

SENATE—Monday, December 3, 1973

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

PRAYER

The Reverend Dr. C. Leslie Glenn, canon and subdean of the Washington Cathedral, Mount St. Alban, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

God of our Fathers, we offer Thee our heartfelt praise for all Thy mercies to these evermore dear United States. We thank Thee especially for those who give themselves to the Government of our Nation and in the duties of public office interpret and give effect to the will of the people.

Bless this Senate this day and grant that they may decide all things upon the best and surest foundation. If the days to come bring prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness; if they bring trouble, suffer not our trust in Thee to fail. All which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Marks, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Sunday, December 2, 1973, be dispensed with.

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

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a morning hour for the transaction of routine morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 1 o'clock today, with a time limitation therein of 3 minutes.

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

DIVISION OF TIME ON CONSIDERATION OF CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, beginning at 1 p.m. today, the time under the cloture motion be divided equally between the distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) and the distinguished Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG) the manager of the conference report.

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 may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

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

VACATION OF ACTION TAKEN ON H.R. 8449 LAST SATURDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the action of the Senate on Saturday, December 1, 1973, in passing H.R. 8449, the Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973, be vacated, and that the bill be restored to its appropriate place on the calendar.

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

FUEL AND THE GOP

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I read in the National Observer for the week ending December 8, 1973, the column "Politics by Perry," entitled "Fuel and the GOP," written by James M. Perry, and ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

FUEL AND THE GOP: IT IS MORE BAD NEWS FOR THE PARTY

(By James M. Perry)

Some of my best friends are loyal Republicans, and one of them is very smart. Back in July I talked to this exceptional Republican and he told me we would have gas rationing this winter for our cars and that we would have to allocate fuel for our furnaces.

Figure on February, he said. That's when things would get really bad. We'd still have Watergate, and that wouldn't be helping Richard Nixon much. But, with the loyalists, it wouldn't be that bad either: because Watergate doesn't hurt them. But no gas for the cars? No oil for the furnace? Ouch, that really hurts.

Well, I reported what my friend had said, but I didn't believe all of it. I should have known better; he's not wrong very often. So, last week, I went back to see him. "Friend," I said, "you got me into this energy crisis; now get me out of it." And this is what he told me.

You know, he began, we shouldn't have a problem at all. It's silly. We've known for 10 years that we'd run short of energy—if we didn't do something about it. Right now, we should know how to use solar energy. We could have that technology. We don't have it because priorities of a highly political nature constantly supersede priorities relating to our long-range good.

Agencies did seek funds for research on solar energy, but when you have a budget out of balance, people are always looking for places to cut—and the fact is there really aren't many places where you can cut. This was one of the easy places.

It is difficult for Government bureaucracies to function in a situation like this. We have so many built-in disadvantages in the way we do things. In the energy

shortage, there are at least four or five major agencies involved—and each agency has its own constituency. So all of the people assigned to all of the energy problems get together, at various levels, and they can't even identify the problem.

TAKING THE STEPS

What happens is you break it down into 85 problems and everybody agrees we have to do a little something about each of those problems. The trouble is, in a shortage situation you can't help everybody; somebody has to make a sacrifice. So, if you do a little something for 85 problems, you make some of the problems—probably the 10 most severe problems—even worse.

Sooner or later, we're going to have gasoline rationing. But we ought to be rationing gas right now. Remember, by the time we do get around to it, there will be less gas to ration. It's stupid, on the face of it. But the President feels he can't afford, right now, to make too many unpopular decisions, and that's not hard to understand. The result is that he has decided he must postpone this terrible decision until February or March. In the meantime, he is taking all the steps leading to rationing without saying we will ever need it.

And, when it comes, rationing will be a mess. It's impossible to administer a rationing system really fairly. You can't help but get millions of people furious. It will be unbelievable. But there's no other way. If you try to cut gas consumption by taxing it out of sight, you don't meet any priorities at all. You can't be sure people dependent on gas will get it. You can't be sure people who don't need it won't get in. Rationing at least allows the Government to impose some kind of priorities, rough and uncertain as they may be.

For the President, it's devastating. I've come to believe in a rule about his situation: If things can get worse for him, they will get worse. Right now, he and some people around him think the energy crisis may be a plus—because it diverts people's attention from Watergate. But people aren't mad at him now about energy because they haven't felt it yet. You don't know how hot the stove really is until you touch it.

Anyway, a crisis helps a President only when he retains some of his credibility. This President's doesn't have much left, and the humming tapes seem to be destroying whatever it is that's left. When you don't have any credibility, each new crisis is a catastrophe.

GRIM VIEW

Just think what might happen now.

Inflation keeps right on burning away. Unemployment starts to climb, up to 5 per cent, up to 6, maybe up to 8, and some people are even talking about 15 per cent. Not the same kind of people who first lost their jobs in the Depression. This time, a lot of the unemployed will be lower middle class, middle class, and even better than that.

What can you do for them? You can't give an airline pilot a shovel and tell him to start digging the foundations for a post office. You can't even build new post offices; this time, it's inflation, not deflation, and the more Government spends, the more it will heat up an economy in which millions are out of work.

The more you think about it, the worse it seems.

What about all these turnpikes in which the tolls pay for the bonds? You can't go faster than 50 miles an hour now, and soon you won't have the gas to do even that. Where's the revenue going to come from?

Think of the stock market. What if it should keep going straight down, to 600, say, or maybe even 500. Think of how many loans banks have made that are secured by stocks. One day, these people might get phone calls from their bankers: The stocks aren't worth

enough, so get up more collateral; even better, maybe you ought to sell now before things get worse.

And it's just not our problem. It's worldwide. Even if we could put our house in order, that's not the end of it. We're a lot more dependent on the rest of the world now than we were in the 1930s. We need trade, and if the rest of the world is in even bigger trouble there won't be much trade.

BACK TO TRIPOLI?

Japan had to get down on its knees to get its full oil allocation for December from the Arabs. To get its allocation for January, maybe it will have to grovel. I don't know, but maybe some morning in 1975 an American President will announce to the nation that our Marines, side by side with troops from Japan and the Netherlands and a lot of other places, have landed on the shores of Tripoli.

Life for us is going to change. This problem won't last just a year or so. It will last three years, maybe more. Who knows? Who can say? We're going to see railroad trains again—with passengers. Railroads are going to carry coal again; long ago, that was big business for them. It will be again. Planes aren't going to fly a lot of places they used to fly, and people who live along the abandoned routes are going to be pretty mad. Maybe the trains will come back to them, maybe they'll have to take the bus.

Maybe the cities will look better. What's the point of living in the suburbs if you can't drive to the shopping center or drive to work? What are we going to do with those condominiums we bought just an hour-and-a-half's drive from downtown? What about that cottage in Maine? What's the point of taking a trip to Scotland if we can't rent a car?

I tell you, things will be different.

And the Republicans are going to catch hell for it. Our officeholders, our candidates for office, can't put it off much longer. By March or April, it will be time to campaign for the 1974 primaries, and the voters will want to know: Are you with Nixon or against him? If you say you're with him, you'll have somebody running against you who says he's against him.

A TERRIBLE SLATE?

We're going to put up the worst slate of candidates for the House, the Senate, for governor this party has seen in years. Already, good people—really good candidates—are pulling out. They've taken polls, and they don't want to run next year.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished minority leader is recognized.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there any morning business?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

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

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 PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

WAIVER OF THE CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the Legislative Calendar, under ruling VIII, be dispensed with.

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

QUORUM CALL

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in recess until—

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold his request?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I will withhold my request.

DEBT LIMIT EXTENSION

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I may not have an opportunity during the discussion of the debt limit extension bill, which will come up at 1 o'clock, to comment upon the method and procedure under which the temporary debt limit is extended from time to time.

Under the law, we have a permanent debt limit of \$400 billion, which is a staggering sum. That is set aside and permitted without further authorization.

Then there is what is called a temporary debt limit, which is now, in round figures, \$67 billion. We are crowding up to that figure at this time, and it is sought under the debt limit bill we have before us to increase that amount to \$78 billion to give the Government some leeway in anticipation of further budgetary deficits.

The bill seeks only to extend that temporary authority to June 30 of next year. So no matter how frugal the administration may be, no matter how businesslike it may be, no matter how much money is impounded, there is no chance whatsoever of the \$78 billion temporary authorization expiring on June 30 of next year. There is no possibility whatsoever of that being wiped out. So it will be necessary, no matter how efficiently the Government is operated, to come in next year, about the 28th of June—it always seems to be the 28th of June—and seek to extend this temporary authorization. That, of course, will mean another "must" bill such as we have pending before the Senate at this time.

So there is no incentive for an administration to save money, to conserve money, to adopt businesslike practices, to cut down on Federal expenditures, because no matter how efficiently the Government operates, it has got to come in around June 28 of next year and extend this temporary authorization again.

So, Mr. President, I would hope—and I am not a member of the Committee on Finance—that there must be some reason why the experts on the committee have not studied this, to preclude the necessity of the Government coming before Congress every 6 months. But I would feel that it would be the better part of wisdom to combine the temporary

and the permanent debt limits and have one debt limit, one permanent debt limit. This would be an encouragement and an incentive to an administration to live within that debt ceiling, because then it would not have to come back to Congress every 5 or 6 months for extension of a temporary debt limitation that it has no chance whatever to overcome.

Mr. President, I note that back in 1969, the temporary additional indebtedness, through April 6 of that year, was \$7 billion. It was wiped out after April 6, and then from 1970, through June 30, it was up to \$12 billion. As long as the temporary additional indebtedness is only \$5, \$6, \$7, or \$8 billion, it would be possible, by prudent management, to wipe out; but it is absolutely impossible now, with the temporary debt up to \$67 billion.

So I would offer the suggestion, most respectfully—and for consideration only, speaking as a Senator not on the committee—that consideration be given to consolidating the permanent and the temporary debt limits, so that an administration could have some incentive to stay within that limit. It is impossible to stay within the debt limitation we now have, because it is impossible to wipe out in a year's time a \$78 billion temporary additional indebtedness, in addition to the \$400 billion. I hope that some consideration will be given that suggestion, because I believe we see a precedent sought to be established with respect to this must legislation of extending the debt limitation or debt authorization—actually, it is an authorization, rather than a limitation, but it is both, I suppose—whereby each time they come in with that must legislation, it gives those who have a proposal that cannot stand on its own two feet, that they are willing to put in as a separate bill, an opportunity to tack it on to this must legislation, as they have done with this political campaign handout of \$7.5 million to each fellow who happens to want to run for President and raises \$100,000.

If we are interested in a proper handling of this matter and the prevention of changing our entire governmental setup and governmental institutions and processes, we will give serious consideration to consolidating these two debt limitations.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following communication and letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT ON THE STATUS OF THE NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

A communication from the President of the United States transmitting the ninth annual report on the status of the National Wilderness Preservation System covering the calendar year 1972 (with an accompanying report). Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

CONTRACT AWARD DATES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense transmitting, pursuant to law, a listing of contract award dates for the period November 15, 1973, to February 15,

1974 (with accompanying papers). Referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

MAJOR NATURAL GAS PIPELINES

A letter from the Chairman of the Federal Power Commission transmitting for the information of the Senate a copy of a map entitled "Major Natural Gas Pipelines, June 30, 1973" (with accompanying papers). Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL RAILROAD PASSENGER CORP.

A letter from the vice president of the National Railroad Passenger Corp. transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the number of passengers and the performance of trains operated for the month of October 1973 (with accompanying papers). Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS OTHER THAN TREATIES

A letter from the Assistant Legal Adviser for Treaty Affairs transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of international agreements other than treaties entered into during the previous 60 days (with accompanying papers). Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. BIBLE, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with an amendment:

S. 979. A bill to authorize the establishment of the Springfield Armory National Historic Site, Massachusetts, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 93-590).

By Mr. BIBLE, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments:

S. 584. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the establishment of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, and for other purposes," approved November 5, 1966 (Rept. No. 93-591).

S. 903. A bill to provide for the addition of the names of the States of Alaska and Hawaii to the list of the 48 States inscribed upon the walls of the Lincoln National Memorial (Rept. No. 93-592).

S. 1039. A bill to authorize appropriations for additional costs of land acquisition for the National Park System (Rept. No. 93-593).

S.J. Res. 133. A joint resolution to provide for the establishment of the American Indian Policy Review Commission (Rept. No. 93-594).

By Mr. KENNEDY, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, without recommendation:

S. 2611. A bill to insure the enforcement of the criminal laws and the due administration of justice; establish an independent Special Prosecutor (Rept. No. 93-595).

By Mr. HRUSKA, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments:

S. 2642. A bill to establish an Independent Special Prosecution Office, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 93-596).

By Mr. BENTSEN, from the Committee on Public Works, without amendment:

H.R. 974. An act designating the Texarkana Dam and Reservoir on the Sulphur River as the "Wright Patman Dam and Lake" (Rept. No. 93-597).

AUTHORITY FOR THE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE TO REPORT A BILL ON THE RAIL CRISIS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Commerce be authorized until midnight tonight to report its bill on the rail crisis, the Rail Services Act of 1973, and

that the bill and certain explanatory information be printed in the RECORD today.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. I further ask unanimous consent that the committee report be filed not later than December 7, 1973.

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

The bill and explanatory statement are as follows:

S. 2767

A bill to authorize and direct the maintenance of adequate and efficient rail services in the Midwest and Northeast region of the United States, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—FORMAL PROVISIONS

SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

SEC. 101. (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Rail Services Act of 1973".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—

TITLE I—FORMAL PROVISIONS

Sec. 101. Short title and table of contents.

Sec. 102. Declaration of policy.

Sec. 103. Definitions.

TITLE II—GOVERNMENT NATIONAL RAILWAY ASSOCIATION

Sec. 201. Formation and structure.

Sec. 202. General powers and duties of the Association.

Sec. 203. Access to information.

Sec. 204. Reports.

Sec. 205. Rail Emergency Planning Office.

Sec. 206. Final system plan.

Sec. 207. Adoption of final system plan.

Sec. 208. Review by Congress.

Sec. 209. Judicial review.

Sec. 210. Obligations of the Association.

Sec. 211. Loans.

Sec. 212. Records, audit, and examination.

Sec. 213. Emergency assistance pending implementation.

Sec. 214. Authorizations for appropriations.

Sec. 215. Maintenance and improvement of plant.

TITLE III—UNITED RAIL CORPORATION

Sec. 301. Formation and structure.

Sec. 302. General powers of the Corporation.

Sec. 303. Valuation and conveyance of rail properties.

Sec. 304. Termination of rail service.

TITLE IV—LOCAL RAIL SERVICES

Sec. 401. Findings and purposes.

Sec. 402. Rail service continuation subsidies.

Sec. 403. Acquisition and maintenance assistance.

TITLE V—EQUIPMENT IMPROVEMENT

Sec. 501. Formal provisions.

Sec. 502. Obligation Guarantee Board.

Sec. 503. Guarantee of equipment obligations.

Sec. 504. Issuance of notes or obligations.

Sec. 505. Audit of transactions.

Sec. 506. Default.

Sec. 507. National Rolling Stock Information System.

Sec. 508. Utilization measurement and oversight.

Sec. 509. Prerequisites to establishment.

Sec. 510. Railroad Equipment Authority.

Sec. 511. General powers of the Authority.

Sec. 512. Financing.

Sec. 513. Conversion to private ownership.

Sec. 514. Information system.

Sec. 515. Use of equipment supplied by the Authority.

Sec. 516. Commission review.

Sec. 517. Enforcement.

Sec. 518. Annual report.

Sec. 519. Protective arrangements for employees.

TITLE VI—EMPLOYEE PROTECTION

Sec. 601. Definitions.

Sec. 602. Offers of employment.

Sec. 603. Assignment of work.

Sec. 604. Collective bargaining agreements.

Sec. 605. Employee protection.

Sec. 606. Performance of work.

Sec. 607. Arbitration.

Sec. 608. Acquiring railroads.

Sec. 609. Payment of benefits.

Sec. 610. Work rules study.

Sec. 611. Employee displacement study.

TITLE VII—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Sec. 701. Relationship to other laws.

Sec. 702. Annual evaluation by the Secretary.

Sec. 703. Freight rates for recyclables.

Sec. 704. Separability.

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 102. (a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) Essential rail service in the Midwest and Northeast regions of the United States is provided by railroads which are today insolvent and attempting to undergo reorganization under the Bankruptcy Act.

(2) This essential rail service is threatened with cessation or significant curtailment because of the inability of the trustees of such railroads to formulate acceptable plans of reorganization. This rail service is operated over rail properties which were acquired for a public use, but which have been permitted to deteriorate and now require extensive rehabilitation and modernization.

(3) The public convenience and necessity require adequate and efficient rail service in this region and throughout the Nation to meet the needs of commerce, the national defense, the environment, and the service requirements of passengers, United States mail, shippers, States and their political subdivisions, and consumers.

(4) Continuation and improvement of essential rail service in this region is also necessary to preserve and maintain adequate national rail services and an efficient national rail transportation system.

(5) Rail service and rail transportation offer economic and environmental advantages with respect to land use, air pollution, noise levels, energy efficiency and conservation, resource allocation, safety, and cost per ton-mile of movement to such extent that the preservation and maintenance nationwide of adequate and efficient rail service is in the national interest.

(6) These needs cannot be met without substantial action by the Federal Government.

(b) PURPOSES.—It is therefore declared to be the purpose of Congress in this Act to provide for—

(1) the identification of a rail service system in the Midwest and Northeast region which is adequate to meet the needs and service requirements of this region and of the national rail transportation system;

(2) the restructuring of railroads in this region into an economically viable system capable of providing adequate and efficient rail service to the region;

(3) the establishment of the Government National Railway Association, with enumerated powers and responsibilities;

(4) the establishment of the United Rail Corporation, with enumerated powers and responsibilities;

(5) assistance to States and local and regional transportation authorities for continuation of local rail services threatened with cessation;

(6) loan guarantees for railroad equipment acquisitions and incentives for improved utilization of railroad rolling stock; and

(7) necessary Federal financial assistance at the lowest possible cost to the general taxpayer.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 103. As used in this Act (unless otherwise provided in title V of this Act)—

(1) "Association" means the Government National Railway Association, established under section 201 of this Act.

(2) "Commission" means the Interstate Commerce Commission.

(3) "Corporation" means the nited Rail Corporation, established under section 301 of this Act.

(4) "Effective date of the final system plan" means the date of the joint resolution of the Congress approving and setting forth the maximum obligational authority of the Association for purposes of implementing the final system plan or any revised final system plan which has been deemed approved by Congress, in accordance with section 208 of this Act.

(5) "Employee stock ownership plan" means a technique of corporate finance that uses a stock bonus trust or a company stock money purchase pension trust which qualifies under section 401(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C. 401(a)) in connection with the financing of corporate improvements, transfers in the ownership of corporate assets, and other capital requirements of a corporation and which is designed to build beneficial equity ownership of shares in the employer corporation into its employees substantially in proportion to their relative incomes, without requiring any cash outlay, any reduction in pay or other employee benefits, or the surrender of any other rights on the part of such employees.

(6) "Final system plan" means the plan adopted by the Association in accordance with the requirements of section 206 of this Act.

(7) "Includes" should be read as if the phrase "but is not limited to" were also set forth.

(8) "Office" means the Rail Emergency Planning Office, established under section 205 of this Act.

(9) "Profitable railroad" means a railroad which is not a railroad in reorganization. The term does not include the Corporation, the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, or a railroad owned, leased, or controlled by a railroad in reorganization in the region.

(10) "Rail properties" means assets or rights owned, leased, or otherwise controlled by a railroad which are used or useful in rail transportation service.

(11) "Railroad" means a common carrier by railroad as defined in section 1(3) of part I of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(3)). The term includes the Corporation and the National Railroad Passenger Corporation.

(12) "Railroad in reorganization" means a railroad which is subject to a bankruptcy proceeding and which has not been determined by a court to be reorganizable on an income basis within a reasonable time pursuant to section 207(b) of this Act. A "bankruptcy proceeding" includes a proceeding pursuant to section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 205) or an equity receivership or equivalent proceeding.

(13) "Region" means the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois; the District of Columbia; and those portions of contiguous States in which are located rail properties owned or operated by railroads doing business primarily in the aforementioned jurisdictions (as determined by the Commission by order).

(14) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Transportation, except as otherwise indicated.

(15) "State" means any State or the District of Columbia.

TITLE II—GOVERNMENT NATIONAL RAILWAY ASSOCIATION

FORMATION AND STRUCTURE

SEC. 201. (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established, in accordance with the provisions

of this section, an incorporated nonprofit association to be known as the Government National Railway Association.

(b) ADMINISTRATION.—The Association shall be directed by a Board of Directors. The individuals designated, pursuant to subsection (d) (2) of this section, as the Government members of such Board shall be deemed the incorporators of the Association and shall take whatever steps are necessary to establish the Association, including the filing of articles of incorporation.

(c) STATUS.—The Association shall be a government corporation of the District of Columbia subject, to the extent not inconsistent with this title, to the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act (D.C. Code, sec. 29-1001 et seq.). Except as otherwise provided, employees of the Association shall not be deemed employees of the Federal Government. The Association shall have succession until dissolved by Act of Congress, shall maintain its principal office in the District of Columbia, and shall be deemed to be a resident of the District of Columbia with respect to venue in any legal proceeding.

(d) BOARD OF DIRECTORS.—The Board of Directors of Association shall consist of 13 individuals, as follows:

(1) the Chairman, a qualified individual who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate;

(2) four Government members, who shall be the Secretary, the Chairman of the Commission, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, or their duly authorized representatives; and

(3) eight nongovernment members, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the following basis—

(A) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals who are representative of profitable railroads recommended by the Association of American Railroads or its successor;

(B) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals who are representative of railroad labor recommended by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations or its successor;

(C) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the National Governors Conference;

(D) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the National League of Cities and Conference of Mayors;

(E) two to be selected from lists of qualified individuals recommended by shippers and organizations representative of significant shipping interests including small shippers;

(F) one to be selected from lists of qualified individuals recommended by consumer organizations, community organizations, and recognized consumer leaders; and

(G) one to be selected from lists of qualified individuals recommended by financial institutions, the financial community, and recognized financial leaders.

As used in this paragraph, a list of qualified individuals shall consist of no less than three individuals.

Except for the members appointed under paragraphs (1) and (3) (A), (B), (E), and (G), no member of such Board may have any employment or other direct financial relationship with any railroad. A member of such Board who is not otherwise an employee of the Federal Government may receive \$300 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of his duties plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of such duties.

(e) TERMS OF OFFICE.—The terms of office of the nongovernment members of the Board of Directors of the Association first taking

office shall expire as designated by the President at the time of nomination—two at the end of the second year; two at the end of the fourth year; and four at the end of the sixth year. The term of office of the Chairman of such Board shall be 6 years. Successors to members of such Board shall be appointed in the same manner as the original members and, except in the case of government members, shall have terms of office expiring six years from the date of expiration of the terms for which their predecessors were appointed. Any individual appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of any term of office shall be appointed for the remainder of that term.

(f) QUORUM.—Seven members of such Board, including three of the nongovernment members, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of any function of the Association.

(g) PRESIDENT.—The Board of Directors of the Association, upon the recommendation of the Secretary, shall appoint a qualified individual to serve as the President of the Association at the pleasure of such Board. The President of the Association, subject to the direction of such Board, shall manage and supervise the affairs of the Association.

(h) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—The Board of Directors of the Association shall have an executive committee which shall consist of the Chairman of such Board, the Secretary, and three other members who shall be selected by the members of such Board.

(i) MISCELLANEOUS.—(1) The Association shall have a seal which shall be judicially recognized.

(2) The Administrator of General Services is authorized and directed to furnish the Association with such offices, equipment, supplies, and services as he is authorized to furnish to any other agency or instrumentality of the United States.

(3) The Secretary is authorized to transfer to the Association or the Corporation rights in intellectual property which are directly related to the conduct of the functions of the Association or the Corporation, to the extent that the Federal Government has such rights and to the extent that transfer is necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(j) USE OF NAMES.—No person, except the Association, shall hereafter use the words "Government National Railway Association" as a name for any business purpose. No person, except the corporation directed to be established under section 301 of this Act, shall hereafter use the words "United Rail Corporation" as a name for any business purpose. Violations of these provisions may be enjoined by any court of general jurisdiction in an action commenced by the Association or the Corporation. In any such action, the Association or the Corporation may recover any actual damages flowing from such violation, and, in addition, shall be entitled to punitive damages (regardless of the existence or nonexistence of actual damage), not to exceed \$100 for each day during which such violation was committed. The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction over actions brought under this subsection, without regard to the amount in controversy or the citizenship of the parties.

GENERAL POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE ASSOCIATION

SEC. 202. (a) GENERAL.—To carry out the purposes of this Act, the Association is authorized to—

(1) engage in the preparation and implementation of the final system plan;

(2) issue obligations under section 210 of this Act and make loans under section 211 of this Act;

(3) provide assistance to States and local or regional transportation authorities in accordance with section 402 or 403 of this Act;

(4) sue and be sued, complain and defend, in the name of the Association and through its own attorneys; adopt, amend, and repeal

bylaws governing the operation of the Association and such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the authority granted under this Act; conduct its affairs, carry on operations, and maintain offices;

(5) appoint, fix the compensation, and assign the duties of such attorneys, agents, consultants, and other full-time and part-time employees as it deems necessary or appropriate: *Provided*, That (1) no officer of the Association, including the Chairman, may receive compensation at a rate in excess of that prescribed for level I of the Executive Schedule under section 5312 of title 5, United States Code; and (2) no individual may hold a position in violation of regulations which the Secretary shall establish to avoid conflicts of interest and to protect the interests of the public;

(6) acquire and hold such real and personal property as it deems necessary or appropriate in the exercise of its responsibilities under this Act, and may dispose of any such property held by it;

(7) consult with the Secretary of the Army and the Chief of Engineers and request the assistance of the Corps of Engineers in supervising or consulting on any construction, reconstruction, installation, or other improvements financed by any obligations issued or loans made by the Association. Such improvements may include rights-of-way, bridges, tunnels, grade crossings, signals and other safety-related equipment, and tracks, and other facilities used or capable of being used in rail transportation service or in ways ancillary to such service. The Secretary of the Army shall direct the Corps of Engineers to cooperate fully with the Association, the Corporation, or any entity designated in accordance with section 206(c)(1)(C) in order to carry out the purposes of this Act;

(8) consult with representatives of science, industry, agriculture, labor, environmental protection and consumer organizations, and other groups, as it deems advisable; and

(9) enter into contracts, execute instruments, incur liabilities, and do all things necessary, appropriate, or incidental to the proper management of its affairs and the prudent exercise of its responsibilities, including protecting the interests of the United States.

(b) **INVESTMENT OF FUNDS.**—Uncommitted moneys of the Association shall be kept in cash on hand or on deposit, or invested in obligations of the United States or guaranteed thereby, or in obligations, participations, or other investments which are lawful investments for fiduciary, trust, or public funds.

(c) **EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION.**—The Association, including its franchise, capital reserves, surplus, security holdings, and income shall be exempt from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, any commonwealth, territory, dependency, or possession thereof, or by any State or political subdivision thereof, except that any real property of the Association shall be subject to taxation to the same extent according to its value as other real property is taxed.

(d) **ANNUAL REPORT.**—The Association shall transmit to the Congress and the President, not later than 90 days after the end of each fiscal year, a comprehensive and detailed report on all activities of the Association during the preceding fiscal year. Each such report shall include: (1) the Association's statement of specific and detailed objectives for the activities and programs conducted and assisted under this Act; (2) statements of the Association's conclusions as to the effectiveness of such activities and programs in meeting the stated objectives and the purposes of this Act, measured through the end of the preceding fiscal year; (3) recommendations with respect to any changes or additional legislative action deemed necessary or desirable; (4) a statistical compila-

tion of the obligations issued, loans made, and equipment obligations guaranteed under this Act; (5) a summary of outstanding problems confronting the Association, in order of priority; (6) all other information required to be submitted to the Congress pursuant to any other provision of this Act; (7) an evaluation of the current state of rail services in the United States, by regions; and (8) the Association's projections and plans for its activities and programs during the next fiscal year.

(e) **BUDGET.**—The receipts and disbursements of the Association in the discharge of its functions shall not be included in the totals of the budget of the United States Government, and shall be exempt from any annual expenditure and net lending (budget outlays) limitations imposed on a budget of the United States Government. The Chairman of the Association shall transmit annually to the Congress a budget for program activities and for administrative expenses of the Association. The Chairman shall report annually to the Congress the amount of net lending of the Association, which would be included in the totals of the budgets of the United States Government, if the Association's activities were not excluded from those totals as a result of this section.

(f) **ACCOUNTABILITY.**—Section 201 of the Government Corporation Control Act (31 U.S.C. 856) is amended by striking out "and" in the last clause thereof and the period at the end thereof and inserting at the thereof the following: ", (8) the Government National Railway Association."

ACCESS TO INFORMATION

SEC. 203. Each railroad shall maintain and make available such records, make and submit such reports, and provide such data, materials, or other information as the Secretary, the Office, or the Association shall reasonably require or request which is relevant to any function under this Act. Any officer or employee duly designated by the Secretary, the Director of the Office, or the President of the Association, upon presenting appropriate credentials and a written notice of inspection authority, is authorized to inspect, at reasonable times, records, papers, processes, rolling stock, equipment, or facilities of any such railroad in furtherance of any such function. The Secretary, the Office, and the Association, or any duly authorized officer or employee thereof, may for the purpose of carrying out any such function, hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, administer such oaths, and require by subpoena or other order the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such evidence as is deemed advisable. Subpoenas shall be issued under the signature of the Secretary, the Director of the Office, or the President of the Association and may be served by any duly designated individual. In case of contumacy or refusal to obey such a subpoena or order by any person who resides, is found, or transacts business within the jurisdiction of any district court of the United States, such district court shall, upon the petition of the Secretary, the Director of the Office, or the President of the Association, have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to comply forthwith. Failure to obey such an order is punishable by such court as a contempt of court.

REPORTS

SEC. 204. (a) **PREPARATION.**—(1) Within 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall prepare a comprehensive report containing his conclusions and recommendations with respect to the geographic zones within the region at and between which rail service should be provided and the criteria upon which such conclusions and recommendations are based; and (2) within 300 days after the date of enactment

of this Act, the Secretary shall prepare a comprehensive report containing his conclusions with respect to essential rail services within the Nation in the area outside the region, and his recommendations as to the geographic zones at and between which rail service should be provided. The Secretary may use as a basis for the identification of such geographic zones the standard metropolitan statistical areas, groups of such areas, counties, or groups of counties having similar economic characteristics such as mining, manufacturing, or farming.

(b) **SUBMISSION.**—Upon completion, the Secretary shall submit the reports required by subsection (a) of this section to the Office, the Association, the Governor and public utilities commission of each State studied in the report, local governments, consumer organizations, environmental groups, the public, and the Congress. The Secretary shall further cause a copy of each report to be published in the Federal Register.

(c) **TRANSPORTATION POLICY.**—Within 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall formulate and submit to Congress a national transportation policy. The Secretary shall consider all relevant factors in formulating this national transportation policy, including the need for coordinated development and improvement of all modes of transportation, and recommendations as to the priority which should be assigned to the development and improvement of each such mode.

RAIL EMERGENCY PLANNING OFFICE

SEC. 205. (a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There is established on the date of enactment of this Act, a new Office in the Commission to be known as the Rail Emergency Planning Office. The Office shall function continuously pursuant to the provisions of this Act, and shall cease to exist 5 years after the date of enactment of this Act. The Office shall be administered by a director.

(b) **DIRECTOR.**—(1) The Director of the Office shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Commission with the concurrence of 5 members of the Commission and shall take office upon issuance of a resolution endorsing such appointment by both the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Commerce of the Senate.

(2) The Director of the Office shall administer and be responsible for the discharge of the functions and duties of the Office from the date he takes office unless removed for cause by the Commission.

(3) The Director of the Office shall be compensated at a rate to be set by the Chairman of the Commission without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, classification, and General Schedule pay rates, but at a rate not in excess of the maximum rate for GS-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of such title.

(c) **DUTIES.**—The Office shall, with the assistance of the Secretary and the Association—

(1) study and evaluate the Secretary's report on rail services in the region required under section 204(a)(1) of this title and shall solicit, study, and evaluate the views with respect to present and future rail service needs of the region from Governors of States within the region; mayors and chief executives of political subdivisions within such States; shippers; the Secretary of Defense; manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers within the region; consumers of goods and products shipped by rail; and all other interested persons. The Office is authorized and directed to conduct public hearings to solicit comments on such report and to receive such views;

(2) prepare a detailed—

(A) information survey of existing rail services in the region, including patterns of

traffic movement, traffic density over identified lines, pertinent costs and revenues of lines, plant, equipment, facilities (including yards and terminals), and property suitable for rail services in the region;

(B) economic and operational study and analysis of present and future rail service needs in the region, taking into account the reports, views, and comments received under paragraph (1) of this subsection; the nature and volume of the traffic in the region now being moved by rail or likely to be moved by rail in the future; the extent to which available alternative modes of transportation could move such traffic as is now carried by railroads in reorganization; the relative economic, social, and environmental costs that would be involved in the use of such available alternative modes, including energy resource costs; and the competitive or other effects on profitable railroads;

(C) study of methods of achieving economies in the cost of rail system operations in the region including consolidation, pooling, and joint use or operation of lines, facilities, and operating equipment; relocation; rehabilitation and modernization of equipment, track, and other facilities; and abandonment of lines consistent with meeting needs and service requirements; together with an evaluation of the anticipated economic, social, and environmental costs and benefits of each such method;

(D) study of rail passenger services in the region, in terms of scope and quality;

(E) study of the costs and benefits of any change proposed in the Secretary's report required under section 204(a)(1) of this Act or any views or comments received under paragraph (1) of this subsection;

(F) study of the effect on railroad employees of any restructuring of rail services in the region; and

(G) report to be submitted to the Commission and the Association and published in the Federal Register. Such report shall include all the aforementioned material in this subsection together with a preliminary identification on a map of the region the rail services system which in the judgment of the Office would best satisfy present and future rail services needs in the region. Such report shall be submitted within 240 days after the date of establishment of the Office;

(3) solicit, study, and evaluate the views of all government officials and persons who submitted views, reports, or testimony under paragraph (1) of this subsection with respect to the report prepared by the Office under paragraph (2)(G) of this subsection;

(4) prepare and submit to the Commission, the Congress, and the Association its proposal for the preliminary system plan within 300 days after the date of establishment of the Office. Such proposal shall be designed to meet all of the requirements of section 206 of this Act;

(5) prepare and submit to the Commission, the Congress, and the Association its evaluation and critique, together with detailed reasons and recommended alternatives for provisions rejected, of the preliminary system plan within 60 days after its adoption and release by the Association under section 207(a) of this Act;

(6) make determinations of qualifications for rail service continuation subsidies in accordance with subsection (f) of this section; and

(7) perform such duties as the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee, or the President of the Association shall request.

(d) **POWERS.**—The Director of the Office is subject to the direction of and shall report to such member of the Commission as the Chairman thereof shall designate. The Chairman may designate himself as that member. Such Director is authorized, with the concurrence of such member or the Chairman (in case of disagreement) of the Commission, to—

(1) appoint, fix the compensation, and assign the duties of employees of the Office without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and to procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized under section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed \$250 a day for qualified experts. Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the executive branch of the Federal Government and each independent regulatory agency of the United States is authorized and shall give careful consideration to a request to furnish to the Director of the Office, upon written request, on a reimbursable basis or otherwise, such assistance as such Director deems necessary to carry out the functions and duties of the Office. Such assistance includes transfer of personnel with their consent and without prejudice to their position and rating; and

(2) enter into, without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (41 U.S.C. 5), such contracts, leases, cooperative agreements, or other transactions as may be necessary in the conduct of the functions and duties of the Office, with any government or person.

(e) **REVIEW OF COMMISSION.**—Upon the adoption of the final system plan by the Association under section 207(c) and the submission of such plan to Congress under section 208(a) of this Act, the Commission shall submit to the Congress an evaluation and critique of the final system plan delivered to both Houses of Congress and its recommendation with respect to the acceptance or rejection of such plan. If the Commission recommends that either the House of Representatives or the Senate pass a resolution stating that it does not favor the plan, the Commission shall recommend what changes, if any, should be made in the final system plan and the reasons therefor.

(f) **CONTINUATION AND ABANDONMENT.**—(1) The Office shall make and maintain a list of its determinations of qualification for rail service continuation subsidies. A copy of such list shall be transmitted to the Secretary and the Governors of the States in the region and shall be published in the Federal Register at least once each year.

(2) Rail properties qualified for rail service continuation subsidies are—

(A) those rail properties of railroads in reorganization which are not included on the final system plan;

(B) those rail properties in the region which have been or are subsequently purchased, leased, or operated by a State agency or with respect to which a State or political subdivision thereof has invested substantial sums for improvement and maintenance of rail service;

(C) those rail properties in the region with respect to which the Commission issues a certificate of abandonment effective on or after the date of enactment of this Act; and

(D) those rail properties which the Office shall find to have been constructively abandoned. A finding of constructive abandonment shall be made by the Office, upon the request of a State in the region, if the Office, in its discretion, determines that service over a particular rail property has been permitted by the carrier to deteriorate to the extent that it is no longer adequate to meet the requirements of the public convenience and necessity.

(3) The Office shall assist States and local and regional transportation agencies in making determinations whether to provide rail service continuation subsidies to maintain in operation particular rail properties by making advisory determinations upon request by a State as to whether particular rail properties are suitable for rail service continuation subsidies. Such advisory determinations shall be made on the following basis: Rail proper-

ties are suitable if the cost of the required subsidy for such properties per year to the taxpayers is less than the cost of termination of rail service over such properties measured by increased fuel consumption and operational costs for alternative modes of transportation, the cost to the gross national product in terms of reduced output of goods and services, the cost of relocating or assisting through unemployment, retraining, and welfare benefits to individuals and firms adversely affected thereby, and the cost to the environment measured by damage caused by increased pollution.

FINAL SYSTEM PLAN

SEC. 206. (a) GOALS.—The final system plan shall be formulated in such a way as to effectuate the following goals:

(1) the creation of a financially self-sustaining rail service system in the region;

(2) the establishment and maintenance of a rail service system adequate to meet the rail transportation needs and service requirements of the region;

(3) the establishment of improved high-speed rail passenger service, as recommended by the Secretary in his report of September 1971, entitled "Recommendations for Northeast Corridor Transportation";

(4) the maximum use of those modes of transportation in the region which require the smallest amount of scarce energy resources and of those modes which can most efficiently transport energy resources;

(5) the stimulation of competition in the region in the provision of transportation services;

(6) the achievement in the region of any ambient air quality standard established pursuant to the Clean Air Act, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1857 et seq.); and

(7) the movement of passengers and freight in rail transportation the region in the most efficient manner consistent with safe operation.

(b) **FACTORS.**—The final system plan shall be based upon due consideration of all factors relevant to the realization of the goals set forth in subsection (a) of this section. Such factors include the need for and the cost of rehabilitation and modernization of track, equipment, and other facilities; methods of achieving economies in the cost of rail operations in the region; means of achieving rationalization of rail services and the rail service system in the region; marketing studies; the impact on railroad employees; consumer needs; traffic analysis; financial studies; and any other factors identified by the Office under paragraph (2) of section 205(c) of this Act or in the report of the Secretary required under section 204(a)(1) of this Act.

(c) **DESIGNATIONS.**—The final system plan shall designate—

(1) those rail properties operated by any railroad in reorganization in the region and any railroad leased, operated, or controlled by any railroad in reorganization in the region which—

(A) shall be operated by the Corporation, and shall provide which rail properties are to be transferred to and acquired by the Corporation in accordance with this Act;

(B) shall be offered for sale to a profitable railroad operating in the region and, if purchased, shall be operated by such railroad and, what additions to or changes in the designation of rail properties to be acquired and operated by the Corporation shall be made if that designated profitable railroad fails to purchase such properties;

(C) shall be purchased or leased from the Corporation by the National Railroad Passenger Corporation or a regional transportation authority for improvement to achieve the goal set forth in subsection (a)(3) of this section;

(D) may be purchased or leased from the Corporation by a State or local or regional

transportation authority to meet the needs of commuter and intercity rail passenger service; and

(E) if not otherwise required to be operated by the Corporation or any other railroad, are suitable for use for other public purposes, including highways, other forms of transportation, conservation, energy transmission, education or health care facilities or recreation. In carrying out this paragraph, the Association shall solicit the views and recommendations of the Secretary, the Secretary of the Interior, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and other agencies of the Federal Government and of the State and the political subdivisions thereof within the region, and the general public; and

(2) which rail properties of profitable railroads operating in the region shall be offered for sale or lease to the Corporation and which rail properties of profitable railroads operating in the region may be offered for sale or lease to other profitable railroads operating in the region subject to paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (d) of this section.

(d) TRANSFERS.—All transfers or conveyances pursuant to the final system plan shall be made in accordance with, and subject to, the following principles:

(1) All rail properties to be transferred to the Corporation by trustees of a railroad in reorganization or by any railroad leased, operated, or controlled by a railroad in reorganization in the region shall be transferred in exchange for value in the form of stock and other securities of the Corporation (including obligations of the Association) and the other benefits accruing to such railroad by reason of such transfer.

(2) All rail properties to be conveyed to a profitable railroad operating in the region by trustees of a railroad in reorganization or by any railroad leased, operated, or controlled by a railroad in reorganization in the region shall be conveyed in exchange for compensation from the profitable railroad.

(3) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, no acquisition under this Act, shall be made by any profitable railroad operating in the region without a determination with respect to each such transaction and all such transactions cumulatively (A) by the Association, upon adoption and release of the preliminary system plan, that such acquisition or acquisitions will not materially impair the profitability of any other profitable railroad or of the Corporation, and (B) by the Commission, which shall be made within 90 days after adoption and release by the Association of the preliminary system plan, that such acquisitions will be in full accord and comply with the provisions and standards of part I, section 5 of the Interstate Commerce Act. The determination by the Association shall not be reviewable in any court. The determination by the Commission shall be reviewable only in the special court. Appeal to the special court shall be taken within 10 days after the Commission makes its determination, and the special court shall complete its review and render its decision within 20 days after such appeal is taken. There shall be no review of the decision of the special court.

(4) Where the final system plan designates specified rail properties of profitable railroads operating in the region to be offered for sale or lease or authorizes them to be offered for sale or lease to a profitable railroad or profitable railroads operating in the region or to the Corporation, such designation or authorization shall terminate 60 days after the effective date of the final system plan unless a binding agreement with respect to such properties has been entered into and concluded by that date. The final system plan shall designate what changes or additions

shall be made if contemplated binding agreements are not so entered into and concluded.

(5) All properties sold by the Corporation pursuant to sections 206(c)(1)(C) and 701(d) of this Act shall be transferred at a value related to the value received for the transfer to the Corporation of such properties.

(e) CORPORATION FEATURES.—The final system plan shall set forth—

(1) pro forma earnings for the Corporation, as reasonably projected and considering the additions or changes in the designations of rail properties to be operated by the Corporation which may be made under subsection (d)(4) of this section;

(2) the capital structure of the Corporation, based on the pro forma earnings of the Corporation as set forth, including such debt capitalization as shall be reasonably deemed to conform to the requirements of the public interest with respect to railroad debt securities, including the adequacy of coverage of fixed charges; and

(3) the manner in which employee stock ownership plans shall, to the extent practicable, be utilized for meeting the capitalization requirements of the Corporation, taking into account (A) the relative cost savings compared to conventional methods of corporate finance; (B) the labor cost savings; (C) the potential for minimizing strikes and producing more harmonious relations between labor organizations and railway management; (D) the projected employee dividend incomes; (E) the impact on quality of service and prices to railway users; and (F) the promotion of the objectives of this Act of creating a financially self-sustaining railway system in the region which also meets the service needs of the region and the Nation.

(f) VALUE.—The final system plan shall designate the value of all rail properties to be transferred under the final system plan and the value of the securities and other benefits to be received for transferring those rail properties to the Corporation in accordance with the final system plan.

(g) OTHER PROVISIONS.—The final system plan may recommend arrangements among various railroads for joint use or operation of rail properties on a shared ownership, cooperative, pooled, or condominium-type basis subject to such terms and conditions as may be specified in the final system plan. The final system plan shall also make such designations as are determined to be necessary in accordance with the provisions of section 402 or 403 of this Act.

(h) OBLIGATIONAL AUTHORITY.—The final system plan shall set forth the amount of obligations of the Association which are necessary to enable it to implement the final system plan.

(i) TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF SECURITIES.—The final system plan may include terms and conditions for any securities to be issued by the Corporation which in the judgment of the Association will minimize any actual or potential debt burden on the Corporation. Such terms and conditions shall not become effective without affirmative approval, with or without modification, by Congress.

ADOPTION OF FINAL SYSTEM PLAN

SEC. 207. (a) PRELIMINARY SYSTEM PLAN.—Within 300 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Association shall adopt and release a preliminary system plan prepared by it on the basis of reports and other information submitted to it by the Secretary, the Office, and interested persons in accordance with this Act and on the basis of its own investigations, consultations, research, evaluation, and analysis pursuant to this Act. Copies of the preliminary system plan shall be transmitted by the Association to the Secretary, the Office, the Governor and public utility commission of each State in the region, the Congress, each court having jurisdiction

over a railroad in reorganization in the region, the special court, and interested persons, and a copy shall be published in the Federal Register. The Association shall invite and afford interested persons an opportunity to submit comments on the preliminary system plan to the Association within 60 days after the date of its release. The Secretary, the Office, and the Association are authorized to hold public hearings on the preliminary system plan in accordance with the provisions of section 553 of title 5, United States Code. In the case of hearings held or comments or recommendations received by the Secretary or the Office on the preliminary system plan, the Secretary and the Director of the Office shall submit to the President of the Association a summary and analysis thereof not later than 60 days after the date of release of such plan.

(b) APPROVAL.—Within 90 days after the adoption and release by the Association of the preliminary system plan pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, each United States district court or other court having jurisdiction over a railroad in reorganization shall decide whether or not such railroad shall be reorganized by means of transferring some of its rail properties to the Corporation pursuant to the provisions of this Act. Because of the strong public interest in the continuance of rail transportation in the region pursuant to a system plan devised under the provisions of this Act, each such court shall order that reorganization be proceeded with pursuant to this Act unless it finds (1) that the railroad is reorganizable on an income basis within a reasonable time under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 205) and that the public interest would be better served by such a reorganization than by a reorganization under this Act, or (2) that reorganization under this Act is not possible on terms which would be fair and equitable to the estate of the railroad in reorganization. An appeal from an order made under this section may be made only to the special court. Appeal to the special court shall be taken within 10 days following entry of an order pursuant to this subsection, and the special court shall complete its review and render its decision within 20 days after such appeal is taken. There shall be no review of the decision of the special court.

(c) ADOPTION.—Within 420 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the executive committee of the Association shall prepare and submit a final system plan for the approval of the Board of Directors of the Association. A copy of such submission shall be simultaneously presented to the Commission. The submission shall reflect evaluation of all responses and summaries of responses received, testimony at any public hearings, and the results of additional study and review. Within 30 days thereafter, the Board of Directors of the Association shall by a majority vote of all its members approve a final system plan which meets all of the requirements of section 206 of this title.

REVIEW BY CONGRESS

SEC. 208. (a) GENERAL.—The Board of Directors of the Association shall deliver the final system plan adopted by the Association to both Houses of Congress and to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Commerce of the Senate. The final system plan shall be deemed approved at the end of the first period of 60 calendar days of continuous session of Congress after such date of transmittal unless either the House of Representatives or the Senate passes a resolution during such period stating that it does not favor the final system plan: *Provided*, That the Association's obligational authority as set forth in the final system plan adopted by the Association

and submitted to Congress shall not become effective until approved (as submitted or as modified) by joint resolution of Congress.

(b) **REVISED PLAN.**—If either the House or the Senate passes a resolution of disapproval under subsection (a) of this section, the Association, with the cooperation and assistance of the Secretary and the Office, shall prepare, determine, and adopt a revised final system plan. Each such revised plan shall be submitted to Congress for review pursuant to subsection (a) of this section.

(c) **COMPUTATION.**—For purposes of this section—

- (1) continuity of session of Congress is broken only by an adjournment sine die; and
- (2) the days on which either House is not in session because of an adjournment of more than 3 days to a day certain are excluded in the computation of the 60-day period.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 209. (a) **GENERAL.**—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the final system plan which is adopted by the Association and which becomes effective after review by the Congress is not subject to review by any court except in accordance with this section. After the final system plan becomes effective under section 208 of this Act, it may be reviewed with respect to matters concerning the value of the rail properties to be conveyed under the plan and the value of the consideration to be received for such properties.

(b) **SPECIAL COURT.**—Within 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Association shall make application to the judicial panel on multi-district litigation authorized by section 1407 of title 28, United States Code, for the consolidation in a single, three-judge district court of the United States of all judicial proceedings with respect to the final system plan. Within 30 days after such application is received, the panel shall make the consolidation in a district court (cited herein as the "special court") which the panel determines to be convenient to the parties and the one most likely to be able to conduct any proceedings under this section with the least delay and the greatest possible fairness and ability. Such proceedings shall be conducted by the special court which shall be composed of three Federal judges who shall be selected by the panel, except that none of the judges selected may be a judge assigned to a proceeding involving any railroad in reorganization in the region under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 205). The special court is authorized to exercise the powers of a district judge in any judicial district with respect to such proceedings and such powers shall include those of a reorganization court. The special court shall have the power to convey rail properties of railroads owned, operated, or controlled by a railroad in reorganization in the region. The panel may issue rules for the conduct of its functions under this subsection. No determination by the panel under this subsection may be reviewed in any court.

(c) **DELIVERY OF PLAN TO SPECIAL COURT.**—Within 90 days after its effective date, the Association shall deliver a certified copy of the final system plan which has been adopted by the Association and become effective after review by the Congress in accordance with this Act to the special court and shall certify to the special court—

- (1) which rail properties of the respective railroads in reorganization in the region and of any railroad leased, operated, or controlled by such railroads in reorganization are to be transferred to the Corporation, in accordance with the final system plan;
- (2) which rail properties of the respective railroads in reorganization in the region are to be conveyed to profitable railroads, in accordance with the final system plan;
- (3) which rail properties of profitable railroads in the region shall be offered for sale or lease to the Corporation and which rail

properties of profitable railroads in the region may be offered for sale or lease to other profitable railroads;

(4) the amount, terms, and value of the securities of the Corporation (including any obligations of the Association) to be exchanged for those rail properties to be transferred to the Corporation pursuant to the final system plan and as indicated in paragraph (1) of this subsection; and

(5) that the transfer of rail properties in exchange for securities of the Corporation (including any obligations of the Association) and other benefits is fair and equitable and in the public interest in accordance with the standards applicable to the approval of a plan of reorganization or a step in such a plan under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 205).

(d) **BANKRUPTCY COURTS.**—Within 90 days after its effective date, the Association shall deliver a certified copy of the final system plan which has been adopted by the Association and become effective after review by the Congress in accordance with this Act to each district court of the United States or any other court having jurisdiction over a railroad in reorganization in the region and shall certify to each such court—

- (1) which rail properties of that railroad in reorganization are to be transferred to the Corporation under the final system plan; and
- (2) which rail properties of that railroad in reorganization, if any, are to be conveyed to profitable railroads operating in the region, under the final system plan.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

SEC. 210. (a) **GENERAL.**—To carry out the provisions of this title and of title III of this Act, the Association is authorized to issue bonds, debentures, trust certificates, securities, or other obligations (herein cited as "obligations") in accordance with this section. Such obligations shall have such maturities and bear such rate or rates of interest as are determined by the Association with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. Such obligations shall be redeemable at the option of the Association prior to maturity in the manner stipulated in each such obligation, and may be purchased by the Association in the open market at a price which is reasonable.

(b) **MAXIMUM OBLIGATIONAL AUTHORITY.**—The aggregate amount of obligations of the Association issued under this section which may be outstanding at any one time shall not exceed the obligational authority affirmatively approved by joint resolution of the Congress.

(c) **GUARANTEES.**—The Secretary shall guarantee the payment of principal and interest on all obligations issued by the Association in accordance with this Act and which the Association requests be guaranteed.

(d) **VALIDITY.**—No obligation issued by the Association under this section shall be terminated, canceled, or otherwise revoked, except in accordance with lawful terms and conditions prescribed by the Association. Such an obligation shall be conclusive evidence that it is in compliance with this section, has been approved, and is legal as to principal, interest, and other terms. An obligation of the Association shall be valid and incontestable in the hands of a holder, except as to fraud, duress, mutual mistake of fact, or material misrepresentation by or involving such holder.

(e) **THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.**—If at any time the moneys available to the Secretary are insufficient to enable him to discharge his responsibilities under subsection (c) of this section, he shall issue notes or other obligations to the Secretary of the Treasury in such forms and denominations, bearing such maturities, and subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by

the Secretary of the Treasury. Such obligations shall bear interest at a rate to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States of comparable maturities during the month preceding the issuance of such obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase any such obligations and for such purpose is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended. The purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act are extended to include any purchase of notes or other obligations issued under this subsection. At any time, the Secretary of the Treasury may sell any such obligations, and all sales, purchases, and redemptions of such obligations by the Secretary of the Treasury shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States.

(f) **AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS.**—There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary such amounts as are necessary to discharge the obligations of the United States arising under this section.

(g) **LAWFUL INVESTMENTS.**—All obligations issued by the Association shall be lawful investments and may be accepted as security for all fiduciary, trust, and public funds, the investment or deposit of which shall be under the authority and control of the United States or any officer or officers thereof. All such obligations issued pursuant to this section shall be exempt securities within the meaning of laws administered by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

LOANS

SEC. 211. (a) **GENERAL.**—The Association is authorized, in accordance with the provisions of this section and such rules and regulations as it shall prescribe, to make loans to the Corporation, the National Rail Passenger Corporation, a regional transportation authority, and other railroads in the region, for purposes of assisting in the implementation of the final system plan, and to railroads outside the region which are threatened with insolvency in the absence of such loans. No such loan shall be made by the Association to a railroad unless such loans shall, where applicable, be treated as an expense of administration. The rights referred to in the last sentence of section 77(j) of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 205(j)) shall in no way be affected by this Act. In making loans to profitable railroads the Association shall consider whether the applicant has an employee stock ownership plan and shall give special consideration to profitable railroads who have such a plan.

(b) **APPLICATIONS.**—Each application for such a loan shall be made in writing to the Association in such form and with such content and other submissions as the Association shall prescribe to protect reasonably the interests of the United States. The Association shall publish a notice of the receipt of each such application in the Federal Register and shall afford interested persons an opportunity to comment thereon.

(c) **TERMS AND CONDITIONS.**—Each loan shall be extended in such form, under such terms and conditions, and pursuant to such regulations as the Association deems appropriate. Such loan shall bear interest at a rate not less than the greater of a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration (1) the current average yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States with remaining periods of maturity of such loans, or (2) the current average yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the Association with remaining periods of maturity comparable to the average maturities of such loans, plus additional charge, if any, toward covering

costs of the Association as the Association may determine to be consistent with the purposes of this Act.

(d) **MODIFICATIONS.**—The Association is authorized to approve any modification of any provision of a loan under this section, including the rate of interest, time of payment of interest or principal, security, or any other term or condition, upon a finding by the Association that such modification is equitable and necessary or appropriate to achieve the policy declared in subsection (f) of this section.

(e) **PREREQUISITES.**—The Association shall make a finding in writing, before making a loan to any applicant under this section, that—

(1) the loan is necessary to carry out the final system plan or to prevent insolvency;

(2) it is satisfied that the business affairs of the applicant will be conducted in a reasonable and prudent manner; and

(3) the applicant has offered such security as the Association deems necessary to protect reasonably the interests of the United States.

(f) **POLICY.**—It is the intent of Congress that loans made under this section shall be made on terms and conditions which furnish reasonable assurance that the Corporation or the railroads to which such loans are granted will be able to repay them within the time fixed and that the goals of the final system plan are reasonably likely to be achieved.

RECORDS, AUDIT, AND EXAMINATION

SEC. 212. (a) **RECORDS.**—Each recipient of financial assistance under this title, whether in the form of loans, obligations, or other arrangements, shall keep such records as the Association or the Secretary shall prescribe, including records which fully disclose the amount and disposition by such recipient of the proceeds of such assistance and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

(b) **AUDIT AND EXAMINATION.**—The Association, the Secretary, and the Comptroller General of the United States, or any of their duly authorized representatives shall, until the expiration of 3 years after the implementation of the final system plan, have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of such receipts which in the opinion of the Association, the Secretary, or the Comptroller General may be related or pertinent to the loans, obligations or other arrangements referred to in subsection (a) of this section. The Association or any of its duly authorized representatives shall, until any financial assistance received under this title has been repaid to the Association, have access to any such materials which concern any matter that may bear upon—

(1) the ability of the recipient of such financial assistance to make repayment within the time fixed therefor;

(2) the effectiveness with which the proceeds of such assistance is used; and

(3) the implementation of the final system plan and the realization of the declaration of policy of this Act.

EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE PENDING IMPLEMENTATION

SEC. 213. (a) **EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE.**—The Secretary is authorized, pending the implementation of the final system plan, to pay to the trustees of railroads in reorganization such sums as are necessary for the continued provision of essential transportation services by such railroads. Such payments shall be made by the Secretary upon such reasonable terms and conditions as the Secretary establishes, except that recipients must agree to maintain and provide service at a level no less than that in effect on September 30, 1973.

(b) **AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS.**—There is authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary for carrying out this section

such sums as are necessary, not to exceed \$85,000,000, to remain available until expended.

AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 214. (a) **SECRETARY.**—There is authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary for purposes of preparing the reports and exercising other functions to be performed by him under this Act such sums as are necessary, not to exceed \$15,000,000, to remain available until expended.

(b) **OFFICE.**—There are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for the use of the Office in carrying out its functions under this Act such sums as are necessary, not to exceed \$12,500,000 to remain available until expended. The budget for the Office shall be submitted by the Commission directly to the Congress and shall not be subject to review of any kind by any other agency or official of the United States. Moneys appropriated for the Office shall not be withheld by any agency or official of the United States or used by the Commission for any purpose other than the use of the Office. No part of any other moneys appropriated to the Commission shall be withheld by any other agency or official of the United States to offset any moneys appropriated pursuant to this subsection.

(c) **ASSOCIATION.**—There is authorized to be appropriated to the Association for purposes of carrying out its administrative expenses under this title and title III of this Act such sums as are necessary, not to exceed \$26,000,000, to remain available until expended.

MAINTENANCE AND IMPROVEMENT OF PLANT

SEC. 215. Prior to the date upon which rail properties are conveyed to the Corporation under this Act, the Secretary, with the approval of the Association, is authorized to enter into agreements with railroads in reorganization in the region for the acquisition, maintenance, and improvement of railroad facilities and equipment necessary to implement any final system plan. Notwithstanding section 210(b) of this Act, the Association shall issue obligations under section 210(a) of this Act in an amount sufficient to finance such agreements and may require the Corporation to assume any such obligations. However, the Association may not issue obligations under this section in an aggregate amount in excess of \$150,000,000. The Secretary may not enter into any agreements under this section until he issues regulations setting forth procedures and guidelines for the administration of this section. The Corporation shall not be required under title III of this Act to compensate any railroad in reorganization for that portion of the value of rail properties transferred to it under this Act which is attributable to the acquisition, maintenance, or improvement of such properties under this section.

TITLE III—UNITED RAIL CORPORATION FORMATION AND STRUCTURE

SEC. 302. (a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There shall be established within 300 days after the date of enactment of this Act, in accordance with the provisions of this section, a corporation to be known as the United Rail Corporation.

(b) **STATUS.**—The Corporation shall be a for-profit corporation established under the laws of a State and shall not be an agency or instrumentality of the Federal Government. The Corporation shall be deemed a common carrier by railroad under section 1 (3) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(3)), shall be subject to the provisions of this Act and, to the extent not inconsistent with such Acts, shall be subject to applicable State law. The principal office of the Corporation shall be located in Philadelphia in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

(c) **INCORPORATORS.**—The members of the executive committee of the Association shall

be the incorporators of the Corporation and shall take whatever steps are necessary to establish the Corporation, including the filing of articles of incorporation. The incorporators shall also serve as the board of directors of the Corporation until the stock and other securities of the Corporation are distributed to the estates of the railroads in accordance with section 303(c) of this Act, and shall adopt the initial bylaws of the Corporation.

(d) **BOARD OF DIRECTORS.**—The Board of Directors of the Corporation shall consist of 15 individuals selected in accordance with the articles and bylaws of the Corporation: *Provided*, That so long as a substantial amount, as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, of the outstanding indebtedness of the Corporation consists of obligations of the Association or other debts owing to or guaranteed by the United States, three of the members of such board shall be the Secretary, the Chairman and the President of the Association and five of the members of such board shall be individuals appointed as such by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

(e) **COMPENSATION.**—So long as a substantial amount, as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, of the outstanding indebtedness of the Corporation consists of obligations of the Association or other debts owing to or guaranteed by the United States, no director or officer of the Corporation may receive compensation at a rate in excess of that prescribed for level I of the Executive Schedule under section 5312 of title 5, United States Code.

(f) **INITIAL CAPITALIZATION.**—For purposes of initial capitalization the Corporation is authorized to issue sufficient stock and other securities to carry out the final system plan.

(g) **AUDIT AND EXPENDITURES.**—So long as a substantial amount, as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, of the outstanding indebtedness of the Corporation consists of obligations of the Association or other debts owing to or guaranteed by the United States, the Corporation shall be subject to the provisions of the Government Corporation Control Act of the purposes of a Federal Government audit. Section 201 of the Government Corporation Control Act (31 U.S.C. 856) is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following: “(9) the United Rail Corporation to the extent provided in the Rail Services Act of 1973.”

(h) **ANNUAL REPORT.**—The Corporation shall transmit to the Congress and the President, not later than 90 days after the end of each fiscal year, a comprehensive and detailed report on all activities and accomplishments of the Corporation during the preceding fiscal year.

GENERAL POWERS OF THE CORPORATION

SEC. 302. In addition to the powers conferred upon it under the laws of the State or States in which it is incorporated and the powers of a railroad in any State in which it operates, the Corporation shall have all powers vested in it under this Act including the authority to take all steps necessary to acquire rail properties in accordance with the final system plan; to operate, rehabilitate, and modernize such properties; and to maintain adequate and efficient rail services in the region: *Provided*, That the Corporation shall not engage in nontransportation related activities, so long as a substantial amount, as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, of the outstanding indebtedness of the Corporation consists of obligations of the Association or other debts owing to or guaranteed by the United States.

VALUATION AND CONVEYANCE OF RAIL PROPERTIES

SEC. 303. (a) **DEPOSIT WITH COURT.**—Within 10 days after delivery of a certified copy of a final system plan pursuant to section 209 (c)—

(1) the Corporation, in exchange for the rail properties of the railroads in reorganization in the region and of railroads leased, operated, or controlled by railroads in reorganization in the region to be transferred to the Corporation, shall deposit with the special court all of the stock and other securities of the Corporation and obligations of the Association designated in the final system plan to be exchanged for such rail properties;

(2) each profitable railroad operating in the region purchasing rail properties from a railroad in reorganization in the region as provided in the final system plan shall deposit with the special court the compensation designated in the final system plan to be paid for such rail properties.

(b) **CONVEYANCE OF RAIL PROPERTIES.**—(1) The special court shall, within 10 days after deposit under subsection (a) of this section of the securities of the Corporation, obligations of the Association, and compensation from the profitable railroads operating in the region, order the trustee or trustees of each railroad in reorganization in the region to convey forthwith to the Corporation and the respective profitable railroads operating in the region, all right, title, and interest in the rail properties of such railroad in reorganization and of any railroad leased, operated, or controlled by such railroad in reorganization that are to be conveyed to them under the final system plan as certified to such court under section 209(d) of this Act.

(2) All rail properties conveyed to the Corporation and the respective profitable railroads operating in the region under this section shall be conveyed free and clear of any liens or encumbrances. Such conveyances shall not be restrained or enjoined by any court.

(3) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Act, if railroad rolling stock is included in the rail properties to be conveyed, such conveyance may only be effected if the profitable railroad operating in the region or the Corporation to whom the conveyance is made assumes all of the obligations under any conditional sale agreement, equipment trust agreement, or lease in respect to such rolling stock and such conveyance is made subject thereto; and the provisions of this Act shall not affect the title and interests of any lessor, equipment trust trustee, or conditional sale vendee or assignee under such conditional sale agreement, equipment trust agreement or lessor under section 77(j) of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 205(j)).

(c) **FINDINGS AND OTHER DISTRIBUTION.**—(1) After the rail properties of railroads in reorganization in the region have been conveyed to the Corporation and profitable railroads operating in the region under subsection (b) of this section, the special court, giving due consideration to the findings contained in the final system plan, shall decide whether—

(A) the transfers of rail properties of each railroad in reorganization to the Corporation in exchange for the securities and other benefits accruing to such railroad in reorganization as a result of such exchange, as provided in the final system plan and this Act, and

(B) the conveyance of rail properties of each railroad in reorganization to a profitable railroad operating in the region in accordance with the final system plan, are fair and equitable to the estate of each railroad in reorganization in accordance with the standard of fairness and equity applicable to the approval of a plan of reorganization or a step in such plan under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 205).

(2) If the special court finds that the transfers of rail properties to the Corporation by a railroad in reorganization in exchange for securities and other benefits are fair and equitable, or that conveyances to

profitable railroads operating in the region are fair and equitable, it shall authorize and direct such transfers and conveyances in accordance with the final system plan.

(3) If the special court finds that the terms of one or more exchanges for securities and other benefits are not fair and equitable to an estate of a railroad in reorganization which has transferred rail properties pursuant to the final system plan, it shall—

(A) enter a judgment reallocating the common stock of the Corporation in a fair and equitable manner if it has not been fairly allocated among the railroads in reorganization transferring rail properties to the Corporation, and

(B) if the lack of fairness and equity cannot be completely cured by a reallocation of the Corporation's common stock, order the Corporation to provide for the transfer to the railroad in reorganization securities of the Corporation or obligations of the Association as designated in the final system plan in such nature and amount as would make the exchange or exchanges fair and equitable to the estate of the railroad in reorganization.

(4) If the special court finds that the terms of one or more conveyances of rail properties of a railroad in reorganization to a profitable railroad operating in the region in accordance with the final system plan is not fair and equitable to an estate of a railroad in reorganization, it shall enter a judgment against such profitable railroad.

(d) **APPEAL.**—A finding or determination entered pursuant to subsection (c) of this section may be appealed directly to the Supreme Court of the United States in the same manner that an injunction order may be appealed under section 1253 of title 28, United States Code: *Provided*, That such appeal is exclusive and shall be filed in the Supreme Court not more than 5 days after such finding or determination is entered by the special court. The Supreme Court shall grant the highest priority to the determination of any such appeals.

TERMINATION OF RAIL SERVICE

SEC. 304. (a) **DISCONTINUANCE.**—Except as provided in subsections (c) and (f) of this section, (1) rail service on rail properties of a railroad in reorganization in the region which conveys to the Corporation or to profitable railroads operating in the region all or substantially all of its rail properties designated for such conveyance in the final system plan, and (2) rail service on rail properties of a profitable railroad in the region which transfers substantially all of its rail properties to the Corporation pursuant to the final system plan may be discontinued if—

(A) the final system plan does not designate rail service to be operated on such properties; and

(B) not sooner than 30 days following the effective date of the final system plan the trustee or trustees of the applicable railroad in reorganization give notice in writing of intent to discontinue such rail service on a date certain which is not less than 90 days after the date of such notice; and

(C) the notice required by paragraph (B) of this subsection is sent by certified mail to the Governor and State transportation agencies of each State and to the government of each political subdivision of each State in which such rail properties are located and to each shipper who has used such rail service during the previous 12 months.

(b) **ABANDONMENT.**—(1) Rail properties over which rail service has been discontinued under subsection (a) of this section may not be abandoned sooner than 180 days after the effective date of such discontinuance except as provided in subsections (c) and (f) of this section. Thereafter, except as provided in subsection (c) of this section, such rail properties may be abandoned upon 30 days' notice in writing to all those required

to receive notice under paragraph (2)(c) of subsection (a) of this section.

(2) Any rail properties designated in the final system plan as rail properties which are suitable for use for other public purposes may not be sold, leased, exchanged, or otherwise disposed of for a 270 day period beginning on the date of notice of proposed abandonment under this subsection unless they are sold, leased, exchanged, or otherwise disposed of for those designated public purposes.

(c) **RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER LAWS.**—Rail service may be discontinued and rail properties may be abandoned under subsections (a) and (b) of this section notwithstanding any provision of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1 et seq.) or the constitution or law of any State or the decision of any court or administrative agency of the United States or of any State. No rail service may be discontinued and no rail properties may be abandoned pursuant to this section—

(1) after 2 years from the effective date of the final system plan or more than 2 years after the final payment of any rail service continuation subsidy is received, whichever is later; or

(2) if a shipper, a State, the United States, a local or regional transportation authority, or any responsible person offers—

(A) a rail service continuation subsidy which covers the difference between the revenue attributable to such rail properties and the avoidable costs of providing service on such rail properties plus a reasonable return on the value of such rail properties, or

(B) to purchase, pursuant to subsection (d) of this section, such rail properties or related facilities for their minimum constitutional value in order to operate rail service over such properties.

If a rail service continuation subsidy is offered, the government or person offering the subsidy shall enter into an operating agreement with the Corporation or any responsible person under which the Corporation or such person will operate rail service over such rail properties and receive the difference between the revenue attributable to such properties and the avoidable costs of providing service on such rail properties and the trustee of any railroad in reorganization shall receive a reasonable rate of return on the value of any rail properties for which a rail service is operated under such subsidy. Within 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall determine and publish standards for determining the "revenue attributable to the rail properties", the "avoidable costs of providing service" and "a reasonable return on the value" as those phrases are used herein, after a proceeding in accordance with the provisions of section 553 of title 5, United States Code.

(d) **PURCHASE.**—If an offer to purchase is made under subsection (c)(2)(B) of this section, such offer shall be accompanied by an offer of a rail service continuation subsidy. Such subsidy shall continue until the purchase transaction is completed, unless a railroad assumes operations over such rail properties on its own account pursuant to an order or authorization of the Commission. Whenever a railroad in reorganization in the region or a profitable railroad gives notice of intent to discontinue service pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, such railroad shall, upon the request of anyone apparently qualified to make a purchase offer, promptly make available its most recent reports on the physical condition of such property together with such traffic and revenue data as would be required under subpart B of part 1121 of chapter X of title 49 of the Code of Federal Regulations and such other data necessary to ascertain the avoidable costs of providing service over such rail properties.

(e) **ABANDONMENT BY CORPORATION.**—After the rail system to be operated by the Corporation under the final system plan has been in operation for 2 years, the Commission may authorize the Corporation to abandon any rail properties as to which it determines that rail service over such properties is not required by the public convenience and necessity. The Commission may, at any time after the effective date of the final system plan, authorize additional rail service in the region or authorize the abandonment of rail properties which are not being operated by the Corporation or by any other person. Commission determinations under this subsection shall be made pursuant to applicable provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1).

(f) **INTERIM ABANDONMENT.**—After the date of enactment of this Act, no railroad in reorganization may discontinue or abandon any line of railroad other than in accordance with the provisions of this Act, unless it is authorized to do so by the Association and unless no affected State or local or regional transportation authority opposes such action, notwithstanding any provision of any other Federal law, the constitution or law of any State, or decision or order of, or the pendency of any proceeding before any Federal or State court, agency, or authority.

TITLE IV—LOCAL RAIL SERVICES FINDINGS AND PURPOSES

SEC. 401. (a) **FINDINGS.**—The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) The Nation is facing an energy shortage of acute proportions in the next decade.

(2) Railroads are the most energy-efficient mode of transportation for the movement of passengers and freight and cause the least amount of pollution.

(3) Abandonment, termination, or substantial reduction of rail service in any locality will adversely affect the Nation's long-term and immediate goals with respect to energy conservation and environmental protection.

(4) Under certain circumstances the cost to the taxpayers of rail service continuation subsidies would be less than the cost of abandonment of rail service in terms of lost jobs, energy shortages, and degradation of the environment.

(b) **PURPOSES.**—Therefore, it is declared to be the purpose of the Congress to authorize the Secretary to maintain a program of rail service continuation subsidies.

RAIL CONTINUATION SUBSIDIES

SEC. 402. (a) **GENERAL.**—The Secretary shall provide financial assistance to a State in the region in accordance with this section for the purpose of rail service continuation subsidies. For purposes of subsection (b) (1) of this section the Federal share of a rail service continuation subsidy shall be 75 per centum and the State share shall be 25 per centum. For purposes of subsection (b) (2) of this section a State receiving discretionary assistance shall be required to contribute at least 25 per centum of the cost of the program for which the Federal assistance is provided.

(b) **ENTITLEMENT.**—(1) Each State in the region is entitled to an amount for rail service continuation subsidies from 75 per centum of the sums appropriated each fiscal year for such purpose in the ratio which the total number of miles of rail properties in such State which have qualified under this Act for rail service continuation subsidies bears to the total number of miles of rail properties in all the States in the region which have qualified under this Act for rail service continuation subsidies, as determined on the basis of the lists of determinations transmitted to the Secretary by the Office pursuant to section 205(f) of this Act. The entitlement of any State which is withheld in accordance with this section and any

sums not used or committed by a State during the preceding fiscal year shall be reallocated to other States in the region in proportion to the original entitlement to such States. Any amount reallocated to a State during a year shall be deemed part of its entitlement for such year.

(2) The Secretary is authorized to provide discretionary financial assistance to a State in the region for the purpose of continuing local rail services, including assistance for the purposes enumerated in section 403 of this title.

(c) **ELIGIBILITY.**—A State is eligible to receive rail service continuation subsidies pursuant to subsection (b) of this section in any fiscal year if—

(1) the State has established a State plan for rail transportation and local rail services which is administered or coordinated by a designated State agency;

(2) the State agency has authority and administrative jurisdiction to develop, promote, supervise, and support safe, adequate, and efficient rail services; employs or will employ, directly or indirectly, sufficient trained and qualified personnel; and maintains or will maintain adequate programs of investigation, research, promotion, and development with provision for public participation;

(3) the State provides satisfactory assurance that such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures will be adopted as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of, and accounting for, Federal funds paid under this title to the State; and

(4) the State complies with the regulations of the Secretary issued under this section.

(d) **REGULATIONS.**—Within 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall issue, and may from time to time amend, regulations with respect to basic and discretionary rail service continuation subsidies.

(e) **PAYMENT.**—The Secretary shall pay to each State an amount equal to its entitlement under subsection (b) (1) of this section. Any amounts which are not expended or committed by a State pursuant to subsection (b) during the ensuing fiscal year shall be returned by such State to the Secretary, who may use such amounts in accordance with subsection (b) (2) of this section.

(f) **RECORD, AUDIT, AND EXAMINATION.**—(1) Each recipient of financial assistance under this section, whether in the form of grants, subgrants, contracts, subcontracts, or other arrangements, shall keep such records as the Secretary shall prescribe, including records which fully disclose the amount and disposition by such recipient of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such assistance was given or used, the amount of that portion of the cost of the project supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

(2) The Secretary and the Comptroller General of the United States, or any of their duly authorized representatives shall, until the expiration of 3 years after completion of the project or undertaking referred to in paragraph (1) of this subsection, have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of such receipts which in the opinion of the Secretary or the Comptroller General may be related or pertinent to the grants, contracts, or other arrangements referred to in such paragraph.

(g) **WITHHOLDING.**—If the Secretary, after reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing to any State agency, finds that a State is not eligible for rail service continuation subsidies under subsections (c) and (d) of this section, payment to such State shall

not be made until there is no longer any failure to comply.

(h) **AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS.**—(1) There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out the purposes of this section such sums as are necessary, not to exceed \$100,000,000 for each of the first two fiscal years following the effective date of the final system plan. Such sums as are appropriated shall remain available until expended.

(2) Three-fourths of the sums appropriated pursuant to the authorization of this subsection shall be reserved for allocation to States in the region under subsection (b) (1) of this section. One-fourth of the sums appropriated pursuant to the authorization of this subsection shall be reserved for distribution by the Secretary under subsection (b) (2) of this section.

(i) **DEFINITION.**—As used in this section, "rail service continuation subsidies" means subsidies calculated in accordance with the provisions of section 304(c) of this Act to cover costs of operating adequate and efficient rail service, including, where necessary, improvement and maintenance of tracks and related facilities.

ACQUISITION AND MODERNIZATION LOANS

SEC. 403. (a) **ACQUISITION.**—If a State which is eligible for assistance under section 402(c) of this title or a local or regional transportation authority has made an offer to purchase any rail properties of a railroad pursuant to section 304(c) of this Act, the Secretary is authorized to direct the Association to provide loans to such State or local or regional transportation authority not to exceed 75 per centum of the purchase price.

(b) **MODERNIZATION.**—In addition to such acquisition loans, the Secretary is authorized to direct the Association to provide additional assistance not to exceed 75 per centum of the cost of restoring or repairing such rail properties to such condition as will enable safe and efficient rail transportation operations over such rail properties. Such financial assistance may be in the form of a loan or the guarantee of a loan. The Association shall provide such financial assistance as the Secretary may direct under this section and shall adopt regulations describing its procedures for such assistance. With the approval of the Secretary, a State may expend sums received by it under section 402 of this title for acquisition and modernization pursuant to this section.

TITLE V—EQUIPMENT IMPROVEMENT

FORMAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 501. (a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This title may be cited as the "Rolling Stock Utilization and Financing Act of 1973".

(b) **FINDINGS.**—The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) There is at present a shortage of general service railroad freight cars available to producers of goods and manufacturers of products.

(2) This shortage results both from an inadequate number of such cars and from their underutilization.

(3) This shortage of available general service railroad freight cars has caused—

(A) losses to producers of goods and manufacturers of products which have resulted in higher prices to consumers of goods and products;

(B) losses to railroads of revenue, thereby threatening their financial condition.

(c) **PURPOSES.**—The Congress hereby declares that the purposes of this title are—

(1) to improve the utilization and distribution of rolling stock to meet the needs of commerce, users, shippers, the national defense, and the consuming public;

(2) to assist railroads in acquiring additional rolling stock and equipment or facilities to provide expeditious service to meet the

increasing demands of the Nation's economy; and

(3) to assist in achieving full employment by assuring adequate equipment necessary to transport the products of American industry.

(d) **DEFINITIONS.** As used in this title—

(1) "Authority" means the Railroad Equipment Authority authorized under section 510 of this title.

(2) "Board" means the Obligation Guarantee Board established under this title.

(3) "Car-pooling company" means a company that furnishes rolling stock to three or more railroads on a shared ownership or pooled basis through user or lease arrangements.

(4) "Directors" means the Board of Directors of the Authority.

(5) "Equipment or facilities" includes data processing and other computer technology; machines and systems for loading and unloading rolling stock; yards and terminals for originating, modifying, or terminating the movement of rolling stock; and other equipment or facilities, including ferries and related shore-side facilities designed primarily for the transportation of rolling stock by water, which are necessary to improve the utilization of rolling stock or improve the movement of goods and products by rail or express.

(6) "Equipment obligation" means a bond, note, conditional sale agreement, equipment trust certificate, lease obligation, security agreement, or other obligation issued or granted to finance, or refinance rolling stock or equipment or facilities.

(7) "Fund" means the Obligation Guarantee Fund.

(8) "Holder" means, unless otherwise provided, the holder of an equipment obligation. If a bank or trust company is acting as agent or trustee for the holder of the equipment obligation, such bank or trust company shall be regarded as the holder.

(9) "Lease" means a contractual arrangement under which the legal owner furnishes rolling stock or equipment or facilities to a railroad or a car pooling company and such railroad or company receives the benefits, through reduced rentals, of any tax benefits available.

(10) "Lease obligation" means all of the lessee's payment obligations under a lease including rentals, termination payments, and tax indemnification payments.

(11) "Obligor" means the debtor under an equipment obligation. The term includes the original obligor and any successor or assignee of such obligor who is approved by the Board.

(12) "Principal" when used with reference to a lease obligation means all of the payment obligations of the lessee under a lease, including rentals, termination payments, and tax indemnification payments, but does not mean interest.

(13) "Railroad" means a common carrier by railroad or express, as defined in section 1(3) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(3)), and includes, where the Board makes an appropriate finding, a railroad controlled by another railroad within the meaning of section 1(3)(b) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(3)(b)). The term does not include the Authority.

(14) "Rolling stock" includes any type of new or rebuilt standard gauge locomotive, caboose, refrigerator car, general service railroad freight car, or express van the use of which is not limited to any specialized purpose by particular equipment, design, or other features. General service railroad freight car includes a boxcar, gondola, open-top or covered hopper car, and flatcar. The Board may designate other types of cars as rolling stock upon a written finding, with reasons therefor, that such designation is consistent with the purposes of this title.

OBLIGATION GUARANTEE BOARD

SEC. 502. (a) BOARD.—There shall be established in the Department of Transportation an independent agency to be known as the Obligation Guarantee Board. The Board shall be composed of 6 members and a chairman. Two of the members shall be the Secretary of Transportation and the Secretary of the Treasury, or their duly authorized representatives, who shall serve ex officio with the same powers as other members of the Board. The President shall, within 90 days of the enactment of this Act, appoint the other members and the chairman of the Board, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the following basis—

(1) three to be selected from lists of qualified individuals recommended by shippers and organizations representative of significant shipping interests including small business users of railroad transportation services;

(2) one to be selected from lists of qualified individuals recommended by consumer organizations, community organizations, and recognized consumer leaders;

(3) one to be selected from lists of qualified individuals recommended by the national organization of the State commissions, referred to in sections 202(b) and 205(f) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 202(b), 205(f)), who shall be a member of a State agency authorized by the law of any State to set rates for transportation by railroad.

As used in this subsection, a list of qualified individuals shall consist of not less than three individuals.

(b) **COMPENSATION.**—A member of the Board who is not otherwise an employee of the Federal Government may receive \$150 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Board plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of such duties.

(c) **TERMS OF OFFICE.**—The terms of office of the members first taking office (other than those of the two members who shall serve ex officio) shall expire as designated by the President at the time of nomination, three at the end of the third year, and two at the end of the sixth year. The member appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to be chairman of the Board shall serve as chairman until his term of office as a member expires and a successor is duly appointed. Successors to members of the Board shall be appointed in the same manner as the original members and shall have a term of office expiring 6 years from the date of expiration of the term for which their predecessors were appointed. Any member appointed to fill a vacancy on the Board occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

GUARANTEE OF EQUIPMENT OBLIGATIONS

SEC. 503. (a) GENERAL.—The Board is authorized, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to guarantee and to make commitments to guarantee the payment of interest on and the principal balance of an equipment obligation prior to, on, or after the date of execution or the date of disbursement of such obligation: *Provided*, That no equipment obligation in the form of a lease obligation shall be guaranteed unless and until the Board finds, after notice and an opportunity for comment by interested persons and publication in the Federal Register of this finding and the reasons therefor, that no other reasonable means of equipment financing or refinancing is reasonably available to the applicant, and that approval of the guarantee application will serve the public interest. Each guar-

antee of an equipment obligation shall be made in accordance with the provisions of this title and such rules as the Board may prescribe to protect reasonably the interests of the United States. Each application for the guarantee of an equipment obligation shall be made in writing to the Board in such form and with such content as the Board prescribes. Such application shall be granted if the Board determines that the proposed, negotiated, or executed equipment obligation is eligible for such guarantee. Each guarantee and commitment to guarantee shall be extended in such form, under such terms and conditions, and pursuant to such regulations as the Board deems appropriate, consistent with the purposes of this title. Each guarantee and commitment to guarantee shall inure to the benefit of the holder of the equipment obligation to which such guarantee or commitment applies. In no event shall any such holder receive or be entitled to retain payment from said guarantee in a total amount which, together with any other recovery, including a security interest in the rolling stock or equipment or facilities, exceeds the actual loss of such holder.

(b) **FUND.**—An Obligation Guarantee Fund shall be established and administered by the Board as a revolving fund to carry out the provisions of sections 503 through 506 of this title. Moneys in the fund shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of such fund or invested in bonds or other obligations of the United States approved by the Secretary of the Treasury.

(c) **MAXIMUM PERMISSIBLE GUARANTEE.**—Except as otherwise provided, the Board shall not guarantee payment of the principal of an equipment obligation in an amount in excess of 80 per centum of the value of the rolling stock or equipment or facilities which are being financed or refinanced thereby. The Board may guarantee an amount not in excess of 95 per centum of such value upon a finding made in writing by the Board and published with detailed reasons therefor in the Federal Register that an applicant railroad would not otherwise be able in its present financial condition to acquire such equipment or facilities or rolling stock on reasonable terms and conditions and that such acquisition by the applicant railroad is necessary to achieve the purposes of this title. In the case of a lease obligation, the Board may guarantee payment of the entire principal together with the amount necessary to guarantee to the lessor, upon default of such obligation, the cost of tax recapture under sections 47 and 1245 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C. 37, 1245), upon a finding made in writing by the Board and published with detailed reasons therefor in the Federal Register that the applicant is a railroad which has filed a petition for reorganization under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 205); that such petition has been approved; and that the judge in such proceeding certifies to the Board that the railroad is making all reasonable efforts to achieve reorganization and that such guarantee is reasonable and necessary. In all cases, the Board shall make a determination of the value of the rolling stock or equipment or facilities which are being financed or refinanced thereby, and such determination of value shall be conclusive and not subject to review in any court.

(d) **MODIFICATIONS.**—The Board is authorized to approve any modification of any provision of a guarantee or a commitment to guarantee such obligation, including the rate of interest, time of payment of interest or principal, security, or any other terms and conditions upon a finding in writing by the Board that such modification is equitable and not prejudicial to the interests of the United States under this title. Such approval

shall not be granted without prior consent by the holder of such obligation.

(e) **MAXIMUM OBLIGATIONAL AUTHORITY.**—The aggregate unpaid principal amounts of equipment obligations and interest thereon which may be guaranteed by the Board under this title shall not exceed \$2,000,000,000 at any one time; and at least 70 per centum of such sum shall guarantee equipment obligations financing or refinancing rolling stock.

(f) **RATE OF INTEREST.**—Interest (exclusive of premium charges for guarantee and service fees) shall be payable on each equipment obligation, other than a lease obligation guaranteed by the Board. The rate of interest shall not exceed the per centum per annum rate on the unpaid principal of such obligation determined by the Board to be reasonable upon consideration of the range of interest rates currently prevailing in the private market for similar obligations. In the case of lease obligations guaranteed by the Board, such lease obligation shall contain a rental rate on the value of the rolling stock, equipment, or facilities which reflects an effective interest rate not to exceed a per centum per annum rate determined by the Board to be reasonable upon consideration of the range of effective interest rates prevailing in the private market for similar obligations.

(g) **NOTICE.**—Upon receipt of an application for an equipment obligation guarantee, the Board shall cause a notice of such application to be published in the Federal Register and shall invite and afford interested persons an opportunity to submit comments on such application at a proceeding to commence within 21 days after the date of such publication. Notice of such proceedings shall be published in the Federal Register. Such notice shall include—

(1) a statement of the time, place, and nature of the proceeding; and

(2) a description of the subjects and issues involved.

(h) **REQUIREMENTS FOR GUARANTEES.**—No equipment obligation shall be guaranteed by the Board and no commitment shall be made by it to guarantee any such obligation under this title unless it first makes a finding in writing that—

(1) the equipment obligation (other than a lease obligation) is secured by rolling stock or equipment or facilities to be financed thereby;

(2) payment of the equipment obligation (other than a lease obligation) is required by its terms to be made within 15 years from the date of its execution;

(3) the leasing, financing, or refinancing of the rolling stock or equipment or facilities directly related to improving the utilization of rolling stock is justified by the present and probable future demand for rail service to be rendered by the applicant;

(4) the applicant has given reasonable assurances that any rolling stock in its control and the rolling stock or equipment or facilities to be acquired with the equipment obligation will be economically and efficiently utilized;

(5) the purchase or lease of the rolling stock or equipment or facilities will serve to meet demonstrable needs for rail services and to provide shippers with improved service;

(6) the probable value of such rolling stock or equipment or facilities is sufficient to provide the United States reasonable security and protection in case of default and repossession by the holder of the equipment obligation or in case of possession or purchase by the Board; and

(7) the transaction will result in a net increase in the total load-carrying capacity of the applicant's rolling stock.

(i) **CONDITIONS AND GUARANTEES.**—No guarantee or commitment to guarantee an equipment obligation shall be extended under this title unless the obligor first agrees in

writing that so long as any interest or principal on such obligation is due and payable—

(1) there will be no net decrease in the load-carrying capacity of the obligor's rolling stock;

(2) there will be no increase in discretionary dividend payments over the average amount paid during the 5 years preceding the enactment of this title without prior approval of the Secretary in writing, based on findings, published, with reasons therefor, in the Federal Register, made after public hearings with opportunity for submission of comments by all interested parties, that such increase in dividends will not decrease the ability of the obligor to provide improved car services;

(3) the obligor will not use assets or revenues related to or derived from railroad operations in nonrailroad enterprises without prior approval of the Secretary in writing based on findings, published, with reasons therefor, in the Federal Register, made after public hearings with opportunity for submission of comments by all interested parties, that such use of assets or revenues will not decrease the ability of the obligor to provide improved car service;

(4) the obligor shall take all reasonable and practical steps possible, in accordance with such guides as may be established by the Secretary and the Commission, to improve the equitable distribution and efficient and expeditious use of all rolling stock and equipment, including cooperating with the Secretary in programs under sections 507 and 508 of this title.

(j) **BREACH OF CONDITIONS.**—The Secretary is authorized and directed to commence an action in any district court of the United States in which venue is proper to enjoin any activity found by the Secretary to be in violation of any condition specified in subsection (i) of this section. In addition, any person who knowingly violates or contributes to the violation of any of the conditions specified in such subsection shall be subject to a civil penalty, to be levied by the Secretary, not to exceed \$10,000.

(k) **LEASE OBLIGATION.**—Before guaranteeing any lease obligation under this section the Board shall make a finding in writing that—

(1) the terms of the lease obligation provide that if there is a default by the lessee and payment is demanded from the Board by the lessor pursuant to the guarantee, the Board shall have the right in its discretion—

(A) to demand possession of the leased property from the lessee or the right to purchase the leased property for fair market value: *Provided*, That in no event shall the Board pay more than an amount equal to the sum of the lease rentals and financial obligations remaining during the term of the lease; or

(B) to permit the lessor to repossess the leased property from the lessee for the purpose of leasing it, in good faith and at not less than its fair rental value based upon fair market value, to new lessees: *Provided*, That any amounts collected from such new lessees in excess of the amount to which the lessor would have been entitled under the original lease, plus costs, shall be paid by the lessor to the Board for deposit in the fund. If the amount collected from such new lessees is less than the amount to which the lessor would have been entitled under the original lease, plus costs, the Board shall pay the difference to the lessor from the fund; and

(2) the terms of the lease obligation provide that if there is a default by the lessee, any amounts received by the holder of the lease obligation in settlement, including amounts received from the Board pursuant to the guarantee, are income and proceeds from the property subject to such lease and

subject to claims of any holder of an equipment obligation to the extent of the lease obligation holder's outstanding obligation to such holder under an equipment obligation.

(l) **INVESTIGATION CHARGE.**—The Board shall charge and collect from each applicant for the guarantee of an equipment obligation such amounts as it deems reasonable for the investigation of such application, the appraisal of the security for such obligation, or for the issuance of a commitment to guarantee. Such charges shall not aggregate more than one-half of 1 per centum of the principal amount of the equipment obligation with respect to which the guarantee application is made.

(m) **PREMIUM CHARGE.**—The Board shall set a premium charge of not more than 1 per centum per annum for an equipment obligation guaranteed under this title. Such charges shall be computed on the basis of the principal amount outstanding on the equipment obligation at the time payment is due and shall be paid when the obligation is first guaranteed by the Board, and thereafter annually on the anniversary date of such guarantee.

(n) **ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS.**—All moneys received by the Board under this title shall be deposited in the fund. An amount which shall not exceed 5 per centum of the total annual premium charges collected under subsection (m) of this section may be used by the Board to pay administrative costs and expenses incurred by it pursuant to this title.

ISSUANCE OF NOTES OR OBLIGATIONS

SEC. 504. (a) AUTHORIZATION.—The Board is authorized to issue notes or other obligations to the Secretary of the Treasury in such forms and denominations, bearing such maturities, and subject to such terms and conditions as the Board, with the approval of such Secretary, may prescribe. Such obligations may be issued whenever the moneys in the fund are not sufficient to pay any amount which the Board is required to pay under an agreement under section 503 of this title. Such obligations shall bear interest at a rate to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury on the basis of the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States on comparable maturities during the month preceding the issuance of such obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase any such obligations and for such purpose is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended. The purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act are extended to include any purchase of notes or other obligations issued under this subsection. At any time, the Secretary of the Treasury may sell any such obligations, and all sales, purchases, and redemptions of such obligations by the Secretary of the Treasury shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States. Funds borrowed under this subsection shall be deposited in the fund and redemptions of any such obligations shall be made by the Board from the fund.

(b) **DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY.**—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Board is authorized to perform any acts which it considers necessary, in its discretion, to complete, recondition, reconstruct, renovate, repair, maintain, manage, operate, charter, lease, rent, sell or otherwise dispose of any property or other interests acquired by the Board under an agreement pursuant to section 503 of this title.

(c) **VALIDITY.**—No contract or commitment to guarantee an equipment obligation entered into by the Board pursuant to this title shall be terminated, canceled, or otherwise revoked, except in accordance with lawful terms and conditions prescribed by the

Board. Such a contract or commitment shall be conclusive evidence that the underlying obligation is in compliance with the provisions of this title and that such obligation has been approved and is legal as to principal, interest, and other terms. Such a contract or commitment shall be valid and incontestable in the hands of a holder as of the date when the Board entered into such contract or commitment, except as to fraud, duress, mutual mistake of fact, or material misrepresentation by or involving such holder.

AUDIT OF TRANSACTIONS

SEC. 505. (a) GENERAL.—The financial transactions of the Board shall be audited by the Comptroller General of the United States, in accordance with such rules and regulations as he may prescribe. Representatives of the Comptroller General shall have access to all books, accounts, records, reports, files, and other papers, things, or property pertaining to such transactions by the Board and necessary to facilitate an audit. Such representatives shall be afforded full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians. All such property of the Board shall remain in the possession and custody of the Board.

(b) ACCESS TO INFORMATION.—The representatives of the Comptroller General shall have access to all books, accounts, records, reports, files, and other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by any obligor for which the Board has guaranteed an equipment obligation to the extent they pertain to such obligor's financial transactions and are deemed by the Comptroller General to be necessary to facilitate any audit of the financial transactions of the Board. Such representatives shall be afforded full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians. All such property of such obligor shall remain in the possession and custody of the obligor.

(c) REPORT.—The Comptroller General shall make a report of each such audit to the Congress. Such report shall contain all comments and information which the Comptroller General deems necessary to inform Congress of the financial operations and condition of the fund and any recommendations which he deems advisable. Such report shall indicate specifically and describe in detail any program, expenditure, or other financial transaction or undertaking observed in the course of such audit which the Comptroller General deems to have been carried on or made without lawful authority. A copy of such report shall be furnished to the President, the Secretary, the Commission, and the Board at the time it is submitted to the Congress.

DEFAULT

SEC. 506. (a) GENERAL.—If there is a default in any payment by the obligor of principal or interest due under an equipment obligation guaranteed under this title, which has continued for 30 days, the holder of such obligation or his agent has the right to demand payment by the Board of the unpaid interest on and the unpaid principal of such obligation. Such payment may be demanded after or before the expiration of such period as may be specified in the guarantee of related agreements, but not later than 90 days from the date of such default. Within such period as may be specified in the guarantee or related agreements, but not later than 60 days from the date of such demand, the Board shall pay to such holder the unpaid interest on and the unpaid principal of such obligation. However, the Board shall not be required to make any such payment if it finds, prior to the expiration of such period, that there was no default by the obligor in the payment of interest or principal or that such default has been remedied.

(b) RIGHTS OF BOARD.—If the Board makes

a payment to a holder under subsection (a) of this section, the Board shall have all the rights in any security which it held with respect to its guarantee of such obligations as are conferred upon the Board under any security agreement with the obligor and shall be subrogated to all the rights of such holder under any security agreement between the holder and the obligor. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Board is authorized, in its discretion, to complete, recondition, reconstruct, renovate, repair, maintain, operate, charter, rent, sell, or otherwise dispose of any property by it pursuant to such security agreement. The terms of any such sale or other disposition shall be as approved by the Board.

(c) PAYMENT.—Any amount required to be paid by the Board pursuant to subsection (a) of this section shall be paid in cash.

(d) ACTION AGAINST OBLIGOR.—If there is a default under any contract or commitment to guarantee an equipment obligation, the Board shall take such action against the obligor or any other parties liable thereunder as is, in its discretion, necessary to protect the interests of the United States. Such a suit may be brought in the name of the United States or in the name of the holder. Such holder shall make available to the United States all records and evidence necessary to prosecute any such suit. The Board shall have the right, in its discretion, to accept a conveyance of title to and possession of property from any party liable to it whenever the value of such property is not greater than the unpaid interest on and unpaid principal of the defaulted obligation. If the Board receives, through the sale of property, and an amount greater than its costs and the amount paid to the holder under subsection (a) of this section, it shall pay such excess to the obligor.

NATIONAL ROLLING STOCK INFORMATION SYSTEM

SEC. 507. (a) PLAN.—(1) The Secretary shall, not more than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, designate a plan or alternative plans to establish a national rolling stock information system which shall be designed to facilitate equitable distribution and expeditious utilization of rolling stock operated within the continental United States and/or owned directly or indirectly by railroads and carpooling companies. Such a system shall be capable of furnishing such information as the Secretary determines to be necessary for the expeditious utilization of rolling stock, including information related to the—

(A) length of time each piece of rolling stock is moving and loaded, moving and unloaded, idled and loaded, and idled and unloaded;

(B) owner, type, size, and capacity, year of manufacture, identifying number, and special features of each piece of rolling stock;

(C) origin and destination of cargo;

(D) railroad in control of rolling stock movement, expected time of interchange, and degree of utilization of each piece of rolling stock by the controlling railroad; and

(E) current status and location of each piece of rolling stock, time such status and location is expected to change, and anticipated future commitments of such rolling stock.

(2) The Secretary shall develop such plan or plans after consultation and discussion with the Secretary of Defense, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the executive officers of major private manufacturers and suppliers of information location and retrieval systems, shippers, railroads, the Commission, and any other Government agency, private organization, or private citizen that presents a useful submission regarding such a system. The Secretary is authorized to pay reasonable expenses, including honoraria, for individuals invited by him to present their submissions in person. The Secretary shall

cause such plan or plans to be published in the Federal Register and shall invite interested persons to comment thereon at a public hearing pursuant to section 553 of title 5, United States Code, to be held not less than 90 days after the date of such publication. After such hearing, and not more than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall publish the final plan for a national rolling stock information system. This final plan shall include technical specifications and other details for the equipment required under such plan. Such plan shall include means for coordinating or integrating such system with any existing information systems to the extent the Secretary finds such coordination will contribute in an expeditious, cost effective, and technically feasible manner to the implementation of an effective national system. The Secretary from time to time may cause such plan to be modified or amended, pursuant to section 553 of title 5, United States Code.

(b) IMPLEMENTATION.—Following the publication of the final plan required under subsection (a) of this section, the Secretary shall take all action necessary, including the issuance of rules, regulations, and guidelines, to cause such plan to be implemented within a reasonable time. The Secretary is authorized to contract with and provide technical assistance to individual railroads or groups of railroads working together, including the sharing of costs and the funding in part of demonstration projects, to assist in the establishment of the national rolling stock information system.

(c) ANTITRUST LAWS INAPPLICABLE.—The antitrust laws of the United States are inapplicable to the extent necessary to carry out the purposes of this section as to any person who contracts with the Secretary or acts in conformity with the final plan under subsection (a) of this section.

(d) CENTER.—The Secretary may establish and maintain or assist in establishing and maintaining a centrally located national rolling stock information center. The Secretary of Defense may assist the Secretary to establish such center. Such center may operate as a depository and dissemination center for all such information as may be provided by the national rolling stock information system. The Secretary may make information gathered in such center available to any person subject to such rules as the Commission might prescribe to insure the confidentiality of certain kinds of competitive information supplied for use in connection with the system.

(e) REPORT.—The Secretary shall report semiannually directly to the Congress, without modification of such report by any other Federal agency, with respect to the progress made in implementing the national system provided for in subsection (a) of this section. Such reports shall include recommendations for such additional funding as may be necessary to make the national system fully effective.

(f) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATION.—There is authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary out of money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$10,000,000 for purposes of this section.

UTILIZATION MEASUREMENT AND OVERSIGHT

SEC. 508. (a) ROLLING STOCK UTILIZATION INDEX.—Not less than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall develop and promulgate an index to measure the degree of utilization of rolling stock. The Secretary shall cause to be compiled data required by such index. At least once each quarter per annum, the Secretary shall publish such index, together with a report setting forth any changes in such utilization and his evaluation of the reasons therefor.

(b) COMMISSION REPORT.—The Commission shall publish a report on utilization of rolling stock 30 days after the publication of each report by the Secretary under subsection (a) of this section. The Commission in

its report shall consider and comment upon the latest such report by the Secretary.

(c) **ENFORCEMENT.**—The Secretary shall, with the assistance of the Attorney General, make full use of existing law to bring about improvements in the utilization of rolling stock. The Secretary shall have such standing as is necessary to bring or intervene in proceedings before Federal regulatory agencies and courts. Attorneys appointed by the Secretary may appear for and represent him in any such case or hearing.

(d) **UTILIZATION STUDY.**—The Secretary shall prepare a study on the utilization of freight cars and means to improve such utilization including consideration of per diem and other car hire charges, demurrage, car service rules and orders of the Commission and of the railroads, the practice of assigning cars to specific traffic or shippers, payments for use of privately owned cars, and publicly and privately owned car pools. The Secretary shall submit legislative recommendations based upon such study within 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

PREREQUISITES TO ESTABLISHMENT

SEC. 509. (a) **GENERAL.**—The Authority, authorized by section 510 of this title, shall be established only if—

(1) two years or more after the date of enactment of this Act—

(A) the Commission finds, in accordance with section 553 of title 5 of the United States Code, that there is still, as a result of inadequate utilization or inadequacy of supply or both, a continuing shortage of rolling stock in the Nation. In determining whether there is such a shortage, the Commission may consider, without incorporating in such a finding, the following factors—

(i) whether any category of rolling stock is not available to meet a demand equivalent to the average peak demand for such category of rolling stock in the 4 years prior to the time of such finding;

(ii) any governmental program, regulation, or action affecting demand for or supply of freight cars;

(iii) the extent, duration, and impact of seasonal peaks in demand for rolling stock;

(iv) the local, regional, or national scope of any reported problems of demand or supply related to rolling stock;

(v) the impact of severe weather conditions which disrupt marketing, distribution, or railroad operating factors;

(vi) the ability of shippers to load more cars if available; and

(vii) the extent to which any failures to furnish cars promptly result from factors not subject to railroad control.

The presence of any or all such factors shall not preclude a finding by the Commission that there is a continuing shortage of rolling stock; or

(B) the Secretary finds that there has not been a significant increase in the utilization of rolling stock since the date of enactment of this Act;

(2) six months after an affirmative finding under either subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (1) of this subsection, the Commission or the Secretary finds that efforts to form and operate a not-for-profit non-governmental corporation, or corporations, to acquire, maintain, and provide a free running national pool of rolling stock have not succeeded or have been inadequate in size, scope, and operation to establish the feasibility of a national pool, or have failed to employ innovative concepts for equitable distribution and expeditious use of rolling stock; and

(3) the Congress, by affirmative concurrent resolution, authorizes the establishment of the Authority.

(b) **REPORTS.**—Two years after the date of enactment of this Act and on the anniversary date thereof each consecutive year

thereafter for 5 years, the Commission and the Secretary shall each transmit to the President and Congress a report on rolling stock which shall include each finding made since the previous such report, if any, pursuant to subsection (a) of this section. If the Authority authorized by section 510 of this title is not established in accordance with the provisions of subsection (a) of this section, such Authority shall nonetheless be established 7 years and 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act if—

(1) in the final reports made by the Commission and the Secretary under this subsection—

(A) the Secretary or the Commission finds that the creation of an authority to acquire, maintain, and provide general service railroad freight cars and other rolling stock; to manage a pool of such rolling stock; and to develop and employ innovative concepts for the equitable distribution and expeditious use of such stock would contribute significantly to improvement of the utilization and distribution of rolling stock; and either

(B) the Commission finds that there is still, as a result of inadequate utilization or inadequacy of supply, or both, a continuing shortage of rolling stock in the Nation; or

(C) the Secretary finds that there has not been a substantial and significant increase in the utilization of railroad rolling stock; and

(2) the Congress, by affirmative concurrent resolution, authorizes the establishment of the Authority.

RAILROAD EQUIPMENT AUTHORITY

SEC. 510. (a) **AUTHORIZATION.**—There is hereby authorized to be established, in accordance with the provisions of section 509 of this title and of this section, a corporation to be known as the Railroad Equipment Authority. The Board of Directors first appointed shall be deemed the incorporators, and the incorporation shall be held to have been effected from the date of the first meeting of such Board.

(b) **PURPOSES.**—The purposes of the Authority are to acquire, maintain, and provide general service railroad freight cars and other rolling stock; to manage a pool of such rolling stock; and to employ innovative concepts for equitable distribution and expeditious use of such stock to meet the needs of the national economy and the national defense.

(c) **STATUS.**—(1) The Authority shall be a government corporation of the District of Columbia, subject to the extent not inconsistent with this title, to the District of Columbia Business Corporation Act (D.C. Code 29-901 et seq.) and administered by a Board of Directors.

(2) The Authority shall not be subject to the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1 et seq.) or of any other law with respect to railroads, except that it shall be subject to—

(A) sections 1(10) through 1(17) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(10)–1(17));

(B) the Railway Labor Act, with respect to the representation of employees of the Authority for purposes of collective bargaining, the handling of disputes between the Authority and its employees, and other dealings with employees; the Railroad Retirement Act; and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act;

(C) the Federal Employers Liability Act; and

(D) the same laws and regulations with respect to safety as are applicable to any common carrier under part I of the Interstate Commerce Act.

(d) **BOARD OF DIRECTORS.**—The Board of Directors of the Authority shall consist of 11 individuals who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate on the following basis—

(1) three to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the Association of American Railroads or its successor, one of whom shall be representative respectively of eastern-, western-, and southern-territory railroads;

(2) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations or its successor, who shall be representative of railroad labor;

(3) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the National Academy of Sciences as persons with expert knowledge or experience with data processing and information systems and the application of computer technology to systems management;

(4) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by shippers, organizations representative of significant shipping interests including small shippers, consumer organizations, community organizations, and recognized consumer leaders, who shall be representative of consumers of transportation services and consumers of goods and products shipped by railroad;

(5) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the Secretary of Defense; and

(6) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the Secretary of Transportation.

As used in this subsection, a list of qualified individuals shall consist of no less than three individuals. The President shall appoint one of the members, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to serve as Chairman for a term of 4 years. A member of the Directors who is not otherwise an employee of the Federal Government may receive \$150 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of his duties plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of such duties.

(e) **TERMS OF OFFICE.**—The terms of office of the members first taking office shall expire as designated by the President at the time of nomination—four at the end of the third year; four at the end of the sixth year; and three at the end of the ninth year. Successors to members of the Directors shall be appointed in the same manner as the original members and shall have a term of office expiring nine years from the date of expiration of the term for which their predecessors were appointed. Any member appointed to fill a vacancy in the Directors occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

(f) **GENERAL.**—The Director shall direct the exercise of all the powers of the Authority. So long as there are four members in office, the Directors are empowered to execute the functions of the Authority. Four of the Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of such functions.

(g) **ANTITRUST LAWS INAPPLICABLE.**—The antitrust laws of the United States are inapplicable to the extent necessary to carry out the purposes of this title as to any person who contracts with the Authority with respect to the operation or maintenance of rolling stock or the design or implementation of a national rolling stock information system or the use of information from such system.

GENERAL POWERS OF THE AUTHORITY

SEC. 511. To carry out the purposes of this title, the Authority is empowered to—

(a) build, rebuild, purchase, own, lease, control, and manage rolling stock or equipment or facilities;

(b) require to contract for the use of physical facilities, equipment, and devices useful in developing equitable distribution and in maintaining expeditious use of rolling stock;

(c) build, rebuild, operate, maintain, and repair its rolling stock, equipment, and facilities or enter into agreements and contracts for the performance of such work and for the performance of all services and work incidental thereto and consistent with prudent management;

(d) conduct and contract for research and development that may lead to new and practical technologies, systems, and methods for the efficient and economical movement, distribution, solicitation, collection, loading and unloading, packaging, and processing of freight shipments involving railroads;

(e) sue and be sued, complain and defend, in its corporate name and through its own attorneys; adopt, alter, and use a corporate seal, which shall be judicially noticed; adopt, amend, and repeal such bylaws, rules, and regulations as may be necessary for the conduct of its affairs; conduct its business, carry on operations, maintain offices, and exercise the powers granted under this title in any State;

(f) purchase, lease, or otherwise acquire, own, hold, improve, use, or deal in and with any property (real, personal, or mixed, tangible or intangible) or interest in property, wherever situated; sell, convey mortgage, pledge, lease, exchange, or otherwise dispose of property and assets; accept gifts or donations of any property or services in aid of any purpose of the Authority;

(g) appoint such attorneys, employees, agents, consultants, and other personnel as it deems necessary; define the duties of such personnel and determine and pay compensation for their services. Except as otherwise specifically provided, such personnel shall not be subject to laws relating to Federal employees with respect to appointments, promotions, adverse actions, hours of work, rates of compensation, allowances, leave, unemployment compensation, compensation for work-related injuries, and Federal benefits for retirement, life insurance, and health benefits; and

(h) enter into contracts, execute instruments, incur liabilities, and do all things necessary or incidental to the proper management of the affairs and the proper and prudent conduct of the business.

FINANCING

SEC. 512. (a) **PER DIEM SURCHARGE.**—Each railroad, except a switching and terminal railroad, shall pay to the Authority a per diem surcharge of 50 cents per car-day on each unit of rolling stock for each day that such a railroad incurs a car hire charge for the use of such unit of rolling stock. The Directors shall impose such per diem surcharge not later than 60 days after taking office under section 511 of this title and shall terminate it when it has collected such sum as may be necessary for the purposes of this title but not less than \$10,000,000 nor more than \$30,000,000. Surcharges are payable on the tenth day of the second month succeeding the month in which the charge accrues. Within 6 months of the termination of such surcharge, the Authority shall refund to any railroad or group of railroads under common management and control any payments made by such railroad or railroads in excess of 10 per centum of the total paid by all railroads.

(b) **NEGOTIABLE DEBENTURES.**—The Authority shall issue to each railroad a negotiable debenture in the amount of the surcharge paid under subsection (a) of this section. The debenture shall bear and pay interest at a rate to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury to be the current rate for similar debentures in the open market. The par value of such debentures shall be due and payable. December 31 of the thirtieth year after the date of issuance thereof or the first business day thereafter if such date is a Saturday, Sunday, or holiday. Such debentures are debts of the Authority but are subordinate to all other such debts. The

United States of America does not guarantee either the par value or the interest on such debentures.

(c) **REFUND OF PER DIEM SURCHARGES.**—(1) In the event of partial or complete liquidation of the Authority, any assets remaining after the payment of its obligations and expenses shall be distributed pro rata to the railroads, but the amount so distributed shall not exceed in any case the amount paid as per diem surcharges under subsection (a) of this section plus accrued interest, if any. The remainder of such assets shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States and credited to miscellaneous receipts.

(2) In the event of complete liquidation of any railroad subject to this title, the Directors of the Authority may, if and when funds are available, refund to such railroad a sum of not to exceed the amount paid in as per diem surcharges under the provisions of subsection (a) of this section plus accrued interest, if any.

(d) **INCURRENCE OF DEBT FOR CAPITAL PURPOSES.**—The Authority is empowered to incur debt for capital purposes. Such debt may be incurred in the form of bonds, debentures, equipment trust certificates, conditional sale agreements, or any other form of securities, agreements, or obligations. So long as all the capital stock of the Authority is owned by the United States, the payment of principal and interest on all obligations issued by it is guaranteed by the United States. Such guarantee shall be expressed on the face of the obligation. So long as any capital stock is owned by the United States, payment of principal and interest on obligations issued by the Authority may, in the discretion of the Directors, be guaranteed by the United States. Such guarantee shall be expressed on the face of the obligation. Guaranteed obligations shall not exceed \$1,000,000,000 in principal amount outstanding at any one time. Such obligations may be redeemable at the option of the Authority before maturity in such manner as may be stipulated therein and shall be in such forms and denominations, have such maturities, and be subject to such terms and conditions as shall be determined by the Directors, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. The Authority may also incur debt not guaranteed by the United States, in addition to that provided for under subsection (b) of this section.

(e) **PURCHASE OF OBLIGATIONS BY TREASURY.**—The Secretary of the Treasury may elect to purchase the obligations of the Authority guaranteed by the United States in an amount not to exceed \$1,000,000,000 in principal amount outstanding at any one time, under such terms, including rates of interest, as he and the Directors may agree, but at a rate or yield no less than the current average yield on outstanding Treasury securities of comparable maturity, as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury.

(f) **PUBLIC DEBT TRANSACTION.**—For the purpose of any purchase of the obligations of the Authority, and to enable him to carry out his responsibility relating to guarantees made pursuant to this section, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as now or hereafter in force, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as now or hereafter in force, are extended to include any purchases of the obligations of the Authority under this Act. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell, upon such terms and conditions and at such price or prices as he shall determine, any of the obligations of the Authority acquired by him hereunder. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of the obligations of the Authority shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States.

(g) **AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS.**—(1) In order to facilitate the formation and the implementation of the objectives of the Authority, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$10,000,000 to be used to acquire capital stock of the Authority, such sum to continue to be available until expended.

(2) There are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of the Treasury such sums as may be necessary to pay the principal and interest on notes or obligations issued by him as a consequence of any guarantee made under this section.

(3) In the event of any default on any guaranteed obligation, and payment in accordance with a guarantee by the United States, the Attorney General shall take appropriate action to recover the amount of such payments, with interest, from the Authority or other persons liable therefor.

(h) **LAWFUL INVESTMENT AND EXEMPTION FROM REGULATIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.**—Securities guaranteed under this section shall be lawful investments and may be accepted as security for all fiduciary, trust, and public funds, the investment or deposit of which shall be under authority or control of the United States or of any officer or officers thereof, and shall be deemed to be exempt securities within the meaning of laws administered by the Securities and Exchange Commission. The limitations and restrictions as to a National or State bank dealing in, underwriting, or purchasing investment securities for its own account, as provided in section 5136 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (12 U.S.C. 24), and section 5(c) of the Act of June 16, 1933 (12 U.S.C. 335), shall not apply to securities guaranteed under this section.

(i) **CAPITAL STOCK.**—(1) The Authority is authorized to issue and have outstanding capital stock in such amounts and of such classes as it shall determine. At no time shall the aggregate of the shares of the capital stock of the Authority owned by a single railroad or by any person controlling one or more railroads, as defined in section 1(3)(b) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(3)(b)), directly or indirectly through subsidiaries or affiliated companies, nominees, or any person subject to its direction or control or by any other stockholder, or any syndicate or affiliated group of such stockholders exceed 5 per centum of such shares issued and outstanding.

(2) The requirement of section 45(b) of the District of Columbia Corporation Act (D.C. Code, sec. 29-920(b)) as to the per centum of stock which a stockholder must hold in order to have the rights of inspection and copying set forth in that subsection shall not be applicable in the case of holders of the stock of the Authority, and they may exercise such rights without regard to the percentage of stock they hold.

(3) Capital stock of the Authority offered and sold to the public shall be offered in compliance with all applicable laws of the United States governing the offering and sale of securities by private corporations.

(j) **AUDIT AND EXPENDITURES.**—(1) So long as any capital stock of the Authority is owned by the United States, "Railroad Equipment Authority" shall be subject to the provisions of the Government Corporation Control Act (31 U.S.C. 841 et seq.).

(2) Except as otherwise provided pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection, the Authority is authorized to make such expenditures and to enter into such contracts, agreements, and arrangements as it deems necessary, upon such terms and conditions and in such manner as it decides. This authorization includes the power to make a final settlement or compromise of all claims and litigation by or against the Authority.

(3) Nothing in this subsection shall be

construed to deny the Authority the power to obtain audits of its accounts and reports concerning its financial condition and operations by a firm or firms of certified public accountants. Such audit and reports would be in addition to those required by this subsection.

(4) Section 201 of the Government Corporation Control Act (31 U.S.C. 856) is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following: "and (10) the Railroad Equipment Authority."

CONVERSION TO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

SEC. 513. (a) **PLAN FOR PUBLIC SALE.**—As soon as practicable, a panel composed of the Secretary of Transportation, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Chairman of the Commission, and the Chairman of the Directors of the Authority shall submit to the President and to the Congress a plan for the public sale of stock in the Authority after finding that a market exists for the sale of such stock and that the purposes of this title will be served thereby. This plan shall include, among other elements, a program which—

(1) will require refinancing, or the establishment of a reserve fund or other method, in order to protect the public interest against defaults on obligations of the Authority guaranteed by the United States; and

(2) will assure that the sale of the stock will result in a wide dispersion in the ownership of the stock.

(b) **REQUIREMENTS.**—The plan for sale of stock to the public shall specify a program for systematically reducing the amount of obligations of the Authority guaranteed by the United States and shall propose a capital structure for the Authority designed to insure sound financial and operating performance. Unless the Congress disapproves the plan within 6 months following submission of the plan to it, stock shall be sold in accordance with the plan.

(c) **NEW BOARD MEMBERS.**—Upon the sale of stock to the public, the Directors may be enlarged by the addition of members elected by owners of such stock. In no event, however, shall the Directors have more than 15 members while any capital stock in the Authority is held by the United States. During such period, the rights and privileges of owners of such stock, including determination of the number of directors to be so elected, shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Authority.

(d) **PROCEEDS OF SALE.**—The proceeds from the sale of the stock to the public shall be applied to the retirement of the stock held by the United States. Upon the retirement of all the stock held by the United States, the terms of office of the Directors appointed under section 510(d) of this title shall terminate as provided by the plan under subsection (a) of this section. Thereafter, all except three of the Directors shall be elected by the owners of the stock. The President shall have authority to appoint such three Directors, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate—

(1) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations;

(2) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the Federal Trade Commission, after consultation with organizations of consumers; and

(3) one to be selected from a list of qualified individuals recommended by the Commission, after consultation with organizations of shippers.

As used in this subsection, a list of qualified individuals shall consist of no less than three individuals.

(e) **POSITION OF UNITED STATES.**—Upon the retirement of all the stock held by the United States—

(1) The Authority shall pay an annual fee to the United States equal to the difference between the amount of interest actually paid upon outstanding guaranteed obligations and the amount which would have been paid, as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, if such obligations had not been guaranteed by the United States, plus one-fourth per centum;

(2) The Authority shall make every effort to refinance obligations in order to terminate the liability of the United States arising from its guarantee of obligations; and

(3) the Secretary of the Treasury may no longer purchase or guarantee the notes or other obligations of the Authority.

(f) **DEFAULT.**—If the Authority defaults in the payment of obligations guaranteed by the United States, the United States is authorized to take control and appoint a new Board of Directors pursuant to section 510(d) of this title.

INFORMATION SYSTEM

SEC. 514. (a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—If a national rolling stock information system, as defined in section 507 of this title, is not operating effectively when the Authority is established, it shall establish such a system. If the Authority undertakes to establish such a system, the Secretary shall grant it access to and authority to use all information, studies, designs, equipment, facilities, computer programs, and other things acquired or developed under section 507 of this title. The Secretary shall give the Authority all possible assistance to further the purposes of this section.

(b) **INFORMATIONAL ACCESS.**—Data and other information derived from the national rolling stock information system shall be made available on an equal basis to the Authority, shippers, railroads, the Commission, the Secretary, and interested members of the public, subject to rules to be issued by the Commission to preserve the confidentiality of certain types of competitive information furnished for use in connection with the system.

(c) **REPORT.**—The Authority shall report to the Congress annually on the progress made in implementing such national system. Each report shall include recommendations as to any additional funding deemed necessary to make the national system more effective. The Commission shall publish a report on such system 30 days after the publication of each report by the Authority under this subsection.

USE OF EQUIPMENT SUPPLIED BY THE AUTHORITY

SEC. 515. (a) **USER CHARGES.**—The Authority shall establish and maintain a schedule of charges for the use of general service railroad freight cars and other rolling stock, and equipment directly related to the utilization of rolling stock. The rates shall be such as will, in the judgment of the Directors, enable the Authority to meet its operating and administrative expenses, including depreciation and carrying-charges for indebtedness, and to provide sufficient earnings to facilitate conversion to private ownership under section 513 of this title as soon as possible. Such charges shall in no case exceed 150 per centum of the cost to the Authority of acquiring, owning, maintaining, and operating the rolling stock of equipment being so used. In establishing such charges, the Authority shall consider prevailing rates and conditions for similar equipment.

(b) **USER CHARGES PRECLUDED.**—The Authority shall not assess any charges for rolling stock located on a railroad where that rolling stock is not required by such railroad for use in originating traffic: *Provided*, That—

(1) such rolling stock is not the subject of a car service order by the Authority or the Commission; and

(2) such railroad furnishes appropriate notice to the Authority pursuant to terms

and conditions established by it regarding the use of such rolling stock.

(c) **CONDITIONS ON USE.**—The Authority shall establish—

(1) reasonable rates of compensation for storage of excess rolling stock on the property of any railroad, through negotiation with such railroad;

(2) terms and conditions governing the use of its equipment, including requirements for identification of rolling stock, as are in its judgment appropriate to effectuate the purposes of this title. Such terms and conditions may be modified and amended from time to time; and

(3) just and reasonable car service rules, regulations, and practices, and car distribution directions with respect to its rolling stock. Such rules, regulations, and practices shall be established after consulting with the Commission, railroads and car distribution agencies. They shall, together with car distribution directions issued thereunder, take precedence over any rules, regulations, or practices in conflict therewith which are issued or applied by any railroad or group of railroads. Such rules, regulations, and practices may be modified and amended from time to time.

(d) **COMPLIANCE WITH CONDITIONS.**—Each railroad shall comply with such car service rules, regulations, and practices as may be established, together with such car distribution directions as may be issued, pursuant to this section.

(e) **INTERCHANGE OF CARS.**—No railroad may refuse to transport any rolling stock owned, leased, controlled, or managed by the Authority, whether loaded or empty, subject to any applicable safety regulations, reasonable interchange rules, reasonable line clearances, reasonable weight limitations, and user charges set under this section. No railroad shall be entitled to any compensation from the Authority for moving empty rolling stock owned, leased, controlled, or managed by the Authority which is moving under a car distribution directive issued by the Commission or by the Authority for the purposes of distributing such rolling stock for loading.

COMMISSION REVIEW

SEC. 516. The Authority shall be subject to sections 1(10) through 1(17) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(10)–1(17)), and the orders of the Commission thereunder to the extent applicable. Upon petition of any person affected by any charge, rule, regulation, practice, term, condition, directive, or other provision issued or maintained by the Authority, or upon its own motion, the Commission shall make an investigation and shall order any such provision which it finds not to be in conformity with this title, or to be inconsistent with any applicable rule, order, or directive of the Commission issued pursuant to such sections, to be canceled, annulled, amended, or suspended as the Commission shall find to be appropriate.

ENFORCEMENT

SEC. 517. (a) **GENERAL.**—In an appropriate civil action, the Authority may apply to any district court of the United States which has jurisdiction over the parties and in which venue is properly laid under section 1291 of title 28, United States Code, for an order or judgment to enforce compliance with any obligation owing to it under or in accordance with any provision of this title or under or in accordance with any agreement or regulation entered into or issued pursuant to this title. Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to relieve any person from any punishment, liability, or sanction which may be imposed otherwise than under this title.

(b) **EQUITABLE RELIEF.**—(1) If the authority, any railroad, or any person fails or neglects to comply with any rule, regulation, or practice established under this title, fails to pay any charge imposed under this title, fails or refuses to comply with any car distribu-

tion directive or other order issued under this title, or fails to obey any directive by the Commission to pay charges, any district court of the United States having jurisdiction over the parties and in which venue is properly laid under section 1291 of title 28, United States Code, may grant relief. Upon a petition by the Commission or by the Authority, such court shall have jurisdiction to grant such relief as may be necessary or appropriate to prevent or terminate such failure or refusal.

(2) If the Authority, any railroad, or any other person violates or threatens to violate any provision of this title or any rule, regulation, or order issued under this title, any district court of the United States having jurisdiction over the parties and in which venue is properly laid under section 1291 of title 28, United States Code, may grant relief. Upon a petition in such a case, or, in the case of a labor agreement, upon the petition of any employee affected thereby or a duly authorized representative of such employee, such court shall have jurisdiction to grant such equitable relief as may be necessary or appropriate to prevent or terminate such violation.

ANNUAL REPORT

Sec. 518. The Authority shall cause to be prepared and transmit simultaneously to the President and the Congress an annual report commencing 1 year after its establishment. Such report shall include—

(a) a comprehensive and detailed review, analysis, and evaluation of its operations, activities, accomplishments, and outstanding problems, together with its objectives and plans for the future;

(b) an account of the state of railroad freight service in the United States, including the number of rolling stock, by classes, acquired and owned, leased, controlled, or managed by it and the number acquired and owned, leased, controlled, or managed by the railroads; and

(c) a statement of its receipts and expenditures for the previous year, its methods for determining the type and amount of rolling stock acquired, and the criteria used by the rolling stock. The Commission and the Secretary shall from time to time, but not less than once every 2 years, investigate and evaluate the performance of the Authority in light of the purposes of this title and each shall cause to be prepared and transmit, simultaneously to the President and the Congress a report thereon.

PROTECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR EMPLOYEES

Sec. 519. (a) GENERAL.—In carrying out their functions under this Act and as a condition precedent to the execution of any contract, the guarantee of any obligation, and the approval of inducement of any other action under this Act, the Board, the Secretary, and the Authority shall take adequate steps to protect the interests of affected employees. Each contract as to which any railroad or car-pooling company is either a party or a beneficiary shall include fair and equitable arrangements, as certified by the Secretary of Labor, to protect the interests of individual railroad employees who are or who may be affected in their employment by such contract. Such protective arrangements shall include the arrangements specified in section 405 of the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970 (45 U.S.C. 565); section 13 of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 (49 U.S.C. 1609); and section 6 of the High Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965 (49 U.S.C. 1636).

(b) BUILDINGS AND REBUILDING CONTRACTS OF CORPORATION.—The Authority, in awarding contracts for the building or rebuilding of rolling stock under this title, shall conform to prevailing practices in the railroad industry at the time of each such contract in dividing such work between railroads

with facilities for building and rebuilding rolling stock and nonrailroads with such facilities. Such contracts as are awarded to railroads shall be performed through the use of the facilities and the employees of such railroads and shall not be subcontracted. In awarding such contracts, the Authority shall be guided by the relative proportions of such building and rebuilding as was performed in railroad as opposed to nonrailroad facilities during the 5-calendar-year period preceding the award of such contract. Variations from these proportions shall not exceed 5 per centum if the total amount of building and rebuilding declines from levels at the date of enactment of this Act. If the Authority fails to maintain required relative proportions in distributing such work to railroad facilities under such contracts, the fair and equitable employee protective arrangements required by subsection (a) hereof shall become effective. Notwithstanding the foregoing, no contract shall be awarded by the Authority for the building or rebuilding of rolling stock unless the work to be performed is reasonably expected to meet or exceed the minimum specifications established by it in accordance with the purposes of this title.

(c) JOB TRAINING.—Railroad employees adversely affected by any action taken pursuant to this title designed to provide for more effective use and distribution of rolling stock shall be reassigned and if necessary retrained to perform the new tasks covering the functions which they had performed prior to such action. The performance of such functions shall be considered to be within the same craft or class as that in which such railroad employees were classified prior to such change and the rights of such employees to the same representation shall be preserved. A railroad employment position which is affected by any such change may be eliminated as it becomes vacant through the death or voluntary resignation or retirement of the employee holding such position.

(d) OTHER LAWS.—In his administration of the provisions of this title, the Secretary of Labor shall consolidate the program authorized herein with the companion programs under the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970 (45 U.S.C. 565); the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 (49 U.S.C. 1609); and the High Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965 (49 U.S.C. 1636). The Secretary of Labor shall uniformly develop, interpret, and apply the procedures and standards under these several laws.

(e) REPAIR AND MAINTENANCE CONTRACTS.—To the extent practicable, the Authority shall award contracts for the repair and maintenance of its rolling stock to railroads with facilities for performing such work.

(f) CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS.—In the exercise of their respective authority under this title, the Board, the Secretary, and the Authority shall take all steps necessary to insure that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors and subcontractors in the performance of construction work financed with the assistance of funds received under any contract or agreement entered into under this title shall be paid wages at rates no less than those prevailing on similar construction in the same locality, as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act. The Board, the Secretary, or the Authority shall not enter into any such contract or agreement without first obtaining adequate assurance that required labor standards will be maintained on the construction work. Wage rates provided for in collective-bargaining agreements negotiated under and pursuant to the Railway Labor Act or the National Labor Relations Act shall be considered to be in compliance with the Davis-Bacon Act; the highest of such wage rates shall be the applicable stand-

ard for all laborers and mechanics not covered by any such agreement and employed by contractors and subcontractors engaged in the building of rolling stock under contracts awarded by the authority under this title.

TITLE VI—EMPLOYEE PROTECTION DEFINITIONS

SEC. 601. As used in this title—

(1) "Acquiring railroad" means a railroad, except the Corporation, which seeks to acquire or has acquired, pursuant to the provisions of this Act, all or a part of the rail properties of one or more of the railroads in reorganization, the Corporation, or a profitable railroad.

(2) "Employee of a railroad in reorganization" means a person who, on the effective date of a conveyance of rail properties of a railroad in reorganization to the Corporation or to an acquiring railroad, has an employment relationship with either said railroad in reorganization or any carrier (as defined in parts I and II of the Interstate Commerce Act) which is leased, controlled, or operated by the railroad in reorganization except a president, vice president, treasurer, secretary, comptroller, and any other person who performs functions corresponding to those performed by the foregoing officers.

(3) "Protected employee" means any employee of an acquiring railroad adversely affected by a transaction and any employee of a railroad in reorganization who on the effective date of this Act have not reached age sixty-five.

(4) "Class or craft of employees" means a group of employees, recognized and treated as a unit for purposes of collective bargaining, which is represented by a labor organization that has been duly authorized or recognized pursuant to the Railway Labor Act as its representatives for purposes of collective bargaining.

(5) "Representative of a class or craft of employees" means a labor organization which has been duly authorized or recognized as the collective bargaining representative of a class or craft of employees pursuant to the Labor Act.

(6) "Deprived of employment" means the inability of a protected employee to obtain a position by the normal exercise of his seniority rights with the Corporation after properly electing to accept employment therewith or, the subsequent loss of a position and inability, by the normal exercise of his seniority rights under the applicable collective bargaining agreements, to obtain another position with the Corporation: *Provided, however*, That provisions in existing collective bargaining agreements of a railroad in reorganization, which do not require a protected employee, in the normal exercise of seniority rights, to make a change in residence, in order to maintain his protection, will be preserved and will also be extended and be applicable to all other protected employees of that same craft or class. It shall not, however, include any deprivation of employment by reason of death, retirement, resignation, dismissal or disciplinary suspension for cause, failure to work due to illness or disability, nor any severance of employment covered by subsections (d) and (e) of section 605 of this title.

(7) "Employee adversely affected with respect to his compensation" means a protected employee who suffers a reduction in compensation.

(8) "Transaction" means actions taken pursuant to the provisions of this Act, other than title V of this Act, or the results thereof.

(9) "Change in residence" means transfer to a work location which is located either (1) outside a radius of thirty miles of the employee's former work location and

farther from his residence than was his former work location or (2) more than 30 normal highway route miles from the employee's residence and also farther from his residence than was his former work location.

OFFERS OF EMPLOYMENT

SEC. 602. (a) **APPLICABLE LAW.**—The Corporation and, where applicable, the Association shall be subject to the provisions of the Railways Labor Act and shall be considered employers for purposes of the Railroad Retirement Act, Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. The Corporation, in addition, shall, except as otherwise specifically provided by this Act, be subject to all Federal and State laws and regulations applicable to carriers by railroad.

(b) **MANDATORY OFFER.**—The Corporation shall offer employment, to be effective as of the date of a conveyance or discontinuance of service under the provisions of this Act, to each employee of a railroad in reorganization who has not already accepted an offer of employment by the Association, where applicable, or an acquiring railroad. Such offers of employment to employees represented by labor organization will be confined to their same craft or class. The Corporation shall apply to said employees the protective provisions of this title.

(c) **ASSOCIATION.**—After the transfer of rail properties pursuant to section 303, the Association, in employing any additional employees, shall give priority consideration to employees of a railroad in reorganization and the provisions of this title shall apply to any such employees employed by the Association as if they were employees of the Corporation.

ASSIGNMENT OF WORK

SEC. 603. The Corporation shall have the right to assign, allocate, reassign, reallocate, and consolidate work formerly performed on the rail properties acquired pursuant to the provisions of this Act from a railroad in reorganization to any location, facility, or position on its system provided it does not remove said work from coverage of a collective-bargaining agreement and does not infringe upon the existing classification of work rights to any craft or class of employees at the location or facility to which said work is assigned, allocated, reassigned, reallocated, or consolidated and shall have the right to transfer to an acquiring railroad the work incident to the rail properties or facilities acquired by said acquiring railroad pursuant to this Act, subject, however, to the provisions of section 608 of this title.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENTS

SEC. 604. (a) **INTERIM APPLICATION.**—Until completion of the agreements provided for under subsection (d) of this section, the Corporation shall, as though an original party thereto, assume and apply on the particular lines properties, or facilities acquired all obligations under existing collective bargaining agreements covering all crafts and classes employed thereon, except that the Agreement of May, 1936, Washington, District of Columbia, and provisions in other existing job stabilization agreements shall not be applicable to transactions effected pursuant to this Act with respect to which the provisions of section 605 shall be superseding and controlling. During this period, employees of a railroad in reorganization who have seniority on the lines, properties, or facilities acquired by the Corporation pursuant to this Act shall have prior seniority roster rights on such acquired lines, properties, or facilities.

(b) **SINGLE IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENT.**—On or before the date of the adoption of the final system plan by the Association under section 207(c) of this Act, the representatives of the various classes or crafts of the employees of a railroad in reorganization involved in a conveyance pursuant to this Act

and representatives of the Corporation shall commence negotiation of a single implementing agreement for each class and craft of employees affected providing (1) the identification of the specific employees of the railroad in reorganization to whom the Corporation offers employment; (2) the procedure by which those employees of the railroad in reorganization may elect to accept employment with the Corporation; (3) the procedure for acceptance of such employees into the Corporation's employment and their assignment to positions on the Corporation's system; (4) the procedure for determining the seniority of such employees in their respective crafts or class on the Corporation's system which shall, to the extent possible, preserve their prior seniority rights; and (5) the procedure for determining equitable adjustment in rates of comparable positions. If no agreement with respect to the matters referred to in this subsection is reached by the end of thirty days after the commencement of negotiations, the parties shall within an additional ten days select a neutral referee and, in the event they are unable to agree upon the selection of such referee, then the National Mediation Board shall immediately appoint a referee. After a referee has been designated, a hearing on the dispute shall commence as soon as practicable. Not less than ten days prior to the effective date of any conveyance pursuant to the provisions of this Act, the referee shall resolve and decide all matters in dispute with respect to the negotiation of said implementing agreement or agreements and shall render a decision which shall be final and binding and shall constitute the implementing agreement or agreements between the parties with respect to the transaction involved. The salary and expenses of the referee shall be paid pursuant to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act.

(c) Notwithstanding failure for any reason to complete implementing agreements provided for in subsection (b) of this section, the Corporation may proceed with a conveyance of properties, and equipment pursuant to the provisions of this Act and effectuate said transaction: *Provided*, That all protected employees shall be entitled to all of the provisions of such agreements, as finally determined, from the time they are adversely affected as a result of any such conveyance.

(d) No later than sixty days after the effective date of any conveyance pursuant to the provisions of this Act, the representatives of the various classes or crafts of the employees of a railroad in reorganization involved in a conveyance and representatives of the Corporation shall commence negotiations of new collective-bargaining agreements for each class and craft of employees covering the rates of pay, rules, and working conditions of employees who are employees of the Corporation, which collective-bargaining agreements shall include appropriate provisions concerning rates of pay, rules, and working conditions but shall not include any provisions for job stabilization resulting from any transaction effected pursuant to this Act which may exceed or conflict with those established or prescribed herein.

EMPLOYEE PROTECTION

SEC. 605. (a) **EQUIVALENT POSITION.**—A protected employee whose employment is governed by a collective-bargaining agreement will not, except as explicitly provided in this title, during the period in which he is entitled to protection, be placed in a worse position with respect to compensation, fringe benefits, rules, working conditions, and rights and privileges pertaining thereto.

(b) **MONTHLY DISPLACEMENT ALLOWANCE.**—A protected employee, who has been deprived of employment or adversely affected with respect to his compensation, shall be entitled to a monthly displacement allowance computed as follows:

(1) Said allowance shall be determined by computing the total compensation received by the employee including vacation allowances and monthly compensation guarantees, and his total time paid for during the last twelve months immediately prior to his being adversely affected in which he performed compensated service more than 50 per centum of each of such months, based upon his normal work schedule, and by dividing separately the total compensation and the total time paid for by twelve, thereby producing the average monthly compensation and average monthly time paid for; and, if an employee's compensation in his current position is less in any month in which he performs work than the aforesaid average compensation, he shall be paid the difference, less any time lost on account of voluntary absences other than vacations, but said protected employee shall be compensated in addition thereto at the rate of the position filled for any time worked in excess of his average monthly time: *Provided, however*, That—

(A) in determining compensation in his current employment the protected employee shall be treated as occupying the position, producing the highest rate of pay to which his qualifications and seniority entitles him under the applicable collective-bargaining agreement and which does not require a change in residence;

(B) the said monthly displacement allowance shall be reduced by the full amount of any unemployment compensation benefits by the protected employee in any employment subject to the Railroad Retirement Act and 50 per centum of any earnings in any employment not subject to the Railroad Retirement Act;

(C) a protected employee's average monthly compensation shall be adjusted general wage increases;

(D) should a protected employee's service total less than twelve months in which he performs more than 50 per centum compensated service based upon his normal work schedule in each of said months, his average monthly compensation shall be determined by dividing separately the total compensation received by the employee and the total time for which he was paid by the number of months in which he performed more than 50 per centum compensated service based upon his normal work schedule; and

(E) the monthly displacement allowance provided by this section shall in no event exceed the sum of \$2,500 in any month except that such amount shall be adjusted to reflect subsequent general wage increases.

(2) A protected employee's average monthly compensation under this section shall be based upon the rate of pay applicable to his employment and shall include increases in rates of pay not in fact paid but which were provided for in national railroad labor agreements generally applicable during the period involved.

(3) If a protected employee who is entitled to a monthly displacement allowance served as an agent of a representative of a craft or class of employees on either a full or part-time basis in the twelve months immediately preceding his being adversely affected, his monthly displacement allowance shall be computed by taking the average of the average monthly compensation and average monthly time paid for of the protected employees immediately above and below him on the same seniority roster or his own monthly displacement allowance, whichever is greater.

(4) An employee and his representative be furnished with a protected employee's average monthly compensation and average monthly time paid for, computed in accordance with the terms of this subsection, together with the date upon which such computations are based, within thirty days after

the protected employee notifies the Corporation in writing that he has been deprived of employment or adversely affected with respect to his compensation.

(c) **TERMINATION OF ALLOWANCE.**—The monthly displacement allowance provided for in subsection (b) of this section shall continue until the attainment of age sixty-five by a protected employee with five or more years of service on the effective date of this Act and, in the case of a protected employee who has less than five years service on such date, shall continue for a period equal to his total prior years of service: *Provided*, That such monthly displacement allowance shall terminate upon the protected employee's death, retirement, resignation, or dismissal for cause; and shall be suspended for the period of disciplinary suspension for cause, failure to work due to illness or disability, voluntary furlough, or failure to retain or obtain a position available to him by the exercise of his seniority rights in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(d) **TRANSFER OF EMPLOYMENT.**—(1) A protected employee who has been deprived of employment may be required by the corporation, in inverse seniority order and upon reasonable notice, to transfer to any bona fide vacancy for which he is qualified in his same craft or class on any part of the Corporation's system and shall then be governed by the collective bargaining agreement applicable on the seniority district to which transferred. If such transfer requires a change in residence, any such protected employee may choose (A) to voluntarily furlough himself at his home location and have his monthly displacement allowance suspended during the period of voluntary furlough, or (B) to be severed from employment upon payment to him of a separation allowance computed as provided in subsection (e) and (f) of this section, which separation allowance shall be in lieu of all other benefits provided by this title.

(2) Such protected employee shall not be required to transfer to a location requiring a change in residence unless there is a bona fide need for his services at such location. Such bona fide need for services contemplates that the transfer be to a position which has not and cannot be filled by employees who are not required to make a change in residence in the seniority district involved and which, in the absence of this section, would have required the employment of a new employee.

(3) Such protected employee who, at the request of the corporation, has once accepted and made a transfer to a location requiring a change in residence, shall not be required again to so transfer for a period of three years.

(4) Transfers to vacancies requiring a change in residences shall be subject to the following:

(A) The vacancy shall be first offered to the junior qualified protected employee deprived of employment in the seniority district where the vacancy exists, and each such employee shall have twenty days to elect one of the options set forth in paragraph (1) of this subsection. If that employee elects not to accept the transfer, it will then be offered in inverse seniority order to the remaining qualified, protected employees deprived of employment on the seniority district who will each have twenty days to elect one of the options set forth in paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(B) If the vacancy is not filled by the procedure in paragraph (4) (A) of this subsection, the vacancy will then be offered in the inverse order of seniority to the qualified, protected employees deprived of employment on the system and each of such employees will be afforded thirty days to elect one of the options set forth in paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(C) The provisions of this paragraph (4) shall not prevent the adoption of other procedures pursuant to an agreement made by the Corporation and representative of the class or craft of employees involved.

(e) A protected employee who is tendered and accepts an offer by the Corporation to resign and sever his employment relationship in consideration of payment to him of a separation allowance, and any protected employee whose employment relationship is severed in accordance with subsection (d) of this section, shall be entitled to receive a lump-sum-separation allowance not to exceed \$20,000 in lieu of all other benefits provided by this title. Said lump-sum-separation allowance, in the case of a protected employee who had not less than three nor more than five years of service as of the date of this Act, shall amount to two hundred and seventy days' pay at the rate of the position last held and, in the case of a protected employee having had five or more years' service, shall amount to the number of days' pay indicated below at the rate of the position last held dependent upon the age of the protected employee at the time of such termination of employment:

60 or under	360 days' pay
61	300 days' pay
62	240 days' pay
63	180 days' pay
64	120 days' pay

(f) The Corporation may terminate the employment of an employee of a railroad in reorganization, who has less than three years' service as of the effective date of this Act: *Provided, however*, That in such event the terminated employee shall be entitled to receive a lump-sum separation allowance in an amount determined as follows:

2 to 3 years' service	180 days' pay at the rate of the position last held.
1 to 2 years' service	90 days' pay at the rate of the position last held.
Less than 1 year's service	5 days' pay at the rate of the position last held for each month of service.

(g) Any protected employee who is required to make a change of residence as the result of a transaction shall be entitled to the following benefits:

(1) Reimbursement for all expenses of moving his household and other personal effects, for the traveling expense of himself and members of his family, including living expenses for himself and his family, and for his own actual wage loss, not to exceed ten working days: *Provided*, That the Corporation or acquiring railroad shall, to the same extent provided above, assume said expenses for any employee furloughed within three years after changing his point of employment as a result of a transaction, who elects to move his place of residence back to his original point of employment. No claim for reimbursement shall be paid under the provisions of this section unless such claim is presented to the Corporation or acquiring railroad within ninety days after the date on which the expenses were incurred.

(2) (A) (i) If the protected employee owns, or is under a contract to purchase, his own home in the locality from which he is required to move and elects to sell said home, he shall be reimbursed for any loss suffered in the sale of his home for less than its fair market value. In each case the fair market value of the home in question shall be determined as of a date sufficiently prior to the date of the transaction so as to be unaffected thereby. The Corporation or an acquiring railroad shall in each instance be afforded an opportunity to purchase the home at such fair market value before it is sold by the employee to any other person.

(ii) A protected employee may elect to waive the provisions of paragraph (2) (A) (i),

above, and receive, in lieu thereof, an amount equal to his closing costs which are ordinarily paid for and assumed by a seller of real estate in the jurisdiction in which the residence is located. Such costs shall include a real estate commission paid to a licensed realtor (not to exceed \$3,000 or 6 per centum of sale price, whichever is less), and any prepayment penalty required by the institution holding the mortgage; such costs shall not include the payment of any "points" by the seller.

(B) If the protected employee holds an unexpired lease on a dwelling occupied by him as his home, he shall be protected from all loss and cost in securing the cancellation of said lease.

(C) No claim for costs or loss shall be paid under this provisions of this paragraph (2) unless such claim is presented to the Corporation or an acquiring railroad within ninety days after such costs or loss are incurred.

(D) Should a controversy arise with respect to the value of the home, the costs of loss sustained in its sale, the costs or loss under a contract for purchase, loss or cost in securing termination of a lease, or any other question in connection with these matters, it shall be decided through joint conference between the employee, or his representative, and the Corporation or an acquiring railroad. In the event they are unable to agree, the dispute or controversy may be referred by either party to a board of competent real estate appraisers, elected in the following manner: One to be selected by the employee or his representative and one by the Corporation or an acquiring railroad, and these two, if unable to agree upon a valuation within thirty days, shall endeavor by agreement within ten days thereafter to select a third appraiser, or to agree to a method by which a third appraiser shall be selected, and, failing such agreement, either party may request the National Mediation Board to designate within ten days a third qualified real estate appraiser whose designation will be binding upon the parties. A decision of a majority of the appraisers shall be required and said decision shall be final and conclusive. The salary and expenses of the third or neutral appraiser, including the expenses of the appraisal board, shall be borne equally by the parties to the proceedings. All other expenses shall be paid by the party incurring them, including the compensation of the appraiser selected by such party.

(h) Should a railroad rearrange or adjust its forces in anticipation of a transaction with the purpose or effect of depriving a protected employee of benefits to which he otherwise would have become entitled under this title, the provisions of this title will apply to such employee.

PERFORMANCE OF WORK

Sec. 606. All work in connection with the operation or services provided by the Corporation on the rail lines, properties, equipment, or facilities acquired pursuant to the provisions of this Act and the maintenance, repair, rehabilitation, or modernization of such lines, properties, equipment, or facilities which has been performed by practice or agreement in accordance with provisions of the existing contracts in effect with the representatives of the class or craft involved shall continue to be performed by said Corporation's employees, including employees on furlough. Should the Corporation lack a sufficient number of employees, including employees on furlough, and is unable to hire additional employees, to perform the work required, it shall be permitted to subcontract that part of such work which cannot be performed by its employees including those on furlough, except where agreement by the representatives of the employees of

the class or craft involved is required by applicable collective bargaining agreements. The term "unable to hire additional employees" as used in this section contemplates establishment and maintenance by the Corporation of an apprenticeship, training, or recruitment program to provide an adequate number of skilled employees to perform the work.

ARBITRATION

Sec. 607. Any dispute or controversy with respect to the interpretation, application, or enforcement of the provisions of this title, except section 604(d) and those disputes or controversies provided for in subsection (g) (2) (D) of section 605 and subsection (b) of section 604 which have not been resolved within ninety days, may be submitted by either party to an Adjustment Board for a final and binding decision thereon as provided in section 3 Second, of the Railroad Labor Act (45 U.S.C. 153 Second), in which event the burden of proof on all issues so presented shall be upon the Corporation or, where applicable, the Association.

ACQUIRING RAILROADS

Sec. 608. An acquiring railroad shall offer such employment and afford such employment protection to employees of a railroad from which it acquires properties or facilities pursuant to this Act, and shall further protect its own employees who are adversely affected by such acquisition, as shall be agreed upon between the said acquiring railroad and the representatives of such employees prior to said acquisition: *Provided, however, That the protection and benefits provided for protected employees in such agreements shall be the same as those specified in section 605 of this title: And provided, further, however, That unless and until such agreements are reached, the acquiring railroad shall not enter into purchase agreements pursuant to section 206 of this Act.*

PAYMENT OF BENEFITS

Sec. 609. The Corporation, Association (where applicable), and acquiring railroads, as the case may be, shall be responsible for the actual payment of all allowances, expenses, and costs, provided protected employees pursuant to the provisions of this title. The Corporation, Association (where applicable), and acquiring railroads shall then be reimbursed for such actual amounts paid protected employees pursuant to the provisions of this title by the Railroad Retirement Board upon certification to said Board by the Corporation, Association, and acquiring railroads of the amounts paid such employees. Such reimbursement shall be made from a separate account maintained in the Treasury of the United States to be known as the Regional Rail Transportation Protective Account. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to such protective account annually such sums as may be required to meet the obligations payable hereunder, not to exceed in the aggregate, however, the sum of \$250,000,000. There is further authorized to be appropriated to the Railroad Retirement Board annually such sums as may be necessary to provide for additional administrative expenses to be incurred by the Board in the performance of its functions under this section.

WORK RULES STUDY

Sec. 610. The Secretary of Labor, in consultation with the Secretary, the Chairman of the Commission and other interested parties, shall conduct a study of the effect of existing work rules on the consolidation of the operations of the railroads in reorganization under this Act. The Secretary shall submit to the President and to the Congress his findings and recommendations as a result of such study no later than the date for submission of the final system plan as provided in subsection 207(c) of this Act.

EMPLOYEE DISPLACEMENT STUDY

SEC. 611. (a) SCOPE.—The Secretary of Labor shall, within 1 year after the Corporation commences operations and each year for the succeeding four years thereafter, conduct a study of and report to the President and the Congress on the extent of the displacement of railroad employees and the extent to which the railroad industry as a whole and each individual carrier contribute to the solution of the displacement problem by employing workers displaced as a result of this Act.

(b) ROSTER.—The Corporation, acquiring railroads, and the Railroad Retirement Board, shall maintain a roster or rosters of railroad employees furloughed, displaced, transferred, or otherwise affected as a result of transactions under this Act, and shall provide such information together with other information needed and requested by the Secretary of Labor in fulfilling his responsibilities under this section.

(c) AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS.—There is authorized to be appropriated annually to the Secretary of Labor and to the Railroad Retirement Board such sums as may be necessary to provide for additional administrative expenses incurred by the Secretary of Labor and the Railroad Retirement Board in the performance of their functions under sections 610 and 611 of this title.

TITLE VII—GENERAL PROVISIONS

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER LAWS

SEC. 701. (a) ANTITRUST.—(1) Except as specifically provided in paragraph (3) of this subsection, no provision of this Act shall be deemed to convey to any railroad or employee or director thereof any immunity from civil or criminal liability, or to create defense to actions, under the antitrust laws.

(2) The Attorney General and the Federal Trade Commission shall, within 60 days after the release of the preliminary system plan by the Association under section 207(a) of this Act, assess the possible anti-competitive effects of such plan and propose any amendments which would, to the greatest extent practicable in accordance with the purposes of this Act and the goals set forth in section 206(a) of this Act alleviate any such anti-competitive effects. Copies of this evaluation and any proposed amendments to the preliminary system plan shall be submitted to the Association, the Office, the Secretary, and the appropriate committees and subcommittees of the Congress. For the purposes of carrying out their responsibilities under this paragraph the Attorney General and the Federal Trade Commission shall have the same access to information as the Secretary, the Office, and the Association have under section 203 of this Act.

(3) The antitrust laws are inapplicable with respect to any action taken to formulate or implement the final system plan where such action was in compliance with the requirements of such plan.

(4) As used in this subsection, "antitrust laws" includes the Act of July 2, 1890 (ch. 647, 26 Stat. 209), as amended; the Act of October 15, 1914 (ch. 323, 38 Stat. 730), as amended; the Federal Trade Commission Act (38 Stat. 717), as amended; sections 73 and 74 of the Act of August 27, 1894 (28 Stat. 570), as amended; and the Act of June 19, 1936 (ch. 592, 49 Stat. 1526), as amended.

(b) COMMERCE AND BANKRUPTCY.—The provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. et seq.) and the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. et seq.) are inapplicable to transactions under this Act to the extent necessary to formulate and implement the final system plan whenever a provision of any such Act is inconsistent with this Act.

(c) ENVIRONMENT.—(1) The provisions of section 102(2)(C) of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4332(2)(C)) shall not apply with respect to any ac-

tion taken under authority of this Act before the effective date of the final system plan;

(2) With respect to any action taken under authority of this Act after the effective date of the final system plan in a proceeding before the Commission, or in any other proceeding before the Commission after the date of enactment of this Act, the proponent of any rule or order shall have the burden of proving that any action requested of the Commission shall not significantly impair the quality of the human environment, or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes and objectives of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.), the Clean Air Act of 1970 (42 U.S.C. 1857 et seq.), the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1970 (33 U.S.C. 1151 et seq.), the Resource Recovery Act of 1970 (42 U.S.C. 3251 et seq.), the Noise Control Act of 1972 (42 U.S.C. 4901), or any other Federal law administered by the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. In no case shall the Commission take significant action under any provision of the Interstate Commerce Act without including as part of such action an assessment or statement of its impact on the environment. The Commission shall make such assessment or statement as part of its initial decision. Any party or other interested person may seek agency review within 45 days of the date of issuance of such initial decision in 45 days of the date of issuance of such initial decision by the Commission.

(d) NORTHEAST CORRIDOR.—(1) Rail properties designated in accordance with section 206(c)(1)(C) of this Act shall be purchased or leased by the National Railroad Passenger Corporation or the regional transportation authority designated in the final system plan. The Corporation shall negotiate an appropriate sale or lease agreement with the National Railroad Passenger Corporation or regional transportation authority as provided in the final system plan.

(2) Properties acquired pursuant to this subsection shall be improved in order to meet the goals set forth in section 206(a)(3) of this Act at the earliest practicable date, but in no event later than 9 years after the effective date of the final system plan.

(3) The final system plan shall provide for any necessary coordination by freight or commuter services of use of the facilities designated in section 206(c)(1)(C) of this Act. Such coordination may be effectuated through a single operating entity, designated in the final system plan, or as mutually agreed upon by the interested parties.

(4) Construction or improvements made pursuant to this subsection shall be under the supervision of and in consultation with the Corps of Engineers.

(e) EMERGENCY SERVICE.—Section 1(16) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(16)) is amended by inserting "(a)" before the word "Whenever" in the first sentence and adding the following new paragraph:

"(b) Whenever any carrier by railroad is unable to transport the traffic offered it because—

"(1) its cash position makes its continuing operation impossible;

"(2) it has been ordered to discontinue any service by a court; or

"(3) it has abandoned service without obtaining a certificate from the Commission pursuant to this section; the Commission may, upon the same procedure as provided in paragraph (15) of this section, make such just and reasonable directions with respect to the handling, routing, and movement of the traffic available to such carrier and its distribution over such carrier's lines, as in the opinion of the Commission will best promote the service in the interest of the public and the commerce of the people subject to the following conditions:

"(A) Such directions shall be effective for no longer than 60 days unless extended by the Commission for cause shown for an ad-

ditional designated period not to exceed 180 days.

"(B) No such directions shall be issued that would cause a carrier to operate in violation of the Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1970 (45 U.S.C. 421) or that would substantially impair the ability of the carrier so directed to serve adequately its own patrons or to meet its outstanding common carrier obligations.

"(C) The directed carrier shall not, by reason of such Commission direction, be deemed to have assumed or to become responsible for the debts of the other carrier.

"(D) The directed carrier shall hire employees of the other carrier to the extent such employees had previously performed the directed service for the other carrier, and, as to such employees as shall be so hired, the directed carrier shall be deemed to have assumed all existing employment obligation and practices of the other carrier relating thereto, including but not limited to agreements governing rate of pay, rules and working conditions, and all employee protective conditions commencing with and for the duration of the direction.

"(E) Any order of the Commission entered pursuant to this paragraph shall provide that if, for the period of its effectiveness, the cost, as hereinafter defined, of handling, routing, and moving the traffic of another carrier over the other carrier's lines of road shall exceed the direct revenues therefor, then upon request, payment shall be made to the directed carrier, in the manner hereinafter provided and within 90 days after expiration of such order, of a sum equal to the amount by which such cost has exceeded said revenues. The term 'cost' shall mean those expenditures made or incurred in or attributable to the operations as directed, including the rental or lease of necessary equipment, plus an appropriate allocation of common expenses, overheads, and a reasonable profit. Such cost shall be then currently recorded by the carrier or carriers in such manner and on such forms as by general order may be prescribed by the Commission and shall be submitted to and subject to audit by the Commission. The Commission shall certify promptly to the Secretary of the Treasury the amount of payment to be made to said carrier or carriers under the provisions of this paragraph. Payments required to be made to a carrier under the provisions of this paragraph shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury from funds hereby authorized to be appropriated in such amounts as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions hereof."

ANNUAL EVALUATION BY THE SECRETARY

SEC. 702. As part of his annual report each year, the Secretary shall transmit to Congress each year a comprehensive report on the effectiveness of the Association and the Corporation in implementing the purposes of this Act, together with any recommendations for additional legislative or other action.

FREIGHT RATES FOR RECYCLABLES

SEC. 703. (a) RATE POLICY.—In view of existing and anticipated shortages of non-renewable resources, the Commission and the Federal Maritime Commission, within the scope of their respective jurisdictions, are hereby directed to effect with the least practicable delay such lawful changes in the rate structure of the country as will promote the freedom of movement by common carriers of recovered materials at the lowest possible lawful rates compatible with the maintenance of adequate transportation service: *Provided*, That no investigation or proceeding resulting from the enactment of this section shall be permitted to delay the decision of cases now pending before either of these commissions and involving rates on recovered materials, but such cases shall be decided in accordance with this section.

(b) INTERVENTION.—The Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency shall take such steps as are necessary to insure that the directives of subsection (a) of this section are carried out as expeditiously as possible, including the initiation of and intervention in proceedings before the Commission and the Federal Maritime Commission. Such Administrator shall have such standing in proceedings before these commissions as is necessary to comply with this subsection. Attorneys appointed by such Administrator may appear for and represent him in any such proceedings.

(c) REASONABLE AND DISCRIMINATORY RATES.—It shall be unlawful for any railroad, common carrier by water, motor carrier, or any group, conference, or association of railroads or carriers, or for any officer or agent thereof to (1) file with the Commission or the Federal Maritime Commission or (2) demand, charge or collect any rate or charge, schedule of rates or charges, proposed rate or rate increase, classification or tariff for the transportation of recovered materials which is unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory when compared with any rate or charge, schedule of rates or charges, proposed rate or rate increase, classification or tariff already on file or filed or charged or demanded by such railroad, carrier, group, conference or association of railroads or carriers for the transportation of virgin natural resources that compete with such recovered materials; and before any such rate, charge, rate increase, schedule, tariff, or classification is accepted for filing, the filing party shall be required to furnish such evidence as shall be necessary to establish that the same is not unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory.

(d) COMPLAINTS.—Any interested person may file a complaint with the Commission or the Federal Maritime Commission which alleges that rates, charges, or tariffs for the transportation of recovered materials within its jurisdiction and not already under investigation are unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory or both. Upon filing of any such complaint, the affected Commission shall forward a copy thereof to the railroads or other carriers whose rates are challenged. Such carriers shall be offered a reasonable opportunity to answer such allegations in writing. The affected Commission shall thereupon investigate and, after a hearing has been afforded, determine whether such rates, charges, or tariffs are unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory when compared with the rates, charges, or tariffs charged or filed by responding railroads or other carriers for substantially similar transportation of competing virgin natural resources. If such rates, charges, or tariffs are found to be unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory, the affected Commission shall issue an appropriate order which effectively cancels such rates, charges, or tariffs and replaces them with rates, charges, tariffs, and conditions of transportation found to be reasonable and nondiscriminatory, and the respondents shall be ordered to comply with the affected Commission's rulings.

(e) PROCEEDINGS.—In any proceeding under this section, the burden of proof shall be upon the railroads or other carriers whose rates, charges or tariffs are under investigation to show that such rates, charges or tariffs are not unreasonable or discriminatory and, because of the important environmental interest involved in such proceedings, the Commission and the Federal Maritime Commission shall give full preference to the hearing and decision of such questions and decide them as speedily as possible. In all such cases, the Commission or the Federal Maritime Commission may by subpoena compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, papers, documents, and such other evidence as may be required. Attendance of witnesses and production of evidence in re-

sponse to subpoena may be required from any place in the United States to any designated place of hearing. Persons acting under subpoena, except employees of either such commission, shall be entitled to the same fees and mileage as are paid for appearances in the courts of the United States. Obedience to any such subpoena shall, on application of the effected commission, be enforced by any district court of the United States having jurisdiction over the parties or witnesses involved. In such cases, depositions, written interrogatories, and other discovery procedures shall be available to the extent practicable and in conformity with the rules applicable to civil proceedings in the district courts of the United States.

(f) REVIEW.—Orders issued by the Commission and the Federal Maritime Commission pursuant to this section shall be subject to judicial review or enforcement by any district court of the United States having jurisdiction over the parties in the manner and to the extent provided by the Administrative Procedure Act (5 U.S.C. 551-559).

(g) PRESUMPTION AND DEFINITION.—For purposes of this section—

(1) A recovered material which is functionally or technically equivalent to or substitutable, in any industrial or manufacturing process, for any virgin natural resource material shall be presumed to be competitive with such virgin natural resource material unless this presumption is rebutted by a preponderance of the evidence.

(2) "Recovered" means (A) to be reintroduced into commerce following disposal by the consumer after end usage in the final configuration prior to sale; or (B) to be collected from municipal solid, liquid, or semi-solid waste.

(h) REGULATION.—The Commission and the Federal Maritime Commission are authorized to prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions and purposes of this section.

(i) PENALTIES.—Any person who violates subsection (c) of this section shall be subject to a civil penalty of not more than \$5,000 for each such violation. Such civil penalty shall be assessed by the Commission or the Federal Maritime Commission, depending on which commission has jurisdiction over the violation. Such penalty may be remitted or mitigated upon such terms as the affected commission shall deem consistent with the purposes of this section.

SEPARABILITY

SEC. 704. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of this Act and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

PURPOSE AND DESCRIPTION

It is the purpose of this bill to salvage the rail services operated by six insolvent class 1 railroads in the Midwest and Northeast regions of the Nation, which are threatened with cessation, by replacing them with a new and viable rail services system.

The legislation proposes to achieve this purpose by establishing a non-profit Government National Railway Association to plan and finance the acquisition, rehabilitation, and modernization of the new system and by establishing a private United Rail Corporation to operate it. It is further the purpose of the bill to meet the Nation's need for adequate and efficient rail services in all regions and to prevent any recurrence of the mid-west/northeast railroad collapse in other regions of the Nation by providing loan guarantees to enable railroads to acquire additional rolling stock, equipment, and facilities and by improving the utilization of existing rolling stock (title V) and loans to railroads outside the region which are threatened with insolvency or the absence of such loans (Sec. 211). To minimize the economic dislocation

that would occur as a consequence of massive abandonments, the bill authorizes rail service continuation subsidies and acquisition and modernization loans to States in the threatened region (Sec. 402, 403).

The bill is divided into seven titles: Title I contains the table of contents, the findings and purposes of Congress, and the general definitions applicable to the entire bill. Title II establishes the Government National Railway Association and the machinery for planning, acquiring, and financing the new rail system for the midwest and northeast region, including review by Congress and the courts. Title III establishes the for-profit United Rail Corporation to operate the new rail service system, provides for the conveyance of rail properties from the defunct railroads to this Corporation and profitable railroads, and set forth the procedure for discontinuing and abandoning rail service not included in the new system. Title IV authorizes the Secretary of Transportation to grant rail service continuation subsidies and to assist States and local transportation authorities to purchase to-be-abandoned lines in order to maximize the continuation of local rail services. Title V provides for loan guarantees to enable railroads to acquire additional rolling stock, equipment, and facilities and for incentives to insure better utilization of rolling stock. Title VI authorizes assistance for the railroad employees who will lose their jobs or suffer pay losses under the reorganization and grants railroads certain rights to assure better utilization of railroad employees. Title VII relates the bill to other laws, directs the Secretary of Transportation to monitor and report to Congress on the effectiveness of the Association and the Corporation in implementing the purpose of the bill, and contains certain other general provisions.

The planning and implementation process starts immediately upon the date of enactment of the bill.

Immediately upon enactment the Secretary of Transportation prepares and within 30 days submits "a comprehensive report" containing his conclusions and recommendations with respect to rail services in the region (sec. 204). This report serves as a basic document in the planning for the final system plan. At the same time, the Interstate Commerce Commission will organize and appoint a director for a special independent bureau within the ICC, the Rail Emergency Planning Office (sec. 205). Within 240 days after enactment the Office submits a comprehensive report surveying needs and possibilities for rail services and cost savings in the region and within 300 days it submits a proposal which meets all of the requirements for the final system plan as set forth in the bill (sec. 206). Simultaneously, upon enactment, a completely new entity is established, the Government National Railway Association (or Ginnie Rae) (sec. 201). It is Ginnie Rae that will adopt the final system plan (sec. 207) which is submitted to Congress for review (sec. 208), that will finance the implementation of the final system plan through the issuance of obligations (sec. 210) and the making of loans (sec. 211), and that will establish, through its Executive Committee, the new private corporation that will operate the new system, the United Rail Corporation (sec. 301).

The 4 Government members of the Board of Ginnie Rae (the Secretaries of Transportation and Treasury, the Chairman of the ICC, and the Administrator of the EPA) will incorporate the Association as a nonprofit Association and get it started pending the appointment of the other directors by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The reports of the Secretary and the Office will be submitted to the Association which will simultaneously be doing its own investigations and studies in conjunction with the office and the Secretary (sec.

203). Within 300 days the Association shall adopt and release a preliminary final system plan (sec. 207 (a)). A reorganization court will order a railroad in reorganization in the region to proceed in reorganization under such plan unless it finds (1) that such railroad is capable of income reorganization (which would be in the public interest) or (2) that such reorganization under the bill is not possible on terms which would be fair and equitable. The Association, the Secretary, and the Office are all authorized to conduct public hearings on this plan during the following 60 days. Within 60 additional days (or 420 days after enactment), the President and Executive Committee of Ginnie Rae submit to the full Board of Directors the final system plan. Within 30 additional days (or 450 days), the Board must by majority vote of all the directors adopt the final system plan (sec. 207(c)) and must submit the plan to both Houses of Congress for review (sec. 208). If either the Senate or the House of Representatives passes a resolution stating that it does not favor the final system plan, it goes back to the Association for revision. If neither House disapproves the final system plan within 60 days, it is approved. However, GNRA is not authorized to issue obligations until the Congress approves obligatory authority affirmatively by concurrent joint resolution. The effective date of the final system plan is the date such financing resolution is approved.

Judicial review of the final system plan is limited to "matters concerning the value of the rail properties to be conveyed under the plan and the value of the consideration to be received for such properties" (sec. 209 (a)). Judicial review is to be conducted by a special 3-judge district court to be selected by the judicial panel on multi-district litigation (sec. 209(b)) and its transferring and conveying judgments are subject to direct appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court (sec. 303 (e)).

To keep rail service going in the emergency region pending the development and approval of the final system plan, \$85 million is authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary (sec. 213) in order to provide emergency assistance to the trustees of the railroads in reorganization and the Secretary may direct GNRA (with its approval) to issue up to \$150 million in obligations to forestall deterioration of the plant and equipment of the bankrupt railroads pending completion and implementation of the final system plan (Sec. 215).

United Rail Corporation (Uni Rail) will be established within 300 days after enactment as a for-profit corporation with its headquarters in Philadelphia (to guarantee maximum re-employment opportunities for office workers of 2 of the defunct carriers, the Penn-Central and the Reading RRs) (sec. 301). The Corporation will operate all of the new rail system, except for those rail properties which the final system plan designates for sale to profitable railroad operating in the region, and which are purchased and operated by those railroads. Within 90 days after the effective date of the final system plan, the Association will deliver a certified copy of the plan and other data to the special court (sec. 209(c)). Within 10 days thereafter, the Corporation and the acquiring railroads will deposit with this court the securities of the Corporation, obligations of the Association, and compensation from profitable railroads designated in the final system plan (sec. 303(a)); and the district courts having jurisdiction over the railroads in reorganization in the region will direct transfer of the rail properties to the Corporation and the special court shall direct conveyance of rail properties to the respective profitable railroads free of any lines or encumbrances (except in the case of secured property, the security interest will there-

after attach to the consideration received and the other assets of the bankrupt). If the special court finds, following transfer or conveyance, that any transfer or conveyances are not fair and equitable it can order re-allocation of securities or enter a judgment against the Corporation or profitable railroad operating in the region so as to make such transfers or conveyances fair and equitable (section 303).

Within 30 days after the effective date of the final system plan notice is to be given of intent to discontinue rail service on rail properties which are not designated for rail operations in the final system plan and 90 days later, absent local or private intervention, the service may be discontinued (sec. 304(a)). Abandonment may take place 6 months after the effective date (sec. 304(b)). Such rail service may not be discontinued or abandoned if a shipper, a State, the U.S., a local or regional transportation authority, or any responsible person offers to subsidize continued service or offers to purchase the properties for continued rail operations (sec. 304(c) & (d)). Provision is made for Federal assistance in the form of rail service continuation subsidies (sec. 402) and purchase and modernization loans (sec. 403).

Annual reports to the Congress are to be submitted by the Association (sec. 201(d)) and the Corporation (sec. 301(h)) and in addition the Secretary of Transportation is directed to report annually "on the effectiveness of the Association and the Corporation in implementing the purposes of this Act (sec. 702).

Although the crisis brought on by the June 21, 1970 filing of a petition in a court of bankruptcy by the Penn-Central Railroad is primarily a regional problem for the Midwest and Northeast, the railroad problem is a national one which to date has only reached disaster proportions in the emergency region to which the bill is primarily addressed. A principal problem, one which affects shippers by rail and the consumers of goods and products shipped by rail as well as all of the American railroads, is the extreme shortage of railroad freight cars and other rolling stock.

The freight-car shortage has not been, and according to studies, will not be solved by normal commercial financing mechanisms in the absence of Federal financial assistance in the form of guarantees of equipment obligations. The bill establishes an Obligation Guarantee Board in the U.S. Department of Transportation and authorizes the Board to provide such guarantees (secs. 503-506). Since the freight car shortage is caused not only by a shortage of cars but by poor utilization of existing cars, the Secretary of Transportation is directed to establish a computerized "national rolling stock information system" (sec. 507) and to develop a rolling stock utilization index and study (sec. 508).

In the event of continuing inability on the part of railroads and the private sector to solve the freight-car-shortage problem, notwithstanding the loan guarantees and the information system, the bill authorizes the problem to be solved directly, following findings by the ICC and the Secretary and an affirmative concurrent resolution of Congress (sec. 509), through the establishment of a government corporation, the Railroad Equipment Authority. The Authority, if established, will acquire, maintain, and provide freight cars and other rolling stock, manage these equipments as a pool, and is directed to "employ innovative concepts for equitable distribution and expeditious use of such stock to meet the needs of the national economy and the national defense" (sec. 510(b)). Although the Authority is to be organized by the Federal Government, the bill provides for it to be converted to private ownership (as an equipment supply and

management company) "as soon as practicable" (sec. 513).

The provisions of this bill, while beneficial to the Nation and the consuming public, will have an extremely painful effect on thousands of employees whose jobs may disappear in the process of reorganization and restructuring. Protection is provided for such employees in the form of offers of employment which the Corporation must make to every adversely affected employee (sec. 602); monthly displacement allowances for protected employees deprived of employment or adversely affected with respect to compensation (sec. 605(b)); moving expenses and other transfer benefits for employees required to change their residence (sec. 605(f)); and separation allowances to protected employees who resign and sever their employment relationship (sec. 605(e)).

The bill authorizes the appropriation of up to \$15,000,000 for the Secretary for the purposes of preparing the reports and performing his other responsibilities. The special Office in the Commission is authorized to receive up to \$7,500,000. There is authorized to be appropriated from the effective date through June 30, 1976 \$67,000,000 for the Association (Sec. 214). In addition, there is authorized to be appropriated through June 30, 1976 \$200,000,000 to support the subsidy of local rail services. (Sec. 403), and \$250,000,000 for labor protection (Sec. 609). Ginnie Rae is authorized to issue obligations which would be guaranteed by the Federal Government. There would be no cost to the Federal Government if GNRA were able to meet the obligations it issued. If there was a default on any obligations, the Federal Government would be required to pay sums necessary to cover the amount of the default. The limitations on the amount of obligations Ginnie Rae is allowed to issue would determine what the maximum exposure of the Federal Government could be. The bill provides that the architects of the final system plan would establish the recommended limitations on the obligational authority on the theory that the amount of the obligational authority cannot reasonably be determined until the final system plan is known. The limitation which would be approved by Congress after the submission of GNRA's recommendation would be binding upon the association. For interim aid an initial loan guarantee obligational authority of \$150 million is authorized.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. RIBICOFF (for himself and Mr. MONDALE):

S. 2761. A bill to deny a credit or deduction for taxes paid or accrued on income attributable to oil and gas wells located in countries restricting exports of oil and gas to the United States, and to treat the taxes so paid or accrued as royalty payments;

S. 2762. A bill to deny the deduction of intangible drilling and development costs in the case of oil and gas wells located in countries restricting exports of oil and gas to the United States; and

S. 2763. A bill to deny percentage depletion in the case of oil and gas wells located in countries restricting exports of oil and gas to the United States. Referred to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. FONG (for himself and Mr. INOUE):

S. 2764. A bill to provide for the free entry of a 3.60-meter telescope for the use of the Canada-France-Hawaii Telescope project at Mauna Kea, Hawaii. Referred to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. STEVENS:

S. 2765. A bill for the relief of Angela Pajaro Cantillo. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAMS (for himself and Mr. CASE):

S. 2766. A bill to amend the act of September 19, 1964, authorizing the addition of lands to Morristown National Historical Park in the State of New Jersey, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HARTKE, from the Committee on Commerce:

S. 2767. An original bill to authorize and direct the maintenance of adequate and efficient rail services in the Midwest and Northeast region of the United States, and for other purposes. Placed on Calendar.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. RIBICOFF (for himself and Mr. MONDALE):

S. 2761. A bill to deny a credit or deduction for taxes paid or accrued on income attributable to oil and gas wells located in countries restricting exports of oil and gas to the United States, and to treat the taxes so paid or accrued as royalty payments;

S. 2762. A bill to deny the deduction of intangible drilling and development costs in the case of oil and gas wells located in countries restricting exports of oil and gas to the United States; and

S. 2763. A bill to deny percentage depletion in the case of oil and gas wells located in countries restricting exports of oil and gas to the United States. Referred to the Committee on Finance.

STOP SUBSIDIZING OIL BOYCOTT

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, the United States is today subsidizing exploration for and production of foreign oil in the nations that refuse to sell us oil. At a time when we are trying to become self-sufficient and end our reliance on foreign sources of energy, we still have programs that do just the opposite.

There are several provisions in the present tax laws that not only encourage foreign oil exploration and production while discouraging domestic activities, but also feed U.S. tax dollars into foreign nations. This Nation's taxpayers—who wonder whether they will have enough gas or heating oil this winter—are being forced to support the very nations who have cut off their fuel supplies.

A major factor in the current crisis has been the reduction in exploratory drilling for new gas and oil within the United States. The basic reason is that it has been much cheaper to find and produce oil in the Middle East than in the United States. As a result American oil companies have poured their capital into the areas where their profits will be the greatest. And as recent news reports have indicated, these profits have been substantial. For example, Exxon's profits for the third quarter of 1973 rose 80 percent over the same period last year. Mobil's profits jumped 64 percent, Gulf's 91 percent while Shell's rose 23 percent. For the first 9 months of 1973 alone Exxon's profits rose 60 percent to \$1.6 billion. This trend is expected to continue while

Americans wonder where their next drop of oil or gas is coming from.

Not only are the basic economic costs lower in foreign lands, the oil companies also receive three substantial tax incentives to operate abroad at the expense of the United States.

If a U.S. corporation explores for and produces oil abroad through a branch, it can deduct intangible drilling expenditures against its U.S. income and can also claim percentage depletion on its income from the resulting production.

Basically a depletion allowance is a method by which a taxpayer deducts a fixed percentage of receipts from sales, regardless of the amount invested. The theory behind this provision is that the supply of oil is unknown and exhaustible and that explorers should get a tax break to compensate them for their risks.

Oil companies are also allowed an immediate writeoff for intangible drilling expenses incurred in exploration and development. Intangible drilling expenses are those costs which do not have a lasting value. These usually include items such as labor, equipment rentals, cost of building roads to a drilling site, and preparing the site. Simply put they are items which have no future useful life, if the well is dry. The use of intangible drilling expense deductions does not reduce percentage depletion, so oil companies receive a double break for the same capital investment.

Both of these loopholes, or tax preferences as some describe them, are applicable to domestic and foreign operations. Because oil is so much cheaper to find and produce abroad the oil companies take full advantage of the tax breaks—particularly in the Middle Eastern countries that are now boycotting us. In a sense by making it extremely profitable for the oil firms to operate in these Arab nations we are giving them incentives to drill in the wrong place.

Exact figures on the revenue losses from these two provisions as applied to foreign activities are unavailable. It has been estimated, however, that the U.S. Treasury and taxpayers lose well over \$1 billion because of the foreign tax credit provision alone.

American oil companies get an additional benefit for their foreign operations that is not applicable to their domestic operations. Our tax laws provide that foreign subsidies of U.S. corporations may credit the foreign taxes they pay against the income tax liability of the parent corporation on foreign source income. The rationale behind this provision is that U.S. companies should not be subjected to double taxation by foreign nations and the United States.

As a result the millions of dollars paid to Middle Eastern nations as taxes are allowed to be written off dollar-for-dollar against U.S. taxes. The revenue loss from the oil companies' foreign tax credits is even higher than it should be because most of the so-called taxes they pay are really royalty payments, which would otherwise receive considerably less beneficial treatment.

Most Americans do not know it, but every time an Arab nation increases its taxes—or more correctly its royalty de-

mands—this money comes indirectly from the American taxpayers. Because of this interpretation of the foreign tax credit, U.S. corporations in 1970 earned \$1,085,000,000 on mining and oil operations abroad, but paid not 1 penny in U.S. taxes on that income.

Our policy of allowing oil companies tax incentives to explore overseas discourages them from finding domestic resources. This error is compounded when the oil our money helps discover and produce is refused to us. There simply is no justification for our citizens to finance the discovery and development of oil in nations that are doing their utmost to injure us.

For that reason I am today introducing with the cosponsorship of Senator MONDALE legislation prohibiting U.S. oil companies from claiming foreign tax credits, intangible drilling expense deductions, and oil depletion allowances for any operation in nations that refuse to supply the United States with oil.

This Nation is about to begin a multi-billion-dollar drive to make us self-sufficient in the energy field. There is no sense in retaining policies that have placed us in the present situation and will continue to exacerbate it.

If we are going to spend billions of dollars and grant tax incentives to encourage exploration and production, it is incumbent upon the Congress to direct these efforts at domestic resources or at the very least to areas of the world where our oil supply is secure.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the three bills be printed at this point of the RECORD.

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

S. 2761

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 905 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to applicable rules for purposes of the foreign tax credit) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Oil and Gas Wells in Restricted Export Countries.—

"(1) Tax not creditable.—No tax imposed by a foreign country while it is a restricted export country with respect to the income from the operating interest in an oil or gas well located in such country shall be treated as income, war profits, or excess profits tax for purposes of this part, section 162, or section 164.

"(2) Treatment as royalty.—Any amount which, but for paragraph (1), would be treated as income, war profits, or excess profits tax imposed with respect to an oil or gas well shall be treated as a royalty paid or accrued with respect to such oil or gas well for purposes of sections 162 and 613, but only to the extent that the tax is attributable to the gross income from the well. Such tax shall not be treated as a royalty if, and to the extent, a credit is allowed pursuant to a treaty ratified by the United States after the date of the enactment of this subsection. Notwithstanding section 7852(d), no credit for taxes shall be allowed pursuant to any treaty ratified by the United States on or before the date of enactment of this subsection with respect to income from an oil or gas well if, located in a restricted export country, and to the extent, the credit is denied upon application of paragraph (1).

"(3) Definitions.—For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) The term 'restricted export country' means a foreign country the government of which is determined by the Secretary of State to be restricting for political or diplomatic reasons the export to the United States of oil or gas produced from wells located within the borders of that country. Determinations by the Secretary of State under this subparagraph shall be published in the Federal Register and shall be effective until revoked in a notice filed with the Federal Register by the Secretary of State.

"(B) The term 'gross income from the well' has the same meaning as the term 'gross income from the property' for the purposes of section 613.

"(C) The term 'operating interest' has the same meaning as is assigned to the term 'operating mineral interest' by section 614(d)." (b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to taxes paid or accrued (including taxes paid or accrued by a foreign corporation described in section 902 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954) on or after December 3, 1973.

S. 2762

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 263 (c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to intangible drilling and development costs) is amended to read as follows:

"(c) Intangible Drilling and Development Costs in the Case of Oil and Gas Wells.—

"(1) Deduction allowed.—Notwithstanding subsection (a) and except as provided in paragraph (2), regulations shall be prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate under this subtitle corresponding to the regulations which granted the option to deduct as expenses intangible drilling development costs in the case of oil and gas wells and which were recognized and approved by the Congress in House Concurrent Resolution 50, Seventy-ninth Congress.

"(2) Oil and gas wells located in restricted export countries.—Notwithstanding any regulations prescribed under paragraph (1) of this subsection or section 612, intangible drilling and development costs in the case of oil and gas wells located in any foreign country while it is a restricted export country shall not be deductible as expenses but shall be charged to capital account. For purposes of this paragraph, the term 'restricted export country' means a foreign country the government of which is determined by Secretary of State to be restricting for political or diplomatic reasons the export to the United States of oil or gas produced from wells located within the borders of that country. Determinations by the Secretary of State under this paragraph shall be published in the Federal Register and shall be effective until revoked in a notice filed with the Federal Register by the Secretary of State."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to costs paid or incurred on or after December 3, 1973.

S. 2763

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 613 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to percentage depletion) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) Oil and Gas Wells in Restricted Export Countries.—This section shall not apply to oil and gas wells located in any foreign country while it is a restricted export country. For purposes of this subsection, the term 'restricted export country' means a foreign country the government of which is determined by the Secretary of State to be

restricting for political or diplomatic reasons the export to the United States of oil or gas produced from wells located within the borders of that country. Determinations by the Secretary of State under this subsection shall be published in the Federal Register and shall be effective until revoked in a notice filed with the Federal Register by the Secretary of State."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to gross income from oil and gas produced on or after December 3, 1973.

By Mr. FONG (for himself and Mr. INOUE):

S. 2764. A bill to provide for the free entry of a 3.60 meter telescope for the use of the Canada-France-Hawaii telescope project at Mauna Kea, Hawaii. Referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, the legislation I introduce today, with my colleague from Hawaii, Senator INOUE, would authorize the duty-free entry of a 3.60-meter telescope and its components to be installed and operated at Mauna Kea, Hawaii.

The legislation is essential to promote the success of a large scale scientific undertaking involving the joint collaboration of the University of Hawaii with the governments of Canada and France.

Agreements already reached provide that agencies of Canada—National Research Council of Canada—and of France—National Centre de la Recherche Scientifique of France—will share equally in the costs of furnishing the telescope, its components and ancillary instruments, which currently is estimated at \$18 million. The University of Hawaii will furnish the site, access roads and local support facilities. Upon the completion of construction in 1977 or early 1978, the three participants will share operating costs and observation time as follows: the University of Hawaii—15 percent, the agencies of Canada and France—42.5 percent each.

A joint agreement also proposes the establishment of a nonprofit corporation that will assume responsibility for designing, constructing and operating the telescope. The legislature of Hawaii has enacted, and the Governor has approved, legislation enabling the three participants to petition for and receive a charter of incorporation as a domestic, nonprofit corporation under the laws of Hawaii. The creation of a Scientific Advisory Council composed of representatives of the three participants also is envisioned. It will serve as a technical advisor on design and construction and also function as a user's committee dealing with the allocation of observation time and the continuing development of instrumentation. The activities of the Council will encourage international scientific cooperation in all technical and scientific aspects of the telescope project.

Mr. President, fundamental to the telescope project's success is relief from U.S. customs duties and related taxes which otherwise will consume revenues essential to acquire the basic scientific instruments and apparatus. I am advised that without such relief the project cannot be realized. Under existing U.S. Tariff Schedules, a nonprofit institution estab-

lished for educational or scientific purposes, under certain circumstances, may import scientific instruments and apparatus duty-free. Whether, and to what extent, the proposed telescope project in Hawaii will be found entitled to these benefits is presently uncertain. The legislation which I today introduce with my colleague from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE) will remove these uncertainties and doubts. It will directly confer the duty and tax relief essential to the success of the telescope project.

Mr. President, I believe that the operation of a large optical telescope in the State of Hawaii deserves the support of the Congress. The project will generate substantial benefits to scientific research and the field of astronomy in the United States as well as in the State of Hawaii. I am advised that the proposed site on Mauna Kea, a 13,800-foot mountain on the Island of Hawaii, will afford astronomers 2,800 clear viewing hours annually and because the atmosphere is so dry and thin, also provide near ideal conditions for infrared observation. Through the cooperative efforts of the University of Hawaii, Canada, and France, a major optical telescope of critical scientific importance will be constructed and maintained in the State of Hawaii. Its particular advantages to American astronomers at the University of Hawaii and at other American universities will be substantial. The project also signals an important forward step in international scientific cooperation.

The Department of State already has expressed U.S. interest in, and support of, the telescope project by an exchange of diplomatic notes. The Department has indicated that the project is acceptable from a foreign relations standpoint and that it is prepared to support customs duty relief consistent with law. Inasmuch as duty-free entry of all goods imported for the use of the telescope project is essential to the project's success, I am hopeful that the measure which has been introduced today will receive prompt approval in both Houses of Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

S. 2764

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty and other taxes a 3.60 meter telescope (including all articles required in connection with the manufacture, construction, operation, use or maintenance of the telescope and its ancillary equipment) for the use of the Canada-France-Hawaii Telescope Project at Mauna Kea, Hawaii.

SEC. 2. If the liquidation of the entry of any article described in the first section of this Act has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made.

By Mr. WILLIAMS (for himself and Mr. CASE):

S. 2766. A bill to amend the act of September 19, 1964, authorizing the addition

of lands to Morristown National Historical Park in the State of New Jersey, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

MORRISTOWN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, today Senator CASE and I are introducing, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the addition of some 185 acres to the existing Morristown National Historical Park in New Jersey. Similar legislation has been introduced in the other body by Representative FRELINGHUYSEN and has been cosponsored by the entire New Jersey congressional delegation.

In addition, the bill has received the support of Representative JOHN SEIBERLING, of Ohio, who is a member of the Park and Recreation Subcommittee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

The rapid approach of our national Bicentennial makes action to expand the Morristown Park most appropriate. The acreage is in the rolling hillside country around Morristown where Gen. George Washington and the ragged Continental Army camped during the winters of 1777 and 1779-80.

The 1777 encampment, in fact, followed the successful surprise Christmas attack by Washington and his troops at Trenton and a week later, at Princeton.

The National Historical Park was established by Congress in 1933 with an area of about 950 acres. In 1964, an additional 281 acres was authorized. Now, because a sizable estate near the park has come on the market, there is an excellent opportunity to expand the existing park boundaries.

The consequences of failing to act at this time are quite obvious. The land now available will be quickly purchased and developed for residential and commercial use. Such development would greatly detract from the quality of the park as it now exists. It is clearly impossible to maintain the status quo. Our choice is whether to expand or damage Morristown National Historical Park.

I hope my colleagues in the Senate will join me in supporting a birthday present for America.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

S. 948

At the request of Mr. MONDALE, the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MONROYA) was added as a cosponsor of S. 948, a bill to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to provide for the use of excess property by certain grantees.

S. 1326

At the request of Mr. WILLIAMS, the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BROCK), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL), and the Senator from Utah (Mr. MOSS) were added as cosponsors of S. 1326, the Hemophilia Act of 1973.

S. 2462

At the request of Mr. MONDALE, the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) and the Senator from California (Mr. TUNNEY) were added as cosponsors of S. 2462,

the Energy Conservation Research and Development Act of 1973.

S. 2518

At the request of Mr. MONDALE, the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2518, the Women's Educational Equity Act.

S. 2581

At the request of Mr. RANDOLPH, the Senator from Iowa (Mr. CLARK) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2581, to amend the Randolph-Sheppard Act for the Blind to provide for a strengthening of the program authorized thereunder, and for other purposes.

S. 2604

At the request of Mr. BENTSEN, the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2604, a bill designating the Texarkana Dam and Reservoir on the Sulphur River as the Wright Patman Dam and Lake.

S. 2718

At the request of Mr. PELL, the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2718, a bill to provide for the financing of Federal election campaigns and for other purposes.

SENATE RESOLUTION 210—SUBMISSION OF A RESOLUTION RELATING TO TRADE WITH THE U.S.S.R. DURING THE ARAB OIL EMBARGO

(Referred to the Committee on Finance.)

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, I call today for a cutoff of trade to the Soviet Union until the Arab oil embargo against the United States is ended.

The Soviet Union could end the Arab oil embargo tomorrow, if they wanted to. And I think we should make them want to.

I am for true détente with the Soviet Union. But détente is a farce as long as the Soviet Union does nothing about the irresponsible policies of its Arab allies against the United States.

The Arab oil embargo is economic blackmail, and if recent history teaches anything, it teaches that world peace cannot be built on blackmail.

The text of the Schweiker resolution follows:

Whereas the capacity of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to influence the policies of Arab Governments has been well-demonstrated in recent weeks; and

Whereas a true détente between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is not possible without efforts by the Soviet Union to alter irresponsible policies of its client states;

Therefore be it resolved, that it is the sense of the Senate that the President shall immediately institute a program of stringent economic and trade sanctions against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to remain in force until the Arab embargo of petroleum products to the United States of America is terminated.

EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME ENERGY CONSERVATION ACT OF 1973—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 756

(Ordered to be printed and to lie on the table.)

Mr. BARTLETT submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2702) to provide that daylight saving time shall be observed on a year-round basis.

SENATOR RANDOLPH ANNOUNCES FINAL HEARINGS ON S. 2581, RANDOLPH-SHEPPARD ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1973

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on the Handicapped, I announce that the third and final day of hearings on S. 2581, the Randolph-Sheppard Act Amendments of 1973, will occur next Thursday, December 6, 1973, at 10 a.m., in room 4232, Dirksen Office Building. Witnesses will be representatives of several postal unions and other labor organizations.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL ENERGY ADMINISTRATION

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Reorganization, Research, and International Organizations of the Committee on Government Operations, will hold hearings on legislation to establish a Federal Energy Administration, on Thursday, December 6, and Friday, December 7, 1973. The hearings will begin at 10 a.m. December 6 in room 1318 New Senate Office Building.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

TUSSOCK MOTH DAMAGE

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I have addressed comments in the past in this Chamber about the terrible damage caused by the tussock moth infestation in northeastern Oregon. The moth—which might be called a cousin of the gypsy moth, with which my New England colleagues are familiar—has infested well over a half million acres of land in the northeastern part of Oregon. The great extent of damage in tree kills and tree damage is hard to imagine, and it will take decades to repair this havoc.

Applications for the emergency use of DDT were filed with EPA and would have allowed this chemical to fight the moth infestation. I certainly am aware of the hazards of DDT, and do not look lightly on a request for its use in emergency situations. In this case, however, DDT is the only way that has been shown to combat the moth. I talked with William Ruckelshaus about the need for DDT when he was head of EPA. I have contacted Russ Train to urge use of DDT.

All of this brings me to the reason for these comments today. Residents of La Grande quite naturally have been upset about decisions by EPA forbidding use of DDT to curtail tussock moth damage. The La Grande Observer, the daily newspaper in La Grande, Oreg., where the damage is evident almost from the main street of town, recently devoted a special supplement to the tussock moth.

Mr. President, this outstanding special section offers dramatic evidence of the

impact of tussock moth damage to north-eastern Oregon.

Not only does this special section show vivid scenes of damage in the La Grande area, but I think the comments quoted from local residents echo the sentiments of everyone in the area.

I believe the tragic aspect of this matter is that there never should have been a need for this special section, for EPA should have granted permission to use DDT when it first was requested.

This special section is a tribute to the residents of the area. In addition, I certainly want to congratulate Mr. Steve Robinson, the Observer reporter, who put this section together. It was a major undertaking.

In asking that this section be printed in the RECORD, I am aware that the vivid pictures and the handsome layout cannot be captured in such a reprinting. In spite of this, however, I think the material is of such importance that it needs to be brought to the attention of all who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In addition, I am sending copies of the special section to all of my Senate colleagues.

I ask unanimous consent that the contents of this special section of the newspaper appear in the RECORD, preceded by an editorial from the Observer on the day the special section appeared.

There being no objection, the editorial and special section were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOMENT OF TRUTH COMING

The Observer's Steve Robinson has documented in a special section today the story of a pest who most people had never heard of before the summer of 1972.

Today, the tussock moth is a household word here and political dynamite in Washington, D.C.

Robinson's update comes at a crucial time. Early next month the U.S. Forest Service will report its findings of egg mass surveys—the first authentic forecast of the numbers we can expect the tussock to return in next spring. More tests will follow—right into March—before anyone can be certain.

Planning for the use of DDT cannot wait until March. The chemical must be made available in sufficient supply. Permission must be obtained for its use not only from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) but also from many landowners. The physical application requires coordination between several federal and state agencies and a tremendous amount of exacting detail.

It was announced last week by John McGuire, chief of the U.S. Forestry Service, that his agency does not have enough money to pay for pest controls even if EPA approves the use of DDT. A request for additional funds will go to Nixon Administration officials within the next few weeks.

The Observer's tussock moth report will be distributed throughout Congress and among various federal agencies by Sen. Mark Hatfield's office. This is appropriate because he warned of the danger a year ago—when others remained silent or chose not to heed the advice of those who understood the problem best.

The report is also being sent to every member of the Oregon Legislature and state agencies.

But words will not bring relief from the tussock moth. Only the actions of responsible and responsive bureaucrats and Congressmen armed with current data can help us now.

It's been a long time coming.

TUSSOCK: THE STORY OF AN EPIDEMIC (By Steve Robinson)

INTRODUCTION

On April 20, 1973, William D. Ruckelshaus denied a request by various governmental and non-governmental agencies to lift the ban on DDT for use against the Douglas fir tussock moth in Northeast Oregon and Southeast Washington.

In so doing, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) administrator earned a place in history.

The question is, will he be remembered as a naive bureaucrat whose political ambition was responsible for the continuation of an epidemic that destroyed thousands of acres of forestland? Or will he be remembered as the man who refused to buckle under pressure and thus saved the country from the longevity of a dreaded chemical?

The answer is generally simple, depending upon who you are. If you're a member of the Sierra Club, or the Oregon Students' Public Investigation and Research Group (OSPIRG), Ruckelshaus is no doubt some form of hero who made the decision he had to make. After all, it seemed to be an established fact that the infestation was due to collapse in 1973 due to the killing capacity of a natural viral enemy.

If, however, you are a resident of the infested area, Ruckelshaus probably seems more like an armchair tyrant, who made his decision without the benefit of a thorough investigation. The place where you live has been transposed into an eyesore of defoliation and your economic stability is faced with a serious threat.

The purpose for this special Observer supplement is to take a close look at the questions involved with the infestation and Ruckelshaus's decision:

What are the economic impacts?

What are the political impacts?

What is the potential of further infestation?

What effect will the defoliation have environmentally?

What is DDT?

Should the ban on DDT be lifted?

The objective is to be thorough, although, due to space limitations it would be impossible to tell the complete story.

Recommended reading includes Silent Spring, by Rachel Carson, and The DDT Myth, by Rita Gray Beatty.

THE TUSSOCK MOTH IS ALWAYS WITH US

The Douglas fir tussock moth (*Hemerocampa pseudotsugata* McDunnough) is always present in Eastern Oregon Forests.

Its population is generally insignificant, but occasionally a combination of conditions allow it to expand to epidemic proportions and large scale destruction of trees is always the result.

Such an epidemic exploded in Northeast Oregon and Southeast Washington timber lands in 1972 and today some 658,000 acres are infested . . . the largest infestation in history. Still more defoliation is expected.

Severe tussock moth outbreaks have occurred in British Columbia, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, California and New Mexico in the past and history shows that the infestations usually subside abruptly after a few years.

Some outbreaks have persisted at low level for as long as eight years, however, during which time caterpillars are found crawling over rocks, trees, brush, grass, houses and even animals. They literally take over.

Defoliation greatly retards tree growth, killing and top-killing trees by the score. Others are weakened so that other insects finish the job.

In the present outbreak, some 16,800 acres of trees are completely dead, and several thousand additional acres have no chance for survival. The tussock moth is a killer.

It's difficult for the layman to conceive of an insect as attractive in appearance as the tussock causing all this destruction. It would seem more natural if the ruthless defoliator were grotesque, with big red eyes, green slimy skin and antennae bobbling down in front of huge fangs.

Instead, the tussock, in its destructive stage, has silky hair and colorful tussocks (hence the moth's name) along its back. Young larvae are one-eighth of an inch long, and are capable of floating great distances in the wind to find fir trees. Full grown larvae are about one and a quarter inch long, fattened by fir needles. A sex-connected color variation is notable. The female has black skin with almost white hairs. The male has a lighter colored skin with yellowish or buff hairs.

Pupation occurs any time from late July to the end of August inside a thin cocoon of webbing mixed with larval hairs. The pupal stage lasts from 10 to 18 days, depending upon weather conditions, then the moth emerges. Mating takes place immediately. The female, which doesn't fly, clings to the outside of her cocoon and lays her eggs on its surface.

Each female lays her eggs in a single mass, sometimes containing as many as 350 nearly spherical, white eggs in one of three layers. She dies and the eggs winter in the cocoon.

In late May, after host trees have begun to develop new growth, the tiny caterpillars hatch, and begin to satisfy their enormous appetites.

The moth's favorite cuisine depends upon what part of the country he's in. In this area, he prefers Douglas fir, subalpine fir, white fir, and grand fir. However, after the preferred foliage has been eaten, the moth will settle for other trees and even shrubs.

THE PRESENT EPIDEMIC IS THE WORST RECORDED

"The 1972-73 Douglas fir tussock moth epidemic has been the most explosive and damaging forest insect epidemic that I have ever witnessed."

That statement was made by Glenn Parsons, chief forester for the Northeast Oregon region of Boise Cascade Corp., a man who has seen and studied several epidemics of various insect types in his 39 years as a land manager.

Parsons and Timberlands Manager John Reed were enroute to Pendleton via Interstate 80 N on June 28, 1972, when they noticed that the "Scenic Wayside" near Perry had scattered spots, singed brown, similar to a wildfire.

Soon after this first observation, Boise Cascade foresters began reporting similar outbreaks on Mt. Emily, Gordon Creek, and Howard Butte. Within a few days, the 1972 tussock epidemic extended 75 miles north from La Grande, to Dayton, Wash., wheat fields.

Parsons reported the epidemic to A. T. Larsen, director of the Insect and Disease Control Division of the Oregon State Department of Forestry. Soon thereafter, Larsen and LeRoy Kline, entomologist for OSDF made an aerial inspection of the Blue Mountains and the initial news release stated that the Blue Mountains had a 12,000 acre tussock moth infestation.

Boise Cascade attempted to obtain approval to use effective chemical control during late June, 1972, but the only chemical available in the state's arsenal was Malathion. Larsen said the chemical would be ineffective against the tussock.

Shortly after the moth's feeding had terminated for the year, an aerial survey was conducted by the U.S. Forest Service and the OSDF. Some 173,000 acres of visible defoliation had occurred.

In October, 1971, Boise Cascade assisted the U.S. Forest Service and the OSDF in con-

ducting an egg mass survey in 66 townships encompassing the visibly damaged areas. The information acquired formed the foundation of a "draft" environmental impact statement which was hand-delivered to the EPA. The statement included DDT as a viable means to control the moth.

The states of Oregon and Washington joined in petitioning for the use of DDT, which is the only chemical proven effective against the moth.

Foresters conceded that in the past insect outbreaks, the chemical was used with little control. Airplanes flew over the trees and dumped it out as if they were slopping hogs. Buffer zones to protect water bodies and populated areas were uncommon. Still, it's debatable that there were any damaging effects to the environment.

This time, foresters proposed to use helicopters, providing more selective area spraying. Only one quarter pound of the chemical would be used per acre. Buffer zones would be set up, and spraying would be done only on windless days.

Tours became commonplace in infested timberlands. People from all walks of life came to view the damage along with television, newspaper and magazine reporters.

THE DAMAGE TRIPLED THIS YEAR—SOME 658,000 ACRES OF DEFOLIATION ARE VISIBLE

La Grande was beginning to gain fame as a testing ground between environmentalists and property owners. Members of the Sierra Club came from Portland to campaign against the use of dreaded chemical, DDT, and to suggest alternate means of control.

One came up with what he felt was an original idea—salvage logging, despite the fact that working in the infested areas is a health hazard. Alternate chemicals were suggested by others, although their effectiveness against the moth was either unproven or less than adequate.

Forestry officials who were already overburdened with troubles due to the epidemic were confronted by amateur ecologists who did everything but jump up and down on their desks and throw tantrums to prevent the use of DDT.

William Hoffman, representing the EPA, accompanied one of the tours. With snow massed over the countryside, there was actually little to see, and overcast weather prevented aerial surveillance.

EPA head William Ruckelshaus denied the request a few weeks later, saying the timber that would be saved by the chemical would amount to less than one tenth of one per cent of the nation's total fir reserves.

He also said the presence of a virus in larvae hatched from eggs taken from the infested area indicated that the moth population would collapse during 1973, following its normal three-year growth cycle.

"Benefits do not outweigh the risks in this proposed DDT control program," he said in denying the request.

He said he would consider allowing the use of other chemicals to combat the moth and recommended salvage logging to minimize economic impact.

Boise Cascade officials say Ruckelshaus's decision was made prior to the EPA's receipt of the Forest Service's environmental impact statement.

Ruckelshaus's decision was blasted by Rep. Ed Patterson, R, La Grande, who called it a strictly political move. He said the EPA is obviously more interested in the support of environmentalists than in facts.

An Oregon union leader said, "A small group of belligerent, big city environmentalists" is responsible for the federal ban on DDT.

"A simple truth is being deliberately obscured—that trees will die without DDT."

The EPA's denial of the Forest Service's application for DDT were followed by addi-

tional refusals: the OSDF, Washington's Department of Natural Resources, the city of Walla Walla, Wash., and Boise Cascade.

Walla Walla applied for the chemical because of concern for their watershed due to defoliation damage by the moth. City officials said they were more concerned about losing their watershed than they were about any possible water contamination resulting from the chemical.

Yet, another rationale used by Ruckelshaus in denying the requests was contamination of watersheds, which he said could occur directly at spray time or through runoff from the forest floor.

In refusing to lift the ban, the EPA repeatedly stated that the history of tussock moth infestations in western states indicates "that they are cyclic in nature and that a natural virus disease causes a collapse of the population in the third year."

This simply did not happen. Nor has it always happened in the past. Twenty percent of the infestations recorded in American history books did not collapse in the third year. See page 17

Ruckelshaus' estimate of fir reserves which could potentially be lost in the infestation must have been limited to merchantable timber volume, according to Parsons. It did not "allow any loss for reproduction and immature trees, spike-topping of white fir with resultant cone loss, watershed values, damage to wildlife habitat and fisheries, aesthetic values along roadways and in parks, and summer home sites," said Parsons.

The damage tripled this year. Some 658,000 acres of defoliation are visible in Northeast Oregon, Idaho and Southeast Washington.

Other chemicals were used on the infestation in June, with inadequate results. The chemicals used were Zectran, Sevin-4 Oil, Dylox and Pyrethroid. The moth's natural virus enemy and a bacteria control agent were also sprayed. In all, the test spraying cost some \$500,000. The chemicals were sprayed on about 41,000 acres, with some 71 small landowners helping to foot the bill.

Scientists stated that results of the tests showed all the chemicals killed considerable number of tussock larvae, but none reduced the population sufficiently to prevent severe defoliation and tree mortality. As Parsons pointed out, the chemicals just killed enough of the larvae so the remaining caterpillars had plenty to eat.

The virus and bacteria spraying were both highly successful, killing about 95 per cent of the moths in the spray areas. But scientists say there is only enough of the agents available to treat about 7,000 acres.

Through necessity, salvage logging has been greatly increased, with mills working at full pace to make use of infested trees before they die. Reforestation of dead and severely damaged areas will follow, after the infestation is terminated.

The present reforestation program includes 63,570 acres of dead timber and subsequently part of the 250,840 acres of severely damaged forestland. These figures could jump, depending upon damage yet to be sustained.

The reforestation program needed to correct the damage which has already occurred will require 20 or more years to accomplish, if present public and private tree planting programs are accelerated by 1,000 per cent. For such a project, government financial assistance will be a necessity.

This acceleration reveals a 4,000,000 seedling deficit in existing nursery capacity, according to Boise Cascade officials. It further reveals a shortage of experienced personnel to handle the job.

Reforestation has to be delayed, because to

plant seedlings now would be like serving dessert.

The economic impact of Ruckelshaus's decision won't be fully known or felt for a few years, according to Parsons. Who says the growth loss coupled to losing young fir forests will substantially reduce the forest's annual yield.

The loss of an estimated 324 timber resource related jobs could be expected in the defoliated areas within a few years, according to Parsons, as could an annual tax loss of \$1,800,000. Also, "Out-of-pocket expenses may come from reduced salaries. These losses will have a domino effect on local community services, supporting jobs and revenues, he said.

The following editorial appeared in the Observer on July 4:

Fallen angel

William D. Ruckelshaus had the audacity recently to say that the Administration will have a difficult time restoring public confidence in government due to the Watergate Affair.

The government could regain the public's confidence only by working openly and honestly he said in an interview.

We wouldn't disagree with his viewpoint of the federal government, but what is audacious is the simple fact that Ruckelshaus seems to place himself on a pedestal that would appear to be above the reproach of public discretion.

Let's face it, Ruckelshaus is no angel.

Fact is, considering what he has done to Northeast Oregon timber resources, it is doubtful that he will ever be one.

He was the bureaucrat, remember, who nixed the use of DDT on the Douglas fir tussock moth from his armchair in Washington, D.C.

Now the moth is on the rampage. Alternate chemicals aren't working satisfactorily. Thousands of acres of trees are turning red, soon to die because of the insatiable appetite of the insect. Fires will rage through Northeast Oregon, largely due to the defoliation. The economy will suffer due to the size of the kill and taxpayers will no doubt be stuck with a multimillion dollar tab for reforestation . . . if they ever want to see trees in the infested areas again.

It seems that Bernard Agrons, chairman of the Forest Practices Act Committee, was on the right track recently when he said those persons who contributed to the "disaster" created by the tussock moth, including Ruckelshaus and friends, should not be allowed to "turn their backs, and shrug their shoulders as they have done."

"They'll have to learn that they have to pay the piper."

NATIONAL PETROLEUM COUNCIL FINDINGS ON IMPACT OF ENERGY SHORTAGE "CHILLING"

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the National Petroleum Council's Committee on Emergency Preparedness recently released its findings and conclusions concerning the impact on the Nation of the "energy crisis." They reinforce my own conviction that we must act strongly and immediately to avert economic chaos and, that action by the administration to date has been woefully inadequate.

While I do not subscribe completely to their views on why we face such a severe fuel shortage in our country today, I believe that their findings and conclusions are extremely important and warrant the close scrutiny of all those concerned with alleviating the impact on our people of this ever worsening problem.

Most important among their findings are these:

1. Voluntary and mandated energy conservation steps . . . will account for only about 50% of the net shortage. Mandatory rationing is, therefore, necessary to accomplish required reduction in use and should be instituted immediately.

2. The projected 3 million barrel per day cut-off . . . could push unemployment up to the 7.5 to 8.0 percent range.

3. Shortages in the three major products, gasoline, distillates and heavy fuel oil, will average 25% during the first quarter of 1974. Heavy fuel oil shortages would average 38% on a U.S. basis and could reach 50% on the East Coast.

4. Had the Arabs embargo not occurred, imports would have reached 7.4 million barrels per day, or 39% of U.S. petroleum supplies by the first quarter of 1974.

5. Even prior to the Middle East conflict . . . and the subsequent embargo of Arab oil to the United States, this Nation was faced with an energy crisis.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the findings and recommendations of this important industry advisory body to the Secretary of the Interior be printed in the RECORD.

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

NATIONAL PETROLEUM COUNCIL FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This supplemental report represents the first assessment by the National Petroleum Council's Committee on Emergency Preparedness of the impact of the current denial of Middle Eastern oil on the energy posture and economy of the United States. The magnitude and abruptness of the oil denial, the full impact of which will be felt in the next few weeks and months ahead, place the Nation in an extremely precarious situation.

The National Petroleum Council's Committee on Emergency Preparedness submits the following findings:

1. THE UNITED STATES ENERGY SUPPLY SITUATION WAS TENUOUS EVEN BEFORE THE ARAB EMBARGO

Even prior to the Middle East conflict which began on October 6, 1973, and the subsequent embargo of Arab oil to the United States, this Nation was faced with an energy crisis. In addition to decreasing production of energy raw materials, refineries were running at maximum rates, inventories were being drawn down and overall energy supplies were short. Mandatory allocation programs were already in effect in an attempt to ensure equitable distribution of supplies.

Primary inventories of gasoline, distillates and heavy fuel oil, the three major liquid petroleum fuels, were 71 million barrels normal as of October 26, 1973. Crude oil stocks were 14 million barrels below normal.

2. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALLOWED ITSELF TO BECOME CRITICALLY DEPENDENT UPON FOREIGN SUPPLIES

The United States has not developed its own abundant natural resources and has allowed itself to become critically dependent upon imports. Domestic crude production continues to decline and natural gas production has peaked out. Nuclear plants are not being completed as rapidly as scheduled or anticipated. The use of coal has been depressed because of environmental and other reasons. Strip mining restrictions contribute to the limitation of coal supplies. Oil and gas reserves discovered on the North Slope of Alaska and offshore California 5 years ago are still untapped as environmental considerations immobilize their development. Highly

prospective offshore acreage on the continental shelves off our coasts have not been made available in a timely manner. Natural gas prices have been depressed to abnormally low levels under FPC regulations. Oil shale development has been delayed by lack of an effective federal leasing policy.

These and other factors have discouraged the development of U.S. natural resources and caused the country to become critically dependent upon foreign imports of oil and gas. During the first quarter 1973, imports represented 35 percent of U.S. petroleum supplies and were growing rapidly. Had the Arab embargo not occurred imports would have reached 7.4 million barrels per day, or 39 percent of U.S. petroleum supplies by the first quarter of 1974.

3. WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO FOREIGN SUPPLIES

Following the outbreak of war between Israel and the Arab countries on October 6, 1973, the United States was cut off from crude and product supplies coming from Arab sources. The initial impact will be in the order of 2 million barrels per day and is expected to increase rapidly reaching 3 million barrels per day by year end.

In addition to direct embargoes against shipments to the United States, the Arab countries have reduced total production by 5 to 6 million barrels per day resulting in world shortages of petroleum supplies, thus bringing world pressure on the United States to moderate its position of support for Israel.

4. TIMING OF THE IMPACT WILL BE DELAYED

The impact of these denials is delayed because it takes about one month for a tanker, having been loaded in the Middle East, to reach the United States. Secondly, already critically short inventories needed for this winter season are being drawn down to temporarily meet consumer demand.

5. WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF NO EMERGENCY ACTIONS ARE TAKEN

Inventories will be depleted early in the first quarter of 1974 and the petroleum industry will no longer be able to provide the supplies needed. Shortages in the three major products, gasoline, distillates and heavy fuel oil, will average twenty percent during the first quarter of 1974. Heavy fuel oil shortages would average thirty eight percent on a U.S. basis and could reach 50 percent on the East Coast.

The effect of shortages of this magnitude on the economy are difficult to estimate. On a conservative basis, the effect of a 2-million-barrel-per-day cutoff has been estimated to cause an annual loss of 48 billion dollars to the U.S. economy as measured by the Gross National Product. This slow-down in the economy would cause unemployment to increase from the current 4.5 to 5.0 percent level to over 6 percent. The projected 3-million-barrel-per-day cutoff would have an even greater impact and could push unemployment up to the 7.5 to 8.0 percent range.

6. IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT EMERGENCY ACTION BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY

Industry normally draws down inventories at the rate of about 1 million barrels per day to meet consumer needs in the first quarter of the year. If available inventories are depleted before the end of the year, the 1 million barrels per day of supplies from inventory will not be available. When combined with the 3-million-barrel-per-day import cutoff, a 4-million-barrel-per-day shortage would be created and an even more serious situation would develop.

For these reasons, it is imperative that emergency action be taken immediately so that available inventories can be conserved and used over a longer period of time.

7. WHAT EMERGENCY ACTIONS CAN BE TAKEN TO INCREASE DOMESTIC SUPPLIES

Under emergency conditions, additional

domestic energy supplies equivalent to about 700 thousand barrels per day can potentially be provided this winter if immediate actions are taken. Potential supply sources include: (1) producing the Naval Petroleum Reserves at Elk Hills, California, at maximum rates and temporarily increasing crude production above established field MER's (Maximum Efficient Rates), (2) incremental emergency gas sales to industrial customers now burning fuel oil or distillates, (3) increased electric power supplies by accelerating the licensing of already constructed nuclear power plants, and (4) increased use of coal.

To develop these potential emergency supplies will require a widespread commitment on the part of industry, federal and state governments, and the American people in order to utilize all readily available resources. In some cases, enabling legislation is required. In almost all cases, quick and aggressive action is needed by both state and federal governments. The respective jurisdictions and authorities of state oil and gas conservation bodies should be continued.

Even if all the above available emergency supply steps are taken, a significant net shortage of oil will remain.

8. WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT THE NET SHORTAGE

The remaining net shortage can only be covered by a reduction in energy use. Many voluntary and mandated energy conservation steps are currently being considered (including such items as a reduction of speed limits, encouragement of carpooling, and a reduction in airline flights). While these measures are important, estimates indicate that they will account for only about 50 percent of the net shortage.

Mandatory rationing is therefore necessary to accomplish required reduction in use and should be instituted immediately.

A distinct difference should be drawn between rationing and allocation programs. Allocation programs should serve the basic function of distributing supplies (or distributing the shortage) throughout the market. Rationing, on the other hand, directly addresses and has the primary function of controlling and curtailing consumption in selected products.

9. WHERE SHOULD CONSUMPTION BE CUT

The Nation must establish priorities and determine where cuts in demand should be made. On the one hand, priority can be given the individual consumer; on the other hand, priority can be given industry.

The Committee believes that the first reductions should take place in noncritical human consumption and less essential industry areas. High priority should be given to providing the fuel needed by those industries most vital to the economy. Critical human needs must, of course, receive high priority. However, the general public would undoubtedly prefer some discomforts and inconveniences to idle plants and high unemployment.

Mandatory rationing of gasoline for private transportation and of home heating oils offer the opportunity for significant reductions in petroleum use with minimum impact on the economy. Possibilities for comparable residential rationing of electricity and natural gas for residential heating should also be considered.

CONCLUSIONS

In view of the findings, the Nation has no other short-term alternative except to take immediate emergency to reduce its consumption of energy and increase domestic energy supplies. With the goal of minimizing the effects on economic activity and the American consumer, the National Petroleum Council's Committee on Emergency Preparedness submits the following conclusions:

1. Immediate and decisive action is needed by Federal and State governments to mini-

mize the detrimental effects occasioned by the current energy crisis. Delay to act will compound the severity of the situation.

2. Both the Federal Government and industry should immediately present the facts to the public and commence an educational program through all communications media to assure public awareness and to urge consumer energy conservation at all levels.

3. Government industry cooperation is needed at all levels. The operations of the energy industries are extremely complex. The expertise available from private industry should be utilized in an advisory and operational capacity.

4. National economic health, employment, personal income and the strength of the Nation's defense system depend upon maintaining normal industrial operations. Therefore, every effort should be made to continue the operations of the industrial sector of the U.S. economy as close to normal as possible.

5. The extent and endurance of the denial of oil imports to this Nation from the Middle East is beyond the determination of this Committee. However, the U.S. will experience an actual loss of about 80 million barrels of oil as a result of the embargo to date. Even if the embargo were lifted at an early date, critical shortages will be enacted and therefore, the Committee emphasizes that programs and policies mentioned in this report should be initiated.

6. Any emergency measures enacted during the current denial should be undertaken with the clear provision for their removal at the termination of the denial and its after effects. The American system should continue to operate on a competitive, free-enterprise basis and increased government intervention for emergency purposes should not be continued upon the cessation of the emergency.

LABOR DISPUTES IN NONPROFIT HOSPITALS

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I noted with concern an article this weekend in the Washington Post pertaining to the arrest of 55 individuals at the George Washington University Hospital.

From reading the article, the situation at George Washington University Hospital would appear to be very similar to that experienced by many other nonprofit hospitals in the country with regard to resolution of labor disputes. Employees of such nonprofit hospitals are currently excluded from coverage under the National Labor Relations Act—NLRA—and no Federal election procedure or independent agency is available to oversee union organization and representation activities. Thus, situations such as the George Washington Hospital incident occur, with unfortunate disruption of health care services to the public. I have introduced legislation, S. 2292, that would extend coverage of the NLRA to nonprofit hospitals and provide assurances of noninterrupted delivery of health care services to the public by minimizing labor-management disputes.

Hearings have been held on the legislation I have introduced by the Labor Subcommittee and discussions currently are underway to clarify and resolve certain issues with regard to this matter. I am hopeful that agreement can be reached from these discussions and legislation can be reported to the Senate early next session.

I ask unanimous consent that the article appearing in the Saturday, December 1, edition of the Washington Post,

entitled "55 Arrested in Protest at GW Hospital," be printed in the RECORD.

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

FIFTY-FIVE ARRESTED IN PROTEST AT GW HOSPITAL

(By Judy Luce Mann)

Fifty-five employees of George Washington University Hospital, who were protesting the hospital's refusal to permit a union representation election, were arrested in the hospital lobby yesterday where they had staged a noisy, 2½-hour demonstration.

The employees, who are seeking a vote on representation by the National Hospital and Nursing Home Employees union, walked off their jobs at 10 a.m. and began gathering in the lobby.

Then, as television cameras appeared and other hospital employees converged on the scene, the demonstrators took up such chants as "We want a union," "We shall not be moved" and "We want Novak." Donald Novak is the administrator of the hospital.

Wilbert Pullian, one of the protest leaders, quieted the group briefly to announce that Novak had agreed to meet with "three of us; in the meantime, he wants us to keep the noise down." Pullian was shouted down with demands that hospital officials meet with the whole group.

Meanwhile, explaining that the protest was "all unexpected," Sally Whited of the Hospital's public relations staff, stood on the fringes of the crowd and tried over the din to explain the university's position.

"The hospital wants some sort of proof that a majority of the employees want this election," she said. The proof desired now, she said, are sign-off cards on which employees can state that they want the election. Such cards are required from 30 per cent of employees in units seeking unionization under National Labor Relations Board regulations. These regulations do not apply to nonprofit hospitals. Although George Washington is a nonprofit hospital, and thus outside NLRB jurisdiction, it still wants such an expression of sentiment, Miss Whited said.

Diane Christopherson, a medical technologist and protest leader, noted that the NLRB does not cover the hospital and said, "we're walking off our jobs to demand an election." She said 700 to 800 employees, most of them technicians and nursing aides, would be eligible for the proposed unionization.

She acknowledged that the group in the lobby did not constitute a majority of these employees, but said that "many of the workers are still afraid of their bosses; they don't have the job security."

At 11:30, Bud Matthal, assistant administrator for security, appeared in the lobby and ordered the area cleared on the grounds that the protest was disruptive.

"We've had a complaint from the operating room. Therefore, I'm telling you to clear this lobby. If you do not you all will be placed under arrest," he said.

The protestors began chanting "We're all going to jail," and within minutes most of them had taken seats on the lobby floor. As film crews moved in toward the protestors, they briefly chanted "the whole world is watching," but then reverted to the chants of "We're all going to jail" and "We want Novak."

Novak, according to Miss Whited, was meeting with university officials about the protest. He did not appear and there was no further statement by university officials.

As about 30 policemen gathered on the sidewalk in front of the hospital, Matthal appeared again, flanked by several police officials, and announced that the hospital had to "shut down one operating room." He asked the protestors to leave and said that "anyone here will be subject to arrest."

The chanting protestors remained seated and the arrests began at about 12:30. The demonstrators, many of them munching on snacks, joked with the police as they were escorted into the four paddy wagons and several police cruisers. "Just give us the address, we'll walk over," one man said.

Police said 32 men and 23 women were arrested and that all were charged with unlawful entry. They were arraigned in Superior Court and all were released on their own recognizance. Trial was scheduled for Jan. 30.

TRADE REFORM ACT OF 1973

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I intend to submit several amendments to the Trade Reform Act of 1973. I am pleased that Senator RIBICOFF, chairman of the Trade Subcommittee of the Finance Committee, is joining me as a cosponsor of these amendments. The amendments update the trade bill to address the new challenge which confronts us today—the use of export controls on scarce raw materials and perhaps even manufactured products as a new weapon in international politics.

The Trade Reform Act, as reported by the House Ways and Means Committee, would provide authority necessary to achieve greater access for American products to overseas markets. While this is a necessary objective for meaningful trade negotiations, it must not be the exclusive aim of trade reform. Yet, the bill in its present form does not deal with the equally pressing need to assure access to supplies of the raw materials we need for a stable and growing economy.

Under the Export Administration Act of 1969, the President has the authority to curtail the shipment of our products overseas. But the use of export control authority cannot be viewed solely within a domestic context, as the oil embargo clearly shows. Agreements to prevent the unjustified use of export controls must be a major goal of international trade negotiations, and the President must have more explicit and precise authority to respond to export embargoes against the United States.

During the last World War, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill dedicated our two nations to the defense of several major principles which form the basis for the collection security of Western countries. Enumerated in the Atlantic Charter, these principles include under title IV the goal of "access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world."

The principle articulated by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, the father of the trade agreement program, that "if goods cannot cross borders, armies will," was ignored before the war. In the postwar decades, international trade negotiations concentrated almost exclusively on the problem of surplus production and on access to markets, and virtually ignored the problem of access to supplies of raw materials.

However, today we face new problems of resource scarcity and accelerated inflation in which producing countries are withholding supplies of a wide variety of products for purely economic reasons or, in the case of oil, to extract political concessions.

The United States, Japan, and the Common Market countries are all suffering from intolerable rates of inflation. This inflation poses a threat to our political institutions. For the continual increases in the cost of living tend to erode public confidence in government.

When prices spiral out of control, people may reach out for government which can effectively halt inflation even at the expense of their democratic traditions.

Inflation is eating away at the real earnings of working people in the United States. Shortages of food, fuel, timber, cotton, scrap iron, cement, and many other products are a major cause of rapid inflation this year.

At the present time, many U.S. companies are facing difficulties in obtaining raw materials, and a number have asked that authority under the Export Administration Act be invoked to curtail shipments overseas.

While in some cases such controls may be justified, I believe we must begin to view export restrictions in a broader international context. For instance, if we prohibit all exports of America's oil, would the Canadian Government—the single largest supplier of oil to the United States—be encouraged to follow our example?

The imposition of the Arab embargo over oil is the most clearcut example of the unreasonable use of export controls, and it has greatly intensified the economic difficulties we face. Our factories and farms depend upon petroleum to operate. Unless adequate supplies of fuel are made available, shortages and higher prices will spread throughout our economy next year.

Although we need fuel, American foreign policy cannot yield to blackmail over oil. At stake is not only our firm and longstanding commitment to Israel but also our best strategic and economic interests. A taste of success from extortionist tactics will only increase the appetite for more concessions. For the long-term lesson is that blackmail could easily be employed by countries that are monopoly suppliers of other products.

The United States is already more than 50 percent dependent on imports for 6 of the 13 major raw materials required by our industries, and projections show that by 1985 we will be dependent on imports for 9 of these materials.

A senior Brookings economist, Fred Bergsten, recently noted in *Foreign Policy* magazine:

Four countries control more than 80 percent of the exportable supply of world copper, two countries account for more than 60 percent of world tin exports, and four countries raise that total close to 95 percent. Four countries combine for more than 50 percent of the world supply of natural rubber. Four countries possess over one-half the world supply of bauxite. And a handful of countries are coming to dominate each of the regional markets for timber.

In our increasingly interdependent world, a high degree of responsibility must be exercised by all countries. Industrialized nations have an obligation to assure that developing countries have an opportunity to achieve desired levels of economic growth by providing tech-

nical assistance, market access, credits, and grants in aid. At the same time, countries that have valuable resources have an obligation to use those resources in a manner which will not injure but benefit the world community.

Nations have obvious concerns about guarding the domestic supplies of raw materials when threatened by shortages or other national emergencies. Although the United States used such justifications last spring to impose export controls on soybeans, oil seeds, and other products, in taking such steps without prior consultation with our traditional trading partners—Japan and Europe—we set a bad example for the rest of the world.

It is naive to assume that our trading partners will give us greater access to their markets if we do not assure them stability of supplies. How can we expect, for example, the European Economic Community to liberalize its common agricultural policy and forgo self-sufficiency in food production unless we provide reasonable guarantees that we will not cut them off each time our stocks run low?

An assurance of markets is necessary for an assurance of supplies. The United States should play a leading role in working to liberalize trade barriers. But we also must build a system of world food reserves to make certain that export commitments can be met and that food will be available to the developing countries in time of emergency needs.

For an assurance of markets and other economic benefits also requires an assurance of supplies. We must take the initiative in negotiations to achieve an international set of rules to assure access, on an equitable basis, to supplies of food and scarce raw materials.

The amendments I offer today are designed to accomplish these goals.

First, my amendments would provide the basis for collective trade agreements on export controls. I recognize that there is already a general prohibition against export controls in GATT, article 11. But there are many exceptions in GATT articles 11, 20, and 21 which need to be tightened and reformed; and the general prohibition has never been enforced.

The President would be directed to seek to strengthen the GATT provisions or other international agreements to include rules governing access to supplies of food, raw materials, and manufactured products. An extension of the GATT provisions would also be sought to authorize multilateral sanctions in GATT, or any other multilateral forum, against countries which by their actions substantially injure the international community, and thereby threaten the entire existence of the GATT system. If we can suggest curtailing our services to nations which give refuge to hijackers, and if we can suggest denying port facilities to nations which pollute the oceans with their tankers, then we can certainly consider multilateral trade and aid embargoes on nations which unjustifiably withhold vital raw materials.

While I would hope that such retaliatory measures would not have to be used, if they became necessary, rather than acting as helpless giants, members

of the GATT system must work together to maximize their leverage against the offending countries. Just as the international community reacts together against import quotas, so it should react against countries which place unreasonable controls over exports.

For 20 years GATT has focused on the liberalization of import restrictions. These amendments would mean a major expansion of GATT responsibilities. Events of the past 2 years have demonstrated that it is crucial that these responsibilities be expanded.

We face an immediate crisis over oil. But in considering sanctions against producing countries, we must recognize the many practical problems that are involved. For example, would enough countries be willing to cooperate so that sanctions would be effective? How would we prevent the transshipment of products in the event a counterembargo were imposed?

Recent studies have cast doubt upon the effectiveness of a counterembargo imposed by the United States alone. We have also seen indications of an unwillingness on the part of the European states and Japan to resist the demands of oil-producing countries in the Middle East. The European countries have so far been unable to cooperate even among themselves in responding to Arab threats; and it is therefore unlikely that we can immediately secure cooperation between Europe, the United States, and Japan.

But it is obvious that the thrust of the Trade Reform Act must be redirected toward export control policies because of rapidly changing events. It is equally clear that the scope and powers of the general agreement on tariffs and trade must be enlarged to deal with this crucial issue. My amendments are designed to speed movement in this direction and to stimulate discussion so that we can arrive at the most effective means of responding to recent events.

My amendments would also give the President authority to retaliate against export controls which injure the United States. The definition of unfair trade practices provided in the Trade Reform Act would be expanded to include unreasonable and unjustifiable export restrictions—including quotas and embargoes on exports to the United States of manufactured goods and raw materials required for a stable and growing economy. The President would be given authority, subject to certain specified procedures, to counter such restrictions by the imposition of export and import quotas of our own and embargoes against any country which engages in these unfair trade practices.

In addition, the President would be empowered to deny economic and military assistance, as well as participation in any program of the United States which extends credit or investment guarantees to offending nations. Finally, the President would be authorized to restrain foreign direct and indirect investment by U.S. companies in these countries.

These amendments would give the President the leverage he needs to negotiate with other governments from a po-

sition of strength. Hopefully the President would use this authority within a multilateral context as called for by my proposed changes in the GATT rules.

We must begin now by rebuilding our relationships with the Europeans and the Japanese. Over the past 4 years, the administration has devoted most of its attention to superpower politics and has largely overlooked our traditional trading partners and the less developed countries. This neglect has left both the Atlantic and Pacific Alliances in an unprecedented state of disarray.

For example, in the President's most recent energy message, he made no mention of the need of our allies in planning their energy programs. Self-sufficiency for the United States by 1980 in energy would not end our problems if Europe and Japan were still totally dependent on Arab oil.

There has been a failure of advanced consultation on a whole array of issues involving our allies. But one symbolic example of the administration's neglect is its refusal for more than a year to appoint an Ambassador to the prime forum for cooperation with our allies—the OECD—during this time of acute crisis in world economic relationships. It is the OECD in which oil policies are coordinated among the industrialized countries and in which basic economic policies are reviewed among the industrialized countries together.

We must start to work together to build new procedures and rules within GATT and the OECD—rules that will serve notice that the United States and its allies will be prepared to act together to counter any threat to our collective economic security. One immediate step would be to join together and form within these organizations a coalition of oil-consuming nations to present a common front in bargaining with the Arab States.

Rules must be formulated in a manner which insures a fair return to producing countries for their precious resources and which insures their economic development. I believe that we can devise a system which is equitable to producing countries and to the industrialized world.

While many obstacles must be cleared, we must seize this opportunity to make our international economic institutions more responsive to the problems of scarcity, of inflation, and of unfair trade practices which deny raw materials to member countries—just as these economic institutions have dealt in the past with problems of abundance, of unemployment and of unfair trade practices in which imports unfairly penetrated markets.

Economic self-sufficiency is a good rhetorical catch phrase. But it no longer is a realistic or meaningful goal as we enter the final quarter of the 20th century. We must learn to cooperate in accordance with recognized principles of fair trade so that the people of all countries can look forward to a more secure and prosperous future.

The agreements concluded in the Tokyo round of negotiations will in great measure determine the future shape of international economic relations. We

may find ourselves in a world dominated by growing hostility between rich and poor and among the rich unless the United States takes the lead in strengthening the community of interest among our Nation, our principal trading partners and the developing countries.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text and a summary of my amendments, along with a recent editorial from the Washington Post and a statement from a group of Cambridge economists, be printed in the RECORD.

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

SUMMARY OF MONDALE AMENDMENTS TO
TRADE REFORM ACT OF 1973

The Mondale amendments would:

Amend the Trade Reform of 1973 to make access to supplies of raw materials one of the major goals of U.S. trade negotiations;

Direct the President to seek to extend and strengthen provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) or other international agreements to include rules governing export embargoes by member nations that deny equitable access to supplies of food, raw materials, and manufactured products;

Direct the President to seek to negotiate authority for multi-lateral sanctions, through GATT or any other international forum against member or non-member countries which impose export embargoes that substantially injure the international community; and

Amend the definition of unfair trade practices to include the unjustifiable or unreasonable use of export embargoes, and authorizes the President, subject to procedural safeguards, to retaliate against countries which deny raw materials to the United States by imposing a counter embargo, by prohibiting economic and military assistance, credits or investment guarantees, and by restricting foreign direct and indirect investment by U.S. companies.

On page 5, line 7, strike out "and", and after line 7 insert the following:

(2) to insure equitable access to supplies of food or raw materials required for production of energy and orderly economic growth and development; and

On page 5, line 8, strike out "(2)" and insert "(3)".

On page 16, line 6, strike out "and".

On page 16, line 11, strike out the period and insert ", and".

On page 16, after line 11, insert the following:

(7) the strengthening and extending the provisions of GATT or other international agreements to include rules governing access to supplies of food and raw materials, including rules governing the imposition of export controls and the denial of access to supplies of petroleum, raw materials, and manufactured products.

(8) the extending the provisions of GATT or other international agreements to authorize multilateral sanctions by contracting parties against member or non-member countries which deny equitable access to supplies of petroleum, raw materials, and manufactured products, and thereby substantially injure the international community.

On page 106, line 3, after "IMPORT" insert "AND EXPORT".

On page 109, after line 3 insert the following:

SEC. 302. RESPONSES TO CERTAIN EXPORT PRACTICES OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

(a) Whenever the President determines that a foreign country or instrumentality imposes unjustifiable or unreasonable restrictions, including quotas or embargoes, on the export to the United States of food or raw

materials required for the production of energy or for orderly economic growth, he shall take all appropriate and feasible steps within his power to obtain the elimination of such restrictions, and he may take action under section 301 with respect to such country or instrumentality and its products, and, in addition, he may—

(A) impose restrictions, including quotas and embargoes, on the export of United States products to such country or instrumentality,

(B) deny economic and military assistance and participation in any program of the Government of the United States which extends credits, credit guarantees, or investment guarantees, to such country or instrumentality, and

(C) prohibit or restrict investments, direct or indirect, in such country or instrumentality by United States citizens and domestic corporations and by other corporations and entities which are controlled by United States citizens and domestic corporations.

(b) In determining what action to take under subsection (a), the President shall consider the relationship of such action to the international obligations of the United States and to the purposes stated in section 2.

(c) The President shall provide an opportunity for the presentation of views concerning the export restrictions referred to in subsection (a). Upon request by any interested person, the President shall provide for appropriate public hearings with respect to such restrictions after reasonable notice, and he shall provide for the issuance of regulations concerning the conduct of hearings under this subsection and subsection (d).

(d) Before the President takes any action under subsection (a) with respect to any foreign country or instrumentality—

(1) he shall provide an opportunity for the presentation of views concerning the taking of any such action,

(2) upon request by any interested person, he shall provide for appropriate public hearings with respect to the taking of any such action, and

(3) he may request the Tariff Commission for its views as to the probable impact on the economy of the United States of the taking of any such action.

On page 109, line 4, strike out "302" and insert "303".

On page 109, line 6, after "301" insert "OR 302".

On page 109, line 8, after "301(a)" insert "or under subparagraph (A), (B), or (C) of section 302(a)".

On page 109, line 19, after "301(a)" insert "or section 302(a), as the case may be."

On page 43, line 11, strike out "302(b)" and insert "303(b)".

On page 43, strike out line 13 and insert "_____ of the 'Trade Reform Act of 1973' (with the blank space being filled with '301' or '302', which applies); and".

On page 43, line 26, strike out "302(b)" and insert "303(b)".

On page 46, line 11, strike out "302(b)" and insert "303(b)".

On page 46, line 18, strike out "302(b)" and insert "303(b)".

OIL, GRAIN AND THE TRADE TALKS

The massive and ponderous process of world trade negotiations has now begun, to the accompaniment of loud public fanfare and quiet private doubts. The doubts arise from the basic aims of the negotiations, which are now to a significant degree obsolete. These trade talks were originally organized as a further attempt to reduce protectionism among the rich nations, and open up markets for the poor. But the world's economy has changed suddenly and profoundly over the past year or two. The cen-

tral issue now is not so much the various countries' attempts to shut out each others' goods. To the contrary, the real and pressing danger is the savage competition for access to limited supplies of those imported goods crucial to every nation's life—above all, grain and oil.

The world has no rules for distributing scarce commodities. Or, more accurately, it rations them to the highest bidder by raising prices. Currently that means soaring commodity prices that are inciting spectacular inflation rates in the industrial countries, and are lifting these goods altogether beyond the reach of the poor. It is an efficient process, in a mechanical sense, but it is intolerably disruptive and cruel. The trade negotiators seem to be commencing a long solemn discussion of barriers to imports, at a moment when their governments at home are scrambling frantically to grab the imports that they need.

Nearly two years ago, at the time of the first American devaluation, the leading nations all agreed that they ought to work out orderly new rules for world trade and money. The long labor of reorganizing the monetary system is now getting under way at the International Monetary Fund's meeting in Nairobi. The parallel reform of the trading rules, after months of preparations, now has formally begun with a meeting of 103 nations in Tokyo. They published a formal declaration pledging themselves to seek "the expansion and ever-greater liberalization of world trade." That is an admirable objective, but it is not at the moment the most important one. Nor is it likely to be the most important one for some years to come.

The great symbol of the sudden reversal of the issues is the United States and its wretchedly battered trade policy. After years of drumming on the European Common Market to loosen its barriers to American farm products, last June we swung around without notice and embargoed the exports of soybeans on which those same Europeans were counting. Meanwhile, after 15 years of limiting our imports of foreign oil, in order to keep our domestic prices up, we are now desperately trying to buy enough fuel oil in Europe to get ourselves through the coming winter.

The most urgent business for trade negotiators these days are those two commodities, food and oil. In both cases, there will be no international agreement at all unless the United States takes the initiative. But the United States does not seem to have any very clear idea precisely what it wants to do with either of them.

Regarding oil, the importing nations need an agreement on dividing up the available supplies, whatever they may be. Granted, an agreement would be agonizingly difficult to work out. But month after month of snarling and squabbling among the oil-fueled nations would inflict catastrophic damage on the relationships that have, for a generation, guaranteed world stability.

The prospects for an international grain system are, if anything, even dimmer. Solutions exist. Last week a group of eminent economists from Japan, Europe and this country met here at the Brookings Institution and worked out a draft plan for an international grain reserve. It would be expensive and complicated. It would require a kind of international consultation and joint action reaching well beyond the rather rudimentary procedures of the present trade and monetary systems. The only thing to be said for it is the cost of the alternative, in recurrent inflation, panic and anger.

The trade meeting in Tokyo was a sign of progress. The negotiations are now under way. But they are like a big ship, difficult to turn under full steam. There is a risk that this huge enterprise, with 103 nations aboard, will keep sailing ahead, by sheer force of momentum, toward an obsolete pur-

pose instead of turning to the work that most needs to be done.

OIL SHORTAGES AND MIDDLE-EAST POLITICS

A statement by Kenneth J. Arrow, Franklin M. Fisher, John Kenneth Galbraith, Simon Kuznets, Wassily Leontief, Merton J. Peck, Paul A. Samuelson, and Robert M. Solow.

We make the following statement in order to clarify the tenuous and complex relation between current oil supply problems and Middle East policy.

The coincidence of difficulties with the supply of gasoline and heating and residual fuel oils in the United States and the recent war in the Middle East may give rise to misunderstandings about the nature of the relation. It may be felt that American aid to Israel and support for its position are in some way responsible for the energy difficulties (the word, "crisis," is much too strong). There is only a limited and most transitory connection, and our foreign policy should not be deflected in the slightest by the illusion that giving in to oil blackmail will in fact gain us anything.

1. The world crude oil situation has two aspects. First is the cartel of the producing nations, the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which has both Arab and non-Arab members. This cartel has been able to raise prices repeatedly by raising the tax on oil exports. The tax becomes a cost to the oil companies, who are able to pass it on to customers like any excise tax. The upper limit to this monopoly is the cost of alternative sources of fuel. This is obviously a very uncertain ceiling in the short or long run. Some put it near \$5 a barrel f.o.b. Persian Gulf, some as high as \$10. It is certain that the OPEC nations will keep probing toward this limit. They began this process with the Teheran "agreements" of 1971, which were violated within a few months.

In early October of this year, the Persian Gulf members ended the charade of negotiations and raised prices unilaterally. Without doubt, they will do so again.

There was and is no connection between Middle East peace and the oil monopoly of Arab and non-Arab nations. If some perfect Middle East political settlement were reached tomorrow, the OPEC countries would not give up a cent of their gains, and they would not cease to consider when and how much to raise prices. To suggest a connection between Arab-Israel strife and the contrived scarcity of oil to drive up prices is to commit a non-sequitur.

2. The new element in the situation lies in the cutbacks, over and above the normal scarcity, which were proclaimed in mid-October by the Arab nations and which, they said, would continue until the borders of Israel return to those before the Six-Day War of 1967 and until the Palestinian people were granted their "rights," a concept not explained. To the cutbacks has been added a proclaimed total embargo against the United States.

The embargo is not important in itself. We need only cite the June 1973 statement of the ex-Secretary-General of OPEC, Dr. Pachachi of Iraq, to the effect that a selective embargo is useless, as well as the interview with King Faisal and Prince Saud of Saudi Arabia in late August, when they pointed out that the United States could not be reached by an Arab embargo against them alone.

The cutback in total production of the Arab countries is genuinely damaging to the consuming nations, though the United States is harmed least of all. The extent of those cutbacks is not altogether clear. Iraq has not joined; Libya's stand is unclear, though both have embargoed the United States. According to press reports, the reduction appears

to be 25 percent of Arab oil, or about 15 percent of all oil moving in international trade. The Arab nations are said to plan no further cuts because they fear retaliation: the denial of food and manufactured goods, not to mention military action by consuming countries (New York Times, 10 November 1973).

3. In the United States, the scarcity of gasoline and home heating oil is due primarily to a shortage of American refining capacity, which is not expected to be made up before about 1977. So long as capacity is inadequate, and there is little slack elsewhere in the world, product will be short even if crude oil is available without limit.

Arab crude oil imports have amounted to about one million barrels daily, and refined products made from Arab oil, "an amount difficult to estimate but possibly as much again," (Petroleum Press Service, November 1973, p. 405). Since part of the maximum two million barrels, out of a daily consumption of 17 million barrels, will be made up by increased imports from non-Arab sources diverted to the United States (a decision which depends to no small degree on American oil companies), the overall loss to this country is at most 12 percent. But the loss is not equally distributed. The main impact will fall on the East coast supply of residual fuel oil, used almost entirely by industry. About 35 percent of this supply is from refineries, mostly in the Caribbean, which run partly on Arab oil. Some uncertainly large fraction of this will be stopped.

4. The consuming nations are not without weapons of their own, once they realize they are confronted with what the Petroleum Minister of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Yamani, has rightly called "war" (Platt's Oilgram News Service, 22 February 1973). If united, they can refuse to supply food and manufactured goods to the nations committing the hostile act of embargo. The Soviet Union might find it difficult to make up the deficit, and the Arabs might well be unwilling to accept the resulting dependence. It would be more productive for consuming nations to confer on such counter-measures than to outdo each other in subservience which profits them nothing. ("Arabs don't have to police their own boycotts. Sycophant nations are doing it for them," (Wall Street Journal, 6 November 1973).

5. The threat to American oil usage may indeed have beneficial effects. As the President's message shows, the threat has awakened the country to the need for meeting the energy problems which would be upon us in any case within the next twenty years. It has alerted us to the profligacy with which we have been using energy to accomplish tasks of secondary importance. Conservation of energy has become a prime need in meeting both the short-run difficulties and the long-run growing scarcity, and with a reduction in energy usage will come a reduction in our serious problems of air pollution.

6. We express no opinions on the nature of any Middle East peace, or what the United States could or should do to bring it about. We do warn that letting our policy be determined or even influenced by the threat of injury is as futile as it is ignoble. Oil is a non-durable good. If to maintain the flow this year we accede to a course of action we would not otherwise desire, then it will follow as the night the day that we will be blackmailed again and again. The Japanese government has for years been among those most favorable to the Arabs, yet they have been denounced for their "odious neutrality" (New York Times 18 October 1973), and more was demanded: breaking relations with Israel, economic sanctions, and military aid to the Arabs (New York Times 9 November and 15 November 1973). The more is given, the more will be demanded.

Saudi Arabia will promise oil for next year

in exchange for the "right" kind of peace, then make fresh demands for further oil the year after that. As Sheikh Yamani said of the Teheran "agreement" in September, his government would have liked to honor the agreement but circumstances had changed (Middle East Economic Survey 7 September 1973). Circumstances will always change. And, as the Wall Street Journal warned last 26 April, giving in to blackmail on one issue in one part of the world invites blackmail on every issue in every part of the world. We hope our policy makers and our public will remember this and not be dazzled by the hope of some grand "settlement" which wraps up oil and politics in a neat looking package which will soon start to unravel and lead to endless confrontations.

The greatest service which the United States can render to friendly nations in Europe and Asia is not to let itself be swayed by this blackmail. For if the United States cannot be reached or influenced, then Europe and Asia are being tormented to no purpose, the Arabs have no motive to continue the cutbacks, and the usual money incentives to resume normal output will operate.

IDENTIFICATION OF STATEMENT SIGNERS

The following information about the signers of the statement on Oil Shortages and Middle-East Politics is provided for identification purposes only. No organization mentioned has taken any position on the issues discussed.

Kenneth J. Arrow: Professor of Economics, Harvard University; awarded Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science, 1972; President, American Economic Association.

Franklin M. Fisher: Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Editor, *Econometrica*.

John Kenneth Galbraith: Professor of Economics, Harvard University; Past President, American Economic Association.

Simon Kuznets: Professor Emeritus of Economics, Harvard University; awarded Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science, 1971; Past President, American Economic Association.

Wassily Leontief: Professor of Economics, Harvard University; awarded Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science, 1973; Past President, American Economic Association.

Merton J. Peck: Professor of Economics and Chairman of the Department of Economics, Yale University.

Paul A. Samuelson: Institute Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; awarded Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science, 1970; Past President, American Economic Association.

Robert M. Solow: Institute Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

SPECIAL PROSECUTOR LEGISLATION

Mr. COOK. Mr. President, in yesterday's Washington Post there was an article by our colleague, Senator CHARLES PERCY, in which he discussed the relative merits of the Special Prosecutor legislation which the Senate will be considering later this week. The incisive comments found in this article should prove helpful to the Members of this body as we prepare for consideration of these very important proposals.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 2, 1973]

A TRULY INDEPENDENT PROSECUTOR

(By Charles H. Percy)

By now, almost no one questions the need for an independent special Watergate prosecutor. Instead, the challenge before us is to agree on the process by which the prosecutor shall be established by law and protected from arbitrary dismissal. The goal, of course, is credibility. When eventually the prosecutor declares that Mr. X deserves to be prosecuted or, perhaps more important, that Mr. Z is completely innocent, we must be able to believe him.

This week, the Senate will debate and choose between three proposed processes for creating and protecting the special prosecutor. Basically, they differ in two fundamental ways: how the special prosecutor would be appointed and how he could be dismissed.

One proposal, the early front-runner, would take the appointment of the prosecutor away from the executive branch and hand the responsibility, however unwelcome, to the federal courts. This method quickly achieved the co-sponsorship of more than half of the Senate and has substantial support in the House. But under study, the court-appointed prosecutor appears to many of us to be the wrong approach, in an unusual series of statements, judges of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia have expressed their opposition to the bill. Judge Gesell, declaring that "the courts must remain neutral," points out bluntly that "Congress has it within its own power to enact appropriate and legally enforceable protections against any effort to thwart the Watergate inquiry."

Instead of propelling the Watergate investigation toward a full and credible conclusion, the court appointed approach would be subject to months of legal challenges. The possibility that all of the work of a court-appointed prosecutor might eventually be nullified as unconstitutional is very real. The nation would not hold blameless a legislature that managed only to make more complicated an already tangled web.

Even if it should pass the Congress, the court-appointed approach faces a sure presidential veto. There is little chance that Congress has the votes to override such a veto. We would be back to square one.

A second approach, one which has White House support, would merely codify the present situation. Under it, the Attorney General would appoint the special prosecutor and he could only be fired by the Attorney General for cause. If this sounds familiar, it is because Archibald Cox received these same "ironclad" guarantees last May. Now, however, we are offered the additional protection of a letter from the Acting Attorney General to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate promising that the prosecutor would have to have the "approval" of the Senate before his appointment and that he wouldn't be fired without the "consensus" approval of a selected group of congressional leaders.

As solemn as such a promise might be, it still is not law. It could quickly become inoperative. Given recent events, both the nation and the Congress would be rightly skeptical of such an informal arrangement.

It can be argued here that we already have a special prosecutor, Mr. Jaworski, in place; that he is both sounding and acting quite independent and that any legislative action would only delay his important work.

But Mr. Jaworski's only real job security at this point is the memory at the White House of the public outcry over the dismissal of his predecessor. There is no legal guarantee that what happened before could not happen again.

This becomes a prime argument for the third alternative, one which I am convinced is not only safe from constitutional chal-

lenge but offers the prosecutor credibility and sufficient job security.

The President should *nominate* the special prosecutor, subject to formal confirmation proceedings by the Senate. Some will argue that the President should not appoint a prosecutor who will be investigating the presidency itself. But this method is unquestionably constitutional. It is also the traditional process used, for example, for appointing federal judges and Supreme Court Justices who must be guaranteed independence because they routinely hear cases involving the U.S. government and the President himself.

Because the independence of the special prosecutor is an absolute necessity, Congress should limit the grounds on which he can be dismissed to three: malfeasance in office, neglect of duty or violation of the statute which created his office. A bill which Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) and I have introduced—cosponsored by Sens. William Brock (R-Tenn.), Marlow Cook (R-Ky.) and Milton Young (R-N.D.)—would provide for this method of appointment and limitation of dismissal. In addition, it would provide a 30-day period before any dismissal became effective. During that "cooling off" period the prosecutor could challenge his dismissal in court. If the court decided the dismissal was illegal, the prosecutor would continue in office.

If, however, the office became vacant through legal dismissal, illness or resignation, the court would appoint an interim special prosecutor to serve until a new prosecutor had been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

This is the responsible approach. It assures the process of law we must have to achieve our common goal of impartial and unfettered resolution of the Watergate nightmare which will stand up both in court and in the minds of a skeptical nation.

DAVID BEN-GURION

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I join today the millions of people throughout the world who mourn the passing of David Ben-Gurion. When Mr. Ben-Gurion died Saturday at the age of 87, the State of Israel lost a great and dedicated leader whose name forever will be identified with the creation of that nation; the world lost an elder statesman of penetrating insight.

Mr. President, David Ben-Gurion, born in Russian Poland, emigrated to what was then Palestine at the age of 20. From that time on, all of his energies were dedicated to restoring that land to its historical place as the Jewish homeland. By the time World War II ended in 1945 he could say to the survivors of Hitler's extermination camps:

We have been working to build up our land, so that you may come there to live as decent human beings again among your own people and where you will not fear again.

David Ben-Gurion was the driving force behind creation of the governmental infrastructure which made possible proclamation of the new state of Israel when the British mandate over Palestine expired. Fittingly, his was the first signature on that proclamation; he became the new nation's first prime minister, and held that position for the next 15 years.

When Mr. Ben-Gurion finally retired in 1963, he went to live in the manner he valued most highly—on a kibbutz in

the desert. He spent the last years of his life as a venerated figure among his people, watching the tiny nation he helped found, celebrate its 25th birthday as a strong and mature state.

David Ben-Gurion once said that—

In Israel, in order to be a realist you must believe in miracles.

He not only believed in miracles, he helped make them happen.

OKLAHOMA NATIONAL 4-H CHAMPIONS

Mr. BELLMON. Mr. President, last week in Chicago a group of talented youngsters from the State of Oklahoma rolled up a victory of which all Oklahomans are proud. With 23 national winners, 4 regional champions, and 2 sectional titles, the 44-member Oklahoma team won the sweepstakes of the 1973 National 4-H Congress.

While this honor—the third such championship in a row for the Sooner State—is naturally a source of great pride to everyone in Oklahoma, the achievements of all 4-H club members are deserving of recognition. In these days when many Americans tend to take a pessimistic outlook, these energetic and enterprising young people provide a sound basis for faith in our country's future.

As Washington Post writer William Greider put it, the 1,600 winners at this year's 4-H congress shared "an uncommon sense of self-confidence, a charming optimism in this era of youth's self-doubt."

Greider further described the typical 4-H members:

In conversation, they are modern, conversant with the world and fashion, the cultural mixing bowl of television and transistors. Yet they still espouse the old values with confidence—hard work, strong family ties, serious religion, plain dealing.

... as you might expect, these young people are concerned by current troubles in America and the world, but they are not in the least rattled by them. If you have confidence in your own future, you are less prone to doom-and-gloom predictions in the current media crisis. If you believe the nation's survival depends on the goodness of all its people, you are perhaps not so upset when a few more politicians turn out to be crooks. If you do not believe that the future promises utopia, then you are less disturbed by temporary disasters."

As the father of three daughters who spent much of their teenage years in 4-H club activities, I am completely sold on the merits of this character-building organization. Our country needs the kind of self-determination and hope that is instilled in the young people who work in 4-H. They and their leaders are to be commended for the lasting contributions they have made to our national life.

Mr. President, in order to call attention to the accomplishments of the national champion Oklahoma 4-H team as well as 4-H members from all over the Nation, I ask unanimous consent that an article by William Greider in the Washington Post of Sunday, December 2, 1973, and an article by Robert B. Allen in the Daily Oklahoman of Sun-

day, December 2, 1973, be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 2, 1973]

4-H: A PATH TO MATURITY

CHICAGO.—One good thing about swine production, aside from the joy and profit of raising hogs, is that it teaches a young man some hard lessons.

Dave Wiggins, a dimpled youth from Lake Hughes, Calif., was only 11 when he started his first 4-H swine project, a modest beginning of two piglets. Every thing went fine until the day of the county fair. Then one of them died.

"I had fed her apple cores the day before," Wiggins remembered, "and I learned the hard way that the seeds are poisonous."

The other teenagers who were listening to Wiggins came up with their own stories of hog tragedies. George Andrew, from a farm near Evansville, Wis., told about the time last March when his hog house burned down.

"I saw the flames and smoke in the sky," Andrew said, with appropriate gestures. "I ran in and I got a couple of gates open, but it was so hot I couldn't stand to stay in there long. I managed to get five sows and about 25 little pigs out, but we lost the rest, maybe 125 or 130 pigs."

"Didn't you have any insurance on the pigs?" asked Ronny Scott, a 19-year-old from Burns Flat, Okla., who wears Prince Valiant bangs and big bow-tie. His incredulous tone sounded like you-poor-sap. The hog house was insured, but not the pigs. The young man lost a \$9,000 investment.

Dave Wiggins, who is 16 now and aiming toward a career as a veterinarian, recounted how he lost an entire litter of 14, stricken with viral pneumonia on the day they were dropped.

"That's the greatest feeling of loss," Wiggins explained, "when you stay up all night bottle-feeding them and you watch them die, one by one."

That kind of experience has a way of maturing a young person. If your hog house burns down or a new litter of pigs perishes, it is liable to instill a practical, unhurried view of life's opportunities. If you preserve despite the setbacks and become 4-H champions, as these boys have done, the likely result is an uncommon sense of self-confidence, a charming optimism in this era of youth's self-doubt.

1,600 WIN HONORS

In varying degrees, the kids who gathered last week at Chicago's Conrad Hilton Hotel were like that. They were winners, 1,600 of them, mostly high school seniors or college freshmen who won state and national 4-H honors for personal enterprise as diverse as tractor-driving and health service and electrical repair. Their prizes were scholarships and the free trip to Chicago for the "4-H Congress," a lively week in the big city.

Debra Harris, an 18-year-old coed from Coyle, Okla., is into electricity. She helped wire two homes.

Adrian Lee Gaskins, a long-haired health winner from New Bern, N.C. created a coloring book about the danger of rats, called "Zap That Rat." He test-marketed it on his third-grade sister, then published it for school children in his county.

Jeannie Hitt, a frail blond girl from Remlap, Ala., won a dairy foods scholarship for her work as family dietitian. Her father was overweight, one brother had an ulcer, another was diabetic. She juggled the special menus to keep them healthy.

Kathleen Whitney, a robust 18-year-old from Hammonton, N.J., organized an ecology club which campaigned successfully against

the giant jetport planned for the "Pine Barrens" of South Jersey.

Rita Rae Fontenot, 16, of Villa Platte, La., took over the chores for her family of seven when her mother became ill, shopping, cooking, cleaning, washing, mending. She won a home management award.

Jim Stitsworth, plump and rosy-cheeked, from Fort Smith, Ark., earned a scholarship for his volunteer works as a "candy-striper" in the psychiatric ward.

COOKBOOK FOR POOR

Grace Yarbrough, an 18-year-old black girl from Jackson, Tenn., won with her low-income cookbook, a collection of low-cost but nutritious recipes, which she distributed to the poor.

And so on and so forth, more or less, through the hundreds of young people who convened last week in Chicago. Who are these confident children, so earnest and effective? What are they like? What do they think of the world and their country in these troubled times?

Well, first, the green clover of 4-H ("Head, Heart, Hands and Health") is still worn mostly by young people from farms and small country towns, though about one-fourth of the 5.4 million kids now come from cities and suburbs (including about 5,000 in the District of Columbia's fledgling program). Like every other youth organization, 4-H struggles to hold onto the older teenagers, trying to devise more adult-like projects, more responsibility and excitement.

The 4-H projects range in scope from adolescent to cosmic and they still center around the common skills of home and farm (through urban clubs are developing some hybrid subjects like corner-lot gardening, modeling, pet care).

The enduring popularity of 4-H is no mystery, however. It is the basic appeal of giving a young person a chunk of real responsibility, a dress to sew, sheep to tend, a tractor to drive, with the promise that completion is its own reward. Do it, as the ill-fated flower children used to say.

Their "national congress" was surrounded by an army of happy corporate sponsors—from Carnation Milk to Kentucky Fried Chicken—who provide project materials, money and scholarships worth \$187,000 in exchange for good relations with these youthful achievers.

KIDS ARE OUTDONE

The businessmen who toasted the winners (with milk and fruit punch, of course) waxed more emotional about the virtues of 4-H than the kids did, even with some tear-stained speeches.

The executives seemed especially grateful to meet young people in a neutral setting where nobody is throwing bricks at big business.

A Tennessee youth wore a button on his lumberjack cap: "Raise Angus Instead of Hell."

But the 4-H kids swarming through the Conrad Hilton sought out extra-curricular fun-and-games, more or less like any bunch of teenagers would at a convention in a strange city.

"Gig, you've got to help me," the stylish Alabama girl said breathlessly to her companion on the elevator. "You know that plump boy?"

"Yea, do you like him?"

"No, I really hate him! she drawled. "You gotta keep him away from me."

Miss Whitney of New Jersey learned with awe about a county in Arizona bigger than her whole state. Stitsworth of Arkansas laughed at his own stereotype: "Everybody thinks we go barefoot and eat hickory nuts." The Californians wore blue-and-gold scarves. The North Dakotans wore enigmatic buttons which asked: "Wanna Krinkle?"

An Oklahoma farmboy named Barnes stepped out on the sidewalk and almost got bombed by a falling grapefruit. A Florida girl named Byrd giggled when she heard about it.

EVEN SAID GRACE

One evening, just to be different, a group of 24 rose to say "grace" over their meal in the hotel's candlelit restaurant, the Haymarket. You don't see that everyday in Chicago.

One evening, the whole crowd of 1,600 promenaded arm-in-arm up Michigan Avenue to the Chicago Art Institute for a special tour. Some groups sang Christmas carols as they strolled through the marble corridors, a pleasant sound that echoed gently through one of America's great museums.

Fred Mills of New Hampshire draped his arm around a gargantuan bronze nude by Maillol, while a friend snapped his picture. Four girls from Washington state inspected the stark, skinny body of Giacometti's "Standing Woman."

"Why I know her," said Teresa McCann of Walla Walla. "That's Debbie!"

And many of the young people came face-to-face with the original of Grant Wood's "American Gothic," that portrait of a stern-faced Iowa farm couple whose grim and narrow plety became a popular symbol for rigid provincialism in the American heartland.

Probably that painting was always unfair to the people it portrayed, even though it said something true about them. In any case, if these 4-H winners are the modern edition of that heritage, then "American Gothic" has blossomed with exotic embroidery, buckled shoes and blue eye shadow, an easy openness which talks comfortably about VD, farm prices, women's rights, transactional analysis, God and social justice.

"These kids," said Dr. Hope Daugherty, a youth counselor with the Department of Agriculture, "have the best of both worlds, I think. They live in rural communities or on farms, but most of them go to consolidated high schools which are just as urbanized as any big-city school."

In conversation, they are modern, conversant with the world and fashion, the cultural mixing bowl of television and transistors. Yet they still espouse the old values and confidence—hard work, strong family ties, serious religion, plain dealing. Indeed, the lean past evoked by "American Gothic" is still close to them and they regard it with respect, even nostalgia.

EVERYDAY LIVING

"When my Dad was growing up," Brent Barnes, of Cordell, Okla., said proudly, "they went to the store and bought a little sugar and lard. That was Oklahoma and the wind was blowing. My grandmother killed rattlesnakes under her bed every day. They didn't even think of that as hard times. They thought it was everyday living."

Becky Krill, a wholesome blonde beauty from Edgerton, Ohio, explained why she likes to milk the family's dairy herd.

"It gave me a chance to get away from everything and think," she said. "I think about my school work or I think about my future and sometimes I work with my grandfather and I listen to him talk about the old days when he was a little boy."

In their world, "family" usually means more people than it does in city or suburbs—grandparents, uncle and aunts and cousins are close by, sharing the work and the problems.

"My first cousins are like brothers and sisters to me," said Lu Ann Fischer of Hooker, Okla. "We all work the same farms together."

Then she added that touch of unblemished optimism which reflects her congenial upbringing, that stands out in all these kids: "I think, on the whole, the majority of Amer-

icans are good clean, wholesome people like the families we've come from."

Thus, as you might expect, these young people are concerned by current troubles in America and the world, but they are not in the least rattled by them. If you have confidence in your own future, you are less prone to doom-and-gloom predictions in the current media crisis. If you believe the nation's survival depends on the goodness of all its people, you are perhaps not so upset when a few more politicians turn out to be crooks. If you do not believe that the future promises utopia, then you are less disturbed by temporary disasters.

STILL OPTIMISTIC

"I'm still optimistic," said Connie Cole, 17, of Carrollton, Ga. "I feel Nixon has not been proven guilty of anything yet. People are jumping to a lot of conclusions, but we've been here for 200 years and we'll survive Watergate."

"This Watergate business," Jim Stitsworth continued "has been going on for years and this is just the first time it's come out."

"On both sides," added Sally Betts, of Castle Rock, Colorado. That perspective on the scandal was frequently expressed by the 4-H winners.

Mark Van Schuyver, 18, of Chickasha, Okla., added a mild demurrer: "You have to remember that, if I did that business, they'd throw me in a hole and throw away the key." The other youngsters agreed.

"Watergate depresses me," said Paul Mosser, 19, of Casper, Wyo. "I just wish Nixon would come out and tell everything—I really believe he's innocent and I wish he would prove it."

OTHERS SKEPTICAL

Others are more skeptical. "I think the basic problem," said Kevin Swaim, a young farmer from Marshall, Ind., "is that too many politicians work for themselves and the government instead of for the people."

The 4-H winners talked wistfully about changing that, but their tone did not seem too helpful. The idea of impeachment chills most of them. "Impeachment would be a real black-eye," said George Andrew, the hog farmer from Wisconsin even though he thinks Nixon has failed as a leader.

Ronny Scott closed the subject with this question: "Well, if Nixon gives up and quits, do you think we'll find anybody who is any more honest?" The boys in swine production all shook their heads.

Questions of war-and-peace are also familiar to them. They are given to discussing a nuclear apocalypse as something quite possible in their lives, but largely beyond their personal control.

Mark Van Schuyver sums up his views on the Middle East conflict: "It really wouldn't be that big a deal if the big powers didn't get in there. I really don't care myself. Let them have their own war."

BIBLE ON WAR

"I'm not sure I believe in that," said Lu Ann Fischer, "because the Bible says there's going to be a whole lot of war and nuclear war and I believe Jesus is coming again. I really believe that."

"I'm not sure I believe in that," said Sally Betts from Colorado, "but I do think one day we'll blow ourselves up."

Carol Byrd, 17, of Merritt Island, Fla., states the hopeful outlook: "We should be able to reason our way out of war. Fighting is for animals and we're not animals."

"You sound just like my mother," Nancy Hardey, 18, from Sulphur, La., muttered to herself.

The impending energy shortages and its implications divide the 4-H winners, just like others Americans, in predictable arguments over priorities, who gets fuel first

(farmers, of course) and who makes the sacrifices, industry or the environment.

"The United States could carry the bulk of its own oil production," said Kevin Swalm, "if we would stop worrying about killing a few ducks."

"But it's more than killing a few ducks," insisted Patty Ogasawara, 19, from Davis, Calif. "It's a question of throwing off the whole ecosystem."

"Well," said Swalm, "we've gone so far now. We'd have to drop back to the dark ages or something."

"I just don't believe that," Ogasawara snapped.

In general, however, they regard the so-called crisis in energy as a welcome opportunity for Americans to rediscover the self-sacrifice of their ancestors.

NEED TO APPLY BRAKE

"We need to put a little brake on our selfishness," said Sally Betts.

"I don't know how we can call going without a little bit—self-sacrifice," said Brent Barnes. "All we can compare it with is having so much."

"If we're forced into this situation of not being able to go anywhere," said Lee Frey, 19, of Hagerstown, Md., "maybe it will force us to do some serious thinking, to get to know that neighbor we don't know."

The 4-H winners were unimpressed by it all—war, scandal, crisis. Maybe they should be. But their own personal experiences have convinced them that hard work and good people do prevail in this world, however imperfectly.

"Whatever crisis we're going through now, it will all blow over," said Gracie Yarbrough of Tennessee, "and we'll get back to normal."

"People in this country are so scared of change," Brent Barnes from Oklahoma lamented. "Yet without change we really would be in the dark ages."

So, unlike those forebears portrayed in "American Gothic," this generation is not afraid of change—perhaps because these kids have such a strong notion of which essentials ought to stay the same.

"We're probably more fortunate than most kids," Dan Tronchetti of Jefferson, Iowa, admitted. "Coming from a stable environment, we're lucky, learning about farming, learning about swine production. A lot of kids are just drifting around, don't seem to know whether they're coming or going."

[From the Sunday Oklahoman, Dec. 2, 1973]

ENTIRE STATE SHARES IN NATIONAL 4-H ACHIEVEMENT

(By Robert B. Allen)

CHICAGO.—You might think that planners of the 1973 National 4-H Congress had Oklahoma squarely in mind when they picked the theme of this year's meeting—"4-H Puts It All Together."

And that is exactly what the Sooner state did in sweeping the richest of all teen-age congresses.

In coming through with 23 national winners, four regional champions and two sectional titlists, Oklahoma put together a variety of talent from all across the state for the big triumph.

When the 44-member blue ribbon delegation flew home this weekend, it also carried \$18,600 in college scholarship money, second biggest amount ever won by an Oklahoma team.

16 COUNTIES SHARE HONOR

This year, it may be surprising to know, the state's national winners came from as many as 16 different counties. By combining their talents in a variety of contests, they out-distanced California, which finished second. Indiana was in third place.

Grady and Washita counties each produced three of Oklahoma's 1973 national winners. From Grady, they were Leslie Moore, in the automotive program; Mark Van Schuyver, health, and Kathy Jackson, dairy foods. The champions from Washita County included Brent Barnes, leadership; Glee Dale, dress revue, and Ronny Scott, swine.

NO AREA HAS CORNER

Here is how other counties contributed to the big Oklahoma victory. From Logan were James Pfeiffer, petroleum power, and Debra Harris, electric. From Texas County the winners were Lou Ann Fischer, health, and Ronald Quinn, achievement, while Alfalfa County had Suzanne Roush in citizenship and Gwen Shaw, achievement.

Also winning were Randy Waters from Beckham County for photography; Nancy Howell, Kingfisher County, in the sheep program; Paula Schnaithman, Garfield, health. Also Angie Franks from Woodward County in horsemanship; Twyla Graybill, who won first in bicycle safety from Dewey County; Susan LeGrand, Payne County, clothing; Donnita Weinkauff, Tulsa, public speaking; Joel Ballard, Jackson County, safety; Jennifer Jackson, from Caddo County, in food nutrition; Cam Foreman, who scored tops in agriculture from Cimarron County, and Dru-Ann McCluskey from Noble County, who still won a national honor for home management even though she was hospitalized with an extended illness in Oklahoma.

NO MARKET

"No one part of Oklahoma has a corner on the winner's market," said Dr. Eugene Williams, of Oklahoma State University who is the state's 4-H program chief. "During the last three years, the state's national winners have come from Cimarron to McCurtain counties and from Jackson to Delaware. It all stands as a real tribute to support at the local level and the fine adult leadership that is so active throughout our state."

Other counties which have had a hand in turning out national winners in the past three years include Pottawatomie, Oklahoma, Washington, Comanche, Muskogee, Kay, Okmulgee, Canadian, Major, Grant, Osage, Blaine and Nowata.

In the age group, this year's national champions from the Sooner state extended all the way from 15 to 19. Eight of them are in college while nearly half of the total still are attending high school.

"It all shows just how widespread this 4-H program is when you count that 31 of our counties have shared in national, regional and sectional championships over just a three-year period," said Ray Parker, another ranking state 4-H official.

60,000 ENROLLED

During that span, 42 of the counties also have come up with state winners.

There are more than 60,000 youngsters enrolled in the expanding state 4-H program and the 1973 national and regional winners matched Oklahoma's all-time high posted last year.

Adding even more luster to Oklahoma's glowing record in the 52 years that the 4-H program has been going, Oklahoma has come up with an almost unbelievable total of 444 national winners.

URBAN AREAS CONTRIBUTE

Officials at the national congress, which this year was attended by 1,600 contestants from all 50 states, agreed that few areas in the nation could equal the Sooner state's blue ribbon showing.

Today, there are 5.5 million boys and girls enrolled in 4-H activities. Even though founded in rural America, the 4-H program has flexed its muscles and broadened its

dimensions, until now many of the contestants come from urban areas.

AN EAST LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY CHOOSES ITS PRIORITIES

Mr. TUNNEY, Mr. President, East Los Angeles, having the world's second largest concentration of Americans of Mexican descent, is in the process of petitioning for a referendum to incorporate itself into a city.

The area is divided among five assemblies, three State senate and congressional districts. The constituents have but one elected official representing the entire area and this includes 1 million other residents.

I fully support the people of East Los Angeles in their effort to seek local regulation over their socioeconomic and political conditions.

As a principle in directing the effort to incorporate the East Los Angeles area, Mr. Esteban Torres is eminently qualified to discuss the particulars for local self-determination and home rule.

Mr. President, the article written by Mr. Torres is worthy of the attention of all my colleagues.

I ask unanimous consent to have the remarks of Esteban Torres printed in the RECORD.

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

NEW SPIRIT IN THE BARRIOS

(By Esteban E. Torres)

The explosive and destructive events of the late 1960's in America's urban ghettos and barrios were a manifestation of the frustrations and crushing hopelessness of millions of neglected Americans. Yet the spirit of Californians living in these pockets of poverty is formidable and they are now on the march to build a better world for themselves and their children.

This new spirit among Mexican-Americans—dwellers of the barrios—not only in East Los Angeles but in communities throughout California, stems from a growing awareness that they must participate in the mainstream of the planning process if they are going to realine the future they envision. This article will describe how community awareness has evolved in East Los Angeles.

East Los Angeles is a 6.5-square-mile piece of unincorporated territory lying 4.5 miles east of the Los Angeles Civic Center. It is an area that, according to the 1970 census, contains 105,000 residents, 83 percent of whom have Spanish surnames. To many, East Los Angeles is known as "the second capital of Mexico" because it is in the center of an area having a larger number of residents of Mexican descent than any city in the world, with the exception of Mexico City and Guadalajara.

The unincorporated "island" of East Los Angeles is bordered by the city of Los Angeles on the north and west, the city of Commerce on the south, and the cities of Monterey Park and Montebello on the east. Its topography ranges from the hills of City Terrace on the north, which command some spectacular views of the Los Angeles basin, to the southern flatlands of Belvedere Gardens, where the Santa Ana Freeway winds out of the maze of downtown interchanges and heads for Orange County.

The Santa Ana is one of four freeways which have displaced hundreds of Mexican-American families in the area. The San Bernardino Freeway runs through the northern

corner of East Los Angeles, separating the largely residential areas from the industrial section. East Los Angeles is also literally quartered by the Pomona and Long Beach freeways.

Whittier Boulevard is the area's major commercial strip, lined with retail stores, theaters and restaurants whose neon lights draw young Chicanos from all over East Los Angeles for automobile cruising and socializing on weekend nights. Three years ago, Whittier Boulevard was the scene of major rioting which broke out when tensions between many of the youths in the area and local law-enforcement officers finally reached a long-feared breaking point.

Those riots symbolized a frustration and blind anger over a myriad of social problems. Chief among them was in fact that in East Los Angeles the barrio residents have little or no access to local government, much less to state or federal government. The area is divided among five Assembly, three state Senate and three Congressional districts. The only elected official representing the entire area is County Supervisor Ernest Debs, whose district extends as far as West Los Angeles and includes some 1.5 million other residents. Thus it is understandable why the people of East Los Angeles feel helpless to change the socio-economic conditions that beset their community in terms of housing, education, public safety, transportation and health-care services.

It is out of such frustrations that the new spirit of self-determination has emerged. One manifestation is the formation of neighborhood or community unions. Generally under corporate charter, these organizations are providing a direct approach heretofore not available to the ordinary citizen in dealing with the various levels of government and the private sector.

The East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU), of which I am executive director, was founded in 1968 by 14 labor unions in an attempt to apply labor organizing techniques among the residents of Los Angeles' eastside community. TELACU operates on the theory that the key to improving life in the barrio is economic development.

In the beginning, TELACU carried out its social, housing, business and job-development programs throughout the entire eastern-Los Angeles County area where some 500,000 Mexican-Americans live in scattered barrios. Since 1971, while it still maintains some projects in outlying areas, the TELACU staff—which includes attorneys, accountants, urban planners and economists—has concentrated its efforts in unincorporated East Los Angeles.

Current TELACU activities are divided between the corporation's two main components, one dealing with social projects to meet the immediate needs of barrio residents and the other emphasizing economic and urban development in the barrio. The eventual aim of projects launched by the economic-development arm of TELACU is to produce revenues to support the services provided by the social branch. Among present social services are the senior-citizens' association and five food-stamp centers throughout the county. In the planning stages are a credit union, day-care centers and a local transportation service for East Los Angeles. The economic development branch's greatest activity has been in housing and urban development. The division has formed a general construction firm which is involved in building two small housing projects of moderate- and low-income homes in the East Los Angeles area. The firm also tries to help other Mexican-American contractors, mostly small subcontracting businesses, to obtain large building contracts which they would not be able to bid for on their own. Under contracts from the county, TELACU is also working to get Mexican-Americans directly involved in two major urban redevelopment projects in East Los Angeles.

It is through such activities that TELACU, as a community development corporation, has had far-reaching effects in dealing with the problem of how a large community of inner-city residents can meet the challenges of a rapidly changing urban society planned from the outside with little if any community input.

Heretofore, Mexican-Americans have recoiled at the mention of urban renewal. It is often called "Chicano removal." Why this aversion? Because urban renewal and change have often come about at their expense and to their detriment. But the bad connotation, the bad taste, the bad feeling associated with urban renewal is being overcome because redevelopment is now being planned and directed by the people who once opposed it.

A case in point is the Maravilla Neighborhood Development Program, which is taking the very people who live in this 31-block area—the poor, the disenfranchised—and involving them directly in the planning process. The Maravilla project is made possible by a major Housing and Urban Development grant from the federal government which will total \$24 million over an eight-year period.

However, it is not enough simply to make possible new dwellings for people. We must take into account other social dimensions beyond having a roof over one's head. We must provide for local participation in the economic factors inherent in construction of the houses, as well as local planning for the social activities of the people who will live in them.

By way of background, much of the housing in the Maravilla area was temporary housing put up during World War II. But people are still living there. Now they simply want out. The place is falling apart, and it was up to us to correct the situation by bringing about a new community through redevelopment with the support of all its residents.

The Maravilla residents were not supportive at first because the planners came in, and the county housing authority, and the county supervisor, and said, "Here is your new community. Here is the community we are going to give you. Now look at these fine, square cracker boxes. Look at the nice grid system of streets. Aren't they beautiful?"

"We don't want that," said the people of Maravilla.

"But look at the parking lot," came the reply. "You can park safely—the lights are on all night. Your wives can park their cars when they come from shopping. There are no security problems," the planners said.

"Yeah," someone said, "but .22 bullets put out the parking-lot lights at night. Then what do we do?"

"We don't like these grids," said another, "these streets that cross this way and that way. Why can't we have something more suitable to the culture and life of our community?"

So it is that Maravilla residents, businessmen and property owners have formed their own miniature community council which rules on all aspects of planning and implementation of the redevelopment program. Not only has the council designated such things as which areas will be devoted to housing for the elderly and which for younger families, it has also made arrangements whereby the people who are to live in the rehabilitated area can take part in the actual construction of their own housing units. In another instance, the energies of barrio youth gangs have been put to good purpose in the demolition of dilapidated buildings.

Beyond the substantial local input to planning and development, the Maravilla project has sparked a move to incorporate the 6.5-square-mile piece of county territory into a city. With a population now estimated to be 125,000, recent studies have demonstrated that the East Los Angeles area has a reliable tax base and could sustain itself as Los An-

geles County's 12-ranking city in terms of population.

The move to incorporate recently received a boost when in early August the Local Agency Formation Commission (LAFCO) agreed that the city of East Los Angeles could be a viable municipality and authorized the Ad Hoc Committee to Incorporate East Los Angeles (ACTIELA) to begin circulating petitions in the area for an incorporation election to take place sometime in 1974.

The proposal submitted to the county by ACTIELA calls for the establishment of a city-administrator form of government with a five-man city council elected at large. While many vital services, including fire protection and refuse collection, would remain with the county, the proposed city could opt to have its own police force, parks-and-playground system, and street maintenance. The first annual city budget is estimated at \$4.6 million.

According to a feasibility study made with the help of the TELACU staff for ACTIELA, the new city could anticipate revenue of at least \$4.7 million its first year, not counting additional funds that might be obtained through federal revenue-sharing and special grants from state and federal agencies.

The incorporation effort is a deliberate attempt by a large minority community to administer their own local government. It stems from a basic desire by many of the leaders and residents of the area to plan their own future rather than leaving it in the hands of the county urban-affairs department and the Division of Highways, or to piecemeal annexation by surrounding cities.

Though projects such as those sponsored by TELACU have encouraged the new spirit, what has made accomplishment possible is the realization by the people of East Los Angeles that in order to deal effectively with their environment they must come together—that in order to deal with the inequities they have suffered, the social, economic and political deprivations, there must be a deliberated organization on their part. Because of this growing awareness, what began as small economic-development projects five years ago has culminated in the present move for unincorporation.

Alliances such as those TELACU has built around social, economic and community-planning projects could be significant examples for establishment of the community councils envisioned in *The California Tomorrow Plan*. In terms of the East Los Angeles experience, it is evident that these community councils and unions can provide a democratic and effective means for people to appraise the social, economic, environmental and political needs of their community and take part in the decision-making necessary to fulfill the needs.

CARPOOLING

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, not long ago, I introduced a bill calling for the establishment and funding of carpooling incentive plans. In yesterday's Washington Post, there was a news article about an 11-man carpool in Los Angeles which has saved an estimated 9,000 gallons of gasoline in the past year and, in the process, subtracted 10 vehicles from Los Angeles daily traffic jam with the resultant reduction in automotive air pollution. 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:

ELEVEN-MAN LOS ANGELES CAR POOL SAVES 9,000 GALLONS A YEAR

Working in the Los Angeles offices of Texaco, Inc., on Wilshire Boulevard, 11 men gathered in the garage each day at about

4:15 p.m., climb into a van, and head over the freeways to Valencia, 30 miles to the north.

In the 1st 12 months, according to Texaco, the van racked up 14,400 miles on its round trips. If the 11 men had taken their own cars, total mileage would have been 158,400 miles—and ten vehicles would have been added to the daily jam on the freeways.

Texaco said this one example of carpooling saved 9,000 gallons of gasoline last year. The oil company said one of the men involved, Walt Mercer, is responsible for the pool. He started thinking about the idea in 1971 and the first trip was in early 1972.

Four rules have guided operations since: (1) only on inclement days is door-to-door service provided, otherwise there are central pickup points, (2) all participants share in costs, (3) Mercer is the steady driver unless out of town, when a substitute is selected in alphabetical order on a daily basis, and (4) the van waits exactly one minute for late-comers—and that's all.

THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, secure in its own dedication to the concepts of human rights, the United States took the lead in helping draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which provides that—

All human beings are born free and in equal dignity and rights.

The Declaration further states that—

The foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world is based upon the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family.

The Genocide Convention puts the lofty principles embodied in this and other great documents into the framework of international law. In fact, it was the first human rights treaty to pass the United Nations, primarily due to U.S. leadership.

What does this treaty seek to do? Its purpose is clear and simple. It would outlaw actions that would result in the systematic elimination of members of racial, ethnic, national, or religious groups. It seeks to prevent mass annihilation such as the killing of Armenians by the Turks in World War I or the Jewish people by the Nazis in World War II.

Mr. President, this treaty has languished before the Senate for too many years. Genocide is a crime that is offensive to the world community and we must now place our moral leadership behind the effort to prevent it. I urge my colleagues to join me in the effort to have the current Congress act.

THIRD LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the third Law of the Sea Conference opens today in New York with 148 nations participating—twice as many as at the earlier Geneva conferences of 1958 and 1960. The goal of this conference is an ambitious one—to lay down in a single international treaty the laws necessary to regulate all ocean space.

As ocean users have multiplied, the classical political question of "who gets what" has been thrust to the center of the debate over the future of the oceans. With wise answers to this question, in-

ternational cooperation and justice can prevail in the ocean. With shortsighted answers, 70 percent of the Earth's surface could become an arena for serious international tension and conflict. The conference may be a last opportunity for an international solution to the problem of managing the oceans and exploiting their resources.

The conference must address itself to five basic groups of issues—the deep seabed, the territorial sea, the right of free passage, the issue of economic zones, and international pollution standards. These are difficult issues, reflecting differing conceptions of national and international interests, and they will surely test the skills of the negotiators. Agreement must be reached—and quickly—for the problems of the oceans are too pressing to be put aside. This conference must establish laws to protect the freedom of the high seas, beyond a 12-mile territorial sea, for navigation, communication, and scientific research; establish an international regime to regulate the development of the deep seabed mineral resources; reach new international understandings to protect the marine environment; and conclude an international agreement to conserve the world's fisheries resources.

Rapid progress on these issues is not a utopian hope. It is an imperative of prudent diplomacy, and the conference will hopefully mark the opening of a new political process for working together on shared ocean problems.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two articles on the Law of the Sea Conference be printed in the RECORD, one from yesterday's Washington Post and the other from today's New York Times.

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

WHO OWNS SEABED RICHES?

U.N. PARLEY HOPES TO HARNESS RUSH FOR MINERALS

(By Anthony Astrachan)

UNITED NATIONS, December 1.—The third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea is scheduled to open here Monday despite little preliminary agreement on how to regulate the exploitation of trillions of dollars worth of seabed minerals and ocean fish.

After three years of slow progress in preparatory meetings, the conference will try to write a treaty encompassing natural resources, naval and commercial shipping, scientific research, marine pollution control and other vital interests.

Only the Soviets and their allies have expressed official misgivings about insufficient preparation. The United States and most nations seem to hope that the conference itself will generate enough momentum to reach agreement before private interests start mining seabed minerals without regard for the rights or needs of the international community.

The December session is to choose officers and a secretariat and set procedure for the conference. Substantive issues will be decided at a 10-week meeting this summer in Caracas, a last-minute substitute for Santiago after the Chilean coup. There will be a further session in Vienna in 1975 if needed.

One Canadian and three American companies have already invested over \$100 million in deep-sea mining technology. Howard Hughes has a \$60 million boat picking up

manganese nodules from the deep Pacific Ocean floor on an experimental basis.

Originally nations appeared to be dividing into two opposing groups over the seabed issues, but the groupings have since become more jumbled.

The rich maritime powers, led by Britain, Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States, demanded maximum freedom of navigation for their many ships and maximum freedom of resource exploitation for their advanced technology.

The poor nations wanted an international authority with real power to tax and regulate the exploitation of the seabed beyond national limits. They also wanted the power to participate in the exploitation itself. Under this plan, much of the wealth from the international seabed would be distributed to the poor countries. Some idealists proposed that a share go to the United Nations for peace-keeping and other purposes.

But the poor states with coastlines soon decided that they would profit more by asserting control over a wide band of sea and seabed. This would leave less of the high seas and the deep seabed to the international authority, but give the coastal states the right to make deals with multinational corporations or rich countries to exploit the wealth in their newly expanded waters. There would be more income for the coastal states this way than if the wealth were widely shared.

Twenty-nine poor states without coastlines then began to worry that they would lose their claims to seabed wealth. Some, like Zambia, began to worry that their small wealth, dependent on land minerals, would lose value if the same materials were pulled out of the ocean by the ton. In response to these arguments, the Organization of African Unity gave the landlocked states a share of fishing wealth in its common position on the law of the sea. Zambia and Uganda are now asking for a share of mineral wealth as well.

The opposing groups are not rigid. Canada is in the same group as the poor coastal states on most issues but agrees with the United States that fish like salmon should be controlled by the countries in whose waters they spawn. The Soviet Union agrees with the United States on most issues but feels, unlike Washington, that coastal states should not control most kinds of fish.

The success or failure of the conference may depend on a handful of states in each group who see that they can satisfy their own needs by giving some ground to other groups.

The Americans have repeatedly suggested that if the conference does not adopt a position they can live with, and do so by 1975, they will move unilaterally to guarantee the U.S. investments in seabed exploitation that are already being mobilized. The mining industry is lobbying for a bill in the Congress that will do just that.

But Washington is flexible for two reasons. First, all the various U.S. interests—the coastal and distant fishing industries, the oil, mining and shipping industries, the unions, the scientists and pollution control experts, and the military—are so much in conflict with each other that the United States finds it difficult to take a single tough position toward the rest of the world.

Second, U.S. Delegate John R. Stevenson is given credit by many other diplomats for seeing that the United States, like the developing coastal nations, must give a little to get a little.

The substantive issues which all these states must face fall into five basic groups:

THE DEEP SEABED

This is where the real wealth lies, beyond the likely 12-mile extension of territorial waters and 200-mile coastal states economic zone.

Potato-shaped, potato-sized nodules of manganese and other minerals lie on the deep seabed in fantastic quantities. Estimates vary from 90 billion to 1.6 trillion tons in the North Pacific alone.

One industry guess is that the nodules will sell for something like \$115 a ton when they can be brought up in quantity. Others estimate the seabed could produce \$6.5 billion worth of nodules a year for 100 years.

Leigh S. Ratiner of the U.S. Department of the Interior, a key member of the U.S. delegation to the conference, estimates that if three companies start mining these nodules in this decade at expected rates, they will produce enough nickel to meet about 48 per cent of projected U.S. demand for 1975.

They could produce manganese equal to 12 per cent of projected U.S. demand. The effect on the U.S. balance of payments would be immense, as would the effect on mineral-exporting countries like Chile, Zaire and Zambia.

The United States wants the authority to regulate exploitation of the seabed, with guarantees to protect foreign investment and insure compulsory arbitration of disputes. The authority would collect taxes or royalties from the exploiting companies and channel part of the revenue to developing countries.

Originally the United States suggested that one-half to two-thirds of the revenue should be shared, which could mean billions of dollars in shared revenue each year. But the Americans have backed away from such high estimates as the area of seabed to be left to international control has shrunk. Fernando Zegers of Chile recently estimated the wealth to be shared at only \$300 million a year.

TERRITORIAL SEA

There is already considerable agreement on this. The territorial sea, over which coastal states have the same sovereignty they do on land, will extend 12 miles from shore. For centuries it was three miles—the range of a cannon-shot from shore. In recent years, some states have claimed territorial waters as far as 200 miles.

Agreement on a 12-mile limit hangs, however, on two conditions. The maritime states want free transit through straits that will become territorial waters. The developing coastal states want economic control over a much wider band of waters beyond the territorial seas.

FREE PASSAGE

Rich maritime states are concerned that over 100 straits containing international sea lanes will become territorial seas under the 12-mile limit.

Free passage means the coastal states could not interfere irresponsibly with others' ships. The straits states are insisting on "innocent passage," defined in a 1958 convention as shipping not prejudicial to the peace, good order and security of the straits or coastal state.

The problem is that, in each case, the straits state and not the maritime state would decide what is or is not innocent passage. South Yemen could close Bab el Mandeb to Israel-bound shipping, as it has done with Egyptian help, on the pretext that the Israelis threatened Yemeni security.

The United States and the Soviet Union are adamant against innocent passage because it requires submarines to surface before passing through straits and prevents military planes from overflying straits.

Agreement on this issue may require a form of payment. The straits states say that at the very least they are entitled to reimbursement for "improvements" to straits in their territorial waters. The United States opposes tolls imposed by straits or coastal states but might be willing to make payments to an international authority to maintain sea lanes. The maritimes may also concede that free passage through straits requires stricter behavior by the ships than free navigation on the high seas.

ECONOMIC ZONES

The developing coastal states seek the right to control both living and mineral resources beyond territorial waters. There is general agreement that some kind of economic zone should be established but nations disagree on how far it should extend and what kind of powers the coastal states should have in it.

The 200-mile economic zone has the most support. A significant minority favors a zone stretching to the edge of the continental margin, generally defined as 200 meters deep, where that is more than 200 miles from land. Some landlocked states favor a 40-mile limit to leave more ocean wealth for international sharing.

Most coastal states, including those of Africa and South America and countries like Canada and Norway, favor a 200-mile zone giving them exclusive rights to control both the fish in the water and the minerals in the seabed without interfering with navigation, international communication cables and other activities that have traditionally enjoyed freedom in the high seas.

On fishing, there are a number of variations for different kinds of fish, depending on what each country has in its coastal waters and where its ships go for their catch.

The most important difference puts Britain, Japan and the Soviet Union together favoring only minimal rights for coastal states over fishing in the economic zone. They are champion fishers in waters far from home.

The United States, in contrast, favors coastal state control no matter what the size of the zone, even up to 200 miles, except for certain species. This would be subject to international agreement on the balance between conservation needs and the maximum use of fish as food, and on compulsory arbitration of disputes. This would end most of the tuna and cod "wars" of the recent past and may well be the basis for the final agreement on fisheries.

The principal wealth of the seabed in the economic zone is expected to be oil. A U.N. study estimates that there are 2.272 trillion barrels of oil offshore, most of it within the 200-mile limit. That is 100 to 200 times more than the Alaska oil-field reserves and enough for 140 years at present world consumption rates.

RESEARCH AND POLLUTION

The developing states say they alone should control research and set pollution standards in their waters, including the 200-mile economic zone. The advanced states want maximum freedom for scientific research in the oceans and high international standards to prevent pollution. By implication, they fear that the developing states might use pollution as a pretext to harass shipping to their ports.

The United States says coastal states should have the right to set pollution-control standards higher than the international ones. This could be vitally important when it comes to a country like Canada trying to prevent oil spills from U.S.-bound oil tankers.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHT NATIONS JOINING U.N. PARLEY ON LAW OF SEA OPENING TODAY

(By Kathleen Teltsch)

UNITED NATIONS, New York, December 2.—After three years of preparation, the third Law of the Sea Conference opens here tomorrow with 148 governments seeking agreements on managing the earth's waters and exploiting their resources.

The two-week preliminary meeting is to set the guidelines for what United Nations planners call "the most important lawmaking conference ever held."

John R. Stevenson, the head of the United States delegation, also sees the conference as a "last opportunity for some sort of international solution" before the competing

interests of governments make the freedom of the high seas a thing of the past.

So complicated are the economic and political problems that the participants already have agreed that a 10-week work session beginning this summer in Venezuela will almost certainly be followed by another in Vienna in 1975.

"If there is a political will to agree, we may have achieved our goal by then," a Frenchman said. Then he shrugged and added, "If not, my grandchildren will see the results—maybe."

Two previous international conferences in 1958 and 1960 produced agreements on navigation, fishing and territorial waters but these have proved unsatisfactory or become outdated.

Participants this time will seek to lay down in a single international treaty laws regulating all ocean space.

At stake economically are minerals worth billions on the deep seabed—manganese and copper, cobalt and nickel. There are the fish and other living resources, which are already being fought over. And in a world short of energy, there is the prospect of increasing exploitation of offshore petroleum and natural gas.

The United States and other big powers have a vital interest in insuring the mobility of their fleets and almost all nations share a concern about shipping since the experts here calculate that 95 per cent of all transported goods moves by water.

Pollution is a growing concern, with ecologists warning that further poisoning of the waters could destroy life in the oceans for all time. There is broad agreement that the conference should establish the need for regulations to protect the marine environment.

The session is to open with the election of officers and Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, who headed the preparatory committee, is the favorite for the presidency.

A critically important issue is the method of voting. The current General Assembly decided by the gentleman's agreement that there would be no voting on matters of substance at the conference until all efforts to reach agreement by consensus had been exhausted.

This approach was pushed by the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States, which argued that a treaty rammed through by a majority of small countries would not be worth much if the major powers would not accept it. However, it is recognized that the interests of a few countries cannot thwart indefinitely the majority demands and so the conference will have to decide when and how decisions are to be put to a vote.

12-MILE LIMIT PUSHED

On matters of substance, there seems to be growing sentiment for establishing a 12-mile limit to territorial waters.

Some countries, notably Chile, Peru and Ecuador, have announced a 200-mile limit to safeguard their fisheries—a practice that if generally followed could mean that 35 per cent of the ocean would be claimed as national waters.

The 200-mile limit is supported by New England fishing interests, which are eager to keep Soviet and Japanese trawlers away.

The United States has upheld the traditional three-mile limit but has agreed to accept the more generally favored 12-mile limit on condition that unimpeded transit through international straits is guaranteed. The Soviet Union, Britain, France and others take a similar line.

The guarantee is of major concern because a 12-mile limit could close to free traffic such waterways as the Strait of Gibraltar, which is eight miles wide, and the Strait of Malacca, which Indonesia and Malaysia already claim as their territorial waters. More than 100 similar cases exist.

There appears to be growing support among

participants for designating some ocean space beyond the territorial limit, possibly stretching for 200 miles as an "economic zone." The United States has proposed that within this zone, where most petroleum resources are found, the coastal state should have full rights to decide who can drill for oil and full jurisdiction over the resources, although it would share some revenue with the international community.

TUSOCK MOTH EPIDEMIC IN PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, my distinguished colleagues from the Pacific Northwest have called our attention to—and worked hard to solve—the epidemic infestation of the tussock moth in the forested areas of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

In an effort to be of assistance in solving this vexing problem, I have exchanged letters with Judge Russell Train, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency.

Because I think the letters help highlight the problem and point up the necessity for the judicious application of DDT on the infested areas, I ask unanimous consent that the exchange of correspondence be placed in the RECORD so that my fellow Senators can be made aware of the problem.

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

SEPTEMBER 17, 1973.

HON. RUSSELL E. TRAIN
Administrator, Environmental Protection
Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR RUSSELL: I am writing relative to Oregon's request for restricted emergency use of DDT to combat an epidemic infestation of the tussock moth in accordance with the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act, Section 18, emergency provisions.

Given that EPA recognizes the existing conditions of infested forest lands in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and refuses to allow restricted use of DDT by certified applicators even though FIFRA has clearly defined emergency provisions, I am wondering what criteria is used to determine emergency conditions. Specifically, I want to know how many acres of timberland and how many millions of dollars worth of trees must be destroyed before EPA recognizes the existence of an emergency situation justifying the use of DDT.

I am full aware of the fact that in order for EPA to consider approving use of chemical toxicants on an emergency basis, literally reams of extensive information regarding the conditions which currently exist in a proposed use area and the precise details of the proposed program must be provided for EPA's review. And, I know, too, that this information was provided by the responsible state agencies.

Considering that the tussock moth is a threat to forest lands in Washington, Idaho, Montana and California as well as Oregon, and in view of the fact that nearly 1,000,000 acres of prime forest land is infested with the tussock moth right now, EPA's refusal to recognize this situation may mean that Congress will have to take action if any effective control is achieved.

I am enclosing for your information several editorials from Oregon newspapers that Senator Packwood has thoughtfully enclosed with his recent letter and proposed legislation. One of these editorials makes a point or two that I wish to emphasize. When EPA measures the effects of chemical toxicants, the Agency may do well to take a lesson from the Bureau of Reclamation in consider-

ing a balancing of values. It would be most helpful to me to know how EPA arrives at a benefits to cost ratio, if in fact it does.

Your cooperation in responding promptly to my inquiry would be appreciated.

With best regards,
Sincerely,

CLIFFORD P. HANSEN,
U.S. Senate.

U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL
PROTECTION AGENCY,

Washington, D.C., November 5, 1973.

HON. CLIFFORD P. HANSEN,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CLIFF: This is in response to your letter of September 17, 1973, in further regard to the damage caused by the tussock moth in the Northwest.

First, let me say that there is no specific point in terms of damage or financial loss at which we would authorize the use of DDT to combat the moth. As you suggested, our decisions are based on a balance of several factors. We must carefully weigh the benefits of the proposed use of a pesticide against the risks involved in such use before determining the validity of a request, particularly in the case of a canceled product like DDT which was, as you know, cited as an environmental hazard on the basis of mobility, persistence, and bioaccumulation in the food chain.

When EPA decided to deny the requests to employ DDT against the tussock moth this past year, the benefits of employing this chemical were of course of an economic nature in terms of the board feet of lumber which were expected to be lost to tussock moth damage in 1973. The risks of introducing 200,000 pounds of DDT into the environment of the Northwest, on the other hand, included the decrease in certain bird populations predicted from DDT residues, some fish kills and other adverse effects on wildlife, the accumulation of DDT residues in sheep and cattle grazing in the affected area, and the possible contamination of water supplies by the treatment program. It was felt that these risks outweighed the benefits of DDT use, particularly considering that the U.S. Forest Service, at the time our decisions were made, was of the opinion that the tussock moth population would collapse this season due to the incidence of a natural virus infection.

Because the virus did not take the toll expected, we are evaluating the situation as it now stands and the implications regarding the necessity of future control measures. As you know, we sent representatives from our Office of Pesticide Programs in Washington and our Regional Office in Seattle to meet in Portland, Oregon, the week of September 17 with representatives of the U.S. Forest Service and the States of Oregon and Washington to receive all the latest information on the infestation. From this information, we intend to evaluate the amount and severity of defoliation, the effectiveness of various control measures, new egg mass count data, and other population trends which may indicate the necessity for and means of controlling the tussock moth in 1974. The Agency will have ample time to consider all of this information as the application of DDT, if approved, would not be needed or effective until late spring or early summer. No one has requested that DDT should be authorized for immediate application. Should an emergency request be made for the spring or summer use of DDT, the Agency will be able to make a decision well in advance of the time of application.

Our primary findings thus far are:

1. The Forest Service indicates that there are approximately 560,000 acres in Oregon and Washington and 125,000 acres in Idaho which are primarily affected by the tussock moth at this time.

2. Most of the accessible timber killed

during 1972 has been salvage logged on both private and Federal lands. It is estimated that 505 million board feet of accessible timber lost to the tussock moth in 1973 will be salvaged.

3. Four chemical alternatives to DDT were tested during 1973: Zectran, Dylox, Sevin-4-Oil, and Bioethanomethrin.

All of these chemicals killed considerable numbers of larvae, but did not reduce the population sufficiently to prevent severe defoliation and tree mortality. Promising tests were conducted in Idaho with Sevin-4-Oil where the moth population is not as dense as experienced in Washington and Oregon.

While all four chemicals are sufficiently promising to warrant further field and laboratory testing to explore their full potential, we do not anticipate that any will be ready for registration or operational use in 1974.

4. Two microbial agents were also tested in 1973, a nuclear polyhedrosis virus and the bacterium *Bacillus thuringiensis*. Both demonstrated good potential control; foliage loss was greatly reduced in sprayed plots. Further testing is necessary before operational use can be made of these agents. Of pragmatic concern is the development of means to produce these agents in large quantities and to achieve a formulation which can be used through conventional spray systems.

5. The U.S. Forest Service has indicated that it will not be in a position to request specific control measures until detailed biological evaluations of the moth population are made this fall and winter. If the egg mass survey indicates a need for chemical control, specifically for DDT control, an application would probably be made to this agency around mid-December.

I may add that we are planning to sponsor a technical seminar in Seattle, hopefully next month, to gain further information on the tussock moth situation which may help guide us in future decisions.

I hope this information will be of value to you. Please be assured that we will continue to collect information on the tussock moth infestation as it becomes available, and will work closely with the Forest Service and the States involved in reaching a determination regarding necessary control measures in 1974.

Sincerely yours,
RUSSELL E. TRAIN, Administrator.

NOVEMBER 21, 1973.

HON. RUSSELL E. TRAIN,
Administrator, Environmental Protection
Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR RUSS: I appreciate receiving your response of November 5, 1973, to my letter of September 17, 1973, concerning the tussock moth epidemic in the Northwest.

I have studied your letter together with a letter dated November 5, to Senator Church, from Charles J. Elkins, Acting Assistant Administrator of Hazardous Materials Control Division, and a talk presented by Douglas C. Hansen, Director, Hazardous Materials Control Division, EPA, Region X, before the Intermountain Pest Action Council in Boise, Idaho, on November 14.

I am very concerned about a recurring theme expressed in your letters as "... the Forest Service, at the time our decisions were made, was of the opinion that the tussock moth population would collapse this season due to the incidence of a natural virus infestation."

It is my understanding that there were some individuals in the Forest Service, as well as the State Forestry Agencies in Oregon and Washington, that did forecast a tussock moth collapse in 1973, based on observations in some prior outbreaks, even though there are many variances from the average pattern on which this forecast is based. But, most land management agency

experts felt that the natural virus conditions were not adequate to bring about a tussock moth population collapse without incurring unacceptable tree damage in 1973. The initial Environmental Impact Statement filed by the Forest Service made this very clear. The Forest Service and the States of Oregon and Washington, and several cities, with this risk in mind, adopted a position that a DDT control program was required, and requested emergency use authority from EPA. The subsequent 1973 tree damage on over 600,000 additional acres, the largest ever recorded, bears out the correctness of that position.

My second concern is with the apparent limited interpretation of the term "environment" used by EPA. Your letter states "... the benefits of employing this chemical (DDT) were of course of an economic nature in terms of the board feet of lumber which were expected to be lost. ... The risks ... on the other hand, included the decrease in certain bird populations ... some fish kills and other adverse effects on wildlife, the accumulation of DDT residues in sheep and cattle grazing in the affected area and the possible contamination of water supplies ... Douglas Hansen expressed, 'We (EPA) must, and we do, consider carefully the economic, social and other non-environmental implications of our proposed actions.'"

I believe that the term "environmental" includes economic, social, natural and other significant influences affecting man. Effective chemical control of the tussock moth includes benefits in all three categories. The maintenance of over 600,000 acres of vigorous forests surely has natural benefits for production of wildlife, fish, water, soil protection and recreation and social benefits to community stability and human health, in addition to the immediate economic benefit you mention. A large question in my mind is whether there is valid scientific data that allows objective definition of the magnitude of the risks you mention.

I hope that the seminar that EPA sponsored on November 16 in Seattle will help in resolution of the tussock moth control problem. I also hope that you will consider the early authorization for the emergency use of DDT on the tussock moth. The actual area to which DDT is applied should be based on specific pre-determined criteria worked out and defined between your agency, the Forest Service and the States involved. This would allow for better planning and organization so important to an effective insect control program.

Sincerely,

CLIFFORD P. HANSEN, U.S. Senate.

ARMS CONTROL—A BALANCE SHEET

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, last Friday I had the privilege of addressing the third annual meeting of the Arms Control Association. This association is composed of men and women actively interested in and working in the field of arms control.

I strongly believe that the recent war in the Middle East should not deter us from our goal of continuing to work for arms control agreements with the Soviet Union in SALT and elsewhere. Arms control reductions obtained through mutual negotiations continue to be in America's and the world's best interests.

Both the nuclear arms race and the proliferation of conventional weapons in the Middle East and elsewhere bear the close scrutiny of Members of Congress and executive branch policymakers. The successes we have had in the past decade in arms control could be destroyed un-

less real progress is made to reach an agreement on MIRV's at SALT II as well as obtaining mutual troop reductions at the Vienna MBFR Conference.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my remarks before the Arms Control Association be printed in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

It's a great pleasure to accept the invitation of Adrian Fisher, Bill Foster and many other old friends in the Arms Control Association to address their third annual meeting today.

National security is the major concern of every country, and rightly so.

And how to achieve national security is the most perplexing question of all.

There are those who believe that national security can be obtained in the philosophy of what we once called Fortress America—an America armed to the teeth, an America that is protectionist in areas of foreign trade, an America that turns its back upon the third world—the poor and the developing countries. This concept of national security I reject.

There are those who believe that national security can be achieved primarily through international organization—through strengthening the United Nations and by placing our reliance upon the role of law in the international arena. I would like to be able to embrace this concept, but I find the real world as yet not ready to abandon the age-old doctrines of national sovereignty and national independence.

There are those who believe that national security is primarily military power, that the measure of a country's strength is in the quality and quantity of its weaponry and the number in the armed services.

This concept of national security ignores the real strength of a nation; namely, its economy and the faith and confidence of the people in themselves and in their institutions of social order.

My concept of national security is based upon the interdependence of nations and the interrelationship of military, economic and political power. In other words, the military is but the cutting edge of the strong blade of the national economy. National security includes the development and use of international institutions to resolve tension and conflict. It includes the expansion of world commerce and trade, the communication between peoples and nations, and, above all, the economic and social development of all areas of the world.

But there are those who say that when you talk of arms control, what you're really doing is impairing your national security.

As 1973 draws to a close, the balance sheet on arms control is decidedly mixed.

While we have been making slow but steady progress to control nuclear weapons, the conventional arms race has accelerated rapidly.

While we were in the midst of reducing political tensions among the superpowers in Europe and Asia through expanded commercial and diplomatic relations, the war in the Middle East erupted casting doubt and suspicion on the process of detente.

But as I see it, any form of acceptable arms control cannot be unilateral. It must be based upon mutual reductions between competing powers—reductions that are carefully balanced in terms of both quality and quantity of weapons. Or, to put it another way, there is no real national security in an arms race when each side is upping the ante. Everything is relative.

I happen to believe that we are more secure in a world where there are fewer arms, where the nuclear weaponry is under

strict limitation and control, all agreed upon and able to be carefully monitored so as to avoid any breach of contract or any violation of agreement. With these thoughts in mind, let me share with you some of my views on the subject of arms control.

While this nation finally disengaged from Southeast Asia and began to recover from the trauma of Vietnam, the fighting continued there. There are now ominous signs of a significant escalation of hostilities in the months ahead.

Finally, in the past few weeks we have witnessed the successful use of a new economic and political weapon: the Arab oil embargo.

And there are few defenses to it.

It endangers the health and security of the industrialized world.

It seriously disrupts and jeopardizes the orderly expansion and development of international trade.

And in the long run, this type of economic warfare does more damage to badly needed international stability and cooperation among nations than the threat of nuclear war.

Those of us who believe that arms control and arms reductions achieved through mutual negotiation to be in America's and the world's best interests must persevere.

Despite public skepticism and the fragile cease-fire in the Middle East, we must continue to work for arms control agreements with the Soviet Union in SALT and elsewhere.

Last June, the President and Mr. Brezhnev met at the summit to declare their intentions to continue the work of SALT I with efforts to reach agreement on a SALT II Treaty before the end of 1974.

High on the agenda—according to President Nixon—is MIRV, one of the least desirable and unnecessary weapons projects now underway.

Undesirable because they introduce new uncertainties into the strategic balance.

Unnecessary because the SALT I ABM Treaty eliminates the need for MIRVs to overcome the ABM.

I welcome this effort of SALT II, for it is the first real attempt to control one of the more serious aspects of the arms race: the race to incorporate qualitative improvements, such as warheads and greater accuracy, into existing weapons as quantitative controls are imposed through agreement.

I realize that any kind of MIRV controls will be difficult to accomplish.

But we must make a serious effort on MIRVs now.

If we move ahead with qualitative controls at SALT II, we must begin to work seriously toward actual reductions of strategic weapons.

I don't often agree with my good friend Senator Jackson in matters of arms control and disarmament, but in this respect I certainly do. I was pleased to see that he recently called for reduction in intercontinental missiles on each side—from the present 1,054 U.S. missiles and nearly 1600 Soviet missiles to 900 on each side, and from the present 41 Polaris and Poseidon missile launching submarines and 44 Soviet nuclear powered missile launching submarines down to 35 on each side.

I agree with the Senator that our deterrent forces can readily be cut to these levels without threatening the security of either side.

But let's not fool ourselves.

It will do little good to reduce the numbers of strategic nuclear weapons if we do not couple such reductions with across-the-board qualitative restrictions on them as well. If we fail to do this, the race to improve the accuracy and multiply the number of warheads on these weapons can more than offset the stabilizing effect of reducing their numbers.

Coupled with such a combination approach must also be efforts to limit the numbers and types of strategic bombers, and tackling the still more difficult issue of tactical nuclear weapons.

Neither of these problems was addressed at SALT I.

Moving on to other areas, it was encouraging that in the immediate aftermath of the "Middle East alert" the issues of troop reduction and the problem of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe are now being discussed at the talks on "Mutual Reductions of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe."

In addition to these talks, the broader-based Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe also convened this year with some promise of useful and important results.

Thus, there are at least some positive developments on the arms control front.

But there are some dangerous negative aspects as well.

Both we and the Soviet Union have been rushing forward with new efforts to modernize our forces in the absence of qualitative restraints.

New types of Soviet missile launching submarines are being deployed.

New and advanced land-based missiles are being developed and deployed.

The U.S. Trident submarine project is going forward at an accelerated pace.

Our MIRV deployment continues at the rate of three new MIRVs a day. And the Soviet Union has begun a MIRV testing program of its own.

There is yet another development in the arms control picture which I find disappointing. The Nixon administration made a serious mistake by the series of actions it took to downgrade the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

I have had the pleasure of meeting a number of the new officials of the Agency, some of whom are here today, and I have the highest regard for their dedication and hopes for their success. But it is hard to see how steady progress on the Arms control planning and the negotiating front can be possible when the entire top echelon of the Agency has been replaced, its role in the negotiations reduced, and its budget severely slashed. Even though Congress has been able to increase ACDA's research budget by a modest amount, its overall reduced budget will mean the curtailment or elimination of many useful projects it has undertaken.

Finally, in looking at the balance sheet on arms control I have to point out, there is a very important item on the agenda which rarely receives adequate attention: the comprehensive test ban.

It's high time we took the step of opening negotiations toward a CTB. Earlier this year I cosponsored Senate Resolution 67 calling for such negotiations. The measure has cleared the Foreign Relations Committee, but has yet to be considered by the Senate. I would like to see the issue opened now with the Administration taking a vigorous lead in getting these negotiations underway.

Let me now turn to the grave situation in the Middle East.

An estimated \$4 billion in destroyed armor, aircraft and sophisticated electronic equipment lies rusting in the Sinai. We and the Russians have been moving quickly to re-equip both sides with the Soviet Union outpacing our efforts.

Few would argue with the fact that Egypt is more heavily armed now than before the war introducing once again a great element of instability.

Because of this situation I continue to favor continuing Congressional consideration and approval of the President's request for emergency military assistance to Israel.

It is clear that Israel simply cannot afford all of the new equipment we supplied dur-

ing the October war as well as material now in route. But far more important, a measurably weakened Israel only seems to encourage Arab military boldness and thereby contributes to dangerous instability in the Middle East.

However, unless a fair and lasting political settlement occurs, this new equipment may be used in the most devastating Arab-Israeli war of all. This must not be allowed to happen.

Reports that the Soviet Union sent nuclear-capable missiles into Egypt during the conflict, and may have sent nuclear warheads for them as well, introduce an extremely serious new element of danger into the situation. We do not know if the nuclear warheads were actually introduced, or if so, if they are still there, or if they and the missiles remained under Russian control.

It is unlikely that the Soviet Union actually transferred control of nuclear weapons to Egypt, for that would be clear violation of the Non-proliferation Treaty, which more than 100 nations have signed, and which over 75 have ratified.

Under the Treaty, the Soviet Union has agreed not to transfer nuclear weapons to any other recipient whatsoever. Nevertheless, the situation is ambiguous. Still more disquieting is the fact that Mr. Heikal, the editor of *Al Ahram*, has issued a call for Egypt to get or make its own atomic weapons.

Egypt has signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty, although she has said she will not ratify it until Israel (which has not signed or ratified it) does so. If Egypt is now ready to renounce the Treaty and seek a nuclear capability of its own, this is bad news indeed. Both Egypt and Israel would serve the cause of peace by signing and ratifying the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

The United States has made it clear that it will not provide nuclear weapons to others. The ambiguities raised about Soviet intentions demand that the USSR also reaffirm its commitment, made under the Non-Proliferation Treaty not to transfer nuclear weapons to others.

Heikal's call for Egyptian nuclear weapons suggests that he at least thinks that introducing such weapons into the Middle East will enhance Egypt's security. On the contrary, it will diminish the security of both sides and raise grave risks for the entire world. What will enhance security is for both Egypt and Israel to sign and ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty at once, thereby renouncing any intention to rely on nuclear weapons for their security.

Two developments must now take place.

First, the cease-fire agreement and the limited direct negotiations which are now taking place at kilometer 101 must be expanded as soon as possible into a full-scale peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations. These direct negotiations between Egypt and Israel and perhaps Syria would be a major step forward.

Secondly, while the Egyptian-Israeli peace conference is occurring, a summit conference between the United States and the Soviet Union should be convened.

Out of this summit meeting, I would hope would come one major policy declaration: A commitment by the United States and the Soviet Union to take the lead in bringing about an arms embargo for the Middle East by the nations who are the principal suppliers of modern military equipment. The declaration should also include a commitment to prevent any further build-up of weaponry in the Middle East area.

Coupled with this declaration of policy should be a joint declaration that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union or any other nation which is a signatory to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty would introduce nuclear weapons or nuclear weapons technology into the Middle East. If such

weapons or technology have been introduced, they should be immediately withdrawn.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have a responsibility to prevent a re-occurrence of war in the Middle East. But, a political settlement resulting from direct negotiations will be incomplete as long as Egypt and Israel know that the supplies of arms are virtually limitless.

I am not advocating that the United States or the Soviet Union abandon their allies. Nor am I suggesting that the security of either Israel or Egypt be threatened. There can be no peace when a nation believes its security is endangered.

I am advocating, however, a joint Soviet-American declaration which will halt arms shipments to the Middle East after a mutually agreed upon date is certain.

What would be the effect of such an embargo?

Militarily, because virtually all of the equipment lost in the war has now or will soon be replaced, there would be no new threats to either side.

Furthermore, although the quality of armaments on both sides is already highly sophisticated, it would prevent the introduction of still more advanced types of weapons into the region.

Finally, it would provide a fresh impetus to efforts to bring a political settlement without resorting to war.

A two-power agreement not to proliferate conventional arms into the Middle East could mark the beginning of efforts to control the runaway arms race in non-nuclear weapons which has been escalating at an alarming rate.

According to the analysis by ACDA in the most recent "World Military Expenditures," since 1961 the world has spent over \$2 trillion on military security, \$216 billion in 1971 alone.

Unless the two principal suppliers take such action now, other countries cannot be encouraged to reduce their appetites for arms.

The time has come for the poor and developing nations of the world to stop squandering their scarce resources on arms. They are purchasing arms abroad at rates far exceeding the provision of development assistance. The billions of poor and hungry of this planet want this insane cycle of national impoverishment, death and destruction to stop.

But our nation and others continue to encourage the sale of arms as we reduce foreign aid.

We continue to deplore the arms race while doing everything possible to make it easier for developing nations to buy armaments which they do not need.

I call upon President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger to propose the convening of a summit meeting which could finally halt the arms race in the Middle East so that Arab and Jew can live in peace and the threat of nuclear war can be further diminished.

During the past decade we have witnessed considerable progress in the field of arms control.

We have seen how policies advocating a sensible and coherent approach to mutual arms limitations have moved from the periphery to the very center of relations among the great powers. And public acceptance of arms control in this country and elsewhere has increased in the era from the Limited Test Ban Treaty to SALT II.

In the years ahead, we must avoid the temptation to abandon our efforts in the face of increasing economic and political tensions among nations large and small. I realize that these new tensions will only exacerbate the reliance of some on greater military security as a hedge against increasing economic and political instability.

But we must expand our "beginnings" of the past decade so that nations no longer

must rely on military force to resolve their differences.

ARAB OIL EMBARGO

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, George F. Kennan is one of our most noted diplomat and scholar whose works have contributed greatly to our foreign policy over the last 25 years. I believe his comments on the wisdom of reliance on Arab oil are most cogent and especially pertinent at this time of shortage and rethinking of our basic assumptions about energy policy and foreign policy.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Kennan's article in the New York Times of December 2, 1973, on this subject be printed in the RECORD.

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

AND THANK YOU VERY MUCH

(By George F. Kennan)

PRINCETON, N.J.—On Nov. 17, 1973, The New York Times carried a story, from a Washington correspondent, based largely on statements of the President, concerning speculation that the Arab oil embargo on shipments to this country might soon end—that the Arab governments, or at least certain of them, might soon "relent" and resume the shipment of oil to this country.

The story contained no hint that in such a case the United States would not gratefully accept the renewed shipments; it seems, on the contrary, to have reflected an assumption on the part of various highly placed people that the United States would do just that.

This assumption causes me, as one who was once moderately involved in the planning of national policy, no small measure of amazement. I would have thought that if the events of recent weeks had taught us anything at all, it would have been the danger of allowing ourselves to remain unduly dependent upon foreign suppliers for raw materials vital to the continued prosperity of our society, especially when it is a case of suppliers who are obviously not inclined to acknowledge the responsibility they assume when they permit great industrial nations to become dependent upon them in this manner, and who feel they have no reason to respect our interests.

Particularly is this a lesson to be pondered when it relates to the Saudi Arabians. It is obvious that the Government of that country already has far more foreign currency than it needs or could even use to any particularly good effect. This has two connotations that should concern us:

First, we should reflect whether we wish, on principle, to place more money in the hands of people who are unlikely to use it to any good purpose.

Second, it means that the money with which we would be paying for further shipments of Saudi Arabian oil would be essentially valueless in their eyes. They could see these shipments, in the circumstances, only as a form of charity on their part, or as a means of assuring future arms shipments.

Either alternative is undesirable: the charity, because it represents a poor peg on which to hang the security of the supply of a commodity vital to the stability of a country's economic life; the assuring of arm shipments, because if the government we have to do with here does not hesitate to bring to us the sort of injury implicit in this abrupt withholding of oil shipments, what assurance can we have that arms placed in its hands would always be used for purposes any more compatible with our interests.

Today, of course, a further price is being asked of us; a political price; and the nature of it is such that we ought fervently to wish that we might not again be placed in a position where we are vulnerable to this sort of

demand. In addition to its being a price that can be paid only at the expense of a third party—a situation undesirable on principle, regardless of the rights and wrongs of the matter, it is one that promises no secure return, for the payment of it would leave us no less helpless and vulnerable tomorrow than we are today. If it should be demonstrated that we could be successfully whipsawed by one such demand, we would be naive to suppose that we would not soon be faced with others.

The relatively minor adjustment we would be obliged to make in order to get along without Arab oil, or at least without the oil of those who have cut us off at the present juncture, should be seen only as a beginning on a much wider process of self-emancipation from dependence on foreign-controlled sources of energy which we ought anyway to be putting in hand, with vigor and determination, at this stage in our national life.

We can be grateful that we were kicked into such a beginning. If we quail at this minor inconvenience, it will be a bad omen for our prospects for coping with the larger problem, for it will mean that our addiction to the wastage of energy, particularly through the medium of the automobile, is so abject that we prefer to face the loss of a considerable portion of our independence of policy rather than make even a minor effort to overcome the addiction. This would represent a humiliation which earlier American statesmen would never have accepted, and for which future generations of Americans would be unlikely to forgive us.

These observations flow from no hostility toward the Arabs, nor are they meant as a commentary on the rights and wrongs of their conflict with the Israelis. One can understand that certain of them have their own problems and feel themselves the victims of an historical injustice, for the remedy of which all means are fair. But justice is not an invariable feature of international life, nor is it always easy to determine to everyone's satisfaction. And a relationship of one-sided dependence, which one of the parties has shown itself quite ready to exploit for ulterior political purposes, provide a poor foundation on which to build for the future.

There are times in international life, no less than in personal affairs, when it becomes possible to live satisfactorily with people only when one has demonstrated the capacity to live without them; and this would seem to be one of those times.

The day may well come—let us hope that it will—when we have been able to create, in one way or another, sufficient bargaining power to deal with our Arab friends once again on even terms and against a background of mutual respect. But this day, obviously, will not be soon in coming. Until it comes, let us treat them with courtesy and with no ill feeling; but if faced with offers to resume the sort of shipments of which we are now being so usefully (for us) deprived, let us thank them very much and tell them frankly that we have ways of assuring the continued functioning of our national economy that are less costly in terms of our international position, of the independence of our national policy, and of our own self-respect.

ARCHBISHOP BYRNE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, as a religious leader and a deeply concerned and committed citizen, Archbishop Leo Byrne of Minneapolis has long stood in the forefront of the struggle for social justice.

His support for the Farah workers—badly paid women and men seeking only to overcome generations of discrimination against Spanish-surnamed Americans through the right to bargain for a

decent wage—should be an example to all of us in public life.

And his remarks on the right and the duty of religious leaders to speak out should be heeded as well by those of us who have been elected to serve the public interest.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Minneapolis Tribune of November 13, entitled "Archbishop Defends Farah Protest Support" be printed in the RECORD.

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

ARCHBISHOP DEFENDS FARAH PROTEST SUPPORT

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Support of the national boycott of Farah slacks and jeans by some Roman Catholic bishops was defended Monday by Archbishop Leo Byrne as part of a "long and respected tradition" of the church.

In reaffirming his position, the St. Paul-Minneapolis archbishop coadjutor and vice-president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops took issue with columnist William F. Buckley Jr. The nationally syndicated writer had said the boycott of "Farah products has become the new thing to do among the restlessly indignant."

The clergyman, in a statement distributed at the Conference of Bishops in Washington, said "Obviously, a bishop cannot speak out on every issue of social injustice. But some issues are of such magnitude that action becomes necessary."

The archbishop said Buckley's argument echoed that of Willie Farah, who heads the corporation, and a publication written by Dr. Paul Newton Poling entitled "For the Defense of Farah Workers."

He said Buckley "also ignores the fact that Mr. Farah still refuses to abide by a National Labor Relations Board order to bargain with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as the result of an election in 1970 won by the union."

Archbishop Byrne also cited an "elaborate and careful interview-study of nearly 2,000 Farah workers and strikers" by El Paso Bishop Sidney Metzger in relating some of the workers' grievances.

THE RIGHT TO OWN GOLD

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, on two occasions this year the Senate has passed measures ending discrimination against all American citizens who have been denied the right to own gold. Unfortunately, our House colleagues have not seen fit to follow this example although we were successful in legislating authority for the President to set a date certain for the private ownership of gold if in his determination economic conditions warrant it.

The battle for private ownership of gold, Mr. President, will continue so that American citizens can have the same rights as citizens of more than 70 countries in the world. I have fought for 10 years to restore this right which was lost in the early 1930s, and for 40 years Treasury has led the opposition. I have felt and continue to feel that Treasury's opposition is unwarranted and its objections based on speculation in the marketplace ignore the important fact that American citizens are being denied a right and privilege available to many foreign citizens. The fact is that the historical circumstances leading to restrictions on the ownership of gold are no longer in force. By legislation we no

longer require gold to back printed dollars, and dollars are no longer convertible into gold. This demonetization places gold in the same category as scrap steel, pork bellies, and other commodities, and should be available for ownership.

Recently, Dr. Henry Jarecki of the Mocatta Metals Corp. made some comments about the current situation relative to gold ownership, and I would like to share with my colleagues some of his views. I think he has laid to rest some of the erroneous thinking about the adverse effects of gold ownership and I urge Members of the Senate to continue to support the battle to restore first-class rights to American citizens. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the news release of Dr. Jarecki's speech be printed in the RECORD.

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

**LEADING GOLD AND SILVER BULLION DEALER
PREDICTS LIFTING BAN ON AMERICAN CITIZENS OWNING GOLD WILL STRENGTHEN U.S.
DOLLAR**

Dr. Henry G. Jarecki, Chairman of Mocatta Metals Corporation, America's largest gold and silver bullion dealer, declared in a speech delivered at the American Metal Market Gold and Silver Forum today that the U.S. government's recently announced plan to permit U.S. citizens to own gold would strengthen the U.S. dollar and provide the American government with an unparalleled instrument of monetary policy.

Dr. Jarecki pointed out that relatively little gold hoarding takes place in countries which, like the United States, have had little experience with runaway inflation and whose citizens are on the whole not trying to hide assets from a tax-hungry or otherwise oppressive government. For the first several months after trading is permitted in the United States purchases might be heavy, he said, but they would soon taper off to quite modest proportions as was the case in Japan when that country lifted its gold ban in April of this year.

Speaking before 150 bankers, investment advisors, mining executives and metal merchants at the annual forum, Dr. Jarecki said that Americans are currently believed to own approximately \$5 billion worth of gold illegally and expressed doubt that making ownership legal would greatly add to this amount. He noted that the restoration of legal ownership might well increase the confidence of the rest of the world in the paper dollar when it became clear that American citizens were not rushing to swap their dollars for gold.

Dr. Jarecki, who is also a Director of Mocatta & Goldsmid Limited, bullion dealer in London since 1884, then turned to the effect of free gold ownership on the traditional alternatives to gold investment, saying that legalized gold trading might lead some U.S. investors to turn away from gold mining shares, silver bullion, and silver futures. Pointing out that the gold price has for the past six to twelve months tended to move up whenever the U.S. stock market moved down, he felt that this pattern was unlikely to continue indefinitely and that no clear pattern one way or another would be exerted on stock market behavior. He said that the experience in France and other countries where both gold and gold coins are freely traded suggested that speculators and investors would show increasing interest in the acquisition of gold coins which he described as "beautiful, easily transportable, easily recognizable, small units of known weight and assay, whose counterfeiting is prone to penalties all over the world". The former Yale psychiatrist turned bullion dealer said that the "convenience yield" of gold

coins might be considered to be the "encapsulation of bewilderment and temporary respite from existential despair".

Commenting on the effect on the U.S.'s monetary posture, he expressed his view that open market operations in gold on the part of the Federal Reserve Board in which the latter would offer domestic and foreign central bank gold for sale to the United States citizens would dampen inflation and offer the U.S. government an "unparalleled instrument of monetary policy" with which to regulate the money supply and insulate domestic monetary policy from international capital movements. He predicted that this activity would establish what he called a "triangular harmony" between the Federal Reserve Board's money, bond, and gold operations. The importance of this approach to gold sales was underlined in his comment that if American citizens purchased their gold abroad, it would have a negative influence on the U.S. balance of payments and fuel inflation, the more so if the European Economic Community simultaneously revalued its official holdings upward for all this together would create a massive international capital base.

Pointing out that the U.S. Congress has already authorized the President in his discretion to permit the domestic ownership of gold and that the Secretary of the Treasury has announced the current Administration's intention to use this authority, Dr. Jarecki stated that he considered "the remonetization of paper money" likely, and concluded that gold is not an enemy of the dollar but that a return to it would strengthen the U.S.

**THE VISIT OF MR. CEAUSESCU TO
THE UNITED STATES**

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the presence in our country for the second time of the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, is a most welcome event. Indeed, as the United States approaches the 200th anniversary of its own independence, it is altogether fitting that we give appropriate recognition to the uniquely independent role which Romania has assumed among the countries of Eastern Europe—an independence which has a number of dimensions, political, economic, and humanitarian.

It is Romania's independence of political action which has been most evident to the American people in recent years. In 1968, the voice of Romania stood out in defense of liberty during the oppressive invasion of Czechoslovakia by the U.S.S.R. Romania has declined to invite Warsaw Pact troops into its territory for military maneuvers. Romania alone among the Comecon countries recognizes and maintains good relations with Israel. Romania's diplomatic skills and good offices have been instrumental in arranging promising meetings between the United States and the Peoples Republic of China.

Perhaps less known to the American people is the economic dimension of Romania's independence, a dimension which holds the promise of much mutual benefit to the peoples of both nations. Romania has actively and with resolution sought both to develop its internal economy and to become an important and valuable member of the world's economic community. Thus Romania in 1971 became the first Comecon country in recent years to become a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and in December of 1972 the first Comecon

member of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Similarly, Romania was the first Comecon country to negotiate trade preferences with the European Common Market. While 80 to 90 percent of Romania's foreign trade during the 1950's was with Comecon members, the current figure is only 50 percent, a concrete indication of its avowed intent to gain and maintain economic independence.

A third dimension of Romania's independence is evident in its demonstrated concern for humanitarian principles. In addition to its even-handed treatment of its own emigrés, Romania, without public fanfare, has regularly provided assistance to emigrés from other countries passing through Romania, including Soviet Jews.

These political, economic, and humanitarian dimensions of Romanian independence are only a part of Romania's efforts to expand its role within the world economic community. Since President Ceausescu's first visit to the United States in 1970, his country has made great strides—unprecedented among the Comecon nations—to facilitate foreign investment within Romania and to develop joint ventures with foreign concerns in the developing countries. In early 1971, the Romanian Foreign Trade Act was adopted, abrogating earlier restrictive legislation and for the first time providing clear legislative authority for the encouragement of foreign trade and investment. In late 1972, two additional laws, the Decree on Joint Companies and the Tax Decree, provided the general framework within which Romania and foreign investors are now able to fashion joint projects in the fields of industry, agriculture, tourism, and the like.

Earlier this year, the first American beneficiary of the new legislation entered into a joint venture with Romania—the first with any Comecon country—for the manufacture of computer-related hardware, a project which involves an initial investment of \$4 million. Total output for the first 5 years of this project is expected to exceed \$15,000,000. Since that time another American company has concluded an agreement with Romania to construct and provide know-how for a 400,000-square foot, \$75 million radial tire plant. Many other American companies have shown keen interest in investing jointly with Romania in mutually beneficial projects.

I might add that the United States and Romania are expected soon to conclude a treaty for the prevention of double taxation. Nor should we fail to remember that Romania was the first Comecon country to purchase U.S. aircraft, a \$40 million passenger plane transaction.

These actions by Romania were encouraged—and reciprocated—by steps which the United States has taken to facilitate close economic ties between the two countries. In May of 1971, the Department of Commerce eased restrictions upon American exports to Romania, as well as to Poland, by permitting a greater variety of products to be exported to those countries under general license. In November of 1971, the Export-Import Bank was authorized to participate in financing exports to Romania. In fact, the Export-Import Bank, in con-

junction with private banks, will finance the radial tire project I have mentioned and which is expected to buy \$35 million worth of equipment and machinery from the United States.

As of April of this year, the Eximbank had extended over \$60 million in credits to finance U.S. exports to Romania. Most recently, in April of this year, a bilateral agreement between the United States and Romania was signed in Bucharest, enabling the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to provide political risk investment insurance and financing to U.S. investors in Romania.

While these steps have been positive ones, particularly in connection with U.S. investment in Romania, the United States has not up to now taken comparable action to facilitate Romanian imports into this country. Thus, notwithstanding the recent dramatic rise in trade between the United States and Romania, from about \$32 million in 1969 to over \$100 million in 1972, American exports to Romania have generally exceeded American imports from Romania by more than 2 to 1. Since Romania's currency is not convertible, it must generate hard currency through exports, thereby enabling Romania to purchase more of the American goods it needs for economic and technological development. To do so requires removal of the existing discriminatory tariffs which apply to Romanian imports into this country. Unless this is done, the present trade imbalance will continue and severely restrict any further development of economic partnership between our countries.

I therefore firmly support the commitment of the United States to nondiscriminatory tariff treatment of Romania, just as we have extended such treatment to Poland and Yugoslavia. In fact, the Romania Trade Act of 1973, now pending before Congress in similar forms in S. 1085, H.R. 1931, and H.R. 2304, is designed to do just that. In granting most-favored-nation status to Romania, the United States will be furthering the cause of world peace and the freedom and continued independence of Romania, not by singling it out for special treatment but by permitting it to compete on the basis of an equality which through its own initiatives it has richly earned.

WATERGATE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY BAR OF CITY OF NEW YORK

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, one of the leading bar groups in the country has played a pivotal role in mobilizing the response of the legal community to the tremendous challenge to the legal system posed by the Watergate affair.

On November 7, 1973, the executive committee of the association adopted two resolutions pertaining to Watergate dealing with impeachment proceedings in the House and with the appointment by the courts—a bill which I support—of an independent special prosecutor. I believe my colleagues should be made aware of these important resolutions.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, New York, N.Y.

To Members of the Congress:

On November 7, 1973, the Executive Committee adopted the following resolutions which state the position of the Association on two significant so-called "Watergate" questions:

Resolved that The Association of the Bar of the City of New York approves and supports the action taken by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives to investigate whether or not impeachment proceedings should be instituted against the President of the United States. Because of the public importance of this issue, we urge that the Committee report its conclusions at the earliest practicable time.

Resolved that The Association of the Bar of the City of New York supports action by the Congress to enact legislation which will provide for a Special Prosecutor who will be independent of the White House and of the Department of Justice, who will be appointed by the Courts and who will investigate and prosecute possible violations of law and official misconduct in connection with all aspects of the 1972 Presidential election and other possible illegal or official misconduct on the part of the President, the White House Staff or Presidential appointees.

Further resolved that the foregoing resolution is not intended to reflect upon the personal integrity and competence of Mr. Jaworski, appointed on November 5, 1973 as Special Prosecutor in the Department of Justice, but solely to reflect the views of the Association that independence of the Office of the Special Prosecutor from the Executive branch is essential.

The Executive Committee believes that it is in the best interest of the country that the actions called for by these resolutions be carried out without delay.

ORVILLE H. SCHELL, Jr.,
President.

LESLIE H. ARPS,
Chairman of the Executive Committee.

LOSS OF RAIL SERVICE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, an article appeared in the Minneapolis Star last week about the proposed abandonment of rail service between St. Clair and Albert Lea, Minn. Written by John Carman, it explains how local communities, businesses, and the Minnesota Public Service Commission have joined to fight the proposed abandonment.

A loss of rail service would result in extremely high costs to local communities. For example, it would cost an estimated \$8 million to upgrade local highways to a 9-ton carrying capacity. In contrast, railroad officials estimate that \$2 million would be required to replace rail ties and to make other improvements to continue rail operations.

One local lumberman, Mr. Chuck Schubbe, pointed out that his business would have to pay an additional \$40 per thousand feet of lumber to have his products shipped by trucks rather than by rail.

The Milwaukee Road branch line serves five communities in southern Minnesota. It is only one of many lines which may be lost to rural America unless action is taken to preserve service.

Senator HUMPHREY and I have introduced two amendments to the Midwest

and Northeast Rail Systems Development Act. One would declare a 2-year moratorium on rural rail abandonments. Our second amendment would establish an independent rural rail transportation planning commission to study and develop solutions to the transportation problems of rural communities.

The Senate Commerce Committee is currently meeting in executive session on the Northeast rail crisis. In working on legislation to meet the transportation needs of the Northeast corridor, I am hopeful that the committee will consider the pressing transportation crisis facing rural communities in all other sections of our country.

Mr. President, as evidence of the need for action to preserve rural rail service, I ask unanimous consent that the article from last Wednesday's Minneapolis Star be printed in full in the RECORD.

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

FIVE RURAL COMMUNITIES FACING TRANSPORTATION CRISIS—RAILROAD ASKS PERMISSION TO DROP SERVICE

(By John Carman)

ST. CLAIR, MINN.—No one could mistake the shack at the end of the Milwaukee Road branch line here for Grand Central Station.

It has a wooden floor worn from the boots of farmers. In the center of the floor there is a lopsided easy chair, and in the corner an old Frigidaire stocked with soft drinks.

The shack is local headquarters of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, the point where soybeans and corn rattle off in rail cars toward Albert Lea and stops beyond, where freights arrive carrying fertilizer, lumber and other materials.

Last Jan. 31, the Milwaukee Road filed notice with the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) that it wanted to abandon the 41-mile branch line and forget about St. Clair and four other tiny communities that straddle the tracks.

The announcement came as no surprise. "There's been talk for several years," Howard Fitzloff, manager of the St. Clair terminal, says matter-of-factly.

Since 1970, moreover, various railroads have abandoned an estimated 7,800 miles of track in rural America. Abandonments currently proposed in Minnesota add up to 99 miles of track.

Nationally, rail abandonments have given rise to fears for the future of small towns, many of which already have been deprived of the lifeblood provided by a major highway.

When the expected news reached farms and businesses along the St. Clair line, the decision was to give the railroad a fight. Businessmen from the communities involved—St. Clair, Pemberton, Waldorf, Matawan and Freeborn—hired Don Johnson, an attorney in Albert Lea, to represent them at hearings there last June.

Help from the Minnesota Public Service Commission, which two years ago decided to battle all filings for rail abandonments in Minnesota, also was enlisted.

The Milwaukee Road sent attorneys from Chicago to present the bulk of its testimony June 6, 7 and 8. The testimony consisted of a familiar story of deteriorating track and mounting losses.

In 1971, for example, the railroad said it had a net operating loss of \$4,598 in moving freight to and from points along the St. Clair branch. It said that although the tracks themselves were in fair condition, \$2 million would have to be spent to install new ties and make other needed improvements.

And all of this, the Milwaukee Road pointed out, was to run rail cars into five commu-

nities whose total population was less than 1,300.

The hearing was recessed and never resumed. Resumption has been delayed because a federal court in New York enjoined the ICC from conducting further public hearings on rail abandonments for the time being, citing a lack of thorough investigations of environmental effects.

Richard Gill, an attorney for the Minnesota Public Service Commission, said the environmental argument centered on the fact that trucks take up the freight-hauling slack left by abandoned rail lines. Trucks use more fuel per pound of freight and emit more pollutants.

So, with the outcome of the Milwaukee Road's abandonment application unresolved, farmers and businessmen along the St. Clair branch line have been left to mull over an uncertain future.

A prominent example is Chuck Schubbe, 39, manager and part owner of the Farmers Lumber Co., across Hwy. 83 from the Milwaukee Road tracks in Pemberton.

Asked about the railroad's plan, Schubbe retreated for a moment to his office and then brought out a handful of material supporting the case against abandonment. Schubbe has been among the leaders in the fight to keep the railroad.

Schubbe had a written estimate from Minnesota Rep. Richard E. Wigley, Lake Crystal Republican, that said about \$8 million would have to be spent to upgrade Hwys. 83 and 30 to handle nine-ton trucks if the rail service was lost.

"As far as I'm concerned," Schubbe said, "the trouble with lumber is that the best comes from west of the Rocky Mountains and the cost of trucking is much higher than rail."

For example, he said, it would cost his business \$40 more a thousand foot to have lumber hauled by truck than it does by railroad flatcar.

Lyle Goodrich, mayor of St. Clair and operator of a 1,000-acre farm, had some sympathy for the Milwaukee Road's position. With railroads cramped by a shortage of rail cars, he said, it is understandable that they would want to put them to use on their most profitable routes.

But Goodrich said he thinks that more rail cars—meaning more dependable service into and out of the grain terminals—could produce a profit.

Johnson, the Albert Lea attorney, agreed. "My people say if they could depend on the railroad for service they could use it quite a bit more. . . . If the Milwaukee Road would do any work at all to get business, in my opinion, it would show a net profit. But they do nothing."

An alternative to the Milwaukee Road is being followed with interest by businessmen along the St. Clair branch. The alternative is the possibility that the line will be bought by the Marlow Corp., owned chiefly by Norman Hatlie, an attorney who lives in Mound.

Hatlie's corporation bought an Iowa branch line earlier this year from the Rock Island Lines, and Hatlie said this week that there are "heavy negotiations" currently for purchase of the St. Clair line.

"You get an operating plant (tracks and roadbed) in a deteriorating condition," Hatlie said, but he added that an initial outlay for improvements could pay off eventually.

The plan apparently would entail buying used 40-foot boxcars to run along the line. "The alleged shortage of boxcars isn't all that great," Hatlie said.

In Washington, Minnesota Sens. Walter Mondale and Hubert Humphrey have introduced amendments to the Midwest and Northeast Rail Systems Development Act that would clamp a two-year moratorium on rural freight-line abandonments.

They also are seeking establishment of a rural rail transportation commission to study

the transportation needs of the rural United States.

"Rural transportation for many years has been deteriorating into what has now become a serious crisis," Humphrey said in a statement last month. "As it deteriorates, so does the rural economy which it sustains."

INCREASED FERTILIZER SUPPLIES

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, recently the Cost of Living Council decontrolled pricing in the fertilizer industry. While the evidence indicates this represents a positive step forward, I think it is also important to note actions taken by individual corporations to help alleviate fertilizer shortages.

One such company which is taking responsible action in this regard is the AGRICO Chemical Co. of Tulsa, Okla. AGRICO's main contribution to increasing the domestic availability of fertilizer in 1974 has been to withdraw from the market any export tonnage which has not yet been committed to a customer. Accordingly, no sales of urea or anhydrous ammonia are planned for 1974. Significant reductions from 1973 levels have also been made in concentrated phosphates and phosphate rock exports. In addition, should committed export material become available through default or other cause, AGRICO will attempt to sell it in the domestic market.

Mr. President, such actions by individual corporations are certainly commendable and demonstrate a sincere concern on the part of companies such as AGRICO to do their best to assure domestic fertilizer supplies. I have a summary of the actions taken by AGRICO Chemical Co. in this regard, and I request unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

AGRICO CHEMICAL CO. ACTION TAKEN TO INCREASE THE SUPPLY OF FERTILIZER MATERIALS

1. The Cost of Living Council's decision to exempt the fertilizer industry from Economic Stabilization Act controls will help alleviate the present and future shortages of fertilizer materials in the U.S. markets by:

- a. Curtailing export of fertilizers initially destined to the domestic market.
- b. Withholding fertilizers originally destined for export if they have not yet been contracted for.
- c. Encouraging capacity expansion.
- d. Encouraging imports of foreign fertilizer.

2. AGRICO has taken the following steps to increase fertilizer availability:

a. AGRICO is holding all further commitments of fertilizer materials to the export market. Only materials which to date have been committed to foreign customers will be exported. Should default occur on these commitments, AGRICO will attempt to sell the material in the U.S. market. Additional materials may be exported only if they cannot be placed in the domestic market on a timely basis.

AGRICO's 1974 Export Forecast:

Urea: None.
Anhydrous Ammonia: None.
Concentrated Phosphates: 18% below 1973 Exports (Including DAP).
Phosphate Rock: 32% below 1973 Exports.
b. AGRICO is significantly increasing its

production capacity by new plant construction.

NUTRIENT PRODUCTION INCREASE

	[Tons]			Completion
	Existing	Under construction	Increase (percent)	
Phosphate.....	240,000	400,000	160	Late 1974.
Nitrogen.....	700,000	400,000	57	Early 1975.

c. AGRICO is purchasing and importing foreign manufactured fertilizer to supplement its domestic production—30,000 tons of urea already under contract.

d. AGRICO is undertaking an intensive dealer and farmer education regarding optimum fertilizer application for each crop to avoid wasteful practices.

3. New prices announced by AGRICO are still below the export level. AGRICO has established these lower prices at levels which represent a reasonable and adequate return on existing and new investment rather than the maximum price achievable.

Product	Prices per ton f.o.b. plant			
	Current		Control period	1966-67
	Export	Domestic		
Ammonia.....	\$115	\$80	\$43.50	\$92
Urea.....	118	88	62.00	85
DAP.....	127	107	72.00	84

New domestic prices range from a 13% decrease to a 27% increase compared to the 1966-1967 levels. They represent an increase of \$7.00 per acre, or only 7¢ per bushel for an average corn grower. Insofar as the price of commodities is set by open market transactions, increased yields from fertilizer application should reduce food prices.

If the effects of inflation are considered, fertilizer remains at a bargain price. Since 1967 the dollar, as reflected by the consumer price index, has decreased in purchasing power to \$.74. Current prices should, therefore, be proportionately reduced to be compared properly with the 1967 levels.

ADJUSTED PRICE COMPARISONS

	Current price adjusted for inflation	1966 price	Percent decrease
Ammonia.....	\$59.20	\$92	36
Urea.....	65.12	85	28
DAP.....	79.18	84	6

STATEMENT OF U.S. SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON ON POSTAL ECONOMICS

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, there is, by now, general agreement that the mail delivery achievements of the U.S. Postal Service are sadly lacking. Letters and packages fail to arrive, arrive late, or arrive damaged.

While the Postal Service enthusiastically advertises its claims of improvement, customer experience tells a different story. This Christmas, the Postal Service has gone so far as to prepack-age blame for poor delivery—the energy crisis.

The quality and expense of year-round delivery are the main concern of most Americans. The latest rate increases are particularly outrageous in view of poor service and in view of a number of post-

al economic practices that have come to my attention.

For these reasons, I have asked the General Accounting Office to make a series of investigations. The following is a copy of my request to the Comptroller General. I ask unanimous consent that it appear in the RECORD.

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

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., November 15, 1973.

HON. ELMER B. STAATS,
Comptroller General of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR COMPTROLLER GENERAL STAATS: In its report on the Postal Reorganization Act the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee admonished "present and future postal managers that the system will work only if the public interest is kept as the paramount criterion in every decision made."

I believe that the Postal Service has not carried out this mandate in a number of instances and that these instances bear review by the General Accounting Office.

There are reports that the Postal Service has spent \$45,000 for a kitchen for its Board of Governors and another \$45,000 for furnishings and a private kitchen for the Postmaster General. Please investigate this matter.

The Wall Street Journal reported on August 24, 1973, that a \$821,000 contract was let without competitive bidding to a friend of the Postmaster General. The article stated that some of the work could have been performed by people already employed within the Postal Service. Please investigate.

Although Sec. 401(5) and Sec. 404(6) of the Postal Reorganization Act authorizes the Postal Service to sell postal related products, it would appear that the Postal Service is engaged in this endeavor to an extent that it is in competition with private enterprise—especially small business. Please investigate this activity.

The Postal Service has recently announced a \$3.8 million advertising campaign claiming that increased revenues generated justify such a campaign. Yet examination of the materials used for the campaign reveals that many advertisements explain what services the Postal Service does not offer. Please look into this matter.

Finally, the Postal Service allows third-class mailers to send multiple advertising enclosures in a single, third-class mailing at a single third-class rate. In other words, a supermarket, a department store and a drug store can "piggy back" their advertisements together for just 5 cents—instead of 15 cents—as long as each pays a \$30 bulk mailers fee every year.

At the same time, the Postal Service has strong restrictions against placement of unrelated advertising materials in newspapers sent through the mails at second-class rates. This double-standard postal practice seems to me at least discriminatory, certainly wasteful of a source of revenue, and possibly illegal.

Because of my deep concern about the rate increases, I'd appreciate your looking into the so-called piggy-back mailings. I also ask that the General Accounting Office estimate the annual loss of revenue to the Postal Service that results from third-class piggy-back mailings.

With many thanks,
Sincerely,

ALAN CRANSTON.

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I congratulate the Commerce Committee and its distinguished chairman in reporting to

the Senate so quickly a bill to extend daylight saving time for the next two winters.

Early in this Congress, on March 15, I introduced, along with my distinguished senior colleague (Mr. PASTORE) S. 1260, a bill providing for year-round observation of daylight saving time. Senator PASTORE and I were, at that time, the lone proponents in the Senate of such a measure.

Since that time, primarily because of the energy shortage and the potential for energy savings through the extension of daylight saving, interest in the proposal and support for it have grown substantially. The importance of this step as an energy conservation measure was underscored when the President earlier this month requested emergency legislation from Congress to authorize year-round daylight saving time. At the State government level, the New England Governors at their conference several weeks ago endorsed a resolution in support of daylight saving.

In my own State, I am especially pleased to note that 2 weeks ago, the town council of New Shoreham on Block Island, voted to go on daylight saving time to help conserve fuel.

Mr. President, there is evidence that extension of daylight saving time through the winter months will conserve energy. There are other benefits to society from extension of daylight saving time—but on the basis of energy conservation alone, I believe the Congress should act promptly to restore the Nation to daylight saving time.

We do not have conclusive evidence of how much fuel would be saved by extending daylight saving time, but there is no doubt from the information available that the energy savings would be worthwhile indeed, especially when we consider that this action would require no expenditure of funds and would impose no inconvenience. In fact, I believe the great majority of the public would view daylight saving time as a convenience.

The studies and reports available, while admittedly not conclusive, indicate a possible reduction, through daylight saving, of 1 percent to 2 percent in consumption of electricity nationally. Only yesterday I was informed by an official of Narragansett Electric Co., one of the two major utilities in Rhode Island, that estimated savings from the extension of daylight saving time would amount to 3 million kwh per month, the fuel equivalent of 260,000 gallons of oil per month. At any other time, such a saving might seem small, but in the current situation there are few if any measures that could be taken to conserve that significant a portion of our energy consumption without inconvenience, economic disruption, or personal hardship.

Given the problems faced across the Nation last year as a result of the fuel shortages and the widespread disruptions to date, these potential energy savings should be enough to warrant the extension of daylight saving time. One can also not neglect to mention the potential for reducing the consumers electric bill. It has been estimated that a typical household might save as much as 6 percent on its lighting bill through the ex-

tension of daylight saving time. This would represent at least a partial savings to help offset the rising prices for petroleum products.

Mr. President, it seems quite clear to me that the benefits of extending daylight saving time far outweigh the continuation of the present system. As we look ahead to the increased demands upon our energy sources, the reasons for changing to year-round daylight saving time become all the more important. This would be one of the wisest energy conservation moves we could initiate at no cost or inconvenience to anyone. I strongly support this legislation reported by the Commerce Committee and again want to commend Senator MAGNUSON and his colleagues for their prompt action in reporting this bill to the floor.

DAVID BEN-GURION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the State of Israel today laid to rest its great leader, its fighter for freedom, and its foremost pioneer, David Ben-Gurion.

I rise to pay tribute to David Ben-Gurion. The United States and Israel mourn the loss of a great statesman and a man dedicated to the freedom of his people.

Under David Ben-Gurion's stewardship the State of Israel grew and prospered while continually facing hostile neighbors on all of its borders. During his tenure in office—from May 1948 until his retirement in 1963 to his kibbutz at Sde Boker—David Ben-Gurion was a noble symbol of Israel's struggle to become a viable homeland for the Jewish people. As he toiled in his capacity as Prime Minister, the people of Israel worked in their cities and agricultural settlements to build their country and create a prosperity unique in the Middle East. It was Ben-Gurion who inspired his people. It was Ben-Gurion who lived a life of prophetic simplicity and dedication to the single cause of building a Jewish homeland.

To the hundreds of thousands of Jews who came to Israel in search of a haven from persecution and destruction, David Ben-Gurion was a living inspiration. He, too, was a refugee from oppression. He, too, was a dedicated pioneer in an undeveloped land. He, too, was a believer in the Zionist dream of Theodore Herzl. And like his homeless brothers, he was willing to give of himself totally in forging a democratic state.

David Ben-Gurion's dream of creating a Jewish homeland will not be complete until peace finally comes to the Middle East. He was a man of peace and realized that without true peace Israel will never realize its full potential.

I join members of the Jewish community in this country and around the world in paying tribute to a great man. I had the rare privilege of knowing David Ben-Gurion. To be in his presence was an exciting experience. He will be missed by those who had the privilege of knowing him and by the millions who regarded him as a tenacious fighter for freedom.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Wash-

ington Post entitled "David Ben-Gurion" be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

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

DAVID BEN-GURION

David Gryn of Plonsk, Russian Poland, began studying Hebrew at age 2. By age 10 he had determined to live in Palestine. At 20, he arrived there and took the name Ben-Gurion, after a Jew who had died defending Jerusalem from Roman capture in 70 A.D. Across the intervening centuries of pain and travail, he believed, the Jewish people had dedicated themselves to returning to their homeland. To serve and then to lead that movement, known as Zionism, became David Ben-Gurion's mission, which he pursued with an awing Old Testament relentlessness. A socialist who believed that Jews must redeem their own land by their own labor, he became head of the Palestinian Jewish labor movement. The rise of Hitler sharpened his sense of the urgency of gathering more Jews to Palestine, and of readying Palestine for more Jews. He knew that, if created at all, a Jewish state could not endure without an administrative infrastructure, foreign ties, and its own defense force. These he brought into being, he and his group of extraordinary Russian Jews. Ben-Gurion signed the document creating Israel on May 14, 1948, and became the first prime minister, leading the state through most of its first 15 tumultuous years. He retired in 1963 to the desert kibbutz Sde Boker, there to model the lifestyle he valued most, pioneering. He died on Saturday at age 87.

Few public men have ever lived a life of the prophetic intensity and historical achievement of David Ben-Gurion. Certainly no modern figure has been of more central and comprehensive importance to the whole life of his people. In a real sense, Israel is his personal monument. But of course a state is not a stone carved and polished in studio tranquility. "We have been working to build up our land," he told the remnants of European Jewry in 1945, "so that you may come there to live as decent human beings again among your own people and where you will not fear again." But the citizens of Ben-Gurion's Israel fear still. Neither he nor his successors could gain the trust of their Arab neighbors. Early on, Ben-Gurion had acknowledged the need "to find the way to the heart of the Arab people." He never found that way. Could anyone? Was the fault in Ben-Gurion's hard approach to the Arabs, in his zeal to give first priority, whatever the consequences, to providing a homeland for Jews? Did Hitler's genocide leave any alternatives? Could Arabs have accepted waves of Jews, or a Jewish state, under any conditions? Ben-Gurion's life did not answer—indeed, it kept open—these questions. But he left the state of Israel.

A LANDMARK DECISION IN NEW YORK STATE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, New York State Education Commissioner Ewald B. Nyquist, in a landmark decision last Monday, directed the New York City Board of Education immediately to place all handicapped children in appropriate school classes. This decision gives emphasis and force to New York's education law which, as Commissioner Nyquist states, "clearly expresses the public policy of this State that all handicapped children be provided with adequate educational services."

I ask unanimous consent that the Nyquist decision be printed in the RECORD. There being no objection, the decision

was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, Before the Commissioner. In the matter of the appeal of Riley Reid, by his mother Ellen Hoffman, Glen Anderson, by his mother Vivian Anderson, Du'wain Boyce, by his mother Joan Boyce, Joseph Butta, by his father, Dominick Butta, Rusberto Cancel, by his mother Virginia Cancel, Mildred Greer, by her mother, Mildred Greer, Louis Lambrecht, by his mother, Cell Lambrecht, Allan Stevenson, by his mother Estelle Stevenson, and the New York Association for Brain Injured Children, and all other children similarly situated from action of the Board of Education of the City School District of the City of New York and Harvey B. Scribner, Chancellor of the City School District of the City of New York, with regard to educational services for handicapped students

Carolyn Heft, Esq., attorney for petitioners.

Hon. Norman Redlich, attorney for respondents Corporation Counsel; Joseph Bruno, Esq., of counsel.

Petitioners brought a proceeding in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York to determine the rights of petitioners as handicapped students to educational services in the respondent district. On June 22, 1971, the Court denied petitioners' motion for a preliminary injunction to prevent the Board of Education of the City School District of the City of New York and Harvey B. Scribner, individually and as Chancellor, from denying brain injured children adequate and equal educational opportunities, and granted a cross-motion by the defendants to dismiss the complaint. On December 14, 1971, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit held, in *Matter of Reid et al. v. Board of Education*, 453 F. 2d 238, that the District Court properly abstained from deciding claims based on the United States Constitution pending a determination by New York State authorities as to related but unanswered questions of New York State law, but should have retained jurisdiction pending such a determination. Petitioners then instituted this proceeding before me.

Petitioners are nine named individuals and the New York Association for Brain Injured Children. The proceeding is also brought on behalf of a class which is stated to include all those children in the City School District of the City of New York who are handicapped but are not receiving appropriate educational services, in violation of their statutory rights. Petitioners include within that class all students who are either attending private or public schools or for whom the respondents do not provide suitable educational facilities or programs.

With regard to all the named petitioners it is alleged that they were not receiving appropriate educational services in the public school system; that they had not been properly examined for the purpose of ascertaining the nature and severity of their handicaps; that appropriate recommendations with respect to placement in proper educational programs have not been made; that waiting lists existed for screening and subsequent placement, and that in the past they were provided with inadequate home instruction during these waiting periods. The record now indicates, however, that as of August, 1973, all the named petitioners are being provided with appropriate educational services either by the respondent school district or by institutions in which they have been placed.

With regard to petitioners' allegations relating to the class described above, I directed the staff of this Department to conduct a detailed and extensive survey in the respondent school district. During the months of

June and July 1973, an investigation was conducted by the Division for Handicapped Children and the Division of Pupil Personnel Services of the State Education Department. The investigation consisted of interviews with 76 parents of handicapped children, 9 community superintendents, 37 principals, 26 professional employees of hospitals and clinics, and representatives of private agencies and employees of the New York City Board of Education. Counsel for the petitioners and counsel for the respondents were in attendance during these interviews. Additional information was obtained through telephone interviews and in response to written requests. In some instances, information requested from the Office of Special Education and Pupil Personnel Services of the New York City school system was not supplied or was inadequate. Approximately 225 man-days were devoted to the investigation by representatives of the State Education Department.

I find that a class appeal is properly brought in this matter, in that there are admittedly numerous children residing within the respondent district whose educational needs are not being adequately served, as required by section 4404 of the Education Law, which provides, in part:

"The board of education of each school district in which there are ten or more handicapped children who can be grouped homogeneously in the same classroom for instructional purposes shall establish such special classes as may be necessary to provide instruction adapted to the mental attainments of such children from their fifth birthday until the end of the school year during which they attain their twenty-first birthday, or shall contract with the board of education of another school district, a board of cooperative educational services or a vocational education and extension board for the education of such children, under regulations to be established by the commissioner of education."

Parts 101, 200 and 203 of the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education provide for implementation of this requirement.

The Department's investigations have shown several areas in which the respondents have not carried out their obligations set forth in the law and regulations. In particular, I find that the following deficiencies have existed and continue to exist:

1. Undue delays in examinations and diagnostic procedures.
 2. Failures to examine and diagnose handicaps.
 3. Failures to place handicapped children in suitable programs.
 4. Failures to provide available space and facilities for programs.
 5. Children placed on home instruction in violation of the purpose of home instruction.
 6. Children placed on home instruction who did not receive the required hours of personal instruction in accordance with the regulations of the Commissioner of Education.
 7. Handicapped children expelled from public school education for medical reasons when such medical reasons did not preclude benefits from educational settings.
 8. Incomplete or conflicting census data on the number of handicapped children residing in New York City.
 9. Inadequate means of informing parents of the processes related to special education services, and inadequate plans for parent involvement in effective planning and decisionmaking regarding their children.
 10. Suspensions of handicapped children from classes without adequate notice or provisions for alternate educational services.
- With regard to failures by the respondents to examine and diagnose handicapped pupils, I have found that a "Medical Discharge Register" has been established by the respondent

ents and used as a substitute for providing services for children with handicap and discipline problems. This register lists children who have been suspended and who are not receiving educational services. Such children may or may not eventually be placed in an appropriate educational program by the respondent. It is clear that this type of suspension is not provided for by statute. Suspensions based on discipline problems must be handled in accordance with the provisions of section 3214 of the Education Law. Handicapped students must be provided with educational services if they are capable of benefiting from them, or, in the most extreme circumstances, they may be exempted from attendance upon instruction. There is no third alternative, as contemplated by respondents' "Medical Discharge Register".

I further find that the functioning of the committee on the handicapped is a failure in the respondent district. To be effective, such committee must function on a regional basis in accordance with a plan developed by the respondents, in consultation with community boards.

Section 4404 of the Education Law clearly expresses the public policy of this State that all handicapped children be provided with adequate educational services. The respondents have, in many instances, resorted to home instruction instead of providing adequate classroom facilities for the handicapped. As noted above, section 4404 of the Education Law provides that where ten or more handicapped students who can be grouped homogeneously require special educational programs, classes must be established for those students. Home instruction should not and may not be used to avoid that mandate. When it has been determined that a handicapped student cannot benefit from class instruction, home instruction may be provided, but only in accordance with the provisions of section 200.3, paragraph (e) of the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education (*Matter of Valentine*, 10 Ed. Dept. Rep. 53).

Respondents' failure to provide adequate educational programs for handicapped pupils results in large part from their failure to provide adequate physical facilities and staff for the needed services. Again the law is clear that the respondents must provide the required facilities and staff or contract with private agencies in accordance with paragraph b of subdivision 2 of section 4404 of the Education Law.

The appeal is sustained.

It is hereby ordered that respondents' "medical discharge register" be discontinued forthwith; and

It is further ordered that all students who have been diagnosed as handicapped be placed immediately in appropriate public school classes or, if public school classes are not available, in private schools under contract in accordance with the provisions of paragraph b of subdivision 2 of section 4404 of the Education Law; and

It is further ordered that home instruction be provided by the respondents solely in accordance with the provisions of section 200.3, paragraph (e) of the Regulation of the Commissioner of Education; and

It is further ordered that the respondents forthwith submit to me lists of all children being provided home instruction and the reasons for such home instruction; and

It is further ordered that the exemption procedures established under the provisions of part 101 of the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education be followed with respect to those students who cannot benefit from any instruction; and

It is further ordered that a plan to eliminate waiting lists for diagnosis and placement be submitted to me by respondents by February 1, 1974; and

It is further ordered that the respondents, in consultation with community boards, establish a procedure for regionalizing evalua-

tion of the handicapped not inconsistent with section 200.2 of the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education, and submit that procedure to me by February 1, 1974; and

It is further ordered that the respondents undertake a study of the needs of the handicapped on the secondary level and that a plan to meet the needs of those handicapped pupils in the junior and senior high schools be submitted to me by February 1, 1974; and

It is further ordered that respondents prepare and forward to me not later than February 1, 1974, a plan for notifying all parents and interested persons, in a language understood by such persons, concerning services available for handicapped children and where advice may be obtained concerning such educational services and to whom complaints may be addressed; and

It is further ordered that jurisdiction of this appeal be retained pending my further order.

CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, this morning the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, which I have the privilege to chair, released a remarkable survey of public and expert opinion about American Government and leadership. The findings of this survey, the first instance we know of in which the Senate has used the established techniques of opinion sampling on a national scale, has information of value to every Member of Congress, and I recommend it to my colleagues.

The inquiry sought to measure the degree of confidence Americans have in various public and private institutions, citizens' understanding of Government, the people's involvement in the political process, and the means of making Government more open and responsive to the public will. Individual conclusions are both depressing and encouraging, but the entire report deserves to be read as an outline both of America's mood and of measures we can take to improve that mood.

The report, "Confidence and Concern: Citizens View American Government," was formally presented at a subcommittee hearing today by Mr. Louis Harris, the respected opinion analyst whose firm conducted the study on our behalf. I ask unanimous consent that my opening statement; a statement by the distinguished Senator from Florida (Mr. GURNEY), who is the ranking Republican member of the subcommittee and whose support was essential to making this study a bipartisan success; and the testimony of Mr. Harris be printed in the RECORD.

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

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE, DECEMBER 3, 1973

The report being presented to the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations this morning is a remarkable one, and not just because some of its findings are startling. As far as we know, the Study is the first survey of public opinion commissioned for a Senate subcommittee, the first time the legislative branch has used a tool that executive agencies and private institutions adopted long ago to help with their work.

The uses that we, as law-makers, find for this unique sampling of public and expert attitudes about our government will be the best measure of its lasting value. Primarily, of course, the report is educational; it

teaches us to see our work and ourselves from the citizens' point of view. No one who looks at himself closely through the eyes of others is likely to be flattered, and for public servants this survey ought to be a lesson in modesty.

But beyond appraising the performance of public men and political institutions, the findings can guide us toward specific policies. From such a wealth of data, of course, it is possible to isolate convenient answers that fit some political predisposition and work those separate conclusions into the ground. Like the proverbial blind men trying to describe an elephant from its separate parts, we could either try to blame the President alone for the alarming cynicism this survey found or discount the whole report as a product of the Watergate climate. Either interpretation would distort this report.

My own instinct is to read this message from the American people as reflecting less a crisis of confidence in government alone and more a failure of all authority to cope with enormous, swift, social change. The disoriented decade since the assassination of President Kennedy has shaken almost every one of the traditional concepts with which Americans were familiar.

Overseas our power is not what we once thought it to be. At home, our affluence no longer guarantees perpetual abundance. In economic affairs, personal and group relations, religious beliefs and, now, standards of public conduct, we have been forcefully challenged to adjust old values to new realities.

The role of a democratic government is a vital one in helping individuals and society understand and meet the shock of such rapid change. The conclusions of the survey indicate that, while our government has failed to fill that role, Americans remain confident that it can.

The question we face, then, is how to strengthen ourselves and our institutions to do the job better. And the Subcommittee survey does give quite specific guidance toward policies that may help answer that question.

Very briefly, I want to point out some connections between diagnosis and remedy for the conditions described in the survey. It shows us that people are very poorly informed, in general, about their government at all levels and have only the most limited and basically self-centered contact with government services.

Yet, contrary to the public apathy described by so many of the officials questioned, the study finds citizens anxious to take part in the affairs of their community, respectful of the organized groups which already do so, and eager to receive inspiration for their efforts in trustworthy, vigorous central leadership. It also shows a common desire on the part of the people and the State and local officials who were interviewed to see Federal responsibilities more widely shared with other levels of government.

Putting those conclusions together spells out a need for programs which bring citizens to participate in the decisions of their government. And with this need came the call in the report for the allocation of more Federal funds and power to the cities, towns, counties, and States—those places where many Americans perceive their influence now has the most impact. When the Congress enacted general revenue sharing last year, for example, it hoped to develop a means for greater citizen participation, but so far very few positive results have come from that effort.

Revenue sharing, of course, is just one area which offers public servants an occasion to reach out to the public they serve, and it is one that must not be slighted. So in the area of revenue sharing this Subcommittee will continue to work for improved ways of opening communication between government and the governed.

More broadly, it is obvious from the survey that a key to increased citizen participation is better communication between the leaders and the led. As a result, the necessary adversary relationship between the press and authority needs considerable attention. Americans show little trust for any of the traditional institutions of their society, but newspapers and television news are the only ones to have earned increased respect since 1966.

Officials, however, seem to regard journalists with mixed hostility and distrust. And so the dialogue—in which the press is the essential intermediary—between the people and their leaders is being interrupted and distorted.

To restore it will take a change of manners, not of laws, on both sides. The change will have to begin with a new acceptance by officials of the necessity of submitting their public conduct to continual scrutiny and a new willingness by journalists to conduct that scrutiny with an eye to information as much as sensation.

The basic conclusions I draw can be summed up by noting the dominant and depressing public view that elected officials at all levels promise more than they ever deliver except in terms of their personal interest. The only way for politicians to change that destructive image is to tailor their conduct in office and at election time to standards of realism and truthfulness that will help Americans comprehend and confront the astonishing pace of change in their world.

We will do better, to paraphrase Alistair Cooke's recent observation, by concentrating less on grandeur and more on decency.

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR EDWARD J. GURNEY

The subject of this morning's hearings is a precedent setting study of relationships between American citizens and their government—Federal, State and local. This study is, to my knowledge, the first Congressional effort to make such extensive use of the modern polling techniques to improve communications between Congress and both the general public and State and local government leaders. This effort is therefore of great importance as an indication of the Congressional recognition of the need to improve its capability to directly listen to the people of America.

More pertinent than this recognition of a need for this type of information, of course, are the actual findings of this study. In brief, those findings can be summarized by saying that the growing public alienation which we had anticipated finding is a real and serious phenomenon, but has not, at least thus far, affected the basic confidence which Americans have in their system of government.

Although a majority of 57% of Americans feel that their confidence in the Federal Government has declined over the past five years, an even larger majority feels that the Federal Government can respond to their needs. The American people show strong confidence in the ability of our system of government to fulfill the role which they would assign to it.

The study indicates that the reasons for this decreasing confidence in government are not as simple as might first appear. The "alienation index" mentioned in the study has increased almost every year since it was first measured in 1966. Similarly, almost all public institutions—not the Federal Government alone—have lost the confidence of the people. This would appear to indicate that no single event or group of events are responsible for the American people's growing alienation, but rather that our society is increasingly subject to a complex group of factors which are eroding the mutual trust and confidence which are essential to a democratic society of free people. It is essen-

tial that we attempt to determine the underlying causes of this problem, and identify possible actions to remedy it.

In addition to the study's findings concerning confidence in government, there are several areas in which the results were most reassuring. The people are clearly not interested in a continuously growing federal bureaucracy. Sixty-one percent of the public felt that the Federal Government should have its power reduced, while only 18 percent felt that there should be an increase in its strength, with a plurality of even that 18 percent in favor of reducing federal bureaucracy and control over the tax dollar.

Similarly, in a series of "trade off" questions the public consistently indicated that they would object to the sacrifice of various personal liberties or to government incursions into their private lives, even to accomplish various goals "in the public interest," such as combating crime, pollution, and the energy crisis. The study showed quite clearly that there is a remarkably strong current of concern for privacy and personal liberties which, as a political conservative, I found most comforting.

As is the case with most substantive studies, this one raises more questions than it answers. This is as it should be, and I hope that the Congress will address itself to some of those unanswered questions, as well as to the information which has been obtained from this first study. Included in those unanswered questions are several which are basic to the relationship between the American people and their government—is there a correlation between the increasing reliance on the broadcast media as a source of information concerning government and the increasing lack of confidence in government? If there is such a correlation, is it due to media emphasis on the negative, or is it merely a public rejection of what has always existed, but previously was not so apparent to the public?

These and other questions concerning the public's perceptions of government, and how those perceptions are formed, deserve further study. Finding the answers can only benefit a healthy understanding of the relationships between American citizens and their government.

TESTIMONY BY LOUIS HARRIS, PRESIDENT, LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.

It is a deep privilege to appear here this morning at this hearing. At the outset I would like to acknowledge a real debt to this committee and its staff for the opportunity to survey the American people on the immensely important subject of public confidence and responsiveness to government at all levels. Indeed, now that the survey has been completed, we know that this survey has addressed itself to the key question facing this nation today: no less than how to restore the faith and confidence of a free people in their own government.

The substance and design of the survey are based on the predilections and assumptions contained in the original mandate from the Subcommittee, the original design submitted by our firm, then worked out in lengthy work sessions with the able Chairman, Ranking Minority Member, and their staff. Yet, I must point out that in no way in the planning or analysis of this study was there the slightest hint at abridging or tempering the basic design of the research. There was never a question which was removed from the survey because it was too hot to handle. Never were we commanded or even had suggested to us that the survey should come up with a picture of either hope or despair. Our basic sailing orders were to find out what the people think and let the chips fall where they may.

As a researcher, I have always felt in any study of public opinion the people are always trying to say something, to speak their

piece. Our task is to give them free and unfettered opportunity to say it, and then in our analysis to find out what they were trying to say and to report it fully and accurately. Today, it befalls my privileged lot to report as accurately, penetratingly, and urgently as possible what the American people had to say about their government and the system under which they live in the fall of 1973, as we stood poised to enter the last quarter of the twentieth century, the most eventful time probably in all the history of mankind. While I will report the facts, the conclusions and observations I shall make are entirely my own and those of our organization. As a professional, I have an obligation to remain totally within the bounds of our data. As a citizen of this republic and as an observer, there are certain implications of the findings I feel compelled to comment on.

There may be islands of hope across this broad land of ours, but a central fact is that as a nation, as a people, disaffection and disenchantment abounds at every turn. For the first time in over a decade of opinion sampling, this survey shows that disaffection has now reached majority proportions. On a scale of powerlessness, cynicism, and alienation used by the Harris firm since 1966, an average of 55% of the American people expressed disenchantment, compared with no more than 29% who felt that way only seven years ago. The trend has been steadily and almost unabatingly upward from 29% in 1966 to 36% in 1968 to 42% in 1971 to 49% in 1972 to 55% in 1973, a veritable flood-tide of disenchantment, seemingly gaining momentum with each passing year.

The proposition that "what you think doesn't count much anymore" has grown from a minority of 37% in 1966 to 61% in 1973; "people running the country don't really care what happens to you" had risen from 26% to 55%; those who think "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer," up from 45 to 76%. The sense that "people with power try to take advantage of people like yourself" has grown from a minority of 33% in 1971 to a majority of 55% by this past fall. Three in every four people across the country feel that "wire-tapping and spying under the excuse of national security is a serious threat to people's privacy." Almost as many, 74%, believe that "special interests get more from government than the people." A majority of 60% agree with the charge that "most elective officials are in politics for all they personally can get out of it."

Any objective analysis of such results can only conclude that a crisis of the most serious magnitude now exists in the response and assessment of the people to their government. While there are some traditional strains of feelings of economic injustice, the main thrust of the people's disaffection can be traced to a growing sense of powerlessness, to a deep feeling that those with power seek to abridge, deny, and even strip away the ultimate power of the governed. This felt tyranny of erosion of the people's power and freedom has not been viewed as a sudden development, is not limited to one act or one leader or one period in recent history. It has been taking place for several years, and its very duration escalates a serious and even dangerous condition into a full-blown crisis of confidence.

The study probed in considerable depth to determine just how much this crisis exists across the boards for the leadership of all major institutions in America and how much it is centered on government at various levels. Basically, by any standard, there has been a fall in respect and confidence in the people running almost every major U.S. institution compared with 1966, when we first measured it: medicine down from 72 to 57% in the number who possess "a great deal of confidence"; higher education down from 61 to 44%; the military down from 62 to

40%; organized religion down from 41 to 36%; business down from 55 to 29%; organized labor, never very high, nonetheless still off from 22 to 20%. While no trend exists, it should be noted that leaders of the law profession come up with no better than 24% high confidence from the public.

Certainly there is little solace in those falls from grace for the private or non-governmental sector of our national life. The fact that most came back a little in public esteem in the past year does offer some hope that faith can be renewed and restored. But out of the leadership of 22 private and public institutions tested in the survey, it is telling and significant that no more than two could come up with majority high confidence standing: medicine and local trash collection. The average for all institutions in the survey was 33% of the people with a "great deal of confidence," hardly a vote of confidence in the collective leadership of this country across the board. So before the leaders of other institutions take the results of this survey as a signal to place all that is wrong in this country at the doorstep of government, they would be wise to look to their own state of public confidence and seek to repair the damage that has been done close to where they live.

Only one area of leadership shows any increase in public confidence since 1966: the media, a source of controversy in any era and probably never more than today. Television news and the press have risen in public esteem, although having said this the 41% high confidence in TV news and the 30% for the press are still accolades from only a minority of the people. Of perhaps greater significance is the wide gulf that exists in the estimate of the media by local and state officials surveyed and the public. While 41% of the public gave TV news high marks, only 17% of the leaders did the same. While 30% of the public expressed high regard for the press, no more than 19% of the leaders were willing to give a similar vote of confidence.

The inescapable conclusion is that the public has roughly twice as much confidence in the media than state and local public officials today. Other Harris Surveys have shown as much as two out of three people in the country grateful to the press for having revealed wrong-doing in government. The widely disseminated idea that the media have brainwashed the public into the current low state of confidence in institutional leadership, particularly at the federal level, is a charge that simply does not wash with the people themselves. And my own view is that the sooner men in high public places realize that broadside attacks on the media are likely to seriously damage their own credibility, the sooner public leadership can restore confidence and responsiveness. By the same token, given this new growth in confidence, perhaps some of my brethren in the media can feel they can afford to brush a few of the chips of adversarism on their collective shoulders in the reporting process.

Public confidence in government generally must be reported as being lower than a constituent democracy can afford. Since 1966, high confidence in the U.S. Supreme Court has fallen away from a majority 51% to a minority 33%; in the U.S. Senate from 42 to 30%; in the House of Representatives from 42 to 29%; and in the executive branch of the federal government from 41 to 19%. All but the executive branch, however, did make some gains of between 5 and 9 points just in the past year. The executive branch slipped another 8 points lower.

Although the federal establishment ranks low by any standard, state and local government can take little comfort, for no more than 28% of the people expressed high confidence in leadership of local government and 24% in state government, although a much higher 52% praised local trash collection,

44% their local police, and 39% their local public school leadership.

However, at the very bottom of the list came the leadership in the White House, and I would be remiss here today if I did not comment about that. The 1596 people interviewed were asked what they would tell the President if they had the chance to sit down and talk with him. The result: 72% of the public would raise questions about his integrity and the current crisis surrounding him and the Watergate scandal. There are two reasons to account for this singling out of the President by the public: first, in many ways, under our system, the man who occupies the White House is more than an individual, is a symbol and a central pivot of not only the federal establishment but of government at all levels; second, by any measure, the Watergate disclosures have placed a cloud of distrust over this President, the White House, and the entire executive branch. In a sense, however, it would be a mistake to say the public disenchantment began with Mr. Nixon nor even that it necessarily will end with him. But he is a powerful symbol and restoration of confidence in government cannot be accomplished without restoration of confidence in the White House and in the President himself.

While disenchantment among the public runs deep, it is important to point out that this disaffection is far more directed at the leadership of our institutions than at the institutions themselves. In other studies, we have found no more than 5% of the public at all ready to scrap the major institutions that make up our voluntary, essential privately oriented society. In this study itself, 9 in every 10 people expressed the cardinal article of faith that government, for example, can be made to work efficiently and effectively, and within the parameters of liberty a free people require. But there is a mood of skepticism about current leadership of nearly all institutions, and just below the surface a growing willingness to throw the rascals out. The people want change not to overthrow the system, but to make it work the way they think it should.

In the 26 years in which I have been engaged personally in analyzing public opinion as a professional, I have been singularly struck by the fact that most Americans have rather strong opinions on most important subjects, but that their views are marked by much more emotion than a thorough grounding in knowledge. In the surveys we take, people are giving us their feelings on a subject, much more than a final rendering of judgment when all the facts have been sifted and carefully weighed. This survey offers ample documentation of this basic observation.

By their own admission, a majority of people are not well informed about what is going on in government or politics at the federal, state, or local levels. Although 89% correctly can identify their own state's governor, no more than 59% can name one U.S. Senator from their state, only 39% can name the other U.S. Senator, and a minority of 46% really know who their Congressman is. Substantive knowledge about the details of legislation or foreign policy might be even lower than those levels.

Yet for all of this lack of specific information, a striking finding of this study is that the American people are far from apathetic, uninterested in the public affairs of their country, nor uninvolved. It is only at their peril that public officials assume an apathetic public, nor one which will not respond.

Part of the problem exposed by the survey is that other than in paying their taxes and filing the necessary forms to receive licenses, social security, and other direct government benefits, the American people have had remarkably little direct contact with their government at any level. No more than 9% of the public have had "a highly satisfying

experience" with local government, 5% at the state level, and a similar 5% at the federal level. Despite the amount of time and correspondence conducted by members of Congress with their constituencies, nonetheless the fact remains that when all of the problems of parents with sons in the armed forces, income tax complaints, help with passports, and other special governmental contact is added up, only a small fragment of the people have had any contact at all with government. Local and state officials, it might be added, readily acknowledge this fact. Unfortunately, for most of the public, government at all levels means only slightly more than paying taxes, which, indeed, most feel are too high to begin with.

Both the public and the leadership tend to parallel each other's views about which level of government authority can best respond to a broad range of concerns ranging from world peace to garbage collection and up from highway accidents to inflation. But two areas—political corruption and social welfare—are felt to deserve a high priority attention from all levels of government. And the public and the leaders are also convinced that to make government function better, state and local governments should be strengthened and the federal establishment should have power taken away from it, despite a clear mandate for the federal government to take the primary responsibility for war and peace, the economy, and the quality of life.

The real potential for greater dialogue and responsiveness between the public and government rests clearly in the amount of citizen participation in affecting governmental policy. Any doubts about an apathetic public can be dispelled by just dwelling for a moment on the roster of real problems facing the country as seen through the eyes of the people and the leaders. Both groups are basically agreed on the seriousness of the high price of meat and other food, the lack of trust and confidence in government, the problems of average citizens to make ends meet, and the pressures of day-to-day living. But the differences tell a significant story. While only 40% of the state and local leaders felt that "too many national crises all the time" is a real problem, a much higher 56% of the people feel that way. While 47% of the leaders see a high priority in "getting people to trust each other," a higher 59% of the people feel that way. While only a minority of 37% of the leaders see the "inability of government to solve problems" as a pressing question, a substantially higher 61% of the public feels this way. And while 48% of the officials believe "corrupt politicians" are a real problem for the country, a much higher 70% of the public believe it.

Indeed, the American people see the question of the ability of government to deliver on promises and the encumbrance of corrupt public officials as much more serious problems than state and local government leaders are prepared to acknowledge. This gap points up in turn a major finding of the study. Throughout the results, the question of credibility of government officials emerged time and again. Credibility can be undone by two causes: first, quick and easy promises by politicians which go largely unfulfilled and second, lack of candor and integrity on the part of men vested with high public responsibility.

As a nation, over 3 out of every 4 adult citizens belong to some organization, and half of these are active in them. Over one in three people have some real organizational experience. But a much higher 58% of the public expressed the view that they personally feel they could do something about an unjust or corrupt public official, and when asked what they would do "if they wanted to see a change take place in government," 94% said they would vote against a public official, 91% would talk to their friends and neighbors about the question, 84% would write

their Congressman, 81% would write their U.S. Senator, 79% would work through a group they belong to, 76% would contact local law enforcement officials, 75% would contact someone in local politics, 72% would join a local citizens group, 66% would join a political party and work to make changes, 65% would write a letter to the newspaper, 62% would send money to support a local citizens group to demand action, 61% would talk to a newspaper reporter or editor, and 55% would vote against the public official's party at the next election.

No more than 17% said they would "do nothing".

Clearly, there are literally masses of the American people poised out there with the notion of becoming more involved in the process rather than withdrawing from it. Indeed, half the public feels that "groups of citizens and organizations are having more effect in getting government to get things done." A much higher 68% of the state and local leaders share this view. It is perfectly apparent that the public is looking in the future to vastly greater citizen participation in their governmental decision-making process than has ever been the case before.

In fact, the major interconnect between the people and their government emerges from this survey as resting in citizen initiative which is on the upbeat in every part of the country and the willingness of public officials to respond with attention to this citizen activity. The question, then, comes down to a matter of whether the public is sufficiently aroused today to take this bit into its collective teeth.

A remarkable measure of just how much the public is aroused can be found in a series of questions put to the people about the kind of leaders they think they have today and whether or not it is possible to have that kind of leadership. On only one count—leaders genuinely working for peace—did a majority of 53% of the public feel the country had such leadership, but, even there, a higher 90% thought it possible to have such committed leaders. Only 10% feel they have leaders today "who come up with solutions to inflation that work", but 79% think it possible to have such leaders. Only 17% feel that "the best people are attracted to serve in public life", although 89% think that is possible. No more than 18% think "government is the most exciting place to work", but 68% think it can be made that way. Only 24% think "the good of the country is placed above special interests", but 85% think it can be. No more than 34% think "public officials really care about the people", but 88% think they can find public officials who will feel this way. No more than 36% think "most public officials are dedicated to helping the country", but 86% think such men in public life can be found. Only 13% think that "corruption and payoffs almost never take place" in our society, but a much higher 65% think this condition can become a reality.

The leaders share the public's optimism that this kind of intelligent, sensitive and honest leadership for the country can be found, although the leaders are less willing to admit that the nation does not have it now. A major finding of the study is that the public is unwilling to give any public official at any level of government a carte blanche over the affairs of their local, state, or federal governments. Yet, at the same time, people all over the nation are literally crying out for the kind of compassionate and farsighted leadership which will be willing to face the people squarely and honestly, lay out the problems for the people to see, have the courage to ask the public to face these problems, and open the doors of government for the people to share in the decision-making process. At this juncture of American history, the people are opting strongly for a restoration of open, democratic government, where the people are trusted and consulted,

but where the leadership leads, and, above all else, displays an integrity that the public can believe in. As the scars of Watergate begin to disappear, it is entirely possible that the tight reins the public asks for now will slacken. But to move away from ready accountability would meet with stiff public resistance.

Specifically, the American people desperately want a condition in the country in which government secrecy can no longer be excused as an operational necessity, since it can exclude the participation of the people in their government, and, indeed, can be used as a screen for subverting their freedom. But just as important, the public is also demanding that any kind of successful future leadership must possess iron-bound integrity. This matter of honesty and straight-dealing is one that has the public deeply alarmed. It cannot be underestimated. The American people simply will not rest easy until they feel that integrity in government at all levels is secured.

Once these preconditions of openness and integrity have been fulfilled, then the time may well come when the people can be approached to make the sacrifices necessary to solve the common problems of the country. Indeed, as we have found out since the energy crisis descended upon us, the people are well out ahead of their leaders in willingness to sacrifice. But if the preconditions to open government are not met, then frustration, alienation, and polarization are likely to proceed apace. And the distrust of the governed for those who govern is a dangerous development indeed.

Let me close by observing that over the past decade since the brutal death of President Kennedy, America has gone through much anguish. Basically, we have been living through the anguish of change, in which life and values in this country have been changing rapidly. The challenge of our times is to find a way to achieve peace in a world where the push of a single button can obliterate tens of millions of lives, to harness the world's energies to allow modern man to live in comfort but in which sacrifice to achieve this end is accomplished with equality and justice and at the same time the environment is preserved, to adjust to complex and modern living but at the same time to see the quality of life improve and not to deteriorate, to make certain that the forces of a world-wide inflation do not rob the people of new-found material gains at a time when productivity is in a position to rise dramatically, to find ways for people of all races and colors to achieve a chance to share in the abundant life while at the same time respecting the rights of people to accommodate to change in a way consonant with their own life experience, to achieve a pluralistic society in which not only the rights of others are respected but in which new ideas and different modes of life can thrive without being threatened by a pall of conformity, to be able to guarantee in practice that the liberties of each citizen are inviolable no matter how great the seeming urgencies of national security nor no matter how powerful government might think itself to be, and, finally, to achieve an America and, indeed, a world, in which a spirit abounds where people are in a mood to attack their common problems instead of attacking each other.

All of this is the full plate of the agenda that faces leadership in America today. The public has not lost faith, but it has lost confidence. Above all, the promise of this America is as bright to the people as it has ever been. Skepticism in its achievement abounds because the people feel they have been cut off and because their leadership has failed them.

But, above all, there is still the spirit of faith that is there among the people themselves. As the great American poet Archibald MacLeish wrote almost 35 years ago:

Listen! Brothers! Generation!

Listen! You have heard these words. Believe it!

Believe the promises are theirs who take them!

Believe unless we take them for ourselves Others will take them for the use of others! Believe unless we take them for ourselves

All of us: one here; another there: Men not Man; people not the People:

Believe unless we take them for ourselves Others will take them: not for us: for others!

Believe unless we take them for ourselves Now: soon: by the clock: before tomorrow: Others will take them: not for now: for longer

Believe America is promises to Take!

America is promises to Us

To take them Brutally

With love but Take them.

O believe this!

DAVID BEN-GURION'S DREAM

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to note the death of Israel's one-time Premier and Defense Minister, Mr. David Ben-Gurion. Born in Poland in 1886, the then David Green emigrated to Palestine in 1906. He made innumerable contributions to the birth and growth of a Jewish state. His ultimate dream was the triumphant survival of a Jewish homeland. He realized this. Mr. Ben-Gurion was venerated and respected by the world at large for his commitment and contributions.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the New York Times of December 2, 1973, commemorating David Ben-Gurion be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, Dec. 2, 1973]

THE PATRIARCH

Perhaps what the world least appreciated about David Ben-Gurion was his love of scholarship. Even at the height of his power, a moment to study the conjugation of an irregular Greek verb excited him almost as much as a political success in the struggle for a new Jewish state. The world of his declining years was strange to him, the contrived distinction between the man of thought and the man of action. To him, abstract thought and concrete action were interdependent qualities of mankind, inextricable; both were intoxicating, both were fulfilling.

Ben-Gurion's was the generation of scholar-statesmen, Churchill and de Gaulle, of the scholar-revolutionary, Mao Tse-tung. Like the Biblical prophets he so revered, Ben-Gurion fits all three roles; he was his people's revolutionary, the statesman of their new homeland, the scholar of their heritage.

Like those ancient prophets, Ben-Gurion was revered some of the time and beloved some of the time. For much of the time the Israel which he led into existence had difficulty coping with him. In office, his political leadership was flawed by a streak of petulance, even pettiness, which left such scars on Israeli public life that his latest successor as Premier, Golda Meir, refused to speak to him for years, until a mellow, chance encounter in the season of his 85th birthday two years ago.

Ben-Gurion continued to advise his people long after he had left office. "We must take

any chance to have peace," he said repeatedly in recent years. "If there is any chance of having peace we must do everything for it." But war-weary Israel was in no mood for taking any chances.

It was to the Bible that Ben-Gurion turned for his vision and his motivation. One of the passages that he always carried with him was the closing declaration of the prophet Amos:

"And I will turn the captivity of my people Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be plucked up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God."

Through Ben-Gurion's extraordinary life and work came the fulfillment of that ancient prophecy.

ELECTION FUND BILL

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. President, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to an interesting article by David Broder in yesterday's Washington Post in which he analyzes some of the implications of public financing of Federal campaigns. The article points to "consequences [that] have barely been examined in the brief congressional debate."

However one feels about the ultimate merits of this approach to campaign funding, I believe the article argues the need for a fuller consideration of the measure than has yet been possible, given the attempt to shortcut normal legislative procedures.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

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

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 2, 1973]
ELECTION FUND BILL WOULD BRING SHIFT TO POLITICAL SCENE

(By David S. Broder)

The campaign finance provisions that senators want to attach to the debt ceiling bill would cause the biggest change in American politics since the application of the one man-one vote doctrine to virtually all elections.

By providing public financing for presidential campaigns and drastically reducing the role of private contributors, the legislation would eliminate what many political participants and observers contend is the largest source of corruption in American politics.

But if the measure becomes law, it would do many other things as well—and those consequences have barely been examined in the brief congressional debate.

The main purpose of the legislation—and its most predictable effect—would be to reduce the dependence of the candidates on specific large contributors and to reduce the influence of those contributors on the candidates.

Although much of the impetus for the bill came from the Watergate case and its revelations of illegal corporate contributions to the Nixon campaign, politicians know that no party or ideology has a monopoly on big givers.

Issue-oriented liberals, labor organizations and "peace" groups have assembled funds for presidential hopefuls in recent years that approach, if they do not match, corporate or conservative kitties.

Nonetheless, the votes by which the amendment was passed in the Senate had a marked partisan and ideological coloration. Most Democrats and most liberals in both

parties supported public financing; most Republicans and most conservatives in both parties voted against it.

The presumption that liberals and Democrats would benefit from the change is strengthened by the realization that money is just one of the sources of influence on a political contest. If access to large sums is eliminated as a potential advantage for one candidate or party by the provision of equal public subsidies for all, then the election outcome will likely be determined by the ability to mobilize other forces.

The most important of these other factors are probably manpower and publicity. Legislation that eliminates the dollar influence on politics automatically enhances the influence of those who can provide manpower or publicity for the campaign.

That immediately conjures up, for Republicans and conservatives, a picture of the union boss, the newspaper editor and the television anchor-man—three individuals to whom they are rather reluctant to entrust their fate—electing the next President.

Whether this shift would, in fact, work systematically to the benefit of Democrats and liberals remains to be seen. But there is little question that the premium on a candidate who is telegenic, who has good press relations and who has access to large numbers of volunteer workers would increase.

Many presidential hopefuls with minimal labor support (like Barry Goldwater and George McGovern) have been able to recruit masses of volunteers, but the big membership of the unions and their well-developed recruiting and subsidizing techniques may give the union leaders' favorites a larger advantage than they have previously enjoyed in presidential politics.

While public financing's relative effects on labor, business and the press may be debatable, there is little dispute that one institution would become vastly more powerful in its influence on campaigns—the government itself.

The pending provision calls for appropriation of sufficient funds to fill the gap between the spending ceilings and the amount raised by a voluntary checkoff on income tax return.

Appropriations are, of course, subject to political pressures from Congress and the President. They may be delayed, reduced or even vetoed. Critics of public financing have warned that incumbent politicians of either party—in the White House or Congress—should not be given the power to decide how much the President's challenger will be able to spend.

Proponents of public financing say they are aware of the risk, but believe that Congress and the President will act responsibly and not choke off funds for an opponent.

Other questions imbedded in the legislation are a matter of debate among the handful of people who have analyzed the bill's effects, but have not yet reached public discussion. Here are some of them:

What is the effect of subsidizing presidential primary campaigns on the kind of nominees chosen? An innovation in the legislation is the provision of matching grants from the Treasury for contributions of \$100 or less to contenders in the presidential primaries. To qualify, a candidate would have to raise the first \$100,000 in units of less than \$100 himself. After that, he would be subsidized up to a spending limit.

Advocates argue that this would open the presidential field to candidates who are not wealthy themselves or who lack wealthy sponsors, increasing the voters' choice and reducing the influence of money on presidential politics.

Critics point out that it would also have the effect of encouraging more candidates, and that, in large, multi-candidate primary

fields, the winner can easily be an extreme advocate of some emotional position who can "win" with as little as one-third of the total vote.

What is the effect on the party system? The legislation says the federal subsidy will go to "any political committee" designated by the candidate to receive funds. The provision was designed, its proponents say, to fix personal responsibility on the candidate for the way his money is spent.

Critics of the bill contend that it will sever whatever fragile bonds now exist between the presidential candidate and his party. They note that if it had been in effect in 1972, Mr. Nixon could have designated the Committee for the Re-election of the President to receive \$21 million in public funds.

What is the effect on minor-party candidacies? The legislation says that minor parties will be subsidized in proportion to their showing in the previous election and that new candidates may be reimbursed, retroactively, on a proportional basis if they draw more than 5 per cent of the vote.

Proponents argue that this provision keeps the door open to minor-party and new candidates, without encouraging their proliferation.

Critics contend that it may, in fact, encourage such splinter candidacies. In an example provided by the sponsors of the legislation, a third-party candidate who draws 10 per cent of the vote, while the major candidates get 46 and 44 per cent, would be entitled to 22 per cent of the major party subsidy—or roughly \$4.6 million. The prospect of that kind of subsidy might, critics argue, encourage any number of "10 per cent candidates" to enter the race.

RECESS UNTIL 12:55 P.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in recess until 12:55 p.m. today.

The motion was agreed to; and at 12:15 p.m., the Senate took a recess until 12:55 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. HELMS).

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUBLESTON). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

TEMPORARY INCREASE IN PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, under the previous order the Chair now lays before the Senate the unfinished business which the clerk will state.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

H.R. 11104 to provide for a temporary increase of \$10.7 billion in the public debt limit and to extend the period to which this temporary debt limit applies to June 30, 1974.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is on the motion to invoke cloture on the motion to insist on the Senate amendments to H.R. 11104 and request a conference on the disagree-

ing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

Under the previous order the 1 hour of debate between now and 2 p.m. will be divided equally between the Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) and the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG).

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I think it warrants reiteration, as many times as may be possible, that there was a very clear, up-or-down vote yesterday on this bill (H.R. 11104).

Therefore, the record should be made clear, again and again, just which Senators are holding up action.

Yesterday, rollcall No. 546 was on the question of whether this Senate should recede from its nongermane amendments on H.R. 11104. The motion to recede was made yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN). That motion was defeated by a vote of 36 to 45. So it is clear, Mr. President, when one examines the votes of Senators on this motion, just who is holding up this debt ceiling legislation.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the results of rollcall No. 546 be printed in the RECORD at this point, so that it can be a matter of record at this point as to how each Senator voted.

There being no objection, the legislative rollcall No. 546 was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[No. 546 Leg.]

YEAS—36

Aiken, Allen, Bartlett, Beall, Bellmon, Bennett, Bible, Brock, Buckley, Byrd, Harry F., Jr., Cannon, Cook, Curtis, Dole, Domenici, Dominick, Eastland, Ervin, Fannin, Fong, Griffin, Hansen, Helms, Hollings, Hruska, McClellan, Nunn, Roth, Sparkman, Stennis, Stevens, Talmadge, Thurmond, Tower, Weicker, and Young.

NAYS—45

Abourezk, Bayh, Bentsen, Biden, Brooke, Burdick, Byrd, Robert C., Case, Chiles, Church, Clark, Cranston, Gravel, Hart, Hartke, Haskell, Hathaway, Huddleston, Humphrey, Inouye, Jackson, Johnston, Kennedy, Long, Magnuson, Mansfield, Mathias, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Ribicoff, Schweiker, Scott, Hugh, Stafford, Stevenson, Tunney and Williams.

NOT VOTING—19

Baker, Cotton, Eagleton, Fulbright, Goldwater, Gurney, Hatfield, Hughes, Javits, McClure, McGee, Packwood, Pearson, Percy, Randolph, Saxbe, Scott, William L., Symington, and Taft.

So Mr. ALLEN's motion that the Senate recede from its amendments was rejected.

Mr. HELMS. A "nay" vote, Mr. President, was a vote to continue to delay this debt ceiling legislation. A "yea" vote was a vote to have the Senate get on with other pressing business.

Let it not be said, Mr. President, that the distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN), or the Senator from North Carolina, or any other Senator who voted

"yea" on rollcall No. 546 is delaying this Senate.

I hope that the distinguished Senator from Alabama will today renew his motion of yesterday so that the Senate can have another opportunity to conclude this matter, and proceed to consideration of other great concerns of the American people.

I thank the distinguished Senator from Alabama for yielding to me.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, a funny thing did happen yesterday on the debt ceiling bill's way to passage because, as the distinguished Senator from North Carolina has just pointed out, the Senator from Alabama made a motion to recede from the Senate amendments. That does not sound like very much, but that was a vote on final passage of the bill. Had that vote carried, the bill would have gone to the President. It would already have been signed.

Mr. President, those who are said to be holding up passage of the bill were the very ones who voted for the passage of the bill, and those who are seeking to use the bill as a means of enacting a campaign subsidy or giveaway bill are the ones who are holding up passage of the bill.

Now, Mr. President, later on today, at such time as the Chair will permit the Senator from Alabama to renew his motion to recede, he will make that motion. He was encouraged yesterday by the fact that on the cloture motion, the vote was 47 for to 33 against; whereas on the motion to recede the vote was 36 for to 45 against, indicating that 2 Senators—2 fiscally responsible Senators—who had voted for cloture also voted to recede.

I am hopeful that after this cloture vote, the motion to recede will not only be closer but that it will carry.

So, Mr. President, I believe that the vote of yesterday on the motion to recede—which is another way of saying a motion on final passage of the bill—let the cat out of the bag, so to speak. No longer will they be able to say that the Senator from Alabama and those who oppose adding this campaign grab bag bill to the debt ceiling bill are holding up passage of the debt limit bill, because they are the ones who voted for this bill. Those who say the Senator from Alabama is filibustering are the ones who voted against the bill.

So I leave to Senators, and I leave to the American people as to who is holding up passage of the bill.

Now, Mr. President, if the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee who is supporting the campaign handout provisions, if the distinguished majority leader, the distinguished assistant majority leader and the distinguished minority leader are willing to put their desire to enact this campaign subsidy bill—

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. ALLEN. To place passage of this campaign subsidy bill over the fiscal responsibility of the U.S. Government, let them take the consequences.

From their lofty and august positions, they know the effect that their holding out for this campaign subsidy bill is having on the country.

I am hopeful that when the motion to recede is made, they will join in support of this measure and not hold up on it any longer.

Had they voted yesterday on the motion that the Senator from Alabama made, this matter would have been resolved. They saw fit to hold up the bill.

Now, Mr. President, as the Senator from Alabama stated yesterday, not only has this undercut the Watergate committee by taking action ahead of its recommendations; not only, Mr. President, as the Senator from Alabama analyzes it, are five or seven members of the Watergate committee opposed to this grab bag provision but, this bill undercuts the committee system.

We saw the distinguished Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON) vote against this provision because it should go to the committee. It should be considered by the Committee on Rules and Administration. So it undercuts the committee system. It undercuts the Senate's position, Mr. President, because on July 30 of this year, by a vote of 82 to 8, the Senate sent a strong campaign reform bill to the House of Representatives which was widely acclaimed as a great forward step in regulating campaign receipts and expenditures.

So we are going to turn our back on that effort?

That bill went to the Committee on Rules and Administration, and to the Commerce Committee. It was also considered for several days on the floor of the Senate.

Are we going to reverse that position?

It also undercuts the constitutional question of giving the President the right to veto unsound legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 3 minutes have expired.

Mr. ALLEN. I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

Mr. President, more important than any other consideration is the precedent that is going to be established if we allow this campaign handout bill to be forced on the American taxpayers, and that is that each time this debt limit bill comes up—and it will have to come up every 5 or 6 months, the way Congress is handling it—they can put on some horrendous provision that strikes at the foundation of our American system and our governmental institutions and governmental processes, without the bill ever going to a committee, without the President being given a fair opportunity to consider it and veto it if he thinks it is unsound, because it is attached to must legislation. Such a bill could be forced on the American public without ever being

considered in a committee, without 1 day of hearing ever being held, and that would establish a most dangerous precedent. So we are standing here for a principle.

I hope that the Senate not only will vote against invoking cloture but also that, soon thereafter, the Senator from Alabama will be permitted to make a motion to recede from the Senate amendments and send this bill to the White House for signature.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. LONG. I yield myself 7 minutes.

Mr. President, I am convinced that, while filibusters sometimes serve a purpose, in the main, they do not really accomplish much. I think that in the long run they tend to defeat their own purpose.

My mind goes back to the many years during my tenure in the Senate when some of us from Southern States filibustered against the various civil rights proposals, preventing those measures from coming to a vote. In the end, it resulted in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which went far beyond the original proposals, by including practically all of them and a great number of other measures. I believe it would have served our purpose better if we had insisted that the Senate understand these measures and settled for a less extreme proposal at a much earlier date.

This issue regarding public financing of the Presidential primaries—and that, after all, is what we would propose to settle for if we were permitted to go to conference on this bill—is a matter which the public, in increasing degree, is insisting should be the order of the day. When this matter was first brought before the Senate in the early stages, we were able to muster a majority of about one in long weeks of debate that occurred back in 1966 and 1967. Since that date, those of us, who believe this is the only way you are ever going to be able to make this a government of the people rather than a government of the moneychangers has gained a great deal of support. Those of us who have supported this position have had a great deal more success at the polls than those who took the other view.

Furthermore, we have had the success of persuading more and more of our colleagues that this is the direction in which this Government will have to go, if we are ever going to recognize that this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, in which the decisions should be dictated by the number of people who are convinced in their hearts that one side or the other is right about an issue, rather than by the size of someone's pocketbook or his willingness to put up large sums of money to dictate the outcome.

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

Mr. LONG. I yield.

Mr. MONDALE. In this morning's Washington Post is a survey which says gargamens are rated over the White House in terms of public esteem.

Mr. LONG. The Senator might find that they are more popular than Senators.

Mr. MONDALE. The Senator is correct. It is the whole political system that is going to be judged by the American people. The article goes on to say:

Americans remain confident that the system can work . . . but they reject government secrecy and demand honesty and integrity.

Of course, central to the chief objective is a system which does not tempt public officials, in their desperate need for huge campaign funds, to respond in a way which prefers those who have big money as against the ordinary citizen. It seems to me that that is precisely what is involved in this financing legislation; namely, the need to change the way in which we finance campaigns, so that it is possible for a person, once elected, to deserve the office and to be in a position to serve his conscience and his country, rather than a long list of campaign contributors who probably had something in mind when they give so generously.

Mr. LONG. A short time ago I was privileged to address a group of boys at Louisiana Boys State, at Baton Rouge, La. I made the point that decisions of the Government should be dictated by the judgment of a majority of the people, rather than by some group of persons who might have a large amount of money to put into a campaign. That statement received tumultuous applause from those young people.

I challenge anyone to explain to a group of high-class men and women why those having large amounts of money should be able to use that money to unduly influence candidates. The public should try to respect the principle of one man, one vote. Then, having made the issue clear to the public, I am satisfied that a system where money dictates the answer could not succeed. Quite apart from the Watergate scandal, I think that this is relevant.

One will find that when people understand this, they are going to see to it that the election of a President and the decisions of Government should not be dictated by the ability of one side to use its money and its economic power to overcome the judgment of the majority of the people. This, unfortunately, has happened too often.

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

Mr. LONG. I yield.

Mr. MONDALE. There is another part to this: It is the way in which big money corrupts government. But it is also the way in which big government can extort money from American business. As I stated for the Record a day or so ago, some top businessmen have testified that in the last campaign they were approached by representatives of the incumbent government in a way which suggested that, if they did not contribute, the government might act in a way which was adverse to their interests. So, out of fear, they contributed vast amounts of money to protect themselves from adverse decisions by the American Government. That is somewhat like the old days of the big machines, when one would have to pay money to protect himself from trouble.

So it works both ways. That is why many top businessmen, who contributed,

have now said, "Let us save our system." Let us have a system that is clean, a system in which we can go where we please and contribute to whom we please; but let us not have a system by which people can exert improper pressure on Government.

I think this is the other part of it. Not just the donees but also the donors are being extorted. For both reasons we need to clean up the system.

Mr. LONG. It was not my suggestion that this amendment should be added to the debt limit bill. It was the view of the sponsors of the amendment, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), and the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), and various other Senators that this should be added. The argument has been made that it does not belong on this bill. However, we have legislated in this area on several other occasions and not one of those times has the amendment been on a bill that was relevant.

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

Mr. LONG. I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

Mr. LONG. As I just said, the amendment has never been on a bill to which it was relevant. The House has never sent us a revenue bill which related to the financing of Presidential campaigns. I personally initiated this issue on a bill to which it was not relevant. If memory serves me correctly, I think it was the bill relating to the interest equalization tax. Subsequently, those who did not like the idea were successful in negating that proposal and making it inoperative by amending a revenue bill that the President very much wanted to sign. That was the bill to restore the investment tax credit. Subsequently we acted in this area to make the provision for financing Presidential campaigns operative again with amendments to a prior debt limit bill.

Mr. President, it is important to keep in mind that the Constitution does not permit the Senate to originate a revenue bill. Revenue bills must originate in the House. But the Senate has the right to amend those revenue bills, and the power of the Senate to amend is unlimited. The only thing the Senate cannot add to a revenue bill is a constitutional amendment, and it should be that way because to accept any other course would be to bar the Senate from acting in very crucial areas unless the House had sent us a bill in that particular legislative area germane to the area in which the Senate thought the national interest required us to act.

We should never permit the Senate to be so hamstrung and limited in its power to serve this Nation that it can only legislate in an area that is narrowly germane to a legislative proposal of the House of Representatives. I think that would be a grave mistake.

As I said, it was not my idea for the amendment to be offered on this legislation; but it was offered, and the Senate agreed to it. That was the will of the Senate. This matter must be re-

solved, and it seems to me that the way to resolve it is by the conventional legislative process. In my judgment the only orderly process under these circumstances would be for the measure to proceed to the House, for the House and the Senate to reach an agreement on what we send to the President, and for the President to act in whatever fashion his conscience might dictate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 3 minutes have expired.

Mr. LONG. I yield myself 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. LONG. I presume the President does not favor the measure and if he does not he can veto it. If there are not enough votes to override the veto, which might be the case in view of the difficulty we are having getting a cloture of debate on the issue, I would be willing to yield to the administration and send them another bill that does have such an amendment. Orderly procedure should permit this measure to proceed on its way, the Senate having expressed its position, and let the House express its position, and then let the President decide what he wants to do about it.

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I would like to yield first to the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. WEICKER) who has an appointment.

Mr. KENNEDY. Very well.

Mr. ALLEN. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

Mr. WEICKER. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. President, I have been somewhat concerned over some of the attitudes that have developed as a result of actions taken in this Chamber by certain individuals. Specifically the idea that those who have insisted on complete discussion of this matter are against reform. Another idea that is being floated is that the blame be laid at the President's door insofar as failure to invoke cloture is concerned.

I would like to speak for myself, as a member of the select committee that was brought into being by a vote of 77 to 0 in this body. This committee was charged with factfinding, which would go toward producing legislation meant specifically to correct the abuses of the Presidential campaign of 1972.

Contrary to some of the charges from the White House, we are not a committee to traffic in sensationalism. We are here to get facts upon which this body can initiate intelligent legislation. We have spent millions of dollars already in performing that task. Our charge is not to provide a forum for the expression of philosophical views with respect to the President. If some view it for that purpose, we have wasted money and labor. Such is not the case, however, and I, along with others, devoted an entire summer to get facts which could lead to intelligent legislation.

Let us get two things straight. First, because one is against this hurry-up pro-

cedure does not mean that he is against reform in campaign spending. I find such conclusions absolutely incredible. I am against this legislation. It is terrible. I would be against it if we did not have a Watergate committee. I am doubly against it, because we are in the process of doing the job the Senate assigned us to do. Get the facts. Recommend legislation.

This public financing proposal is a political fiasco. It is not based on Watergate committee factfinding. Yet, we told the public we were on a factfinding mission; and not out to embarrass a few individuals. I was on a factfinding mission, and I still am. Senators will get the report in February, with no holds barred. Then, Mr. President, the Senate can act. And if the Senate does not, then the public will have solid reason to get on our heads.

But I do not think any of us are in a position to act in a hurried fashion. I understand what the abuses are. I understand full well. One does not have to be a genius or a member of the Watergate committee to find as a fact that such vast sums of money have come into the political system as to corrupt both parties. I understand that. Do I think you are going to cure the problem by dumping the monetary demands on the Federal Government? I do not. You are going to cure the money problem when you cut down on the amount of money required in election campaigns.

If we had a limit of \$50,000 on Presidential candidates—do you think they would go to the Federal Government and ask them to supply \$50,000 or \$100,000? Of course, they would not. The reason they are going to the Federal Government is because of the amount of money involved. I suggest rather than shifting it to the taxpayers, why not reduce the amount? Already we have passed good legislation. I want to compliment CLAI-BORNE PELL and those on the Rules Committee. Frankly, I had my own bill which would have gone further. But I know when that legislation was presented it was with the idea that everybody knew we would back on a third go-around on campaign spending. After we had the results of the Watergate investigation in hand. Instead there are those who now say, "We cannot do it. It is too complicated. Give the problem to the Federal Government."

Is that reform? No! It is laziness. A lot of people on the floor of the Senate are being abused here and at home, because somebody is demagoguing something that just is not so.

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

Mr. WEICKER. May I have 2 minutes?

Mr. ALLEN. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator. Mr. President, I would be glad to have the distinguished Senator have all the rest of the time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the privilege of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. President, there is no quick solution. Certainly I do not think we are so bereft of ideas in this Chamber that we have to say, "Look, it is just a matter of putting the problem

into Federal hands." I think we can do better than that.

You know, I have heard about the proliferation of candidacies. That is an important point to consider. But I want you to think about another drawback. You are, in effect, putting the electoral process itself in the hands of an incumbent administration, both as to the giving of money and its policing and enforcement. I do not want this to be South Vietnam, where, after the election is over, the winner goes around and starts enforcing the law, nailing the losing candidates. But that is exactly what we would be opening ourselves up to with this kind of legislation. I do not want government in the business of financing election campaigns, because I know what is going to happen. They are going to get bigger and more expensive, not less so.

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. WEICKER. I want men and women to sell themselves and their ideas, and to do it not through unlimited monetary resources. I know we can put together election reform laws that allow only a limited period of time for raising money, where every cent that is donated is known to the voters, where there is no fund-raising after a campaign, and no one has to go into debt. This will reduce the role of money in American politics.

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. WEICKER. Far better than saying "The Federal Government ought to foot the bill."

I repeat this. I want to say it on the floor. I know how many are getting pressure from lobby groups to the effect that those of us who are fighting this amendment are against reform. I am fighting it, because it is sloppy. It is lazy. It is not the well-reasoned solution this problem requires.

You want reform? Believe me, you will get it when you get the facts in February. They are going to the hardnosed and they are going to cut across all sides. We are going to propose legislation that will give no loopholes. It means all of us are going to have to leg it and think hard to get contributions.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

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

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I yield the Senator 3 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. Has the Senator from Connecticut, without having received a report from the Watergate committee, without having had the benefit of that report, already dismissed the idea of public financing of campaigns?

Mr. WEICKER. I have not dismissed it, but I know full well, as far as I am concerned, when you cut the cost of campaigning in the United States, you do not need public funding. I do not dismiss it. When we get the facts, maybe the Senator will change his mind. Maybe I will

change my mind. I have not dismissed it, but the Senator does not have all the facts and I do not have all the facts. Are we going to participate in a completely nongermane exercise, when it is only a matter of months to the release time of the select committee's report?

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes. The most obvious fact about Watergate is the corruptive influence of private money in public life. I do not think the people have to see what the Watergate report of the committee is going to be to know that fact. We already know the result of the Watergate committee's work on campaign financing.

I watched my colleague in an interesting debate over television last evening, and I think he carried the burden very well of establishing that fact. That is already a fact. We do not have to get into a lot of anticipation of the details the report is going to show.

In listening to the description of the Senator from Connecticut, I did not even recognize the amendment we are considering today. He was talking about S. 372 as being a part of the solution. I voted for that. I think it is an important part of the solution. But under S. 372 an individual can give \$25,000 to various political campaigns during a year—a total of \$25,000, with a \$3,000 limit on contributions to particular candidates.

What are we talking about in this amendment here? One hundred dollars. A candidate must obtain a contribution of \$100 in order to get an additional \$100 in public funds. Contributions up to \$100 will be matched, but there will be no matching for contributions over \$100. That's the limit.

It seems to me, if the Senator is talking about a "lazy" program, the way we do things today fits that description better. The lazy way is to call the big businessmen and wealthy backers and other groups that are going to make the contributions. That is the lazy way of doing it. That is what is going to continue unless we come to grips with the issue of Watergate.

What are we attempting to do by this amendment, which passed by an overwhelming vote in the Senate? We want to match \$100 contributions. We want to increase the tax deduction for a joint return up to \$50, from \$25 to \$50. We want to increase the tax deduction up to \$200. That is not the lazy way. In order to get that \$50 or \$200, you are going to have to get somebody busy on the phone or someone knocking on the door in order to get people to make these contributions.

That builds on the sound system developed by the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee going back to 1966—the dollar checkoff. That is what we are building on. It is not a new idea. It is not a revolutionary idea. The idea of public financing of elections has been before the country for 75 years, since President Theodore Roosevelt first suggested it.

It was Senator RUSSELL LONG who made it into a practical proposal, with his idea of the dollar checkoff, giving an individual the opportunity to designate \$1 out of his tax for a particular party or candidate. As a result we would have

a total expenditure of about \$75 million a year to restore the integrity of the political process in this country.

Mr. President, we will authorize or appropriate through various trust funds and appropriations acts \$268 billion of the taxpayers' funds this year. What we are asking is \$75 million, through which we are going to try to clean up and restore the confidence of the American people in their elected Federal officials.

It is said, well, that puts the Government into policing it. Do we want the Government overlooking it?

Mr. President, I have confidence in the General Accounting Office, whether it be under a Democratic or Republican administration. I have trust that it can accept the responsibilities with which it is going to be charged under any such procedure. We are not talking about a partisan operation. This process is going to go on under a Democratic administration and it is going to go on under a Republican administration.

So, as we reach the final hours of this debate, let me point out that a majority of the Members of this body have supported this reform. If the Senator from Connecticut has to explain why he is against reform, so be it. It is important that every person in the country understand what is being attempted here by the opponents and supporters. The majority of the Members of this body have voted for it. They have voted for it. What we are asking is a procedure to give the House of Representatives an opportunity to indicate whether they are for or against it. If they accept it, then the President is going to have to take a position. He has already taken a position by supporting certain Members of the Senate in the filibuster. He has taken a position in that way, and the American people understand that, but he ought to stand up and take a direct position on it, instead of hiding behind a filibuster.

Why can we not act on the bill, send it to the House, and permit the House of Representatives to state its position—

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

Mr. KENNEDY. I yield myself 3 more minutes.

Let the President of the United States express his view, and then we can act in our orderly procedure. If this filibuster is allowed to prevail, we are saying in a back door way that we should kill this major and significant reform bill. It may not cover all types of situations, but it is a substantial improvement over the current situation. It is based upon a fundamental concept that anything in the way of basic reform will need a wide spectrum of support, and the votes last week in the Senate proved that we already have such support. I hope considering that the Senate will approve the measure.

Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Minnesota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I understood from the comments of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut that it was his belief that the ordinary

private contribution can be cleansed so that they are fully honest and may be used in campaigns.

I reject that notion, and I think that most people reject it.

A prior Senate bill was an attempt to clean up the private system of campaign contributions. I think it did a pretty good job.

The fact that, when we clean things up and limit the amount of money contributed, it is impossible to run an adequate campaign raises a second argument for public financing, because unless we add a decent public financing system to the measure, we create an incentive for people to cynically avoid its terms.

In the act we passed in the Senate to clean up private funds, most of the scholars who have studied this matter that I know of are convinced that we cannot clean up private financing to the extent that one can both have an adequate campaign and protect against corruption.

So we absolutely must have some system of public financing which works, which is what the underlying proposal does. It is not a new proposal. It is not a sloppy proposal. It is the result of 75 years of study, including several weeks of debate in the Senate.

This effort is right. It is ready. It is ripe. It is seasoned. It is ready to be adopted.

The Senator from Connecticut said that we do not want the Federal Government to run our campaigns. Our whole idea of putting reform in the hands of the Comptroller General by letting individuals check off the money is to get it out of the hands of the Federal Government.

The Watergate committee has shown that government is up to its eyeballs in the financing of campaigns. It is big government, which controls so much of American life and of American business, that extorted thousands and millions of dollars out of them in the last campaign.

Second, this is a measure which would save the American people, the American businessmen, and American laborers from this kind of blackmail and restore the American Government to the American people.

We are ready. This is a good reform measure. We do not need any more. I urge the Senate to support the measure.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, if this is such a good bill and if it is a bill that represents an idea whose time has come, I do not know why the proponents of this public financing bill do not introduce a bill, let it go through the committee process, and then come to the floor and have it passed.

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

Mr. ALLEN. I yield on the Senator's time.

Mr. KENNEDY. Very well. On my own time, would the Senator from Alabama support this exact measure if it had a separate title? That is the point.

Mr. ALLEN. No, I would not support it.
Mr. KENNEDY. I thank the Senator.
[Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The galleries will be in order.

Mr. ALLEN. But that would give the Senate an opportunity to discuss it. This bill should stand on its own two feet and not try to ride on a must bill. The debt ceiling bill is past due. The other measure applies to 1976.

What is the hurry about it? I see no need for taking it up at this time when we are talking about a bill that is past due for passage. I see no need for taking up something that will not be operable until 1976.

Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. President, in response to the remarks of my friend, the Senator from Massachusetts, I wish to say first of all that the story of Watergate is not first a story of how private financing was used in a corrupting way. It is clearly a story of how the power of the Government was used to corrupt.

What the Senator is proposing would involve the Government in an increasing way. The General Accounting Office, as far as I know, is not something that belongs to State or local government. It is a part of the Federal Government.

Let me say that the Senator can demagog all he wants to. I will be glad to explain to Connecticut my stand on campaign reform. I think they understand what this Senator stands for.

I have an intelligent constituency and, quite frankly, I do not think they want some measure that is thrown together. They want reform. However, they want intelligent reform that will work.

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield 1 additional minute to the Senator from Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. President, all of us will have to go out and earn the respect of the American people and not just get money with which to wage our campaigns. Government should not subsidize political mediocrity.

It is like anything else where subsidy is involved. It cannot stand on its own two feet. I do not want our election process subsidized.

I fully expect to be here in 3 to 4 months' time, not with some slipshod, quickly put together solution, but rather with an intelligent, well-thought-out plan to reform our political process.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on my time?

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I will yield on the Senator's time after I make a brief response. I am surprised at the remarks of my good friend, the Senator from Connecticut. I respectfully suggest to the Senator from Connecticut that this is not in any way a partisan effort.

It has strong bipartisan support, including some of the most distinguished Members of the minority in the Senate. I believe that almost every major reform measure, whether congressional or Presidential, has bipartisan support. The measure introduced last week had such support, and it passed the Senate. As its supporters have made clear, it is a well thought out and effective amendment.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute so that I might ask the distinguished Senator a question.

The Senator from Massachusetts asked the Senator from Alabama if he would support the same provision in a separate bill. The Senator from Alabama said that he would not.

I would like to ask the distinguished Senator, since he sets so much store by that question, if the Senator from Alabama had said he would support a Senate bill, would the Senator from Massachusetts have been willing to withdraw this amendment?

Mr. KENNEDY. It would not have been up to me to withdraw it. It would have been up to all its sponsors.

Mr. ALLEN. Would the Senator have been willing that it be withdrawn?

Mr. KENNEDY. It would not have been up to me, but if the Senator wants to make a definite proposal—

Mr. ALLEN. No; I just asked what the Senator's disposition was.

Mr. KENNEDY. If I did, would you? [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLEN. I do not believe this—

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I withhold further remarks.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I yield the remainder of my time to the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, the chairman of the Senate Ethics Committee and certainly Mr. Integrity in the U.S. Senate and throughout the entire country.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Alabama how much time he has remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. STENNIS. I did not intend to take all of his time.

Mr. President, I, too, am distressed about these great sums of money spent in these campaigns, which are beyond all reason, as I see it. But we have had a whole lot of time to do something about that, rather than wait until a bill that must be passed is before us.

I am going to get right down to my point. As my father taught me, I have tried to teach my little grandson, "Save a part of your money, and buy with it a U.S. Government bond, and save it. If you need the money, that very day you get all your money back, plus the interest that it has earned. You cannot lose. That will be your reserve."

And he believed it when I told him. He is only 10 years old, even now, and he likes to talk about it.

Now, if we are going to debate and debate—and I have filibustered, too, as I think most of us have, one way or another—on a necessary bill of this kind, we are breaking our word with everyone who has invested in these bonds, small or large.

I have understood—and I have looked this up once before—that since this Nation was founded and George Washington was sworn in, there has not been a single instance when an obligation of the Government was not paid on time if properly demanded. Until I am corrected, I shall reiterate that statement here.

What am I going to tell that little boy next time he comes? What am I going to tell him? "We had another situation, and some in good faith wanted to tie the two together?" I hope he already has gumption enough to refuse that explanation. He would know instinctively what I told him is not the truth, and everyone else will know, Mr. President, all over this Nation, with every little sock—as we used to call it, putting something away in the sock—and every little tin box with a key in it in every bank vault, and all the people, not only our people in the 50 States, but I do not think it is an overstatement to say that every Nation, perhaps, on the globe, which has been a nation as long as 15 or 20 years—every one of them has our bonds in what has always been a solid investment, good as gold.

I will support some kind of bill for election reform. I will do that. I do not want to pledge, though, to vote for one of this type. I have considered it, and asked myself, am I wrong?

But getting back to the real point: The time has already run out, and once we establish a precedent of going by default, then who knows when the next example will be, and what will be the outcome?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 4 minutes have expired.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator from Alabama very much. I did not intend to use all his time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I am sure that my distinguished friend and colleague the Senator from Mississippi, when he counseled that young grandson of his, also counseled him about the legislative process of this country, because there is truly, I am sure, no Senator who understands it and believes in it more deeply than the distinguished Senator from Mississippi. I am sure he counseled that we are a government in which the majority rules, and I am sure that he understands, as all Members of the Senate do, that a majority of the Members of the U.S. Senate have voted for this amendment, and that all the proponents of the amendment are really attempting to do is permit the people's elected representatives, the Members of Congress who have been elected by the people of Mississippi as well as all the other States, to exercise their right to vote. But we are being denied that opportunity here by a parliamentary maneuver which has been written into the rules of this body, and by which the will of this body has been defiled for many years. I think all of us understand that.

But what we are asking, Mr. President, is that if we get to a situation where those bonds are not paid, the bur-

den should not be placed on those who support this amendment, but squarely upon those who are participating in this filibuster and frustrating the majority will of the U.S. Senate.

They are the ones who should bear the burden, Mr. President, because the Senate of the United States has already spoken, and a strong majority of the people's representatives have voted in favor of election reform. I think the people ought to understand where that burden lies. It lies with those who are frustrating the will of the people's representatives.

Mr. President, I feel, myself, that this is perhaps the most important measure that this Congress will have an opportunity to vote on as a lesson to be gained from the Watergate experience. This debate which has taken place has been, I think, devoid of partisanship. There has been an active attempt by Members on both sides of the aisle to construct a procedure by which the corrosive and corrupting influence of private money can be eliminated from public life in this country. This is one lesson that can be learned and understood, I believe, by the grandson of the distinguished Senator from Mississippi. It is understood by old and young alike in all parts of this country. There are those who believe that this is the way by which Congress can best respond to the challenge of the American people, and restore the fundamental integrity of the electoral processes of this country.

Mr. President, I yield whatever time I have remaining to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I would like to make one point.

In my opinion, the reason why we are presented with a filibuster, above all, and a successful filibuster, is because the administration is supporting it. It is well known that White House lobbyists have been active in this campaign to frustrate the will of the majority of the Senate. It was reliably reported in this morning's Washington Post that Members of the U.S. Senate were flown by Government plane to the Senate to vote against cloture, and while the President of the United States has remained publicly silent, those who work for him have been active trying to persuade the Senate to prevent the majority of this body from working its will and from cleaning up American campaigns. I think that is a tragedy. Not only that, it shows who is responsible for delaying the extension of the debt ceiling. We could have worked our will a long time ago and the debt ceiling bill could have been on the President's desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUDDLESTON). The time of the Senator has expired.

All time for debate having expired, the clerk will report the motion to invoke cloture.

The second assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby

move to bring to a close the debate upon the motion to insist on the Senate amendments, request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, and authorize the Chair to appoint conferees on the bill H.R. 11104, an act to provide for a temporary increase of \$10,700,000,000 in the public debt limit and to extend the period to which this temporary limit applies to June 30, 1974.

Mike Mansfield
Robert C. Byrd
Edward M. Kennedy
Mike Gravel
Walter F. Mondale
John O. Pastore
Gaylord Nelson
Alan Cranston
Hubert H. Humphrey
Clalborne Pell

Charles Percy
Edmund S. Muskie
William D. Hathaway
Lloyd Bentsen
James Abourezk
Abraham Ribicoff
Henry M. Jackson
Daniel K. Inouye
Jennings Randolph

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair now directs the clerk to call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum.

The second assistant legislative clerk called the roll and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 548 Leg.]

Abourezk	Eastland	Mondale
Aiken	Ervin	Montoya
Allen	Fannin	Moss
Bartlett	Fong	Muskie
Bayh	Gravel	Nelson
Beall	Griffin	Nunn
Bellmon	Gurney	Pastore
Bennett	Hansen	Pell
Bentsen	Hart	Proxmire
Bible	Hartke	Randolph
Biden	Hatfield	Ribicoff
Brock	Hathaway	Roth
Brooke	Helms	Saxbe
Buckley	Hollings	Schweiker
Burdick	Hruska	Scott, Hugh
Byrd	Huddleston	Scott,
Harry F., Jr.	Humphrey	William L.
Byrd, Robert C.	Jackson	Sparkman
Cannon	Javits	Stafford
Case	Johnston	Stennis
Chiles	Kennedy	Stevens
Church	Long	Stevenson
Clark	Magnuson	Taft
Cook	Mansfield	Talmadge
Cotton	Mathias	Thurmond
Cranston	McClellan	Tower
Curtis	McClure	Tunney
Dole	McGovern	Weicker
Domenici	McIntyre	Williams
Dominick	Metcalf	Young

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HASKELL), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE), and the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE) are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON) is absent because of illness.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. PEARSON), and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER) is absent by leave of the Senate on official business.

The Senator from Oregon (Mr. PACKWOOD) is absent on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the motion to insist on the Senate amendments—

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, may we have order in the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will please be in order.

The Chair will restate the question.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the motion to insist on the Senate amendments, to request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, and authorizing the Chair to appoint the conferees on the bill, H.R. 11104, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HASKELL), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE), and the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE) are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON) is absent because of illness.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON) and the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HASKELL) would each vote "yea."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. PEARSON), and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER) is absent by leave of the Senate on official business.

The Senator from Oregon (Mr. PACKWOOD) is absent on official business.

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

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 49, nays 39, as follows:

[No. 549 Leg.]

YEAS—49

Abourezk	Hathaway	Moss
Bayh	Hollings	Muskie
Beall	Huddleston	Nelson
Bentsen	Humphrey	Pastore
Biden	Jackson	Pell
Brooke	Javits	Proxmire
Burdick	Johnston	Randolph
Byrd, Robert C.	Kennedy	Ribicoff
Case	Long	Saxbe
Chiles	Magnuson	Schweiker
Church	Mansfield	Scott, Hugh
Clark	Mathias	Stafford
Cranston	McGovern	Stevenson
Gravel	McIntyre	Tunney
Hart	Metcalf	Williams
Hartke	Mondale	
Hatfield	Montoya	

NAYS—39

Aiken	Dole	Nunn
Allen	Domenici	Roth
Bartlett	Dominick	Scott,
Bellmon	Eastland	William L.
Bennett	Ervin	Sparkman
Bible	Fannin	Stennis
Brock	Fong	Stevens
Buckley	Griffin	Taft
Byrd	Gurney	Talmadge
Harry F., Jr.	Hansen	Thurmond
Cannon	Helms	Tower
Cotton	Hruska	Weicker
Curtis	McClellan	Young
	McClure	

NOT VOTING—12

Baker	Haskell	Packwood
Eagleton	Hughes	Pearson
Fulbright	Inouye	Percy
Goldwater	McGee	Symington

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McClure). On this vote there are 49 yeas and 39 nays. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting not having voted in the affirmative, the cloture motion is not agreed to.

Mr. LONG addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McClure). The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

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

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I might yield to the majority leader without prejudice to my right to the floor.

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

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I send to the desk a cloture motion and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair, without objection, directs the clerk to read the motion.

The assistant legislative clerk read the motion as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close the debate upon the motion to insist on the Senate amendments, request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, and authorize the Chair to appoint conferees on the bill H.R. 11104, an act to provide for a temporary increase of \$10,700,000,000 in the public debt limit and to extend the period to which this temporary limit applies to June 30, 1974.

Mike Mansfield	Thomas J. McIntyre
Dick Clark	Warren G. Magnuson
Frank E. Moss	Joseph M. Montoya
Robert C. Byrd	Hubert H. Humphrey
William Proxmire	Lawton Chiles
Gaylord Nelson	Harrison A. Williams,
George McGovern	Jr.
Jennings Randolph	Claiborne Pell
John O. Pastore	Edmund S. Muskie
Walter F. Mondale	Lloyd Bentsen
Edward M. Kennedy	Adlai E. Stevenson III

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate adjourns today, it adjourn until the hour of 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

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

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT ON CLOTURE MOTION TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time to start on the cloture motion which will be taken up tomorrow begin at the hour of 1 o'clock p.m., the vote to come shortly after 2 o'clock, the time to be equally divided between the distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) and the distinguished Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG), manager of the bill.

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

TEMPORARY INCREASE IN PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11104) to provide for a temporary increase of \$10.7 billion in the public debt limit and to extend the period to which this temporary debt limit applies to June 30, 1974.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I believe it appropriate to appeal to those on all sides to explore their consciences and to seek to be conciliatory toward one another with regard to an impending crisis that faces this Government, which at this moment, would appear to be of the making of the Senate, with whatever participation those in or out of the Senate might have contributed.

CURRENT STATUS OF TREASURY CASH POSITION

At the close of business on Friday, November 30, the outstanding amount of the public debt subject to the limitation was over \$464.98 billion. The Treasury's operating cash balance at the same time was \$4.6 billion. This will be increased by the normal flow of receipts from tax payments during the first week of December. Predictions about the amount of receipts we expected during this week, of course, vary with respect to a number of different factors, but it would be reasonable to expect receipts of about \$3.7 billion between now and the close of business on Thursday. These receipts and the cash balance provide about \$8.3 billion for making payments this week. In addition, the Treasury and the Export-Import Bank have taken steps which will provide the Treasury with \$1.8 billion as a payment by the Export-Import Bank on its outstanding debt to the Treasury. Finally, the Treasury expects to receive \$3 billion from the sale of tax anticipation bills. In sum, the cash balance, the estimated tax receipts, the payment by the Export-Import Bank, and the sale of tax anticipation bills will provide the Treasury with about \$13.1 billion in cash through Thursday of this week.

The Treasury has acted to delay or avoid incurring new debt this week until this bill is passed. It has instructed issuing agents for series E and H savings bonds to suspend temporarily the sale of those bonds until after the temporary debt ceiling is extended. The expected short delay in the issuance of these bonds will not cause a loss in interest to the purchasers because all bonds issued this month will earn interest from December 1. Special series Treasury securities that have been held by foreign monetary authorities and which were scheduled to mature this week were refunded in advance on Friday in order to avoid potential cash drain this week. In addition, the Treasury has postponed the regular weekly auction of \$4.3 billion of Treasury bills that were scheduled for today. The postponement will continue in effect until Congress has completed action on the debt limit extension. Treasury has also suspended issuance of special series obligations to the Government trust fund, such as the social security

trust fund, until a new debt limit is enacted.

There are three payments to be made this week which will come close to exhausting the anticipated \$13 billion in cash that the Treasury is expected to have available through Thursday. These consist of \$4.5 billion in benefit payments to social security beneficiaries, the checks for whom are in the mails and probably are being delivered today; \$1.25 billion for Government payroll checks to be paid today; and \$4.3 billion for repayment of regular Treasury bills that will become due on Thursday.

There are, in addition, other benefit payments of approximately \$1.5 billion that also become due this week. These consist of \$800 million in Veterans' Administration benefits, \$500 million in civil service retirement payments, and \$200 million in payments under the railroad retirement plan. To the extent that the timing of the payments makes it necessary, the Treasury Department plans to make these benefit payments, and it will try to make pro rata payments with the remaining cash available on Thursday to the holders of the \$4.3 billion in Treasury bills becoming due then.

In addition, Secretary Shultz and other appropriate agency heads are subjecting prospective expenditures during this week to intensive review in order to determine their relative priorities for payment from the normal flow of receipts that come in every day.

Mr. President, in brief, it would appear that unless the Treasury can apply some sort of fiscal legerdemain that is not known to this Senator or to anyone else with whom I have consulted on this matter, beginning after Thursday the Government will have extreme difficulty in paying its debts falling due, including bonds which the Government has issued.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a table entitled "Present Status of the U.S. Cash and Debt Position," which sets forth in outline form a summary of our situation, plus the steps that have been taken by the Government to meet this mounting crisis, be printed in the RECORD.

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

Following is a summary sheet of the present status of the U.S. cash and debt position.

	Billion
A. Public debt subject to limit outstanding at the close of business, Nov. 30, 1973.....	\$464.98
B. Estimate of cash available through Thursday, Dec. 6:	
Treasury operating cash balance	4.6
Payment on debt by Export-Import Bank.....	1.8
Estimate of receipts through Thursday.....	3.7
Sale of tax anticipation bills	3.0
Estimate of cash on hand through Thursday, Dec. 6	13.1

C. Outlays to be made Dec. 3-6:		
Social security benefit payments	\$4.5	
Government payroll, Dec. 3	1.25	
Treasury bills coming due Dec. 6	4.3	
Subtotal	10.05	
Veterans' Administration benefits	.8	
Civil service retirement payments	.5	
Railroad retirement benefits	.2	
	11.55	

D. Steps taken to defer or avoid cash payments:

1. Arranged advance (before December 1) refunding of \$2.7 billion nonmarketable foreign series debt.
2. Delayed investment of Government trust fund receipts in U.S. special series debt.
3. Examining priorities on expenditures to be made during next several days.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a couple of questions?

Mr. LONG. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. The Senator has raised the matter of the time element, which is extremely important. Christmas comes in about 3 weeks. Does the Senator have assurance that if the 39 Senators who voted against cloture will reconsider that they may have assurance from the House conferees that they will probably agree to a bill?

Mr. LONG. We are led to believe that the House is likely to agree to an amendment relating to financing for Presidential elections and Presidential primaries.

Mr. AIKEN. How long would it take to reach agreement and have that agreement approved by both Houses of Congress?

Mr. LONG. I should think that if we break the impasse here, we could settle the matter before the day is out.

Mr. AIKEN. Does the Senator have assurance the House would back away from its position of last week, which was about 7 to 1, as I recall, against public financing of candidates? Does he have any assurance that the House would recede, even though the Senate conferees would agree to a partial financing, financing of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, and drop financing of Senators and Representatives?

Mr. LONG. We have not had an opportunity to meet in conference. The Senate asked for a conference, but did not have the opportunity to hold a conference, because the House went through a procedure of disagreeing with the Senate amendments and sent the bill back to the Senate.

Mr. AIKEN. My next question is, how long—

Mr. LONG. If the House would not agree to a conference, I for one would be discussing this with the Democratic leadership in the House. I would expect them to recommend that the House, perhaps, amend the bill on the floor or reconsider a conference. If the House insists on not having a conference, I would recommend that the Senate recede.

Mr. AIKEN. I would see no objection

to that, but in view of the vote of 347 to 57 in the House, it was rather one-sided. But assuming the conferees agreed, and the debate took place in the House, how long would it take to enact the legislation?

Mr. LONG. The vote in the House only indicated that the House was not willing to accept all that Senate amendments. I am strongly constrained to believe that the House would agree to an amendment that would relate to the financing of Presidential campaigns and Presidential primaries.

Mr. AIKEN. Can the Senate estimate how long it would take, if this bill should go to conference, before the conference report would be acted on favorably?

Mr. LONG. Well, assuming that the House took its position today, we could act on it today. If the House took a position on it tomorrow, we could act on it tomorrow.

Mr. AIKEN. The other night—I believe it was Saturday night—the Senator from Louisiana predicted that if this bill passes, it will surely be vetoed by the President and come back and have to be voted on again. How long would that take?

Mr. LONG. If the President would veto the bill, I would urge the Senate to act on the veto as soon as the bill gets back from the President.

Mr. AIKEN. How long would that take? The Senator first gave us a deadline by which time, if action is not taken by the Congress, the United States would be in trouble.

Mr. LONG. It is going to depend on how long the President keeps the bill. What he ought to do, if he is going to veto it, is veto it at the same hour it arrives on his desk. Then, we could vote on it the same day.

Mr. AIKEN. Does the Senator see any possibility of enacting legislation before Friday? Does the Senator see any indication of overriding the veto, should the bill be vetoed?

Mr. LONG. No, I do not see any likelihood of overriding a veto of the bill, but I think it is proper legislative procedure.

Mr. AIKEN. My last question is this: If the Senate now recedes from the very, very controversial amendment, how long would it take to get the debt ceiling enacted into law so that the obligations of the United States could be met, so that bonds could be sold, and so that employees of the Government could get their checks in time to buy Christmas presents? How long would it take to withdraw from this?

Mr. LONG. If the Senate recedes from its amendments, the bill would go directly to the President.

Mr. AIKEN. I am afraid the Congress does not look good on this matter.

Suppose the Senate recedes from this controversial amendment today. The bill would go to the President immediately. Could the Government start writing checks tomorrow?

Mr. LONG. Yes. The Senate can surrender at any time it wants to. I am not sure the Senate would be wise to do so, but it has the privilege if it wants to do so.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, may I ask what the pending question is?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is on the motion to insist on the Senate amendments to H.R. 11104 and request a conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, the question propounded by the distinguished Senator from Vermont to the distinguished Senator from Louisiana just a moment ago is the key question before the Senate at this time, or will be.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will be order, so the Senator can be heard. Will the Senate be in order? The Senator will suspend until we have some order in the Chamber.

The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. ALLEN. Or it will be just as soon as the Senator from Alabama can make another motion to recede.

Does the Senator wish me to yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I was going to ask this question. If the Senator from Alabama does not know the answer, perhaps the Senator from Louisiana does.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator use his amplifier?

Mr. AIKEN. If an agreement is reached by the conferees, do I understand correctly that this agreement, except by unanimous consent, would have to be printed and lie over 2 days in the House before it could be acted upon?

Mr. ALLEN. That is the understanding of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. AIKEN. That is my information. A single Member of the House could block the House from taking the conference report up for 2 days after it had been approved by both the Senate and the House committees.

Mr. ALLEN. That is correct in the opinion of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. AIKEN. Now we have a cloture motion filed, to be taken up on Wednesday. It looks as if the Government could not start writing checks this week under present conditions, unless we recover our poise, or whatever you want to call it, and take action.

I have no objections to considering these controversial amendments. I do not think it is wise, or smart to try to tack them onto this debt ceiling legislation, with all the troubles which it entails. I do not think it is wise of us to undertake to send to the President at this time a bill which we have been promised by the opposition he will veto.

Mr. ALLEN. I agree with the distinguished Senator.

Mr. AIKEN. It might be almost Christmastime before the employees of Government could get their checks.

Further than that, I have not heard from one single person in my State either for or against these amendments. I understand that many of the other Senators have not heard a thing from their States. I firmly believe that by supporting these amendments, some of our people who will

be running for election even in 1974 or 1976 are missing the boat.

I think that there could be a terrific kickback on this and an adverse public reaction if we approve this proposed public financing plan as part of the debt ceiling bill. Perhaps I should not say that. However, that is what I feel personally.

Mr. ALLEN. I agree with the Senator. And I thank him for his comments.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I might yield to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota without losing my right to the floor.

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

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I believe an explanation of my vote and position is in order. I am a cosponsor of the pending election reform bill. I still believe in Federal financing of Presidential elections, and particularly those of Members of the Congress.

I think there is a lot wrong with our present system. However, I understand as far as that part having to do with Congress is concerned, that part would be postponed until some time in the future.

I do not know where my campaign funds will be coming from if I go through with the business of being a candidate for reelection. It is getting more difficult all the time to get the right kind of funds. However, as far as election reform is concerned, the reason I am voting the way I am is because the Presidential election is 3 years off. There is plenty of opportunity to attach the legislation to some other bill and I would then support it. It could and should be by separate legislation. As I said previously, to get funds that don't compromise your actions and votes is getting much more difficult.

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield to the Senator from Louisiana without losing my right to the floor.

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

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I am going to use my best efforts to try to persuade both sides to relent in this matter and resolve the matter in the national interest. I believe that statesmanship will be necessary on both sides in order to do so.

Mr. President, I have a suggestion that I have not cleared with either side. However, I will advance it and if I am not alerted that objection will be made, I will proceed in that fashion.

I will propose to ask unanimous consent that the Senate Finance Committee be discharged from further consideration of H.R. 8215, a bill to provide for the suspension of duty on certain copying shoe lathes until the close of June 30, 1976. Then, I propose that the Senate proceed to consider that measure and add to that bill the proposed campaign financing amendment that the leaders on both sides of the aisle feel would be a fair compromise of the issue in the House and Senate. The measure can then be sent to the House in that fashion.

I am not saying that will resolve the problem. All I am saying is that this pro-

cedure might make it a little easier for one side or the other to make concessions in the matter.

I say this hoping that it will have some appeal to both sides so that this might help break the ice and move us one step closer toward accommodating one another.

Discussions on the Senate floor have led me to believe that Senators might be willing to permit us to proceed in that order. If there is going to be objection, I would like to know it. Otherwise I would consider making such a proposal.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, would the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I yield for a question.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, as I understand the chairman, all he is suggesting is that the amendment relating to election reform be attached to a bill other than the debt limit bill and then be passed by the Senate without delay and sent to the House.

Mr. LONG. That is all I am suggesting.

Mr. CURTIS. That would leave the situation so that the Senate would have still sent their election reform bill to the House.

Mr. LONG. The Senator is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. Then the debt limit bill could be sent to the President without any amendment if this were done.

Mr. LONG. If that is what the Senate wants to do, that is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I have one other question. My distinguished chairman is one of the most distinguished parliamentarians and mope pickers in the U.S. Senate.

I ask the chairman of the committee if he would give his best opinion, based upon the rollcall vote of today, whether cloture will ever be voted in this matter we are considering.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, unless we resolve this impasse, things are going to happen that will make the Senate very unhappy. I am sure that there will be a lot of acrimony. I am not sure that the public would applaud our efforts here.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I think what the Senator has proposed is admirable. It would be my opinion that it could be done and done without debate today. We could take the election reform measure and attach it to another bill without debate.

Mr. LONG. This would make it a little easier for the movers of the election reform proposal to yield if they care to do so. If I can think of something that would make it easier for the other side to yield, I will do that.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, would the Senator yield for an additional question?

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I yield for a question.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I do not exactly see the need of attaching this controversial amendment to any bill. I think that the Senator from Louisiana has already demonstrated that he has a majority in the Senate to vote for this measure.

I ask the Senator why we do not wait and then pass the measure as a separate bill and send it to the House without

complicating any other legislation which might be worthwhile.

Mr. LONG. These campaign financing amendments are in the nature of a revenue bill. Revenue bills cannot originate in the Senate. It must be an amendment to a House bill which must be a revenue bill, when it originates in the House.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, would the Senator tell us again what bill he proposes to attach the controversial amendments to? I believe I am correct in assuming that the Senator agrees to drop them from the debt-ceiling bill.

Mr. LONG. No; I did not agree to that.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I misunderstood the Senators, I thought the Senator from Louisiana had really seen the light and wanted to get the debt-ceiling bill passed.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, the reason I am making the suggestion is that I think it might help to resolve the impasse. I do not make this suggestion on any other basis. I make the suggestion on the basis that it might help to set the stage for resolving the dispute. It might not resolve anything.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, might I say one last word on the subject of campaign reform. I believe it was 6 years ago that I happened to be the only one who voted against a bill that was called an ethics bill. The Senator from Louisiana and I started by plane to New Orleans right after the vote and got there an hour and a half late.

Two years ago, I voted for what was called an election reform bill. And my face was so red in the morning that I almost had to wear a mask to keep people from seeing it.

It did not work at all. Neither of those measures worked.

I promise the Senator from Louisiana that I will cooperate on any election reform legislation which promises to work better than what we now have on the books. I do not think in the amendment to the debt ceiling bill we have a workable bill.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I thank the Senator. I am not aware of anything that anyone is doing right now that might give any hope at all of moving us toward resolving this matter.

Mr. President, I would like to ask unanimous consent that the Senate Finance Committee be discharged from the further consideration of H.R. 8215, a bill to provide for the suspension of duty on certain copying shoe lathes until the close of June 30, 1976, and that the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, may I ask the question again? I believe the Senator from Vermont asked it, but I want to reiterate it.

The Senator from Louisiana, then, wants to bring up another bill and get it passed here in the Senate with all these amendments on it, and send it over to the House of Representatives, at the same time holding the debt limit bill

hostage here in the Senate, is that correct?

Mr. LONG. I want to send just one bill over there.

Mr. ALLEN. I see. It would occur to the Senator from Alabama that that is a case of trying to have your cake and eat it, too, and I do not believe the Senator from Alabama would buy that.

Mr. LONG. I do not quite think so. It seems to the Senator from Louisiana that if we are able to send this measure to the House, in cooperation with those who strongly favor public campaign financing, it might prevail on the other side to let the Senator have his way.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, if you get what you want by the second bill, you are willing to drop your efforts on the first bill, but if you fail over there on that bill you want to keep on trying over here.

Mr. LONG. I thought I heard the Senator make the statement that if those who favor the campaign financing proposal would send it to the House on some other bill, the Senator would not insist on holding the public campaign financing measure up, but would permit it to go to the House.

Mr. ALLEN. No, the Senator must have misunderstood the Senator from Alabama. The Senator from Alabama said the Senator from Louisiana outlined that as one of his options, and I wondered why he did not pursue it.

Mr. LONG. I wish the Senator had made it clear he would filibuster against that, too, because if he had, I would not have volunteered to make the suggestion.

Mr. ALLEN. I did not state that I would filibuster against it.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I renew my request for unanimous consent that we discharge the committee from further consideration—

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—

Mr. ALLEN. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. TAFT. I was reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection has been heard. The Senator from Alabama objects.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I did not object to the Senator from Ohio having time; I objected to the request of the Senator from Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understood that.

Mr. ALLEN. I would be delighted, if the Senator from Ohio would like some time, to yield to him, provided I do not lose my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. TAFT. I thank the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. President, my purpose in reserving the right to object to the proposal of the Senator from Louisiana was to ask the following question. If the course he was suggesting were pursued, as apparently it will not be, would there be adequate time for debate and amendments from the floor, and if there were,

did the Senator believe we could work the matter out in sufficient time for it not to be held in complete hostage to the debt limit situation?

Mr. LONG. I would certainly have hoped so, but apparently the Senate is not to be permitted to consider the thing. It was my thought that someone ought to make some gesture of good will, to try to bring this thing to a head. But I respect the right of anyone to object.

Mr. TAFT. I thank the Senator for his reply.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, the Senator from Louisiana, to set the record straight, has offered to bring up a revenue measure that has passed the House of Representatives and is now pending in the Finance Committee. He asks unanimous consent that the Finance Committee be discharged from further consideration of that vetoable bill—I would expect that it is an innocuous bill—but that while that bill is going over to the House of Representatives with the Senate amendments added, this debt ceiling bill will stay over here in a state of suspended animation, and if they fail on the one, then they would have the debt ceiling bill to come back to.

Another reason why that is not fair is that it is not fair to our House brethren over there to have this innocuous tax bill changed into something entirely different, when all they have an opportunity to do over there is to vote for a conference. They do not consider the bill ab initio; they do not consider it originally. They get no opportunity to work their will on the bill. All they have to do is agree on a conference or not, and then the conference would come out with this undesirable campaign handout bill, and they would have to vote it up or down, and they might take it.

I do not believe the House is going to reverse itself, having voted 347 to 54 just last week not to take the Senate amendments and not to agree to a conference. Why they should have a compromise—and by the way, I never have seen that compromise, and I do not know whether any other Senator has. What is in that compromise, and who did sit on that compromise committee? No one has ever said that. A group of Senators; I do not know whether the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) was present or not; I suspect the Senator from Louisiana was there, and the Senator from Massachusetts was there, I imagine, but it was a high-level session in a smoke-filled room, with some leaders from the House and some leaders from the Senate, but no one knows who they are, and no one has seen the compromise. I never have been furnished with a copy of the compromise.

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

Mr. ALLEN. For a question, yes.

Mr. MONDALE. How many were at the meeting at which it was decided to filibuster this bill and frustrate the majority of the U.S. Senate?

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know. The Senator would have to answer that himself, because he is the one who is filibustering the bill, not the Senator from Alabama. The Senator from Alabama got

it to a vote yesterday by the motion to recede.

Mr. MONDALE. Would the Senator from Alabama advise us how many attended that meeting?

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know.

Mr. MONDALE. You were not there?

Mr. ALLEN. You did not invite me. Had you invited me I would have been. But you failed to invite me. But I would like to know who participated in that compromise. Apparently there were a bunch of folks all of the same mind. I did not hear of anyone against the campaign handout bill that was present there. They got together in a smoke-filled room, and came up with a so-called compromise, but did not bother to—I have never seen a copy on my desk; maybe someone else has seen it.

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

Mr. ALLEN. I yield.

Mr. LONG. The Senator could have seen the amendment and had the opportunity to debate it if he had not objected. I think the Senator has set the stage as well as it can be set for this debt limit not only to expire, but for the Government not to be able to pay its debts. I do not think anyone could be more arbitrary right now. At least I have tried to make a conciliatory move to resolve the matter, but the Senator from Alabama even objected to that. That, I think, is not going to be generally applauded by those who think this matter should be resolved, where all sides would be willing to accommodate one another to the extent that reasonable men could be expected to do so.

Mr. ALLEN. I thank the distinguished Senator, and I hope he was listening when he was reading the report there from the Treasury Department, I believe, on the dire effects that the failure to pass the debt limit places the country in, and the Treasury in.

I would like, for the RECORD, Mr. President, to call attention to the fact that on yesterday the Senator from Alabama—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. ALLEN. That on yesterday, Mr. President, the Senator from Alabama had pending before the Senate and, Mr. President, that the Senate recede from its amendment to H.R. 11104. That motion had been made the preceding day but then a motion to adjourn kept it from coming up. So that motion was made and I appreciate the desire of the Senator from Louisiana to agree that that motion be allowed to come up for a vote. I notice that there were two Senators who voted for cloture but also voted to recede.

There were 39 votes against cloture today and 33 votes against it yesterday, so that I am hopeful when the motion to recede is made again and Senators understand the full significance of that motion, and the Senator from Louisiana understands the full significance of that motion, it will constitute final passage of the debt ceiling bill, because acceptance of this motion to recede is, in effect, final passage of the bill.

Who voted for final passage yesterday?

Why, Mr. President, it was the Senators who are alleged to be filibustering. Who voted against sending the debt ceiling bill to the President?

Why, Mr. President, I see the name of the distinguished Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG) here. He voted against sending the debt ceiling to the President.

Why, Mr. President, I see on the floor here the distinguished Senator from Minnesota—excuse me, I believe he has left—

Mr. MONDALE. I am right here. I do not want to miss a word.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) was here and voted against the debt ceiling bill, and voted on final passage.

The advantage, Mr. President, of voting on the motion to recede rather than sending it to the conference is that that is the end of it, except for the President's signature. We can have it signed at 3 o'clock, I dare say, and it would be the law of the land by 4 o'clock if we were to pass this motion to recede from the Senate amendments.

What is the alternative?

It will have to go to the House, appoint a conference committee, have debate on the floor of the House, after they have already acted 347 to 54 against the conference committee, and then have to come back over here for consideration, and then go back over to the House for consideration, and then go to the President, which the Senator from Louisiana—and I am sure he speaks advisedly—says will be a possible and probable veto, which will then take the action of both Houses.

If the pay checks do not go out, it will be the fault not of the Senator from Alabama but those who failed to vote on yesterday for final passage of the bill.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield for a question?

Mr. ALLEN. Let me finish my thought, and then I shall be delighted to yield to the Senator from Minnesota for a question.

But the Senator from Alabama, and those who feel as he does about this measure are going to give those who voted against the debt ceiling bill yesterday another opportunity to redeem themselves and to vote for this extension of authority for the temporary debt authorization. I am hopeful that the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG), recognizing the dire straits of the country, recognizing the dire straits of the Treasury, will vote to send the bill to the President.

I might say, too, if the time ever come—talking about not being able to pay its bills—if the time ever comes when Members of the Senate fail to receive their checks, and Members of the House fail to receive their checks, we will see a resolution extending the debt limit passed within 30 minutes. So I do not believe we will have to worry about that. As soon as it pinches these Senators fighting against the debt ceiling bill, we will see a resolution passed right away.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield?

Mr. ALLEN. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota for a question without losing my right to the floor.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, as the Senator from Alabama well knows, the pending motion is the motion of the Senator from Louisiana to send this matter to conference where it can be quickly resolved and passed on to the President so that the majority of the Senate can work its will. That has been pending now for some days and we have been unable to vote because every time we try to vote, the Senator from Alabama begins an extended discussion which has required three cloture motions now—

Mr. ALLEN. I would say to the Senator from Minnesota, I yielded to him only for a question.

Mr. MONDALE. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Get to the point, please.

Mr. MONDALE. I am getting to the point. But time and again as the Senator from Alabama well knows, when the pending motion—

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator be good enough to get to the point?

Mr. MONDALE. The leadership has tried to bring that matter to a vote and the Senator from Alabama has refused to permit it. Moreover, we have not denied the Senator from Alabama the right to put his motion. We have voted two or three times on it, and each time we have voted on it the Senator from Alabama has lost by a large margin. So there is no question, based on the procedural situation, that we are ready to vote—

Mr. ALLEN. Please come to the point.

Mr. MONDALE. But he refuses to let us vote—

Mr. ALLEN. What is the Senator's question?

Mr. MONDALE. I am getting to the question—

Mr. ALLEN. What is the question?

Mr. MONDALE. I am getting to the question.

Mr. ALLEN. All right. I will accommodate the Senator.

Mr. MONDALE. I want to get to the question as soon as I can. [Laughter.] Here is my question. No. 1—I have got several elements to this question—[laughter]—is it not true that the pending motion is that of the Senator from Louisiana to—is it not true that the time—

Mr. ALLEN. Let me answer that part first. Let me take them one at a time.

Mr. MONDALE. No. 2, is it not true that the Senator from Alabama has refused to let us vote on that motion?

No. 3, is it not true that the position of the Senator from Alabama is that the only way we can get this Government to pay its bills is to do exactly what he wants, and if we refuse to do it he will continue to filibuster until the majority of the Senate gets down on its knees and begs for mercy?

Mr. ALLEN. No. That is hardly the case. As the Senator from Alabama has pointed out, he did not add this campaign grab bag bill to the debt ceiling amendment. As to the pending amendment, the Senator from Alabama, in just

a moment, as soon as he hears from the distinguished Senator from Vermont (Mr. AIKEN), will offer a prior motion, a motion with greater priority than the motion of the Senator from Louisiana, and that is that we pass the bill. The technical way of passing the bill is to recede from the Senate amendments.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator from Alabama yield?

Mr. ALLEN. I yield to the Senator from Vermont for a question.

Mr. AIKEN. It seems to me that we have two similar issues before us at this time. The first one is the situation whereby the Arab States have told the European States, "We will not let you have oil unless you do what we tell you to do."

In the Senate, we have a different proposition; that we will not pass a bill entailing the debt ceiling limitation unless we can add amendments to the bill to force the President to veto it.

So what is the difference between this Senate and the Arab States regarding Europe, because now—

Mr. ALLEN. Both positions are pretty arbitrary in the viewpoint of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. AIKEN. The Federal employees, I believe some 3 million of them, will not get their Christmas checks. The Federal Government will not be able to sell any more bonds, and it cannot pay any bills. The President is not going to be blamed for that situation. The Senate will be held responsible. We should realize that now.

What is the use of saying that we will not pass a bill unless it is a bill which he will have to veto? That political gambit is nothing new. I have seen that maneuver practiced many times. Of course, the President can veto a bill and some can blame him for killing the good part of it—well, the Senator from Louisiana knows the rest better than I do. But I have never seen that idea so clearly enunciated as it has been on this floor in the past few days.

We are not going to permit the Federal employees to get their checks, we are not going to permit the Federal Government to pay its bills, unless we can first force the House to its knees; and if they go to their knees, then we have something the President is forced to veto.

Mr. ALLEN. That is true. That is absolutely correct. I agree with the distinguished Senator from Vermont.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a representative selection of the telegrams I have received from throughout the country on this issue.

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

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
December 2, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Heartily endorse your position on the amendment to the debt ceiling bill. Keep it up.

WILLIAM SCHNEIDER,
ROBERT MATTHEWS,
JESUS BARKER,

MOBILE, ALA.,
December 2, 1973.

Senator ALLEN,
Capitol Hill,
Washington, D.C.:

I am with you 100 percent.

BOBBY HINSON.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,
December 1, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Well done. No taxation for representation.

FRANCIS X. FURLONG.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,
November 30, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Keep going. Don't stop. Let's beat this bill.

BOB CLARK.

STRATFORD, CONN.,
November 30, 1973.

Senator JAMES B. ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Congratulations and continued Senate
filibuster against Gratification of greater
Federal debt ceiling.

God bless you.

HUGH DOLAN.

SAN BERNARDINO, CALIF.,
November 30, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Please continue the filibuster your efforts
are deeply appreciated.

C. L. KIRSCHNER.

MONROE, MICH.,
November 30, 1973.

Senator JAMES B. ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Stick to your guns on public financing of
Presidential campaign. We're all for you.

HERMAN SPERR.

DAVENPORT, IOWA,
November 30, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courageous fili-
buster against the national campaign fund-
ing. Keep up the good work.

T. R. MOTTO.

DEARBORN, MICH.,
December 1, 1973.

Senator JAMES B. ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Thank you for your stand against public
funding of campaigns. Millions of us sup-
port you.

GLADYS PURCELL.

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.,
December 1, 1973.

Senator JAMES B. ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Congratulations. I hope you win.

CHARLES L. MCBRIDE.

MERCER ISLAND, WASH.,
December 1, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Good work. Vote against election financing
rider.

Mr. and Mrs. DON WACKER.

MOUNT VERNON, WASH.,
December 1, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Good show. Thank you.

Yours truly,

DON BEEMAN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
December 1, 1973.

HON. JAMES B. ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Congratulations on your stand against
rider on debt limit bill.

EMILY D. PEASLEE,
EDMUND W. PEASLEE.

HUNTSVILLE, ALA.,
December 2, 1973.

Senator JAMES B. ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

We agree with your attempts preventing
unrelated amendments being attached to
major legislation. Carry on.

J. ELLIS MICKLER.

HUNTSVILLE, ALA., December 2, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Favor your stand campaign financing. Vote
no on increasing national debt. Bring Fed-
eral Reserve Board under congressional con-
trol. Reduce executive emergency powers.

LEVITCH FAMILY and PEACOCK FAMILY.

LUCEDALE, MISS.,
December 2, 1973.

Senator JIM ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Hang in there, Jim. This requires more
time than they have given.

AL EUBANKS.

MOBILE, ALA.,
December 2, 1973.

Senator JAMES B. ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

DEAR SENATOR: With you 100 percent. Hope
you prevail.

BUBBA and PAT HAVARD.

DAYTON, OHIO,
December 2, 1973.

Senator JAMES B. ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Please stick by your guns in regards cam-
paign contribution.

CHARLES PHILIPS.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.,
December 2, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Hang in there. The people are with you.

BILL and SUE KENNEDY.

MIAMI, FLA.,
December 2, 1973.

Senator JAMES B. ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Urge you continue your courageous stand
against demagoguery.

JOHN STERNER.

MOBILE, ALA.,
December 2, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Keep up your magnificent effort. Your one
man stand could determine the republic's
future.

W. ROBERTS WILSON, Jr.

MOBILE, ALA.,
December 2, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Thanks for your Senate Sunday stand
against free political spending.

M. E. HUNNERWELL.

BOSSIER CITY, LA.,
December 1, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Thanks for your stand against govern-
mental campaigns financing. God give us
more men like you.

Mr. and Mrs. FRED SCHEEN, Jr.

SELMA, ALA.,
November 30, 1973.

Senator JIM ALLEN,
Washington, D.C.:

I fully support your filibuster to hold debt
ceiling down.

Kindest regard,

H. CECIL MILLER, Jr.

HIRAM, OHIO,
December 3, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

Best congratulations on your stand on the
election bill.

THOMAS W. BROWN.

MEMPHIS, TENN.,
December 3, 1973.

Senator JAMES ALLEN,
Capitol Hill, D.C.:

I support and commend your opposition
to public fund election financing. Keep it
up.

PERRY M. BOLING.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I am
deeply troubled by the implications of
the rash action taken by the Senate in
approving the use of tax money for polit-
ical campaigning.

This action has been referred to in the
media as "revolutionary," and I certainly
must agree. It is an overthrow of many
of the principles upon which our politi-
cal system has operated for almost two
centuries.

Most certainly I am not opposed to
campaign reforms. Our political system
needs constant monitoring and readjust-
ments.

What has been undertaken here, how-
ever, is not a simple adjustment or cor-
rection of the system. What has been
done is to throw out the system and im-
pose a new one, at least insofar as it in-
volves Presidential elections.

It is somewhat frightening to realize
that an action of this magnitude would
be undertaken on the floor of the Sen-
ate without the benefit of committee
hearings or studies on the specific pro-
gram which was adopted. It is at best ex-
tremely poor legislative procedure, and
in my estimation, unbelievably irres-
ponsible. As important as the debt limit
bill is, I would hope that President Nixon
will veto it if it reaches him with the
campaign financing rider attached. Bet-
ter that the Government suffer a brief
financial crisis than this legislation be
allowed to go into effect.

The use of a so-called veto-proof bill
as a vehicle for the campaign financing
provisions demonstrates a lack of faith
in the merits of the proposal. If this were
a sound program, proponents should
have no qualms about putting it through
regular channels to let it rise or fall on
its own.

Mr. President, I am aware, of course,
that this issue has been considered for
years in Congress. In fact, I would point
out that in June 1967, Russell D. Hemen-
way, national director of the National
Committee for an Effective Congress,
made these remarks at a hearing before
the Senate Finance Committee:

The NCEC wishes to be on record as op-
posed to any proposal which provides direct
Treasury financing of elections. We feel this
would substitute the Treasury for the volun-
tary political contributor. To appropriate
Federal funds to pay for campaigns is anti-

democratic since it excludes the individual from a vital portion of the political process. It also tends to establish a political monopoly which would ultimately erode the process of free elections.

Even with limitations and safeguards—the practical effectiveness of which are open to serious question—the direct subsidy vests in the national party committees an undesirable concentration of power, control, and influence which would ultimately have serious impact on the entire party system and political process. The long-range results are predictable: a lessening of public influence over party platforms and policies, and central control over the decisions and actions of candidates and over State and local party organizations. By reducing the financial dependence of parties on the rank and file constituents, the party hierarchy is insulated against the public will. The inherent dangers of stifling conformity, rigid discipline, and a self-perpetuating power structure within the major parties are obvious.

It is in order here, I think, Mr. Chairman, to take a quick look at how direct Treasury financing of campaigns would operate. Suppose the two national parties were each allocated \$10 million from the Treasury. Nominally, they could use this money only for certain specified costs of the presidential campaign. But would not the two national chairmen discover that their slightest whims were respected as orders by party officials, by everyone in the party from supervisor to coroner to candidates for the House and Senate?

Above all, the basic principle of voluntarism is destroyed, since the individual may not determine where his money is going. Nor would he participate in many of the meaningful campaign activities for which fundraising is merely a stimulus. Politically, for the candidate and public, it is far more important to receive a hundred \$1 bills than one contribution for \$100.

In the effort to cleanse the present system of abuses, we do not want to sterilize the political process. It will do no good to handcraft an unresponsive, bureaucratic mechanism which renders the public will speechless and impotent. The American people are now reacting against the overbureaucratic agencies of Government. At a time when every effort is being made to humanize and personalize the Government, we do not want to build the same difficulties into politics. We see in some of the election financing proposals this same pattern which has characterized much recent Federal legislation: full of good intentions, financed by Federal largess, but functionally incapable of proper administration because of rigid and uniform directives are imposed in situations requiring adjustment and flexibility.

Mr. President, we have had hearings over the years and each time we have found that the financing of election campaigns out of tax money creates many more problems than it could solve.

That is exactly why proponents of these schemes bring them directly to the Senate floor where they can label them "campaign reform" and dare other Members of Congress to vote against the proposals.

If the idea of taking tax money to pay for political campaigning has any merit, it should be able to survive our committee system, it should be of enough popular appeal that if sent to the President he would feel compelled to sign it as I say on its merits.

The campaign financing provisions of the bill are an appalling testimony as to the lack of faith in the American people. It is big brother legislation at its worst.

Since taxpayers have failed to provide funds for campaigning through the "checkoff" system on their tax returns, the proponents of this new plan would take the money from them unless they object. This is an insult to the American public.

Mr. President, the place for campaign reform to begin is through the enforcement of the laws which we do have. As Arlen J. Large wrote in an article, "How Should We Finance Elections?" in the May 10, 1973, Wall Street Journal:

There's not yet an obvious need to go to the extreme of taxing people to pay for the antics of barnstorming politicians, or adding their expenses to the national debt. At least that step shouldn't be taken before trying sterner enforcement of existing law.

Mr. President, I believe that this goes right to the heart of the American political process. It would be a serious infringement on the rights of the individual. For some people it would mean taking their tax money for political purposes and processes which they oppose; for others it would mean denial of their right to fully participate in the political process in the manner of their choosing.

In his study, "Campaign Financing and Political Freedom," Ralph K. Winter Jr. has written:

Yet the proposals now before Congress threaten to impose a solution to each and perhaps to change our present system radically and rapidly. The danger is not the less because the effect is random or unintentional—or perhaps even mindless.

Direct subsidies would also raise serious problems of freedom of expression. They would be a form of compulsory political activity which limited the freedom of those who would refrain as well as of those who chose to participate. When an individual is forced, in effect, to make a contribution to a political movement to which he is indifferent or which he finds distasteful; it may be fairly said that a basic freedom is being infringed. When this forced payment is combined with limits on contributions to favored candidates, political freedom is drastically limited.

Mr. President, we also have a number of unanswered questions as to how this bill would be implemented. In the American Bar Association Journal of last October, Carleton W. Sterling wrote an article, "Control of Campaign Spending: The Reformer's Paradox," which observed:

Subsidization schemes raise a number of dilemmas. Every person desiring office cannot be subsidized, so subsidies must be awarded to those who already have demonstrated political power sufficient to warrant subsidization. Parties may gain subsidies for their candidates according to some formula linked to their support in the electorate, which must favor the established parties. Congress has considered subsidies geared to equalizing the campaign financing of the two major parties, but funds for minor parties at best would only approximate their strength among the voters.

Mr. President, this is a very real problem. It is somewhat frightening to envision a government of politicians allocating funds for the campaigns of pol-

iticians. Everyone must share the concern of A. James Reichley in the current issue of *Fortune* magazine who in his article, "Financing—But Let's Do It Right," commented:

Total Government financing would also raise the danger that at some future time a dominant political faction or party might deny the opposition the resources needed to reach the public.

Mr. President, the legislation approved by the Senate is fraught with danger. It will not solve the problems its proponents seek to overcome.

It will, instead, create a system which discourages involvement by citizens in the political process, and thus will result in the election of officials who are less responsive to the people.

This plan would isolate the office-seeker and officeholder from the people. It would help entrench political parties and retard essential and desirable change to meet the continually changing conditions of the Nation and the world.

It is my hope that Congress will act responsibly and strip all the campaign financing provisions from this bill so that the President is not caught between the dilemma of vetoing the debt ceiling or accepting legislation which includes the misguided campaign financing provisions.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I think it is high time that, in addition to commending our distinguished colleague from Alabama, Senator ALLEN, Members of this Senate ought to correct a misstatement of fact that has been heard and read constantly in the major news media, and in this Chamber, these past few days.

The distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) is not leading a filibuster against the debt-ceiling bill. If anything is crystal clear above the fog of pious oratorical obfuscation which has clouded this Chamber in recent days, it is certainly clear that Senator ALLEN has been ready to vote, from the very beginning, on the debt-ceiling legislation.

So, Mr. President, if there is to be financial crisis in the Federal Government, let the record be clear that it is not the fault of Senator ALLEN.

I hope I can successfully make these remarks without being discourteous to my colleagues who are really responsible for this hang-up in the Senate.

I want to be courteous at all times, and I try to be. I want to be properly differential to my seniors in this body. But I share the view of my distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. BUCKLEY) who said eloquently yesterday that this Senate ought to be ashamed of itself.

Needless to say, Mr. President, Senator BUCKLEY was ignored, both in this Chamber and by the news media. That is the way it always is when one identified as a conservative tries to talk sense to the American people through his forum in this body. He is ignored, Mr. President. But Senator BUCKLEY ought not to have been ignored yesterday. The Senate ought to have listened to him. The Senate ought to have heeded his reasonable, decent, and dignified warning that we are throwing duty and responsibility to the wind.

I observed the press gallery yester-

day morning, Mr. President, as the Senate held its first Sunday session in 112 years. I forecast accurately then who would be quoted to the American people, and who would not. When the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) was on his feet, every reporter in that gallery was taking notes. But when Senator BUCKLEY arose, there was headshaking, and their were smirks. There may have been, in that press gallery, Mr. President, a reporter somewhere taking notes as Senator BUCKLEY spoke. But I did not see one. Nor have I seen or heard one quote attributed to the Senator from New York.

In order that our friends in the press gallery may have a second opportunity to ignore the advice and counsel given this Senate yesterday by Senator BUCKLEY, I shall read his remarks into the RECORD again.

Mr. President, I think the vital question before us now is not the question of how we should finance Federal campaigns. Certainly it is not to this issue that I intend to speak. Rather, I think what we are confronted with is a corruption of the legislative process through the use of so-called veto-proof bills as a vehicle for facing the adoption of totally unrelated measures. This practice constitutes a perversion of the Constitution of the United States. It is a practice that ought not to be tolerated in this Chamber.

The Constitution states that the majority of the Congress will work its will, and that if the President disagrees, he may exercise his right of veto. However, the Congress may vote to override that veto and the bill then becomes law.

The attempt to tack on unrelated legislation to a measure vital to the fiscal integrity of the United States is, to me, unconscionable—especially when there is not even the excuse of urgency.

We have heard a lot of talk in this Chamber about the low esteem into which the Executive has fallen. We should take cognizance of the fact that, if anything, the Congress of the United States has fallen to and even lower level.

The people of the United States are well aware of this appalling exercise of legislative irresponsibility on the part of Congress.

I believe we should be ashamed of ourselves and that we should allow the Senator from Alabama to have a vote on his motion to have the Senate recede from its amendments. And I believe that we should return to the Lord's business.

Now let me repeat, Mr. President: I do not desire to be discourteous to anyone, not even to the major media of this country. But I do want to support the suggestion voiced yesterday by the Senator from New York (Mr. BUCKLEY) that there is reason for shame concerning what is happening in this Senate. There is reason for shame among the major news media. All of us are letting the people of America down. This Senate is posturing. The major media are posturing. And the people of America are the losers as the result of it all.

There is no wonder the American people think less of this Congress, and of the news media, than they do of their garbage collectors. Garbage collectors are honest with themselves. They are honest about what they are doing. But when this Senate deals in garbage, and when the major news media circulates garbage, we pretend it is something else

Let us not try to deceive ourselves; let alone anybody else, about what is going on here. That is why I say that we ought to commend Senator ALLEN for his efforts.

He is second to no man in wanting to clean up American politics. He is not running for President. He is willing—in fact, he insists—that the job be done properly, and in accordance with the due processes of this Senate. I admire him. I support him. And I hope that he stands fast. I intend to stand with him.

The distinguished Senator from Louisiana said something yesterday to the effect that a minority in this body is trying to thwart the will of the majority. The Senator was sincere, I am sure. I have never doubted that he always is. But the majority is not always right. Pontius Pilate surrendered to the majority, when the majority was wrong. Christopher Columbus, on the other hand, refused to surrender to the majority of his sailors who demanded that he turn back—and he discovered America.

As a freshman Senator, wishing to be properly courteous and deferential, I nevertheless am obliged to wonder why the majority in the Senate are so fearful of the due processes of this body. Why do they lack the courage to let this campaign financing gimmick stand on its own footing. It is, after all, a gimmick which will tax the people to pay for political campaigns; why do they refuse to let this proposal confront the regular processes of legislation? The Founding Fathers were not unwise, it seems to me, in sensing that the majority would not always be right. If this campaign financing proposal is such a great idea, why is it unable to stand on its own footing?

The Constitution is quite clear in specifying the proper road a piece of legislation should travel in order to be enacted. What the majority is demanding here is a detour, a short-cut.

Senator ALLEN is opposed to that short-cut. And in my judgment, he is correct.

Now, Mr. President, this Senator from North Carolina happens to be opposed to the game this Congress has been playing, for a generation, with the so-called "debt limit." The distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK) says that we simply are continuing to move the finish line farther down the road, so as to avoid our duty to be financially responsible.

He is right. The Senator from North Carolina does not claim any unusual wisdom, and I do not relish lecturing my colleagues. But there are times when silence condones. I have said on this floor, time and time again, that the Congress has the duty to stop this charade of wild deficit spending. I am perfectly willing to have anyone examine my voting record during the exactly 11 months I have now been a Member of the Senate. I have voted against countless spending measures which I would have liked to support—if I could have done so in good conscience. But I could not, and, therefore, I have not.

I believe, Mr. President, that I am the poorest Member of this body, in terms of personal accumulation of worldly goods. Perhaps that is the reason I am

so sensitive about debt—personal debt, and Government debt. My conscience demands that I remember at all times that, when I vote in this Senate to spend money—and particularly money that this Government cannot afford to spend—I am not doing injury to myself. It is not my money. It is the money of more than 200 million people. It is the future of the younger generations that is being mortgaged by us. The heritage we are leaving them is a bleak one.

That is why, Mr. President, I believe this Senate owes Senator ALLEN its gratitude for his very proper, very courageous stand. Certainly he has mine. Certainly he has my full support. And he should have the gratitude of the American people for standing steadfast against a proposal to tax them to finance political campaigns. They should not be required, as one of my friends put it the other day, "to finance their own misery."

It is not our money, Mr. President, that is proposed to be given to politicians to run campaigns. It is the people's money. If they want to contribute to campaigns voluntarily—and I think they should—all well and good. But they should not be forced to carry the additional financial burden of millions of dollars to pay for the campaigns of candidates whom they do not support.

There is a very simple way to clean up campaigns. It is called full disclosure. In my campaign last year, we reported every penny received, and every penny spent. We were sometimes offered contributions drawn on corporate accounts. We sent every one of them back.

Full disclosure, with quick and stern punishment for those who violate the law, will prevent campaign abuses of a financial nature. I agree that the people want to clean up politics. They have wanted to clean up politics long before Watergate. As a private citizen, before coming to the Senate, I shared that desire. I share it now. But I did not then, and I do not now, support the idea of candidates running for office at the taxpayers' expense and against their will.

Finally, let me call attention to a poll released yesterday which discloses the Number One desire of the American people. They want an end to inflation. They want this Congress to balance the budget. They have their priorities in order, Mr. President. As Senators know, I have tried to place their priorities before the Senate.

Last week, I offered an amendment to the social security bill which would have put this Senate on record in pledging a balanced budget. That amendment failed by a three-vote margin, 46-43. Almost without exception, Senators voting against my amendment are now pressing the Senate to force the taxpayers to put up millions of their tax dollars to finance political campaigns.

I observed the press gallery that day, too, Mr. President. Not because I personally want publicity. I come from the media, and I have made my living for much of my life in television and radio. So it was the issue—the issue of the balanced budget—that was my interest. This is the issue of greatest concern to the American people.

Yet it was virtually ignored by the ladies and gentlemen in the press gallery. They could not have cared less. I dare say that not more than a fraction of one per cent of the American people are even aware that this Senate voted last week against an opportunity to commit to a balanced budget. When this amendment came up last week, Mr. President, that was the time our friends in the press gallery stepped out for a smoke, or a visit to the rest room.

And, I suppose, Mr. President, it will be the same today and tomorrow—just as it was yesterday when the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. BUCKLEY) called upon this Senate to be ashamed for its conduct. And I suppose that the distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) will continue to be labeled as the man who has delayed approval of the debt-ceiling bill.

This is the fix we are in, Mr. President. This is the fix this Senate, and the news media, are in. I do not wonder that polls show that garbage collectors are regarded with far more respect than either the Congress or the major news media. The garbage collectors deserve their ranking, Mr. President. And with all due respect to my colleagues and to the major news media, I am afraid we deserve ours.

But, I do want to commend the distinguished Senator from Alabama. I admire him, as he knows, and I support him. I hope he will stand firm, and that he will again offer his motion to recede in this matter.

MOTION TO RECEDE

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Mr. President, I move—and I call attention to the fact that this motion is a motion for final passage of the debt ceiling bill, unencumbered by the campaign fund political handout—that the Senate do now recede from its amendments to H.R. 11104. I have a written motion at the desk, and I ask the clerk to read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Mr. President, I move that the Senate recede from its amendments to H.R. 11104.

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLURE). The Senator will state it.

Mr. HART. Is this not a motion that is dilatory? Is this not the umpteenth time we have gone through this?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This is the third time such a motion has been presented; and in the Chair's opinion, a reasonable amount of time has elapsed since it was presented before. It is not a dilatory motion.

The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Alabama. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), the Senator from Arkansas

(Mr. FULBRIGHT), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HASKELL), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY), the Senator from Florida (Mr. CHILES), and the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND) are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON), is absent because of illness.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY) would vote "nay."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. PEARSON) and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER) is absent by leave of the Senate on official business.

The Senator from Oregon (Mr. PACKWOOD) is absent on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 43, as follows:

[No. 550 Leg.]

YEAS—42

Alken	Dole	Nunn
Allen	Domenici	Roth
Bartlett	Dominick	Saxbe
Beall	Ervin	Scott,
Bellmon	Fannin	William L.
Bennett	Fong	Sparkman
Bible	Griffin	Stennis
Brock	Gurney	Stevens
Buckley	Hansen	Taft
Byrd,	Hatfield	Talmadge
Harry F., Jr.	Helms	Thurmond
Cannon	Hollings	Tower
Cook	Hruska	Weicker
Cotton	McClellan	Young
Curtis	McClure	

NAYS—43

Abourezk	Huddleston	Muskie
Bayh	Jackson	Nelson
Bentsen	Javits	Pastore
Biden	Johnston	Pell
Brooke	Kennedy	Proxmire
Burdick	Long	Randolph
Byrd, Robert C.	Magnuson	Ribicoff
Case	Mansfield	Schweiker
Church	Mathias	Scott, Hugh
Clark	McGovern	Stafford
Cranston	McIntyre	Stevenson
Gravel	Metcalfe	Tunney
Hart	Mondale	Williams
Hartke	Montoya	
Hathaway	Moss	

NOT VOTING—15

Baker	Goldwater	McGee
Chiles	Haskell	Packwood
Eagleton	Hughes	Pearson
Eastland	Humphrey	Percy
Fulbright	Inouye	Symington

So Mr. ALLEN's motion was rejected.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the closeness of this vote, it seems to me, underscores the appeal made by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Finance earlier for some spirit of conciliation in this body. He detailed at great length the difficulties that the Government will have if we do not get this debt ceiling bill passed and to the White House for signature.

The votes have been very interesting: 39 votes against invoking cloture; and here we have a very, very close vote on the matter of whether or not the Senate should recede and send the House bill to

the President for signature today. It seems to me that this vote, as well as the argument made by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Finance, speaks eloquently and persuasively for adhering to the orderly procedures of the legislative process, and the orderly procedures of the legislative process would be to consider such an important subject as public financing of campaigns by having it reported by the Committee on Rules and Administration and then brought on the floor, debated, and considered on its own merits.

I want to make a gesture in the direction of conciliation in trying to resolve this matter. I am only one member of the Committee on Rules and Administration. I am not enthusiastic about the concept of the public financing. I do think there are some steps we can take in the direction of public financing and I want to say that as one member of the Committee on Rules and Administration I will vote to report a public financing bill before this session of Congress adjourns, if that should be the will of the majority of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

I would hope, and I would think, particularly since the subcommittee that has jurisdiction has already reported a bill, and since the full committee has completed its work on the consideration of the Ford nomination and would be able to turn its attention to the bill, that the Rules Committee could now take a look at the possibility of reporting legislation. I can only speak for myself on that.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a comment?

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, this is a serious matter. We cannot hear back here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's point is well taken. Senators will be in order. Conversations will cease. The Senator is entitled to be heard, and other Senators are entitled to hear.

Will the Senator suspend until we have order?

Does the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. GRIFFIN. I yield to the distinguished Republican leader.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, with the understanding that the Senator from Michigan does not lose his right to the floor.

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

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, our constant concern here, of course, is the state of the Treasury and the necessity for securing early action, if we can, on an act which has already expired. I still support the Campaign Reform Act in its full form and in its modified form. I think it is an idea whose time has come, and it ought to come now. I am convinced of it. I am not speaking as an advocate of anyone else's view. I am speaking for a view which is not embraced by a majority of my own party on this particular date.

I believe we will have and must have campaign reform, that we must do something about the corrupting power of the present system of financing campaigns. I would like to take that incubus off the

backs of Presidential candidates and others. I would like to have some assurance that a campaign reform bill can be reported out at a date to which we can all look forward and make our plans accordingly. That would be up to the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee and up to the majority leader and the chairman of the Finance Committee and the ranking members of the Finance Committee, but the fundamental undertaking would have to come from the Rules Committee, on which the Senator from Michigan and I now serve, and on which the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Cook) is the ranking Republican member.

I would hope that we could evolve here some sort of understanding that we can get some action on this legislation. At the moment we are in a Mexican standoff. We are at a stalemate, and we are not hurting each other as much as we are hurting the country. Therefore, I think it is time for me to speak up.

I have tried to maintain my position as an advocate of legislation. I still believe in it. I believe it is even more important, however, for us to find the means by which the Government can function, and I do not want to be one who stands in the way of that.

I wonder if the distinguished majority leader would have any comment? Would the distinguished Senator from Michigan yield to the distinguished majority leader?

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I yield.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan has yielded me the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator yield?

Mr. GRIFFIN. Yes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, to use the words of the distinguished Republican leader, we are at a Mexican standoff as far as the pending legislation is concerned.

I would point out to my colleagues in this body that the Senate has voted on the question of presidential campaigns a number of times and that the overwhelming majority of this body is in favor of something being done. I would point out also that, on the basis of the information laid out before the Ervin select committee, we have seen what corporate contributions have done to the process political. We have had prominent men in the business world state for the record that they felt they were intimidated, pressured, and what not, to make sizable contributions.

We are aware of the fact that tremendous amounts were contributed to both political parties during the last campaign, and that the trend is upward—ever upward. The situation does call for some kind of reform. If there is to be reform, the only place in which it can be accomplished is in the Congress of the United States.

I have been told by representatives of the White House, in response to questions which I raised with them—they did not volunteer the information—that if a

bill of this nature, with this amendment attached, were passed, the President would veto the bill.

I have been aware of the strenuous efforts made by the distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) in leading the charge against the Senate-passed bill. I have also been aware of the fact that he has been approached by Senators who are interested in reaching a compromise, and that, insofar as I am aware, those approaches were unsuccessful.

Therefore, I would agree with the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania who has stood up like a rock, so far as his conviction on this particular measure is concerned, and who has done himself, I think, proud—

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I may say that I am like a rock, head and shoulders. [Laughter.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. I may say, if I may paraphrase an advertisement that appears once in a while, that I should like to own a piece of that rock myself.

But I may say that under trying circumstances the Senator from Pennsylvania has held fast to his conviction, and it was not an easy job for him to do so. It was a far easier job for me on this side to stand fast in my conviction.

But I should like, at this time, as I understand the question propounded by the distinguished Republican leader, to ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration (Mr. CANNON) if it would be possible for him to give us an assurance that within 30 days, let us say, after the Senate convenes around the middle or latter part of January, a campaign bill could be reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I may say to the distinguished majority leader that I am a little confused by the terms which are being used. The distinguished majority leader and the distinguished minority leader have used the phrase "report a campaign reform bill."

In the last 5 years, we have reported some five or six campaign reform bills, and the Senate has passed most of them and sent them to the House, where the bills have failed to be acted upon. We passed a campaign reform bill in 1971. That bill was first reported from the Committee on Commerce under the distinguished leadership of our good friend from Rhode Island (Mr. PASTORE). We then reported the campaign reform bill S. 382 from the Committee on Rules and Administration. That was the bill on which we had to march up the hill and down the hill in the House to get any kind of legislation at all. But we did get some meaningful changes in the field of election reform.

I point out to the Senate—the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. HUGH SCOTT) is a member of our committee—that we reported S. 372, which is a comprehensive reform bill. We did that in the light of the experiences of the 1972 elections. That bill passed the Senate overwhelmingly. I have forgotten whether there was more than one vote against it or not. I do not recall the exact result of the vote in the Senate, but it passed overwhelmingly, it went to the

House, and is now languishing on the House side. I hope that we may have some action—favorable action—on it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I have been assured that that bill will be reported out in mid-December.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I might say that I am delighted to have that knowledge. However, I say again that that is certainly a very comprehensive campaign bill.

I think that what my colleagues are talking about now is the question of public financing of Federal elections. That is somewhat different than the most comprehensive bill that we have passed.

The distinguished Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL) has held hearings in his subcommittee and has now reported to the full committee a bill for the public financing of Federal elections. That is where the bill now stands.

I may say that in light of the Ford nomination and the extensive hearings we held, we have not had enough time to consider the public financing of Federal elections. We felt that we would not have time to consider it in the parent committee prior to adjournment.

I can assume my distinguished colleagues that I would make every effort to report a bill on the subject of Federal financing within 30 days after the Senate convenes next year.

I point out to my colleagues, however, that such a bill may or may not be reported with a recommendation of approval because the distinguished Senator from Alabama is a member of the committee, and he is certainly entitled to have his views stated and considered. He feels very strongly in this field of public financing of Federal elections.

Again, however, I give my assurance to my colleagues that I will make every effort as chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration to try to report out a bill, either favorably or unfavorably, and report to the Senate the bill that has been referred to the full committee and is now pending as a proposed amendment in the nature of a substitute, intended to be proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), being amendment No. 704 to H.R. 11104.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the assurances of the distinguished chairman of the committee are enough for me.

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

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the amendment is exactly the same as the bill reported by the subcommittee. That bill is now before the full committee.

The reason I did not offer it as an amendment is because I fully support the effort of the Senator from Massachusetts, the Senator from Minnesota, the Senator from Pennsylvania, and others to get through a campaign financing act. Because of the pressures of the present political situation, I think it would have been an excellent measure to pass at this time.

I would comment that this particular bill has had 4 days of hearings. There were 40 witnesses. It goes quite far. I

hope that my colleagues will approve of it.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, I may say that these assurances are reassuring to me. A great deal of work has been done by the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration and particularly by the chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), who came up with some very thoughtful legislation.

The sentiment will exist to do substantially what we have been trying to do here. We have this as a basis for action. We have the subcommittee recommendations.

The Senate has indicated how it feels about this legislation. My main concern is that I want to see the Senate go ahead, and I do not want to make any incorrect assumptions that the Senator from Alabama would not want to be heard and heard fully in the committee. However, I would not assume that he would want to take the position that the committee could not report out some legislation. If I am wrong in that assumption, I will wait on the Senator from Alabama to correct me. However, I feel that we could get consideration of this measure. I have talked to Senators who may not be for it, but they are willing for the Senate to consider the measure.

We are in the position then that if there is not too much objection, I have a motion that I would be prepared to make, a motion to reconsider the motion of the Senator from Alabama to recede.

I do not want to do that unless that motion satisfies those Senators who are with me on this matter.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I would join the distinguished Republican leader in that responsibility and in that motion. However, I would like to ask for the response of the distinguished ranking Republican member of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. COOK. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Montana. May I say that, as I am sure Senators recall, when we took up the issue of the Federal financing of campaigns during the course of the debate on the campaign expenditures bill that we had before the Senate, the Senate did not move to table the proposal. And we felt that we should go in this direction.

I could say to the distinguished majority leader and to the distinguished minority leader and to the distinguished chairman of the committee that I would frankly, as far as I know, have a meeting of the Committee on Rules and Administration before we leave on the 15th, so that we could lay the groundwork for this activity immediately upon our return so that the entire Senate can know basically the timetable that we will commit ourselves to, whether we report the bill favorably or unfavorably. However, I would certainly feel that the issue should be brought to a head on its own merit. The committee has a responsibility to get the bill to the Senate. We will not impede or delay that bill from coming to the floor for debate within 30 days after our return from adjournment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I

thank the Senator, and I appreciate what he has had to say.

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

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, may I say to the Senator from Massachusetts as well as to the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from Minnesota, "Welcome to the club."

I am one Senator who knows what it is to lose as well as to win rounds in this struggle. And insofar as the Finance Committee is concerned, at least when a revenue bill might be available to implement financing of the type of approach that some of us feel the Congress might want to take, the Senators can be assured of my cooperation when this matter comes before the Senate on future occasions.

I believe we will make progress in this Congress, and the Senate has the assurance of my complete support in helping to move those measures to a proper conclusion in the Congress.

I say that, Mr. President, without having decided how I will vote on the measure. But I say to those Senators that I believe they are on the side of the angels in this matter and know that they will prevail. I hope they will prevail in this Congress, and if not, I think they will prevail during the next several years, between now and the next Presidential election.

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

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I address my question to the distinguished floor manager of the bill, the chairman of the Finance Committee, the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG). As the Senator knows, some portion of any public financing bill uses a tax instrument proposal which lies within the jurisdiction of the Senate Finance Committee.

I would hope that, paralleling the efforts of the Committee on Rules and Administration, we might have a similar effort on the part of the Senate Finance Committee to carry on where apparently we might leave off today.

Would the record show that I saw a nod of the head in the right direction?

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

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I yield.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, before we have an opportunity to vote on this matter, I would like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration and the members of that committee, as well as the Senate leadership whether they are also willing to ask the Senate to accept some kind of time limitation when we have the opportunity to consider the measure.

We are not talking about an entirely new proposition. The majority leader suggested 30 days after we come back, which would bring a bill to the floor in mid-February. That is 2 months down the road. I think that is sufficient time. I think it would be a good indication of the good will of those concerned with this issue if the leadership would ask

whether, when the matter comes to the floor, we are prepared to have some kind of time limitation, so that at least those who support the proposal, the majority leader and other Members of the Senate who have been on the successful side on each vote during the period of this debate and discussion for the past week, have some reasonable assurance that there is good faith on the part of those who are here on the floor this afternoon. Otherwise, I must say that the suggestion, worthwhile as it might be, does not really have all the appeal it might otherwise have.

I wonder if the joint leadership would be prepared to include that in its time limitation request.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I would be loath to do that at this time, though I recognize the validity of the suggestion made by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts. However, we do operate in this body on a certain amount of faith, cooperation, and trust, and I am very happy with the statements made by the distinguished Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON), the chairman of the Rules Committee; the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), the chairman of the subcommittee; the distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK), the ranking Republican member on the committee; the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCOTT), a member of the committee; the distinguished assistant minority leader, the Senator from Michigan (Mr. GRIFFIN), a member of the committee; and the distinguished assistant majority leader, the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD). It appears to me that that comprises—

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. Who else?

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I would like to hear from the distinguished Senator from Alabama on that as well.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Well, I was going to say that that comprises a majority of the committee, and I would not like to poll each member in public, because I think they ought to have a right to their own independent judgment during the period intervening and at the time when the legislation is brought to the floor. But I think we have made progress in getting commitments, in effect, from the members of the committee who have spoken today, and I will assure the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts that as far as the Republican leader and I are concerned, we would make every effort at that time to achieve a time limitation agreement if it were possible, and it would be my guess that we would be luckier in doing it in that fashion, and perhaps more successful, than by posing that question at this time in this place.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed.

Mr. CANNON. I would like to point out to the distinguished majority leader that we committed ourselves to report a bill, not necessarily a perfected bill, and I would be very reluctant, personally, to

agree to a time limitation without knowing what the provisions of the bill were. We may report a bill, favorably or unfavorably, but we have made a commitment to report a bill on this subject within 30 days after the Congress resumes in the month of January. I think it would be extremely difficult to get an agreement on something on which we are very uncertain.

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

Mr. CANNON. I do not have the floor.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. The Subcommittee of the Rules Committee has already reported a bill to the full committee, so we are not really talking in a vacuum. At least this measure has had the consideration of the members of the subcommittee. It had a 3 to 0 vote in the subcommittee, and is therefore now before the full committee. So this is something that is not in a vacuum as far as the Rules Committee is concerned. The subcommittee have considered a bill. They have had hearings on it, considered it in a markup session, and reported it to the full committee. Although I know it is difficult for the Chairman of the Rules Committee at this time, perhaps, to commit the other members of the committee, we at least believe what has been reported to the full committee from the subcommittee represents the best judgment of those members.

Mr. CANNON. The Senator is exactly right; it represents the best judgment of the particular members of the subcommittee, but the full committee has not considered that report, has not considered the bill, and has not taken action; and I would not at this time undertake to commit the other committee members to a particular bill simply because it has been reported from a subcommittee. We may make many changes in that bill before it is reported.

Mr. KENNEDY. If the Senator will yield further, what we are trying to bring out at this time is that we are not considering an entirely new concept or a new bill. Your committee, through its subcommittee, has already considered this proposal, and might be willing to agree to a time limitation. I can understand that the Senator from Nevada could not commit the other members of the committee, who have not had an opportunity to consider it, but at least it would be some assurance for the majority of the Members of this body who have voted to support such a proposition that at least we can get final consideration when it is reported out.

Mr. CANNON. May I say to my colleague that this is the first time I have ever heard the suggestion that a time limitation be agreed to on a bill that has not even been considered by the full committee, much less reported to the Senate. I think that would be a dangerous concept in any circumstance.

Mr. MANSFIELD. May I say to the Senator that we will make every effort to obtain a time limitation at an appropriate time.

Mr. KENNEDY. I have every confidence in the good faith of the leader-

ship, and I pledge myself, as one Member, to give every opportunity to the members of the Rules Committee to consider this legislation, and when it comes to the floor I hope we shall not have a repetition of this effort to frustrate the strong will of the majority.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOK. Mr. President, I echo the remarks of the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee. This bill has now passed the subcommittee and is now in the full committee. We will proceed to mark it up in the full committee. But I think it is rather odd that we should be asked to say to the Members of the Senate, before marking up a bill in the full committee, that we are going to consider a bill as to which we have already agreed to a time limitation when it comes to the Senate, or that there will be a limitation on amendments or amendments to amendments. I would suggest that that is a prerogative that ought to be left to the Senate as a whole when a report has been written on the bill and it goes on the calendar. The Senator's suggestion seems rather odd to me.

With such a precedent, we might conceivably, in the future, bring up subject matter on the floor that is going to the Finance Committee or the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, or some other committee, and say, as a matter of course, during the debate on the subject matter in the committee, "We want you to know that when we bring this measure to the floor, it will be subject to a 2-hour time limitation, with 30 minutes on amendments and 30 minutes on amendments to amendments."

I can only say to the Senator that we will diligently work to report out that bill, and when it is reported to the floor and is put on the calendar, obviously it will be up to the Senate to work out a time limitation.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, in our party conferences we have often discussed how many times we vote when it is not necessary to vote. I would hope we could do this without a record vote. I now move—

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield before he does that?

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. I do not want to get into an ambiguous position, having sat here through the colloquy, but I want the record to show that I do not waive any of my options 2 months from now when some particular bill might be brought in, if I do not agree to the unanimous-consent recommendation, but not today—and I want the record to show that.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I think that we should have a yeas-and-nays vote on this, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCURE). We have not yet had the motion.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, I now move that the Senate recede from its amendments to H.R. 11104, now pending, I make the motion on behalf of the distinguished majority leader and myself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair correctly understand that the motion of the Senator from Pennsylvania is to recede from the Senate amendments to the House bill?

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. That is correct.

Mr. ALLEN. Then to reconsider the vote?

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. I do not want to move to reconsider if there is no objection to this.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to recede—

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. From the Senate amendments to the House bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Now does the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK) wish to demand the yeas and nays?

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama will state it.

Mr. ALLEN. What is the question, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on receding from the Senate amendments.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HASKELL), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE), the Senator from Florida (Mr. CHILES), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN) are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON) is absent because of illness.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) would vote "nay."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. PEARSON), and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER) is absent by leave of the Senate on official business.

The Senator from Oregon (Mr. PACKWOOD) is absent on official business.

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 36, as follows:

[No. 551 Leg.]

YEAS—48

Aiken	Bennett	Byrd,
Allen	Bentsen	Harry F., Jr.
Bartlett	Bible	Byrd, Robert C.
Beall	Brock	Cannon
Bellmon	Buckley	Cook

Cotton	Helms	Scott,
Curtis	Hollings	William L.
Dole	Hruska	Sparkman
Domenici	Johnston	Stennis
Dominick	McClellan	Stevens
Ervin	McClure	Taft
Fannin	Metcalf	Talmadge
Fong	Nunn	Thurmond
Griffin	Randolph	Tower
Gurney	Roth	Welcker
Hansen	Saxbe	Young
Hatfield	Scott, Hugh	

NAYS—36

Abourezk	Huddleston	Moss
Bayh	Humphrey	Muskie
Biden	Jackson	Nelson
Brooke	Javits	Pastore
Burdick	Kennedy	Pell
Case	Long	Proxmire
Clark	Magnuson	Ribicoff
Cranston	Mansfield	Schweiker
Gravel	Mathias	Stafford
Hart	McIntyre	Stevenson
Hartke	Mondale	Tunney
Hathaway	Montoya	Williams

NOT VOTING—16

Baker	Goldwater	Packwood
Chiles	Haskell	Pearson
Church	Hughes	Percy
Eagleton	Inouye	Symington
Eastland	McGee	
Fulbright	McGovern	

So the motion to recede from the Senate amendments was agreed to.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to.

Mr. MOSS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

ORDER FOR WITHDRAWAL OF CLOTURE MOTIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the cloture motions which would have become available tomorrow and the next day be withdrawn.

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

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL SALARY BILL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a bill which passed the House, the so-called Saxbe pay emoluments bill—which has been amended—be held at the desk until further notice.

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

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate adjourns tonight, it stand in adjournment until the hour of 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

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

EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME ENERGY CONSERVATION ACT OF 1973

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Calendar No. 479, S. 2702, be laid before the Senate and made the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2702) to provide that daylight saving time shall be observed on a year-round basis

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is anticipated that we will reach this bill at 11:30 a.m. tomorrow. There will be no further votes today.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, first, I would like 15 minutes tomorrow to deal with a pension and welfare fund situation. We have spoken about that to the deputy majority leader, but he is not in the Chamber. I would be happy to speak at 9:45 a.m., if that suits the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. 9:45?

Mr. JAVITS. The Senate is to come in at 10. Normally, the deputy majority leader schedules these matters a little in advance.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It will either be 9:45 or 10.

Mr. JAVITS. Second, may I ask this of the Senator from Colorado: I understand it to be his intention to propose, as an amendment to the daylight saving bill, the minimum wage bill introduced by him and Senator TAFT. It would be my intention, utilizing such procedures as are available in the Senate, to contest that particular amendment.

I rise to inquire whether it would be the intention of the Senator from Colorado to allow the daylight saving part of that bill to be debated first, without in any way losing his rights, because I have other things which I need to do until 1 o'clock, or whether he would intend to move right in and act on the amendment.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is a very good question. I can say to the Senator from New York that I also have other things to do, including a meeting of the executive committee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. President, I would suspect we will go forward, subject to the comments of my distinguished colleague from Ohio; that we will allow the daylight saving bill to go forward first before we move on the minimum wage bill.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague.

Mr. TAFT. That would be agreeable to me.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized.

REMOVAL OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 512 FROM "BILLS IN CONFERENCE"

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on the calendar, under "Bills in Conference," the second measure is House Joint Resolution 512, the HUD loan insurance bill.

That conference was never fully consummated. However, the House later passed House Joint Resolution 719, which accomplished the loan insurance part, and left off some things; but House Joint Resolution 719 settled the matters covered in House Joint Resolution 512.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the entry of that particular measure under "Bills in Conference" be removed from the calendar.

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

DAVID BEN-GURION: HIS LEGACY

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, before the Senate adjourns I wish to say a word about the death and funeral today of David Ben-Gurion, the Premier of Israel who announced to the world the establishment of the birth of Israel on May 14, 1948, and who now has passed away in his 87th year.

His death has great symbolism for the people of Israel and the world. It is also a loss which touches me very deeply because I considered David Ben-Gurion a personal friend of my family. I visited him both in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, and also in the settlement of Kibbutz, as it is called in Israel, where he lived.

In his life Ben-Gurion personified many of the highest values which are associated with the State of Israel. Leaving czarist Russia, he arrived in Palestine in 1905 as one of the early Zionist settlers. The dream of Israel seemed remote in those days, but Ben-Gurion and a small band of colleagues set to work with indomitable energy. They brought Israel into reality, with the cooperation of the world through the United Nations, and with the approval of the United States, which under President Truman was the first nation to recognize the state.

He was chairman of the Jewish Agency, the executive body of the World Zionist Organization, through the critical years of nazism, World War II, rising Arab nationalism, and the postwar diplomatic struggle between Britain and the Jews of Palestine.

His efforts, joined with those of other great leaders, including Mrs. Meir, who is still Prime Minister, and others active in the Government of Israel, were crowned with success when he announced the establishment, to an expectant and electrified world, of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948.

But in some respects, the struggle can be said to have just begun, for Israel was immediately besieged by invasion from the neighboring Arab States, putting Ben-Gurion to his greatest test as prime minister and defense minister during those early years. I saw him then and his style of leadership was impetuous and controversial but it had the dimension of greatness.

Throughout his life Ben-Gurion was a man of inexhaustible energy. He was the man of action, but he was also deeply devoted to scholarship and found the time to author 19 books and countless articles and essays. He liked best to be compared to the prophets of ancient Israel and the comparison was apt.

After he was out of office and out of power his advice to the people of his country had been to come to some agreement on peace. Indeed, he was the apostle of peace, as far as they were concerned, which is another thing that needs to be noted.

At one time I approached him on behalf of President Eisenhower regarding the relations between Israel and the Soviet Union. The redoubtable spirit of freedom which he expressed, the determination that the people of Israel should enjoy that freedom and self-determination, as we know it here in the United States, and which we admire so greatly, really stamped him the prophet of the Old Testament because his method of expression, his conviction on the freedom of man's spirit was so inspiring at that time as to be proper and timely to recollect in a memorial tribute to this great world citizen on the floor of the Senate.

I believe that the inspiration, the indomitable courage, indeed, the heroism of Ben-Gurion, his fanatic patriotism, his deep belief in the fundamental mission for peace, learning, decency, and loving kindness to all people, and for his own Jewish people, and his messianic vision for Israel, although a small state, are a true exemplar of all values inherent in the tradition of a great civilization as it was also transmuted to us through the Christian civilization, which was cradled in the same place. It will remain not only an inspiration to a state, but it will help civilization through all its vicissitudes and be an inspiration to all mankind wherever they are and wherever they are persecuted or humbled after truth and justice.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD following my remarks various tributes by way of obituaries on the death of David Ben-Gurion.

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

[From the New York Times, Dec. 2, 1973]

BEN-GURION IS DEAD AT 87; FOUNDING FATHER OF ISRAEL

TEL AVIV, December 1.—David Ben-Gurion, a founding father of modern Israel and its first Premier, died today at the age of 87. He succumbed at 11:06 A.M. local time (4:06 A.M. New York time) to a brain hemorrhage that had struck him two weeks ago.

Because of the Sabbath the Government withheld an official announcement until sundown tonight. However, the news was reported unofficially earlier by the state radio.

Premier Golda Meir convened the Cabinet for a memorial meeting in Jerusalem tonight. Minister of Interior Yosef Burg ordered flags on all public buildings lowered to half staff from tomorrow morning until Monday night.

Mr. Ben-Gurion will lay in state at the Knesset, or Parliament, building in Jerusalem from 10 A.M. tomorrow through the night until 7 A.M. Monday. The public will be able to pay respects. Places of entertainment throughout the country will be closed tomorrow.

The start of a funeral service at 11 A.M. Monday will be marked by sirens throughout the country and two minutes of silence will be observed. In Jerusalem work will stop for an hour during the service.

The coffin will then be flown for burial to Sde Boker, the collective settlement in the Negev where Mr. Ben-Gurion made his home after he retired temporarily from the premiership in 1953. The burial service will be private, attended only by members of the family and close associates.

An official announcement tonight said that public participation in the funeral would be restricted because of the emergency situation after the October war.

However, the service at the Knesset and the interment at Sde Boker will be broadcast live by Israel television and radio.

In accordance with Mr. Ben-Gurion's last will, there will be no eulogies at the funeral. However, President Ephraim Katzir broadcast a tribute tonight.

The President alluded to the current crisis over Israel's future and said that Mr. Ben-Gurion's credo should guide the people at this time. He said it was particularly timely to recall what Mr. Ben-Gurion wrote to his colleagues in the Zionist leadership in 1946 when the British rulers of Palestine "imprisoned Jewish leaders and tried to paralyze Jewish life in the country."

Mr. Ben-Gurion wrote: "No despair and no illusions. No Massada and no Vichy. While bitter and difficult struggles lie ahead of us we are not preparing for a final battle. Nor do we wish to die with the Philistines. On the other hand we must recognize that the moment we give in and bow our heads and lose our will to stand up fearlessly, we begin to roll down the slope which leads to the abyss."

President Katzir said that Mr. Ben-Gurion was the greatest Jewish leader of his generation.

Mr. Ben-Gurion had been in and out of the Sheba Medical Center of Tel Hashomer Hospital, near Tel Aviv, during the two months preceding his stroke. He was last released Nov. 14. The brain hemorrhage that struck him four days later had been unconnected with his earlier ailments, according to his physician, Dr. Boleslaw Goldman.

The stroke came in Mr. Ben-Gurion's home in Keren Kayemet Boulevard here. It paralyzed the right side of the body. He was conscious but unable to talk.

Doctors at the Sheba Medical Center reported an improvement in his condition during the week but last Saturday his blood pressure dropped, his temperature rose and he fell into semiconsciousness.

Shortly before 10 A.M. today a nurse noticed that his breathing had quickened and had become irregular. Physicians were alerted and Mr. Ben-Gurion's children summoned. His son Amos and his daughters Mrs. Renana Leshan and Mrs. Geula Ben-Elizier reached his bedside.

Government leaders later arrived at the hospital to pay their respects. Among them were Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and Minister of Transport Shimon Peres, Mr. Ben-Gurion's favorite political protégés.

Dr. Goldman said that Mr. Ben-Gurion had continued his vigorous walks until he was advised to discontinue them a few months ago. He had earlier stopped his yoga headstands. The doctor said that Mr. Ben-Gurion had never been an obedient patient but had complied with doctors' orders after he had received full explanations of the purposes.

In recent years Mr. Ben-Gurion concentrated on his literary work. At the time of his stroke, he was preparing his memoirs for the year 1937.

The former leader had been politically inactive since 1970 when he resigned his Knesset seat in midterm. He later composed his differences with former political opponents. An associate said that he had followed events

after the outbreak of the war Oct. 6 but did not express opinions.

BEN-GURION, SYMBOL OF THE TOUGH STATE OF ISRAEL, ACHIEVED A LIFELONG DREAM, PRESIDED OVER BIRTH OF NATION IN 1948, AND CALLED ALL ZIONISTS TO LIVE THERE
(By Homer Bigart)

David Ben-Gurion symbolized the tough little state of Israel. Short, round, with a nimbus of white hair flaring angrily from a massive head, "B-G," as he was known to many, attained world leadership by firmly concentrating on the achievement of a dream.

That dream, the birth and triumphant survival of a Jewish homeland amid a sea of hostile Arabs, led Mr. Ben-Gurion through a lifetime of turmoil.

He was chairman of the Jewish Agency, the executive body of the World Zionist Organization, through the critical years of rising Arab nationalism, of Nazism, of World War II and of the postwar diplomatic struggle between Britain and the Jews of Palestine. When Britain finally gave up the Palestine mandate, it was Mr. Ben-Gurion who proclaimed the Jewish state.

This was his moment of supreme test. For on that same day, May 14, 1948, the Arab armies began their invasion of the fledgling state. Jerusalem was besieged by Transjordan's Arab Legion. In the Judean hills and in Galilee, Jewish settlements were under attack by Syrian and Iraqi forces, while Egyptians invaded from the south.

BATTLE DRESS AT 62

Exhilarated by the challenge, the 62-year-old leader put on battle dress and assumed the direction of military operations. He was de facto Premier and Minister of Defense.

Some of his decisions were questionable. He ordered a costly and ineffective attack to drive the Arab Legion from Jerusalem. But he had surrounded himself with young and competent officers such as Yigal Yadin, Yigal Allon and Moshe Dayan. The Arabs, who lacked unity of command, were soon routed.

To Mr. Ben-Gurion fell most of the credit for having won the first Jewish campaign since that of Judas Maccabaeus 2,000 years before.

He became an almost mystical figure to many Zionists: the wise patriarch who embodied all the traditional virtues and who would ultimately lead Israel to triumph over the ring of Arab enemies.

But he embittered millions of others. He alarmed the United Nations and insured the continued hatred of the Arab states by adopting a policy of swift and ruthless retaliation for Arab raids on Israel. Although an armistice was arranged by the United Nations, technically Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Egypt remained at war with Israel, and border incidents were frequent after the war of 1948-49.

ANGERED U.S. JEWS

Mr. Ben-Gurion also alienated many American Jews by insisting that all true Zionists must live in Israel. Disturbed by the influx of Oriental Jews, which he feared would transform Israel into "just another Levantine state," Mr. Ben-Gurion dreamed of a vast migration of Jews from the Soviet Union and the United States.

In the early years only 5,000 American Jews were "ingathered," a scant migration that drew scornful reproaches from Mr. Ben-Gurion.

A feud between Mr. Ben-Gurion and a large segment of American Jewry dated from August 1957, when he said at a Zionist ideological conference in Jerusalem that a sound Jewish life was not possible outside Israel.

"There seems to be a general agreement," he said, "that a Jew can live in America, speak and read English and bring up his

children in America and still call himself a Zionist. If that is Zionism I want no part of it."

In subsequent speeches Mr. Ben-Gurion reiterated his belief that Jewish life in the outside world had a dim future. His dogmatism alienated potential friends of Israel among both Jews and gentiles. Non-Zionist Jews resented his insistence that Judaism was not a mere religion but a nationalistic ethos. Almost every Zionist faction in the United States joined the mounting protest.

ADAMANT ON ISRAEL'S ROLE

Stubbornly, though, Mr. Ben-Gurion insisted that essentially Judaism was a nationality and Israel was the only sovereign spokesman for the world's Jews.

In June, 1962, he again infuriated American Jewish leaders at a Jerusalem conference by equating Judaism with nationality. Stanley H. Lowell, chairman of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations, retorted:

"You aren't the only answer to Jewish living, Jewish creativity and Jewish survival. This generation and the next generations to come shall and will remain part and parcel of the great American experience of democracy."

In later years, though, with the 1967 and 1973 wars and increased United States aid, the old man's idea of Zionism came to be the accepted one. The anti-Zionist organizations became virtually extinct; by 1970, American immigration to Israel was reaching 10,000 a year.

At home, Mr. Ben-Gurion managed to roll elements of the population, even members of his own Mapai party, by methods that often seemed autocratic. He never enjoyed sharing authority, and he chafed under Israel's system of proportional representation which assures religious parties of representation in the government. These parties were often in bitter disagreement with Mr. Ben-Gurion, who opposed their dream of a theocracy.

The Mapai party, although dominant, was never able to win a clear majority in the Knesset, or Parliament; this was a cause of the formation of 11 coalition governments in Israel, including the provisional government that was set up in April, 1948. (In March, 1949, Mr. Ben-Gurion became Premier in the first regulatory constituted Government of Israel.)

These political marriages into coalitions were usually brief and stormy. The Socialist Mapai had little in common with the small left-wing labor parties and religious groups that were persuaded to join coalitions in exchange for concessions in legislation or for a ministerial post or two.

Sometimes Mr. Ben-Gurion would become so frustrated that he would resign and retire to his four-room cottage in Sde Boker, a kibbutz that was his favorite retreat, in the stony Negev Desert.

Usually the mere threat of resignation was enough to force the concessions Mr. Ben-Gurion demanded. The only Israeli with enough stature to offer alternative leadership was Moshe Sharett, another Mapai stalwart. But Mr. Sharett was considered too cautious, too temporizing. Israelis thought they needed daring leadership to meet the growing threat brought on by Egypt's acquisition of Communist-bloc arms, by the nationalization of the Suez Canal and by the military alliance between Egypt and Syria.

Mr. Ben-Gurion resigned several times, but his retirements to Sde Boker were fleeting except for one interval: In December, 1953, he turned over his office and leadership to Mr. Sharett, explaining that he felt "tired, tired, tired."

For 14 months he stayed in Sde Boker compiling "Rebirth and Destiny of Israel,"

a collection of his addresses and essays, and working at agriculture in the kibbutz while his wife helped in the communal kitchen.

Even in retirement he cast his long shadow over the country; soon, in February, 1955, he was called to Jerusalem to resume the post of Minister of Defense, which he had held throughout his Premiership. He also assumed leadership of the Mapai and again became Premier in November, 1955.

Under Mr. Ben-Gurion, Israel adopted a policy that led to war. There had been a flurry of frontier incidents. Israel complained that the United Nations truce supervision teams were futile instruments for checking Arab commando raids. Mr. Ben-Gurion mounted large-scale retaliatory operations aimed at destroying what he called guerrilla bases across the frontier.

To United Nations observers the border incidents about which the Israelis complained often appeared hardly serious enough to warrant the thunderous retaliation visited upon the Arabs by the Israelis. In balance, at least five or six Arabs died for every Israeli killed.

ATTACK IN SYRIA

In December, 1955, after Syrians had fired on Israeli fishing craft in the Sea of Galilee, Mr. Ben-Gurion ordered his army into Syrian territory. A network of Syrian coastal positions was blown up, and 50 Syrian soldiers were killed.

The raid was ill-timed politically. On that same day the temperate Mr. Sharett, then Foreign Minister, was waiting in Washington for an answer to his request for Western arms to offset Communist arms that were reaching Egypt. News of the raid shocked and vexed the State Department. Mr. Sharett returned empty-handed, furious with Mr. Ben-Gurion, whom he accused of having undermined his mission.

Mr. Ben-Gurion not only refused to modify his retaliation policy but also told Mr. Sharett that diplomacy was to be subordinated to security. In June, 1956, he ousted Mr. Sharett and chose as his new Foreign Minister Mrs. Golda Meir, a former Milwaukee teacher, whom he could trust to follow his line.

Tension rose during the summer of 1956, and in September a major retaliatory action led by Dayan, then chief of the Israeli armed forces, resulted in the death of 37 Jordanians.

NASSER TERMED FASCIST

Such actions Mr. Ben-Gurion defended as "self-defense," and he told his Parliament that the greatest menace to Israel was an impending attack by "the Egyptian Fascist dictator," President Gamal Abdel Nasser. He proclaimed: "We will never start a war. We do not believe that wars provide comprehensive solutions to historic problems."

Two weeks after he had spoken those words Mr. Ben-Gurion, in complicity with France and Britain, launched a "preventive war" to knock out President Nasser's army. Israeli forces overran the Gaza Strip, the tiny corner of the old British Palestine mandate administered by Egypt, and plunged deep into Sinai.

Mr. Ben-Gurion's objective was the fall of President Nasser and the signing of a peace treaty with Egypt.

By prearrangement, Britain and France moved to seize the Suez Canal. Port Said fell to the British and French forces. The invasion by the three nations was on the verge of success.

Then the roof fell in. President Dwight D. Eisenhower was furious at Britain and France for having committed open aggression while the West was reaping moral capital over the Hungarian revolt. So the United States supported United Nations demands that the invading forces vacate Egypt promptly and unconditionally.

Confronted also by threats of Soviet intervention, Britain and France withdrew their forces in 27 days.

Israel balked. Mr. Ben-Gurion wanted to keep the Gaza Strip. He also wanted assurances that the Gulf of Aqaba, the northern arm of the Red Sea, would be open to Israeli shipping. The gulf had been denied to Israeli ships for six years by Egyptian guns commanding the narrow passage at Sharm el Sheikh.

President Eisenhower insisted that no nation invading another in the face of United Nations disapproval should set conditions on its withdrawal. Aggression, he said, must not be rewarded.

Mr. Ben-Gurion defied the world for weeks, flouting six successive General Assembly orders to get out of Egypt. His Parliament had approved a defiant resolution committing Israel never to yield either the gulf or Gaza.

But when President Eisenhower cut short a vacation to warn of "pressure" if Israel failed to cooperate, the tough little Premier knew the game was up.

Pale and drawn from pneumonia contracted after a PT-boat ride in the Gulf of Aqaba, Mr. Ben-Gurion went before his Cabinet to propose more flexibility in Israel's position. Knesset politicians were insisting on all-out defiance.

NOOSE IS TIGHTENING

"The noose is tightening around our neck," a bearded, skullcapped member cried.

"The devil with this," snapped Mr. Ben-Gurion. "The devil with the coalition." He threatened to quit and form a new government. Finally he got the leeway he needed.

Israel agreed to withdraw from Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh on these "assumptions": that freedom of navigation would prevail on the Gulf of Aqaba; that the Gaza Strip would be administered by the United Nations pending a peace settlement between Egypt and Israel; and that Israel had the right, under the self-defense guarantee of the United Nations Charter, to send ships through the Gulf of Aqaba by armed force if there should be interference and to "defend its rights" in the Gaza Strip if raids were renewed.

The collapse of the Sinai adventure was the bleakest moment in Mr. Ben-Gurion's career. That he survived it politically was considered a tribute to his toughness, his resilience, his ability to persuade most Israelis and a great segment of world Jews that his action was morally sound.

Again in 1960 Mr. Ben-Gurion risked alienating world opinion; he decided to try Adolf Eichmann, the Gestapo colonel who had shipped millions of Jews to death camps in World War II.

There was little or no sympathy for Eichmann, but there was widespread resentment over the way he was brought to justice. The Nazi was kidnapped in Argentina, put aboard an El Al Israel Airlines plane and eventually exposed to a show trial in a Jerusalem theater converted into a courtroom.

There were protests that Eichmann could not possibly have a fair trial in Jerusalem, that the case should be heard by a German court or an international tribunal. Many Jews assailed the "arrogance" of Mr. Ben-Gurion's contention that Israel, as the sovereign Jewish state, was "from a moral point of view" the only place where Eichmann could be tried.

The furor died quickly as the trial unfolded. The Israeli judges seemed impeccable in the hearing during the spring and summer of 1961. After they had condemned Eichmann to the gallows, Robert Servatius, his West German lawyer, conceded that the defendant had had a fairer trial than he would have got in West Germany.

The trial enhanced Mr. Ben-Gurion's

exalted status in his own country. By bringing Eichmann to trial he had taught the new generation of Israelis that "Jews are not sheep to be slaughtered, but a people who can hit back—as Jews did in the War of Independence."

BORN GREEN, A POLE

Israel's man of decision was born in Plonsk, Poland, on Oct. 16, 1886. His name was David Green, and his father was Avigdor Green, an unlicensed lawyer who wore a silk top hat and a frock coat rather than the fur hat and caftan traditionally worn by the men of his community. David was to adopt the pen name "Ben-Gurion" as a journalist in Jerusalem. He thought it had a resonant Old Testament ring—it was the name of one of the last defenders of Jerusalem against the Roman legions. The Hebrew word "Ben" means "Son of," and "Gurion" means "Lion Cub."

Mr. Ben-Gurion's mother, Sheindal, died during the birth of her 11th child. David, her sixth, was 10 years old at the time.

The tone of the family was vigorously intellectual. There were discussions of Socialism and the newly re-emerged Zionism advocated by the Viennese journalist Theodor Herzl at the historic Jewish conference at Basel, Switzerland, in 1897.

Mr. Ben-Gurion's formal education did not go much beyond the Plonsk Jewish schools, but he acquired an excellently stocked mind through wide reading, particularly in history. Possessed of tremendous concentration, he became in his lifetime a keen student of Greek and Eastern Philosophies. He achieved a brilliant reputation as a linguist through his mastery of English, Russian, Greek, Yiddish, Turkish, French and German. He read but did not speak Arabic. He also studied Spanish.

ACTIVE SOCIALIST ZIONIST

In Plonsk he was active in the Poale Zion movement, which combined Zionism and Socialism. Plonsk was in Russian Poland, and the revolutionary movement against the Czars was followed by pogroms there. Many Polish and Russian Jews emigrated. In 1906, kindled by Herzl's aim for a Jewish commonwealth, David Green was one of a group of young Plonsk Jews who went to Palestine.

Of his first night in Palestine he wrote in a letter to his father:

"I did not sleep. I was amid the rich smell of corn. I heard the braying of donkeys and the rustle of leaves in the orchards. Above were massed clusters of stars against the deep blue firmament. My heart overflowed with happiness."

But Mr. Ben-Gurion was repelled by the political apathy of the Jewish settlers—there were about 60,000 Jews in Palestine when he arrived. He joined the small Workers party, Poale Zion, which was to emerge as Mapai, and soon became one of its leading organizers and propagandists. Today Mapai is moderately Socialist, probably no more leftist than the British Labor party, and has little in common with doctrinaire Marxism.

ONE MEAL A DAY

Mr. Ben-Gurion worked for a time as a farm laborer for wages just sufficient to provide him with a room and one meal a day. He displayed a natural ability to negotiate in labor disputes, and he soon had considerable prestige among his fellow workers.

Articles signed Ben-Gurion began to appear in the Poale Zion party newspaper, and Mr. Ben-Gurion was elected to the three-man administrative presidium of the party at the 1907 Jaffa conference. At that conference he succeeded in having this platform plan adopted: "The party will strive for an independent state for the Jewish people in this country."

In that year, to prevent difficulties for his father in Plonsk, Mr. Ben-Gurion returned to Russia to do his military service. He served for one week, deserted and made his way back to Palestine.

The success of Enver Pasha's "Young Turk" movement in Turkey in 1908 led Mr. Ben-Gurion and many of his associates to believe that reasonable coexistence could be established between the new and supposedly liberal Turkish Government and the Jewish community in Palestine, which was in the Ottoman Empire. Mr. Ben-Gurion and several other Zionist leaders went to Constantinople to study Turkish law and administration, hoping to enter the Turkish Government as representatives of Jewish Palestine.

EXPELLED BY TURKS

Early World War I, Mr. Ben-Gurion wrote articles advocating the creation of a Jewish battalion in the Turkish Army. But the Turks suspected his motives and expelled him as subversive. With his chief collaborator, a young Ukrainian Jew named Itzhak Ben-Zvi, who was to become the second President of Israel, Mr. Ben-Gurion made his way to the United States in 1915.

It was in New York that Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mr. Ben-Zvi founded Hechalutz, (the Pioneers), which created Jewish settlements in Palestine between the world wars. And it was here that he met Paula Moonwess, daughter of an immigrant from Minsk. She was a student at the Brooklyn Jewish Training School for Nurses. They were married at City Hall in 1917.

Paula, a direct and uninhibited woman, was to become a legend in Israel. She is said to have startled Dag Hammarskjöld, the late Secretary General of the United Nations, by saying to him, "Why don't you get married and leave the Jews and Arabs alone?" Mr. Hammarskjöld remained a bachelor.

SERVED IN EGYPT

Until Russia had left the war and the United States had entered it, Mr. Ben-Gurion believed that the best interests of the Palestine Jews lay with Turkey. But by 1917 there were indications that the Turks might not be on the winning side. Mr. Ben-Gurion helped organize two Jewish battalions in the United States and Canada to serve with the British in the Middle East. He served as a corporal in one of the battalions, with the Royal Fusiliers in Egypt, but saw no action.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 established the principle of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and in 1922 the British were entrusted by the League of Nations with a mandate for Palestine.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the intellectual who was to become the first President of Israel, headed the world Zionist movement mostly from London. Mr. Ben-Gurion preached Jewish working-class solidarity on the scene in Palestine.

To a group of Zionist delegates he once said:

"Let me inform you gentlemen that Zionism has no content if you do not constantly bear in mind the building of the Jewish state. And such a state is only possible on the basis of a maximum number of workers, and if you cannot understand that, woe to your Zionism."

The Jewish Legion had been formed too late to contribute much to the defeat of Turkey, but its existence provided Mr. Ben-Gurion with a fine channel for propaganda. He proselytized for the Poale Zion party among the 3,000 legionnaires. It was largely because of his initiative that Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor, was formed in 1920 with Mr. Ben-Gurion as Secretary-General.

This powerful body, now quartered in a modern Tel Aviv skyscraper that enemies of Mr. Ben-Gurion called the Kremlin, expanded into banking, health plans, contracting, agriculture, marketing, education, insurance, transportation, employment agencies, collectives and cooperatives of every kind.

For the next five years Mr. Ben-Gurion campaigned for the union of Palestine's labor parties, and in 1930 the Mapai was formed. In 1935 he became chairman of the Jewish Agency, the executive body of Zionism.

OPPOSED BY MANY

Mr. Ben-Gurion had many opponents in the general Zionist movement. Vladimir Jabotinsky was one leader of a nationalist movement opposed to what many Zionists believed to be Mr. Ben-Gurion's strong Socialist views.

In 1936, Palestinian Arabs staged a bloody revolt against increasing Jewish influence, and the next year Mr. Ben-Gurion favored a partition of Palestine as recommended by a Royal Commission under Earl Peel. The Arabs rejected the proposal, and the British dropped the plan.

British policy became clearly pro-Arab, and in 1939 the British Government issued a White Paper that limited Jewish immigration to Palestine and land purchases there and was aimed at insuring a permanent minority status for the Jews there.

When Britain declared war on Germany, the Jews in Palestine pledged support against the common enemy but continued their resistance to the British policy, which they considered a threat to their existence.

Mr. Ben-Gurion put it this way: "We shall fight in the war against Hitler as if there were no White Paper, but we shall fight the White Paper as if there were no war."

During the war years he was preoccupied with these aims and internal matters in Palestine. And the mass extermination of German Jews intensified his desire to establish a Jewish homeland.

In 1945 he visited displaced persons camps in Germany and the next year told a conference of survivors: "We shall not rest until the last one of you who so desires shall join us in the land of Israel to build the Jewish state together with us."

Mr. Ben-Gurion believed that if the Jews in Palestine could not defend themselves they would be driven out by the Arabs. From 1907, when he was with "Hashomer," the armed guard movement, while he was a labor leader in Sejera, a small isolated village in Galilee, he acted in the belief that the Palestinian Jews would have to protect themselves.

After the United Nations, on Nov. 29, 1947, resolved to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, Mr. Ben-Gurion assumed the security portfolio of the Jewish Agency Executive.

He planned and supervised the transformation of the Haganah from an illegal underground military arm of the Jewish Agency into the Israel Defense Forces. He sent men to Europe to buy arms, including World War II surplus equipment, and to recruit Jewish war veterans to operate the planes, tanks and artillery with which the Haganah had had no experience.

Volunteers came from the United States, Canada, South Africa, South America and most European countries. Mr. Ben-Gurion obtained funds from Jews in the United States and bought machinery to establish an arms industry.

COOPERATION WITH BRITISH

From time to time Mr. Ben-Gurion cooperated with the British against terrorists, and armed clashes were narrowly averted.

During the mandate the Irgun Zvai Leumi, an extreme nationalist group, had conducted terrorist activities against the British Government. Unlike the Haganah, it had spurned the authority of the official Jewish leadership.

During a United Nations truce, the Irgun ran the landing ship Altalena ashore at Tel Aviv with weapons and volunteers. Mr. Ben-Gurion ordered Haganah troops to fire

at the ship, which blew up. Men were killed and wounded on both sides.

The Altalena affair was one of the most controversial events in Mr. Ben-Gurion's career as Premier. Many Israelis never forgave his order, which deprived Israel of badly needed weapons and nearly touched off a civil war. Others said it had been one of the most courageous and statesmanlike actions of his career. They believed that by handling the situation firmly in that crucial period Mr. Ben-Gurion had established once and for all that there was no authority in the state but the Government of Israel and in fact averted a civil war.

After the truce, renewed sharp fighting with the Arabs secured the Negev and central Galilee for Israel. Armistice agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan in 1949 ended the hot war for the time being.

DRASTIC ECONOMIC STEPS

Because large-scale immigration had nearly doubled the population and it was still necessary to maintain military preparedness, the Israelis, by 1951, found it necessary to take drastic steps to bolster the country's economy.

Premier Ben-Gurion came to the United States on a fund-raising drive. He was received with enthusiasm and initiated the sale of \$500-million in Israeli Bonds.

At this time Israel abandoned her foreign policy of "nonidentification" and openly aligned herself with the United States in the cold war. Previously, Israel, in her independence struggle, had bought arms from Soviet-bloc countries and had enjoyed good relations with the Soviet Union, one of the first nations to recognize the State of Israel.

At home Mr. Ben-Gurion wrestled with succeeding Cabinet crises until the day in 1953 when he decided that he had had enough for a while.

In an article written for The New York Times from his retreat at Sde Boker on his retirement, he said:

"No single person alone can determine the fate of a nation. No man is indispensable. In war there may be a commander or statesman on whom much or even all depends. Not so in time of peace. The fate of a country depends upon its own character, its ability, its capacity, its faith in itself, its sense of responsibility, both individual and collective. A statesman who sees himself as the determining factor in the fate of his country is harmful and dangerous."

Yet for 15 years Mr. Ben-Gurion made most of the decisions for Israel, and the most fateful were to come after he had returned to Jerusalem in 1955 and had begun leading the nation on a more adventurous path.

Although his country was in reality a ward of the United States, absolutely dependent on financial aid from Washington and from American Jewish groups, Mr. Ben-Gurion refused to permit any outside meddling in her affairs.

He showed his freedom from American controls early by ignoring strong Washington pressure to put Israel's capital in Tel Aviv, rather than in Jerusalem, which the United Nations had proposed as an international city. (The United States has refused to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.)

In domestic politics, Mr. Ben-Gurion also defied strong forces, notably the ultra-Orthodox religious groups. Once, during an interminable Knesset debate over whether swine— forbidden to Jews as food—should be bred in Israel, Mr. Ben-Gurion remarked that if the Lord had objected to pigs He wouldn't have led them to Noah's Ark.

At another time he shocked rabbis in the Knesset by announcing that after a study of Exodus he had concluded that only 600 Jews—not 600,000 as the Bible maintained—

could have left Egypt and crossed the Sinai Desert.

STUDENT OF BIBLE

Mr. Ben-Gurion was a profound student of the Bible. His speeches were enriched with references to the heroes and Prophets of the Old Testament. He had had little formal education, but his intellectual curiosity led him, at 56, to learn Greek so he could read the Septuagint, the Greek version of the Old Testament. At 68 his interest turned to the Dialogues of Buddha, and he began learning Sanskrit to understand them fully.

He already knew enough yoga to stand on his head, and photos of Mr. Ben-Gurion in wry comment. Friends insisted however that Hazaken—the Old Man—as he was affectionately called, was sharper-witted upside down than most of his opponents right side up.

The most serious domestic challenge to Mr. Ben-Gurion's rule came as a result of the celebrated "Lavon affair."

A former protégé of Mr. Ben-Gurion, Pinchas Lavon, had risen in the Histadrut until his political influence was so considerable that he was regarded as a possible heir to the national leadership.

But Mr. Ben-Gurion fell out with Mr. Lavon and sought to destroy his power. A cloak-and-dagger fiasco, involving the collapse of an Israeli spy network in Egypt, gave Mr. Ben-Gurion the chance in 1955 to force Mr. Lavon's resignation as Defense Minister.

CENSORS VEILED AFFAIR

The scandal smoldered for six years. Few Israelis knew what the affair was about. The press was allowed to print only the state censor's approved phrase, "a security disaster in 1954." The Egyptian Government charged in 1954 that it had uncovered an Israeli spy ring that planned to blow up British and American consular offices to sabotage relations between Cairo and the Western powers.

Then, in December, 1960, the Lavon affair burst into the news again. Mr. Lavon was able to prove at a meeting of the Israeli Cabinet that forged papers had been part of the evidence that forced him from office. Mr. Ben-Gurion stormed from the room, but even this did not prevent his Cabinet from clearing Mr. Lavon of responsibility for the 1954 fiasco.

Mr. Ben-Gurion followed his usual tactic of bringing down the Government by resigning. But this time other members of his six-party coalition were so disturbed that they refused to join him in a new government. Hoping to silence his critics, Mr. Ben-Gurion called for new elections. The results, he conceded, were "a national disaster," for Mapai slipped from 47 seats to 42 in the 120-seat Knesset. After lengthy dickerings, however, he formed a new Cabinet, and meanwhile the Mapai Central Committee had destroyed Mr. Lavon's base of power by ousting him as Secretary General of the Histadrut.

Eventually Mr. Ben-Gurion suffered the bitter fate that overtakes a statesman who has been around too long. He became a bore to his people, and they rejected him.

He resigned as Premier in June, 1963, because of "personal needs." He said later that he wanted to write a history of the Jews' return to their homeland. But in semiretirement he erupted sporadically, like a cooling volcano. He became increasingly critical of Levi Eshkol, the new Premier, and the estrangement between the two grew wider when Mr. Ben-Gurion proclaimed that Mr. Eshkol was "unfit to lead the nation."

He demanded a reopening of the Lavon affair. But the country was bored by the 10-year-old scandal, a Premier Eshkol refused a judicial inquiry into the almost-forgotten fiasco.

Mr. Ben-Gurion's efforts to return to active

politics ended in humiliation. The Mapai Central Committee refused to put him on the party's list for the 1965 election. So he formed Rafi, a splinter party, taking with him a handful of younger politicians including General Dayan, the former Chief of Staff. The new party ran a poor fourth with less than 9 per cent of the vote, and won 10 seats in Parliament.

Mr. Ben-Gurion's wife died in 1968 and the old warrior spent much of his time thereafter in solitary contemplation. In 1968, after his small Rafi party decided to join the newly formed Israel Labor party, a number of Rafi members led by Mr. Ben-Gurion broke away. They formed the Independent National List and won four Knesset seats in 1969.

He remained in the Knesset until 1970, when he delivered a hand-written resignation note to the speaker, Reuven Barkat, and, dry-eyed, left the chamber for good.

Soon afterward, he told a visitor to Tel Aviv that he had found farm work more satisfying than politics. And he had this to say about Soviet intentions in the Middle East:

"They want to get the two oceans, the Atlantic and the Pacific. So first of all they must have the Mediterranean, and it is not easy to get that without the Arabs. They want the Arabs, I do not think they are interested in destroying Israel (because if they do, the Arabs will not need them.)"

VIEWS ON TERRITORIES

Concerning the territories that Israel occupied in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Mr. Ben-Gurion took a relatively dovish position:

"I consider peace more important than territory," he said. "The area we had before the six-day war would be enough to take in all the Jews."

He continued: "For peace, I would be giving back all the captured areas, with the exception of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights."

Turning to his old theme of the need for further immigration, he said Israel still needed "another five or six million" Jews. But he observed wryly, "I don't believe that all Jews will settle in Israel—unless the Messiah comes."

On the sometimes controversial question of what constitutes being a Jew, Mr. Ben-Gurion later told a visitor Sde Boker, "The essence of being a Jew, in my opinion, is the idea of the Prophets—not the Torah, but the Prophets. They have two ideas: You must love one single God and you must lead a moral life. That is all that matters."

"Later on," he continued, "when we Jews lost our independence and we had to live in ghettos and were hated, then our leaders provided other things and rules about things to wear and say. They needed these things to keep Jews together as a nation."

But he said that now that Jews again had a homeland and independence, the rituals and practices had faded in significance against the Prophet's more general messages.

In his last years Mr. Ben-Gurion aged considerably. His nimbus of white hair seemed to grow wisper, and his thoughts sometimes rambled.

He spent much of his time in his cluttered study at Sde Boker, living among his books and in the past. There was a large portrait of his wife, a map of Israel, a vase of desert roses among the awards and mementos. On his desk, there was always a Bible and a bottle of apple juice.

When he was well, he participated in kibbutz activities—dedicating a new garden, leading a Bible-study group, pressing Tel Aviv for a teachers' training institute for the settlement.

His time was devoted to study, reflection, writing, and a teeming correspondence with Jews all over the world. He produced three

big books in his last years, including the 862-page "Israel: A Personal History," published here in 1971.

On rare occasions, he made public appearances. In early 1971, he toured the fortifications along the Suez Canal with Gen. Haim Bar-Lev, then the Chief of Staff, engaging in the banter he loved.

The old man was shown a bunker. "What kind of Hebrew word is 'Bunker'?" he asked. An escort explained: "We use 'bunker' because we have not yet got around to Hebraizing defense terminology. On offense, we have no foreign words."

Mr. Ben-Gurion talked with a soldier. "You're younger than I," he said, "perhaps you can tell me when there will be peace." The soldier replied: "Who knows? It depends on the Arabs."

"And on us!" the patriarch put in.

Later in 1971, on his 85th birthday, he publicly rejected an appeal from Mrs. Meir that he give up his splinter party and rejoin Mapai. Mrs. Meir nonetheless went to the celebration in Sde Boker, and they talked for a bit—after five years of silence.

His last appearance was in May in Tel Aviv for Israel's 25th anniversary. He sat bent over in a grandstand watching the pomp, wearing a farmer's hat.

SYMBOL OF PAST

He had become a symbol of the past, a much-loved grandfather hovering at the edge of the thoughts and aspirations of the embattled nation.

He said little about the October war, though he was quoted as having referred sarcastically to the arguments among Israeli generals following the Egyptian and Syrian surprise attacks: "They think they're generals now."

Sometimes in his last years Mr. Ben-Gurion argued that the Israeli Government was not genuinely democratic. Old opponents replied that it was Mr. Ben-Gurion himself who had introduced authoritarian ways into Israel during his years as Premier.

But even these opponents conceded that he and his wife had never stood much on ceremony. When Mrs. Ben-Gurion was asked once whether her husband should be addressed as "Prime Minister" or "Mr. Ben-Gurion," she reportedly said, "Call him Ben-Gurion. Anyone can be a prime minister, but not everyone can be a Ben-Gurion."

BEN-GURION TRIBUTES EXPRESSED

(By Irving Spiegel)

Government leaders around the world, American political officials and prominent Jewish leaders joined yesterday in tributes to David Ben-Gurion, a founding father of Israel.

At the United Nations, Secretary-General Waldheim, issued a statement through a spokesman characterizing Mr. Ben-Gurion, Israel's first Premier, as "an inspiring leader of his people."

"The Secretary-General," the spokesman said, "was saddened at the news of the death of Mr. Ben-Gurion, who played a crucial role in the history of the Middle East and was in difficult hours an inspiring leader of his people."

In Washington, President Nixon said in a statement: "It was with deepest sorrow that I learned of the death of David Ben-Gurion."

He went on:

"With courage, love and determination, David Ben-Gurion worked to establish the modern State of Israel. As we move forward in the struggle for justice and peace, we take from the example of his life increased conviction that cause will triumph. The people of America join with the people of Israel in mourning the passing of a gallant man. As we shared his ideals and hopes, not only for Israel but for all mankind, so we share in their loss."

In a message to Mrs. Meir, Secretary of

State Kissinger said: "In sadness I convey the deepest sympathy of America. David Ben-Gurion carried the hopes of his people into the hearts of ours. We shall not forget him."

Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany, citing Mr. Ben-Gurion's "decisive role" in establishing the State of Israel, added: "He will remain unforgettable in our country as the new Germany after the horrors of the past for a new beginning and for reconciliation."

President Pompidou of France in a message to President Ephraim Katzir of Israel said that the "loss of David Ben-Gurion is that of a man who, beyond the political positions of governments, strongly marked the destinies of your country."

"Between Gen. de Gaulle and him," President Pompidou said, "there existed a relationship of esteem and consideration."

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, in a message to Premier Golda Meir, said:

"To me, David Ben-Gurion was the very incarnation of Israel, a towering symbol of man's struggle for liberty and human dignity, the builder of a nation, the hope of millions, a giant among the statesmen of our time—and yet a most humble and gentle human being, impressive in his quiet courage and love of humanity. The world has lost a very great man. We all join with you in mourning his passing."

Mayor John V. Lindsay, who visited Israel during his own administration, described Mr. Ben-Gurion as "one of the last of the giants among the great international statesmen of the world."

Mayor-elect Abraham D. Beame termed Mr. Ben-Gurion a "giant" and said his "death diminishes us all." He said, "His memory will serve as an inspiration to all who dare to have great dreams, admire courage, disdain adversity and are determined to follow their destiny."

In Washington, Senator Jacob K. Javits said that Mr. Ben-Gurion had brought into reality "the messianic dream of persecuted millions," and said further, "Under his Premiership Israel grew from an aspiration to one of the most exemplary and courageous democracies in the world."

David Blomberg, president of B'nai B'rith, said that Mr. Ben-Gurion "took a dream and made it a reality and by force of his perseverance and personality profoundly changed the course of Jewish history."

Elmer L. Winter, president of the American Jewish Committee, said that the death of Mr. Ben-Gurion was the "end of an era" in Jewish history.

"As chief architect and builder of the reborn Jewish state," said Mr. Winter, "he brought to fruition an age-old dream of the Jewish people, and gave substance and meaning to the ancient prayer for a return to Zion."

Jacob Katzman, executive vice president of the Labor Zionist Alliance, of which Mr. Ben-Gurion was a member, said that the "Jewish people are orphaned by his passing."

"Long after the internal controversies of the past few years will have been reduced to a mere footnote in Israel's history, the Jewish people everywhere will remember this extraordinary man of vision, of single purpose and indomitable spirit," he said.

Representative Ogden R. Reid, a former ambassador to Israel, in a statement praised Mr. Ben-Gurion as a "modern Moses with a gift of prophecy."

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

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator for yielding. I concur in the remarks made by the distinguished Senator from New York.

I, too, feel that David Ben-Gurion was one of the great statesmen of the world.

I had the pleasure of visiting him when he was head of his government many years ago. I talked with him and I felt he was a man who made a tremendous impression on anyone who spoke to him and discussed matters with him.

I agree in the statement that he was a man of peace. He did a remarkable job in pulling together the little land we know now as Israel.

The first time I was ever in Israel, I enjoyed fully going through the country. I thought David Ben-Gurion had done a wonderful job in settling the Jews who came there from all parts of the world, just pushing out into that desert land at that time, a land that became flourishing and fruitful when water was brought in. It was an inspiration to see how he brought that about, establishing homes and doing a great job in the settling of the Jews who came there.

I felt his administration of the government was a tremendous job. I join the Senator in his statement that he did a great deal toward the peace of the world both while he was in government and later on. The world has lost a great leader.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague from Alabama very much. We all know him for his generosity of spirit which he so beautifully typifies in this tribute to David Ben-Gurion.

DESIGNATION OF TEXARKANA DAM AND RESERVOIR ON THE SULPHUR RIVER AS THE WRIGHT PATMAN DAM AND LAKE

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. President, I report H.R. 974, a bill to designate the Texarkana Dam and Reservoir on the Sulphur River as the Wright Patman Dam and Lake and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The House gave its approval of this measure on October 15 of this year. H.R. 974 is identical in language to my bill S. 2604, which I introduced in the Senate on October 23, 1973.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 974) designating the Texarkana Dam and Reservoir on the Sulphur River as the Wright Patman Dam and Lake.

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the distinguished senior Senator from Texas (Mr. Tower) be added as a cosponsor of my bill S. 2604, which is identical to this bill which was reported favorably from the Committee on Public Works this morning.

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

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. President, the Texarkana Dam and Reservoir was authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1946 and was completed in 1958. It has operated successfully for the purposes of flood control, water supply, and recreation. The reservoir's recreational use is of particular pride to my State, and has provided enjoyment to over 2½ million visitors every year.

I am asking that the Congress rename

this dam and reservoir for WRIGHT PATMAN because he is a great Texan, a great statesman, and, above all, a great American.

WRIGHT PATMAN, now dean of the House of Representatives, has served continuously in that branch of Congress since March 4, 1929. Previously, he had been a member of the Texas State House of Representatives from 1921 to 1924, and also served as district attorney for the fifth judicial district of Texas from 1928 until his election to the Congress. As chairman of both the powerful Committee on Banking and Currency and Joint House-Senate Economic Committee, and vice chairman of the Joint House-Senate Committee on Defense Production, Congressman PATMAN has the ability to influence greatly the lives of all Americans. He has served with great distinction during his 45 years in Congress and has earned the respect and affection of his colleagues and constituents.

At the close of this session of the Congress, Chairman PATMAN will have served in the Congress 46 years, a term of service matched by only five Members in the entire history of the United States.

Chairman PATMAN has been particularly interested for many years in the field of water resources development, and it is only fitting that the Texarkana Dam and Reservoir be renamed in his honor. The success of the dam epitomizes his contributions to the field of water resources and honors him for his many unselfish years in public service.

Mr. President, Lyndon Johnson, as President of this great country, once stated:

(Few) have served longer and with more experience than Wright Patman. None have served better and few as well. He represents the best in America's conscience and heritage, but most of all he always votes and fights for what he believes is best for the folks.

I realize that it is a departure from traditional policy to rename a project for a sitting Member of Congress, but I believe that departure in this case is more than justified by Chairman PATMAN's unique record of service and dedication.

I am very proud to call WRIGHT PATMAN my friend, and I strongly urge the support of my colleagues in passing this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will proceed to its immediate consideration—

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I would note it is unusual to name a public park after a sitting Member of Congress, and I raise this question not with any particular reference to the Member of Congress who happens to be so honored, but I am aware that this is not the first time it has been done. It has been done before.

I also have been apprised of the fact that this bill has not only cleared the House, but it has been unanimously, as I understand it, reported by the Senate Public Works Committee, and it comes to the Senate floor with the approval and the cosponsorship of the other Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER).

So, having noted that it is unusual—and I frankly think that we should proceed with a good deal of restraint and caution in taking such actions—I will not object, realizing that it does have such wide approval.

Mr. BENTSEN. I thank the distinguished Senator. He is quite right that this body should proceed with great prudence and caution in such actions. This question was debated at some length in committee. We feel that with the uniqueness of the situation involved, with the man in question being dean of the House, now serving in his 45th year in the House and who has been instrumental in the creation of this lake and dam, this recognition is meritorious and should be done. I appreciate the withdrawal of any objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

APPOINTMENTS TO THIRD LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLEURE). The Chair, on behalf of the President pro tempore, appoints the following Senators to attend the Third Law of the Sea Conference of the United Nations, New York City, N.Y., December 3-14, 1973: the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE), and the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS).

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that no time be charged against the pending measure under the order today.

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

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATORS TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after the two leaders, or their designees, have been recognized on tomorrow under the standing order, the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes; that he be followed by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS) for not to exceed 15 minutes; that he be followed by the distinguished Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON) for not to exceed 15 minutes; that he be followed by the distinguished majority leader (Mr. MANSFIELD) for not to exceed 15 minutes.

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

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, after the distinguished Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON) has been recognized, the distinguished Senator from

Michigan (Mr. GRIFFIN) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes and prior to the recognition of the distinguished majority leader.

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

ORDER FOR PERIOD FOR TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the aforementioned orders on tomorrow there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business of not to exceed 30 minutes, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes, at the conclusion of which the Senate proceed to resume consideration of the bill S. 2702 and that the unfinished business (S. 1868) be laid aside temporarily and remain in a temporarily laid aside status until the conclusion of business tomorrow or until the disposition of S. 2702, whichever is the earlier.

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

AMENDMENT OF REORGANIZATION PLAN NUMBERED 2 OF 1973

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, at the request of the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations, that passage by the Senate on November 30 of H.R. 8245 be reconsidered, and that section 2 of the bill be amended by adding the letter "(h)" before the word "of," on page 2, line 2, and that the bill as thus amended be passed.

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

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

AUTHORIZATION TO RECEIVE MESSAGE AND SIGN BILL AFTER ADJOURNMENT TODAY

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the adjournment of the Senate today, the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive a message from the House, and that the Acting President pro tempore be authorized to sign a duly enrolled bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary of the Senate will be authorized to receive a House message and the Acting President pro tempore is authorized to sign the enrolled bill.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the program for tomorrow is as follows:

The Senate will convene at the hour of 10 a.m. After the two leaders or their designees have been recognized under the standing order, the following Senators will be recognized, each for not to exceed 15 minutes and in the order stated: Senators JAVITS, STENNIS, JACKSON, GRIFFIN, and MANSFIELD.

There will then be a period for the transaction of routine morning business not to exceed 30 minutes, with statements limited therein to 3 minutes; at the conclusion of which the Senate will resume the consideration of S. 2702, a bill to provide that daylight saving time be observed on a year-round basis. There is a time limitation on that bill and on amendments thereto. Yea and nay votes will occur thereon.

Mr. President, I suppose that following the consideration of that bill, the Senate will probably proceed to the consideration of S. 1283, which is an important industry research bill. Also coming along will be S. 2188, the railroad bill which is also an important measure, particularly in connection with the present energy crisis.

So, I can observe that there will be yea and nay votes daily from here on out.

ADJOURNMENT TO 10 A.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until the hour of 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 4:41 p.m., the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, December 4, 1973, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate, December 3, 1973:

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Air Force, under the appropriate provisions of chapter 835, Title 10, United States Code, as amended. All officers are subject to physical examination required by law.

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

First lieutenant to captain

Abair, Michael A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aber, Leland A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Abler, Peter D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Abraham, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Accurso, Steven A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adamec, John M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Nathan J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adamson, Anthony L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adamson, James I., xxx-xx-xxxx
Afonso, William G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Agnor, Raymond M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aguilera, Joseph L., xxx-xx-xxxx

Ahearn, Francis W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aikman, Rex, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Albertini, Victor D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alberts, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Albright, John S., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Alderfer, Elmer L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Roger S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Algire, Richard G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allan, Howard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Larry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Lewis H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Robert D. M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allevato, John T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allison, Robert E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allum, Alvin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alpert, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alton, Jack W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alverson, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ambrose, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Amerise, Leonard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Amos, Charles A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderegg, Clarence R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, David B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, David M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, David P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Frederic M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Gerald J. F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Irvin A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Jerry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Jon A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Kelly D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Kurt B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Stanley I., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Andreoli, Leopold J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Andrews, Duane P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Andrews, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Angerman, George G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Annesser, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anno, Stephen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ansell, Julian R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ansorge, Gene A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anton, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Apgar, Richard, xxx-xx-xxxx
Arbaugh, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arbeit, Ferde P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Archibald, Alexander H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ardillo, Nick P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ardis, David G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ardis, Wesley R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arms, Charles I., xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, William P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arner, Eugene O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnett, George D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, Harry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, Palmer G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, William E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arola, George T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arthur, Arch S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Artz, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ashbaugh, Dennis M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ashby, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Asmus, Hans J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Atherton, Michael F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Atkinson, William B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aufdenberg, Edward R., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Bachelor, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Badgley, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baenziger, Clayton M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bafus, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bagby, Alva E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Bagley, Alfred R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bagnetto, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bailey, Gregory P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bailey, Ronald G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baird, David C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Charles W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Fred L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Henry D., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Lawrence H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Norman D., xxx-xx-xxxx

Baki, Richard K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Balch, Edwin H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Balck, John T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Balkovec, Steve L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ball, Michael S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ball, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballard, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballard, Leroy D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballentine, Burt E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballentine, Rodger D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballew, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Balslev, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Banister, Larry S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Banker, Leon J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Banks, Calvin, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Banning, Thomas M., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Bannwart, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baranowski, Bronislaw F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barber, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barbier, Allison J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barclay, Douglas G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barden, Paul W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barker, Duane A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barna, Theodore K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barnard, Howard D., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Barnes, Judson C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barney, Warren G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barneyback, Stephen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barnum, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barreras, Allen J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barrett, James G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barrett, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barrick, Samuel L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barron, Joseph T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barry, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bartee, Luther M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barthel, Daniel D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bartlett, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barton, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barton, Frederick E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barton, John V., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barton, Leroy H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Barton, Lloyd H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bash, Donald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Basine, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Basinger, Jimmy R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bass, Arnie, xxx-xx-xxxx
Bassett, Loyal G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bates, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bauer, Christian A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bauer, Merrill K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baugh, Gary E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bayless, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bayne, Howard L., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Beachem, Eugene R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beacht, Russell W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beal, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beard, Terry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bearden, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beasley, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beatty, Jerome W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beavers, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bebee, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beck, Larry R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beck, Peter M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beckett, Robert E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beckmann, Joel W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beggerly, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Behnfeldt, Roger E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Behrend, Leon C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beinecke, Terry A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bell, Donald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bell, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bellamy, William N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Belmont, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Belt, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bendlin, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Benjamin, Harry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Benke, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Benkert, Daniel D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennert, Raymond M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Leland H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Warren A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bentley, Philip S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bentley, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Benton, Mark J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beran, Jeffrey L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bergholz, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bernia, Dennis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Berry, William E. Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx

Berthelotte, William P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bertram, Heinz D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bertrand, Randall L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Berty, Barry J. T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Berzins, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Besbikos, Charles S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Beshore, Eric A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Besold, Barry B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bess, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bettinger, Alexander, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bettinger, Sterling P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bettner, Ronald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Betts, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Betz, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bevan, Steven B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bidwell, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Biele, Thomas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bieringer, Gerald F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Biever, Lawrence J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bihner, William J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Birdlebough, Michael W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bishop, Stanley T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Black, Walter J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blackman, Johnny N., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blackman, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blaha, Frank R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blair, Carlton W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blair, David G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blair, Donald C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blair, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blair, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blais, Gerard C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blakely, Milo R. B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blakely, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blanchard, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blanchard, Stephen M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blanco, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blank, Jere F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blanks, Randolph M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blaschke, Robert E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blase, Carlton G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blau, Stuart J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blauch, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blaum, Raymond J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blaxton, Eldon C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bleakley, Bruce A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blewett, Timothy E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blinn, Roger K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bliquez, Terry O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bliss, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Block, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Block, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blomberg, Earl A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bloom, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blum, Ronald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blunt, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boddy, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bogard, Earl C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bohn, Gary D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boisture, Worth W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bomberger, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bonasso, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bond, Dennis G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bonn, Russell H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Booth, Thomas R. L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boots, Stephen K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bordeau, Wayne R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boren, Glenn E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Borland, Dennis P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bortner, Jonathan J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bosiljevack, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bost, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boston, Ronald G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boswell, Gordon F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bouchard, Peter A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boucher, Jean A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boulet, Dan L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bound, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bouthillier, Raymond A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowers, John V., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowie, Claude P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowman, Gerald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowman, Medford C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyd, Jimmy L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyd, Stephen B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyer, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyle, Jerry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyle, Marcus J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Braa, Arthur J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bradford, Barry C., xxx-xx-xxxx

Bradley, Ronald G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, Charles C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, Kenneth L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, Thomas F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brahman, Michael G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brandon, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brandon, Peter B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brandt, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Branscome, Claude E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Branson, Phillip A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brashear, Ralph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bravinder, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bray, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brazil, Douglas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Breen, Timothy J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Breland, Lonnie J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brende, Otis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brewer, Myron T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bridewell, Alexander C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bridges, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bridges, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Briggs, John J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brigman, Marvin J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brinkley, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brittelli, Joseph L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Britton, John F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Broadway, Terrance M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brocato, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brock, Carol B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brock, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Broderick, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brody, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brohammer, Ronald G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bronzo, Anthony F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brooks, George D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brooks, William J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brost, William P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brozman, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Alan H., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Dennis L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Gary E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Harold R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Henry A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Ronald T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Tommy G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, William L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Browning, Robert W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brownlee, Donald H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brumfiel, Philip A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brummond, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bruner, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bruner, Walter K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bruns, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brunsting, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brunt, Curtis W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bryan, Edwin B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bryant, Floyd, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buby, Randy L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buchanan, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buchert, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buchholz, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buck, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buckner, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buding, Fred W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buecker, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buettner, Terry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bufton, Larry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bugado, Harold B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bughman, Niles J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bull, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bullerman, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bulloch, Donald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bumbulis, Gunars, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bunker, Allen D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bunker, Dixon R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burbank, Deane A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burch, Joe T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burchell, Gary F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burdeshaw, Fred H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burge, Pruett W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burger, Kenneth J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burghoffer, Leo L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burink, Gerald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burk, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burke, David K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burke, Joseph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burke, Michael B., xxx-xx-xxxx

Burke, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burke, Terry A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burkel, Louis A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burman, Steven W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burnett, Paul C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burnette, Joe D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burnistine, Elmo, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burns, Herman W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burns, Jerry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burri, Otto W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burrows, Henry P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burski, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burton, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Busch, Howard R., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bush, Andrew K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bush, Frederick E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bush, William L., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Busico, Roger P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butchart, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butcher, Maxwell P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butler, Johnnie B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butterbrodt, Vaughn L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Button, Gary D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butts, David R. W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buzze, Charles L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Byrd, Emerson E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Byrd, Harry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Byrne, Mary, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Byrns, William G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cable, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cadogan, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cahill, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Caldwell, Douglas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Caldwell, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Calhoun, Wendell M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Calhoun, Charles K., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Callinan, Michael C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Calloway, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Calta, Dick, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Calvert, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campagna, Carmen S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Dana F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Dennis L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Frank B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Harry G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Hugh T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Milus C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, William H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campion, Norman J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Canter, Thomas H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cantrell, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Capps, John T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Caputo, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carberry, Don L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cardiel, Richard B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carleton, Roger E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carlson, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carlson, Roger T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carlson, Ronald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carman, Philip L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carmichael, Richard H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carnahan, Burrus M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carney, John M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Caroon, William T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carpenter, Adelbert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carpenter, Robert F., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carr, Dennis L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carr, Michael F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carr, Randall E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carr, Wayne L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carrier, Robert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carro, Roger C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carroll, Leo T., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carroll, Patrick H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carroll, Terry M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carruthers, Riley W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carson, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carter, Charles M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carter, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carter, Lloyd L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cary, John L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Casciano, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Case, Randolph M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Casey, Tommy W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cason, Benjamin B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cason, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Casper, Gary P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Castagno, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Castillo, Jose R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Castle, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx

Cathcart, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Catherman, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cathey, Ronald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cathey, Thomas N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cave, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Caven, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cawood, Harry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cecil, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Centilla, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cervi, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chace, Harvey D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chadbourne, Harvey L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chalfant, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chamberlin, Brian, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chambless, Lewis L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chambless, Ruben M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chancellor, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chandler, Edward L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chapman, Dean W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chappelle, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Charles, Arthur R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chary, Henry A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cherry, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cheshire, James C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chevalier, Paul R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chewning, Dudley G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chlapusio, Rodney D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chickles, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chik, Phillip L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chinn, Charles M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chisholm, Frederick L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chisler, Ralph A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chism, Duane L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chittum, Charles L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Choate, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Choffel, Michael F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chowning, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Christen, Barry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Christensen, Elroy E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Christensen, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Christensen, James E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Christie, William J., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chuba, Francis C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chvatal, Joseph J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cipriano, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clapp, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Charles T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Freddie W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Glen W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Jess R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Merrill G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Phillip C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Samuel L., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Wayne E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clarke, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clarke, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clatanoff, Kevin J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clavenna, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clayton, Eugene W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cleary, Michael O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clee, John C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cleland, William T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clement, Peter A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clement, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clements, Edward P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clements, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clements, Morris E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clevesy, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clinton, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clonts, Kenneth D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cloos, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clutter, Bertley A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coakley, Donald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cobb, George N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coburn, Arthur E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cochran, Thomas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coffey, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coffey, Roger K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cogswell, Roger L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coile, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cole, Dennis L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cole, Edward D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cole, George P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cole, Julian W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cole, Neil R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Colello, Stephen A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coleman, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coleman, Maurice A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coleman, Ronald D., xxx-xx-xxxx

Colestock, Harry E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Colgrove, Roger T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Collins, Clifton M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Collins, Kenneth F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Collins, Perry B., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Collins, Rolland C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Colon, Francisco J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Colpitts, Charles O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Combs, John R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Compton, Munson G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Comstock, Robert W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Comstock, William P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Condit, Thomas H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cone, Milton L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Conklin, Hugh R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Conlan, George I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Conlon, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Connelly, Thomas T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Conner, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Connors, Daniel V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Conroy, Wayne F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Contreras, Raul, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Converse, Elliott V., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Converse, Lowell A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Codey, Robert L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cook, Douglas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cook, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cook, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cookson, Edward D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cool, Lawrence E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cooley, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cooper, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cooper, Ronald T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cope, Eugene P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coppock, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Corban, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Corhin, Norman L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cormack, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cormany, Gerrit C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cormney, Laney K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cornelius, Samuel B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Corrallo, Carl A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Corwin, Gerald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cory, Bryan J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cossa, Ralph A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cottam, Eleanor L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cottenier, Michael F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coulter, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coursey, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Couture, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Covarrubias, Francisco J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cowan, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cox, Bruce N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cox, Herman B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cox, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cox, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cox, John A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cox, Larry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cox, Sherwood C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coyle, Jeffrey W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crabb, Roy W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crabtree, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crafton, Walter D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Craig, Herbert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Craig, James S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Craig, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crane, Barry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crane, Charles L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crane, Gregory L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cranfield, Stephen L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cranston, George D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crawford, Charles S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crawley, George D. A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cregar, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crehan, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Creighton, Donald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crews, Alan L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crews, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crick, Robert T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Christ, Steven A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Critchfield, Richard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crites, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Croach, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crockwell, Richard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Croft, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crone, Ronald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crosby, Wayne L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cross, Roderick S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crowley, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crum, Curtis G., xxx-xx-xxxx

Crum, George T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crumley, James P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crumm, William J., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cummings, David D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crummings, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cunningham, David H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cunningham, Jerald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cunningham, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Curran, Craig V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Curry, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Curry, William S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Curtis, Edward E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cuthrell, Luther G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Czonstka, Steven J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Czyzak, Stanley R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daguiar, Roger F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dahms, Arthur R., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daines, Alan R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dakers, Uldis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daulz, Antonio V., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daly, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dambra Giuseppe V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Damron, Lynn B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Damron, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daniel, Edward L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daniels, Charles C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dands, Dean J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dash, George H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daugherty James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daughtry, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davenport, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davern, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davidson, Cullen L. G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davidson, Dale A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davidson, Gordon R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davidson, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davie, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davie, Robert N., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davies, George A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davies, James D., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davies, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Charles M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Chris G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Daniel R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Marvin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Michael H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Orval J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Paul B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Simeon B., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Wayne A., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dawsey, Donald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dawson, Richard T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dean, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Deardorff, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Deascenti, Anthony F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Deboe, David, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Decabooter, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Deckard, Gary D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Declue, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Deen, William K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Defee, Robert A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Defelice, Joseph D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Degrassi, Andy A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Degruccio, Stanley G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 DeJong, Lloyd E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Delacruz, Rogelio, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Delaney, John P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Delaplane, William K., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Delay, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Delisle, Henry, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dellamea, Vincent E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Delong, Myron J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Deluca, Brian L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Demarest, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Demore, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dempsey, Dennis T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dempsey, Stephen A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Denault, Jerry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Denham, Charles A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Denison, Norman W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dennison, Charles M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Derfler, Frank J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Desousa, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Deturk, Robin A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Deutsch, Randolph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Devers, Waynard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Diamond, Arlen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dicker, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dickerson, Larry S., xxx-xx-xxxx

Dickson, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Diesen, Bernard C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dietrich, Richard T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dietz, Edward R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dill, Glenn E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dilling, Paul W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dingee, David B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dirnberger, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ditucci, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dixon, Lonnie D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dobbins, Harold R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dobney, Arthur M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Doe, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dolgins, Alfred J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Domain, Donald A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Domin, Dennis D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Domina, John, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Domzalski, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Don, Bruce W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Donahue, Morgan J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Donat, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dong, Roger S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Donkin, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dooley, Martin P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dorn, Weems C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dorris, Stephen P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dotson, Gary K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dougherty, Llewellyn S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Doughty, Ronald H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dowling, Emmett P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Downey, Clyde J., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Downing, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Downs, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Drabant, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Draper, Eugene, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Draper, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Draves, Richard P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Drennan, Jerry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dressler, Daryl V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Drewry, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Driscoll, Jack A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Drozd, Stanley J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Druibert, Hilmar C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Drummond, Dennis M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duckworth, Anthony E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dudley, Edward E., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duerr, Fred J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duffield, George F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duffield, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dukes, Luther M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dumerer, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dunaway, Joseph H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duncan, Lloyd F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duncan, Ronald P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duncan, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duncan, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dunlap, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dunlop, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dunn, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dunn, Leif R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dunn, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Durand, Arthur A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Durand, Bernard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Durbon, William O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Durden, Jerry M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Durham, Ronald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Durrant, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duval, Robert J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dyer, Brien W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dyer, Everett B., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dyer, Ralph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dysart, Christopher J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eanes, Jack E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 East, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 East, Wilbur W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Easterly, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eastman, George M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eaton, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eaves, Stephen D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eby, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Echols, Kenneth N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eddins, William N., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Edsall, Barton S. G., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Edward, Ernest E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Edwards, Jerry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Edwards, Laurel J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Edwards, Raymond G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Edwards, Terrell, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Edwards, William H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Egeland, Andrew M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx

Eggleston, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ehrhart, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ehrlich, Stephen M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eichinger, Matthew S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eickmann, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eisman, Leon J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Elliott, Earnest H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Elliott, George D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Elliott, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ellis, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Elm, Stephen R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Elmgren, Clyde A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Elrod, Robert T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Elrod, Robert V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Elsberry, Robert T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Elston, Ernest W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ely, Larry B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Emerson, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Emmerichs, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Emmons, Dwight N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Engels, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Englebreton, Robert E., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 English, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Engstrom, Philip J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ennis, Edgar W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ennis, Raymond C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ennor, Timothy M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Enoch, Robert A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ensinger, Milton R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eramian, Michael T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ercoline, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Erickson, Kermit A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Erickson, Robert V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Erickson, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ernst, Auvern A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ernst, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ervin, James L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Escue, Ralph C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Esquivel, Arturo, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Essing, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Essinger, Gordon L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Evans, Charles L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Evans, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Evans, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Evans, Walter S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eye, Donald K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ezell, Melton L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Faber, William W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fabian, Edward D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fagg, Hamby D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fahey, Michael G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fairbanks, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fairchild, MacLennan C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fake, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Falls, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Faris, William L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Farkas, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Farrell, Timothy J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Faunce, Kenneth C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fay, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fazackerley, Paul F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fedel, Gary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fehrenbach, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Felker, Richard I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fellows, Ray E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Felton, Silas, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Femrite, Ralph B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fenstad, Terry M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fergus, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ferguson, Charles M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ferguson, Dennis E. W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ferguson, Douglas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fergusson, Brenda R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fern, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ferrarer, Joseph S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ferrell, Clyde T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ferris, Donald F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ferris, Joseph D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Feterle, Lynn C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Field, Robin A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fields, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Figueroa, Francisco A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Filkins, Charles W., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Finch, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Finch, David S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pineour, John V. S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fink, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fink, Donald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fink, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Finley, Gordon H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx

Finley, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Finley, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Finnegan, Patrick W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fischer, Curt., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fischer, Herbert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fischer, James K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fischer, Lawrence J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fisher, Arthur R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fisher, Carroll S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fisher, Paul F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fisher, Robert E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fisher, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fisk, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fitch, Jeff I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fite, John L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fitzpatrick, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Flaherty, Daniel J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Flanagan, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fleege, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fleming, Gerald B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fletcher, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Flinn, William E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Flint, Foster J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fluharty, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Flynn, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Flynn, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Foley, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Folkesson, John R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Folkestad, Alan J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Folz, Eddie J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Forbes, Harry G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ford, Harry O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ford, Phillip J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Forster, Arthur C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Forsyth, John F., IV, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Forsythe, John H. H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fortmeyer, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fosdick, Roger B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Foster Bruce E. F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Foster, Charles S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Foster, Gary W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Foster, Jon K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Foster, Kenneth C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Foster, Wayne C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fought, Stephen O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fowle, Bernard H., IV, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fowler, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fowler, Peter J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fowler, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fowler, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fox, Charles L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fox, George P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fox, Thomas A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frady, Robert E. M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Francisco, Michael C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frack, Raymond E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frackowiak, Stanley V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Franco, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frank, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Franklin, Arnold L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Franklin, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Franklin, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Franz, Richard J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fraysher, Dorina E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frazier, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frechette, Louis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frederick, Robert P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Freeborn, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Freeman, Bruce M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Freeman, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Freeman, Robert O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Freiley, Kenneth J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Freix, Gregory D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fresh, Herman E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Friedel, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Friedlander, Leonard, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Friedman Douglas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frisbie, Noel F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frisby, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fritsch, Martin M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Froehlich, David V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Froehlich, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frueh, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frushdur, George V., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fry, Howard J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fullenkamp, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fuller, Ernest A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fuller, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fuller, John H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fuller, Terry W., xxx-xx-xxxx

Fullmer, Frank J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Funk, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Fuquay, Daniel M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Furches, Henry C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Furst, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Furtwangler, Stephen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Futch, Henry C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Gaan, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gaboury, Richard E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gabriel, Lester D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gaddis, Eugene H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gagen, Dennis C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gallinger, Boyd R., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Gallagher, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gallant, Paul B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gamble, Patrick K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gandy, Murry P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Garcia, Alfred R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gardner, Elmo H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Garrison, George F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gaskin, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gates, Brent A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gaver, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gavron, Alan H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gayer, Frank W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gaylord, William W., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Geary, Jeffrey A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gebert, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Geertz, Stephen J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gehbauer, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gembarowski, Charles J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gent, David C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gentry, Joe H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gentry, Neal W., xxx-xx-xxxx
George, Gerald P., xxx-xx-xxxx
George, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
George, Peter B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gerber, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Geringer, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Germann, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Geuss, Adam R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Giammo, Salvatore J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Giarraffa, Joseph F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gibbons, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gibson, Daniel J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gibson, George C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gibson, Paul S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gieblink, Norman G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gilchrist, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Giles, Michael N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gill, Paul F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gillespie, Kenneth M. S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gillespie, Melvin D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gillett, Bruce D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gilpin, Richard G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Girard, Richard N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Giroux, Peter J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Glass, Louis E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Glauner, Lewis M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Glenboski, Peter J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Glenn, Russell D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Glessner, Donald G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Glorioso, Richard, xxx-xx-xxxx
Glover, Albert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gnall, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Godfrey, Larry J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Godman, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Goebel, Carlos D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Golden, Richard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Golday, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Goltz, Eugene J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gonterwitz, Joseph, xxx-xx-xxxx
Gooch, Eugene D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Good, Jackie R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Goodmon, Jerre B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Goodwin, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gorby, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gore, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gornall, William S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gosnell, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Goss, Jerry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gossner, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gough, Daniel G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gould, Michael A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gould, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Goulet, Manley R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grafe, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Graham, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Graham, James D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grahm, Victor G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Granados, Alfred C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Granger, Peter A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grant, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grant, Leonard T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grant, Tucker B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grapentine, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grate, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gray, George A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Gray, Irving L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gray, Richard F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Green, Darrell D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Green, Douglas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Green, Gary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Green, Gary J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Green, Terry F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Greenawalt, Rodgers K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Greene, Charles D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Greene, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Greene, Melvin L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Greenhaw, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gregory, Norman D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gresham, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gressang, Randall V., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gribble, James T., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Grice, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Griesser, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Griest, Sidney H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Griffin, John M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Griffin, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Griffith, Ronald T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Griffiths, Paul L., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Grillo, Edward F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grimes, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grimm, Ralph B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gritmaker, Duane W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Groggel, Dwight K., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gromling, Howard M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Groshong, Phillip S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grosick, Frederick E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gross, Jon L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grosse, Vinson G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grotheer, Kurt V., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ground, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grow, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grunenwald, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gruver, Russell M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Guasco, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gude, Gerald F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Guerrina, Frederick B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Guesno, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Guiles, Howard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Guinn, Jon A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gumble, Bruce L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gunter, Charles A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gunter, Edwin D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Guse, Steven D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gustke, Leroy K., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gyure, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haas, Milton, F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haden, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hadfield, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haese, Wyndle R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hagey, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hagler, Gerald H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hague, Jeremiah W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hahn, Bertram G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haldane, George M., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, Frederick W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, Jackson M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, Jesse S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, John B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, Kenneth B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, Manly W., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, Terry C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Halliday, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haman, Kenneth W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hamann, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hamilton, Claude A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hamilton, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hamilton, Gale W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hamilton, Julius M., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Hamm, Stephen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hammonds, Veneble L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hampton, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hamrick, Wynne R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hancock, Stanley R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Handerhan, Michael W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Handy, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hanfland, Lawrence W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hanisee, Thomas P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hanna, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hansen, David B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hansen, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hanson, Duane M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hanson, Larry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hanson, Paul E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hardenburg, Charles T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hardin, Benjamin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hardin, Donell L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harding, Ralph D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hardy, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hargett, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hargreaves, Thomas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harlacher, Donald S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harling, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harmon, Frank L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harnage, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harrell, Arthur L., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Harrington, Marion R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harrington, Thomas C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, Cassius A., IV, xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, Delbert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, Douglas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, Leonard, xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, Lynn A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, Randall G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, Richard H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harris, William W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harrison, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harrison, Larry G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harry, Larry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hart, Albert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hart, Darrell E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hart, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hartley, Gerald G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hartman, Gary E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hartschuh, Neil E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harvell, Kenneth S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harvey, George C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harvey, Stephen P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harwood, Donald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harwood, Paul R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hasche, Lloyd R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haselhorst, Dale O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hassebrock, Roland A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haury, Philip L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haverliak, Eugene, xxx-xx-xxxx
Hawes, Patrick C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hawkins, Douglas S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hawkins, Max L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hawkins, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hawks, George W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hawley, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hawn, Steven E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hayes, Donald F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hayes, Fulton D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hayes, Peter A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hayman, Frank T., IV, xxx-xx-xxxx
Hayner, Michael S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haynes, Dennis K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haynes, Gerald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hays, Kervyn L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hays, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haywood, Ronald T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Head, Raymond L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Heagy, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Heaps, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Heckelman, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Heckert, Donald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hedegaard, Maynard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hedlund, Arthur R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Heezen, Arthur F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hefebower, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Heidler, Clare D., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Heining, Jan R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Heiser, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Helkey, Wilbur T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Helms, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Helms, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Helt, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Helton, Edward D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hemmick, Donald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hempley, Roy B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Henderson, Edward J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Henderson, Frederick H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hendrickson, Wylie C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hendrickson, Carl R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx

Hendrix, Robert A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Honea, William R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Janeway, Bobby D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hennessey, Mark E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Honeycutt, David F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jansen, Thomas V.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Henny, William C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hopler, Edwin A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jardine, Edwin P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Henry, Patrick M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hoppe, Darrell R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jared, Roy A., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Henry, Paul F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hoppe, David L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jaszczak, Casmier,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hensel, Ralph L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Horkavi, George D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jeanes, Raymond R., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hensley, James I.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Horn, Clinton V.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jefferson, Ardell R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hepler, William C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Horn, Grat H., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jenkins, Robert G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hepner, Thomas C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hornbrook, Edwin F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jenneskens, Hubert A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Herider, Michael R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Horning, James R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jewett, Stephen E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hernandez, Manuel R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hornor, Edward G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jewett, Thomas D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Herrell, Dennis E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hornung, Thomas A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jinright, Wendell F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hess, Daniel L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hortenstine, Joseph G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johansen, Olaf K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hess, Michael E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Horton, James L., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johansen, William A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hesser, William R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hoskins, Charles L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Barry D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hester, John M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Houck, James H., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Carl G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hickel, Clifford A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Houghtby, Larry K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Carrol R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hickly, Edward M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Houghton, William D., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Charles T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hickman, Donald E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Houston, Charles E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Charles E., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hicks, Arthur G., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Houston, James B., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Dale G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hicks, Jonathan L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hout, George W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Edward K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hicks, Robert G., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howard, Carlton T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Harry F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hielscher, Dalton W., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howard, Gary W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Herbert H., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Higaki, Fred S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howard, Jimmy H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, James J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Higbee, Edward J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howard, Phil T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, James A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Higgins, Keith L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howard, Sidney R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, James R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Higgins, Michael J., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howe, Gary R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, James A., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
High, Curtis L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howell, Thomas O.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Joel D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hikida, Larry K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howell, Thomas H., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Norman E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hilbert, Anthony G., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howerton, Clarence L., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Paul D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, Charles D., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howerton, Glenn F., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Ralph D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, Dennis H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howington, Raymond G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnson, Waldon L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, John Q., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howman, Paul D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnston, Charles L. G., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, Lloyd D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howry, James E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnston, Jerry W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, Ralph D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howze, Richard S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Johnston, Ronald A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, Randall M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hoyle, James G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jonak, Thomas E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, Robert E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hrcir, Stanley G., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, Charles D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, Roger H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hubbard, Carl J., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, Claude S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, Victor A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hudak, Ronald M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, David M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, Walter C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hudler, Dale B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, Dwight B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hill, William A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Huffman, James W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, Howard L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hilt, Barry L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hugdahl, Peter O.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, James P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hind, Edwin A., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hughen, Richard E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, Keith W., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hines, Charlton W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hughes, Harry H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, Ronald B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hines, Larry W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hughes, Richard L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, Ronald R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hinkle, Kenneth E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hull, Jonathan P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, Terry R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hinton, William S., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Humphrey, Robert L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, William H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hintz, Joal E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hunt, Charles S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jones, William A., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hipple, Herbert D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hunt, John C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jordan, Gene A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hirshberg, Sidney S., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hunter, Allen M., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jordan, Michael G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hise, Jerry K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Huntsman, Rex V.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jordan, William T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hladky, Paul D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Huot, Raymond P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jordan, Marshall E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoberg, James W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hurt, Jeffrey W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jorgensen, Alvin W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoberman, Barry,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Huskey, Leon O.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jorgensen, Doyle G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hobgood, Charles D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hutcheson, Donald W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jorgensen, Jon M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoch, Karl J., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hutchings, Robert L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Josey, Ben E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoch, Ronald C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hutchinson, Donald D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Joyce, Douglas A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hodgson, James R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hutchison, Terry L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jung, Charles,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoff, James E., Sr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hutter, Andrew C., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jungel, Carroll D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoffman, David A., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hutton, William E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Justice, James W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoffman, Edwin L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hyle, Stephen B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kahl, George G., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoffman, Irving L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hylton, Douglas A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kaiser, Donald W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoffman, Robert S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Ibarra, Humberto,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kaiser, John V., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoffman, Robert P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Icenhour, James O., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kanaster, Larry D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoffman, Robert E., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Ingelido, Michael J., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kancitis, Andris,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hofmann, John R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Ingold, Richard R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kapp, Francis L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hofmann, Thomas H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Ingwersen, William H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Karas, Wayne J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hogarty, James P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Ireland, William J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kardys, Richard,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoge, Calvin V.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Irwin, George E., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Karlin, Francis L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hogle, Walter S., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Irwin, George F., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Karlin, Richard C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hohn, Roger A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Isenhour, Larry W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Karlsson, Peter E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holaday, Kent T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Iskra, Thomas M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kassen, William C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holcomb, Michael C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Ivan, Andrew, Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kates, Richard W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holcomb, Robert J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Iversen, Richard D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kato, Ken H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holcombe, William A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Iversen, Robert L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Katz, Richard A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holden, Ronald R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Izatt, John O., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kaufman, Robert,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holder, Ruffin B., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jackson, Don E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kehnle, Anthony C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holdsworth, David E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jackson, Gene E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelleher, Daniel E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holladay, Don G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jackson, Kenneth E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Keller, Harris,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holland, Chaz M., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jackson, Larry L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Keller, John J., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holland, Stephen L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jacobs, John F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelley, Dennis S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hollingsworth, Ronald E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jacobus, Thomas J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelley, James R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hollran, Dale E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jacoby, George A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelley, Richard D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holmen, Gary L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jacoby, Jerome N.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelley, Stephen E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holmes, Ned D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jaep, William F., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelly, Darby J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holmquist, John D., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jahnke, Terance L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelly, Frank K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holser, Paul R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	James, Bernard A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelly, James P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holtzman, William A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	James, Samuel L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelly, Terry J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Homan, Edward L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jameson, David M., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kelly, William F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Honda, Melvin K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Janes, Benjamin F., IV,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Kemp, Richard C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx

Kemp, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kempf, Nicholas J. III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kendall, Paul S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kenna, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kennedy, Charles D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kennedy, Daniel Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kennedy, Gordon H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kennedy, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kennedy, Ralph L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kennedy, Robert B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kennedy, William E. C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kenner, Ronald P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kennington, Thomas K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kern, Jere W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ketchum, Leongirard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Keys, Ronald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kiermaier, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kiernan, Hayes A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Killey, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kilikauskas, Rom., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kimberlin, Donald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kimbrough, Landon L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kinego, Joseph C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Bruce A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Donald, xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Eddie M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Ronald, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kingston, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kinker, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kinnear, William P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kipp, Marvin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kirby, David P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kirby, Robert O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kirchhoff, Alan A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kirk, Stuart C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kirkland, Clayton M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kirkwood, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kittle, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Klein, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kleinhenz, William J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Klement, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Klemp, Arthur K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kline, Richard W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knabe, Carl F., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knaub, Michael H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knebusch, Donald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knepell, Peter L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knight, Delbert L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knight, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knight, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knight, Warren V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knight, Wayne A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knittel, Paul F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knobloch, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knoke, Paul D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knolle, Hermann, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knox, David K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knudson, William P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kobernus, George M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koch, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koch, Gary B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koch, Perry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kohn, George W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koldyke, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Konegen, Rudolf R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Konyu, Mike, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koontz, Charles D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koontz, Ralph G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kornemann, William E., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koshko, Kent D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kotlicky, Howard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kowalchuk, Charles J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kowalski, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kozma, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kraal, Gary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kramer, Arthur F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kramer, Ronald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kramer, Willard P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kraske, Gary E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kratzer, Ronald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kraus, David C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Krebs, Frederick D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kreer, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Krenzel, Arthur E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kreps, Robert P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kristoff, Karl W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kroboth, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kroese, Ted R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Krueger, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kruid, Leroy G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Krzymowski, Victor K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kucharczyk, Jerry F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kuczek, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kuehn, Robert J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kuennig, Thomas E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kugelman, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kuhns, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kuminecz, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kunciw, Roman S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kunselman, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kurina, Jerry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kurtz, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kwiatkowski, Leonard F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kyle, James S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Labbous, Salem E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Labeau, Michael H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lacey, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lacey, Stephen W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lachman, Jerald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lackey, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lacy, George M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ladd, William T., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Laedlein, Charles E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Laetz, Curtis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Laflamme, Herbert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Laitinen, Roger K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lamb, Allan R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lamb, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lambert, Darrell R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lambert, Gene F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lambert, John V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lambert, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lamorte, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lamothe, Richard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lampe, George P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lampkin, Leonard E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lancaster, Detlev L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lancaster, Mark A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Landers, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Landers, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Landry, Louis F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Landsberg, William A. E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lane, Ashley H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lane, Jimmy N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lane, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lane, Samuel O., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lang, Roy E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Langabeer, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lange, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Langston, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Languit, Gerald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lanier, Ronnie D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lapointe, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Larsen, Paul J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Larson, Roger H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Larson, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Larson, Wayne D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Larson, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lascala, Ronald, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lasky, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lassanske, Paul W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Laszynski, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lauffer, Edward W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lauher, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lavanish, Paul J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lawder, Shelby D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lawhern, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lawrence, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lawrence, George E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lawson, Carl D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lawyer, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lea, Joseph D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leach, Arthur S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leatherwood, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leblanc, Ralph D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lecki, Ronald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leclaire, David B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, Jeffrey F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, Joseph R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, Richard V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, Robert E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, Wayne H. W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lefforge, Jack A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Legasey, Edward E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leigh, Charles H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leighton, Daniel L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leininger, Philip A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lemanski, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lemon, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lentz, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leonard J. R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leonard, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leonard, Tice N., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leone, Kenneth C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leopold, Raymond J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lepore, Juliann, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leppert, Gregory A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leslie, Ralph S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leslie, Thomas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lessard, Dennis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lettan, Richard H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, Dean W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, Jack P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, Joseph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leykum, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lilley, Kenneth B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lind, Christopher T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lind, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lindahl, Thomas B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lindsey, Hugh A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lines, Russel W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Link, Joseph V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Linnevers, Charles M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Linville, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Linville, Ray P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 List, Leonard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Little, Charles P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Little, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Littlefield, Laurence D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Litts, Phillip E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lloyd, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lloyd, Russell F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Locke, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lockhart, Daniel E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Loftus, Patrick M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Logan, Darrell L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lolas, Anthony J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lomax, Francis E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Longstaff, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lono, Antonio E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Loofbourou, Eugene M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Loop, Glenn L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Loose, Chester S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Loose, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lopp, James K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lord, Eugene V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lorenz, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Loser, Gregory A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lovell, Jack R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lowder, Harrington L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lowe, William B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lowry, Clarence T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lowry, Norman L., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lubelczyk, Chester S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lucas, Stevan R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Luczak, Ralph J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lueders, Denis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lumbard, Michael B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lumsden, Stanley H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lunardi, Daniel B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lund, Glenn W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lund, Stuart A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lundberg, Allen B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lundmark, Dennis P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lundquist, Arthur C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lung, Emmet G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lupia, Eugene A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lutes, Victor R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lutz, Charles F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lux, Louis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Luyendyk, Howard G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lynch, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lynett, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Haas, Charles I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Macaulay, Allan K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 MacCarroll, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Machmer, Paul D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mackey, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Macknik, Louis S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 MacLennan, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Madox, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Magee, Claybourne S., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Magee, Edward B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Maginel, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx

Magliolo, Andrew J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Magness, William M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mahaffey, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mahan, James B., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Maher, Gerald N., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mahler, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Maki, Dennis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Malcolm, Hugh S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Malone, Michael W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Malvestuto, Louis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mandell, Bradford E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mangan, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Manganello, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mangels, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mangnall, Richard K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Manire, William G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Manley, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mann, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mann, Vernon R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Manning, Keith H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mannix, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marek, Edward S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Markay, Jeffrey H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Markham, Lawrence W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Markham, Thomas B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marks, Jerry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marks, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marks, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Markussen, Carl S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marlow, Frederick K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marlow, Stephen W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marquette, Ronald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marr, John E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marr, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marsch, Robert J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marsh, Gregory P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marsh, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marsh, Larry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshak, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshall, George W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshall, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshall, Terry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshall, Victor H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshall, Willie L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshall, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marshall, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, Michael A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, Michael T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martin, Thomas G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martini, Arthur P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martino, Frank E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Martwig, Larry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marvel, Hynson E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marvin, Carroll C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Marzinke, David H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Maskell, Dean E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mason, Alonzo C. J., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Mason, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mass, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Masson, Dennis R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Masters, Francis M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Masterson, Mark W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mather, Richard S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mathis, Ronald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Maxon, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Maxwell, Mark D., xxx-xx-xxxx
May, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mayer, Ronald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
McAdam, Theodore J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McAdams, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
McAfee, Leonard C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McAllister, Michael S., xxx-xx-xxxx
McBrearty, Charles F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McBroom, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCabe, Daniel J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
McCarron, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCarthy, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCarthy, Stephen P., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCarty, Curtis, xxx-xx-xxxx
McCarty, Deryl S., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCarty, Joseph, xxx-xx-xxxx
McClannahan, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
McClarney, Winton P., xxx-xx-xxxx
McClung, Larry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
McClure, Dennis S., xxx-xx-xxxx
McComb, Jack F., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCormick, Samuel D., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCoy, Jarell V., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCoy, Johnny M., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCoy, Norman C., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCulloch, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCulloch, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCutcheon, Robert H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDaniel, Kenneth K., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDaniel, Larry T., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDaniel, William B., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDermott, James H. K., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDonald, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDonald, Elden S., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDonald, Jerald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDonald, Joe R., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDonald, Ralph B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McDonald, Robert B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McElroy, Gerald P., xxx-xx-xxxx
McFarland, Daniel L., xxx-xx-xxxx
McGann, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
McGarvey, Richard G., xxx-xx-xxxx
McHargue, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
McHenry, Kenton D., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
McIntyre, Andrew J. Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McIntyre, Henry J., xxx-xx-xxxx
McIntyre, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
McKaskle, Joe P., xxx-xx-xxxx
McKee, Dean M., xxx-xx-xxxx
McKie, James K., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
McKinney, James N., xxx-xx-xxxx
McKnight, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
McLain, Albert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
McLean, John A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McLeod, Marion C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
McLeroy, Joe C., xxx-xx-xxxx
McMacken, Roy W., xxx-xx-xxxx
McMahon, Dennis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
McMillen, Bertram D., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
McMillen, Victor R., xxx-xx-xxxx
McMillin, Harry C., xxx-xx-xxxx
McMurray, Frederick C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mead, Charles H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mechanic, Jack H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Meek, Philip A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Megow, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Meier, Daniel T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Melberg, Raymond H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Melching, Howard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Melchior, Richard B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Melhart, Leonard J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Melton, Dennis D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mencke, Danny L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mendell, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mendenhall, Laurence D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Menza, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Merkel, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Merrill, Kenneth O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Merriott, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Merris, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Messenger, Marion J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Messery, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Messner, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mettler, David S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Metz, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Metzgar, Dean E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Metzler, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Meurer, Earl L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Meyer, Arnold A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Meyer, Herbert F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Meyer, Scott K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Micklas, Paul J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Middleton, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Middleton, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Midkiff, Richard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miesse, Douglas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mihara, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mikeal, Jerry H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Milam, Alvin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Milburn, Michael P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Milewski, Mitchell, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Milhiser, Charles L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Millard, Terry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Arthur L., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Bennie A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Charles C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Daniel T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Duane M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Edward J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Eldon H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, George K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Harvey J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Herman G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Jonathan P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Lloyd D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Paul H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, William P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Miller, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Milligan, Thomas, xxx-xx-xxxx
Milliken, Kent T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mills, Allyn K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mills, William B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Milne, George P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Minks, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mirrer, Keith S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mitcham, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mitchell, Edwin D., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Mitchell, Harry R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mitchell, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mitchell, John H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mitchell, Louis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mitchell, Ronnie D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mixon, Edwin B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mize, Mark, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moe, William M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moehlenkamp, Michael C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moffitt, Michael C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mohan, Steven D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moix, Peter P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Molbert, Lennet, Jr., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Monaco, Salvatore J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Monk, Homer L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Montgomery, Terry H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mood, John D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mook, Gilbert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moon, Jesse H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, Carl P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, Douglas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, James S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, Lester R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, Philip W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, Ronald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, Steven J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, Thomas G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moore, Warren W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moran, Francis S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moran, Lawrence L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moreau, Edward L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morgan, Dennis P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morgan, Jesse D., S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morgan, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morgan, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morganto, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morgenstern, David H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moriarty, Joseph M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morikado, Robert N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morishige, Ronald I., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morris, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morris, Curtis S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morris, Francis B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morris, Leonard P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morris, William W., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Morris, William F. B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morrison, Jimmie G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morrison, Joel T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morse, Gaylord J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Morsics, Frank, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mosher, Walter L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mote, Albert S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Motonaga, Bert T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mott, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Moyer, Dale L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mrazek, James E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mruz, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Muehring, Paul E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mueller, Garry S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mueller, John W., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Muellner, George K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mulcahy, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Muldrow, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx
Mullane, Richard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mullen, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Muller, Alvin D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mullikin, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mullin, Jonathan B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mullis, Marcus M., xxx-xx-xxxx

Mulvaney, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Munn, Henry J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Munninghoff, Ivan, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Munson, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murdock, Louis J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphy, Dennis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphy, Jerry M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphy, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphy, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphy, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murray, Phillip C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murray, Walter B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murray, William J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murray, Woodrow E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Myers, Kenneth A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Myers, Newton C., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Myers, Thomas C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Naccari, Norman W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nadeau, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nagle, Bruce M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nagurski, Jan S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Najera, Ramon A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nakrosis, Paul P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nanney, Donald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Naue, Dennis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nauful, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Naumann, Leroy M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neal, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neate, Richard E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neel, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neftzger, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neill, Joe E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, Eric E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, Gary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, Larry K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, Loren P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, Randall W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nemecek, Ronald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nenner, Ronald B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nett, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nettles, Thomas C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nettleton, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neumann, William C., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neuschaefer, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Newberry, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Newsome, Gary K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Newton, Gary F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Newton, Lester F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Newton, Peter J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Newton, Phillip L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Newton, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neyhan, Jesse E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nicholau, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nichols Esau, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nichols, Stephen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nicholson, George E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nickel, Kenneth F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nicklas, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Niederhauser, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nield, Thomas V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nielsen, Jim L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nieser, Tracy, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nikolai, Karl J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Niles, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nimick, Richard F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nimmo, Edward J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nixon, Albert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Noguchi, Russel A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nokovich, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nolly, George E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nordeman, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Norelius, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Norman, William G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Norton, Frederick P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Norton, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Norwood, George W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Novak, Daniel L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Novak, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nowlin, David V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Null, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Null, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nulty, Frank T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Numoto, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nunn, Chester E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nye, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nystrom, John L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oates, Norman C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Obar, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Brien, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Chandarena, Douglas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Connor, Brian P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Connor, William P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Odell, William L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Odle, Dick E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Donnell, Jon D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Grady, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ohlinger, Charles T., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ohlsen, Michael C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Keefe, Gerard P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oleksuk, Michael H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oliphant, Ronald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Olsen, George W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Olson, Duane L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Olson, Eric A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Olson, James I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oman, Barry M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Neal, Gary D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Neill, Patrick H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Orchard, Stetson J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Orlando, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ormsby, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Osterloth, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Sullivan, John F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oswald, Billie E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Otten, Leonard J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Otterbein, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ousley, James F., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Overall, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Owen, Dun H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Owen, Gary D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Owings, Markley J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Paaajanen, Wayne A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pace, Lawrence, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Paddock, Richard S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Page, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Page, Larry A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Page, Roger W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Page, Warren L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Palicia, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Palmer, James O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parkinson, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parks, Bennie F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parks, Edward B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parnell, Roy L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parris, Russell E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parrish, Lonnie W., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parsons, Robert N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pasceky, Steve, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pastusek, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Patterson, Charles N., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Patterson, Marshall S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Patterson, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Patzer, Larry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Paul, Richard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pavlat, Paul H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Paxson, Ronald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Payne, Timothy J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pearman, Charles B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pearson, Todd W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peddle, Mark J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peddrick, Joseph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pederson, Arvid P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pedone, Stephen P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pehan, Terry S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pelouquin, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peraldo, Mario G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Perezguillermety, Rafael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Perezvazquez, Victor M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Perry, Keith M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Perry, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Perry, Ronald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peters, Eric A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peters, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peters, Timothy A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peterson, Andrew S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peterson, Maxie J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peterson, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peterson, Russell L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peterson, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Petrash, Ernest F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Petrusky, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Petryszak, Frank L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pettit, Elvy, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Petty, John Daniel E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pfle, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phalen, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phelps, Terrance J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Philbrick, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Philips, Philip H., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phillips, James V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phillips, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phillips, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phillips, Michael F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Philo, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Picarella, Thomas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pichon, Allen A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pickrel, Eddie G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pietras, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Piper, Danny, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Piroutek, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pitts, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Platt, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pleggenkuhle, Daryl A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pletche, John H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Plotkin, Louis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Plowman, Leland H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Plumb, Morton V., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Poe, Rodger B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Poe, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Poindexter, William R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Polifka, Karl L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pollock, Charles D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pollock, Robert M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pollock, Roger L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Poore, Charles P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Poplin, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Popovich, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Popp, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Porter, Philip M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Potter, Greg A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pouch, John E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powell, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Power, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powers, Russell J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powers, William J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powley, Herbert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pratt, Emory J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pressley, Homer M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Price, Clinton R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Price, Delton M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Price, Jerry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Price, Lansing H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Price, Michael B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Priddy, Ronald N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Priest, Gary M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pritchard, Richard H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Prizner, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Prout, Donald G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Prouty, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pruett, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pruitt, Richard T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Przybelski, Richard T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Przytula, William S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pugh, Dennis G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pumfrey, Marion A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 PUNCHES, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Purdy, Stephen G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Puzas, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pyeatt, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Quance, Thomas P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Quebe, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Quinn, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Quisenberry, Charles M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rafuse, Harold E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rail, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Raines, Norman W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rainville, Paul J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rakowsky, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ralls, Charles D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ramey, Steven C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ramsey, Alfred J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ranciglio, Alessandro J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Randel, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rannazzisi, Santo J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rans, Stephen J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ransom, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rapp, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rasco, Joe R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ratcliff, David D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rathke, Frederick A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ratliff, Larry K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rauschuber, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rawcliffe, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ray, Hubert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ray, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Raymond, Neil V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ream, Barry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Reding, Jerry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Redman, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx

Reed, David M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reed, Earl S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reedy, Rodger A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reese, Pat L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reger, Charles B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Register, Perry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Register, Willie C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reich, Stephen H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reichal, Joseph C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reichman, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reid, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reid, Jarve G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reineck, Michael H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reitan, Richard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reiter, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Remagen, Lawrence D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Remy, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Retelle, John P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reynolds, Gerald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reynolds, Larry K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Reynolds, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rhine, Kimzey W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rian, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rice, Rob R., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Rich, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rich, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Richards, Albert P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Richards, Hugh J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Richardson, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Richey, Chester R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Richmond, Don C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Richter, Keith M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rider, Warrick W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ridge, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Riely, Michael W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Riess, Charles F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rigby, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Riggins, Dennis D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Riggs, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Riley, Earl W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Riley, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Riley, Michael A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rinderknecht, Lawrence R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rinella, Joseph T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ringstrom, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Riordan, Monti J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ripple, Carey W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ritter, Arthur W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ritter, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ritter, James W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rittmuller, Richard F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roane, Mack D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roark, David D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robbert, Albert A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Robert, Wade H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Roberts, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roberts, Duane C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roberts, George R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roberts, Gilbert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roberts, Harold I., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roberts, James S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roberts, James Q., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roberts, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roberts, Samuel J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robertson, Anthony A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robertson, Charles L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robertson, Herschel E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robey, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robinson, Clark W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robinson, Patrick L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robison, Everett J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robison, Joe E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Robley, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rock, Albert C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Rodda, Allen J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rodenhauser, Karl J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rodgers, Jimmie A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rodriguez, Enrique M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roecker, Lloyd L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rogers, David P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rogers, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rogers, Owen, xxx-xx-xxxx
Rogers, Steven B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rogers, Thomas P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Rogers, Victor M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rohlof, Kent J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roll, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roller, Russell F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Romaglia, Frank J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rondeau, Daniel M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rooney, Basil E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rooney, Thomas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rosas, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx
Rose, Allen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rose, Charles A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rose, Gary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rose, Peter N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rose, Stephen R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rosenthal, Marvin H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roshak, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ross, Thomas L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roswell, Donald F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roth, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roth, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rougeau, Joseph M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rounce, Ronald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rowan, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rowe, Allan W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rowell, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Roy, Ronald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Royer, Peter M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rubus, Gary M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rudiger, Burnley L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rudolph, Franklin A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rumberg, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Runkle, Jack R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rupp, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ruppert, Peter J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rupright, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rush, Dean R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Russell, Clark B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Russell, Evan, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Russo, Daniel L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rust, Steven K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rutenberg, David C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ruths, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ryals, Allen C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ryan, Harold D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ryan, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ryan, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ryan, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ryan, Philip W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ryan, Thomas G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ryback, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Rygielski, Joseph J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ryland, William K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sackvillewest, Arthur J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Safford, Steven J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Salge, Alvin A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Salminen, Frank W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sams, John B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sams, Monroe S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Samson, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Samuelson, Norman F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sander, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sanders, Ernest L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sanders, George A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Sanders, Phillip E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sandlin, Dennis R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sands, Gene C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sandstrom, Kerry R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sanford, Gary M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sanhorn, Alvin M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sargent, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Satchell, Wallace J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Saunders, Larry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Saunders, Michael C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Saunders, Robert G., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Saunders, William P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sauvain, Claude R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Savacool, Donald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Savage, Stephen J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Savage, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sawaya, George J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Saxon, Vernon P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scanlin, Thomas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scarboro, William E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schad, Richard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schaefer, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schaefer, William L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schaffer, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schaffer, Raymond C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schaefer, Harry A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scheimer, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schellhase, Milton G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schenk, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scherer, David P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scherer, Roy F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scherrer, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schildmeyer, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schilling, Edwin C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Schindler, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schlichter, Paul M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schlobohm, Christian P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schmeling, Donald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schmelzer, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schmidt, John R., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Schmitt, Harold R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schmitt, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schnee, Walter L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schoening, Norman L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schoff, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schofield, Jeffrey E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schreiber, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schrepel, Milton F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schrettenbrunner, Michael K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schroeder, Kenneth B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schryer, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schufman, Joseph L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schuh, Ronald B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schultz, Terry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schumann, George M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schwab, Howard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schwab, Ronald P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schwarz, Frederick W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schweitzer, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Schweizer, Alvin C., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Schwertfeger, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scoskie, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scott, Charles F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scott, Donald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scott, John E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scott, Michael T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scott, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Scruggs, Dennis C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Seals, Daniel P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Seals, Wanda H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Seares, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Seaton, Gary G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Seck, Harry F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Seda, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Seidman, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Seifer, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Seines, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Selwert, Raymond M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Selby, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Selig, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Selke, Robert K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sellers, Donald P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Semegran, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Semrad, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sergent, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Setzekorn, Richard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shackson, Charles W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shale, Douglas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shaner, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shanklin, William M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shapiro, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sharpe, Ervin C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sharpe, Howard D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shaughnessy, John R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shaw, Frank A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shaw, Graham, xxx-xx-xxxx
Shaw, Gregory R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shaw, James A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shaw, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shay, Donald E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shea, Clifton L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shea, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sheeran, Edward J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shepard, Joel E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shepard, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shepherd, Gerald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sherman, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shermer, Caton A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sherry, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shervais, Stephen, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shidisky, Charles J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shields, Kent L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shiker, Jack D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shipe, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shively, Robert A., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Shook, Wayland R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Showalter, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shriver, Loren J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shukle, Allan V., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shull, Walter B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shultz, Cletus E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Shurts, Henry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sibly, William L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Sieg, Sherry A., xxx-xx-xxxx

Siegfried, Ronald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Siers, Edwin, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Silevers, Stanley E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sigler, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sikora, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Silkman, Howard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Silliman, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Silver, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simcox, Lawrence S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simko, Charles G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simmons, Cleatus J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simmons, Eugene B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simon, Attila T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simon, Philip O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simons, George W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simpson, Robert F., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simpson, Tippi, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sims, Theron L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sipos, Larry, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sizemore, Edward J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Skala, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Skap, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Skersick, Richard K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Skinner, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Skiver, Ernest H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Skluzacek, Eugene W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Skluzacek, Roger J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Slattery, Neil A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Slaughter, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Slaughter, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sloan, Johnny B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sloan, Ronald V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sloan, William T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Slocum, Norman M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Slossberg, Barry S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Slusher, Frank B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Small, Charles J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Small, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smidy, Kenneth I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Cecil J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Dale W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Edward M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Eugene A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Gerald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Harold K., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, James V., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Kurt P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Leland T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Omer L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Rondal R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Sammy R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, W. S., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Walter E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smithson, Larry A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Snider, David K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Snow, Allen M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Snow, Johnny R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Snyder, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Snyder, William W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Socha, Leon P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Socolofsky, Harold E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Soldmann, William T., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Somers, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sonnenberg, William T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Soos, Paul J. D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sornberger, John T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Soucy, Robert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Southall, David M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Southwick, Larry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sowada, Daniel E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spates, Frederick R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Speckmann, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Speight, Larry N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Speir, Ross C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spell, Clyde, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spencer, David D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spencer, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Speziale, Vincent F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spinney, Franklin C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx

Spitler, William M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spitz, Frederick L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spivey, Robert P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spooner, Donald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sprague, Christopher R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spratlen, Terence C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sprick, Charles D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sproul, Kennard B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stacy, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stajdel, Patrick J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stakely, Henry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stalcup, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Staley, Jon E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stalnaker, Gerard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stamler, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Standish, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stankovich, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stanley, Andrew M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stark, Philip E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Starr, George T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Startin, Mavis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stauffer, Roger K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Steadman, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stebe, Jack T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Steele, John B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stenberg, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stephens, Raymond L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stephenson, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stevens, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stevens, Joseph S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stevens, Steve F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stevens, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stevenson, Jack L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stevenson, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stewart, Burrell H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stewart, George A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stewart, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stewart, John H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stewart, Warren E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stewart, William B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stiles, James V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stocker, David P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stocks, Gary E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stockton, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stoddard, Norman D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stolz, Lawrence G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stone, Bruce H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stoops, Carl E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Storm, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stormo, Douglas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Story, Donald H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stout, Delbert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stovall, Dale E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stovall, Glen W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stover, Evan P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Straw, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Strayhorne, George V., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Streets, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stretton, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Strickland, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Strickler, Jerry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Strohm, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stromain, Paul T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stromain, Roberta L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stroschein, Larry A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stroud, William P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stuart, Robert K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stubblefield, Thomas B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stubbs, David K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stubbs, Gregory D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stubbs, Jerald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Studwell, Victor E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stuermer, Thomas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stump, Francis B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sturtevant, James S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Styler, Brent A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Suggs, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sullivan, Michael A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sullivan, Raymond F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sullivan, Shaun M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Survillas, Roy G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swadley, Leonard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swartwood, Richard V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swasey, Richard H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sweatland, Keith K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sweeney, Howard P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swettenam, Fredrick L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swine, John F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Szczepanek, Matthew J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Szczesniakowski, Aleksander, xxx-xx-xxxx

Tackabury, Paul D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tadd, Roland F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tafs, William D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tahnk, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tait, Arthur F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Talbert, Michael B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Talbott, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Talley, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tallman, Howard L., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tan, Arnold W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tantiilo, Donald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taraba, Karen S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tarbell, Terry C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tashnick, Walter D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tate, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tatum, Gail F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, Anthony C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, Emerson B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, Paul A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, William W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Teach, Everett A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tebay, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tempel, William P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Terrell, Frank M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Terrell, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Terry, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Teske, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Teter, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tezak, Joseph E., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tharp, Dennis T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thaten, Peter R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Allan, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, David M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Donald S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, George R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Neal M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Ronald N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, William S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Donald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Gary B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Geoffrey R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, James R., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Jeffrey E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Lance L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Philip G., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Ralph C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thorey, Volker, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thorpe, Jack A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thorson, Delmar D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thurmon, Richard I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thurston, Marland C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tichenor, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tiedemann, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tiernan, Robert K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tihomirov, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tilden, Thomas V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tillman, Donald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tillman, Luther J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tillstrom, Richard P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tilma, Teddy G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tilton, Joel T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Timko, Andrew, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tinney, Eddy J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tirado, Jesus S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tirone, Joseph M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Toavs, Dwight V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tobey, Carl P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tobin, Frank T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tockston, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Toles, Stephen L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tolin, Anthony J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tolle, Tommy J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tolley, Lynn J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tomasetti, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tomes, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tomlinson, Edward M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Toran, Isaiah, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Torkelson, Leon A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Torrey, Paul F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Townsend, Carl A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Townsend, Jack B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Townsend, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Townsley, Emory, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Townsley, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Trapuzzano, Michael P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Travelstead, Joel M., xxx-xx-xxxx

Travis, Donald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Travitz, David H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Traynor, Dennis W., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Treadwell, Benjamin B., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Trentler, Christian H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Triggs, Dennis R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Trimble, Thomas N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tripp, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Troxclair, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Trull, Ronald V., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tuck, William M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tucker, Charles G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tucker, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tucker, Lloyd E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Tudor, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Turberville, Harry P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Turk, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Turner, James F. A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Turner, Michael W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tusinski, Joseph A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tuttle, Bruce C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Twomey, Daniel I., xxx-xx-xxxx
Twomey, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tye, Donald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Tysinger, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ullmann, Wilmer R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Underwood, Bobby C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Underwood, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Upshaw, Joseph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Uptegraph, Clarence E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Urbach, Keith J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Urban, Eric J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vairo, Vincent R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Valentine, Roger L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vanderwilt, Philip B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vandoren, Emerson B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vandyke, David B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vanleeuwen, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vanooyen, Johannes, xxx-xx-xxxx
Vanover, Fairly, xxx-xx-xxxx
Vansice, Robert B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vanwagenen, George E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vanwagenen, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vaughn, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vaughn, Lauren K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Veeder, Robert N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vega, Manuel F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Verhaeghe, Timothy A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vermeiren, Richard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Verna, Philip V., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vernamonti, Leonard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vernon, James N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vertenten, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vickers, Richard N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Viers, Marion A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vincent, Joseph P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vincent, Randolph C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Visinsky, Walter L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vittoria, Andrew N., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vivion, Ronald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vizi, Donald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Voelger, Gary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vogt, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Voight, Ronald O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Volk, Douglas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vonkrosigk, Rodney K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vonsien, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vonworley, Warren, xxx-xx-xxxx
Voth, Dennis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vycital, Gary C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wade, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wadlington, James T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wagner, Paul A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wagner, Roger D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wakefield, Harry A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Walen, Darrell J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walilko, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walker, Cole E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walker, Douglas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walker, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walker, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walker, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wall, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wallace, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wallace, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walls, Leonard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walsh, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walsh, Robert P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walters, Charles W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Walz, Leslie T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wansack, James K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ward, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ward, Gary W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ward, Neal C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Warden, Wayne E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Warman, Eric P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Warr, Gaylon L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Warren, Robert H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Washburn, Carlos D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Washburn, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wasia, Vincent P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Watson, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Watts, Raymond K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Waybright, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wayman, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wayne, George H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Waypa, John, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weaver, Billy H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weaver, Bruce W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weaver, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Webb, Danny W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Webb, Virgil H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weber, Paul R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weber, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Webster, Dale D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Webster, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weeks, Rodney O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wehrle, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weidler, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weigle, Harold A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Welland, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weinig, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weiss, Edward D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weiss, Edward H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weizenegger, Richard E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Welch, Craig, J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Welch, Thomas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Welde, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weldon, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weller, Frederik, xxx-xx-xxxx
Wells, Charles R., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Wells, David M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wells, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Welsh, Billy A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Welsh, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Welty, Lester F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wendt, Howard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wendt, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wenner, Gerald M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
West, Donald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
West, John F., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
West, Sheridan J., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Westenbarger, Martin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Westerbeck, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Westerfield, Melvin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Westergom, Earl L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Westover, George D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Weustermann, Elsa J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whalen, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wheeler, Jon S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wheeler, Michael I., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whelan, Robert E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whipple, Larry K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whitaker, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
White, Arthur P., xxx-xx-xxxx
White, Frank O. H., xxx-xx-xxxx
White, Harry A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
White, Homer E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
White, James H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
White, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx
White, Neil R., xxx-xx-xxxx
White, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whiten, Charles W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whitesell, Donald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whitley, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whitman, Charles T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whitney, Randle L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Whittaker, Loren F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wickham, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Widhalm, Joseph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wieneke, Charles H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wiesner, Larry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wiest, Charles L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wikheim, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilbanks, Ronald T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilber, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilder, Lawrence T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wildermuth, Paul S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wiles, Charles J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wiley, John, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilkinson, Spencer W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilks, Phillip G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Will, Joseph H. M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Willey, Lester R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Willhoite, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, Daniel O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, Edward L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, Frederick M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, John B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, Marion M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, Phillip J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, Roy D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williams, Victor M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Williamson, Marshall D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Willinski, Gregory, T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Willis, Richard K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Willoughby, Robert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Willoz, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilmot, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilmoth, Harrington L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilmotte, Thomas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilson, Stephen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wilson, Woodrow, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Windham, Thomas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Winge, Gaylord H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wingfield, John R., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Winkle, Stephen N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Winkler, Paul H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Winnik, Laurence N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Winstel, Mark A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wirth, Michael C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wise, Keith R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wise, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wise, William M., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Wisecarver, Kurt J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Witek, Edward, xxx-xx-xxxx
Withers, Douglas R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wittel, Edward F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wittmayer, Roger N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woelfel, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wohlwend, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wolf, Stephen H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wolfe, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wolfe, Norman K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wollaston, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wood, Douglas B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wood, Stuart B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woodall, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woodard, Wendell O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woodell, Royce G. W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woods, Gavan D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woods, Jerry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woodworth, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woody, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woolard, Lynn P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woolley, William H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wooten, Clyde W., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
Worden, Douglas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Worden, Jerry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Woronicz, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Worrall, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Worthington, Jesse C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wright, Daniel P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wright, Dennis D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wright, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wright, Kenneth L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wyatt, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wyman, Stephen S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Wynegar, Noble C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yager, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yamanaka, Osamu C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yarborough, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yates, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yeakel, Richard E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yoggerst, Denis M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Yohman, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Younce, Henry S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Young, Clark S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Young, Everett W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Young, Gerald T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Young, Lee R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Young, Myron A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Young, Robert A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Youngblood, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Younger, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Zalace, Stanley W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Zall, Jonathan E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Zdradzinski, Stephen F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx

Zebelean, John J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zeglis, Frank T., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zehr, Frederick J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zelenski, Stanley S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zens, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zesinger, George R., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ziegler, Dennis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ziegler, Kenton R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zimmerman, Eric A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zimmerman, Leon I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zimmermann, Raymond C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zinkievich, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zinkus, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zuleeg, Ralph C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zura, Gary B., xxx-xx-xxxx

CHAPLAINS

Bilderback, Carl E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Browne, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carter, Wilton C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clayton, Bennie H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Engler, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hancock, Edward N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hockaday, Albert A. L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jensen, Harold M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lipscomb, William W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Matthews, Joseph C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Leary, Niall F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Toole, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Reynolds, Marion S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Riza, Bradford L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shepanski, Donatus C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sikes, William G. Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Singletary, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sweeney, Leo T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Arthur S., xxx-xx-xxxx

DENTAL CORPS

Abrahamsen, Thomas C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Appeldoorn, Ronald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Biddle, Harold H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boggs, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cable, Steven G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Caldwell, Joseph L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cook, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 France, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Goupil, Michael T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hebda, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Korkosz, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kreig, Louis T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Langston, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Marx, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nemcic, Steven D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neudigate, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oesterie, Larry J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Snell, Gerald M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Steegstra, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stevens, Frederic D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Summitt, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Lloyd G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Westbrook, Steve D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 White, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williams, Howard J., xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL CORPS

Abraham, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Anderson, George K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Arnold, Hendrick J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Baldwin, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Barnes, Robert P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bellas, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bishop, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bostrom, Stuart G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyd, Carl R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bradshaw, Michael T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burner, William L., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Canon, Dennis L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carbonneau, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coburn, Bry H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Collins, Cleve B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Confer, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Jeffrey G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Day, Ralph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dorso, Michael A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Garza, Orlando T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 George, Percy A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gilmore, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gilstrap, Larry C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hastings, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Heffron, Charles H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Henderson, Richard A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx

Hoekstra, Dale V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hoffman, Peter F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jordan, Henry S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Klarich, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Makar, James Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Marquart, Chris D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McCullough, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McDowell, Russell V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moll, Jacob T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Naguwa, Stanley M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Paige, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ramos, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Risser, Christian F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roberts, Thomas H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roper, Daniel L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rose, Donald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ruggles, Charles W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sexson, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shirley, Douglas P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sostre, Samuel, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spadoni, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Steinbacher, Carl B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stelling, Henry G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thornton, William V. S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tolley, Douglas G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Trevino, Alfredo Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Waring, William M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Whelan, Gerald P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williams, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Witt, Terry J., xxx-xx-xxxx

NURSE CORPS

Beaudette, Judith H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bloemer, Diana C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowar, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burns, Miriam K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Casterline, Arline, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Patricia A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cook, Virginia V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cunningham, Haridell, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dowling, Janice M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dube, Allen G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Encke, Lynda V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fitzhenry, Margaret A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fox, Jacqueline G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Greenfeldt, Elene W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Greer, Sara E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Haan, Maryanne, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Heaberlin, Karen K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Holmes, Karen L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jacob, Richard G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jacobs, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kurdelski, Patricia A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lemaire, Carol V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Little, John Mary K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lloyd, Florence L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Marin, Beatrice M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McHale, Susan M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Minterfering, Georgann, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moore, Terry R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Otto, Pauline E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Philbrick, Gloria R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ravella, Patricia C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Reid, Jean M. G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rogers, Charlotte E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ruble, Craig E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sampsell, Dorothy I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Saulsberry, Allen D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schroeder, Linda, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spivey, Christine, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thurmer, Sandra L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Toole, Susan E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vaida, Charles T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walker, Jill K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walstra, Judith C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Waterman, Mary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wight, Wendel H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wilcox, Carolyn E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zimmer, Ervin D., xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

Angell, Albert R., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ausmus, Duane G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brank, Hence F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Casto, Graden J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cunningham, Terence T., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Degroot, Edward B., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Downing, Dennis R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 English, Manuel L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Erwin, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Farrow, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx

Griffin, Arland G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hernandez, Ivan P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hoch, Francis L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hudson, Hal C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Huggins, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hurt, Eric L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kenschaff, Robert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, Donald E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Loftus, Thomas, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lott, Larry K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mackie, Kenneth J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mayu, Billy W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McGough, Richard G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McKown, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Montero, Lloyd A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Morton, Edward C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Muehlberger, Gerald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murrell, Warren P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Orsak, Peter M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ortman, Fred W., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pees, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pettigrew, Alan G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powell, George R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powers, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shermer, Robert T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stephenson, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Terry, Wayne G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Michael K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Toebe, Nelson E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Turk, Herbert A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vago, Frederick A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vignes, Bert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vocks, Joseph T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wetzler, Harry P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wiblitzhouser, Kenneth F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zajac, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx

VETERINARY CORPS

Bekaert, Denis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cartledge, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Herbold, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lawer, Daniel R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Long, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Miner, Judson C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rankin, James T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Somers, Rick A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Young, John T., xxx-xx-xxxx

BIOMEDICAL SCIENCES CORPS

Aycock, Arthur C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bargren, Gerald L. K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Baughman, Mary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Benline, Terry A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Donald H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cissik, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gallagher, Frank P., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Garrett, Hershel A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hablitzel, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Harris, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hawks, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koistinen, Darrel W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McIntyre, Thomas H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Meldrum, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moran, Jeanne R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Naugle, Dennis F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Padalino, Joseph R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pierson, Wayne P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rosato, Louis W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rossi, Nunzio J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Regina S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Snedecor, Susan A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stec, Paul J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swede, Benjamin M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Underwood, Frances V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williams, Earl R., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williams, Jerry P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zellers, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following named Air Force officers for reappointment to the active list of the Regular Air Force, in the grade indicated, under the provisions of sections 1210 and 1211, title 10, United States Code.

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

To be colonel

McCuskey, Michael A., xxx-xx-xxxx

To be lieutenant colonel

Duquette, Norman C., xxx-xx-xxxx

To be major

Bryan, William L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coppock, Edward T., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following persons for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, under the provisions of section 8284, title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation under the provisions of section 8067, title 10, United States Code, to perform the duties indicated, and with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force.

To be captain (dental)

Rodriguez, Roland C., xxx-xx-xxxx

To be first lieutenant (dental)

Hinkle, William W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Mann, Joseph G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ridge, Fred T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following officer for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grade indicated, under the provisions of section 8284, title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation under the provisions of section 8067, title 10, United States Code, to perform the duties indicated, and with date of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force.

To be captain (judge advocate)

Cawood, Harry E., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following officers for promotion in the Air Force Reserve, under the provisions of sections 8376 and 593, title 10, United States Code.

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

Lieutenant colonel to colonel

Bagley, Bobby R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Copeland, H. C., xxx-xx-xxxx

Major to lieutenant colonel

Abbott, Joseph S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Brandau, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bridges, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dallenbach, Donald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Emmonds, Louis G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Glass, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Keck, Roy E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Koblec, Alexander R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Koshak, Arthur E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Kraft, Howard P., xxx-xx-xxxx
McCormack, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Nicholson, Robert L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ottea, Marion A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Souers, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Taylor, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Theodorou, Ted G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Vollenweider, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx

DENTAL CORPS

Perez, Richard S., xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL CORPS

Coolidge, Thomas T., xxx-xx-xxxx

NURSE CORPS

Linn, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Peck, Paul H., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following person for appointment as a Reserve of the Air Force in the grade indicated (Line of the Air Force), under the provisions of sections 593 and 1211, Title 10, States Code.

To be colonel

Spell, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following officer for appointment as a Reserve of the Air Force in the grade indicated (Line of the Air Force), under the provisions of sections 593 and 1211, Title 10, United States Code.

To be lieutenant colonel

Caton, Chester F., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following officer for appointment as a Reserve of the Air Force (Nurse Corps), in the grade indicated, under the provisions of sections 593 and 1211, Title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation as a Nurse under the provisions of section 8067, Title 10, United States Code.

To be lieutenant colonel

Bullis, Hildegard E., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following officer for appointment as a temporary officer in the USAF (Medical

Corps), in the grade indicated, under the provisions of sections 8444 and 8447, Title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation as a Medical Officer under the provisions of section 8067, Title 10, United States Code.

To be lieutenant colonel

Snyder, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
The following officer for appointment as a Reserve of the Air Force (Medical Corps), in the grade indicated, under the provisions of section 593, Title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation as a Medical Officer under the provisions of section 8067, Title 10, United States Code.

To be lieutenant colonel

Schultz, Morris A., xxx-xx-xxxx

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3305:

ARMY PROMOTION LIST

To be colonel

Abt, Frederick T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Charles M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Pritchard G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aiken, Jamie L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alford, Emanuel F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allbee, Howard G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Boyde, W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allison, Charles C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Andreen, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ankley, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Astarita, Edward F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballou, De Forrest, xxx-xx-xxxx
Balmer, Jesmond D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Banks, Thomas G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barlow, Raymon C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barry, Clarence D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Battreall, Raymond, xxx-xx-xxxx
Baugh, Russell E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baumann, Lewis R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beauchamp, Darwin D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beckett, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bell, Clyde B. Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bender, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Karl F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bentley, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Berens, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Berres, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bivens, Courtland C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bjostad, Louis B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Black, George, xxx-xx-xxxx
Black, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boisvert, Joseph R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bounds, Marcellus W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boyes, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boyle, Garrison J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Boyle, Germain P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bracey, Spencer M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bradley, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bratton, Joseph K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Braunstein, Howard, xxx-xx-xxxx
Brock, Luther A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Brockmyer, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Brown, Latham H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Buckingham, Clay T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bulawsky, Lawrence, xxx-xx-xxxx
Bull, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bunch, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bundy, Richard N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Burks, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Busbey, Arthur B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bush, Francis J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Callanan, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Campbell, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Carlson, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Carper, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Carr, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Carroll, George F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Chamberlain, Edwin, xxx-xx-xxxx
Chandler, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Christensen, Hal S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Clarke, Frank P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Clinedinst, Clinton, xxx-xx-xxxx
Coghlan, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Cohn, Frank, xxx-xx-xxxx
Cole, Grady A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Connell, Richard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Conner, Judson J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Connor, George C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Corcoran, Edward F. R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Cordova, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Cory, Rennie M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Costa, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Covell, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Cox, Cleatus, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Craig, Richard S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Crooks, Eugene F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Crouch, Jack H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Crowell, Steven S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Crozier, Ted A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Culpepper, Vernon M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Davis, Edward P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Decorrevont, Leon L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Defiori, Victor A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Devan, Vernon C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dews, Hampton, xxx-xx-xxxx
Dibrell, Jack H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dickerson, Harvey G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dickinson, Dean B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dickinson, Hillman, xxx-xx-xxxx
Digennaro, Michael, xxx-xx-xxxx
Dillon, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dittamore, Rex T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dixon, Ralph P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Druener, Hanz K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Dunn, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Durant, Billy C., xxx-xx-xxxx
East, Charles M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Eaton, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ellis, August V., xxx-xx-xxxx
Emerson, Duane L., xxx-xx-xxxx
English, Allan J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Erbe, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Estes, Robert K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Farwell, Faris T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Fatum, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Faul, Lloyd J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Faulkner, Oscar L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Feir, Philip R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Filbin, Edward J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Fiorelli, Michael C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Fisher, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Flagg, Austin T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ford, George L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Forrest, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Frazier, Ernest R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Freeman, Belvin S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Frye, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Fuller, Marvin D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gardiner, William P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gardner, Frank K., xxx-xx-xxxx
George, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ghornley, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gibson, Joseph T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gillespie, Berkeley, xxx-xx-xxxx
Gillespie, Richard, xxx-xx-xxxx
Glunn, Franklin J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gober, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gojsza, William P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gomez, Vivino, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gordon, William I., xxx-xx-xxxx
Grammer, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Gray, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Green, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Greene, Maurice C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Greene, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Greene, Vernon E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Griffin, Frank L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Griffith, Harry A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Haden, Clinton B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hale, Alfred B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Halgren, Spencer V., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, Reginald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hall, Rupert P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hammerquist, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx
Hammes, Norman W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hammonds, Eugene, xxx-xx-xxxx
Hanks, Clinton M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hanson, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harmon, Benjamin F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harper, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Harrison, Oscar J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Hayes, Donald R., Sr., xxx-xx-xxxx

Hayes, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hayes, Joseph W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Healy, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Heiden, Charles K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Helker, Albert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hendry, James B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hickey, Pennell J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hill, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hoch, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hodes, John T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hoffmaster, George, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Holt, Paul E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Howell, Martin D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hoyt, Lawrence V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Huff, Douglas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hynes, Joseph D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Irish, Wilfred E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jenkins, W. Hugh, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jones, Clinton K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jones, William A., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Judd, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kaplan, Phillip, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Keith, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kennedy, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Key, Milton E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kilpatrick, Paul E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Edward L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Justice B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kingston, Joseph P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kingston, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kinne, Harold C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kirk, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kisling, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Klein, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knapp, Theron W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knippling, Lewis H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Konopnicki, Emil L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koseki, Reginald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Krug, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kurtz, Maurice K., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lamar, Kirby, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lamason, Jerry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lambert, Robert O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lamp, Russell J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lampros, James, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lang, Vincent W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Laporte, Arthur E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Larson, Gale L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Latham, Willard, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lauer, Jerry B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lawlor, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lay, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Legro, William E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leister, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Letellier, Carroll, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, Addison L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lippincott, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Little, Robert F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lombard, Harold F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lombardi, Arthur P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Long, Charles H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Long, Homer S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lowrey, Willis H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lynch, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mace, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mack, Richard E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Madison, John H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Maggio, Christopher, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mahan, John C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Marley, John T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Marsh, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mason, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mathern, Louis G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Maughan, George, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Maurer, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mautz, Wayne A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McAleer, John J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McCabe, Jerome M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McConaghy, David D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McCray, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McGinnis, Charles I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 *McGurk, Jack B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McIntyre, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McKeown, William L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McMahon, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Meek, Carroll S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Melner, Sinclair L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Meredith, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Metz, Clarence E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Metzger J., Hayes, xxx-xx-xxxx

Middleton, Harry F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Miles, Edwin R., Sr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Miller, Herman J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mitchell, Wyatt J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Monahan, Lawrence P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Monahan, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mooney, George P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moore, Howard M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moore, William T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moran, Clayton L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Morris, Davis O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Morton, Karl R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Morton, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moses, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Muckerman, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mullens, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphey, James A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphy, Edward L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphy, Eugene J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphy, Meredith E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murphy, Paul J. B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neil, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, Robert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nielsen, Jack W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nikas, Nick J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Noce, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nordin, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Norman, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Connor, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Donnell, Edward H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ogden, Lawrence J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Olentine, Charles G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Osick, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Palmer, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Park, Bertram L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pate, Henry A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Paulson, Norman W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peixotto, Roland E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pendergrass, Alva W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peterson, Hartwin R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phillips, William G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pierce, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pink, Jack T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pinney, Harold D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pollin, George A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Post, Sterling T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powell, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powell, Roger D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powers, Louis W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Prather, Lewis D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Quinn, Thomas G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rank, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Reade, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Renick, Roderick D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rhodes, Clifford D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Riddle, Hugh H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ring, Alfred C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ring, Kenneth G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roberts, Ernest E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rogers, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rollier, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rosner, Albert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ross, Marion C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rowe, Gordon D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rubin, Harry, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Russell, David C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sadler, Jack R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schmalzel, Joseph L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schulz, Gerhard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schumacher, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schungel, Daniel F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sebastian, Nicholas, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sedlacek, Leroy V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sharpe, Melvin B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sherman, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Singletary, Albert, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Singleton, William, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Duane H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Jerry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Soucek, Leo E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spitler, Joseph V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stauffer, Joseph R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stedham, Dan D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stephens, Rome O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stevens, Richard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Steward, Cleveland, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stockton, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stone, R. E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stone, Warren C., xxx-xx-xxxx

Strohecker, Howard, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Struthers, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stukhart, George Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Surut, Lee E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swett, Trevor W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Symmes, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Templeman, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thayer, George E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Jack D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tice, Raphael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Timmerberg, Paul M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Torgersen, Thorvald, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Townsend, Harry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Townsley, Edwin S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tracy, George W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tuberty, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Turner, Edward B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Turner, Frederick C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tyler, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tyree, Louis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Unger, Guinn E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Urrutia, Carlos, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vail, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vaughn, Billy M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Veazey, Eli L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vollmer, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wagner, Matt R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walker, Aaron E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wallace, Bruce E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wallis, Vernon V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walsh, John J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Watling, Edward T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Watson, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Waugh, William L., Sr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Weber, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Weddle, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Weissinger, Jack K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Whelan, Raymond A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Whelan, William J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Whitfield, Patrick, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Whittemore, Kenneth, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Will, Clement H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Willett, Curtis L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williams, Murray W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williamson, Dan H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wing, Rex D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wolfe, Walter G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wood, Marion M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Woodleyhan, Robert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wren, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wright, Billy R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Yellman, Edward K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Yerkes, Charles W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Younger, Ralph K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Youngren, Arthur W., xxx-xx-xxxx

CHAPLAIN CORPS

To be colonel

Brady, Lawrence K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Glynn, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hutchins, Gordon E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ketchersid, Corbin, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leblanc, Paul J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rowan, Joseph C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Parker C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wakefield, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wallace, Francis X., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walter, Louie W., xxx-xx-xxxx

WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS

To be colonel

Hill, Georgia D., xxx-xx-xxxx

DENTAL CORPS

To be colonel

Alderson, Thomas H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Alexander, William, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Andrews, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hanson, Jay G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, Leslie M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Morgan, Samuel C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Duncan M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Steele, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Calvin W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williams, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williams, Lloyd E., xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL CORPS

To be colonel

Akers, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Aultman, Mims C., xxx-xx-xxxx

Baker, Floyd W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Baugh, Joseph H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Berbari, Maurice S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Conrad, Marcel E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dixon, Leon M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Donnelly, Henry J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fichtner, John Z., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Herman, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Howard, August A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Huycke, Edward J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jones, Quitman W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leitnaker, Frank C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McFadden, Archibald, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neimes, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pearson, Jack W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powers, Joseph F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rapmund, Garrison, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shamburek, Roland H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sheffler, Paul W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Turner, Guthrie L., xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

To be colonel

Allen, Edward V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Callaghan, Donald F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Eveland, Charles L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hayes, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Huggins, Lewis H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Marshall, Paul S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McArthur, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McMartin, George M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Packo, Andrew, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parkinson, Ralph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pezzulli, Frank, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Snyder, Allan J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wright, Dallas P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Young, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx

ARMY MEDICAL SPECIALIST CORPS

To be colonel

Treash, Eileen B., xxx-xx-xxxx

VETERINARY CORPS

To be colonel

Benson, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Heyward G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fountain, Edmund L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wilson, John O., xxx-xx-xxxx

ARMY NURSE CORPS

To be colonel

Frazier, Doris S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jablunovsky, Anne C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pishak, Irene R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ramirez, Rosa J., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following-named officers for promotion in the Army of the United States under the provisions of Public Law 92-129:

ARMY PROMOTION LIST

To be lieutenant colonel

Suszynski, Joseph F., xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL CORPS

To be lieutenant colonel

Alexander, Lawrence, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Angritt, Peter, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ayerdi, Evalt, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Babu, Sankaran S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Baezamuniz, Carlos, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Baker, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Baker, John Q., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Balson, Paul M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Barja, Roberto H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Beltran, Normandy B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Berger, Winfield M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bergstrom, Jon F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blanck, Ronald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boccia, Joseph A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bost, Frederic W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Thomas K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brunner, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burger, Leslie M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burke, Lucien F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bustos, Osvaldo, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Camp, Norman M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carpenter, Randall, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Catanzaro, Phillip, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chandrasekaran, Ank, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clemmer, Terry P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cohen, Howard B., xxx-xx-xxxx

Coldewey, Johann F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cole, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Collis, Peter B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coppin, Thomas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cox, Jack A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cristini, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cuartas, Francisco, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Harry E., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, Juan C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Devillez, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dresner, Martin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duwe, Steven A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Faller, William, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fedde, Charles W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Flandermeyer, Kenneth, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Freeland, Alan E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fundrbrurk, Marshal, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gates, Davis F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gayle, William E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gentry, Layne O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Giannella, Ralph A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Giustolisi, Vincent, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Glancy, Gerald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Glass, Billy L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Goldberg, Bertram, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Grant, Alfred A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Greenberg, Joseph H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Grobe, Macy J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gurwitt, Lester J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Harden, Lewis B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Harris, Jerry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hawley, Raymond G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Haynes, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Henley, Loren B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Holder, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Holmberg, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hubbard, Robert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hunt, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hutto, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Imray, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jacobson, Severt H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Johnson, Daniel L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Johnson, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Judy, Kenneth L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kaminski, Mitchell, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Karney, David H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Katz, Norman N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kiesel, Tonu M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kitchings, Olen, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Koval, Norman S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Krellenstein, Daniel, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kushner, Floyd H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kusiak, Raymond J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lara, Tirso G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Larson, Arthur W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lawrence, Frank M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, Yon Hee, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leslie, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lindenbaum, Barrie, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lively, Edmund P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Madden, Reginald G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Maher, Paul, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Marcollesco, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Martin, Carroll M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Martin, George C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Master, Franklin D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McCarty, Garland E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McLaughlin, Allan E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McMeekin, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McRae, Wilton D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McVay, Mary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Meneses, Arturo, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Merchant, Michael G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Merenstein, Gerald, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Meyer, Wayne W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Michelin, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mitchell, Charles H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Modarelli, Robert O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mukerjee, Manju G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murray, Thomas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nau, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neeley, George R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nieto, Carlos H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nunes, Geoffrey C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Olgin, Howard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oregan, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pardi, Livio F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parker, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Penney, Larry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Perliss, Herbert, xxx-xx-xxxx

Perloff, Leonard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powell, James B., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Provost, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Quash, Joseph A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Reed, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rogers, Philip W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roggin, Gary M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roser, Louis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sahni, Pritam S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sasada, Allan M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Saviano, Carl R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sayers, Ronny J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Seaman, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Segal, Herbert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Seifert, Paul S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shorb, Stanley R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simone, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Siraa, Andreas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sobol, Samuel M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Soderdahl, Douglas, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Steudel, Wolfgang T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stutz, Friedrich, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swan, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Richard N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tiffany, Joseph C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Todd, Warren A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Traynham, John E., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tremaine, Myron D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Uribe, Jorge I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wagner, Stanley C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walk, Louis B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Weiss, Frederick R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Weissman, William, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wilmore, Douglas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wong, William, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wright, Creighton B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wulf, Richard, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wyrick, Walter J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Young, Sherwood F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Yourchek, Walter S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zajchuk, Joan E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zwerling, Louis R., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3299.

ARMY PROMOTION LIST

To be lieutenant colonel

Colson, James B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clapp, Max A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 DeWeese, Thomas P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Estep, Glenn R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Honma, Douglas T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hutchins, Alvin C. Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kostoff, Peter C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Neal, Beverly L., xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

To be lieutenant colonel

Mathias, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx

ARMY PROMOTION LIST

To be major

Banks, Dallas C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boucher, Arthur G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chucala, Steven, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crismon, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Felder, Ned E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gallu, Walter A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hambric, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Johnston, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kirn, Paul L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murja, Milan, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nelson, Roosevelt, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shugart, Henry G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Webber, Paul B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Weeming, Otto, xxx-xx-xxxx
 West, Brownie D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zebarth, Roger L., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provision of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3298:

ARMY PROMOTION LIST

To be first lieutenant

Durham, William L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hilburn, Donald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jones, Louis G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Richard C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx

Miller, Donald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murray, Roy A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Steiner, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tierney, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Winter, Felix D., xxx-xx-xxxx

IN THE NAVY

The following-named (Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps candidates) to be permanent ensigns in the Line or Staff Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualification therefor as provided by law:

Rodney J. Allen	William F. McHie
Joseph R. Ampolo	Stephen C. Maurer
Thomas W. Bailey	William J. Meyer II
Martin J. Black	Robert A. Mobley, Jr.
Ricardo A. Cuaderes	Gray D. Morrison III
Frank A. Denap	Don P. Oubre
Francis S. Dennis III	Francis W. Regan
George R. English	Norman E. Ross
Dennis C. Gibbs	Paul H. Shaw
Chris E. Green	George D. Smith
William S. Hackett	Stephen C. Smith
John A. Hedin	Jonathan J. Staehling
Lexie L. Helms	Robert B. Stephenson
Harold S. Holley	James R. Stoorza
Thomas B. Holmes, Jr.	Ronald Tafoya
James D. Huggins	John M. Tatum, Jr.
Edward J. Kaczka, Jr.	James C. Trupp
Gregory T. Kendle	Raymond K. Weimer

The following-named (Naval Reserve Officers) to be a permanent lieutenant (junior grade) and a temporary lieutenant in the Dental Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualification therefor as provided by law:

Andrew F. Bobroff	Bruce S. Janek
Steven G. Graff	Courtney C. Lamb
Ronald D. Jackson	

Billy N. Griffin (Naval Reserve Officer) to be a permanent lieutenant (junior grade) and a temporary lieutenant in the Medical Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualification therefor as provided by law.

James R. Lash (Naval Reserve Officer) to be a permanent lieutenant (junior grade) and a temporary lieutenant in the Medical Corps of the Navy, in lieu of permanent lieutenant commander as previously nominated and confirmed to correct grade.

Gordon J. Weir, Jr., U.S. Navy Officer, to be a temporary captain in the Medical Corps in the Reserve of the U.S. Navy, subject to the qualification therefor as provided by law.

John F. Clymer, U.S. Navy Officer, to be a permanent commander in the Medical Corps in the Reserve of the U.S. Navy, subject to the qualification therefor as provided by law.

The following-named Chief Warrant Officers to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy, Limited Duty, for temporary service in the classification indicated and as permanent warrant officers and/or permanent and temporary warrant officers subject to the qualification therefor as provided by law.

SUPPLY CORPS

Theodore L. Smith	Ramon J. Simoneaux
Rosendo T. Santonil	Ormond L. Fortier
Jamie R. Cannon	Dennis S. Curry
Spencer F. Link	Howard J. Anderson

CIVIL ENGINEER

John Shank

DECK

Robert J. Ventgen	Warren E. Robinson
Andrew L. Glover	Charles E. Decker
Thomas G. Pickens	Wolfgang W. Knuettel
Lawrence E. Solak	
Harold D. Henderson	James D. Wiggins
Louis M. Borno, Jr.	William T. Bassett
Thomas C. Burgess	

OPERATIONS

Ronald P. Bence	John J. Sciuto
Jimmy W. Demarco	Kenneth R. Mitchell

ORDNANCE

Raymond C. Bagley	Ronald W. Laughland
Edward K. Hicks	Frederick C. Langenohl
Minoru M. Yoneda	
Steve J. Coupland	Kenneth R. Martin

Richard H. James	William E. Becker
Gregory F. Dilck	Russell L. Rhine
Loren L. O'Neal	Howard N. Paulsen
Jack L. Ruth	Gary D. McBrayer
Gerald T. Hammerle	Thomas E. Shipley
Anthony F. Froemel	Ronald A. Stegeman
Bruce A. Gustin, III	Ronald G. Fox
Theodore Barber, Jr.	Don R. Vaden

EXPLOSIVE ORDNANCE DISPOSAL

David P. Porter	Joe N. Mares
James V. Smallwood	Benjamin W. Rand

ADMINISTRATION

Amando S. Salinas	Thomas L. Fehrs
James E. Kale	Dan E. Nice, Jr.
Roger L. Hull	Brian M. Deneen
James F. Parks	Charles R. Combs
James H. Stewart	Leroy E. Sheehan
Gary W. Evans	John D. Martin
Richard E. Landick, Jr.	James C. Poffinbarger, Jr.
Milton L. Pease	Comer L. Williams

DATA PROCESSING

Gary P. Priolo	William A. Shamburger
Stelio G. Thompson	Bernard T. Jackson
Robert W. Buchanan	Thomas D. Hunter
Neil W. Lundby	Duke D. Allen
Daniel P. Burns	James V. Lancharic
Daniel T. Hartfield	

BANDMASTER

John R. Bledsoe
William G. Brittain, Jr.
Raymond A. Ascione

ENGINEERING

Earl J. Price	Charles R. Laporte
Jack W. Cousins	Paul N. Johnson
Thomas F. Joyner	Frederick P. Mone
Paul G. Lovejoy	John A. Boyar
Calvin E. Hubbard	Dennis J. Crooks
William A. Bates, Jr.	Kurt J. Zetsch
Rudy F. Marshall	Harold R. Beck
Lee A. Dickson	William G. Earnest
David G. Huff	Jay D. Lose, Sr.
Erick T. Christensen	James E. Holzworth
Kenneth B. Altman, Jr.	Robert T. Hudgens
Donald C. Dukes	Frank H. White, Jr.
Michael H. Taveres	Richard W. Collins

HULL

Paul R. Abretski	Arthur E. Allum
Charles E. Carroll	James A. Talley, Jr.
James W. Johnson	George S. Craigie, Jr.
Laverne Josey	Frederick A. Bolton
James W. McCollum	

ELECTRICIAN

Henry A. Van Ness	Bill E. Beer
Floyd McManus	Donald R. Moore
Thomas J. Godfrey	Pedro G. Leal
Robert L. Sweeney	Donald J. MacDonald
Edward L. Miller	

ELECTRONICS

Jerome H. Avenson	Arizona W. Barnhill
Paul P. Knapik, Jr.	James R. Seaman
Davey S. Chapman	Alvin J. Sontag
Harold L. Ray	Donald R. Young
Abraham R. Stowe	Robert F. Hawkins
Terrell L. Gunn	Lloyd D. Brownhill
William H. Marsh	Gary E. McDowell
Lloyd E. Krueger	Thomas W. Roper
John F. Tarantino	Gerald R. Valade
Kenneth A. McGowan	Charles R. Walker
Larry D. Beardin	Robert Wollam
Thomas A. Sanders	Robert A. Keesling
Robert L. Porter	John J. Pfadenhauer, Jr.
Walter P. Parsons	Larry G. Peay
Jerry O. Hyatt	George B. Williams
Richard T. Vannoy II	William H. Axelrod
Gerald N. Stimpson	Kenneth R. Schroeder
Robert E. Fleming	Thomas G. Hudson
Thomas E. Reeves	Herbert F. Wise
George N. Ruybal	
Steven W. Rucker	

CRYPTOLOGY

Jack Lutes	Gary L. Fitzhugh
Robert A. Neal	Edward M. Ozehoski
Michael G. Orlekoski	Gilbert J. Moore
Thomas F. McAvinia	

COMMUNICATIONS

Frank R. Spatt	Kurt R. Hahn
Joseph A. Dragone, Jr.	Kenneth E. Montoya
Frank C. Sutton	Bruce L. Urben
Montie R. Green	Dante R. Mancini
Frank W. Howard	John F. Smith
William K. Holcomb	Richard A. Mercy
Jerry R. Power	James T. Gaffrey
Melvin L. Dossey	James E. Robinson
John E. Wiley	Richard B. Fahner
Jack Richards, Jr.	George T. Goforth
Robert O. Gravely	Walter G. Wetmore
Kenneth R. McDermott	Charles C. Finley
	Milton P. Campo

AVIATIONS OPERATIONS

David S. Deese
Carlton D. Lambert
Preston L. Jones

AVIATION CONTROL

Lawrence E. Hurley
Jimmy R. Calhoun

AIR INTELLIGENCE

Kenneth H. Wood
Cletius D. Knight

PHOTOGRAPHY

Danny G. Busch
Thomas P. Hartsock
William F. Bacon

METEOROLOGY

Joe E. McKinzie
Bruce F. Dewald
Paul R. Johnson, Jr.

AVIATION ORDNANCE

Harry L. Lovett	Robert L. Robinson
Don F. Brown	Warren G. Seal
Tommy A. Brown	Ralph G. Spangler
Merrill A. Dalton	

AVIONICS

James R. Haworth	Burton F. Eckler, Jr.
Laymor B. Roberts, Jr.	Russell W. Combs
Larry A. Gebbie	Harry J. Gordon
Richard C. Delong	George B. Fleet
Gerald H. Steversen	Bert U. Coffman
Buddy W. Spears	Thomas E. Moilanen
Bruce L. Hawk	

AVIATION ANTISUBMARINE WARFARE

Raymond M. Curry
Charles K. McCoy

AVIATION MAINTENANCE

Edward C. Griggs	Donald D. Beck
Howard P. Smith	Charles W. Mott
Gerald J. Giusti	Frank E. Roach, Jr.
Harold B. Kilmer, Jr.	Edward W. Anderson
Dennis D. Tegethoff	James W. Wood
Alvin E. Dean	Joel D. Lovitt
Thomas E. Jacobs	William M. Petty
Ross B. Othus	Billie J. Pierce
Sherman L. Midboe	

Donald E. Petersen, U.S. Navy retired officer, to be reappointed from the temporary disability retired list as a permanent lieutenant commander and a temporary commander in the line of the Navy, subject to the qualification therefor as provided by law.

Philippe A. Jacques (Navy Reserve Officers' Training Corps candidate) to be a permanent ensign in the Line or Staff Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualification therefor as provided by law.

Steven A. Balch, U.S. Navy Officer, to be a temporary commander in the Medical Corps in the Reserve of the U.S. Navy, subject to the qualification therefor as provided by law.

The following named officers of the United States Navy for permanent promotion to the grade of chief warrant officer, W-4, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Hardin, Billie Ross

The following named officers of the United States Navy for permanent promotion to the grade of chief warrant officer, W-3, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Acre, Clifton Harold
 Adams, George Manley
 Adams, James Leo

Ahlers, Norbert Anthony
 Anderson, Charles Edward
 Anderson, Merlin Francis
 Arion, Ellsworth Eugene
 Arnold, Arlen Elmo
 Ashlock, Edward Lee
 Atchley, Andrew Thomas
 Bailey, Robert Chalmers
 Banister, Robert Lee
 Barber, James Walter
 Barger, William Ray
 Barhite, Robert Eugene
 Barnes, Sam Motley
 Barnett, Francis Eugene
 Beabout, Robert Franklin
 Beagle, Charles Blaine
 Beaver, Ira Howard
 Beck, Allen Earl
 Becker, Raymond Herbert
 Beebe, Douglass Ramon
 Black, James Douglas
 Blake, Joseph Albert, Jr.
 Bliss, Albert McChesney
 Board, George Robert
 Boon, John Edward
 Boor, Leo John
 Boorum, Robert Francis
 Brackett, John Woodbury
 Brasil, Robert Frank
 Bratsch, Roger Donley John
 Brown, Leonard Harrison, Jr.
 Bryden, Kenneth Chester
 Bunch, Duane Wilton
 Byrd, Alwyn Millard
 Campbell, James Thomas
 Carlson, Robert Stanley
 Carlton, Norman Lee
 Carter, Arthur Edward
 Carter, Harry McClain
 Carter, John George
 Catron, John Graoy
 Chavez, Angelo Enrique
 Chenoweth, Charles Everett
 Chernegie, Michael Alexander
 Cloutier, Lawrence Paul, Jr.
 Coats, Daniel Michael
 Comeau, Thomas Anthony
 Coons, Bard See
 Cooper, James Oliver
 Courtney, Walter Edward
 Curry, Samuel Grayson, II
 Dallman, Roger Anthony, Sr.
 Daughton, Gary Lee
 Davis, Robert Lee
 Deffenbaugh, Dale Chester
 Detwiler, Donald Vernon
 Deutsch, Joseph King
 Dill, Mytnor Alan
 Dionne, Roger William
 Dix, Richard Jack
 Duchesneau, Robert Edward
 Duke, Arnold Lowell
 Duke, Clinton Harrison, Jr.
 Duren, James Richard
 Edwards, Raymond Lewis
 Elkins, Franklin Delano
 Enevoldsen, Jack
 Englebreton, Ronald Earl
 Ensminger, Gerald David
 Escajeda, Ruben
 Fawcett, Peter Formanek
 Fischer, Henry Arnold
 Fisher, John Straw
 Flahiff, Daniel Edward
 Frantz, James Arthur
 Frial, Ernesto Fabillon
 Fulgham, Caleb Richard
 Fuller, Emil Andrew
 Gardiner, John Peter
 Garrett, Charles Edward
 Gault, Harry Stewart, Jr.

Gelsomino, Michael Joseph
 Gepford, Richard Donald
 Germany, Charles Joseph
 Gillespie, Lindsay Moore
 Glover, Thomas James
 Goode, Eugene Francis
 Goodrum, Daniel Joseph
 Graham, Dennis Loring
 Greer, James Nelson
 Green, Marion Wendell
 Grigsby, Leon Thomas
 Haaf, Joseph Bernard
 Hagenbruch, Robert Henry
 Hambley, James Gilbert
 Hamilton, Jerry Allen
 Hand, John Milton
 Harper, James Edward
 Harris, Donald Edward
 Harris, Bobby Lynn
 Hartman, David Lee
 Hawtin, David Ray
 Heidecker, William August
 Hendricks, Jerry Franklin
 Hennegan, Dennis Stephen
 Henry, Joseph Edward
 Hight, Harvey Bea
 Hilton, John Franks, Jr.
 Hinson, William Phillip
 Holden, Hugh Frederick
 Holder, J. D.
 Holliday, Donald Ainsley
 Holzendorf, William Frank
 Horsfall, William Edward
 Howard, John David
 Howell, Robert Dale, Sr.
 Hubbard, William Vanoy
 Hubert, David Leroy
 Hudson, James E.
 Hughes, James
 Irby, Eldon Elmore
 Jeffries, William Pettit, Jr.
 Johnson, Clara Belle
 Johnstone, Robert James
 Kay, Raymond Erwin
 Kearns, Thomas Owen
 Keith, Donald Rae
 Keith, William Brett, Jr.
 Krygier, Thomas Joseph
 Kuzel, Norman Emil
 Kyser, Harold Harlon
 Larson, Marvin Leigh
 Lawson, Carroll Lavon
 Little, David Joe
 Long, Thomas Pressly
 Lord, Don
 Loshi, Gerald Grant
 Lovett, Cecil W., Jr.
 Lowe, Michael Baxter
 Lowe, Walter Robert
 Malmberg, Charles Leroy
 Marenbach, Harry Alfred
 Marino, Raffaele
 Matthews, Billie Joe
 Matthews, Dale McNeil
 May, Harlin Conrad
 McGee, James Murry
 McGowan, Eugene Edward
 McKinzie, Joe Edward
 McLean, Angus Laughton, Jr.
 McMaster, Timothy Richard
 McNutt, Jerry Wayne
 Mercer, Laurice Wayne
 Meuchel, Frank Tony
 Middlebrooks, Robert Durwood
 Miller, Kenneth Ray
 Miller, Ronald Lee
 Morales, Vicente
 Morris, Phillip Gail
 Morris, Robert Allen
 Mundy, William Edward

Nicholson, Gerald Norman
 Nitschke, Karl William
 Njaa, John Roger
 Nolin, Robert
 Nyman, Keith Oscar
 Oehler, James Christ
 Ohlman, Douglas Herman
 Ohm, Robert Lee
 O'Neal, Floyd Wendell
 O'Neal, Jim Franklin
 Owens, Richard Lee
 Oxrider, James Penfield
 Parkhurst, Lyman Edward
 Parsons, Robert Eugene
 Pearrell, Larry William
 Piper, Leon Tracy
 Platt, Larry Duane
 Polk, Deward Winston
 Porter, Joel
 Powers, Richard George
 Rawls, Robert Sherwood
 Raymond, James Burr
 Reid, Louis Lee
 Renwick, David
 Reuter, Kenneth Earl
 Rhoden, Lawrence Bernard
 Richardson, Billy Earl
 Ridener, Linville Lee
 Ritchie, Coy Doyle, Jr.
 Rizek, Paul Herman
 Robbins, Donald Dean
 Robbins, Robert Justin
 Roe, James Paul
 Romito, Vincent Anthony
 Rooks, John T.
 Roos, Neal Gerald
 Rumer, William Harry
 Russell, Richard Leon
 Scaringella, Charles Thomas
 Scherzer, James David
 Sharp, Robert Leroy
 Shaul, Michael C.
 Shelton, Lynn Dale
 Shields, Joseph Carl
 Slayton, Gerald Clifford
 Smith, Lewis Baxter
 Smith, Robert Emmet
 Smith, Walter Junior
 Southerland, Macy James
 Sprey, Douglas
 Sturm, Jackie Lee
 Sullivan, James Stephen
 Sullivan, Joseph Edward
 Sutton, Morris Lee
 Taylor, Douglas Kent
 Thomason, William Rex
 Toon, Norbert Leo
 Tucker, Claude Thomas, Jr.
 Tudor, Tommy Neal
 Turk, Joseph
 Turner, Jack Eugene
 Tyler, Warner Russell
 Vandyne, Leroy Thomas
 Velsor, Herbert Frank
 Vickery, Gwynn Arnold
 Vsetecka, Leonard John
 Walsh, Myles Edward
 Walsh, William Charles
 Watson, Tannis Robert
 Watson, Jimmy David
 Werling, Robert
 Wheeler, Sidney Wayne
 Will, George Frederick
 Wilson, Millard Joseph
 Wippel, Lawrence Franklin
 Wisdom, Hayden Rand
 Woods, Gerald Bishop
 Worley, Robert Allen
 Wyatt, Thomas Verden
 Zoglmann, Paul Samuel

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, December 3, 1973

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.
 The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, DD., offered the following prayer:

The Lord is good, a strong hold in the day of trouble; and He knoweth them that trust in Him.—Nahum 1:7.

O God, our Father, source of the light that never fades and the love that never fails, we rest our weary souls in Thee and yield our flickering torch to Thy spirit that in Thy sunshine's blaze our days may be brighter, fairer be. In the midst of con-

ditions that baffle us and currents that almost overwhelm us we seek a more than human strength which will hold us up and keep our feet from slipping.

May Thy spirit flow through our waiting hearts increasing our faith in each