Forsythe said, he found large numbers of soldiers "up all night firing up furnaces and others pulling KP." He said men on details like this are lost to a unit and might get in trouble. The general said the idea for liberalizing beer drinking rules didn't come from topside but from a command sergeant major at Fort Benning, Ga.

In recalling the incident, Forsythe said the sergeant major told him that he would probably chew him out but that "one of the best things we can do to improve Army life is to permit beer drinking in the barracks and dayrooms."

"If a man is old enough and man enough to be a soldier in his country's Army, we used to have a couple of cans of 3.2 beer in the barracks. We deliver it to him on the fire base in Vietnam, why not let him drink beer in the barracks back in the States?" Forsythe said.

The Army, the general says, plans to give more wine and beer to the soldier. "We're going to turn the entire team over to him. We're going to quit looking over his shoulder and stop telling him how and when to do it. We're going to give him the freedom to carry a bottle of wine and beer."

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country has ever produced. There are some, however, who have allowed themselves to become soured by the insane antics of a minority which often represents itself as the voice of youth.

One of these is Larry Stroud, an outstanding University of South Carolina freshman who is from West Columbia, and is one of your constituents.

Larry wrote and delivered a speech last year at a junior achievement banquet which has earned him the honor of being named to receive a George Washington Medal from Freedom Foundation. It will certainly be no mystery to anyone who reads Larry's work why he is being accorded this high honor.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent Larry Stroud in Congress, as I am sure any Congressman would be. So that all my colleagues will have the opportunity to benefit from this very perceptive and valuable speech, I include the whole of the concepts which appeared in the West Columbia Journal, March 3, 1971, in the Extensions of Remarks at the conclusion of my comments:

The middle years of this century have brought forth a unique generation of men: men who have grown up in a world terrified by war; men who have toiled and labored through the lean years of the depression; men who have invested in America's greatest resource—its youth.

If men like Horace Moses and Theodore Vail, who had inspiration to start the Junior Achievement program nearly 60 years ago, could today see the body who works for money alone is a fool.

But let's also face the fact that only a relatively small number of young people take part in JA. What should be done about the rest of them? I would like to suggest a few ideas.

First, what is being said to the young people should be reconsidered and the person saying it should make sure he understands it himself. The old story about dentists' children always having the poorest teeth, or the preacher's kids always being the worst, should consider some basic questions should be considered.

PURPOSE OF BUSINESS

For example, what would you say is the purpose of business? I think most of us would agree it's to make a profit. Some people say that is the only purpose of business. And there, in my opinion, is the first breakdown in communication...

It's not enough to say we're here just to make a profit. For one thing, it appears you're working only for the money, and anybody who works for money alone is a fool. We're also in business to serve the people, to contribute to the world, to help people help themselves to a better chance in life, to provide the means whereby other people can go out and do the work that brings satisfaction to their lives...

Second, we have to make more clear the advantages of our competitive system. Everyone one agrees competition is a wonderful thing, especially if you win. But what if you lose? Some people think there should be no losing. But wouldn't, too, no first prizes, no championships—because it may damage the ego of the loser. Others believe that too much competition is itself a bad thing—that it's wasteful for the producer and confusing to the customer. In other words, they believe it's necessary to create some and simplify. I believe they're both wrong.

They forget that under our system the man or the company that loses can come back stronger and tougher than ever before. The free enterprise system has been tested and tried. Of course we don't want to make the mistake of thinking we have solved all the problems of the past, but it's the best ever tried, and it works...

Study of world history shows that practice of putting down of the past—such as ancient Egypt, Rome, Babylon, Greece and Syria—began to decline and most of them actually fell during their most economically prosperous period. They declined when their armies were larger and better equipped than ever before in their nation's history, but did these great civilisations decline, fall and finally disappear as such? Arnold Toynbee suggests the answer: they were becoming defiled—or they failed to pass on to their youth the high ideals, the basic values, the fundamental skills and the nobility of purpose which, in the first place, brought their nations to greatness. Thus the lesson of history is this: Our nation will begin to decline of purpose, and could eventually fall, unless we take care to conserve and develop our most precious, and altogether indispensable resource—the youth of this nation.

ROCKING THE BOAT

Today's youth are rocking the boat. They are generating new ideas. They are seeking new values which have meaning for them. They have had a tremendous impact on the nation in the past few years.

But a small group of young people have gone beyond rocking the boat—they have gone overboard. They are going to the extreme to get something they consider to be excessive materialism in this country, and they are aided by the vast publicity they get in the newspapers...

I am talking about the hippie with the bullhorn who has nothing to say but says it is the voice of youth. The laboratory you are in is the world.

Revolution. And there, in my opinion, is the first breakdown in communication...

There were no score cards. You couldn't tell the winner of some nations, for there is no score card. It is not at the heart of all the revolutions that the whole idea of competition is thrown out.

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You are called on to create a society that will judge a man by his contribution and not by his color. You are called on to create a society that will judge itself by what it can give, not by what it can take. You are called on to create a society that will judge itself by what it can give, not by what it can take.

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You are called on to create a society that will judge a man by his contribution and not by his color. You are called on to create a society that will judge itself by what it can give, not by what it can take.
WASHINGTON REPORT

Long-locked doors open—For the first time in its 106-year history the House Appropriations Committee has opened hearings to the public and news media. Since the creation of this powerful committee in 1855, all meetings have been held behind locked doors. One witness at a recent session, Mahon (D-Tex.) has also consented to permit certain open sessions of the Defense Sub-committee to a top-ranking Senate member. Included in these public sessions will be top-level witnesses from Vietnam, including American war veterans. Many times over the years I have gone on record in protest against needless, often politically-motivated secrecy in government. All of us share an intense concern over the Southeast Asia and over the direction our defense policies will take as we phase into a peacetime economy. And all Americans want and deserve to have the facts. I am glad the heretofore inflexible rule that all Defense Appropriations hearings be held in top-secret sessions has now been relaxed.

Eisenhower Coins: Order blanks for proof and uncirculated, mint-condition Eisenhower coins for $10, will be available June 18th. Orders will be taken by the Mint starting July 1st, limited to five proof and five uncirculated coins. Each coin will be encapsulated in a plastic, and sealed in a box. Ordnance forms and instructions will be available from commercial banks in New York City. Cupro-nickel dollars for general circulation through commercial banks will not be available until after the end of the year.

MINSHALL BILLS

Although the session of the new 92nd Congress has been unusually slow in organizing, I have introduced and co-sponsored a number of bills, many in areas that will be the subject of great debate and controversy. Copies may be obtained by writing to my Washington office, or by calling the bills are:

Consumer Protection: H.R. 923, date-labeling of all packaged perishable foods for freshness; H.R. 711, to establish an office of Consumer Affairs, Consumer Protection Agency and other consumer protections.

Education: H.R. 1475, permit deduction of college expenses from personal income taxes; H.R. 3642, prevent forced busing of school children; H. Res. 105, create a Select Committee on Education.

Health/Social Security: H.R. 992, create a Federal Medical Evaluation Board to test and regulate drugs, medical devices, and medical care; H.R. 1477, provide disability payments to workers with six quarters coverage; H.R. 4690, Medicare, health insurance coverage for all citizens; H. Res. 101, $1 billion for cancer research; H.R. 940, higher Social Security benefits for eligible married couples.

Law and Order: H.R. 921, suspend federal aid to colleges failing to quell riots as well as to teachers, instructors or lecturers who take sides in campus disputes; H.R. 920, federal penalties for killing or assaulting firemen or non-federal law-enforcement officers when interstate laws are involved; H.R. 527, federal aid to urban areas that are not wet and solid waste disposal facilities in Great Lakes; H.R. 932, establish an Environmental Financing Authority; H.R. 937, tax incentives to fight hogs, cattle, and solid waste pollution; H.R. 1475 and 4890, ban dumping waste in navigable waters; H.R. 3138, ban non-returnable soft drink and beer containers; H.R. 3139, eliminate phosphates from detergents; H. Res. 100, create a Committee on the Environment, plus several other measures to broaden and strengthen Federal regulatory and research endeavors.

Criminal and Prison: H.R. 930, extend expiration date of power of attorney given by members of Armed Forces now missing in action or held as POWs; H.J. Res. 20, observe March 27 as National Prisoners of War Recognition Day.

Taxes: National Economy: H.R. 930, raise personal income tax exemptions to $1,200; H.R. 1478, increase to age 16 child-care expense deductions; H.R. 4190, Federal revenue sharing with state and local governments.

Trade: H.R. 1474, prohibit transport of articles to or from U.S. abroad foreign vessels trading with North Vietnam; H.R. 3832, provide for orderly trade in iron and steel mill products to protect domestic industries.

Farm: H.R. 931, to provide for the enrollment of World War II veterans with National Service Life Insurance policies to permanent policies with guaranteed issue; H.R. 2484, Cleveland Office: 2951 New Federal Office Building 522-4382.

H.R. 3139, eliminate polyphosphates in detergents; H.R. 3832, prohibition of trade with North Vietnam; H.R. 3832, prohibition of trade with North Vietnam; H.R. 3832, prohibition of trade with North Vietnam; H.R. 3832, prohibition of trade with North Vietnam; H.R. 3832, prohibition of trade with North Vietnam.

TODAY'S EXAMPLE FOR TODAY'S GENERATION

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, many Members of this House are participating in the excellent program, "A Presidential Classroom for Loving Americans." Recently, the first group of students participating in this program from my district in New Jersey visited with me in my office. I was impressed with their attitudes and sincere desire to learn about those who formulate government decisions—to learn as much as possible before making their own judgments.

Moreover, I was extremely proud to have received a letter from one of the young men, Jack L. Calkins, of Cherry Hill, N.J. I would like to share it with you, since I believe it reflects well upon this generation of youth; those who will be guiding our Nation once we step aside.

The letter follows:

March 1, 1971

Dear Sir: I wish to express my thanks for allowing me to meet you and to discuss with you your duties, views and insights into the office you hold, while I was in Washington, D.C. Your time was well spent in helping me understand the "real" case and history of the United States in general. Also, your staff was quite helpful in everyway and perfectly answered my questions. Comparing the responses other students received and didn't receive in A Presidential Classroom is valid for my study. I can see how I was fortunate to have the Opportunity that I did. This may certainly be a credit to you and your staff.

The revenue crisis at the State and local levels has, particularly after a period of economic sluggishness, created loud and well-justified demands on the part of thousands of American families that government spending at all levels be more closely controlled, and that programs like welfare and publicly subsidized medical care, which have skyrocketing budgets, be reformed in ways which will permit their costs to be controlled.

Despite the fact that Federal taxes on individual citizens have been reduced twice since the start of this administration, and that Federal spending has been reduced by current surcharge, and second by stepped-up increases in the personal exemption to $625 in 1970 and higher in future tax years—money which has been consumed from the taxpayers' standpoint by increasing revenue demands from State capitals and local governments.
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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Part of the fault for the present crisis lies with the fact that the States and localities are saddled with an inefficient, over-centralized welfare system which has ballooned State and local budgets to a point far out of the reach of the reasonable tax resources available. By adopting a totally new welfare law and structure in the 91st Congress, we could have at least provided a start toward a long-term solution to this crisis. But instead, the Senate delayed and then killed the welfare reform proposal which we in the House adopted in 1970. Our efforts to reshape and retool welfare must continue at an accelerated pace. There can be no excuse other than neglect of the people if the 92d Congress adjourns next year without a comprehensive welfare reform bill, which provides for controllability of the welfare program, provides for those who can work, and provides relief to States and localities which now are bearing tremendous costs of the welfare octopus.

Unfortunately, the financial crisis facing States and local governments can no longer be ignored in the absence of revenue sharing. Medicaid or any other reform measures could raise the taxes it needs. Revenue sharing is merely an efficient way to put these tax dollars where they are needed most to avert a national crisis.

I have sponsored the administration's general revenue-sharing bill in this Congress, as I did in the last Congress, and I will work with all of my energy for its passage.

Mr. Speaker, at this point, I would like to share with my colleagues some of the statements I have made in my own congressional district to point out the wisdom and the effects of general revenue sharing. By including these in the Record at this point, I hope that other colleagues will recognize the strong support and the strong need for this measure, which I have found in evidence in the 91st District of New York.

FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING: A TOOL TO ACHIEVE FISCAL STABILITY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(BY CONGRESSMAN FRANK HORTON)

Setting new records is as American as baseball and apple pie. Unfortunately, our cities and towns are setting new records every year—record costs of providing essential services to their people. These costs have reached a crisis point.

The demands upon state and local governments for services are increasing at a faster rate than they can raise revenues for these needs. Government must be efficient and should cut excessive spending but we must remember that the present closest to the people should also be the most responsive to the needs of their people.

Emphasis must be placed on the process of rebuilding deteriorating urban areas, expanding overcrowded education facilities, providing adequate housing and health care for middle and low income families, combating crime in the streets and meeting the highway, mass transit, water and sewer needs of our suburban and rural communities. State and local governments by themselves don't have the capacity to raise the funds necessary to undertake these programs.

Traditionally local government has depended on property taxes, and more recently sales taxes. While the skyrocketing cost of schools, welfare, sewer and water facilities, police and fire protection makes it obvious that the local government with its limited taxing authority can no longer carry this burden alone.

During the 1960's, states across the country made major efforts to enact new or raising existing rates. Despite these efforts to assist local government, the financial structure is severely strained.

Property taxes for local and school revenue has increased at an accelerating rate. The simplest, most direct and most equitable way to provide this help is through revenue sharing by the Federal government.

The Federal Government has long recognized the gap between public need and revenue sources. So far, it has helped close the gap by providing a large share of general revenue in aid to state and local government. That list includes more than 800 separate and unnumbered grants and over 500 pages in the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance.

We need better systems for delivering Federal assistance programs and better methods of fiscal assistance. Since coming to Congress, I have proposed revenue sharing legislation. In October 1969, I sponsored a bill proposed by the President to provide an annual $5 billion in Federal revenue sharing.

Congressman Frank Horton, in his strong support for revenue sharing, recently visited with the New York Congressional delegation to discuss the serious financial crisis in our own state. He has urged a $10 billion a year program.

Under the President's revenue sharing proposal, a percentage of the Federal individual income taxes would be returned to the states and each municipality. Distribution would be based on population and on the taxing efforts of the individual state and locality, thus encouraging and rewarding the more effective use of these funds.

Through an innovative revenue sharing plan, the Federal Government can create a true partnership among the levels of government. This partnership would be built on participating and providing localities with the resources they need to solve their own problems and to restore fiscal stability.

TEXT OF CONGRESSMAN FRANK HORTON'S STATEMENT ON CITIZEN CONCERN ABOUT THE RISING COSTS OF GOVERNMENT

I spent several days this week visiting and meeting with constituents in the 36th District without question, the greatest concern of people I talked with is the crisis in the costs of government.

Lay-offs calls for service and increased demands on the pocketbook of each citizen have taken their toll. Even though Federal taxes have been reduced by removal of the 10 percent federal income tax surcharge and by an increase in the personal exemption to $625, the problems of State and local governments have all but erased these reductions.

Many people spoke to me about their support of Federal revenue sharing. The nearly universal desire to relieve the local government of these costs was heard in every community.

While revenue sharing is not a panacea that will solve over-riding problems for states and localities—it is a desperately needed measure if today's fiscal emergency is to be solved.

HORTON OUTLINES WHAT REVENUE SHARING WOULD MEAN TO MONROE AND WAYNE COUNTIES

WASHINGTON, D.C.—More than $8 million would be available to Monroe and Wayne Counties in the first year under President Nixon's proposed revenue sharing plan, Congressman Frank Horton announced.

"Allocations would amount to $7.9 million to Monroe County and its towns and cities for the first year and $822,000 to Wayne County," Horton said. "The State of New York would receive over a half billion dollars."

Horton, who sponsored the Nixon general revenue sharing bill which would make these funds available, noted that final figures will be greater since these estimates are based on the 1960 census.

A breakdown of the figures for Monroe County's 19 counties is as follows: Monroe County, $4,107,697; Wayne County, $4,107,697; 85,038,615; Towns, $85,038,615; 85,109,625; Cities, $85,109,625. In Wayne County the amounts are: Cities, $71,210; Towns, $87,594; County, $122,905.
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“These funds would be of considerable help to localities and to the state government in meeting their increasing financial burdens,” the Congressman said. “If revenue sharing is to be enacted, however, there must be a groundswell of support at the local level.”

RELINQUISH TAX SOURCES, NOT FUNDS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting and I believe accurate analysis of the basic question in Federal revenue sharing was contained in an article Thursday, March 4 in the Suburban Life by Washington columnist, Paul Sisco.

We must not lose sight of the fact that there are continuing complications when the Federal Government has an apportionment of taxpaying power in that commitments to share the funds could, from time to time, fail to meet the expectations of State and local governments.

Mr. Sisco emphasizes a very basic question involved in our present tax structure.

The question is: Why are Federal revenue sharing is not generally applied to the proposal that the Federal Government has an apportionment of taxpaying power in that commitments to share the funds could, from time to time, fail to meet the expectations of State and local governments.

Mr. Sisco emphasizes a very basic question involved in our present tax structure.

The article follows:

RELINQUISH TAX SOURCES, NOT FUNDS

(From Paul Sisco)
WASHINGTON.—The question of federal tax money and whether any of it will be going to the states and cities without any strings attached is building up as a major campaign issue for 1972.

Federal revenue sharing is the name generally applied to the proposal that the Congress appropriate bloc grants to states according to their populations, without much in the way of strings attached.

President Nixon, in effect, has proposed that some $5 billion be allotted at this time. There is no question that the nation's major urban centers, and yes, smaller cities, too, are having trouble making ends meet.

President Nixon recently created a National Urban Coalition to help the cities, then suffering riots and worse in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination.

Recently, 80 Linowitsch, the head of the Coalition, said cities, although they are not burning, are in far worse shape today than they were during those days of riots.

Gov. Richard Ogilvie pulled into the Washington area a full day before the start of a national governors conference just to attend a Coalition meeting on the problems of the cities.

“Is there a question that the federal government must help bail out the cities,” Ogilvie said.

The hangup is that Congress doesn’t like to part with its money without getting some assurance that the money will be spent wisely. In general, the record of states and cities in handling federal sums has not been good.

In addition, the argument is made that there are plenty of federal laws on the books that every state and city can get federal help.

In other words, don’t increase taxes on in-

FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE

HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary conducts a Voice of Democracy Contest. The contest theme was “Freedom—Our Heritage.” Over 400,000 students participated this year.

The winner from my State of Arizona is a young lady from my district, Miss Shauna Leive, of Phoenix.

The content of Miss Leive’s speech, I believe, deserves publication in the Congressional Record. She speaks of freedom as a share in the “most valuable corporate enterprise in the world,” the United States. She speaks of the rededication of every citizen for the ideals which our Nation stands for, of the purchase of this right to remain free and of the constant vigilance which we must maintain to preserve this heritage. Thw words have a special ring to every one of us at this time of our history.

It is indeed refreshing and heart-warming to read the contents of Miss Leive’s speech which I insert at this point:

FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE

Have you ever dreamed of owning a share in the most valuable corporate enterprise in the world? Was there a time you wished you were a wealthy shareholder, having stock in one of the great companies in America? If you need not dream any longer, your wish has come true! Open your eyes beyond the material wealth and discover the greatest possession you own! Your freedom.

The price we must pay the premiums. But it is our responsibility to help and teach them.

It is Incumbent upon each generation to purchase anew this freedom in order to insure it for their posterity. Open your eyes! Look beyond the material wealth and discover the greatest possession you own! Your freedom.

COURAGE VERSUS COWARDICE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very timely and forceful editorial emphasizing the value of our religious beliefs and their emphasis on patriotism and unity was carried Wednesday, March 3, in the Tri-City Advertiser of Dolton, Ill.

This editorial commentary in my opinion is a very dramatic expression of grass roots American thinking.

The editorial follows:

COURAGE VERSUS COWARDICE

In the midst of increasing turmoil in this country and the world, cf which all of you must be aware, this seems to be an appropriate time to call attention to an institution that has existed for almost a century, with a steadfast purpose and a definite goal to attain.

We refer to the World Day of Prayer. Locally, for Riverdale, Dolton and South Holland this will be celebrated Friday, March 5 at 1:30 p.m. at the Tranhoe United Methodist church at 145th and Clark streets, Riverdale.

We are informed that this is the 84th year of this celebration and that it is sponsored by the Ecumenical Assembly of Church Women.

A special program has been planned and prayers will be said for the civil unrest. A special program has been planned and prayers will be said for the civil unrest. A special program has been planned and prayers will be said for the civil unrest.

We are aware that the reader’s religious beliefs, we are certain all will agree that this non-
violently and in a quest for some assurance to the violence of the age, is useful, meritorious, and worthy of our attention.

Now look at the other side of the picture and try, if you can, to examine the purpose and goal of those who participate in anarchistic acts seeking to instill fear instead of courage, conflict instead of peace and cowardice instead of bravery to face the issues which are unavoidable.

In a vain attempt to stop a war, never started by the men presently in charge of government, these anarchists resort to the same violence, death and punishments by destructive methods, the destruction of property belonging to all the citizens of our land, as are employed in the very war they seek to stop.

We agree with statements made by many to the effect that the war in Indo China and Asia never should have been started. We are in tune with those learned men, now dead, who said we will never understand the Asian mind. But to try to end a war by the same methods now prevalent in the present conflict seems to us to be a senseless and useless theory.

You need not be informed of the facts that the war in Indo China is based on cowardice, deception and a distinct lack of what we call back-bone.

These acts are performed anonymously. They phone in secret, act in secret and obviously must be convinced in their own minds that they can go on forever intimidating what they must assume to be a spineless, scared-to-death, weak and timid people.

And you will note, most of them, after their purpose has been detected, flee to distant lands in the hope that the laws of lawful men will not lay hold on them.

They are cowards and skunks and the sooner they carefully apprehend that our country is made up of many who understand that it takes courage to face not death—but life, unflinchingly, the sooner they will come to their inevitable end.

THE PRESIDENT, CONGRESS, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

HON. BOB BERGLAND
OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1971

Mr. BERGLAND, Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, during his news conference on foreign policy, President Nixon stated that "the jury is still out" on the invasion of Laotian territory by the ground forces of the Government of South Vietnam and the air forces of the United States. I was not critical of the President when the invasion was first announced. I believed that he should be given the opportunity to demonstrate whether or not his policies would shorten this disastrous war. I now submit that the jury is, in fact, in and that the joint expedition into Laos has not achieved its objective.

The primary objective of the Laotian operation was, according to the President, to save lives. Yet, more Americans lost their lives in Southeast Asia last week than during any week of the past several months, and South Vietnamese casualties are at their highest level since the Tet offensive of 1968.

The second objective was to hasten the withdrawal of American troops. Yet the President conceded, during his state of the world message 3 weeks after the invasion of Laos was well underway, that he sees no early end to our involvement.

A third objective was to reduce the flow of troops and supplies, over the Ho Chi Minh Trail, from North Vietnam into the South. It seems that travel over this trail has, in fact, been slowed. Unfortunately a new trail is being constructed well out of reach of South Vietnamese units in Laos.

The final objective of the incursion into Laos was to demonstrate that the Government of South Vietnam can conduct large-scale military operations without excessive support from U.S. forces. Despite all claims to the contrary, reports from the field do not instill confidence in the South Vietnamese Army. Further, there was extensive and massive support, in the form of air power, from the American Forces.

Because the Nixon administration has not fulfilled its responsibility to the American people—to bring this tragic war to a rapid end—it is necessary for the 92d Congress to take the initiative.

Our first task must be to enact legislation, which I am cosponsoring, that prohibits U.S. forces from participating in—or supporting—any invasion of North Vietnam. The President, by his constant refusal to rule out such an act, has made this specific legislation essential.

Second, we must work for early passage of the Vietnam Disengagement Act of 1971. This legislation, which I am also cosponsoring, would require the removal of all American forces by December 31, 1971; encourage the return of Vietnamese prisoners of war; and provide for those South Vietnamese who believe their lives would be endangered by our withdrawal.

Our tasks are immediate. We can no longer tolerate the further sacrifice of our young men. Nor can we allow the continued drain on our national resources and economy.

SENATE—Wednesday, March 10, 1971

The Senate met at 11 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. Robert C. Byrd, a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Infinite Spirit, we bow before Thee with humble hearts. In Thy presence we would rekindle the fire of faith that we may better be prepared for the duties of life, to endure its trials, to bear its crosses, and to achieve its lasting joy through infection. Give us strength for our daily duty, patience in unexpected crises, and in time of trial give us the hope that sustains and the faith that wins the victory of Thy kingdom.

While we work for the welfare of others may we in our personal lives enlarge the area of friendship and good will.

Grant a full measure of Thy grace and wisdom to the President and to the Congress that together they may convert the present into the making of a finer and better Nation, and for a world at peace.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, March 9, 1971, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the speech by the distinguished Senator from Indiana (Mr. Hartke) today, there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business not to extend beyond 12 o'clock, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION TOMORROW OF SENATORS MCGOVERN AND MATHIAS

Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent on tomorrow, follow-